

The Megalithic Tradition of West Sumba

A Preliminary report of research conducted by Ron Adams (Simon Fraser University) in collaboration with Dra. Ayu Kusumawati (Balai Arkeologi Denpasar) and Dr. Haris Sukendar (Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional) in West Sumba, Indonesia (July/August, 2003).

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I. Introduction

Megalithic structures leave a dramatic imprint on the landscape and have captured the imaginations of archaeologists and the public for quite some time. From an archaeological standpoint, megalithic monuments are of particular interest for a variety of reasons: 1) they have occurred in many parts of the world both historically and prehistorically (e.g., Africa, Southeast Asia, India, Polynesia, Europe); 2) they are often associated with the prehistoric emergence of complex societies; and 3) they require a very large investment of time, labor, and resources, typically representing the single largest undertaking in the societies in which they are built.

In previous archaeological investigations of megaliths, questions of how and why megaliths were constructed have been put forth. Many interpretations of these monuments in prehistoric contexts attribute their construction to sociopolitical functions, such as territorial markers (e.g., Renfrew 1973; Hardh 1982; Sjogren 1986; Stromberg 1990). However, such interpretations tend to be limited in their examination of the social processes involved in megalithic construction. Thus, an ethnoarchaeological investigation of megaliths concerned with understanding why they are erected (based on the social processes involved in their construction) should contribute greatly to understanding why megaliths were present in so many societies in the past. Furthermore, as traditions including megalith erection are quickly fading from traditional societies, research on megalithic construction is particularly urgent at this point in time.

A shared interest and understanding of the archaeological significance of this subject brought together researchers from Canada and Indonesia to conduct research on the living megalithic tradition in West Sumba, Indonesia in July and August of 2003. The bulk of research was conducted in the Anakalang and Kodi areas, where megalithic tomb building is still a relatively frequent occurrence. What follows is a presentation of the results of this work conducted by Dra. Ayu Kusumawati and Dr. Haris Sukendar of the Indonesian Research Centre for Archaeology and Ron Adams of the Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University (under the supervision of Dr. Brian Hayden).

Objectives

II.

West Sumba is one of the few places in the world where megaliths are still constructed and therefore presents a unique opportunity to observe the social processes involved in megalith building and to record the traditional methods used to build megaliths. As an ethnoarchaeological examination of megaliths on the island of Sumba, this work follows the lead of Haris Sukendar (1985, 2003) and Ayu Kusumawati (1993, 1997, 1999, 2000). What is of interest in this particular study is explaining the considerable investment of time, energy, and resources invested in megalith construction. From an ecological perspective, a practice entailing such an investment should have a practical function and entail practical social and economic benefits for those involved (see Hayden 2001). It is proposed that an understanding of why megaliths are built in West Sumba from this ecological perspective can also potentially shed light on why they were built in so many other societies historically and prehistorically. Thus, this program of ethnoarchaeological research in West Sumba was guided by the following primary objectives:

- 1) To determine whether there are practical social benefits accrued by individuals participating in or financing the construction of large stone tombs;
- 2) To describe, in detail, the traditional practice of constructing megalithic tombs, from quarrying to final carving; and
- 3) To document feasting and other social contexts for megalithic construction.

Implementation

III.

A. West Sumba: General Background

Sumba: Geographic Background

Sumba is an island situated in the eastern part of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago. It is about 11,000 sq. km (200 km long, 36-75 km wide) and lies within the Republic of Indonesia in a province made up of Indonesia's southeastern islands known as Nusa Tenggara Timur. The regency or district of West Sumba comprises the western half of the island and has a total land area of 4,051.92 km.² The population of West Sumba was 350,000 in 2000 with a population density 86.55 km.² The island as a whole is dry by Indonesian standards, especially in East Sumba. Recorded average yearly rainfall amounts in West Sumba range from about 1200 mm-2450mm (Beding and Beding 2002: xxxiv-xxxv). The Sumbanese landscape reflects this variation in rainfall, with much of the drier eastern section being dominated by large tracts of grassland and few trees. In contrast, the western part of the island is relatively lush and gets wetter and lush the further west one travels, although the dry season in both areas is quite pronounced, resulting from south-east trade winds blowing off of Australia, and lasts from June to October (Gunawan 1998: 17).

Sumba: Prehistory

The most well-known prehistoric site to date on Sumba is a large jar burial site at Melolo in East Sumba. Melolo is the most significant jar burial site in eastern Indonesia and includes large urns in which secondary burials, shell beads and bracelets, stone adzes, and stone beads were found (Heekeren 1956; Bellwood 1997: 303-304). Ceramics, including high-necked flasks, were also associated with the burials (Heekeren 1956; Bellwood 1997: 304). The ceramic flasks, which bear similarities to vessels dating to the Metal Phase in other parts of Indonesia, as well as the presence of metal artifacts associated with the burials, places Melolo within the Metal Phase (500 BC-AD 1000), which is marked by the introduction of Iron and Copper-Bronze artifacts and manufacturing technology into the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago (Bellwood 1997: 268, 269, 304).

Melolo is one of many jar burial sites that occur throughout island Southeast Asia. These sites are typically associated with the Metal Phase and are found in Java, Bali, Sulawesi, Borneo, Talaud, and central and southern Philippines. Ethnographically, among the Kelabits of upland north-central Borneo, a similar practice of secondary burial in large jars persisted into the latter half of the twentieth century. The funerary items associated with these jar burials included smaller stoneware vessels and glass beads. Evidently, only high-status Kelabits individuals were interred in jars, and the burial practice was accompanied by a very large feast (Harrison and O' Connor 1970: 102-109).

The jar burials at Melolo may represent the antecedents of a practice of interring deceased in large megalithic tombs that persists on Sumba. The inclusion of prestige items, such as stone and shell beads and shell bracelets, in these burials is similar to a pattern of placing the deceased in megalithic tombs with gold items that still occurs on Sumba.

On the island of Selangor, just to the north of Sumbawa (an island located to the immediate northwest of Sumba), evidence of a Metal Phase occupation has been documented from fragments of bronze Dong Son drums found underneath a possible burial mound at Kampong Sungei Lang and radiocarbon dated to between about 500 BC and AD 200 (Bellwood 1997: 278; Peacock 1964, 1979). Classic bronze Dong Son drums, which are found throughout island Southeast Asia, were originally produced by the Dong Son culture in northern Vietnam. The Dong Son culture or phase began between about 500 and 300 BC and is associated with the first appearance of iron in Vietnam and high-status burials. Most of the earliest metal items in the Indo-Malaysian archipelago are Dong Son-type artifacts (Bellwood 1997: 269).

Certainly, the onset of the Metal Phase on Sumba, and in other parts of island Southeast Asia was accompanied by significant economic changes. It has been suggested that irrigated wet rice cultivation did not really begin to take hold in island Southeast Asia until the introduction of iron tools and domesticated water buffaloes as iron tools and water buffaloes are essential for plowing in modern forms of wet-rice cultivation (Bellwood 1997: 252). The earliest indications of wet rice cultivation in island Southeast Asia come from inscriptions referring to irrigation found in Java dating to the eighth century AD (possibly for rice) (Bellwood 1997: 252; Meer 1979). Archaeological evidence from northern Vietnam and northern Thailand suggests that wet rice cultivation

and the use of water buffaloes for plowing may have developed in those areas during the Iron Age (after 500 BC), and historical documents indicate that wet-rice cultivation began in northern Vietnam after about 200 BC (Bellwood 1997: 252; Wheatley 1965; Higham 1989: 198-200). However, Yokokura (1992) suggests that domesticated water buffaloes were not introduced into Southeast Asia until the first millennium AD (Glover and Higham 1996: 443; Higham 1989: 198-200). Whatever the case may have been, this appears to suggest that there is a relationship between the introduction of metal and metallurgic technology and the onset of wet-rice cultivation and the use of water buffaloes for plowing in Southeast Asia.

Throughout Southeast Asia, the introduction of metals and the subsequent development of wet rice cultivation was an obvious contributing factor in the establishment of increasingly complex sociopolitical institutions. The introduction of wet rice would have allowed for the production of larger surpluses and increased population densities as, compared to dry rice, wet rice matures faster and can feed more people (Bellwood 1997: 252-254, 268). Unequal control over these larger surpluses is generally considered to have led to greater social stratification. In addition, the control of these surpluses could have been fostered by the use of iron for weaponry, which would confer significant advantages for those with access to iron.

On Sumba, and likely other parts of Indonesia, the introduction of domesticated water buffaloes associated with wet rice cultivation would also have been a key aspect in the development of sociopolitical complexity considering their high value in the traditional Sumba economy and their particular importance in the consolidation of wealth and power through megalithic construction and feasting (see below). Indeed, Hayden (2001) notes that agricultural surpluses are converted to wealth and sociopolitical influence and power in Southeast Asian transegalitarian societies through the slaughter of domesticated animals at feasts.

Such a scenario of increased social complexity coinciding with the onset of the Metal Phase seems to be reflected in the archaeological record of the period. The elaboration of burial practices on Sumba and other parts of island Southeast Asia that occurs during the metal phase indicates a particular reverence for certain individuals in society and perhaps social ranking. This elaboration of burial practices can also be seen in the appearance of megalithic slab burials and carved sarcophagi in Java, Bali and Sumbawa. Unfortunately, the antiquity of these megaliths is unknown. Although one megalithic chamber burial from Sumatra has been roughly dated to the early-middle first millennium AD (Soejono 1991: 19; Bellwood 1997: 288), many of the early megalithic burials in the region appear to overlap with the period in which state-level societies first appeared on Sumatra and Java in the latter half of the first millennium AD (Bellwood 1997: 287-290).

Evidence of a pre-Metal Phase occupation of Sumba has yet to be reported on, and it is not clear when the descendants of the present-day linguistically Austronesian population of Sumba first inhabited the island. The Austronesian settlement of Sumba has generally been considered part of a mass-movement of Austronesian-speaking peoples from a proposed homeland in southern China to Taiwan, island Southeast Asia, areas of mainland Southeast Asia, Polynesia, and Madagascar. Based on linguistic and archaeological evidence, the migration into island Southeast Asia began about 6000 BP, and Austronesian-speaking groups (undoubtedly after changing as a result of contact with

different groups and ecological conditions) are postulated to have gradually continued to spread to more distant areas (i.e., Polynesia and to Madagascar) up until 800 BP. The Austronesians are credited with bringing rice agriculture, domesticated pigs and domesticated dogs to island Southeast Asia (Bellwood 1997: 111-119).

Among pre-Austronesian sites excavated outside of Sumba in the southeastern part of the Indonesian archipelago, Glover (1977, 1986) uncovered a chert and obsidian flaked stone tool industry that began about 13,000 BP and persisted into the ceramic period (late third or second millennium BC) at cave sites East Timor. The flaked stone tools were similar to those from northern Borneo and Sulawesi (Bellwood 1997: 186). The appearance of ceramics and the remains domesticated pigs around 4000-5000 BP are considered to reflect the appearance of newcomers bringing agriculture and animal husbandry (Glover 1986: 197-204). Coinciding with the appearance of pottery and domesticated animals is an increase in the density of flaked stone, which Glover (1986: 202) suggests could reflect a population increase due to food production.

Sumba: History

An understanding of the impact that outside groups and empires have had on Sumba is of utmost importance to this study, as it is focused on the development of a prehistoric model of megalith building drawn from the current context of West Sumba. At the same time, these impacts should not be over-emphasized to the point of dismissing any knowledge of prehistoric human behavior that can be gained from this ethnoarchaeological study. For millennia (at least since the time of Austronesian expansion three to five thousand years ago—see above), ‘traditional’ societies, including hunter-gatherers (e.g., Headland and Reid 1989) in island Southeast Asia have been influenced directly or indirectly by outside groups. Even the Dutch colonial impact over large parts of the area between the 18th and 20th centuries was preceded by impacts from kingdoms and imperial powers both indigenous (e.g., the Javanese Madjapahit kingdom—see below) and foreign to the area (e.g., trade contacts with India and China by the early-mid first millennium AD—see Bellwood 1997: 136,137). In short, adaptations to outside influences should not be considered unique to the current context and should not be considered something that precludes an understanding of the social conditions that existed in prehistory.

Historically, the earliest reference to Sumba in written documents comes from the Negera Kartagama chronicles, which list Sumba as a tributary to the Javanese Hindu Madjapahit empire between 1357 and 1384. In the Parewatana area of West Sumba, legends are still told of the first contact between the Javanese and the local Sumbanese people of the area. There are also indications that prominent individuals in East Sumba were given fine silk Indian textiles and *raja* (‘king’ in Indonesian) ruling titles by Javanese *raja*’s of the Madjapahit at this time. Some of these cloths still remain in Sumba. By the 15th century, relations between Sumbanese *raja*’s and the Sultanate of Bima on the island of Flores have been documented (Kapita 1976: 17 from Hoskins 1984).

In this period just prior to direct contact with Europeans, Sumba was active in a trade network that appears to have initially focused on the islands of Savu, Sumbawa, and Flores before spreading out to include larger polities, such as Java. This early period of trade consisted of the exchange of skins, livestock, and sandalwood from Sumba for iron

objects, such as knives and spears, gold objects, textiles, beads, and Chinese ceramics. Many of these items are still kept in Sumbanese ancestral villages as ceremonial objects (Kapita 1976; Hoskins 1984: 9-11).

The arrival of Europeans on Sumba came in the 16th century when Spanish, Chinese, Portuguese, English, and Arab ships made trips through the eastern part of the Indo-Malaysian archipelago, occasionally stopping at Sumba to trade. These foreign traders exchanged metal coins for Sumbanese sandalwood and horses. Slaves were evidently also sought after and this period may have marked by the beginnings of the trade in Sumbanese slaves. These slaves were individuals captured in war at a time when there was, according to Sumbanese oral tradition, an intensification of internecine warfare aided by the presence of imported metal weapons (Kapita 1976: 18; Hoskins 1984: 11). This time of increased warfare is said to have led to the pattern of locating villages on hilltops surrounded with thorny foliage and stone walls for defensive purposes (this is how the oldest ancestral villages are still situated--see below). According to oral traditions, it was dangerous to walk outside of villages unattended at this time and many people were compelled to become dependents of powerful nobles for protection from being captured and sold into slavery (Hoskins 1984: 11-12).

Imported metals from the Portuguese, according to informants in Kodi at the western end of Sumba, also facilitated the construction of megalithic tombs in the area. The oldest megalithic tomb in the village of Wainyapu is said to have been built at around this time period (about five or six hundred years ago). However, considering the dating for the metal age in the Indo-Malaysian archipelago (first millenium AD) and contact between Sumba and the Madjapahit of Java, the area was undoubtedly in contact with metals prior to this time.

Although the initial trade with Europeans had a significant socio-economic impact on Sumba, the foreign influence was limited to trade. It was not until 1750, when the Dutch East India Company sent a formal delegation to Sumba to request exclusive trade with local Sumbanese rulers, that one begins to see the beginnings of what would later become direct control over Sumba on the part of the Dutch. This contract precluded the Portuguese and Makassarese (from kingdom of Makassar in South Sulawesi) from trading with Sumba. The local Sumbanese rulers involved in this contract, which apparently only involved East Sumba, received gold, weapons, beads, a flag, and a staff from the Dutch East India Company (Kapita 1976: 21; Hoskins 1984: 12-13).

Despite seeking and gaining exclusive trading rights, Dutch interest in Sumba was fairly minor until the 19th century. In 1841, The Netherlands government began developing a livestock trade between Sumba and Java and set up a port at Waingapu in East Sumba to which horses and water buffaloes were sent for shipment. Soon after, the Dutch established a contract with the local *raja*'s in East Sumba in 1845 that gave the Dutch power over the region, although it was not in the form of direct administrative control. The *raja*'s were accorded with local authority and given a staff of office and silver headpiece (Kapita 1976: 26; Hoskins 1984: 14). Although the Dutch were becoming firmly established in East Sumba, it is unclear as to what degree the Dutch had influence over West Sumba at this time. However, signs of western influence in West Sumba do appear later in the 19th century, when a Catholic mission, which included a small school for the sons of noble families, was established at Laura in West Sumba in 1866 (Kapita 1976: 39; Hoskins 1984: 14, 17).

The first direct, foreign control over Sumba occurred in the early 20th century when the Dutch effectively took over the administration of Sumba in 1908 (Gunawan 1998: 29-30). At the beginning of the period of Dutch rule, there continued to be a pattern of inter-regional warfare on Sumba in addition to battles fought against the Dutch (Hoskins 1984: 17). Headhunting raids also reportedly persisted into the 1920's. Towards the later part of the Dutch administration of Sumba, which effectively lasted until 1942, the Dutch had essentially pacified the island and succeeded in establishing their own institutions (Hoskins 1984: 17-19). However, the degree to which control and influence was exerted in the villages outside of principal towns appears to have been limited (see Koike 1986: 4). Colonial rule was followed by a period of economic hardships under Japanese wartime rule (1942-1945) and a period of relative stability and modernization beginning with the inclusion of Sumba within the Indonesian state in 1950 and lasting to the present time (Gunawan 1998: 31-34). As the establishment of Dutch administrative control over Sumba and the present situation as part of the Republic of Indonesia are of particular interest concerning the following discussion of the traditional economy and socio-political contexts of West Sumba, the changes that have occurred on Sumba since the time of Dutch rule will be examined where applicable.

West Sumba: Traditional Economy

The traditional economy of West Sumba is based on rice (both wet and dry) agriculture and domesticated animals, primarily chickens, pigs, horses, and water buffaloes. In addition to being important for subsistence, these items, along with traditional woven cloth, are key elements of the exchange and relation-building activities that occur in the context of feasts and building megalithic tombs (see below). Although currently the cash economy has opened some doors to new opportunities on Sumba, rice and domesticated animals remain central aspects of the economy in West Sumba and can still be the subjects of bitter disputes between households and clans.

Agriculture

The traditional economy of West Sumba, as in many other parts of Indonesia, is an agricultural economy based on the cultivation of wet and dry rice in addition to maize, cassava, taro, and sweet potatoes. Beans and vegetables are also grown to a lesser degree (Hoskins 1984: 3). Most informants I interviewed in West Sumba claimed that wet rice was the staple food. However, maize and cassava are also very important subsistence crops, especially in the Kodi area. Non-rice crops appear to be important subsistence foods in other parts of West Sumba as well. In her study of social organization in the district of Wanokaka, Gunawan (1998: 18), indicated maize was probably the closest crop to a staple in Sumba. Gunawan (1998: 23) also stated that even those with rice surpluses would eat “maize and root vegetables” as much as possible in order to have rice available to trade for water buffaloes and horses. Fox (1992: 77) stated that maize was the staple on the island. Geirnaert (1987: 108) noted that in the district of Laboya in West Sumba, the daily diet consisted of a mixture of maize, tubers, cassava leaves, and rice. Rice is the traditional food used for feasts and the food always served to guests (Geirnaert 1987: 108; Fox 1992: 77; Gunawan 1998: 18). In Kodi, informants indicated that people would be ashamed to serve guests anything but rice for a meal.

In Kodi, where only dry rice is cultivated, there are traditional values placed on different grades of rice with *li pu'uta* (which is light brown in color) and *Kalengorara* (a yellow variety of rice) being reserved for nobles (particularly at feasts) and *pare' bokot*, *pare' kalowo*, *pare' kanoru*, *pare' kaka*, and *pare' kadico* eaten by all people traditionally. *Pare' méte*, a variety of black rice, is used in the traditional cloth-weaving process in addition to being eaten.

Besides the traditional rice varieties, new hybrid varieties of wet rice are grown on Sumba. Modern hybrid varieties of rice, which have been prevalent on Sumba since the 1970's (Gunawan 1984: 3), have higher yields than traditional varieties. Reported yields for a one-hectare piece of land are about 7,000 kg for hybrid varieties of rice and 4,000 kg for traditional varieties.

Irrigated wet-rice cultivation has reportedly occurred on Sumba for quite some time. According to informants in Anakalang, rice paddy fields have traditionally been irrigated when located adjacent to rivers and streams. On these river-fed irrigated plots, rice can be harvested twice in a year. In some cases, concrete canals are used to channel the water for irrigation, while in other cases, earthen canals are used. In the past, there was no formalized organization that dealt specifically with irrigation, however, when there were disputes regarding irrigation use, the head of the relevant clan or clans involved traditionally resolved the issue. Currently, the *Kepala Desa* (head of the village in the modern Indonesian administrative framework), in consultation with the clan head(s) and parties involved, resolves disputes related to irrigation.

When fields are located away from rivers, rainwater is sufficient to allow crops to grow, although this only allows for 1 harvest per year. In the case for rain-fed plots, fields are bounded with earth on each side, which allows the water from the downpours of the rainy season to collect and irrigate the rice crop. In spite of the usually marked dry season on Sumba, the claim that wet rice can be grown without river-fed irrigation appears to be valid as Geirnaert (1987: 108) also describes wet rice being cultivated on non-irrigated plots in Laboya, a district located to the immediate east of Wanokaka.

In addition to wet rice, dry (*pare' marah*) rice is cultivated on hillsides in Anakalang and on the coastal plain in Kodi. Although dry rice cultivation is generally not cultivated to a high degree in much of West Sumba, in Kodi, rice is only grown on dryland plots. This kind of rice yields one harvest per year, which can range up to about 2,000 kg per hectare of land. According to informants, dry rice can be grown in the same location for two or three years before productivity falls off and it is necessary to switch to another plot (this can be a cause for disputes when one moves to a plot located on land belonging to another household or clan). After rice has been harvested, it is common to plant maize on the same plot before planting rice again in the following planting season. When opening up a plot that has been left fallow for two or three years, it is common to burn off the accumulated vegetation.

Other crops grown throughout West Sumba on garden plots, include cassava, peanuts, sweet potatoes, beans, vegetables, and fruits, mainly bananas. As indicated previously, other crops are rotated with dry rice in Kodi and essentially occupy the same plots of land located up to a few kilometers outside of villages. In other parts of West Sumba, gardens can be found on the hillsides below hilltop villages or other locations near villages. There are also many gardens that are scattered on both hillsides and valley floors some distance from the households that own them. In some upland areas, coffee is also grown on garden plots. Coffee is grown as a cash crop in Sumba and is exported along with cloves and copra (Hoskins 1984: 3).

Ownership of paddy land and garden plots is inherited through the male line. In Anakalang, the eldest son receives all inheritance upon the death of his father and ideally divides it among his younger siblings while retaining the largest portion. The division of inheritance in Anakalang is finalized with an agreement among all households in the village. This is similar to the distribution of inheritance in East Sumba, where the eldest son effectively receives all of the inheritance upon his father's death. This inheritance can be later divided among the younger brothers as well, with the eldest son receiving the greatest proportion (Forth 1981: 232). In Kodi, inheritance is divided among heirs (with the eldest son receiving the largest portion) while the patriarch is still living. Prior to officially being doled out as inheritance, land in Kodi and Anakalang is typically divided up among married adult heirs who are given rights to cultivate the land. In both Anakalang and Kodi, the division of inheritance can lead to disputes between siblings and, in Kodi, can even lead to the break-up of clans (see below). In addition to being inherited, paddy land can also be obtained via domesticated animals used in barter arrangements (see below).

Ownership of land generally appears to have been limited to the commoner and noble classes (see section on classes below). Considering that rice is not the dominant subsistence food, it is likely that many households, including some non-slave households, did not own paddy land traditionally. This would seemingly reflect the current situation. In a survey of household landholdings in a village in Wanokaka (a district in central West Sumba), Gunawan (1998: 324) found that 11 out of the 25 households surveyed did not own any paddy land.

Work on wet-rice paddy land and garden land in West Sumba is organized around a system of labor-exchange groups (a system generally referred to as *gotong royong* throughout West Sumba). In Anakalang, these groups revolve around the ownership of water buffalo. Because preparing land for planting wet-rice requires the use of 10 to 50

water buffaloes, it is typically necessary for households to pool their water buffaloes in order to carry out the task. Preparing rice fields necessitates a seemingly excessive number of water buffaloes due to the fact that large cracks form on the land during the dry season. Water buffaloes are traditionally led through rice fields prior to planting in order to consolidate the soil to prevent the rain from draining through the cracks that formed over the dry season. I observed about 20 water buffaloes preparing a relatively small plot (1/4 hectare) in Anakalang in this manner. This pooling of water buffaloes also enables households that do not own water buffaloes to still cultivate wet-rice. The human labor of the households is pooled together as well to cooperatively carry out all phases of rice cultivation. In addition, slave-owning households of the noble class (see below) formerly had their slaves participate in *gotong royong* work.

In Anakalang, there are typically 5-10 households that are grouped together in a *gotong royong* arrangement. There is one person who is chosen by the member households to be the head of the group (*jawa pasepang*). The *jawa pasepang* is typically relatively influential and wealthy. The order in which fields are worked in a *gotong royong* appears to vary from group to group. Some individuals claimed that the work (in every phase of work from preparing fields to harvesting rice) was done on the field of the group leader prior to being done on any other member household's field, while others indicated that the order all depended upon whose field was ready to be worked.

Whenever *gotong royong* work is performed on a paddy field, the owner of the field is required to provide a lunch for the workers. According to one informant, the contents of this lunch can vary according to the type of work that is being carried out: for preparing the field, the lunch can consist of vegetables and rice; for planting, it can consist of chicken or pigs with rice; for harvests, it consists of vegetables and rice; and for separating the grains of rice from the husk, chickens and rice are typically provided for lunch. Also, in the case of harvests, the group members who participate in the work receive a share of the rice they harvest. For example, if a person harvests 30 kilo. of rice, they can keep 1 kilo. of rice for themselves (in the past, however, this would not have been applicable to the slaves of *gotong royong* group members who worked).

Because there is a sexual division of labor associated with work on paddy fields, there are labor exchange groups existing alongside *gotong royong* that are made up entirely of women members. As a tradition, only males are involved in preparing the fields, harvesting the rice, and separating the rice grains from the husks. However, only females plant the rice and also prepare the food for all of the occasions in which a *gotong royong* group gathers for work. This women's work group is known as *kabogur mawini* in Anakalang and is typically made up of the same households that comprise a *gotong royong* arrangement. The head of these groups in Anakalang (*kepala mawini*) is the wife of the *jawa pasepang*, who heads the male *gotong royong* groups.

In Anakalang, work in garden plots in which such crops as maize and cassava are grown, is also done by *gotong royong* groups. This work is only carried out by men in Anakalang and follows the same basic rules that govern the paddy land aspect of *gotong royong*, an important one being that households must provide food for other *gotong royong* members when they work on their gardens.

In Kodi, the dynamics of labor exchange relationships between households differ a little from those in other parts of West Sumba due to the fact that there is only dry rice in Kodi, which does not necessitate the use of water buffaloes to prepare fields.

However, there are still *gotong royong* groups that are made up of about seven related households and work in rotation on each member household's garden for a day (one day per week on each household's garden). This work is ongoing and not limited to rice cultivation, but also includes the cultivation of maize, cassava, sweet potatoes, and fruit crops grown in gardens as well as tending water buffaloes, chickens, and pigs. Similar to the case for the Anakalang *gotong royong* groups, the household owning the land that is being worked by group members is required to provide a lunch for those who are working on their land. Decisions regarding work scheduling and other matters are made with a consensus among group members, and there is theoretically no single leading household of the group.

Domesticated Animals

The traditional domesticated animals of West Sumba include cattle, chickens, ducks, dogs, goats, horses, pigs, and water buffaloes. However, domesticated goats, ducks, and cattle may have been introduced to Sumba later, as they are not a requisite part of the traditional feasting system (although they are killed and eaten at some feasts) or the traditional system of debt relationships (see below).

In traditional villages, domesticated animals are typically kept underneath the houses in West Sumba, except for dogs, which can be found milling around villages day and night. Livestock are also often kept in rock-walled corrals. Some of these corrals are located behind houses and owned by individual households, while others are located within or just outside villages and collectively owned by entire clans. Gunawan (1998: 51, 245) notes that in Wanokaka, water buffaloes of fellow clan members are herded into a single corral within a village. This pattern also occurs in Anakalang and Kodi in some cases.

Cattle, goats, pigs, and water buffalo are all considered valuable and probably were not consumed traditionally outside feasting contexts. Chickens also are a large part of the feasting system and may not have been consumed on a regular basis outside of feasts. In the more traditional villages visited when data for this work was collected, it appeared as though chickens were only killed and eaten on special occasions and at feasts. Green vegetables, perhaps peanuts, maize, cassava, rice, and occasionally eggs were likely to represent the typical foods consumed traditionally on a daily basis.

Ownership of the large domesticated animals (cattle, horses, pigs, and water buffaloes) is, like paddy land and garden plots (see above), typically inherited by the eldest son according to informants, and is traditionally limited to the noble and commoner classes in Anakalang and only noble class in Kodi (there is no traditional commoner class in Kodi). Prior to being divided for inheritance, livestock can be used (while not leading to indebtedness as is the case for borrowing—see below) by the adult offspring of the owner when needed for such things as feasts or as a part of bride price. The slaves of the noble classes in Anakalang and Kodi were traditionally prohibited from owning these animals. The ownership of these animals may have even been rare even within the noble classes. Among the Kodi households interviewed for this study, the majority of households did not own more than two water buffaloes and some households did not own any water buffaloes. Hoskins (1984: 75) also observed that in Kodi, most households did not keep any water buffaloes and perhaps only had one or two horses and that the animals required for feasting and bride price were drawn from the herd of a prominent individual. According to Hoskins (1984: 75), the households in possession of

large herds in Kodi were able to manipulate social relations through the borrowing and lending of livestock required for feasts.

When needed (typically for feasting obligations), livestock can traditionally be obtained through a system of loaning. More often than not this appears to occur in situations when an individual is obligated to slaughter an animal for a feast and does not have one on hand. In Anakalang, the person without a water buffalo or pig can give a person who owns one of these animals a *momoli* or other gold ornament(s) (see prestige items section below) or the use of a piece of paddy land for the animal. When the person returns an animal of equal value to the loaner, he can get the gold object or land back. In the case of paddy land, the person who loaned the animal can keep whatever harvests the paddy field may yield during the period of time in which the debt has not been repaid. This is much like the system that Gunawan (1998: 64) describes for Wanokaka, where there was a system of “pawning” in which a person could pawn a piece of land for cattle that are needed to pay “bride-wealth” or debts. In this system, the pawnee, who loaned the cattle, could even pawn the land to another person. However, Gunawan notes that the original owner has the right to recover the land after at least one season.

In Kodi, livestock borrowing does not involve a system of collateral. In Kodi, one can borrow a water buffalo or pig, for example, from another household with the promise of returning the favor at a later date. Before doing this, it is considered necessary to have had established good relations and a good “credit” rating with the household from which one wants to borrow livestock. When a loan arrangement is being made, the two parties decide upon a reasonable deadline at which time the debt must be repaid. As the deadline for repayment approaches, the debtor must visit the household of the loaner and explain why it is taking such a long time to repay the debt, which can result in the loaner becoming very angry. If the debt is not repaid in time, the relationship between the two parties can sour further. In such a case the loaner may decide to take a water buffalo from the borrower if he sees that the borrower has acquired one, even if it was only a pig that was borrowed initially. If the debt is not repaid at all, it seriously damages the reputation and credibility of the household who borrowed the animal and can damage their important relations with other households within and outside the community. I witnessed one case in which an individual who had loaned a pig to another household began making demands for repayment from the borrower before the agreed upon deadline. Although the two households were members of the same clan, the situation was very heated and almost erupted in violence.

Livestock in West Sumba can also be obtained through barter. In Anakalang, about 350 kg of rice can be exchanged for a water buffalo with fairly short horns. In Kodi, one adult water buffalo can be obtained in exchange for 300 kg of rice. Pigs (if large enough) can be exchanged for water buffaloes or horses of equivalent value. Also, an adult water buffalo can be exchanged for about a half-hectare plot of land in Anakalang.

Similar to agricultural labor, livestock tending in Kodi and Anakalang is done in *gotong royong* labor exchange arrangements between related households (essentially the same households that comprise the *gotong royong* group for agricultural work). In the case of water buffaloes, horses, and cattle, young boys typically guide the livestock around while they graze on grasses in the area around villages.

In Kodi, non-related individuals outside of *gotong royong* arrangements can be hired to look after livestock in exchange for one of the calves born in a year. The person tending livestock is entitled to only one calf, whether there are 5, 10, or 20 calves born.

Today, cash costs of domesticated animals generally reflect their relatively high value in the traditional economy, although, as Keane (1997: 72) notes, monetary values of livestock do not directly correspond to their value in formal exchange. For water buffaloes, the cost depends solely on the length of the horns and can range between about 1 and 10 million Rupiah (1 US dollar could be exchanged for about 8000 Rupiah at the time of this study) for an animal with long horns and four million for one with short horns. Onvlee (1980: 204) indicated that the most prized water buffalo on Sumba is known as *mane mandopa*, which has “horns a fathom wide” and is worth “ten ordinary water buffaloes.” Due to this preference apparently based solely on horn length, there are no varieties of buffalo bred specifically for special color markings as there are in Tana Toraja, where much of the value attached to water buffaloes is in their color markings (Adams 2001). Water buffaloes in the areas of West Sumba visited by the author tended to be of a uniform grayish-black color.

The price of pigs can be almost as high as water buffaloes, reflecting the near-equal value of water buffaloes and pigs in the traditional feasting system (see below). The largest pigs today can be more than 5,000,000 Rupiah, while very small pigs can be purchased for about 150,000 Rupiah. Cows, although being of a similar size to water buffaloes, are considerably cheaper with the largest cows costing about five to six million Rupiah. The cost of adult goats can be about 250,000-300,000 Rupiah. The relatively low cash values of goats and cows in comparison to water buffaloes probably reflects the fact that they are traditionally not included among the requisite animals for traditional feasts and the debt relationships associated with them. Horses can range from about 3,000,000 Rupiah for “regular” horses and about 10,000,000 for race horses. There are horse races throughout Sumba, although these are apparently not traditional events in Sumba. The Dutch interbred larger Australian horses with the small Sumbanese horses in the 19th century in order to produce horses that would be suitable for the Dutch cavalry (Hoskins 1984: 16). It is likely that horse racing on Sumba began sometime after this period when larger horses were introduced. Chickens are, not surprisingly, the animals with the lowest price tag, about 40,000 Rupiah for large chickens. In spite of the great monetary value attached to domesticated animals, particularly horses and cattle, their importance in the traditional exchange system puts some limitation on their sale (Keane 1997: 37-39). In other words, a household's livestock is usually tied-up in the system of debts and credits associated with feasts.

Cloth Weaving

Traditional cloth weaving is another very important element of the traditional Sumbanese economy and exchange associated with feasts. There are three primary types of cloth woven: a piece of cloth worn by women and girls in a skirt-like manner (*sarung* in Indonesian, *raabi* in the Anakalang language, and *lawo* in the Kodi language), a piece of cloth worn by men and boys in a skirt-like manner (*kain* in Indonesian, *reegi* in the Anakalang language, and *Hanggi* in the Kodi language), and a strip of cloth worn by men wrapped around the top of their heads (*roowa* in the Anakalang language and *Kapota* in the Kodi language). Various motifs are woven on cloths, which typically consist of line patterns and depictions of gold prestige items, such as *mamoli* (see below). *Kain*, *sarung*, and head cloths are worn by people on a daily basis, however, people typically reserve their better quality cloth for feasting occasions. In Kodi, making traditional cloth using traditional methods can take six months or longer. Currently, cotton is used in the process of making traditional textiles, however, in the past, bark fibers were used and are still used today in some cases. Today, cloth weaving is a household industry and source of cash. Costs for large pieces of Kain can range from 100,000 Rupiah or so to up to 10,000,000 Rupiah (more than 1,000 US dollars) or more for pieces from East Sumba. The most sought after West Sumbanese pieces can be priced up to about 1,000,000 Rupiah.

West Sumba: Traditional Social Organization

Classes

Traditionally, there was a stratified system of social classes in both Anakalang and Kodi. In Anakalang, there were three social classes: nobles (*marabba*), free people (*kabihu*), and slaves (*ata*), while in Kodi the population traditionally consisted of nobles (*maramba*) and slaves (*hamba*). In Anakalang, according to informant testimony, free people or commoners traditionally represented the most populous of the three classes followed by slaves and then nobles (informants would not speculate on the precise percentages of the population in each class). In Kodi, informants estimated that traditionally the *maramba* (noble) class made up about 80% of the population, while 20% of the population was of the *hamba* (slave) class. Membership in the classes was inherited matrilineally throughout West Sumba. This system of class inheritance made it nearly impossible for people's children to rise to a higher class due proscriptions against women marrying men of lower classes (see below).

There were other rules regulating the behavior of the slave and commoner classes. In Anakalang, slaves were not permitted to eat in the same place as nobles. Slaves could also not own land, although in Kodi, informants claimed that if a noble slave owner were generous, he could have given some livestock to one of his slaves to own. There were class proscriptions concerning the ownership of traditional prestige items as well. For example, in Kodi, slaves could not own gold prestige items, such as *marangga* (gold breastplate), *tabelo* (gold headdress), or *mamoli* (gold earrings). These proscriptions extended to traditional woven cloth. In Kodi and Anakalang, slaves were only permitted to wear a certain type of woven cloth (known as *bola* in Kodi) containing relatively simple woven designs. In addition, funerals for slaves were very simple compared to those for commoners and nobles, entailing the slaughter of one pig (typically from the slave-owner) and a simple ground burial. In comparison, noble funerals could be much

more elaborate in terms of the slaughter of domesticated animals (involving several water buffaloes) and the form of interment, often in megalithic tombs (see below). Prominent nobles in Anakalang and other areas could also have one or more of their slaves killed and interred in tombs below the tomb of the noble slave-owner (when the noble tombs were located on top of a dolmen).

Slaves in Kodi lived in the back of, or in the kitchen of, the noble slave-owning house, or in a separate house within ten or twenty meters from the noble household. In Anakalang, some nobles owned up to twenty or thirty slaves traditionally. Unmarried slaves in Anakalang typically lived in the back of the house, while married slaves with families were allowed to establish their own household within a short distance (ten meters or so) from the household of the slave-owning noble house.

The noble classes obtained slaves through inheritance and marriage. Warfare between villages and clans (see below) also was a way in which slaves were accumulated. Capturing slaves was often the reason for warfare and was a way in which a commoner or noble could become a slave. In Anakalang, it was also possible for a person unable to repay a large debt to become a slave of the person he or she was indebted to. In Anakalang, indebtedness and poverty often led to self-enslavement (Keane 1997: 58). Concerning marriage, in Anakalang and Kodi, members of slave-owning noble households could bring a certain number of slaves (perhaps one or two) with them when marrying and leaving the household upon reaching adulthood. Women who owned slaves brought these slaves with them when entering into a marriage and residence in the groom's household. In Kodi, land, livestock, and prestige items could also be exchanged for slaves traditionally.

Currently, although slavery has been prohibited since the early part of the twentieth century on Sumba, wealthy nobles in Anakalang who own large herds of water buffaloes can attract "dependants." In Anakalang, dependants provide labor for a wealthy noble's large feasts and for dragging the stones of a noble's tombstone. In exchange for their labor, dependants receive support in their own feasts and assistance with day to day economic concerns from wealthy nobles (Keane 1997: 57). Gunawan (1998: 101-102) writes of a similar arrangement in Wanokaka, where nobles with large tracts of land and abundant livestock attract dependants who provide daily labor in exchange for such things as food, shelter, and support in bride-wealth payments (Gunawan 1998: 102). According to informants, dependents in Anakalang follow similar proscriptions traditionally associated with slaves, such as remaining in the back section of a house, although they can be given land and livestock by wealthy landowners. However, dependants do not exist in all parts of West Sumba. In Kodi, there reportedly are no dependant arrangements.

With the beginning of the Dutch administration of Sumba in 1908, slavery became outlawed. However, as noted in the preceding paragraph, a system of dependants persists in some parts of Sumba. Thus, from the Dutch period, members of the nobility have been able to maintain much of their political and economic dominance, in part, through education in Dutch schools and the Dutch appointment of prominent individuals of the noble class as local leaders (*raja*) (Keane 1997: 42, 43). Individuals of high rank were also chosen for local leadership positions in the early part of the Indonesian administration of Sumba in the mid-1950's (Hoskins 1984: 26).

Adoption

As land, animals, and houses are traditionally inherited through the male line, having male children to ensure the continuation of a family's wealth is still of obvious importance. In cases where there is not a male child in the household to inherit the household and the wealth associated with it, it is possible to adopt males into the household in both Anakalang and Kodi. A family can adopt a male child from another family within the same village. In this case, a person may kill a pig and host a feast for the village to announce their intentions to adopt the child. The arrangement made for the adoption generally depends on terms agreed upon by the two households involved and requires the household head wishing to adopt to give some animals to the child's household. It is also possible for a household head to adopt one of their male grandchildren if he has no male children of his own. The grandchild would, in turn, inherit his grandfather's house and wealth associated with it. In such a case, if there is an agreement between the family of the son-in-law and the father-in-law, the father-in-law would need to go to the village of his son-in-law and present and slaughter a pig. The father-in-law would then take home a horse, dog, and his male grandson in return. Additionally, a household head without an heir can adopt a male nephew. In this case, it is necessary for the household wishing to adopt to hold a feast for the village entailing the slaughter of a pig or water buffalo.

The Household

The household is the basic unit of socio-political organization in West Sumba. Households are also the nuclei of the family's economic activities with domesticated animals being kept underneath the house and rice and sacred ritual objects being kept in the "attic" between the living area (for humans, cats, and dogs) and the roof of the house. Households in West Sumba are typically inhabited by a married couple, their unmarried offspring, elderly parents, and sometimes grandchildren as well (typically 5-11 individuals living in a single household). Married children, who have not yet established households of their own often live in the household as well. Prominent noble households often include a number of wives, dependants and, in former times, slaves.

Houses, like land and livestock, are typically inherited by the eldest son. Younger siblings usually establish their own households sometime after marriage. In Anakalang, when a married couple wishes to establish a new house in another village, but within the same clan, the married couple must go to the main house of the village (*uma bakul*) and kill a pig for the people in that village in order to be permitted to establish a new house in the village.

Lineages

Lineages (essentially patrilineages) are centered around a single ancestral house (*uma*) which can have several branch houses attached to it. In Kodi, there can be 40 or more branch houses associated with a single *uma*. The majority of these branch houses are located adjacent to garden plots located between fifty meters and five kilometers outside of the main village. In Kodi, due to the great expense in terms of the slaughter of livestock and the gathering of labor required for building an ancestral house, there are many empty spaces in villages where ancestral houses should be standing (where there is a space designated for a particular lineage). In addition, there are branch houses of ancestral houses established within the ancestral village known as *kare ka tena*. In Anakalang, *uma* branch houses are known as *ana uma* and can be located in the ancestral village or outside of villages adjacent to paddy fields and gardens. A new ancestral house and lineage is created when there are too many people in a lineage or in certain cases of dispute within the lineage. In Kodi, the establishment of new ancestral lineage houses is usually tied to the establishment of new clans, as there are traditionally only four major ancestral lineage houses (*uma*) in each clan in Kodi.

The *uma* is the location in which major ritual feasts of the lineage are held. All major feasts, regardless of who the host or sponsoring group of the feast is, must be held at the ancestral house. In times of ritual, there is typically one *rato* (priest of the traditional *marapu* religion) in a single lineage who is summoned to the *uma* to perform the necessary rites. In both Kodi and Anakalang, the ancestral house traditionally was where the ritual paraphernalia and gold prestige items (e.g., *mamoli*, *marangga*, *tabelo*—see above) worn during rituals of the lineage were traditionally stored. However, these items are now spread out among the houses located near garden plots outside of the villages due to theft concerns.

In terms of political authority within the lineage, prominent older male individuals, including the *rato* priest, collectively discuss important issues concerning the lineage. However, the household head living in the ancestral house (*uma*) is the individual responsible for managing the ancestral heirlooms and also is traditionally the most prominent individual in the lineage in social affairs concerning the clan. This position is usually inherited by the eldest male son (theoretically representing a direct descent line from the lineage founder), although another individual within the lineage can assume the position if there is no male heir or if there is a male heir without the talent to assume the role.

Within a clan, there are typically several ancestral houses, each with a different function. These functions can be largely symbolic or they can apply to rituals and other tasks. For example, in Anakalang, the *uma pangudang* is designated as the *uma* responsible for hitting a gong to announce that there is a funeral within the clan. The living patriarch of the *uma pangudang* is the individual in charge of filling this role. In Anakalang there is also an *uma* which has the traditional role of gathering the adult male population of the clan together to prepare for warfare with another clan.

Clans

The clan (*parona* in the Kodi language and *Kabisu* in the Anakalang language) is traditionally the highest level of formalized socio-political organization in both Anakalang and Kodi. The clan is made up of a group of *uma* that are linked to a common ancestor who founded the clan. In Kodi, clans are typically made up of four ancestral houses. One of these houses is known as *uma katakunata* (great house). The *uma katakunata* is the principal ancestral house of the clan and is accompanied by three other *uma* that represent its “tails.” The sum of the total number of *uma*, *kare ka tena* (*uma* branch houses within the ancestral village) and garden houses (*uma* branch houses located outside of villages) within a clan in Kodi can be more than 250. The number of individuals and houses of a clan in Anakalang can similarly be in the hundreds. However, in Anakalang, there can be many more ancestral houses (10 or more) within a clan than is the case in Kodi. The main ancestral house and house of the founding ancestor of the clan in Anakalang is known as the *uma bakul*.

The great house (ancestral house of the founding ancestor) in a clan represents the focal point of clan-wide rituals and other social activities. This house was traditionally the place where the major clan heirlooms were kept (before they were moved to garden houses due to theft). In Kodi, in front of the great house, there is a central ceremonial area surrounded by the four ancestral houses of the clan. This open space (known as a *nataru*) is typically circular or oval shaped, 5-10 meters in diameter and surrounded by a ring of megalithic tombs in which the ancestors of the clan lie to rest. Surrounding the tombs are the four main ancestral houses of the clan. In Anakalang, the ancestral houses surround a similar ceremonial area (known as a *talora* in the Anakalang language) in which the megalithic tombs stand, although the houses in Anakalang are typically arranged facing each other in more of a linear fashion.

The head of a clan is known as the *kepala kabisu* in Anakalang and was traditionally the senior male of the founding *uma* (ancestral house) of the clan. In Anakalang, the position of clan head was usually an inherited position, but, as with the lineage head, another individual from within the same clan could assume the role when there was no heir or an heir without the talent and influence to assume the role.

The clan head traditionally would take a lead role in dispute resolution within the clan and would represent the clan in dealings and disputes with other clans. These disputes could range from disputes regarding the ownership of land and livestock to the use of irrigation in Anakalang. In Addition, when individuals were planning a feast or holding a feast in Anakalang, it was usually necessary for them to first consult with the clan head and often hold a portion of the feast in front of the house of the clan head. .

In Kodi, the position of clan head appears to have been traditionally less formalized than in Anakalang. In Kodi, the position of clan head is currently fixed for the senior male of the founding ancestral house of a clan and this person, according to informants, plays a lead role in dispute resolution. However, this position was not formalized until the Dutch began controlling the administration of the area at the beginning of the twentieth century (Hoskins 1984: 289). In Kodi, dispute resolution and other decision-making processes (e.g., the planning of feasts and tomb building) are collectively settled by several senior clan members in a meeting. At these meetings, the credibility and renown that a person has built up through undertakings, such as feast sponsoring and tomb building, undoubtedly carries a lot of weight regardless of whether

they are officially considered to be the head of the clan.

In both Anakalang and Kodi, there is a certain amount of land that is considered to be collective property of the entire clan, the guardian of which is the clan head. In Kodi, this land consists typically of forested land that is not permitted to be used for cultivating rice or other crops. However, in Anakalang, clan land can be used for cultivating crops if needed by a clan member. In this case, the individual wishing to use the land must consult with the clan head and present the clan head with a certain amount of livestock (at least one water buffalo). Additionally, a household in Anakalang could theoretically cultivate maize or other garden crops on clan land simply by gaining formal permission from the clan head. Clan members in both Anakalang and Kodi can freely use clan land for obtaining, vines, bamboo, and other items necessary for building a house or pulling a large stone for a stone tomb. In all of these situations concerning the use of clan land by individual households, having established good relations with the clan head is considered to be essential. In terms of the clan head's use of clan lands, the head of a clan in Anakalang, according to informants, could freely use the lands of his clan for his own cultivation (although there undoubtedly must have been some kind of checks against the abuse of this entitlement).

Large quarries from which the stone used for building tombs is dug also typically constitute clan land. In Kodi and Anakalang, a person must give livestock or cash in exchange for using a quarry belonging to another clan (see section on stone tomb building below). However, individuals are entitled to freely use a quarry belonging to their own clan. Smaller costs are necessary for people who wish to use the land of another clan for obtaining wood or fishing. In Anakalang, opening up a garden on the land of another clan requires giving up a share of the produce to the clan owning the land.

Disputes and warfare have traditionally characterized the relations between clans. Inter-clan warfare was very prevalent up until the beginning of the twentieth century. Reasons for going to war include both land and livestock disputes and raids to obtain slaves. Currently, even in Kodi, disputes between households in different clans can result in a group of five to ten young men from one clan raiding a village of another clan, damaging property, and/or killing the person who is at the center of the dispute.

Villages

In both Kodi and Anakalang, villages consist of between about 15-25 and sometimes more than 30 houses from a single clan or multiple clans. In Anakalang, villages are linguistically identified as *paraingu*, while in Kodi the distinction between village and clan is less clear. The vast majority of traditional villages in Kodi are made up of houses from a single exogamous clan and essentially come under the local distinction of *parona* (clan). However, when discussing the social structure of the village of Wainyapu, which is made up of 12 clans, informants referred to the group of clans that made up the village as a single *kabihu* (clan set).

There are a variety of ways in which multiple clans can come to inhabit a single village. In Anakalang, there can be more than one allied clan that establishes a village as well as “outside” clans that purchase land on which to set up houses in the village, provided that there are good relations between the clans. Villages can also end up containing multiple clans when bride-takers from other clans set up households in bride-giver clan villages and when a clan divides into two separate clans. In Kodi, there is a similar pattern, although the division of a clan due to overpopulation appears to have played the largest role, according to informants, in the existence of villages containing more than one clan.

In both Anakalang and Kodi, the administrative framework above the level of the clan was traditionally very rudimentary. In the village of Wainyapu (Kodi), for example, when there is a dispute within the village or there are plans for housebuilding within the village, prominent individuals from each of the twelve clans of the village meet. At this kind of meeting, one person is chosen (based on their talent and influence) to lead the proceedings. This lead role is only considered to be relevant for the meeting at which the person is chosen, although the same person can be chosen at successive meetings. In Anakalang, when there is more than one clan in a village, the founding clan appears to be the most prominent. However, in such a case of multiple clans occupying a village in Anakalang, the households of non-founding clans typically represent branches of clans that have each respectively founded villages in other locales and thus owe their primary allegiance to the main ancestral house (great house) of those villages. Therefore, the degree of hegemony the founding clan has over the other clans of a village is undoubtedly limited.

Summary

In what seems to be a marginally productive agricultural environment, a relatively complex traditional socio-political system appears to have emerged in West Sumba. Wealth differentiation and social class differentiation are a common theme in the traditional socio-political landscape of the areas focused on in this study. With a broad-based subsistence economy in which rice (which has the most value as a subsistence food) appears to be less prevalent than maize, the ability to produce rice surpluses was probably limited to a relatively small number of traditionally wealthy noble households that obtained their paddy land through inheritance and/or bartering. The high value attached to domestic animals, particularly water buffaloes and pigs, as well as the large numbers of these animals owned by the wealthiest people in Sumba (informants claimed that there were *raja* {chiefs-see above} in East Sumba that own hundreds of water buffaloes) implies that the ownership of domesticated animals was also a key factor in traditional wealth and power consolidation. As Keane (1997: 57) puts it, "...to maintain basic social relations with others, to sustain a decent reputation, and to avert the ire of ancestors one must have access to cattle and rice." In the following discussions of feasts and megalithic construction, two venues through which wealth and power can be expressed, an emphasis on domesticated animals and rice is prevalent.

Disputes

As alluded to in the previous discussion, disputes between households, lineages, and clans are quite common in West Sumba. This does not appear to be a recent phenomenon, as headhunting was a very frequent occurrence throughout the entire island up until the early part of the twentieth century. There can be a variety of causes for disputes, the most common traditionally appear to be related to land and livestock ownership and use. However, disputes associated with other, more modern, issues can also arise with very serious consequences.

In Kodi, disputes related to land use are quite common. For example, in the village of Wainyapu, a person from the Kahadeta clan was using land belonging to the Kahakatoda clan without permission. A dispute arose and a person from Kahadeta reportedly killed a person from Kahakatoda. Following this incident, a group of young men from Kahakatoda sought out the perpetrator for revenge. When they found that there was no one at his household, the group burned down the perpetrator's house and took and killed some of his livestock.

However, there are means to resolve such disputes before they result in serious consequences. In 2001, households from the Kahakatoda clan were using land for planting and harvesting crops that belonged to a household in the Wenjoko clan. A confrontation ensued that involved people from each clan wielding *parang* (traditional iron knives) and *tombak* (traditional spears with iron point). The clan heads of each clan and local government officials were summoned to put a stop to the violence before anyone was seriously hurt. Prominent elders from each clan then gathered together with government officials to resolve the dispute. The dispute officially ended with a feast held at the founding ancestral house of the Wenjoko clan. One dog from the Wenjoko clan was killed and eaten for the feast. Representatives of the Kahakatoda clan brought one pig that was killed and eaten for the feast and one large piece of woven cloth that was

presented to the Wenjoko clan. A similar dispute in Wainyapu related to land use rites between a household in the Wenjoko clan and a household in the Mahendok clan (household from Mahendok wanted to start a garden on land owned by the household from the Wenjoko clan) was resolved with a consultation with local government officials and a feast involving one pig from each clan.

Other reasons for disputes in Kodi include loans that have yet to be repaid. As noted previously, if debts are not repaid in time, the lending household can forcefully procure livestock from the borrowing household. If a debt is never repaid, one's reputation can be seriously damaged, which can have a very negative effect on one's relations with others.

Disputes related to tomb building can also arise. For example, when a household (Household A) is planning to build a stone tomb for the second or third time, another household (Household B) in the same clan that has not yet built a tomb may take issue with the plan (because a lot of livestock from different households in the clan would continue to be used for one household's tombs) and try to prevent it. In a meeting with prominent clan members, a decision can then be made allowing Household B to build a tomb with help from the other households in the clan.

Disputes of a much larger scale can involve entire districts of West Sumba. In 1998, a bloody dispute occurred between the contemporary districts of Loli and Wewewa. According to informants, the dispute stemmed from the resentment that had built up among people in Loli due to the fact that people from Wewewa were perceived to have been filling up a large portion of the administrative positions in the local Loli government offices. Individuals on each side used rocks, *parang*, *tombak*, and bamboo as weapons. Many people were reportedly injured and some were even killed. The Indonesian government intervened to put an end to the violence and organized a meeting between prominent elders from both Loli and Wewewa to resolve the dispute.

While there can be many causes for disputes in West Sumba, the very fact that they occur on a relatively frequent basis, especially in Kodi, is indicative of an environment in which competition between individuals and clans is prevalent. In a traditional context, this competition appears to have been primarily related to the control and ownership of land and livestock resources. This pattern (especially competition related to the control of livestock resources) is similar to that discussed by Hayden (2001) for transegalitarian societies in mainland Southeast Asia. In the past (before the beginning of the twentieth century), there was also reportedly competition surrounding the ownership of slaves, as slave raids were common in Sumba. This overall competition is reflected manifested in the promotional nature of stone tomb building and feasts (see sections on feasts and stone tomb building below).

Feasts

Due to the requirements of feeding the labor organized to pull the large stones used in building tombs and in the large feast performed after a stone has been erected, tomb building in West Sumba can be viewed as a series of large feasts. Thus, before proceeding with a discussion of the construction and erection of megalithic tombs, it is first necessary to provide some background on the feasts performed in both Anakalang and Kodi. What follows is a general discussion of the feasting pattern in West Sumba divided into two themes: (1) debts and relations and (2) solidarity and promotion of households, lineages, and clans.

Debts and Relations

As in other parts of the world, feasts in West Sumba are venues at which debts are created and important relations are established and maintained. In Kodi and Anakalang, when asking informants why individuals brought livestock to feasts, there were four primary reasons given: 1) in order to repay a feasting debt; 2) in order to fulfill feasting obligations associated with affinal relations (see below); 3) in order to establish a feasting debt relationship; and 4) in order to build good relations that can be helpful in the future (e.g., soliciting marriage partners). In addition, informants in Anakalang also stated that bringing livestock to feasts was a way in which one could express one's status or renown.

As can be seen in the above list of reasons why people bring livestock to feasts, the relationship between interpersonal relations and feasting contributions is quite strong in West Sumba. In West Sumba, one's relations are, in many ways, defined in feasting contexts. Of particular importance is the way in which affinal ties are expressed at feasts, as the relations between wife-giver and wife-taker families and clans probably represents the single most important socioeconomic relationship on the entire island of Sumba.

Marriages

These affinal relations are established through what are often very expensive and time consuming marriage proceedings. Traditional bride-price and return bride-price costs can be staggering and represent the early stage of a relationship that is expressed in exchanges of livestock and prestige items (gold ornaments and cloths) at subsequent feasts. Marriage proceedings begin with a delegation from the would-be groom visiting the home of the would-be bride's family to ask permission for marriage. The man's delegation includes immediate family members and supporters from within his clan as well as close friends and trusted individuals from other clans. The man's family and supporters also often loan livestock as a contribution to the bride price payment.

In Kodi, the traditional bride price is usually set at five horses, five water buffaloes, and one *mamoli mas* (gold earring), while the return bride price payment (from the bride's family) is five sarongs, five large pieces (for men) of finely woven cloth, and two pigs (one of which is killed for a feast at the time payments are exchanged). The bride price payment and return payment are ideally made at the same time, although partial payments are sometimes made with the promise of fulfilling the payment obligation at a later date. As with other debts in Kodi, there does not appear to officially be any interest that is accrued on outstanding payments associated with marriages.

In many instances, the bride price and return payments are higher than the proscribed traditional standard described above. Several reported bride prices of

individuals in the villages of Wainyapu and Rotenggaro were rather high, including one brideprice of 50 water buffaloes, 50 horses, and 10 *mamoli mas* with a return payment of 5 large male water buffaloes, 5 large pigs, 20 large pieces of finely woven cloth, and 20 woven sarongs. In other parts of West Sumba, including Anakalang, bride price can be even higher, exceeding 50 buffaloes and 50 horses at times in addition to a variety of gold and silver prestige items, such as a *kanataru* (mixed gold and silver necklace). Return payments from the bride's family in these areas can also include *galang gading* (ivory bracelets) and other gold and silver items.

The bride price and return bride-price costs are considered to reflect the relative wealth and renown of the two families and their respective clans. Among interviewed households in Kodi, for example, those reporting the highest bride price and return bride price payments were the wealthiest households interviewed. As well, the seemingly excessive bride price payments in West Sumba are balanced by return bride price payments that are considered to be equal and often even exceed the initial bride price payments. For example, traditionally in Anakalang, slaves and even, in some instances, land could be part of a return bride price payment given to the groom.

The relationship established between the respective families and clans of the bride and groom at marriage is expressed in the context of later feasts. When a household of the bride's family holds a feast for example, it is considered necessary for the groom and/or an individual from the groom's lineage or clan, or even a close friend of the groom, to attend the feast and provide a buffalo or horse. In return, the household belonging to the bride's family that received the livestock contribution is obligated to bring a pig and/or cloth to a feast hosted by the household who made the initial feasting contribution. An individual of the bride's family can also bring a water buffalo or a horse in lieu of a pig or finely woven piece of cloth, however, a member of the groom's family is not permitted to bring a pig in place of a water buffalo or horse.

What is particularly interesting about the feasting relationship between 'wife-giver' and 'wife-taker' families and clans is the degree of flexibility associated with them. In Anakalang, the term *ngaba wini* refers to 'wife-taker' and extends from the husband to their clan and even close friends. The same also applies to *yera* or 'wife-giver' families. As a result, important debt relationships can develop between, for example, a cousin of the husband and a cousin of the wife. In terms of the husband, his primary obligation in these relations is with the wife's parents and, to a lesser degree, siblings.

Outside of 'wife-giver' and 'wife-taker' relations, these same rules concerning feasting contributions do not apply. For example, in Kodi, a variety of households within a single clan typically provide pigs and sometimes even water buffaloes to a household when the household is building a stone tomb. In the case of stone tomb building, it is typically expected that the contribution will be returned in kind when the donor household has a tomb built of their own. This expectation of a return contribution at a later feast is critical and is, as noted above, one of the driving factors prompting individuals to make livestock contributions to feasts hosted by other households. However, it is also important to note that in both Anakalang and Kodi, one must be an invited guest, and there must be a prior agreement before one brings a water buffalo, horse, or pig to a feast hosted by another household.

Solidarity and Promotion of the Household, Lineage, and Clan

In addition to being a primary means of maintaining and expressing affinal relations, feasts in West Sumba can be very important means of solidifying the bonds within households, lineages, and clans as well as promoting the success of clans, lineages, and households through the provisioning and slaughtering of expensive livestock. In Kodi, where clans and lineages continue to be particularly strong, the focus of feasts, even those performed at individual households, can be as much on lineages and clans as on the household.

Kodi *Woleka*, Ancestral House Building Feasts, Funerals and Tomb Building Feasts

Among the various feasts performed in Kodi (e.g., childbirth feasts, wedding feasts, fertility feasts, thanksgiving feasts, funerals, and feasts held for stone tomb building), there is typically one household that serves as the primary sponsor of the event, and the feast is sometimes held at the sponsor's own branch household. However, the largest of these feasts, *woleka* (a thanksgiving feast to celebrate economic success), ancestral house building feasts, funerals, and feasts associated with stone tomb building, must be held in front of and inside of the ancestral house of the lineage in the ceremonial grounds (*nataru*) of the clan, which is surrounded by the four primary ancestral houses and the megalithic tombs of the clan. In addition, it is common for all of the households in the clan, or at least the lineage, to contribute/lend the plates, pots, and cups required for serving food and drink to those attending these feasts. This sharing of plates and cups can actually become a borrowing arrangement as well. In this case, there is no return obligation for borrowing glass plates or cups for example, however, if one of the items breaks, it must be replaced by the household who borrowed it (or replaced with an equivalent amount of cash or an animal with a corresponding value to that which was damaged). It is possible for households to avoid excessive borrowing when hosting a large feast by having groups of people eat in shifts. For example, if a household has 500 plates and 1,000 people attending a feast, the household can have 500 of the people attending eat first, after which time the plates can be washed and used to serve the remaining 500. I witnessed this practice at two of the tomb-building feasts I attended in the village of Wainyapu.

In terms of the livestock required for feasts, informants claimed that all household heads felt obligated to provide a water buffalo or pig (depending upon their finances) for a large feast within their clan (especially for funerals, stone tomb building feasts, and *woleka* feasts). Indeed, the provisioning of food at these feasts can be almost as much of a collective effort as it is the result of the single host of the event gathering and displaying their own livestock resources. For example, at feasts held to feed workers pulling stones to build megalithic tombs, the meat consumed typically comes from multiple households in a clan. In one case I recorded, a feast to feed workers who had just moved a capstone for a tomb from the quarry to the village consisted of four pigs from the lineage of the tomb owner and four other pigs from another lineage in the clan. In addition, the livestock that is killed for *woleka* feasts (perhaps the most promotional of all Kodi feasts—see below), can also be the result of a communal pooling of resources from a variety of different households within a lineage and clan. For example, an individual (clan head) in the village of Wainyapu held a rather modest version of a *woleka* feast (*wolek balemena*) in 1998. This feast entailed the slaughter of 20 pigs and

20 water buffaloes (as opposed to the extreme lavishness that can be associated with some *woleka* feasts—see below), which were pooled from 6 branch households attached to a single ancestral lineage house. The clan head who served as the primary sponsor stated that he did not provide any more buffaloes or pigs than any of the other households within his lineage. This claim does not come as too much of a surprise considering that the host of the feast, although a clan head, was relatively poor. Thus, analysis of feasting indicates that lineages and clans operate as probably the most coherent and powerful socioeconomic (and political) organizational structure within Sumbanese communities.

Similarly, for ancestral house building (ancestral houses need to be rebuilt periodically, as the wood and bamboo frame as well as the grass roofs of the houses begin to deteriorate after about 30-50 years), the labor and feasts associated with the procedure typically represent a communal undertaking by all households within the lineage or clan unit. In fact, the patriarch of the ancestral lineage house (who outwardly is considered to be the primary sponsor when an ancestral house is built) only needs to provide 35% of the total livestock and rice used for the feasts to feed the workers who build the house and for the feasts associated with the different stages of construction. In total, there can be more than 20 chickens, more than 50 pigs, and about 10 or more water buffaloes required for the feasts and for paying (usually a couple of water buffaloes and 8 pieces of finely woven cloth) the *tukongo* (wood carver), who carves special motifs on the four main posts of the house.

While the *woleka*, ancestral house building feasts, and feasts for stone tomb building appear to be very much clan and lineage-oriented in terms of what could be considered promotional shows of wealth as well as actions that can reinforce the solidarity of the lineage and clan units (e.g., communal pooling of resources and labor for large work projects and feasts), there is considerable variation and there are many instances of *woleka* feasts and stone pulling feasts in which a very large proportion of the food provided comes from the household of the host. For example, of the 100 buffalo that were slaughtered for a *woleka wongo weyu* feast in the village of Rotenggaro in 1995, 50 were provided by the official host household of the event. In the village of Wainyapu, an informant recounted the time he had a tomb built for his deceased father in 1980, for which the total livestock expenses required for building the tomb were 18 horses, 11 water buffaloes, 32 pigs, 1 goat, and 5 chickens. The entire process of building the tomb was completed in one season and all of the animals reportedly were from his own stock. Similarly, Kodi funerals (although typically not undertakings of the same scale as tomb building, ancestral house building, and *woleka* {thanksgiving feast}) can be promotional events for the primary sponsoring households of the events. There can be 3-30 buffaloes killed over the course of the three-day span of funerals and most of these are typically provided by the deceased's first son, with others provided by other close family and affinal relations). Additionally, at feasts, such as *woleka*, large funerals, and tomb building feasts, there can be hundreds and, at times, more than one thousand invited guests.

Among these promotional events, the *woleka* (thanksgiving feast) probably represents the most overtly promotional of all feasts held in Kodi (at least as a single event). The two primary stated reasons for holding a *woleka* feast are: 1) to show thanks to the ancestors for one's success; and 2) to show that one has the wealth and resources to hold such a lavish feast. In order to host a *woleka* feast one must first have 1) had a stone

tomb built for oneself or a deceased father or grandfather and 2) been the primary sponsor of the construction of an ancestral house. Informants indicated that there were three different levels of *woleka* feasts that differed in their time span and the amount of livestock slaughtered for the feast. The most lavish *woleka* can entail the slaughter of hundreds of pigs and water buffaloes. Ceremonial dancing and boxing can also be a part of the *woleka*, for which more than 1,000 guests can be invited. Most of the livestock theoretically comes from the main host of the feast, which is the senior male of the ancestral house at which the feast occurs. However, as noted above, other households of the clan typically provide large amounts of livestock as well. In addition, invited affinal relations and others bring water buffaloes and pigs. After having completed all three (tomb building, ancestral house building, and *woleka*) of these large endeavors, a person attains a very high distinction and receives the title of *rato* (an honorific title denoting expertise in rituals—see also Hoskins 1984: 272).

Kodi Pasola and Padu

The *pasola* and *padu* are Kodi feasts that are not officially hosted or sponsored by any one household. The *pasola* is a mock battle between two groups of men mounted on horseback. There are several *pasola* that occur in different locales throughout West Sumba. In Kodi, there are two main *pasola*'s, one that takes place at the village of Wainyapu and one that takes place at the village of Tosi (which was made the administrative center of Kodi during the time of Dutch colonial control). In all cases, there are two opposing groups of men on horseback who charge at one another with large wooden spears. In Wainyapu, the *pasola* takes place on a single day in March. On this day, men from all of the clans in Wainyapu form one team that competes against a team from a nearby village (it does not need to be the same village each year). On the day preceding the *pasola* itself, every household attached to the various ancestral houses and clans in the village come to the village and bring chickens to slaughter and eat with fellow lineage members. Betel nut is also placed on top of all of the tombs of the ancestors as offerings. On the day of the *pasola* proper, pigs and water buffaloes (if there are many people invited to watch from outside villages and clans) are slaughtered and eaten. Invited guests (which includes affinal relations, friends, and local government officials) typically do not bring anything to the event.

More than any other feast, the structure of the *pasola*, characterized by its uniting of all the people tied to the village, appears to serve as a means of enhancing the solidarity of all of the clans within the village of Wainyapu (at least for a couple of days). It could also provide an opportunity for the village as a whole to promote its success by slaughtering water buffaloes and pigs and hosting a relatively unique (not all villages in the area perform *pasola*) and large event that can attract hundreds of spectators. In addition, these events could represent opportunities to enhance claims of political importance in the area (which would have been particularly relevant in the first part of the twentieth century when the Dutch were grouping villages together into larger administrative units).

The opening and closing ceremonies of the period known as *padu* (October-April) are other events performed in Wainyapu that encompass all of the clans in the village. The ceremony representing the opening of *padu* is performed in October (the beginning of the rainy season and the rice-planting season). Similar village-wide planting feasts take place in the Torajan highlands of Sulawesi (Adams 2001: 176). All households

attached to the various clans and lineages of Wainyapu gather at the village and kill and eat chickens and rice (1 chicken brought by each household) at the *Uma Hawudi Kaha Maawo* (the ancestral house designated with the role of hosting the *padu* opening ceremony). After this event takes place, it is forbidden to bang gongs, perform special dances, and hold large feasts until April (although funerals can be performed if necessary during this time). In April, when the six month period of *padu* comes to a close, everyone attached to the clans and lineages of Wainyapu gathers at a large natural stone (*Watu Kahale*) and eats chickens (1 chicken from each household) with rice. At this time, people also reportedly toss rice at each other.

Kodi Fertility and Childbirth Feasts

At a much smaller scale are feasts associated with agriculture and childbirth. These feasts are typically rather simple events that occur within individual households. Any kind of promotional display appears to be very minimal at these events and, from an ecological perspective, they mainly appear to function as solidarity-enhancing events for individual households.

The first ritual in the series of Kodi agricultural feasts is known as the *tondo woka pani pagha*. This is a small ritual feast held about a month prior to the beginning of the rainy season (October). For the feast, two chickens are killed and eaten by about 10-20 individuals tied to a single household. The *tondo woka pani pagha* is held at the ancestral house of the lineage to which the household belongs. The purpose of holding this event is to inform the ancestors that the agricultural planting season is beginning in order to ensure a successful season.

When the rainy season begins in October, a feast known as the *ha barongo wini* takes place within each household (it does not need to be held in the ancestral house). A chicken is killed and a *rato marapu* priest “reads” the liver of the chicken in order to determine whether or not there will be a successful harvest. This practice of examining the liver of a chicken or, in other cases, a pig, to determine whether or not a course of action will be appropriate and/or successful is a common practice at feasts and is a skill that is only possessed by certain ritual specialists. The *ha barongo wini* is attended by all household members as well as friends and the head of the clan. These guests do not bring food to the feast.

After planting and harvesting, a larger feast known as the *oronga ka pena* is held by each landowning household respectively. There can be up to 40 or 50 people attending this feast, which can include other clan members, affines, friends, and the clan head, all of whom do not bring food to the feast. A pig is typically killed and eaten at this feast and, sometimes, a gong is banged. Although this is not the most lavish of feasts in terms of the amount of animals slaughtered, the fact that a gong is sometimes used is indicative of promotion, as gongs are essentially prestige items and traditional signifiers of the nobility throughout Sumba.

The ceremonies held at the time a child is born are of a similar scale to these agricultural feasts. When a child is born, the services of a traditional doctor (*to potunda* if male and *to poketeng* if female) are solicited. On the day of birth, a ceremony known as *paramong limya* (washing hands) takes place. At this time, the umbilical cord is cut with bamboo and a chicken is killed and eaten by close family members. Four days later, the child is given a name. On that day, a doctor invited to shave hair from the mother’s stomach. Two chickens are killed, one for the traditional doctor and one for the family

and the very limited number of invited guests (which can include prominent clan members, such as the clan head). At this time, the child is given a name, usually the name of his or her father or grandfather or other relative. Before concluding the ceremony, the traditional doctor typically receives two live chickens, one small pig, and 1 piece of woven cloth as compensation for his or her services during the birth process.

Other Kodi Feasts

There are a variety of other feasts regularly performed in Kodi, including those that take place during the phases of marriage negotiations, which usually involve one or two pigs (provided by the bride's family) that are slaughtered and eaten by the two parties of the bride and groom. In addition, there are feasts held for dispute resolution (see above section on Disputes), feasts held to solicit permission to adopt a male child (see above section on Adoption), feasts held to receive guests in a household, and a variety of additional feasts associated with building stone tombs (see section below section on Megalithic Tombs).

Summary

When analyzing Kodi feasts in terms of the household, lineage, and clan, there are clearly a variety of factors at work. For the household with enough resources, the potential for promotion is great. Although one can sponsor a *woleka* or build a stone tomb with a great deal of support from fellow clan and lineage members, those attending the event are well aware of who provides what animals. For the aspiring individual with enough resources, much renown and credibility can be gained by providing a very large proportion of the livestock that are slaughtered at one of these feasts. At the same time, the location of the event in the ceremonial grounds of the clan and the placement of the monument in the ceremonial grounds of the clan (or other clan land when space is limited), confers a certain amount of prestige on the clan as a whole. This attainment of collective prestige, renown, and credibility appears to be one of the main reasons why clans will pool resources to make sure that these kinds of events take place in the clan, and the practical significance and importance of this will be discussed later.

At a another level, the solidarity of the lineage, clan and, in the case of the *padu* and *pasola*, the entire village is clearly reinforced through the communal pooling of labor and resources that is associated with these large undertakings. The small-scale agricultural and childbirth feasts likely play a similar role in enhancing the solidarity of those within individual households.

Anakalang

In Anakalang, there are similarities in terms of the clan-focus associated with feasts. For instance, each time there is a feast held within a clan (regardless of what household is the primary sponsor of the event), a special feast must be held in front of the house of the clan head in which a pig or a water buffalo is killed and a rite is performed in order to inform the ancestor that there will be an upcoming feast. There is also a feast performed for the ancestors of all clan members, the *tangu marapu* (giving food to the ancestors). For this feast, representatives from all households gather at the main village of the clan (location of the founding ancestral house of the clan) and slaughter chicken and rice for the ancestors at their affiliated ancestral houses. All households reportedly bring at least one chicken for the event and the clan head may also slaughter large pigs or water buffaloes for the event. There are no special dances performed for the feast, although gongs are played. At the *tangu marapu*, chicken and rice are symbolically presented to the ancestors in the ancestral houses. This ritual feeding is done so that the ancestors will look after the living and ensure good economic conditions. The *tangu marapu* is reportedly only attended by clan members.

In terms of large-scale promotional feasts in Anakalang, the most elaborate and promotional events appear to be associated with tomb building. Stone tombs in Anakalang are generally considerably larger than in Kodi, and tomb building in Anakalang appears to be much more focused on individual households than in Kodi. In Anakalanag, clans in general also appear to be less relevant than in Kodi. This is likely to be at least partially due to the fact that Anakalang is a more developed area with more resources and more infusions of cash from the outside in comparison to Kodi, creating more socioeconomic independence at the household level. In the section on megalithic tomb building below, the process of building tombs, the feasts associated with tombs, and the apparent contrasting patterns associated with tomb building in Kodi and Anakalang will be discussed more extensively.

Funerals in Anakalang and in the rest of West Sumba follow a format identical to those performed in Kodi and other feasts, such as childbirth feasts, in Anakalang are largely similar to those held in Kodi as well. However, *woleka* feasts or a thanksgiving feast of a similar scale does not appear to be a part of the traditional feasting system of Anakalang.

IV. Results and Discussion

A. Megalithic Tombs

Megalithic tombs have traditionally been built throughout the island of Sumba. In West Sumba, the practice of building these tombs is still very active, especially in Anakalang and Kodi. In this section, I discuss the traditional methods used to build stone tombs, the feasts associated with stone tomb building, the symbolic reasoning behind stone tomb building, and how stone tomb building can lead to practical social benefits for individuals and groups.

Antiquity of the Megalithic Tradition in Sumba

It is not clear how long people in Sumba have been building large stone tombs. Many informants insisted that simple tombs made out of large stone slabs were made using stone tools. I was even given drawings of tools that supposedly represented stone tools used to dig and carve large stone slabs for building stone tombs and specifically told that water buffalo mandibles were used prior to make carvings on stone tombs prior to the introduction of metal tools. The limestone used for making stone tombs in much of West Sumba is certainly not particularly hard (it can almost be flaked with a fingernail). To date, there is no archaeological data on Sumba that either confirms or refutes the proposition that megalithic tombs were built with stone tools. However, the largest and most well known archaeological site in Sumba, the Melolo jar burial site in East Sumba, has been dated to the Metal Phase (500 BC-AD 1000) of Island Southeast Asian Prehistory (Heekeren 1956; Bellwood 1997: 303-304). The age estimates of the oldest stone tombs in the villages I visited ranged from just over 100 years to more than 450 years. Thus, it seems highly unlikely that megalithic tombs were constructed prior to the introduction of metals to the area.

Stone Tomb Forms

There is some variation in tomb form on Sumba that is associated with the region in which the tomb is found and the social standing of the individual interred in the tomb. In Kodi, megalithic tombs (known as *watu hondi* in the Kodi language) are relatively simple in comparison to other parts of Sumba. Tombs in Kodi usually consist of five stone slabs (four walls and one cap or roof) that form a structure or room in which the remains are interred. Megalithic tombs in Kodi are typically about one and a half meters tall, two meters long, and about one and a half meters wide. Each wall slab is about 15 cm wide and the cap is usually about 25-30 cm thick. The more elaborate stone tombs in Kodi are adorned with carvings on the outside walls and on the side of the cap stone. Some tombs have free-standing stones (about one and a half meters in height) at one or both ends of the tomb. The largest tombs in Kodi can consist of six wall slabs and two capstones, while retaining the basic box form of smaller tombs.

Tomb walls are currently sealed together in Kodi with cement (traditionally, they were reportedly sealed with a substance made from water buffalo feces and kitchen ashes) and there is usually a small door carved into one of the walls at the end of the tomb where the remains are inserted before the stone slab forming the door is sealed in place with cement. Presently, there are sometimes entire tombs made out of cement or tombs made out of a combination of sandstone bricks and cement due to the lower construction and labor costs associated with using cement and bricks as opposed to transporting large stone slabs. Occasionally, the entire wall structure of the tomb is dug out of one large stone. In this case, the entire tomb consists of two pieces: one cap stone and one stone that forms the walls of the tomb. One particularly prominent stone tomb in Kodi is made in this manner. This tomb, located in the former location of the village of Rotenggaro, is three meters tall, two meters wide at the base, and adorned with carvings.

In terms of class restrictions in Kodi, where there were traditionally only two social classes (nobles and slaves), only individuals of the noble class could be interred in stone tombs. Slaves had simple burials in the ground.

In addition to class restrictions, there are restrictions on which family members are permitted to enter a tomb in Kodi as well as in Anakalang. Each tomb can house a deceased married couple and their grandchildren. However, it is forbidden to place the remains of parents and children in the same tomb. This is considered to follow the prohibition against parents and children sleeping in the same room. In Anakalang, it is also possible for the remains other relations, such as cousins to enter a tomb temporarily if a tomb has not yet been built for themselves or their grandparents. In terms of tomb construction, a person cannot build a tomb for themselves unless tombs for their parents and grandparents have been built. However, when sponsoring the construction of tombs for deceased relatives, the primary sponsor is essentially recognized as the tomb owner during the process of its construction.

Miniature versions of the large stone tombs can also be found in Kodi. In the village of Wainyapu, there are miniature (about 15 cm tall) versions of large stone tombs that are reportedly used for snake burials. According to informants snakes were often kept in the roofs of houses in the past and quite revered. There is a stone tomb of a similar size at the edge of the village boundary of Wainyapu built for a person from Wainyapu who was notorious for his headhunting exploits. Some time after embarking on a headhunting expedition to a neighboring district his horse returned to Wainyapu, but he never did. Some betel nut and a piece of woven cloth were placed inside the small stone tomb. A similar tomb is located at the edge of the former location of the village of Rotenggaro and was built for a woman who reportedly drowned in the ocean, but later returned, according to legend, as an octopus. The octopus died and was interred in the small stone tomb.

In Anakalang, there are seven types of burials, which correspond to the different traditional social classes in the area. These tombs are listed below and most of these types can be found in other parts of West Sumba (outside of Kodi).

- 1) *Kuru Tanah*- This is a simple burial in the ground with no special markings. This represents the burial typical for slaves.
- 2) *Korolua*- This is a simple burial in the ground topped with rocks to prevent the body from being dug up accidentally.
- 3) *Rati Mangoba*- *Rati Mangoba* is a simple burial in the ground that is topped with a stone slab that can be about 2 meters long and 1 meter wide.
- 4) *Kuru Watu*- *Kuru watu* is the simplest form of stone tomb that is reserved for the noble class in Anakalang. It essentially consists of an underground stone box with the top extending above the ground. There are six stone slabs (all about 2 meters long and one and a half meters wide) that make up the walls, floor and roof of a *kuru watu*.

- 5) *Kuru Kata*- This tomb has the same basic design of the *kuru watu*, although it has an additional stone slab placed flat on top of the slab that forms the ‘lid’ of the stone box (see above). This is also reserved for the noble class as are the two largest tombs described below. This tomb traditionally would have been for a socially and/or politically more prominent person than the *kuru watu*.

- 6) *Watu Kabang*- According to Umbu Siwa Djurumana, the *watu kabang* and the *watu pawisi* mentioned below are later versions of stone tombs than the ones previously described and were being built after the people in Ankalang had become more “advanced.” This tomb consists of a four-walled stone room with stone slabs making up the bottom and the top. Unlike the underground stone rooms of the *kuru kata* and *kuru watu*, the walls of the *watu kabang* are tilted inward at an angle of a couple of degrees. These tombs can be more than two meters long and stand about one and half meters high. The stone slab on top of the tomb is larger (often about 2 meters wide and 3 meters long) and hangs over the tomb creating the appearance of a tabletop or dolmen. Along the outer walls of the stone slabs and the edges of the capstone of a *watu kabang*, there are typically traditional motifs, such as water buffalo horns or *momoli* ornaments (see above) carved in the stone. This type of tomb can also consist of one single large stone that is dug out to make the tomb with one large capstone placed on top. In Wanokaka, a tomb constructed this way is known as a *watu koang*.

- 7) *Watu Pawisi*- A *watu pawisi*, in its basic form, consists of an underground *kuru watu* tomb underneath a large stone table-like structure with 4 or 6 legs (about 1 meter tall and 50 cm wide) and a stone slab top that can be 2 to 3 meters long and 1 to 2 meters wide. It is common to also find *watu pawisi* that consist of a large stone table-like structure over a *watu kabang* tomb (see above) with a tall carved rectangular stone (often times about 3 meters high and 1 meter wide), known as a *kado watu*, standing a couple of meters in front of the tomb (figure). This standing stone, as well as the legs and the edge of the slab forming the tabletop are usually elaborately carved.

Process and Costs of Erecting Tombs

Erecting megalithic tombs can be quite costly and take several years from the time a person begins preparing to build a tomb to the time in which it is actually completed. It can take from three years or less up to ten years to acquire the necessary water buffaloes and pigs (and to ensure that they grow to suitable size) as well as build up the necessary feasting debt relationships to ensure that one can call on people to provide animals for the various feasts associated with tomb building. Informants claimed that in the past, people would spend much more time preparing to build tombs by gradually setting aside rice each year and allowing animals to grow to a large size. According to informants, unlike today, people avoided borrowing and debts in the past. This is a claim that is probably impossible to verify, however, considering that feasts, feast contributions, and exchange are such important means of building relations in West Sumba, It seems unlikely that one would be able to accumulate such a large amount of resources over so many years for a single endeavor such as tomb building without heavy reliance on feasting debts.

Preliminary Measures

In Kodi, the traditional procedures and costs associated with tomb building begin long before the quarrying of stone commences. The first step required by a household intending to build a stone tomb in Kodi is the ceremonial slaughter of a chicken and the performance of a rite to inform the ancestors of the plans to build a stone tomb. This small feast can take place at the home of the household wishing to build a megalithic tomb. After the household has accumulated enough animals and has assured the necessary contributions from others (which can be months or years later), a meeting is held at the ancestral house of the founding lineage of the clan to which the household belongs. This meeting is attended by prominent individuals from all four of the lineage houses within the clan of the household planning to build the tomb. At this meeting, the aspiring tomb builder presents one plate of betel to each of the four lineage houses of the clan. A pig is also killed and eaten by those in attendance (with meat also being taken to the respective households of those in attendance after the feast). At this meeting, people can postpone the construction of the tomb by disapproving of the plan. This can happen if the household has not yet accumulated the necessary resources (e.g., rice, livestock) required for the endeavor, or if there is another household that wishes to block the plan to allow clan resources to be used for their own tomb or other projects. The latter scenario can occur in cases when the household who plans to build a tomb has already acted as the primary sponsor of a tomb building on a previous occasion. A household's plan to sponsor the construction of a tomb for the second or third tomb can anger those who feel that it is their turn.

Quarrying the Stones

After permission to build a stone tomb has been granted by the clan, a quarry must be located from which the stones can be dug. In Kodi, there is reportedly one single quarry location (which contained what was locally referred to as sandstone) in the area located just outside the village of Wainyapu. Six (Wainjolo Wawa, Wainjolo Deta, Wainggali, Kaha Malagho, Kaha Katoda, and Wainjoko) of the twelve clans within the village of Wainyapu own different sections of the quarry. If a household that intends to build a tomb is a member of one of the clans within the village that does not own a section of the quarry, they must present a chicken, dog, and *parang* (traditional iron knife) to the head of a clan owning space in the quarry in order to obtain permission to use the quarry. If from another village, those wishing to dig stone from the Wainyapu quarry must contract a stone digger from Wainyapu to have the stone dug. This can be more expensive, although the cost depends upon the arrangement and the size of the stones. A person from the village of Rotenggaro reportedly paid the Wainjoko clan four water buffaloes and four horses to have four stones (for the walls of a tomb) cut from the quarry land owned by the Wainjoko clan.

In Anakalang, clans also own quarries (limestone is used for building tombs in Anakalang). In order to get permission to dig stones out of a quarry, one needs to present a pig, horse, *tombak* (ceremonial spear), *parang* (traditional iron knife), and *momoli* (gold earring) to the clan owning the quarry land. If there are people in the quarry-owning clan who had married women from the clan of the household intending to build a tomb, then the owner of the future stone tomb only needs to give one pig and one *kain sarung* to obtain permission to use the quarry. Currently, most of these stone quarries are privately owned, and the animals and prestige items that would have been given to the clan in the

past are now given to the family that owns the land. If the household owning the quarry is related to the person who intends to build a tomb, a lesser payment can typically be negotiated. When there are plans to include a *kado watu* standing stone in front of the tomb, quarry use expenses can double, as the stone used for the *kado watu* must be dug from a different quarry than that used for the stones making up the tomb. However, some people are able to dig the stone for the *kado watu* from a small quarry located within the land of their own clan.

After a good quarry locale has been secured/arranged, the stones for the tomb can be dug out of the ground. In Kodi, there are designated stone workers (*tukang batu*) who lead crews of between about five and eight individuals in quarrying and shaping the stones. The stone is cut with iron stakes that are about one meter long and have a bamboo shaft to enable a good grip. I was told that in the past, water buffalo mandibles were used to dig the stones out of the ground, although this seems highly unlikely. In Wainyapu, I witnessed several crews essentially working from morning until dusk digging stones out of the ground. The head stone cutters (*tukang batu*) are paid with livestock. One stone cutter from the Baroro clan in Wainyapu is paid one water buffalo (one horse for small tombs), one pig, and one large piece of woven cloth when he is contracted to dig stones for a tomb (payment for one capstone or the four walls). The stone cutter divides the payment among his crew of about five individuals (the livestock is sold for cash and then divided), while retaining the largest portion. This cost is the same for people from both within and outside of the Baroro clan. A stone cutter from the Wainjoko clan reported receiving a payment of one water buffalo, one pig, one horse, and one large piece of woven cloth for digging a large capstone and the same payment for digging the four tomb walls. This payment is also usually sold and divided among himself and three relatives who assist.

In Anakalang, there traditionally was typically at least one individual in a clan who was particularly skilled at stone digging. When a person agreed to act as the lead stone digger for a household that intended to build a tomb, he attended a meeting at the home of the individual planning to build a tomb, where a pig or water buffalo and some rice for all of those attending the meeting (theoretically, household representatives from the entire village) would have been provided by the household hosting the event. The head stone quarrier would then be given a pig, a large piece of finely woven cloth, a finely woven sarong, *lingis* (iron pick used to cut stone), and an iron axe. According to one informant, the person chosen to cut the stone would be given a buffalo if related to the wife of the person intending to build the tomb (wife-giver relation) and a pig if he was from a clan from which a person had married a woman from the clan of the individual intending to build the tomb (wife-taker relation). It would then be the responsibility of this person to gather a work group together (there were usually about 20 to 40 people {not likely to be more than 10-15 people at any one time} that assist in stone cutting according to informants' estimates) and find a good source of stone for the tomb.

Presently in Anakalang, one individual, not necessarily related to the individual who owns the stone tomb, reportedly is contracted to gather a work group together. The terms can be in cash, in which case each worker receives between about 5,000 and 7,500 Rupiah (between about USD .65 and .90 at the time data was collected for this report) per day. Informants estimated that, on average, it takes about a month to quarry the stones needed for a tomb. If the group is paid in animals, the leader is given live horses and live

water buffaloes (in one case, 5 horses and 3 water buffaloes) to divide among the work group.

In addition to the agreed upon payment for work, the stone digging crews in Kodi and Anakalang must be provided with coffee, tea, meals, and, sometimes cigarettes on the days they work. In Kodi, the four wall stones and the capstone are typically dug on separate occasions (the wall stones are dug out all at once and the capstone is dug separately, often years apart). Altogether, it can take from about two weeks to two months to quarry all of the stones for a tomb in Kodi. Each day, the workers are fed a meal consisting of a chicken, a small pig, or a dog along with rice and a snack of maize or cassava. In Anakalang, it can take about one to two months to quarry all of the stones required for a large tomb (dolmen along with tomb which is built in the ground below), including the *kado watu* stone that stands in front of the tomb. The crews that dig stones for tombs in Anakalang tend to be larger (about 20-50 people) than those in Kodi. Pigs and goats are slaughtered each day and eaten with rice by the crews in Anakalang, who also receive cigarettes. In both Kodi and Anakalang, the livestock used to feed the stone cutters usually comes from the stone cutter, although livestock contributions from others are also used (the proportion of that owned by the tomb owner varies).

Transporting the Stones

After the stones are quarried, it can be months or even years before they are transported to the tomb site. As noted above, different parts of the tomb can be dug at different times. In the village of Rotenggaro in Kodi, I witnessed leg stones being pulled from the quarry to the village where the capstone had already been sitting for 27 years! Similarly, stones can be left in the quarry for years after being carved out and shaped. These kinds of delays are almost entirely due to the high cost of transporting the stones by either human power or truck.

In Kodi, prior to moving the stones to the tomb site, a rite known as *kelapa watu* must be performed to clean the stones. The *kelapa watu* consists of the ritual cleansing of the stones with coconut milk. A feast takes place at the main ancestral house of the clan at which one pig and one chicken (both provided by the owner of the stones) are killed and eaten with rice. A gong is played on this day to inform everyone that the owner of the stones is ready to have the stones moved to the tomb site. This event is attended by clan members and other relations of the tomb owner. On the evening of the *kelapa watu*, a meeting is held within the main house of the clan at which prominent individuals attached to each of the four ancestral houses of the clan kill and eat a chicken (provided by the tomb owner) and discuss when the stones will be transported to the tomb site.

About one week following the *kelapa watu* and after individuals have been invited to pull and/or watch a stone being pulled (and, in some cases, to contribute livestock), a meeting known as the *weikarabu* is held at the main ancestral house of the clan where prominent people attached to each of the four ancestral houses of the clan gather for a feast at which chickens (the amount depends upon how many people attend) provided by the owner of the tomb are killed and eaten. At this meeting, the tomb owner discusses how many people from the clan will be helping pull the stone and what households will make livestock contributions for the event.

In Kodi, after the *weikarabu*, the wooden sled (*tena watu*) used to move large stones is prepared. The traditional way of moving large stones for tombs is by tying

them to a *tena watu* (which is about 3 meters long and 2 meters wide and is made out of vines, wood, and bamboo) and pulling the entire vessel with vines over wooden rollers. Often times, the first step in this process is building the *tena watu*. In both Kodi and Anakalang, the *tena watu* is made from the wood of coconut palms. It requires 2-6 people to build the *tena watu* in Kodi, one of whom, known as the *marapu ha'aghu*, specializes in building *tena watu*. In each clan, there is usually one *marapu ha'aghu*, and it takes the *marapu ha'aghu* and his work crew one day to build a *tena watu*. The crew is compensated with the meat (the largest portion of which is given to the *marapu ha'aghu*) of one water buffalo or large pig (usually provided by the tomb owner).

In some cases, the household who intends to build the tomb already is in possession of a *tena watu* that was used previously or is able to borrow one from another household. When borrowed, there is really no return payment required and the *tena watu* can usually be used at least twice before the wood breaks under pressure or becomes too weak.

Apart from the *tena watu*, it is also necessary to gather the vines used to pull the stones and the wood used for rollers over which the *tena watu* can be dragged. Gathering the wood rollers and vines in both Anakalang and Kodi is typically done by about 10-20 people who are members of the same clan as the tomb owner. It takes about two days to gather all of the necessary wood and vines (typically from clan forest land not far from the village) for the stone dragging. The people who gather the wood and vines are not paid, but on each day they work, a small work feast is given that includes the meat of a small pig, chicken, or goat (usually provided by the stone owner) which is eaten with rice by the workers. In Anakalang, cigarettes are usually provided as well.

In Kodi, after all preparations have been made and the stone(s) are about to be pulled from the quarry, a special dance is performed in the ceremonial area in the middle of the clan (*natara*) to call on all invitees to the quarry where the stone dragging will commence. At the quarry, all those invited to pull the stone(s) and/or contribute livestock for the feast(s) for the stone draggers are received by the owner of the tomb and are given coffee or tea with betel.

The number of people pulling the stone and the duration of the pulling depend upon how large the stone(s) are and the distance from the quarry to the tomb site. Males between the ages of ten and about sixty usually comprise the crew assembled to pull a stone, although in some cases women are involved in the pulling as well. The main stone pulling event in both Kodi and Anakalang is the dragging of the large capstone. As noted previously, different parts of the tomb can be moved at different times, however, the capstone is usually the first stone to be moved to the tomb site in both areas. In Kodi, when a truck is used in lieu of human labor to move stones for a tomb, it is often only used to move the stones for the tomb wall, while the capstone is dragged using traditional methods. The costs of moving stones can vary considerable. For the cap of the tomb of a prominent individual in Kodi, it required about 2,000 people one week to move the three stones (each stone being about 3 meters long, 2 meters wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ meter thick) that made up the tomb cap a distance of 5 km. People from many different clans reportedly contributed to the pulling of these stones and the crew was fed the meat of one water buffalo and four pigs on each of the seven days that were required to move the stones. Four of the water buffaloes and eighteen of the pigs were provided by the owner of the tomb, while his brothers provided the remainder of the livestock. At a much smaller

scale, about 150 people (from both the clan of the tomb owner and other allied clans) moved a capstone (about 2½ meters long, 1½ meters wide and ½ meter thick) 500 m from a quarry to a tomb site in the village of Wainyapu in about half a day. When the work was completed, all those who participated in the stone pulling (about 350, including those who were invited to watch) were fed the meat of four pigs. An additional four pigs were slaughtered, the meat of which was divided among those in attendance to take home to their respective households. Four different households (including the household of the tomb owner) attached to the lineage of the tomb owner each provided one pig, while the other four pigs were provided by four different households respectively from another closely related lineage in the clan.

In Anakalang, I observed 300 people (from the clan of the tomb owner along with other relations and friends) move a large capstone (2 meters wide, 4 meters long and ½ meter thick) about 2 km in about half a day. The people involved in the pulling (which also included those primarily watching) were fed a lunch that consisted of the meat of five large pigs and rice. The meat from 5 other pigs and one water buffalo was also divided up for those in attendance to take home. One large pig and one large water buffalo was provided by the stone owner, while the other pigs were provided by affines and other relations. One *ngaba wini* (wife-taker relation) provided one water buffalo and one cow (neither of which were slaughtered). There were also at least ten large pieces of woven cloth displayed on the top of the stone as it was being pulled. These cloths were given to the stone owner by affinal relations.

In Kodi, moving the walls for the tombs is not nearly as big of an undertaking as moving the capstone(s). Wall stones are usually only about 1 meter wide and about 1½ meters in length. I saw about 25-30 people move two wall stones (one at a time) a distance of about 500 m in an afternoon. In a case in which the legs needed to be moved about 1 km, including some pulling over a small lagoon, more time and labor was required to move the wall stones. In this case, about 50 people were able to move two wall stones in one day, while the other two were moved on separate days. In total, eight pigs were slaughtered (four to eat at large work feasts and four to take home) for the people involved in the pulling of these wall stones. The tomb owner provided two of the total of eight pigs slaughtered for the stone pulling; the remainder were contributions from his brothers and nephew.

A similar range of costs and labor very likely apply to Anakalang for the leg stones of the dolmen and the walls for the tomb (which are perhaps a little smaller than the walls of the above-ground tombs in Kodi). In Anakalang most people seem to use trucks to move these less impressive parts of the tomb. However, the *kado watu* (a carved stone that usually stands about nine meters high in front of the dolmens in Anakalang) is still often transported using human power. In one instance in the village of Kajikobu, it reportedly took 100-200 people one day to move a *kado watu* stone (about 3½ meters long, 1½ meters wide and 1 meter thick) a distance of 100 meters. According to informants related to the tomb owner, the people who pulled the stone ate the meat of the three water buffaloes and two pigs, some of which they likely took home to their households. This amount of livestock reportedly given to the workers seems to be a bit of an exaggeration in light of my own observations and other estimates I have obtained concerning the livestock slaughtered for work crews of a similar size (see above). About 600 people reportedly pulled a *kado watu* of nearly identical size for about the same

distance in another village in Anakalang. This undertaking also took one day to complete and according to the tomb owner, two cows and two pigs were slaughtered for the workers to eat.

In addition to the cost of having people pull the stones, it is typically necessary to compensate people who are called upon to stand on top of the stones with roles as work leaders and/or ritual singers. Throughout West Sumba, there is usually at least one person filling such a role while a stone is being pulled. In Kodi, there are both male and female ritual singers who lead chants that are repeated by those pulling. In the village of Wainyapu, there is at least one woman who leads chants while standing on top of tombstones while they are being pulled. She usually receives one woven sarong or a water buffalo for particularly large stones from the owner of the tomb as compensation. Similarly, men who stand on top of stones to direct and motivate those who are pulling the stones typically receive a large piece of woven cloth for their services.

As noted previously, at least some of the stones that are used to build tombs in West Sumba are currently transported by truck. Loading stones on a truck rented for a single day is much less costly than having the stone pulled for a few days by a large workforce that must be fed a reasonable amount of meat and rice. A truck can usually be rented for about 2,000,000-3,000,000 Rupiah (about USD \$250-\$375 in 2003). It generally only takes about 30-50 people to load the truck and a large pig (with a value of about 1,000,000 Rupiah) is usually sufficient for feeding a crew of this size. This cost can be compared to feeding a crew of 300-500 at least 4 large pigs per day for an averaged-sized capstone in Anakalang (3-4 meters in length, 2 meters wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a meter thick). However, if the distance from the quarry to the tomb site is short enough to require only one day of stone pulling, it seems to be common for people to decide to have the stone pulled, despite the extra costs (which can be relatively minor if the stone is pulled for only one day). Informants stated that when possible, it was usually preferable to have a stone pulled as opposed to being hauled with a truck due to a reported desire to follow the ancestral traditions and the fact that it is much more of an impressive display to have hundreds of people move a stone using traditional methods than having a truck transport the stone.

Building the Tomb

When all of the stones reach the village of the tomb owner where the tomb will be built, the process of building the tomb commences. In Kodi, the four walls of the tomb are erected first followed by the placement of the capstone on the walls. As noted previously, cement is currently used to seal the walls together, whereas a combination of water buffalo feces and kitchen ashes were used traditionally. The construction of the tomb walls is usually a fairly low-key undertaking that requires about five men (usually close family members of the tomb owner) roughly five days to complete. Each day, the workers are fed a lunch consisting of a chicken, eggs or fish along with rice together with coffee and betel. Erecting the capstone requires about 25-50 men (usually members of the same clan as the tomb owner as well as individuals from closely affiliated clans) and can usually be completed in a day. The capstone is placed on top of the walls by first gradually raising it onto a wooden structure that involves lifting and shifting the stone by pulling different parts of it with vines and wedging small logs underneath it. The logs eventually form a structure that reaches a height equal to the height of the walls. The capstone is then pulled from the log crib/scaffold to the top of the walls. After the stone is pulled onto the walls or after the crew has become reasonably close to completing the task, the meat of a small to medium-sized pig is eaten by the crew and the other family members gathered (a total of about 50-70 people, including the work crew) along with rice, coffee and betel. The meat of a second pig of about the same size is usually also divided up and taken home by those in attendance. Both of these pigs are usually provided by the owner of the tomb, although it is not uncommon for another household in the clan to provide one of the pigs if the tomb owner is not particularly wealthy. Indeed, there was considerable variation in the reported wealth of individual tomb builders, with the wealthiest claiming 12 wives and essentially having an entire village for his immediate family and the poorest tomb builder interviewed (although landowning) having more limited means in terms of rice harvests (1,000 kg for a year), animal holdings (10 chickens, 1 pig {subsequently slaughtered for a feast to put the cap on a tomb}, and no water buffaloes on hand), and cash income (essentially negligible). For a large tomb in Kodi that consisted of three capstones, the tomb owner had plans of having a crew of about 200-300 people build the tomb (the tomb was not yet complete at the time data was collected). According to the tomb owner, four large pigs would be slaughtered to feed the crew.

The process of erecting a tomb is a little more elaborate in Anakalang. By whatever means stones were transported, there was traditionally a feast performed to symbolically open the doors of the village when the stones arrived in front of the village entrance (although personal observations indicate that this feast is no longer performed very often). For this feast (known as *Weisa Boalara* in Anakalang), at least one pig or water buffalo is killed (provided by the owner of the stones or his or her supporters) and eaten along with rice by those dragging the stones and others living in the village (likely to have included hundreds of people). A *ratu* priest performs a rite to obtain permission for the stone to enter the village at this event.

After the stones are in the village, the tomb can be constructed. The construction of a *watu pawisi* (a dolmen-type tomb with a standing *kadu watu* stone placed in front of it) encompasses all of the basic elements that appear to be involved in the erection of all of the Anakalang stone tomb types. The whole process of erecting a *kadu watu* can take

more than one hundred people about a week and consists of seven basic steps outlined below in the order in which they occur:

- 1) The first step is to place the dolmen cap on top of a 1½ meters high wooden structure (made from about three or four levels of logs). This involves pulling the stone off of a *tena watu* (wooden sledge) and upward over logs that form a ramp leading to the top of the wooden structure.
- 2) After the top of the dolmen is in place, the six or eight legs that will hold the slab in place are put underneath it (along side the logs that hold up the top slab of the tomb about 10 or 20 cm above the top of the legs). In order to secure the legs and “plant” them in the ground, the ground is dug about 50 cm deep with an iron *lingis* pick and the stone legs (which are about a meter tall and 50 cm wide) are pushed into the ditch by a couple of individuals with their hands.
- 3) After the legs are in place, the logs are removed from underneath the top slab of the tomb and the slab falls into place on top of the legs.
- 4) The *kuru watu* that represents the room for the tomb is then constructed underneath the large table-like structure. In constructing the *kuru watu*, the ground is first dug about 1½ meters deep with a *lingis* iron pick (about 1 meter long) and the base slab of the tomb is inserted so that it lies flat in the ditch. For this step there are about 3 small logs (2 meters long) that are wedged underneath the edge of the slab and pushed (2 people pushing each log) in order to move the slab forward into the ditch.
- 5) The walls of the *kuru watu* are then erected by wedging and pushing them, with small logs (about 2 meters long), into the ditch alongside the bottom slab.
- 6) To put the top slab of the *kuru watu* in place, the slab is pulled up a sledge with rope or vines by about 100 people or more and placed on top of the wall slabs.
- 7) The last step involved is the erecting the *kadu watu* standing stone. This requires a ditch to be dug about 50 cm to 1 meter deep so that the *kadu watu* can be securely erected in the ground. After the *kadu watu* has been brought to the place where it will be erected, it is pulled with rope or vines by a group of about 50 people while being pushed up by another group of about 20 people with two logs that are tied together and to the stone with rope.

All of the above-mentioned procedures required for constructing such a tomb can take about a week and require the slaughter of at least one pig or goat per day (usually provided by the owner of the tomb).

After tomb construction has been completed, it is often (but not always) carved with special motifs by a designated stone carver. In Anakalang, it is common for tombs

to be carved with motifs, such as water buffalo horns, human figures, or prestige items, on the outside of the tombs. There is typically one primary person and a couple of assistants who carve a stone tomb. Traditionally, at least one of the assistants was the stone carver's son who would assume the role of a primary stone carver later in life. In Anakalang the primary stone carver was traditionally given one live pig, one dog, one horse, and one finely woven sarong (*kain sarung*) by the owner of the tomb before starting work. If the stone carver was from a wife-taker clan in relation to the tomb owner, the carver would receive one pig and one *kain sarung*. This carving could take a month or longer to complete and upon finishing the head carver received one horse, a gold *momoli* ornament, and a *parang* knife. If he was from a wife-taker clan in relation to the tomb owner, the stone carver would receive one large piece of finely woven cloth (*kain*), one finely woven sarong (*kain sarung*), and one live pig when the work was complete. It was up to the primary stone carver to determine what portion of these animals would be given to his assistant carvers. Currently, stone carvers are often paid in cash. According to relatives of the owner of a tomb in the village of Kajikobu, the stone carver who carved the tomb about five years ago was given 6,000,000 Rupiah, three water buffaloes and two pigs to carve motifs on the *kado watu* stone and on the outside of the dolmen and tomb underneath the dolmen (which, as a whole, took an entire month to complete). When the owner of a tomb has a son who is a stone carver, usually no payment is required as the assistants of the carver are typically close relatives as well, although the carvers must be fed and given cigarettes and coffee.

The entire process of carving a stone tomb can last one month or more, depending upon the size of the tomb and the number of people carving it. Everyday, there is a meal provided by the owner of the tomb that can consist of one chicken and some rice (coffee and cigarettes are also usually expected). In Anakalang, there traditionally appears to have been a festive element to stone carving with gongs being played and people singing and dancing at night during the time stone tombs were being carved. It is also a traditional practice (which continues to some degree today) in Anakalang to have the carving activity concealed behind a cloth. There are reportedly spiritual reasons behind this practice, but it is also said to be done to prevent onlookers from learning the skill of stone carving.

In Kodi, it is less common for the exterior of stone tombs to be carved and there is much less variation in the motifs (the most common motif being water buffalo horns) carved in Kodi in comparison to Anakalang. In Kodi, a carved tomb is said to symbolize a rich and influential man. In the village of Wainyapu (which consists of 12 clans), there are six clans that have carvers who carve designs on stone tombs and designs on the four large wooden posts that stand in ancestral houses. Stone carvers traditionally receive one large water buffalo (live), one sarong, and one large piece of woven cloth. A pig is usually killed for a feast when the carving is complete and the stone carver keeps the head of this pig as well (heads of pigs are particularly desirable, as they enable one to display the jaws of the pig). In one of the few cases in which a stone tomb was carved, the owner of the tomb claimed to have paid a stone carver one water buffalo to carve water buffalo horns and geometric designs on the exterior of his stone tomb in 1982. It reportedly took four days for the stone carver and his assistants (about three) to complete the stone carving. On each day one pig (provided by the stone owner) was slaughtered and eaten by the stone carver and his assistants. This account of slaughtering one pig per

day seems a little excessive for such a small crew, unless there was a larger event associated with the stone carving.

When the stone tomb construction and carving has been completed in Anakalang, there is a large feast held to commemorate the occasion. This feast usually occurs just after the completion of tomb carving. At this feast (known as *kalaralima* in the Anakalang language) there can be hundreds of guests from within and outside the village who attend. All of the people that worked on cutting and moving the stone also attend. The feast lasts one day and there can be about 10 water buffalo provided and many litres of cooked rice provided by the host of the feast (owner of the stone tomb) and his supporters. There can also be a large number of water buffaloes, pigs, cattle, and other animals brought by guests, including those who worked pulling, cutting, and carving the stone. In addition to eating meat at the feast, guests (particularly the workers who helped construct the stone) receive a portion of meat to take home. According to one informant, this consisted of 1 kg of meat for every worker.

I attended a *kalaralima* feast in the village of pada ngora in Anakalang. The entire proceedings of this ceremony spanned 1½ days. The ceremony began in the evening, when one large pig (provided by the tomb owner) was killed and eaten by about 50 people who were in attendance. This feast was followed by drumming and traditional *ronggeng* by women in finely woven sarongs adorned with prestige items. This dancing and drumming lasted until dawn. On the following afternoon, invited guests arrived (about 300) and two large pigs were killed and eaten. One water buffalo was killed as well and its meat was distributed among all guests in attendance to take home. One very large pig was also slaughtered, the meat of which was distributed to guests to take home. In total, there were three pigs and one water buffalo provided by the tomb owner. From wife-taker *relations* (*ngaba wini*) a total of two water buffaloes and two horses were presented to the tomb owner (not slaughtered for the feast). From a wife-giver relation, one pig and one horse were given to the tomb owner, neither of which were slaughtered for the feast.

In Kodi, there does not appear to be such a large feast to commemorate the completion of tomb building, however, the performance of a large *woleka* feast (see section on Kodi feasts above) is the next step on the road to achieving the distinction of a man of renown and expertise in the traditions of the ancestors. According to informants, holding a large *woleka* feast is traditionally not permitted unless one has first been the primary sponsor of a stone tomb building. However, there is one last large feast associated with stone tombs that is sometimes held after a tomb has been erected. The *Wolek koda to mati* (digging the bones of the dead) is a feast performed when the bones of a deceased individual are dug up from a simple burial in the ground to be placed in a tomb. This feast takes place when the person did not have a tomb to enter when they died and instead were interred in a simple ground burial awaiting the construction of a tomb. According to one account of such an event in the village of Wainyapu, four water buffaloes and five pigs were slaughtered at the ancestral house of the deceased person for an event that was reportedly attended by hundreds. The bulk of the animals slaughtered came from the household hosting the event (the son of the deceased person), one water buffalo and one pig were provided by the host's brother-in-law. Other individuals brought small pigs (not slaughtered), woven cloth or money.

B. Discussion

The construction of these large stone tombs is clearly a substantial undertaking. The amount of work and expenditure of resources required for erecting these monuments appears to make this endeavor by far the single largest expenditure of time, energy, and resources in traditional Sumbanese society. As the construction and erection of stone tombs can be such a monumental undertaking in terms of time, labor, and resources, it is expected, from a cultural ecological standpoint, that some kind of practical social, political, and economic benefits should be accrued by those involved. Certainly, there is a large degree of promotion involved in the entire process of stone tomb construction. Informants indicated that stones would often be moved at an unnecessarily slow pace in order that the owner of the stone could “show off” their wealth by having the process, including the feasting, continue for a longer period. Similar prestige displays appear to occur with the number of people pulling the stone. One informant claimed that it only takes about 200 or 300 people to drag a stone, although there are often times 1,000 people or more summoned for such a task. Visually, these stone tombs convey a certain amount of prestige in their large size and ornately carved exteriors. In Kodi, upon entering a village or a clan section within a large village, one’s first visual impression is the stone tombs which have been built just behind the cluster of houses. Older stone tombs are located in front of the houses encircling the *nataru* ceremonial area of the clan where large feasts are held. It is thus possible to immediately take stock of the number and lavishness of the tombs a clan has built. Further, the size and elaborateness of a tomb is considered to be reflective of the wealth and renown of the individuals interred and, to a lesser extent, their clan as a whole. This visual impression has practical value in a number of ways.

In the traditional economic context of West Sumba, land ownership and the ownership of domesticated animals were the key elements in wealth acquisition. The largest expenditure of rice (land) and animals was for the feasting system and construction of megalithic stone tombs. In the context of these events, there is an exchange of animals (meat) for labor and animals for other animals. In the case of megalithic stone tomb construction, there is also borrowing that occurs in the support provided by friends and relatives that aid the owner of the stone tomb in the provisioning of large animals for the feasts associated with stone tomb construction. Thus one’s ability to sponsor large feasts and the construction of megalithic tombs is highly dependant upon the relations one has built up over time.

In order to establish such a network of relations and supporters, there are indications that one needs to establish a good network of affinal relations through marriage arrangements for oneself and one’s offspring. In addition, it is essential for a person to have a favorable feasting debt “credit record” in establishing and maintaining good relations. An informant in Waikabubak stated that when one asks a person to bring a buffalo for a feast he or she is hosting, it is important to assess whether or not the person is “reliable” and can be counted on for such a request. Conversely, it is also necessary for a person providing the animal to assess whether or not they can expect the person to give them an animal (or more?) for a feast they host in return. Those who are able to establish a support network to assist them in the construction of a stone tomb

would presumably already have a very good record of repaying feasting debts. By showing the ability to put together an undertaking as grand as erecting a megalith would also certainly increase the perceived reliability of the person and perhaps enhance one's potential support network. As the individuals who are able to build stone tombs probably do not represent the segment of the population traditionally living on the economic margins of society, they would therefore most likely not experience frequent times of economic distress for which a support group that acts as an economic "safety net" would be vital. Instead, at this level, these support networks could function as a key element in the traditional acquisition and enhancement of social influence and military allies (critical for slaving raids and defense from).

The end result of this network-building can be the erection of a tomb. However, what practical benefits are accrued from this? For those who are able to build tombs for themselves (or for their father or grandfather) when they are still relatively young, having built a tomb can have some benefits for the individual's family. For example, informants in Kodi indicated that having built a tomb can help in cases of their son's or daughter's marriage wealth exchanges (which can be extremely costly). With regards to marriage, it is interesting to note that in the context of a feast held to feed workers who had just pulled a stone in the village of Wainyapu, the head of one of the pigs that was slaughtered was presented by the household who provided it to a household with whom they were interested in entering a marriage negotiation. In addition, especially in Kodi, stone tombs confer prestige on the clan as well as the individual. Clans are still very important in Kodi and there are still many disputes (for which support networks and alliances are critical) and competition between clans in Kodi. Much of the competition between clans for land and livestock in the area appears to be reflected in the construction of tombs.

In Anakalang, where tombs tend to be more elaborate and represent an even greater expense of labor and resources, the stakes appear to be higher. In Anakalang, the megalithic tradition is probably at least as active as it is in Kodi. On the surface, being an area with much larger tracts of rice paddy land, some of which is irrigated and within closer proximity to the eastern end of Sumba, where the bulk of outside influences and trade entered Sumba traditionally, it is not surprising that the sociopolitical context would be more complex and that the stone monuments would be larger and more lavish than in Kodi, located in the remote western end of the island. However, it is at this point, not clear how practical concerns are addressed through the large expenditures tied to megalith building in Anakalang. The nature of disputes and competition between individuals and clans is less obvious than in Kodi and was not elaborated upon in interview sessions.

In a future, more detailed analysis of the data, the issue of these support networks and their potential practical benefits will be explored by examining the results of household interviews in which household demographic data was obtained along with information concerning sponsorship of stone tomb construction and large feasts. The vast majority of these interviews were conducted in Kodi and the analysis of traditional megalithic practices is expected to be much more complete for the Kodi area than for Anakalang. The effects of modernization on megalithic construction will be addressed to evaluate how megalith building may be different at the present time in comparison to what it was like traditionally. This is an issue that should not be avoided, as the people

currently putting up stone tombs in Anakalang appear to be those most active in the modern economy and political system. However, it is expected that although some details of the economy and social context have changed, the basic practical functions related to stone tomb construction should essentially be the same as it is a practice that was adapted to certain conditions which seem to persist to a fairly strong degree in West Sumba as can be seen in the continued importance of clan relations and feasting debt relationships.

V. Conclusions

To conclude, this collaborative research has succeeded in documenting in detail the traditional process of megalithic tomb construction in West Sumba and has provided insight into how the construction of large stone tombs in West Sumba is tied to social benefits for those participating in this activity. This research proceeded with two primary objectives: 1) to determine whether there are practical social benefits associated with the erection of large stone tombs in West Sumba; 2) to document the traditional process and traditional methods of building large stone tombs in West Sumba; and 3) to document feasting dynamics associated with building large stone tombs. I feel that both of these objectives were achieved. Through interviews with informants and observations of different stages of tomb construction, it was possible to effectively record the traditional methods and procedures associated with megalithic tomb construction in West Sumba. In addition, the examination of traditional social and economic structure in West Sumba and the examination of individual cases of tomb building has resulted in a better understanding of how this activity could entail practical benefits for individuals, families, lineages, and clans. For the individual household, there is likely a wide range of potential benefits that can be accrued by those financing tomb construction. Having built a tomb can help when one is involved in marriage negotiations for their son or daughter and gives one a great deal of credibility, which can help when one needs to borrow livestock for other social purposes. In addition, this credibility is also key in building debt relationships, which enables one to establish important support networks critical in favorable dispute resolution. For society as a whole, especially in Kodi, the processes associated with tomb construction clearly strengthen the relations within clans and between more distant relations. For the clans in particular, building tombs is associated with mutual aid in terms of loaning livestock for feasts associated with tomb building as well as helping with the actual pulling of the stones and building of the stone tombs with labor. This activity serves to enhance the stability and corporate power of the clan as the main holder of land titles. In terms of network-building between clans, the establishment of good inter-clan relations is very important in the resolution of disputes between clans and would have been very important for the establishment of military alliances for defense in the past.

In the future, after further analysis, and possibly further research by the Research Centre for Archaeology and myself, these important issues associated with tomb building will make a very large contribution to the archaeological literature. The construction of megalithic monuments has occurred in many parts of the world both historically and prehistorically. An understanding of how and why this practice occurs in a place such as West Sumba, is of critical importance to understanding a variety of issues, not only in Indonesian archaeology, but on a global scale as well.

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