THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE ATONI OF TIMOR

VERHANDELINGEN
VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

60

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE ATONI OF TIMOR

H. G. SCHULTE NORDHOLT

THE HAGUE - MARTINUS NIJHOFF - 1971

An earlier version of this book has been published in Dutch
as a doctoral thesis submitted to the Free University, Amsterdam.

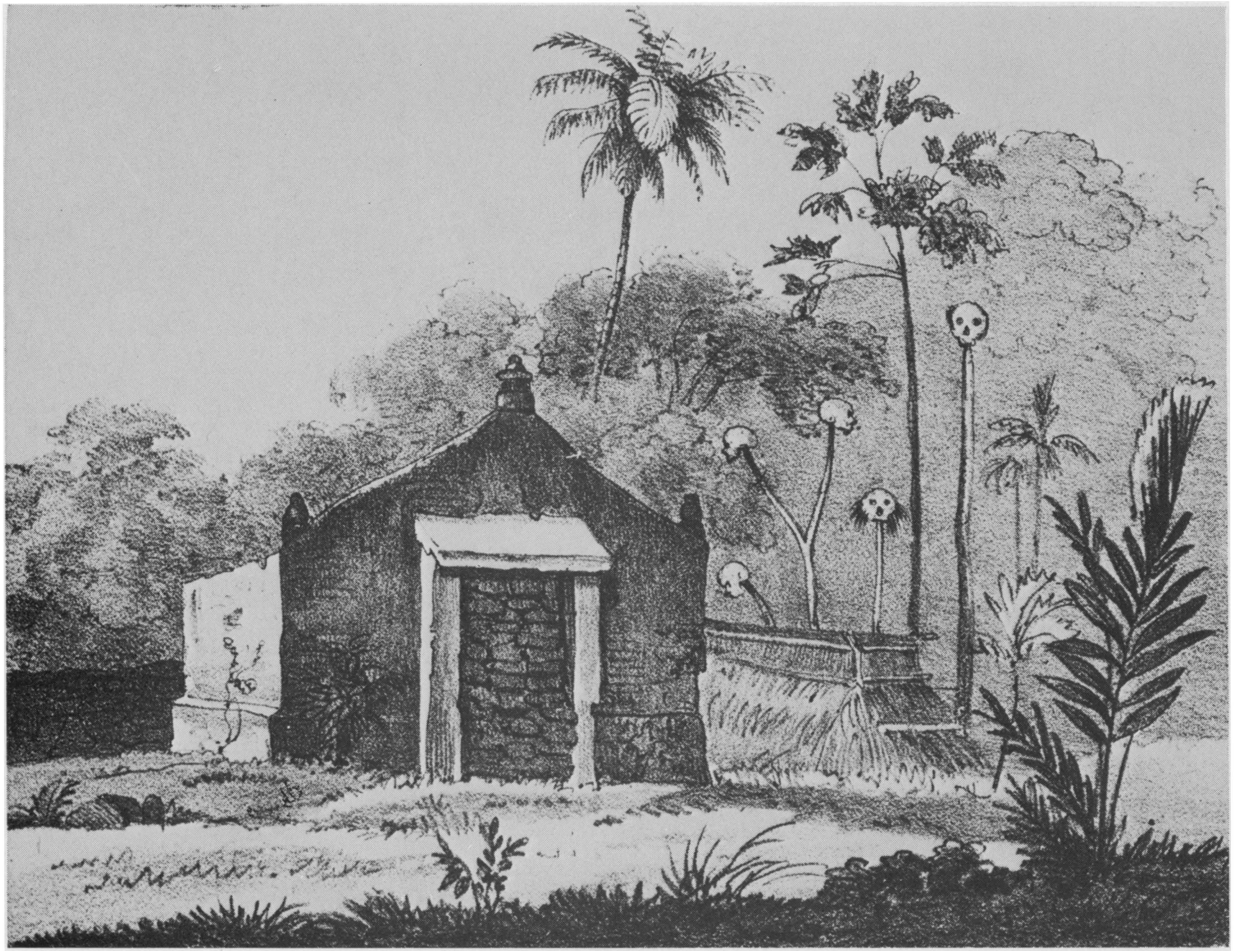
The original title was:

HET POLITIEKE SYSTEEM VAN DE ATONI VAN TIMOR

(Offsetdruk Van Manen & Co - Driebergen. 1966)

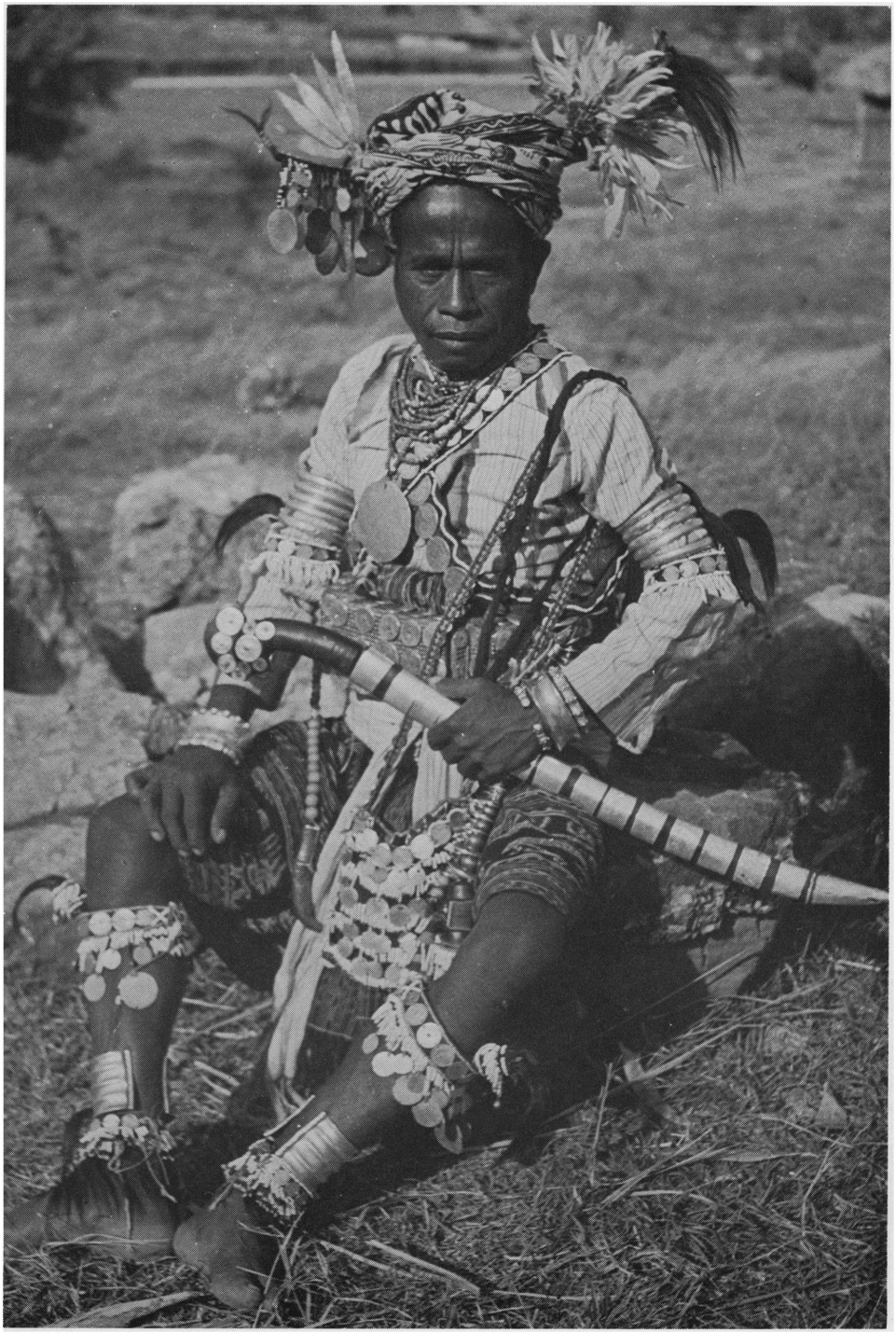
The English translation was made possible by a grant from Z.W.O.
(Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research),
and was prepared by Miss M. J. L. van Yperen.

I.S.B.N. 90.247.5137.3

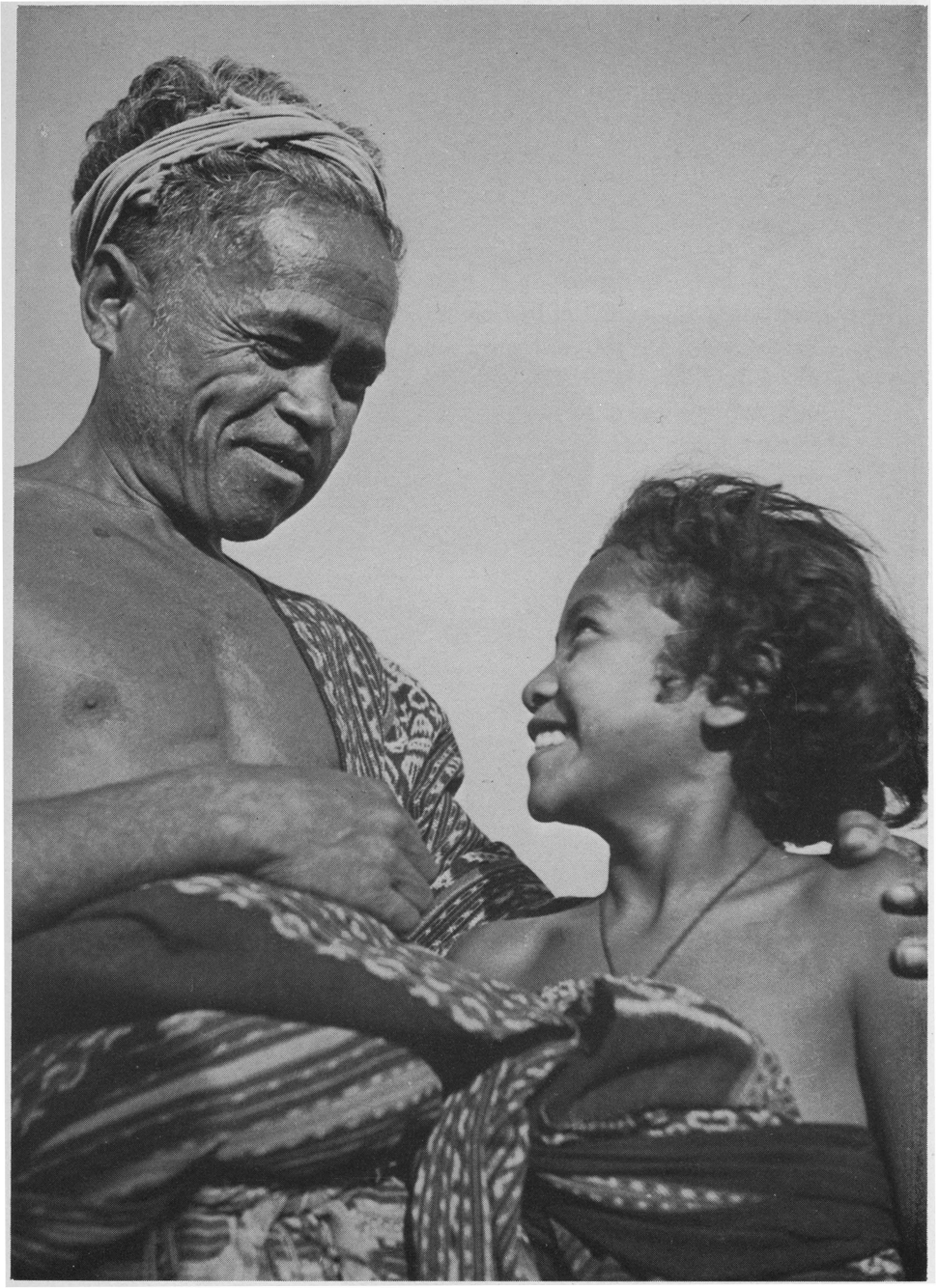


1. Grave of a Sonba'i near Kupang in 1821; from: Reinwardt, 1858, p. 342.

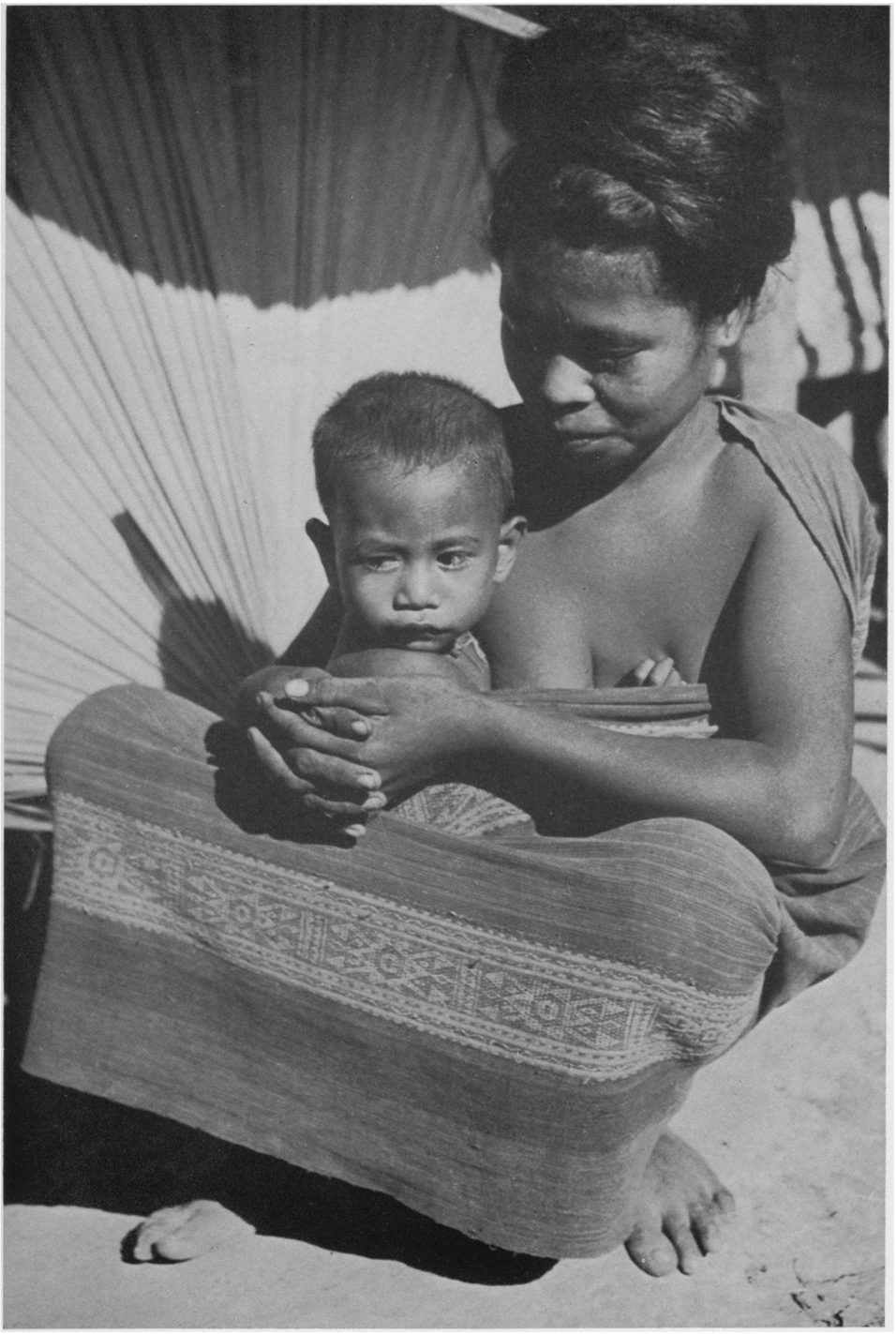
Toutes ces misères-là même prouvent sa grandeur. Ce sont misères de grand seigneur. Pascal, Pensées.



2. A *meo* in full array for a headhunting raid.



3. Father and daughter.



4. Mother and child.

PREFACE

I owe the present book to the encouragement and guidance of my friends, for which I am most indebted to them. This applies in the first place to Dr. P. Middelkoop, who worked in Timor for more than thirty years as a missionary and bible translator. My gratitude for all the help he has given can hardly be expressed in words, and I can do no more than simply say that this book is to a large extent also his book — the writing of it could not have been accomplished without his valued assistance. He has given up many an evening to the answering of my countless questions with his inexhaustible knowledge of the language and culture of the Atoni.

I am also deeply grateful to Professor L. Onvlee, who acted as my supervisor during the preparation of the Dutch version of this book for submission as a doctoral thesis (*Het Politieke Systeem van de Atoni van Timor,* Driebergen, 1966, 278 pp.). But for the many stimulating conversations I was able to enjoy with him I would never have acquired the approach to our subject which lies at the basis of this book, namely that the essential point is the study of man in his culture, and that even in the analysis of one particular aspect of a culture we are dealing with the culture as a whole and with man as the bearer of that culture. His critical appraisal of virtually every sentence of the finished manuscript of my thesis constituted a positive contribution to the shaping of my ideas.

I would also like to express my sincere thanks to my colleague Prof. G. W. Locher for his Socratic guidance. This book owes much of its present form to his *maieutike technè*. His research in Timor in 1941 to me was a lesson in the critical collection of data, and it was he who enjoined me in 1964 to work out my own material, which also served as basis for the first part of Cunningham's dissertation. He kindly undertook to read the manuscript of the book, and the nine hour's uninterrupted conversation I enjoyed with him subsequently will remain engraved on my memory forever.

My sincere thanks are also due to my colleagues, Professors J. W. Schoorl and P. E. de Josselin de Jong, the former for reading the manuscript and the latter for perusing the finished dissertation.

I am further indebted to Drs. P. L. Geschiere for helping me with the analysis of the literature, Miss C. H. Meijers for correcting the printing proofs, and Miss M. J. L. van Yperen for taking the responsibility for the English translation. I would express my thanks to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) for granting a subsidy enabling an English translation to be made, and to the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology for accepting it for publication. Many thanks are also due to Mr. E. Wieland and Mr. J. Verhaar for drawing the maps, and the Archivio Fotografico of the Societas Verbi Divini in Rome for its permission to incorporate the splendid photographs taken by its missionaries in Timor in this publication.

In spite of all the help I have received from so many people I cannot help agreeing with the statement made to Codrington by a missionary in the Fiji Islands, namely that when a European has been living among a foreign people for two or three years "he is sure to be fully convinced that he knows all about them; when he has been ten years or so amongst them, if he be an observant man, he finds that he knows very little about them, and so begins to learn. My own time of learning has been all too short" (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians,* Oxford 1891, Preface VI, VII). The missionary in question had been living in Fiji for twenty-four years, from 1863 to 1887; I myself, though I have spent more than three years among the Atoni, cannot claim to have spent even as many as ten there. But the fact that I have even so attempted to give an analysis of the political system of the Atoni of Timor is due largely to the confidence inspired by my Timorese friends and informants, including the Roman Catholic missionaries.

NOTE ON TIMORESE SPELLING

In accordance with the general practice I have called the language of the Atoni 'Timorese'. This is not strictly speaking correct, as there are many languages spoken in Timor.

I have adopted Middelkoop's system of spelling and also the practice of omitting accents which he has followed for the past few years; this is based on the following rules of pronunciation:

a. All stems in Timorese consist of two syllables with the stress falling on the first syllable. If the second syllable ends in *a* or *e*, the *e* of the first syllable is always short (open), and consequently this does not need to be indicated by a grave accent; so it suffices to write: *pena, meto*. The reverse also holds true, e.g. *ane, ote*.

b. On the other hand, if the second syllable ends in *i* or *u*, then the *e* of the first syllable is always long (closed), and does not need to be indicated by an acute accent, e.g. *peni, menu*.

   The *oe* in Timorese is a diphthong. (Middelkoop, 1963, 53). It should be pronounced as English *oi*.

A further peculiarity of Timorese is the frequent occurrence of metatheses, e.g. *usif* (= lord), becomes *uis*, as in Uis Neno (= the Lord of Heaven).

The *f* occurs at the end of some nouns only where these are indicative of a certain class.

CONTENTS

page

INTRODUCTION

1. The area of research 1
2. The circumstances prompting the research 1
3. Methods of research 5
4. Definition of some of the concepts used 9

PART ONE. THE ATONI AND HIS WORLD 19

CHAPTER I. THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT 19

1. The Atoni 19
2. Geographical position 19
3. The people 21
4. The language 25
5. The physical environment 27
   a. The soil 27
   b. Climate 29
   c. Flora and fauna 33

CHAPTER II. THE ECONOMIC LIFE 40

1. Crafts and techniques 40
2. Animal husbandry 46
3. Trade 50
4. Useful trees 51
5. Agriculture and its related ritual 52
   a. Choosing a plot 53
   b. Requesting permission 55
   c. Sharpening the matchet 57
   d. Felling the trees 58
   e. Burning off 62
   f. *Sifo nopo* - "extinguishing the bamboo" 63
   g. *Eka hoë* - "filling in the ditch" 69
   h. Drought and failure of the crop 70
   i. Paying the *tobe* 76
   j. Guarding the young plants 78
   k. The first corn 80

page

l. The rice harvest (*honu ane*); ripping off the rice . . 83
m. The corn harvest - *seke pena* 86
n. Returning to the village 88
Conclusion 89

CHAPTER III. THE KINSHIP SYSTEM 92

1. Relationship within the *kanaf* 93
a. Residential pattern 93
b. Blood-relations 99
2. Affines 105

CHAPTER IV. THE RELIGION 141

1. God and man 142
a. The hidden world 142
b. The spirits 146
c. The *le'u* concept 147
2. Man 147
3. Man's relationship to the hidden world 151

PART TWO. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM 157

INTRODUCTION 157

CHAPTER V. THE POLITICAL COMMUNITIES OF TIMOR IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD 159

CHAPTER VI. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF INSANA 186

1. The village 186
2. The harvest gifts 190
3. The death of the prince 195
4. The structure of the princedom 200
a. The centre 200
b. The periphery of the centre 207
c. The guardians of the realm 209
d. The four *usif* 212
e. The great fathers 220

CHAPTER VII. BELU, BEBOKI AND FIALARAN 232

1. South Belu 232
2. Beboki 239
3. Fialaran 255

page

CHAPTER VIII. THE IMMEDIATE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE OF SONBA'I 262

1. Sonba'i 262
2. Molo 274
3. Fatule'u 277
4. Miomafo 279
   a. The nucleus 279
   b. The areas annexed to Miomafo 287
      Tunbaba 287
      Noimuti 290
      Manamas 291
      Bikomi 291

CHAPTER IX. THE PRINCEDOMS BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE OF SONBA'I 307

1. Amanuban 307
2. Amanatun 310
3. Amfoan 314
4. Ambenu 316
5. Amarasi 319
6. Amabi 320
7. Kupang 321

CHAPTER X. THE FUNCTIONING OF THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY IN TIMOR 326

1. Warfare 326
   The causes of war 327
   The ritual preceding battle 333
   The *meo* 338
   The headhunting raid 345
   The ritual following the headhunting raid 348
   The conclusion of peace 353
2. Administration 357
3. Administration of justice 361

CHAPTER XI. THE SYSTEM OF THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY IN TIMOR. SUMMARY 368

1. Historical background 368
2. The structure of the political communities 371
   a. The ruler 371
   b. The *usif* 374
   c. The great fathers 376
   d. Superordination and subordination 380
   e. The unity of the political community 384

page

CHAPTER XII. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE ATONI AS VIEWED BY MODERN SCIENCE AND AS CLASSIFIED BY TIMORESE THINKING 392

1. The structural principles 392
2. Typology of the system 397
3. The political system as approached in Timorese thinking 406
   a. The symbolism of numbers 408
   b. Feminine - masculine (*feto - mone*) 411
   c. Inside - outside; closed - open; silence - speech; immobile - active 412
   d. West/north - east/south
      left - right
      yellow/black? - red/white? 415
   e. Earth - heaven; night - day 419
   f. Sun - moon; gold - silver 421
   g. Reversal of the usual order 422
   h. Remaining categories 423

CHAPTER XIII. TOTALITY, UNITY AND ADAPTABILITY OF THE SYSTEM 428

A. Totality 428
   1. The house 428
   2. Agriculture 432
   3. The kinship system 433
   4. The political system 437

B. Unity and adaptability 440
   1. Functional unity 441
   2. Unity of the structural principles 442
   3. Classificatory unity 443
   4. The structural model 445
   5. Adaptability of the system 447
   6. Synthesis of the old and the new in Noimuti 449
   7. Conflict and disruption in Amanuban 456

CHAPTER XIV. THE PLACE OF THE CULTURE OF THE ATONI IN THE INDONESIAN CULTURE PROVINCE 460

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY 480

BIBLIOGRAPHY 482

LIST OF TIMORESE WORDS 501

INDEX OF NAMES 505

SUBJECT INDEX 508

			page
Diagrams	1	A Timorese loom	43
„	2	Affinal relations	108
„	3	Affinal relations	111
„	4	Uxorilocality	121
„	5	Genealogy of the House of Pa'i	126
„	6	Kinship alliances	129
„	7, 8, 9	The political structure of Insana	229—231
„	10	The sacred centre of Beboki	246
„	11	The structure of Beboki	247
„	12	The genealogy of the rulers of Fialaran	256
„	13	The structure of Fatule'u	278
„	14	The nucleus of Miomafo	286
„	15	The structure of Amanatun	314
„	16	The structure of Ambenu	317
„	17	Atoni-stratification	380
„	18	The realm of Liurai-Sonba'i	391
„	19	The groundplan of a Timorese house	430
„	20	The structure of Noimuti	451

MAPS

		page
1.	The languages of Timor	18
2.	West Timor	24
3.	The Princedoms of Indonesian Timor	154
4.	The Princedoms Miomafo, Insana and Beboki	156
5.	A map of the princedoms in 1883	*after* 160
6.	A map of the princedoms in 1898	*after* 160
7.	The realms of South-Belu	235
8.	Indonesian Timor	*At the back of the book*

PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Grave of Sonba'i in 1821 . . . . . *After titlepage*
2. A *meo* . . . . . „ „
3 Father and daughter . . . . . „ „
4. Mother and child . . . . . „ „

after page

5. Girl from South-Belu 32
6. A family in Amanatun 32
7. Man from Central Belu 32
8. A valley near the North coast of Miomafo 32
9. Mountain grasslands near Mt. Mutis 32
10. Man from South-Belu wearing headdress 48
11. Preparing the cotton 48
12. Woman spinning 48
13. Woman weaving 48
14. A Belunese on horseback 48
15. The pig as domestical animal 48
16. Tapping the juice of a *lontar* palm 64
17. Woman washing sago-flour 64
18. A wooden fence 80
19. Building a fence of corallite 80
20. Women pounding *padi* 80
21. A *likurai* dance 112
22. An Atoni hamlet 112
23. Life in an Atoni hamlet 128

after page

24. A bridal couple from Insana 128
25. A man taking his wife home 144
26. 27. Two types of sacrificial posts 144
28. Laurentius Taolin, raja of Insana 160
29. The late raja of Amanuban 320
30. A woman offering a betel to a *meo* 320
31. An old woman in the entrance of her house 336
32. A *lopo* 336
33. Section of a *lopo* 336

INTRODUCTION

1. THE AREA OF RESEARCH

The present book deals with the political system of the Atoni of Indonesian Timor. Timor is the largest of the group of Lesser Sunda Islands. The western part of the island is Indonesian, while the eastern part plus a tiny enclave on the north-west coast are Portuguese territory (see map no. 1). The Atoni inhabit most of the western part of Timor. The name by which they sometimes designate themselves, viz. Atoni Pah Meto (= People of the Dry Land), possibly implies that in their mode of life they are centred entirely on the interior and have no dealings at all with the coast or the sea.

The name Timorese is generally used with reference to all the peoples inhabiting the island of Timor, while in the colonial army the term 'a regiment of Timorese' covered representatives of the populations of the surrounding islands as well. But as the Indonesian part of Timor is inhabited by different ethnic groups speaking widely different languages it is preferable to call these different groups by the names by which they designate themselves. According to a population survey held in 1966 the population of Indonesian Timor came to approximately 800,000, of whom more than 600,000 were Atoni.[1] They live in the princedoms Kupang (except the Helon districts) Amarasi, Fatule'u, Amfoan, Ambenu, Molo, Miomafo, Amanuban, Amanatun, Insana and Beboki (see map no. 3).

The actual field-work for this book was carried out in North Central Timor, approximately 200 km. to the east of Kupang, the capital of Timor, with as main base the district capital of Kefamnanu (see map no. 4).

2. THE CIRCUMSTANCES PROMPTING THE RESEARCH

From November 1939 until May 1942, and from September 1945 till July 1947 I was a government administrator in North Central Timor, an area comprising the princedoms of Miomafo, Insana and Beboki (see map no. 4). Upon my first arrival there I was given a

---

[1] *Monografi Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur*, p. 79.

sealed metal box containing a number of secret documents intimating that there had been a witch-killing, supposedly perpetrated by the Raja of Insana.

A four months' investigation demonstrated the truth of these allegations. It appeared that when one of the ruler's children had fallen ill a medicine-man had pointed out a woman who was thought to have brought on the child's illness through witchcraft. Thereupon the ruler, Dominicus Taolin, threatened that if his child died he would have the witch put to death. The child died several days later, and subsequently an old woman and her daughter and granddaughter (a child of only a few years) were beaten to death.

The raja was sentenced to six years' exile.[2] As his succession posed a problem a committee of regents consisting of three chiefs was provisionally appointed. Following the war, in 1946, it was my task to investigate who was the rightful successor. The results of this investigation are recorded in a report which was incorporated in the final memorandum written on the termination of my duties as government administrator in 1947.[3]

In December 1941 the problem of the succession presented itself in Beboki. The aged raja who had been appointed in 1915, when the Netherlands East Indies Government first established its rule in Timor, wanted to confer his office upon his son before the chaos of war spread to Timor. The son was accepted by the chiefs, but in March 1942, after the Japanese had invaded Timor from two sides (near Kupang and near Dili in Portuguese Timor, on 20th February, 1942), though before their occupation of Central Timor, an uprising broke out against the young ruler. The reason for this was that a section of the population desired the appointment of a member of the old ruling lineage.[4] The government administrator of the area chanced to be a small distance away from the border of Beboki the following day, when a horseman delivered a note to him with only the words: "*Mohon Tuan datang lekas, kalau tidak saja akan mati*" (I beg you to come quickly; if you don't, I shall die) written on it. He did as requested, accompanied by the only

---

[2] Cunningham, 1965, p. 377, must have been wrongly informed when he says "charges of oppressing villagers were brought against him by the heir to the sacral lordship and by the fettors of west and north, inevitably with witnesses". The new ruler, a half-brother of the previous one, evidently tried more or less to represent the sentence passed on Taolin as a consequence of political rivalries.

[3] Every government administrator was required to write a report about his district before his departure.

[4] Pp. 239 ff. below.

six Indonesian policemen who had remained loyal. When he reached the trouble spot there were groups of armed Atoni scattered all over the hillsides, whilst the young ruler and his father and a few dozen loyal followers were anxiously awaiting further developments.

A quarter of an hour after the arrival of the party which had hastened to the ruler's aid, the enemy began to advance on him in hundreds along one of the valleys. Most of them were armed with old, silver-mounted rifles, some of them muzzle loaders, but all of them at least a hundred years old.[5] They had bought gunpowder from a Chinese who had salvaged it from Australian aircraft forced by lack of fuel to land on the northern coastal plain. One of their great warriors (*meo naek*), attired in full battle array,[6] advanced ahead of them, dancing a war dance. He danced on even after he had been hit by a bullet until finally he dropped to the ground dead. Suddenly all of them fled back into the hills. For the *le'u musu* or enmity *le'u* (*le'u* = sacred), which they had compounded with due observance of the ancient ritual [7] had turned out to be inefficacious. High on the hillsides the enemy waited to see what would happen next. After an hour's negotation they surrendered.

In the afternoon a trial was held in the village of the enemy. The insurgents were sentenced to a fine of two human lives, to be paid to the raja [8] — two Atoni having been killed in the battle — and ordered to surrender their arms for the raja to keep in temporary custody Furthermore, all of the chiefs were ordered to appear at the raja's palace the following day in order to swear a new oath of allegiance to him. Not one of them was absent.

This insurrection prompted me, after World War II, to make a study of the political structure of Beboki and of its methods of warfare.

In Miomafo, too, problems concerning the succession arose. The ruler, Uis Kono, had died in 1920 leaving two sons who were both minors. The rulership was first temporarily taken over by someone who held no official function in the princedom at all but who had contrived to ingratiate himself with the local Dutch military commander. After he was deposed Us Senak of Bikomi succeeded him as temporary

---

[5] Probably few, if any, rifles have been imported since the 1859 treaty with Portugal. In 1889 Portugal furthermore imposed an embargo on imports and exports of modern fire-arms in Portuguese Timor. Cf. Ezerman, 1917, p. 896.

[6] See photographs 2, and 30.

[7] Pp. 333 ff. below.

[8] According to Timorese conceptions this sentence was not altogether correct, as no heads had been taken See p. 349.

raja.[9] Meanwhile the two sons of Uis Kono had reached their majority. But they were both rejected as their father's successor, as the elder had seduced or raped a few of the wives of his *amaf naek* [10] (= great father) and the younger was a simpleton.

After the burden of the war years, however, Us Senak was anxious to find a definitive solution for the problem of the succession. Almost half a year was devoted to an investigation of the political structures of Miomafo.

Thus my work led me to direct most of my attention to the political structures of North Central Timor for one and a half years.

In September of 1945 I took over for a short interval the administration of South Central Timor, where Tua Sonba'i took much trouble to set forth his rights at great length. He coveted the title of raja of Oenam instead of raja of Molo, Oenam being the former centre of the ancient kingdom of Sonba'i.[11] In Belu, too, I took over the administration for five months, from the end of 1945 till the beginning of 1946. I had to hear almost a hundred murder cases dating back to the period of Japanese occupation and the administrative vacuum of the weeks immediately following it, and although these hearings brought me into contact with numbers of chiefs in their capacity as members of the different tribunals, as well as with their subjects, I was deprived of the opportunity of undertaking any sort of systematic investigation this way.

Thus I had the opportunity to visit almost all of the princedoms in Timor — all except Amfoan and Amanatun. But I was able to carry out research only in the three princedoms of North Central Timor.

A government administrator is generally speaking not in a favourable position for conducting research. Before the war the distance between Dutch officials and the Timorese people was considerably great. The arrival of the Japanese was experienced in Timor as a kind of liberation; this was partly the result of Japanese propaganda to the effect that taxes, both in money and in labour, would be abolished. After the war the arrival of the allies was undergone even more strongly as a liberation — the yoke of the Japanese occupation had been weighing down heavily on the Timorese for more than three years. In 1944, for example, the Japanese requisitioned a hundred per

---

[9] Pp. 291 ff. below.

[10] Concerning the relationship of the ruler to his "great fathers" or bride-givers see pp. 220 ff., 376-380 below.

[11] Pp. 276 ff. below.

cent of the corn and rice harvests, leaving the native population only tuberous roots and forest products to eat.

When after the war the people saw the same administrator they had known before these difficult years return to their district, the relationship between them turned into one of trust and confidence.

The nature of the study was such, moreover, that everyone — at any rate every chief, including every village chief — showed a great deal of interest. It concerned, after all, the appointment of the rightful successor of their ruler. One disadvantage is that under such circumstances every group will try, quite naturally so, to bring its own interests into the foreground. This is in fact what happened, and is bound to happen in every study of political systems. After all, for the informants a study of matters political constitutes to some extent an opportunity for political campaigning.

3. METHODS OF RESEARCH

In order to obtain a reliable result in spite of the above disadvantages the following method was applied. First the structure of each district, as part of a princedom, was studied separately, as well as its relationship to the whole; this was done in the presence of every chief of that district. Following this meetings, which continued for days at a time, were held in the centre of the princedom, or in the case of Miomafo, at the palace of Us Senak, the acting raja of this princedom, in Bikomi.

Here the fact that I was carrying out research in my capacity as government administrator had marked advantages, for my official authority could be brought to bear in summoning certain people whose presence would be important but whose evidence the raja would otherwise almost certainly have suppressed. At smaller district meetings, which were not attended by the raja, people were able to speak more openly and bring their own interests to the fore. In many more personal conversations with experts on the tradition the significance of certain words and relationships was often discussed in more detail.

The advantage of the larger assemblies was that not a word could be uttered without its being critically assessed by rival groups. Every word and every turn of phrase of a particular myth (a myth always being the basis for the definition of the political position of a group) would be carefully checked and weighed. Myths are always recited in a set, archaic, metrical form, and every deviation from this would result in a number of interruptions. This was especially so in Miomafo.[12]

---

[12] Pp. 303 ff. below.

In Insana a knowledge of the agricultural ritual appeared to be of the utmost importance for an analysis of the political structure.[13] I had been introduced to this ritual by a lucky coincidence. For in 1946 a study had to be made of land tenure rights in Subun, a district of Insana, in connection with an agricultural mechanization project in the Sekon plain. In this connection I recorded the ritual associated with traditional farming methods in order to describe the agricultural cycle in its light.[14] It turned out that this ritual terminated in the offering of harvest gifts to the ruler. This ritual is inviolable and not a word of it can be altered. It follows then, that the data obtained from it are completely reliable. The archaic language in which it is couched, which even the Atoni himself does not always understand, poses some problems. I myself was not able to speak Timorese, but after the war I understood enough of it to be able to get the gist of an ordinary conversation and to some extent keep a check on the interpreters. Most of the chiefs, however, spoke Indonesian reasonably well, so that a large proportion of the research for this study was carried out in that language. But the myths and religious texts were always recited in Timorese and afterwards, often the following morning, noted down in Timorese with the assistance of Timorese officials, teachers and experts on the tradition. An Indonesian translation was always made on the spot.

Thus the investigation into the succession in three princedoms and into land tenure rights in part of Insana unwittingly developed into a study of the political system and of agriculture in relation to the mythology and the ritual. The interrelationship between rites, myths and the political system could not but become obvious in the course of the study, as did the typical form of dualism which is to be observed within the centre of the princedom. This centre itself is in turn the synthesis of the masculine east and south and the feminine west and north of the political community as a whole. Cunningham writes with regard to these findings[15]: "Schulte Nordholt, with Leiden University training in social anthropology as part of his administrative course, was prepared to meet symbolic dual divisions in Indonesia". I should point out, however, that I did not receive my university training in Leiden, but in Utrecht, where I was one of the first generation of Fischer's students. My first acquaintance with Leiden was made on reading Van Wouden's thesis after I had gone to Timor. At the time

[13] P. 90 below.
[14] Pp. 52 ff. below.
[15] Cunningham 1962, p. 72.

I did not understand the full implications of his brilliant theory and the manner in which he had designed a model of the social structures in Timor, based on only scanty and rather unreliable data evoked my aversion because, as I saw it, it did not conform to the actual situation in the Atoni area. However, the fact that an accurate and factual description of a political community by a government administrator who lacks Leiden training nonetheless calls the "Leiden School" to mind is confirmation of the importance of the work done by that School. The reliability of the results of my work is confirmed by that of Cunningham [16] who, during his stay in Timor (from 1959 until 1961), passed several weeks in North Central Timor after reading my memorandum, in order to check the data which I had collected and to carry out supplementary research. Our data correspond almost exactly and the differences in our interpretation are minor ones, except on a few points.

The question is, of course, to what extent such data are verifiable. Every social anthropological study brings to light structures of which the informants have up to that point been more or less unconscious. This is especially so in the case of political structures. As a result of my investigations the Atoni of Insana, Beboki and Miomafo have learnt to see their own political system more consciously. The point in question was, after all, the succession of their own ruler. If after this some other researcher is to ask the same questions, the same persons, if possible, will most likely be asked to act as informants again. For why should the ruler then elected allow a different result to be obtained a next time? Cunningham was at a disadvantage in that he was more dependent on the ruler of Insana, whose guest he was, than I was as a government administrator. In my view it is to this that the difference in our interpretation is to be attributed. Moreover, there were doubtless more people alive in 1940 and 1946 who had consciously lived through the 1915 situation. Nonetheless Cunningham's study may on the whole be regarded as confirmation of and supplementary to my own work, which was focused on the legitimate succession. In other words, the latter was concentrated on the situation which prevailed in former times, prior to any form of intervention by the Netherlands East Indies government, that is, before colonial rule was introduced in 1915. The nature of the study was such, however, that the situation that prevailed in 1946 also had to be taken into consideration. For this reason the study has been focused partly also on the changes which have taken place. These also form part, though in an incidental manner,

---

[16] Cunningham, 1962; regarding Insana see pp. 51-201, *id.* 1965, pp. 365-382.

of the discussion in this book. I have limited myself primarily to the old in order that the result might be a complete, integrated whole.

Although a knowledge of the kinship system, among other things, was a prerequisite in this case, unfortunately I did not get as far as investigating it thoroughly. For this purpose I had in mind genealogically charting a large village in Tunbaba, but as time ran short my research on the kinship system did not have the definitive results I had hoped for. It is not likely that an opportunity of carrying out such a research project will present itself again, as it is possible only to record the present situation and not the system prevailing in 1915. Except, perhaps, in a few areas which until now have obstinately refused to admit any kind of change, as in the large village of Nimasi in Bikomi where sending one's children to school has been officially declared taboo (*nuni*). Or as in Ambenu, in Portuguese Oekusi, the interior of which had not undergone any changes even as late as 1947.[17]

The chapter on the kinship system has therefore become primarily a critical analysis of the existing literature,[18] based on my own data and on information from missionaries and Middelkoop.

The field-work has been supplemented by an analysis of the literature and of official records. One of the primary reasons for this is that I wished to devote the second part of this book to the changes that have taken place. The processes of cultural change, acculturation or social change are chiefly historical processes.

In the case of Timor these may be traced back in history to the time when the earliest sources concerning Chinese and European traders on the coast were written. The next phase is the settlement of these traders in Timor. Then small points of contact led to some mutual influencing. The beginning of the third phase in Indonesian Timor coincides with the beginning of the 19th century, when a Malay-speaking community of Eurasian Indonesians settled in Kupang, whose chief aim it was to change the Timorese culture. (In the beginning this was exclusively the mission's concern). The fourth phase commences in 1905 when the Netherlands East Indies government began effectively to govern Timor, thereby destroying the autochthonous political communities of the Timorese. This is the chief cause of the undermining of the traditional system of life. These processes have probably generally been accelerated by the Japanese occupation and Indonesian independence. The Atoni is in the process of becoming a member of the Indo-

[17] Felgas, 1956, p. 376, also mentions only one boys' school for the whole of Ambenu.

[18] See Cunningham, 1962, pp. 202-268, and Van Wouden, 1968, pp. 95-135.

nesian nation instead of merely a member of his traditional community. I hope that I shall later have an opportunity to describe this development from tribe to nation in more detail.

The results, for the present book, of the analysis of the literature and of official records are the historical outline of the political communities and the description of the political communities outside North Central Timor. In the analysis of the practical functioning of these political communities, too, my own research was supplemented with data found in the literature.

Finally, a comparison of my own material with the many texts which Middelkoop has published together with a translation has enabled me, much to my own surprise, to make a few remarks in the final part on the Atoni's system of abstract classification and the symbolic order which are so significant for his system of life.

Although in Java there are many traces left of the same symbolic order, this is not (or no longer) reflected in the social or political order. In Sumatra there are similar societies, but up till now little has been written concerning the interrelationship between the social, political and symbolic orders.[19] There is a brilliant description of the religious and cosmological systems of the Ngadju Dayak but they have not been brought in relationship to the existing social and political systems. Although in Bali this interrelationship between the symbolic order and the political system is also evident, it is denied by some. The inseparability of the social and economic life with the cosmic order in Sumba has been indicated but not further developed by Onvlee.[20] The system of life of the Atoni in Timor demonstrates irrefutably the strong interconnection between rite, myth and social and political organization and the symbolic order.

4. DEFINITION OF SOME OF THE CONCEPTS USED

By system of life I mean the order which the Atoni himself sees in his life and his world, and which he himself puts into words, thereby becoming partly responsible for its creation. He creates a pattern in his life, but does so only partially aware of this.[21] 'System' therefore

---

[19] A section of Tobing's important work, 1956, especially pp. 130 ff., is the only exception to this.

[20] Onvlee, 1949, see p. 477 below.

[21] Cf. P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1956, and Lévi-Strauss, 1958, p. 25, where he looks for a distinction between historical and ethnological methods in the directedness "*aux expression conscientes*" and "*aux conditions inconscientes de la vie sociale*" respectively; a distinction which is not absolute and is rather meant to indicate the complementary nature of the two disciplines.

does not denote a complete, integrated whole. The system of symbols is not a closed, static one; its structural principles tend in different directions, and within the structures tensions exist which are inherent in these structures themselves, so that these function oppositionally in part.

Now that a few key concepts have been mentioned, some sort of explanation of their meaning before we proceed with our study is necessary.

'Function' is used primarily in the sense of 'operation', 'being in motion', 'effect', namely the effect of a certain structure, and the significance of an element of the structure. Furthermore, it is the contribution made by a part to the whole; function is the relationship of interdependence, though this idea should not be confused with the typically functionalistic, holistic view that function, by analogy with its use in biology, is a reciprocal relationship necessary for the survival of the organism, or in terms of sociology, of the integrated community.[22] Function may furthermore be used in the sense of eufunction as opposed to dysfunction; but in this sense it does not do full justice to the tensions inherent in the structure which are necessary to achieve unity and synthesis, although they may also lead to scission, nor does it allow enough room for changes.

'Structure' is a difficult and controversial concept. It is an especially difficult term to use unambiguously. For this reason I shall only make a few tentative remarks which may give an approximate idea of the sense in which I have used this concept. If 'function' means 'process' then 'structure' is 'mould', 'matrix'. Bastide points out, rightly so, that the word 'structure' is a derivation of the Latin word *structura*, which in turn is a derivation of *struere* (to construct). It denotes in the first place "*la manière dont un édifice est bâti*".[23] Similarly we speak of the structure of an organism, a work of art or a human community. So 'structure' denotes something permanent. René König defines structure as "*das innere Gefüge einer Gesellschaft oder Gruppe*".[24] "But however we define it, the essential idea is that parts or components are arranged in an orderly way to constitute what may be comprehended as some kind of systematic unity", writes Beattie.[25] This definition gets

[22] Cf. Hofstra, 1946, p. 37. Timasheff, 1951, p. 221. Firth, 1956, p. 224, and Merton, 1957, p. 51. Merton has explicitly estranged himself from the biological model (cf. Goddijn, 1963, pp. 109, 114), although he does tend to view the community as ideally an integrated whole, as is apparent from his use of the term "dysfunction". Gluckman, 1968, p. 234.

[23] *Dictionnaire de la langue française,* cited by Bastide, 1962, p. 10.

[24] König, 1958, p. 283.

[25] Beattie, 1964, p. 60.

round the choice between the view according to which "structure means no more than an empirically observed regularity in processes"[26] and Lévi-Strauss' view that "*le principe fondamental est que la notion de structure sociale ne se rapport pas à la réalité empirique, mais aux modèles construits d'apprès celle ci*"[27] (the fundamental principle is that the concept of structure does not correspond to empiric reality, but to the models constructed after it).

In the context of this study I have used the word 'structure' in the first place in the sense in which Marion Levy Jr. defines it, viz.: "structure is a pattern, i.e. an observable uniformity of action or operation".[28] He clearly opted for this broad definition so as to make it cover both very fixed and very flexible patterns. For the sake of clarity I would add that religious faith, thinking and language obviously also fall under the category of human action, and in these activities, too, we find certain observable, more or less fixed structures — there is always some sort of observable uniformity.

A deeper insight into the nature of structure is afforded us by Jean Piaget[29] when he says that "*En première approximation, une structure est un système de transformations, qui comporte des lois en tant que système (par opposition aux propriétés des éléments) et qui se conserve ou s'enrichit par le jeu même de ses transformations, sans que celles-ci aboutissent en dehors de ses frontières ou fasse appel à des éléments extérieurs. En un mot, une structure comprend ainsi les trois caractères de totalité, de transformations et d'autoréglage.*" (At first approximation, a structure is a system of transformations which presupposes certain laws inasmuch as it is a system (as opposed to the properties of the elements) and which maintains and enriches itself by the very interplay itself of its transformations, without the latter's exceeding its boundaries or appealing to external elements. So, in a word, a structure embraces the three characteristics of totality, transformation and self-regulation).

A second approximation, which follows from the first, is that a structure should allow room for a certain measure of formalization.

---

[26] Van Doorn and Lammers, 1959, p. 277.

[27] Lévi-Strauss, 1953, p. 305.

[28] Marion Levy Jr., 1952, p. 57. In Marion Levy Jr. 1966, p. 26, an ideal structure is "defined as what some set of individuals regards as right, good, proper, preferable etc.", and an actual structure "refers to any structure in terms of which behaviour in fact takes place", the word "behaviour" being used synonymously with "action".

[29] Jean Piaget, 1968, esp. pp. 6-16.

Here it should be pointed out, however, that this formalization is the work of the theoretician, whereas the structure itself is strictly independent of him.

The first characteristic of a structure mentioned by Piaget, then, is its totality. The opinions are unanimous concerning this. Although unquestionably a structure is composed of a number of elements, the latter are subordinated to the laws characteristic of the system as such. Furthermore, these laws of composition cannot be reduced to cumulative associations, but they lend the whole as such a certain unity of characteristics which is distinguishable from that of the elements.

So he can see in addition to the models of atomistic associations and those of looming totalities a third approach, namely that of a dynamic structuralism. This assumes a rational attitude from the beginning, according to which that which is of importance is neither the element nor a totality which forces itself upon the observer as such — without his being able to define how — but rather the interrelations of the elements, or in other words, the functioning or the process of composition, the totality being but the result of these interrelations or this process of composition, the laws of which are those of the system.

This brings us face to face with the central problem of all structuralistic thought, namely the question whether these composite totalities have always existed, and if so, how and why, or whether they were at one time in a state of development and always are and will be? In between the idea of development without structure — which presupposes atomistic composition and with which the empiricists have made us familiar — on the one hand, and the danger of landing ourselves in the field of the transcendental essence of things on the other, structuralism has a calling to either choose or find the solutions by which this dualism can be overcome.

It is because of the second characteristic of a structure, namely that it is a system of transformations, that there exists a possibility of overcoming the dilemma. The characteristic nature of structural totalities lies in their laws of composition. These tend by their very nature to systematize reality. As a result there is a constant dualism, or more correctly, bipolarity of characteristics in that structural totalities are always both in a state of development and in some sort of a developed state.

The third characteristic of structure which Piaget mentions is "*l'autoréglage*" or self-adjustment. As a result of the fact that structures are self-adjusting they are able to maintain themselves and are to some extent closed. This means that the transformations do not

exceed the limits of a structure but are constantly characteristic only of that structure and maintain its laws.

These characteristics of self-preservation together with the stability of the boundaries in spite of the development of any random new elements therefore presuppose a certain degree of self-regulation of the structures. Without a doubt this essential characteristic strengthens the significance of the concept of structure as well as the hope which it raises in the different fields of the social sciences, for whenever anyone succeeds in cutting down a certain field of study to a self-regulating structure one has the impression that one is taking possession of the inner motor of the system. This process of self-adjustment realizes itself, for the rest, in accordance with the different operations or processes, which makes acceptable the idea of an order of growing complexity which consequently brings us back to the question of composition and, finally, development. Hence "*rhythmes, régulations et opérations*" are the three essential procedures of "*autoréglage*".

We shall leave Piaget here. But first I would stress the great importance of the transformations and observe, following the same line of thought as Piaget, that when once one has recognized these characteristics as the essence of structures, differences such as that between Marion Levy Jr. and Lévi-Strauss are only differences in level of abstraction. I personally prefer to speak of structural principles in the case of Lévi-Strauss.

Strangely enough we find what is in essence the same theory — though used in a different way — put forward by a psychiatrist such as Rümke, who considers man's continuous state of development, or his dynamic growth towards different levels of integration, the most important characteristic of man. He says that "If we give attention to certain creative forces which determine the shape and composition of our psychic life, we are here, too, being dynamic and structural in accordance with a psycho-dynamic way of thought".[30]

As the Dutch original of the present book dates back to 1966, needless to say I was not acquainted with Piaget's ideas at the time of original composition. I have referred to him at such length in the present English version, however, because the whole of my book shows an extremely close affinity to his theory on the point of the concept of structure. Here totality and change are constantly recurring themes. These I tried to explain by speaking of different, mutually contradictory structures in one and the same system, so that even though there is a directedness towards integration, conflict is of equally

[30] Rümke, 1967, III, p. 4.

great importance, as a result of which there is constant dynamism and perpetual change. In addition, I have used the concept structural principle, which closely corresponds to the concept *autoréglage*. A structure has the tendency to re-adjust itself constantly. For instance, when a Sonba'i, a member of the exiled house of sacral rulers of Atoni Timor, settled in Fatule'u in West Timor, a new political community developed around him in accordance with the traditional structural principles.[31]

Although structures exist in reality, it is the sociologist who gives shape to them. In the present book the word 'structure' is often also used in the sense of the shape which is the Atoni's own creation, or the order as he sees it. For as soon as we speak of a certain regularity, a certain pattern, rule or norm is implied. The Atoni orders his life in a certain way, he gives it a certain shape, and so classifies the world around him. Whenever it is his way of arranging his world with which we are dealing I shall speak of his classificatory system.

When describing the relationship between a man and his mother's brother, I am dealing not only with "a set of social relations" but also with the implicit rule or norm in accordance with which this man and his mother's brother have to behave in respect of one another. This is regarded by them as an order which they must observe. The same applies to the complicated structure of ritual kingship.

When René König speaks of "*das innere Gefüge einer Gesellschaft oder Gruppe*" he gives the word structure a different accent. This seems to me to suggest that there are universal frameworks within which human life is set. Although we can sense this, it is something we cannot comprehend, as here we are approaching the plane of transcendental ideas.

As I see it, structure as an empiric reality in the sense in which Marion Levy uses it, and Piaget elaborates it theoretically, implies a shape determined by the scientist's influence — possibly in the form of a structural model — as well as by the members of the culture themselves, and points to certain universal frameworks. These are different levels of abstraction and different approaches which are not in any way mutually exclusive.

Man systematizes reality by exploring it. This is a continuous, dynamic activity. Culture can, for instance, be regarded as the tillage (*colere*) of the soil. The field constitutes the background in which man lives, and thus is the tangible reality of his existence, of which

---

[31] See p. 277 below.

he himself is part but which derives its shape from his creativity. This process of giving shape to reality implies at the same time the introduction of certain norms. Structures and norms are two sides of one medal. Piaget touches on this when he says that a totality makes certain laws prerequisite. And the self-regulation of social or religious structures is not independent of man's desiring and striving to attain the order as he sees it, which he considers to be normative and hence constantly wants to re-mould. The fact that these norms are continuously changing is a logical outcome of what I consider to be the most important characteristic of a structure, namely transformation.

Now, there are a large number of structures within one particular aspect of a culture, and they combine to form a system. A number of kinship structures combine to form a kinship system, in the same way that a political system consists of a number of political structures. These systems are never static, but undergo a constant process of change because of the differences in the structural principles exerting their influence. Radcliffe-Brown says with reference to these structural principles: "Just as an architect in designing a building has to make a choice of structural principles which he will use, so, though in a less deliberate fashion, in the construction of a kinship system there are certain limited numbers of structural principles which can be used and combined in various ways. It is on this selection, method of use, and combination of these principles that the character of the structure depends. A structural analysis of a kinship system must therefore be in terms of structural principles and their application".[32] This representation is not entirely satisfactory, as man does not select his structural principles deliberately, even though he may develop them more or less consciously. He knows them and certainly recognizes them when once made aware of them. But he is not fully aware of the way in which they operate or of the way in which he himself constantly rebuilds his 'house' with the use of these principles. So the image of "a building which he designs" is too rigid. We may be coming closer to reality by distinguishing the large number of structures which are, in fact, based on a limited number of structural principles by means of which these structures are realized and combine to form a system. We shall see that these principles are partly conflicting, thus giving rise to a constant, dynamic tension within the system. So man builds his house anew every generation, and on the basis of the same structural principles the 'construction' may be different each time. This is how the con-

[32] Radcliffe-Brown, 1950, p. 83; cf. pp. 138 and 392 ff. below.

tinuous process of change even within the traditional system, in which the old structural principles have always remained fully in force, is to be understood.

Hence we can distinguish between functions, structures and structural principles in the systems of a culture, including a system of agriculture and cattle-raising, a kinship system, a political system and a religious system. Used in this particular context "system" is never to be understood in the sense of a closed, perfectly integrated whole, but rather as a composite of structures realized through different structural principles and therefore not harmonious in their functioning, and never in a state of equilibrium. The Atoni tries to order this diversity, which constitutes the totality of his life, in a symbolic system of polar oppositions, which again do not form a closed order, and so the dualism which results is not a complete dualism. He also seeks to arrive at a synthesis, and partly realizes this in the figure of the ritual ruler.

In order to accentuate this state of openness and mobility we have sought to achieve as much historical perspective as possible, besides giving a cross-section of the Atoni culture round about 1915. Hence the synchronic approach includes a diachronic one. We shall constantly refer back to the past in order to shed light on the present. This approach is a result of the view that a cultural anthropologist "has to modify his picture of society in such a manner that it is seen to exist, as indeed it does exist, in time. In other words, he has to come closer to the reality in his conceptualisation of it without, for all that, turning into a historian".[33] Evans-Pritchard expresses this as follows: "Historians write history, as it were, forwards and we would tend to write it backward".[34] This is correct only in part, and only applies to ethnic groups for which we have virtually no historical sources. But it is never true of an analysis of the processes of change in the 20th century. Even in the case of groups which lack a script of their own, such as the Atoni and the Belu, we are able to go more than three centuries back into history in the archives of the colonizing powers. This is far enough, in fact, to justify a historical outline describing the development of the present-day political communities in chronological order, whilst the book as a whole, moreover, gives a description of the culture as it came to be at that particular time and in that particular place in Timor; a culture which bears a universal character, besides, because it owes its shape to the influence of universal human

[33] Pocock, 1961, p. 97.
[34] Evans-Pritchard, 1962 (1961), p. 60.

categories, of which Ernst Cassirer[35] says: "In all human activities we find a fundamental polarity, which may be described in various ways. We may speak of a tension between stabilization and evolution, between a tendency that leads to fixed stable forms of life and another tendency to break up this rigid scheme. Man is torn between these two tendencies, one of which seeks to preserve old forms whereas the other strives to produce new ones. There is a ceaseless struggle between tradition and innovation — between reproductive and creative forces". Cassirer looks for polarity especially in the diachronic aspect of culture, in historical change and the counter-forces involved. But this polarity becomes more fundamental still when it is found to exist also in the synchronic aspect of the culture. Even where there is no tension between the forces of stabilization and evolution, between tradition and innovation, because progress as a norm is unknown, there exists, as we shall see, a marked polarity together with the attempt to overcome this by means of a synthesis.

It is the aim of the present analysis of the political system of an archaic culture thus to contribute to the understanding of human culture in general.

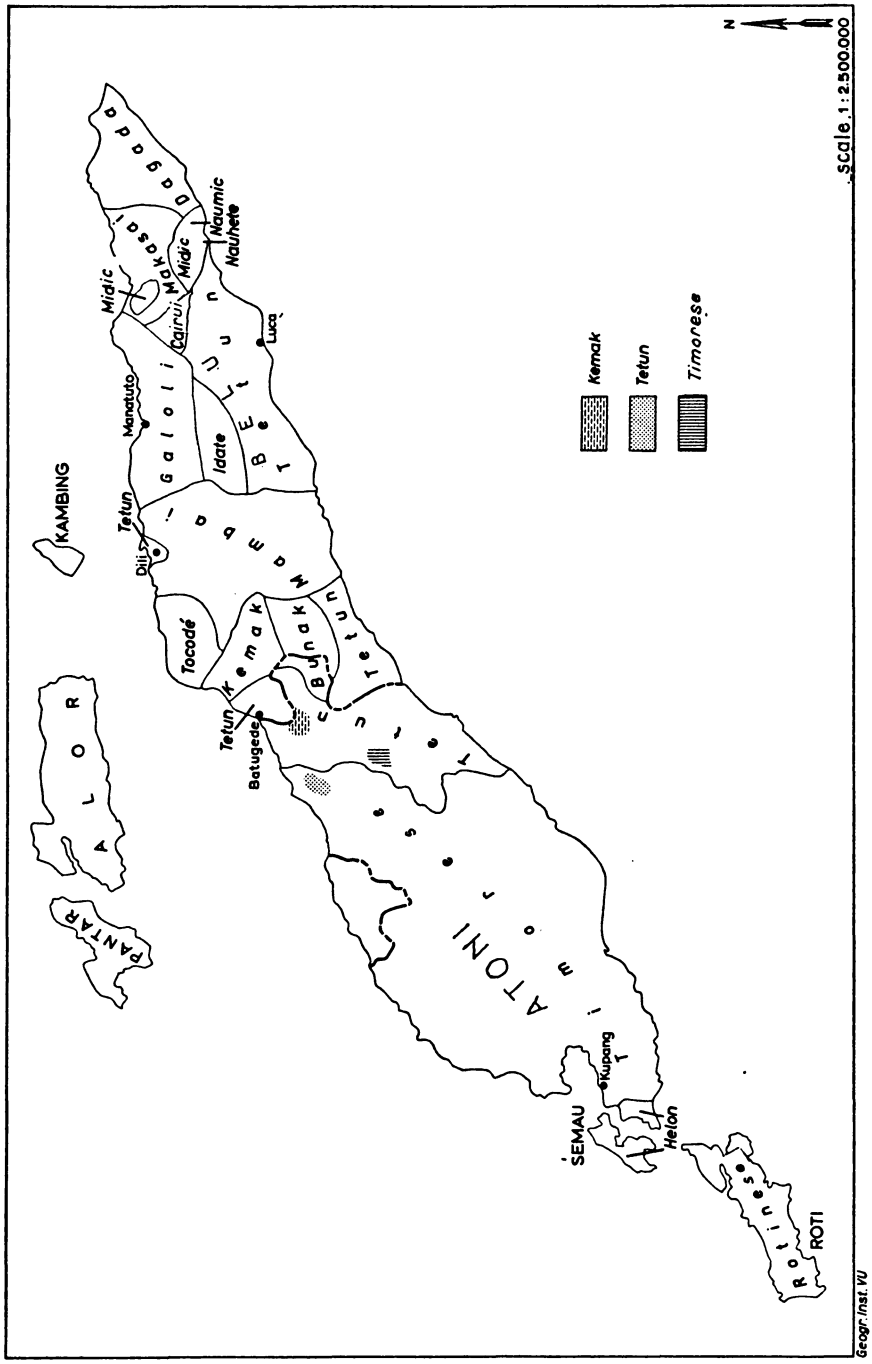
We have adopted the following procedure. First a general outline of the world of the Atoni of Timor is given. This includes a description of the rites accompanying the agricultural cycle, as the latter culminates in the bearing of gifts of homage to the ruler — an indication that agriculture is the basis for the political system. Agriculture and its related ritual are important, moreover, in acquainting us with the way in which all aspects of the culture are interrelated. The kinship system is also of fundamental importance for the political system. In conclusion of the above, a few remarks on the religion will have to be made in a separate chapter, although we constantly touch on this in our discussion of the rites and myths. Only then can we commence our analysis of the political system. The first part of this consists of a historical outline, followed by an analysis of the political systems of the different princedoms. This is followed in turn by a chapter summarizing the Timorese political system in general.

Then we shall give, in retrospect, a summary of the data concerning the classificatory system which have emerged in the course of the study, and the significance of the latter for the system of life.

In conclusion, we shall try to determine the place which this system of life occupies in the Indonesian culture province.

---

[35] Cassirer, 1956 (1944), p. 281. Cf. also the important paper by Wertheim, 1964, concerning this problem.



MAP No. 1 *The Languages of Timor*

PART ONE

THE ATONI AND HIS WORLD

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

1. THE ATONI

The people who inhabit the greater part of Indonesian Timor designate themselves as the *Atoni Pah Meto* (= the people of the dry land). The extreme western part of the island is inhabited by the Helonese, who used at one time to form a separate political community under the ruler of Kupang. In the course of the centuries, but particularly after the Dutch first settled in Kupang in 1653, the Helonese were pushed gradually further back to the west, as indicated on map no. 1 of the languages spoken in Timor. According to the most reliable census, namely that of 1930, the total number of Atoni came to approximately 180,000; in 1952 it came to approximately 300,000, and in 1966, according to a provincial survey, to 600,000.

The Atoni's eastern neighbours are the Belu, who were once united with the Atoni in one ritual, dual monarchy. The number of Belunese in 1930 came to approximately 85,000, and in 1952 to approximately 100,000. These figures are no more than rough estimates, as on both occasions on which a census was taken the fact that the district of Belu is also inhabited by Bunak and Kemak was not taken into account (see map no. 1). The Tetun-speaking Belunese also inhabit large parts of Portuguese Timor. They were formerly also the subjects of the united kingdoms of the Belunese and the Atoni.

2. GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

The south coast of Timor is separated from the Australian continent by the shallow Timor Sea, here approximately 500 km. wide. It shows

some similarity with the Australian continent as far as the climate, flora and fauna are concerned, but culturally there is a wide difference between the Indonesian and Australian culture provinces, even though they have a few features in common.

In Timor we find traces of Melanesian and Papuan culture, although it is extremely difficult to find any sort of concrete evidence for influences exercised by these cultures.

Timor is a marginal area also in the sense that in contrast to western Indonesia, which was subject to Buddhist and Hindu cultural influences from India for about fifteen centuries, there are no traces of these to be found in Timor, which, however, is not proof that there has not been some indirect influence via Java. But it is difficult to establish what might be its heritage from the ancient Indonesian culture and what may have been imported later from Java or other parts of Indonesia.

Islam, too, has virtually by-passed Timor. Except that since the days of the Dutch East India Company there have always been a number of Muslims among the government officials, and the police and military personnel who came from Java or other Muslim areas in Indonesia.

The island of Timor shares this marginal position — by-passed as it was by the main culture streams which have brought Indonesia into contact with the worlds of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam for the past 2000 years — with the major part of the eastern Timor archipelago, made up of Sumba, Flores and the Solor archipelago, as well as Timor itself. An exception to this is formed by a part of the Solor archipelago, namely the Padji area, which became Muslim as far back as approximately 1600, mainly out of protest against Portuguese overlordship.[1] This was also the case in part of Pantar and Alor. Similarly Islam has won some followers in and around Ende, the principal town of Flores.

Some of these islands clearly belong to the Indonesian culture province, as does Manggarai in West Flores, as well as Sumba.[2] The similarities in social structure, for instance, between these and Minangkabau and the Batak area in Sumatra show this only too clearly. The point in question is to what extent the same applies to Timor, and especially to the eastern Atoni area which is the more specific object of this study. It can be said at the outset that there are similarities as

---

[1] Cf. Biermann, 1924, p. 21.
[2] Cf. Onvlee, 1949; also personal communication.

regards the negative factor of being by-passed by the main culture streams of Indonesia.

3. THE PEOPLE

We may turn to physical anthropology to supply the answer to our question concerning the extent to which the peoples of the Timor archipelago are related or otherwise.

Bijlmer [3] clearly sees Melanesian influences in Timor, as opposed to Sumba, which is rather more Indonesian. Vroklage has collected a great deal of material in North Central Timor which has been worked out by Lammers. The latter concludes that "a statistical analysis of Vroklage's material has indicated that the population of East Dawan must be a mixed population".[4] If we take into account the hypothesis according to which "the result of mixing different racial components is not a number of intermediate characteristics but, as it were, a mosaic of characteristics",[5] this conclusion is not a surprising one, and may hold universally true for all peoples.

He considers two elements especially important: a Melanoid one (probably the oldest) and a more recent, Proto-Malay component. Veddoid characteristics, for which there are a few indications, may equally be explained as resulting from Proto-Malay influence. Lammers excludes the possibility of Deutero-Malay influence with almost one hundred per cent certainty. Moreover, judging from the regional differences in the eastern Atoni area, it is "probable that Malay influence decreases from east to west".[6]

This we see clearly in the differences between the South Belunese — who have wavy to almost straight hair, like the girl in photograph 5 — and the Atoni, who have frizzy or spirally hair, like the people from Amanatun in photograph 6. The Atoni also have more facial hair. This, however, they regularly pluck out with the aid of a pair of tweezers (*naunu*) (see photograph 7), in which groups of men sitting together are often seen to be engaged. So cultural habits can in

---

[3] Bijlmer, 1929, p. 91.

[4] Lammers, 1948, p. 273. *Dawan* is the Tetun name for the language of the Atoni. It used to be and still is generally used by the Roman Catholic Mission, which entered the eastern Atoni area from Belu.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

many cases bring about deceptive differences in physical appearance. (See photograph 7).

The regional groups — Beboki, Insana and Noemuti in Miomafo — studied by Lammers display remarkable differences in respect of each other from east to west.[7] Beboki and Insana have more in common with one another than with Noemuti, and the differences between Noemuti and Beboki are, on the average, wider than those between Noemuti and Insana. Skin pigmentation is darkest in Noemuti and lightest in Insana, while growth of body- and facial hair is stronger in Noemuti than in Insana and Beboki. There is also an extraordinary increase in the cephalic index from east to west, the result of both a decrease in the length of the head (185.4; 183.1; 180.2) and an increase in the width of the head (146.0; 145; 150.8), so that Beboki and Insana are mesocephalic (79.1 and 79.4) and Noemuti brachycephalic (83.7).

Van Bork-Feltkamp,[8] who worked out Meijer's data on Roti and Fatu Matabia in eastern Portuguese Timor, considers Papua influence possible in Timor, whilst Nyèssen [9] says: "In Timor we have the same situation more or less as in New Guinea, with small retarded mesomorph hominids in the interior which have preserved the original form, and tall dolichomorphs along the coast!" Exactly the same findings as in the case of the Kilimanjaro and the Nuba in Africa.

Mendes Corrêa [10] considers that for the whole of Portuguese Timor Proto-Malay influences are dominant, with both Europoid and Indo-Melanoid traits occurring, but without either Negroid or Mongoloid characteristics being found. There are also very few more or less Mongoloid Deutero-Malay elements. And in the extreme interior are found Veddo-Australoid elements, related to the Melanesians and Papuans.

When later on he returned to Timor for another month he wrote that the population of Timor is not the result of recent migrations and that its earliest inhabitants were contemporary with the pithecanthropos, Homo Soloensis and Homo Wadjakensis, with whom there was considerable intermixing a very long time ago. Timor is "*mais um centro ou uma area de differenciaçâo racìal, antropogenétìca, do que, como se tem presendído, uma Babal resultante da convergêneìa das mais variadas*

---

[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 265 ff.
[8] Van Bork-Feltkamp, 1951, p. 61.
[9] Nyèssen, 1944 (1945), p. 96.
[10] Mendes Corrêa, in Felgas, 1956, p. 145.

estirpas humanas, um cadinho de fusâo inextricável de raças" [11] (rather a centre or an area of ethnic differentiation, anthropologically speaking, so that it is like a Babel resulting from the convergence of more varied ethnic groups, or an inextricable melting-pot of ethnic groups).

Our conclusion must be, then, that Timor is indeed a marginal area as regards its physical types, although it is impossible to draw an accurate line of demarcation. It is furthermore a marginal area in the sense that clearly distinguishable ethnic groups are still found here.

Melanesian and Proto-Malay elements have blended with earlier ethnic groups, purer elements of which may still be found in the mountains of eastern and central Timor.

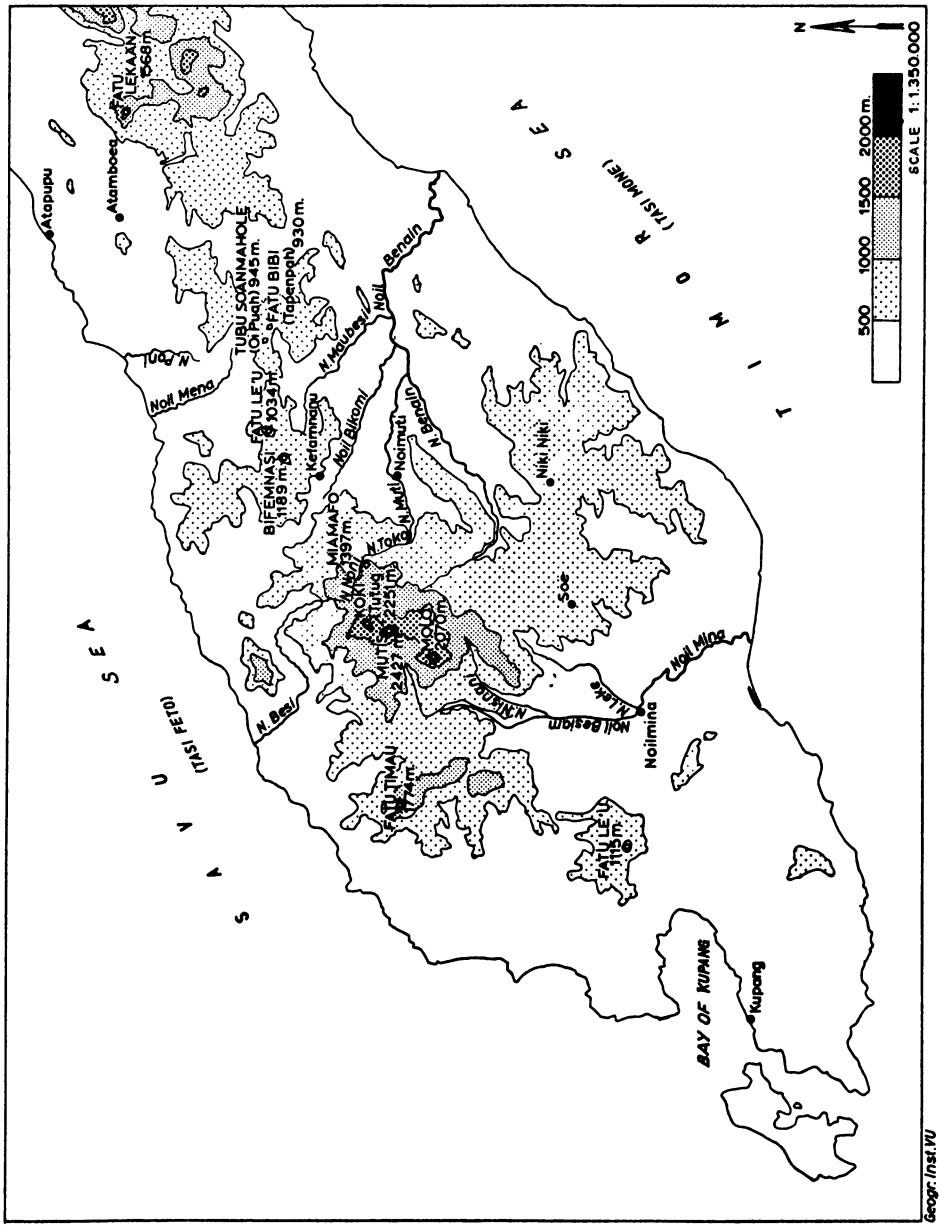
It is also quite likely that the present inhabitants have lived there for many centuries. Whether or not the earliest inhabitants existed as early as the pithecanthropos is of little relevance for our present study. It is further impossible to make an estimate on the basis of these data as to when the last migrations may have taken place. Nor is there any more certainty as to whether the Proto-Malay groups arrived earlier or later than the Melanesian ones.

There was probably very little intermixing, or none at all, between these ethnic groups for many centuries. Although there was some mixing with neighbouring groups, as Lammers' study has revealed, there was none over larger distances. Culturally speaking this is indicative of only a low frequency of social contacts over greater distances. Of course this proves little as regards differences or similarities in culture. It is only to be expected, however, that isolated groups will preserve their own culture and that with different groups a culture will evolve differently, irrespective of any differences or similarities there may have been to begin with.

One more implication — though a negative one — of the data supplied by physical anthropology for a cultural anthropological study is that any migrations which may have taken place from areas beyond Timor will be beyond our historical range of vision. Hence the data derived from myths of origin will not be considered for historical verification.

All we can say with regard to the culture is that we must be prepared to find Indonesian traits in the culture of the Timorese, while non-Indonesian elements may also be present. It is also to be expected that a distinctive cultural type developed because the last immigrants entered the area many centuries ago.

[11] Mendes Corrêa, *Um mês em Timor,* 1955, in Felgas, 1956, p. 137.



MAP No. 2 *West Timor*

4. THE LANGUAGE

The languages of most of the peoples of the Timor archipelago fall into two groups: a western one, to which belong the languages of Savu, Sumba, Bima and the Manggarai, and an eastern one, which, according to Jonker,[12] is probably one of a large group of languages which extends from Roti, Timor, East Flores, Ceram and Buru to the Kei and Aru Islands.

Timorese, the language of the Atoni, and Rotinese have the closest mutual affinities with Tetun, Galoli and Mambai on the one hand and Helon on the other. Besides these there are the mutually closely related languages of Kisar and Leti which also clearly reveal some similarity with Tetun, Timorese and Rotinese.[13] Approximately the same degree of affinity exists between the languages of the Timor group and the mutually more closely related languages of Solor and Sika in Flores.

As regards the languages of the Timor group, i.e. Timorese, Rotinese, Helon, Tetun, Galoli and Mambai, there are important similarities with their closest geographical neighbours, i.e. the language group comprising Savu, Sumba, Ende and Bima [14]; such as, for instance, the absence of Indonesian suffixes in word formation and the especially strong tendency to form compound words which is apparent in both Rotinese and the Bima-Sumba group. These are also found in Timorese.[15]

The difference in genitive constructions on which Brandes based his classification is, as Jonker [16] demonstrates, a development of more recent date. This makes it difficult to demarcate a clear boundary between Roti and Savu which may act as the dividing line between the two language groups.

Capell [17] draws the conclusion that there are two types of language in Timor, namely the Indonesian type and a non-Indonesian, probably pre-Indonesian type. This seems to be the case, in fact. The non-Indon-

---

[12] Jonker, 1915, XII, Capell, 1944, p. 19. Ekris' vocabulary, 1864, reveals virtually no similarity with Timorese, however. Jonker in 1918 simply mentions a Bima-Sumba group in addition to a Timor-Amboina group. *E.N.I.* II, p. 146. For a more detailed explanation see Jonker, 1914.

[13] Cf. Heijmering, 1846, appendices with comparative vocabularies of Leti, Timor, Helon, Tetun, Roti, Savu, Solor, Ende and Sumba (East S.).

[14] Jonker, 1915, XIII, XIV.

[15] Cf. Middelkoop, 1950a, p. 414.

[16] Jonker, 1915, XI.

[17] Capell 1943-44, pp. 314 ff.; *id.* 1944-45, p. 27. Cf. Felgas, 1956, pp. 171-175.

esian and even non-Austronesian languages are found mainly in the interior of East and Central Timor. Moreover, according to him the Indonesian languages can be divided into two sub-groups, the dividing line between which would coincide with the border line running between the Atoni and Tetun areas. But he mistakenly draws the line from Oekusi to an opposite point on the south coast, which places the regions of Insana and Beboki in the Tetun area although they belong completely to the Atoni language area.

Capell arrived at this conclusion in what was only an introductory summary written during the war period when contacts were impossible. Later on, in his general survey of the languages of Oceania, he classified Bunak, Makassai and Dagada [18] among the non-Austronesian languages. Probably the languages of the peoples driven into the interior, namely Idaté, Cairai, Midic, Naumic and Nauhete, also belong to this group. In Alor [19] and north Halmaheira [20] too, non-Austronesian languages are found. These linguistic data make a further interpretation possible of what indications we have from physical anthropology.

The small, dolichocephalic people of Fatu Matabia, data about whom have been worked out by Van Bork-Feltkamp,[21] live in the non-Austronesian language area in the interior of eastern Portuguese Timor. And the man who, according to Bijlmer, looked exactly like an Australian aborigine, lived in the Bunak language area. Nyèssen's [22] conclusion that here we have the autochthonous, at any rate much older inhabitants, is therefore quite plausible. Because of this we should certainly also consider the possibility of some degree of relationship with the Papuans, as Van Bork-Feltkamp supposes with respect to the people of Fatu Matabia. Just as the north Halmaheira languages reveal vague resemblances with Papuan languages, we may suppose that the same may be the case with Bunak and the languages of other peoples driven into the interior. Berthe [23] suggests, however, that Bunak is not a Papuan language, but that it contains words related to the Proto-Malay of the Semang in the Malay Peninsula. This hypothesis has been refuted conclusively by Cowan,[24] who arrived at the conclusion that Bunak

---

[18] Capell, 1962, pp. 372, 374. Capell writes Dagoda instead of Dagada. Felgas and Martinho, 1943, p. 272.
[19] Personal communication Onvlee.
[20] Van der Veen, 1915, p. 225.
[21] Van Bork-Feltkamp, 1951.
[22] Bijlmer, 1929, photograph no. 27, cf. p. 92, and Nyèssen, 1944/5, p. 97.
[23] Berthe, 1959, p. 362.
[24] Cowan, 1963, p. 399.

is related to the southern group of western Papuan languages. The fact that only a few of the 200 words listed by Berthe show some relationship to western Timorese languages would corroborate this.

5. THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

In a cultural anthropological approach to the questions posed in this study, which are focused primarily on the political system, it should be borne in mind that the basis of the culture of a community is formed by the use that is made of the natural background in which that culture exists, namely the tillage (*colere*) of the soil and the possibilities of survival offered by the land, and that its climax is the religious 'cult'. All that lies in the magnetic field between the two poles *colere* and *cultus* is connected with both and cannot be understood without a knowledge of both these poles of culture. *Colere* conveys that man fashions his culture and *cultus* implies man's awareness of his dependence.

The way in which man fashions his existence is determined by, among other things, the soil on which he constructs his house, or in other words, his culture. Our first concern is therefore to investigate what kind of land the Atoni cultivates, and subsequently the way in which he does this.

These questions concerning the physical environment of the Atoni and what he has done with it have been answered, in a manner difficult to excel, by Ormeling in his thesis entitled "The Timor Problem". This work will be the point of departure for the present sub-chapter. A little more will be added about the areas of Insana, Beboki and Miomafo, however, which will be the focal point of this study. The location of these princedoms is approximately 9° S.Lat. and 124° E.Long.[25]

a. *The soil*

Together with Roti, Savu and Sumba, Timor forms a chain of islands which, unlike the other islands of this part of the archipelago, lack recent volcanic deposits. They do contain large areas of lime and marl soils, however, and are therefore a great deal less fertile. The oldest geological rock types are found in the central mountains, whilst in the north of Indonesian Timor and in part of Portuguese Timor there are occurrences of old volcanic rock, making that part of Timor more fertile, provided it is not too dry. This is the case in Manamas,

[25] See map no. 4.

where this ancient black, volcanic rock type can be seen in a deep chasm with black cliffs, hundreds of metres in height, with loose, black, extremely fertile soil at their foot. The river bed, on the other hand, is gravelly, the water seeping away immediately, even in the wet season (see photograph 8). In the crevices and on the inaccessible, steep sides of these mountains many kinds of broad-leaved trees grow instead of the usual eucalypts.

The formation of the mountain chains is very irregular and the mountains frequently slope at an angle of 25° or more.[26] Such slopes occur mainly in the central mountains of the interior, from Fatu Le'u to Nuaf Miomafo, and in Amanatun and Amanuban in the south. Parts of the landscape of Miomafo are very mountainous, containing among others the Koki or Tufuf,[27] the twin of the Mutis; it is 2251 metres high. A large portion of Miomafo and Insana consists of a 400 to 450 m. high central plain, relieved in Insana by slightly undulating hill country, after which it continues, extending as far east as south-eastern Beboki and Atambua in Belu. Here it is still over 300 m. high. The heavy, loamy soil of the plain, which has a high calcium content and has a very poor drainage in Beboki, moreover, is muddy and boggy in the wet season. In the dry season fissures as deep as two metres appear in the soil. For these reasons the great plain does not favour communications. Traffic on horseback, still the most important means of transport, is difficult in both the wet and the dry season. In an experiment with mechanized cultivation in a part of this plain near Sekon, in Insana, the fertility of the soil turned out to be disappointing. The yield was lower than had been anticipated and this corresponded with the results of a test of the different soil types, which, however, was carried out too late.[28] Red soil is frequently found higher up; eucalyptus trees[29] have a special preference for this type of soil. A group of eucalyptus trees on a plain is certain to be an indication of an elevation with red top-soil. This soil is mixed with gravel. It is avoided by the Atoni in their choice of suitable land for garden plots. Red soil occurs frequently in the hill country of Bikomi and Noimuti, where there are extensive eucalypt forests, as on the

[26] See Ormeling, 1955, map no. 11, p. 34.

[27] The name Nefomasi is incorrect on the map. This is the name of the lowest point of the ridge joining the two summits. In ritual language its name is often Babnain; p. 65 below.

[28] Cf. Ormeling, 1955, pp. 218-220. Lamping, 1952, although critical in his approach, is nonetheless too defensive in respect of the Department of Agriculture's policy. Van Naerssen, 1953.

[29] *Eucalyptus alba,* Reinw. Tim. *hau huë*; Indon. *kaju putih.*

northern side of the watershed, i.e. in Ablal, Nilulat and Manamas. Red clay is also found, especially in Noiltoko and surroundings; it contains no gravel and is fertile, though very hard. Another soil type found here is grey loam, popularly known among roadbuilders as "soap earth", because it is known to cause landslides. This loam is frequently found in the hills on the northern side of the plain and is less fertile than the red clay, perhaps partly because it is much subject to erosion. Only a few eucalyptus and acacia [30] trees and some grass grow here. Lastly, there is a great deal of *karang* rock in Noimuti, a corallite which is predominant in Western Timor.

On the north coast, in northern Insana and northern Beboki, lies an extensive plain which is dry and consequently of little value for agriculture. As a result of a low rainfall and the limited size of the catchment area, and more especially because of the extremely wide riverbeds of sand and gravel, the water level of the rivers is low, even during the wet season. Between this plain and that of Central Timor lies a rugged mountain range, constituting the watershed between the Noil-Benain, the largest river in Timor, which flows into the Timor Sea in South Belu, and the smaller rivers which flow into the Savu Sea in the north. This range forms the boundary of the Portuguese enclave of Oekusi or Ambenu; its highest summit, the Bifemnasi (old woman), lies to the north of Kefamnanu. In one part of this range in Beboki there are valleys which are difficult of access, partly as a result of the steepness of the mountainsides but also because of the grey, slippery loam in which a horse may sink up to its knees in the wet season and in which deep fissures appear in the dry season.

b. *Climate*

Judging by its geographical position one would expect the climate of Timor to conform to the general Indonesian pattern with its characteristic succession of monsoons. This it does, in fact; but it also displays a marked difference with the rest of Indonesia as a result of the influence of the Australian continent, because of which the easterly monsoon is particularly dry.

During this season the nights are cool. In Kefamnanu, at an altitude of 400 m., temperatures may be as low as 12° or 13° C.[31] In the wet

---

[30] *Acasia leucophloea,* Willd; Tim. *kabesak.*

[31] The lowest temperature reading I ever took was 8½ degrees centigrade just before sunrise in August, 1946, at the foot of the Mutis, at an altitude of approx. 1950 metres.

season the temperatures probably correspond with those reported by Mohr, that is, 18° - 13° C. in the tropical mountain country between 1000 and 1800 m. high and 27° - 25° C. in the lowlands under 200 m. The difference is that between a temperate and a hot climate. In the dry season a large part of Timor is barren. Most of the trees shed their leaves at this time. The eucalyptus forests especially, which have no undergrowth, make a "wintery" impression with their white trunks and bare branches. But just before the rains break the buds begin to swell and burst into leaf at the first rainfalls or just before. Within a week after this "spring" makes its entrance in all its glory, with as many different shades of green as are to be seen in Europe in the month of May, if not more, with the trees which have retained their leaves (such as the *waringin* [32] or banyan) adding their older, darker greens.

Another important characteristic of the climate of Timor is the tremendous variability of the rainfall caused by differences in altitude and location in respect of the mountain chains. Moreover, the rainfall is very unevenly distributed over a period of years. Ormeling,[33] for instance, reports a rainfall of 1041 mm. for Lahurus in 1930 and 7482 mm. in 1934. The year 1930 was admittedly a dry year for the whole of Timor, and, moreover, the rains had fallen irregularly in October of 1929 so that the first crop failed in many parts.[34] The year 1934 was a wet year for almost the whole of Timor except for Kupang. A tropical cyclone as the one that occurred in May 1939, when within the space of one week the rainfall was between 350 mm. and 600 mm. in some places, has a misleading influence on the average rainfall figures for the month of May over a large number of years.

Annual and even monthly averages recorded over a period of years do not, therefore, give a reliable representation of the actual situation, especially as the times at which the rains actually set in vary a great deal. In 1936 no rain fell at all in Kefamnanu in October and November, as against an average of 141 mm. for those months. It is especially difficult to present an accurate picture because frequently the rains commence to fall only to cease again for three weeks or so, resulting

---

[32] One of the most common varieties of the *waringin* is the *Ficus benjamina* L.; Tim. *nunu tili.* Also, among others, *Ficus callosa,* Willd.; Tim. *hau lasi*; and *Ficus gibbosa,* Bl.; Tim. *nunu isu.* The Timorese language distinguishes between 22 varieties of banyan. Meijer Drees, 1950, p. 39.

[33] Ormeling, 1955, p. 19. We have gone into the variability of the rainfall at some length as it has important bearings on the position of the ruler.

[34] Van Alphen, 1933, p. 116.

in the failure of the first crop of corn. This is not necessarily indicated by monthly rainfall figures.

Differences in altitude result in considerable differences in rainfall and temperature. Of old the dry season in some areas of Timor has been roughly estimated at nine, six or three months.[35] The north coast of central Timor for instance, has nine dry months and during the three wet months the precipitation is heavy and irregular, with frequent falls of 100 mm. or so. The wet season here usually sets in a little before January. Similarly the entire area which lies to the north of the central mountains in the interior, with peaks as high as 1774 m. (the Fatu Timau) and 2427 m. the (Nuaf Mutis), has a positively long dry season even at very high altitudes. On the southern side of these ridges, which coincide approximately with the watershed between the north and south coasts, the rainfall is much more favourable. The wet season sets in earlier here, usually in November on the plains, and even in the months of April and May the precipitation is over 600 mm., though under 100 mm.

> Consequently these months, according to Mohr,[36] may be classified neither as dry nor as wet months. They are "damp" months. The same phenomenon can be observed in the mountain country of the centre on the southern side of the divide, except that it occurs later on in the year; in Noiltoko, which lies at an altitude of 550 m. at the foot of the Miomafo (height 1397 m.) May and June are the "damp" months. Here, however, Mohr's classification falls short. According to Mohr a month may be termed "wet" in the tropics if it has a rainfall of over 100 mm., because in that case the rate of absorption by the soil is higher than the rate of evaporation; if the rainfall is less than 60 mm. the amount that evaporates is greater than that which falls, so that the ground dries out. In Wini, on the north coast, where the average rainfall in February is approximately 100 mm. and rain falls in only a small number of heavy downpours, the ground probably does dry out, whereas in Noiltoko, where the rainfall in May and June is slightly lower, it hardly dries out at all. According to Mohr [37] Noiltoko can be classified as tropical hill country, 200—1000 m. high, with temperatures of 24°—19° C. In Kefamnanu, 400 m. high, temperatures of 12°—13° C. occur in May, however, so that the rate of evaporation is lower. Moreover, these orographic rains in the easterly monsoon often fall as drizzle coupled with fog and lengthy periods of cloud, so that these months must by all means be termed "wet". In the rolling mountain country between the Miomafo and the Mutis, at an altitude of 1000—1400 m., the grass remains lush and green all the year round except in the extremely dry period of 1946, which continued for months even here, when the grass was withered in October. The rainfall has never been recorded here, but it is probably higher than in Kapan where, at an altitude of 1000 m., it is 2000 mm.

---

[35] Such as L. J. C. van Es, quoted by Kruyt, 1821, p. 776.
[36] Mohr, 1932, I, 1, pp. 105 ff.
[37] Mohr, 1933, I, 2, p. 215.

Mohr was the first to make a satisfactory classification according to variations in the rainfall, based on the number of wet and dry months. This method has been improved upon by Schmidt and Ferguson, whose point of departure is the quotient of the average number of dry and wet months,[38] thus calculating the average length of the dry season. This way they arrived at eight groups, numbered from A to H. Groups A and B are covered by the category of three dry months as against nine wet months ($q = 0.33$). Most of Indonesia, as well as the greater part of Java, falls under these. Group C is defined by a quotient of 0.60 and D by one of 1.00, i.e. a maximum of 6 dry months as against 6 wet months. Group C occurs in northern and eastern Java and also mainly in the Lesser Sunda Islands. The major part of Timor, namely the north and south-west, is covered by group E and the north coast by F, the latter being defined by a q of 3, i.e. nine dry months to three wet months. However, if we consider the "damp" months in Noiltoko as wet months the quotient becomes approximately 0.50 for this part, so that it is then included in group C instead of D. And for Soë the quotient becomes approximately 0.85 instead of 1.096, i.e. D instead of E. Kapan, with only little more than two dry months as against over nine wet months, belongs to group B instead of C as indicated on the Schmidt and Ferguson chart. Ormeling[39] observes in passing that the chart of Timor prepared by Meijer Drees does not sufficiently take into account the differences in altitude. This is perfectly correct. All of the mountain country of the centre and part of the hill country on the southern side of the divide should be classified one category wetter whilst, conversely, the driest parts of the north coast belong to group G instead of F; Manatuto to the east of Dilly, with only one month (December) with a rainfall of 103 mm. and 8 months with 60 or less and in total only 44 rainy days[40] even belongs to group H. Felgas, who uses the Schmidt and Ferguson classification in his statistics — but unfortunately not in his chart — does not take these divergencies in both directions into account either.

We can therefore conclude that the rainfall in Timor is sufficiently irregular for the perfected classification of Schmidt and Ferguson to fall short here.

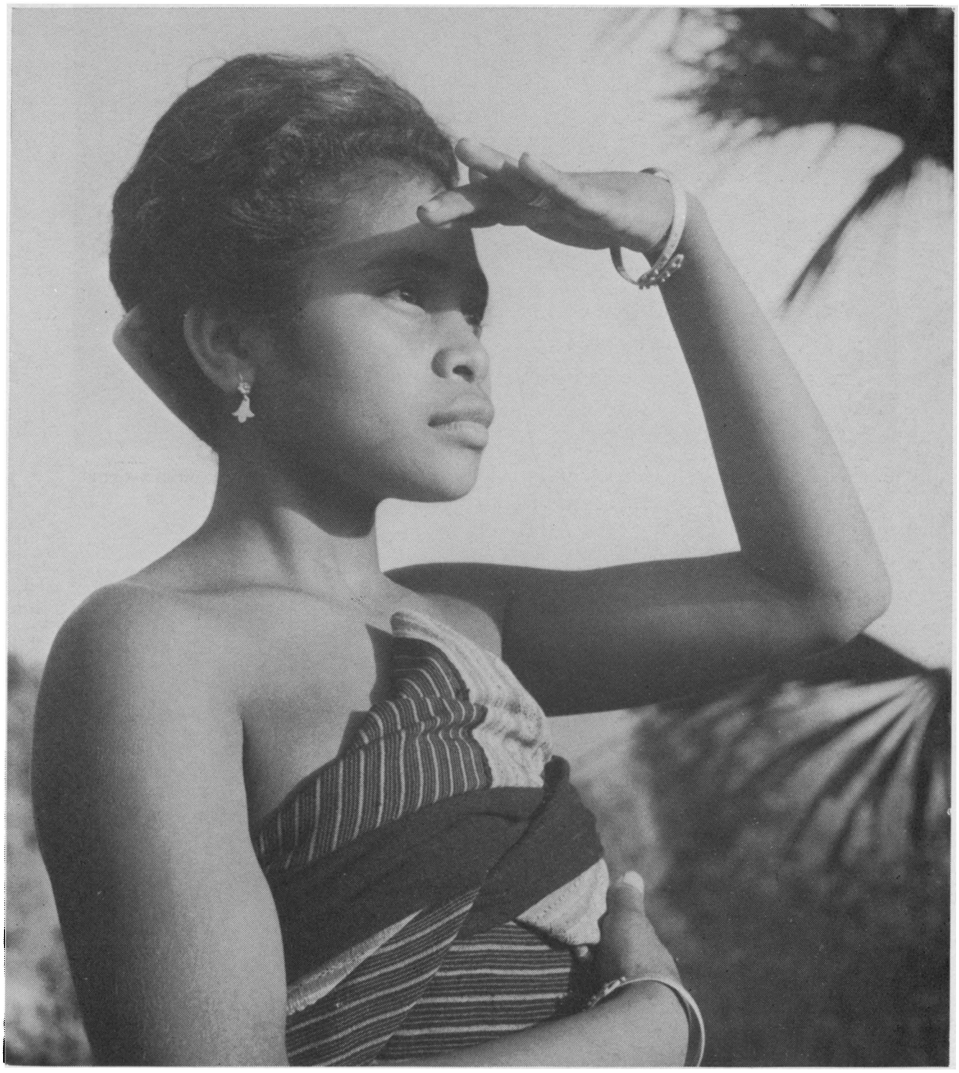
The mountain climate is better than these classifications would lead one to believe, in spite of the fact that a rainfall of 1500 to 2000 mm. is low for the tropics. Areas such as Lahurus and some areas in Portuguese Timor, with a rainfall of 3800 mm. and over, generally really only belong to group C (in which the quotient of dry and wet months is 0.60) even if the necessary corrections of the Schmidt and Ferguson classification are taken into account, whilst a similar rainfall in Java or elsewhere is usually classified under B. Most of the areas in question lie at high

---

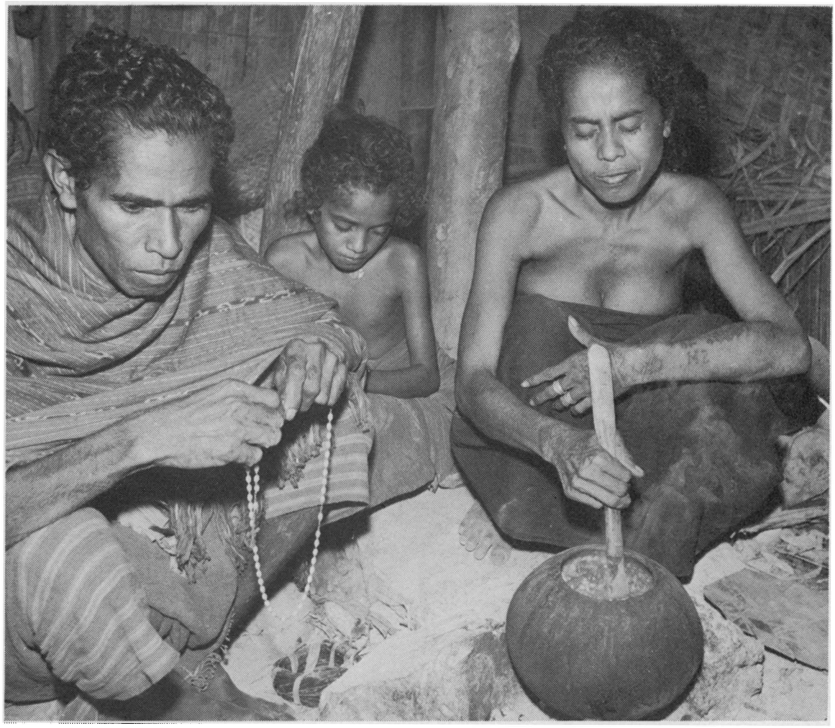
[38] Schmidt and Ferguson, 1952, p. 8.

[39] Ormeling, 1955, p. 23, note 1.

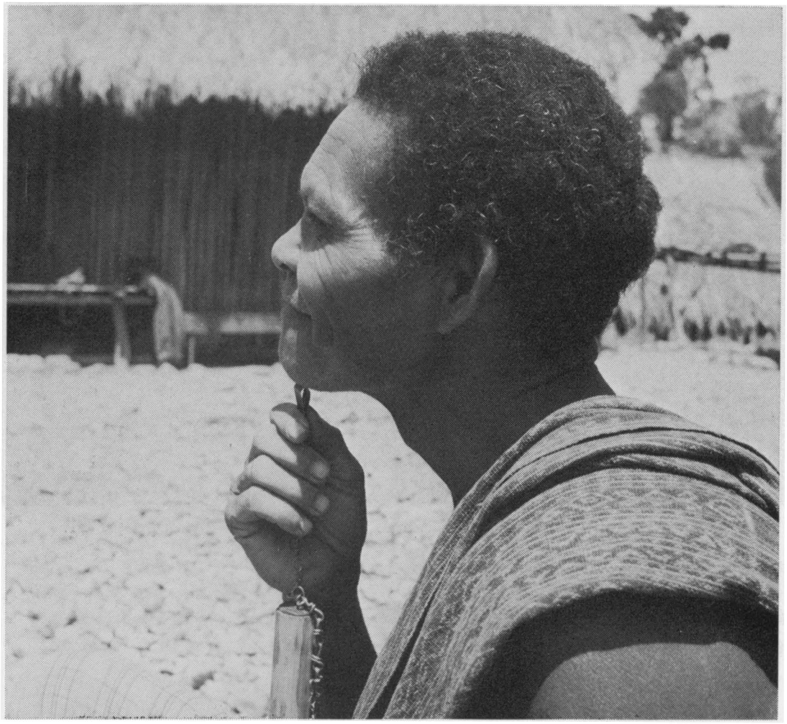
[40] Felgas, 1956, p. 63. The average monthly rainfall figures over a period of 24 years are: 74, 86, 97, 60, 37, 11, 4, 3, 7, 9, 24, 103 mm. respectively, which is equivalent to an annual total of 515 mm. This is less than in Palu in Celebes, the most arid area in the Indonesian Archipelago, classed under category H.



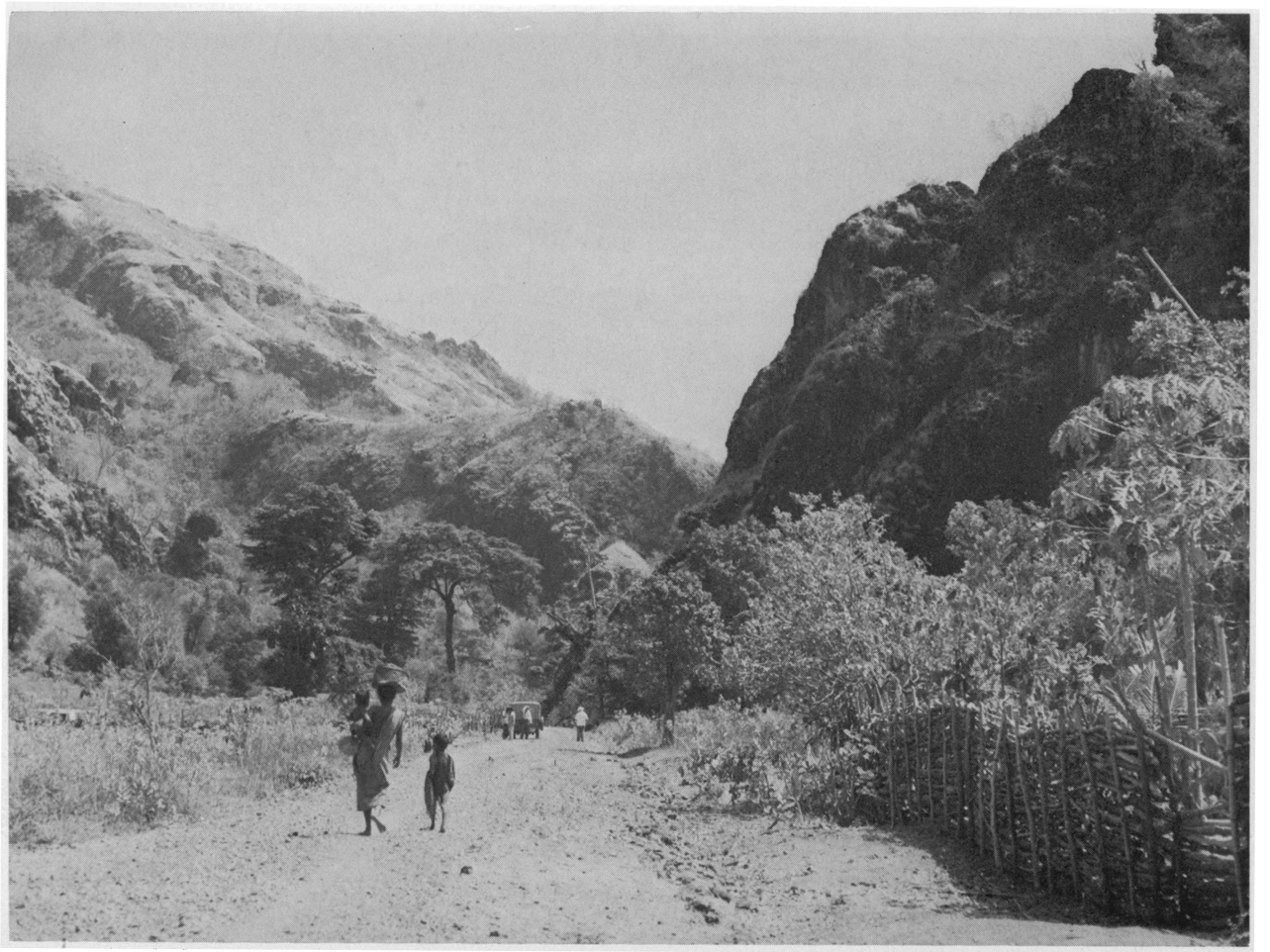
5. Girl from Wekmidar in South Belu. See also photograph 11.



6. Family in Lobar in Amanatun. Note the tattoo marks on the woman's arms. The cooking-pot is resting on the three hearth-stones. See p. 431.



7. Man from Manlea in Central Belu, the physical types of which are similar to those in Beboki and Insana.



8. Entrance to the chasm between Manamas and Wini, on the north coast of Miomafo.

9. Mountain grasslands with mountain eucalypts (*anpupu*) in the central ranges near Mt. Mutis (altitude approx. 1500 m.).

altitudes but lie on the northern side of the mountain ranges. Here the rains are very heavy during the westerly monsoon, while the dry season is longer. In the drier areas the irregularity of the rainfall often has disastrous effects, for, as Ormeling [41] states: "in general, the variability increases as the amount of rainfall decreases".

We have here, therefore, widely divergent types of climate, ranging from very dry to tropically humid as far as the rainfall is concerned, and from hot to temperate as regards temperature. According to Schmidt and Ferguson's classification they range from B up to and including G and in Portuguese Timor even as far as H. The latter is as arid as Alice Springs in Australia, therefore.[42]

The question is, then, to what extent these wide climatological differences have exercised an influence on the culture. The period when the supposition that culture is determined by the environment found so much credit has passed with Vidal de la Blache, as Ormeling [43] observes. Man is creative. Culture is what man makes it. But he fashions this culture out of what he finds ready at hand. He has to till the fields at his disposal. Differences in culture are therefore to be expected.

c. *Flora and fauna*

The soil and climate have been discussed in the light of their relevance to the culture, in relation to the possibilities presented to and the restrictions imposed on man in this respect. The flora and fauna will also have to be dealt with in this connection. Ormeling,[44] in the first lines of his section on the natural vegetation, which is a subsection of his chapter on The Physical Environment as a Factor preceding the chapter on The Human Factor, refers to a competition between all elementary schools in North Central Timor which I organized in 1947. Its aim was to discover which school and which individual pupil could sum up the highest number of names of trees, shrubs and animals. The schoolchildren of Sufa, in Beboki, assisted by their teachers and all their relatives won the prize, because they knew 670 names of trees and plants. A partial explanation for Sufa's winning the competition is probably that in Beboki almost all young families live uxorilocally until, in many cases after many years, the

[41] Ormeling, 1955, p. 19.
[42] Schmidt and Ferguson, 1952, p. 9.
[43] Ormeling, 1955, p. 13.
[44] *Op. cit.*, p. 54

bridewealth has been fully paid. In addition people here often have affinal alliances extending over quite large distances within Beboki, so that families from various districts live in Sufa. The raja family, for instance, originally came from the arid plain in the north. Sufa itself lies in the mountains, at an altitude of approx. 800 m. and the extensive Euroki Plain lies at a distance of barely 10 km. from Sufa, at an altitude of 350 m. As a result the trees and shrubs of these climatologically widely different areas could be included in Sufa's list.

Nearly all of the other schools, however, submitted at least 500 names. The individual prize was awarded to a girl from a village near Kefamnanu who had collected, with the assistance of all her relatives, 331 names in the space of a few weeks. The above may serve as an illustration of the Atoni's strong attachment to his natural environment, in particular to plant life. Not only is it remarkable that a village community, and especially one family, should know such a large number of names, but this knowledge commands even more respect when we compare it with the number of trees and shrubs that actually grow in Timor. Meijer Drees [45] has carried out socio-botanic research in Timor, making use of the Beboki list. He has compiled a list of approximately 575 Atoni names in various dialects, among which only 118 Beboki names, and subsequently a systematic list of the Latin names which, in his own words, "is probably virtually complete". The latter contains 529 names as well as the Atoni renderings of 343 names of trees and shrubs.

The conclusion to be drawn is not only that Meijer Drees did not make intensive use of the Sufa school list in his research, but also that a village community knows almost every tree and shrub growing in its surroundings.

A knowledge of the names of trees and shrubs is an indication of the ability to distinguish between the different kinds and to some extent implies an equally good knowledge of their uses. Giving names to phenomena in the environment is a cultural act of the first degree. In the description of a culture it is impossible to discuss the vegetation without relating it to man. Even if, or especially if we are to give a general impression of the landscape of Timor, the question arises whether it is the result of man's interference, whether it is "man-made" in other words, or whether it is a natural consequence of the interaction between climate and soil.

Endert [46] points out that because of the development of agriculture

[45] Meijer Drees, 1950. *Daftar nama pohon dan perdu. Pulau Timor.*
[46] Endert, 1946, pp. 166 ff.

and the possibilities offered by re-afforestation it is of the utmost importance to know whether or not the treeless *alang-alang* plains and the hilly savannah country that gradually merges into what Kuperus [47] justifiably calls a park landscape were part of the original, "natural" scenery of Timor.

In the latter case there is less likelihood of man's interference than if the savannah country were the result of the activities of man. Van Steenis [48] states: "It was man who degraded all types of vegetation in semi-arid areas by one degree or more and who has turned forest into treeless areas, savannahs into steppes and grasslands into deserts". It goes without saying that North Africa during the Roman period is listed here as an example of and proof for the destructiveness of man's activities [49]: once cities and thriving agriculture, now desert. However, if we consider that Hadrian was revered as a god in North Africa because the first rain for five years fell on the day of his arrival,[50] it may be supposed that the reverse holds at least equally true and that man is also capable of turning deserts into fertile land.

As far as Timor is concerned, the question as to how much of the present landscape is man-made and how much of it is in its original natural state is a difficult one to settle. Many a time the state of the soil has been a cause for alarm. In 1941, for instance, a forestry expert pointed out an area ten km. to the east of Kefamnanu where the grey loam of the mountainsides revealed deep fissures. There were traces of landslides and only grass and some eucalyptus and acacia trees grew here. He predicted that within fifteen years the soil in this area would be totally washed away and that there would be no vegetation left. And, moreover, that during the lifetime of the present generation the steep mountainsides of Timor, used for dry-rice cultivation, would be stripped of all their arable soil. At present the slopes to the east of Kefamnanu still reveal the same fissures and the same sparse vegetation. The situation is completely unchanged, and the Timorese are still, or again, using the same slopes for their dry-rice cultivation.

Mohr [51] is inclined to wonder, therefore, "whether in former times, when the population was sparser, most of the island was, in fact, covered with forest". Probably one of the oldest eyewitnesses we can consult is

---

[47] Kuperus, 1936, p. 45.
[48] Van Steenis, 1954, p. 14.
[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 13.
[50] Bovill, 1963 (1958), p. 8.
[51] Mohr, 1933, II, p. 105.

Bor,[52] the secretary of De Vlaming van Oudshoorn, who took part in the expedition against Amarasi in 1656. On the way to Amarasi, approximately four miles before it, a heavy downpour took the company by surprise. They retraced their steps to the last halting-place to seek shelter, "for which there was no opportunity, it being a barren, hummocky mountain range". And on the second expedition the enemy could not be sighted in time because of the "trees growing here and there". The landscape is still exactly the same at present.

But even at that time man had probably been burning down the forests on the mountainsides for centuries in order to lay out his garden plots. He had also most likely been burning down grasslands every dry season to ensure the growth of young grass as soon as the first rains began to fall. This way rain forests, traces of which are still to be found on the slopes of the Mutis and the Miomafo, probably originally gave way to secondary forest with fairly thick undergrowth. In places where the dry season is severe the rate of recovery is slower, and where the grass is burnt on the plains all shrubs are likely to disappear altogether. Grazing cattle, too, and in particular goats, hamper the re-growth of shrubs. A striking example of deterioration is offered by Solor. In 1630 Miguel Rangel, O.P., wrote of this land "as an earthly Eden, where only man was vile. His account extols the island's upland rice, which did not need the laborious cultivation of the lowland paddy variety. He further praises its prolific sheep, goats and buffaloes, its tasty fruits and vegetables, and excellent drinking water".[53] Rangel's description may be a little too lyrical, as he had just reconquered Solor. However that may be, when in 1939 I made a number of tours in Solor there was almost no spring water left, not even in the neighbourhood of the old fort. Most of the springs were even below the tidal line so that they invariably produced brackish water. There were practically no buffalo, sheep, fruit or vegetables left on the island, where no trees grew except for the *lontar* palm. At present it is predominantly barren hill country with large boulders scattered among the grass.

The strongly increasing pressure of population growth especially is making it necessary for the Atoni to return to their abandoned *ladangs* earlier than they themselves consider advisable, so that the trees barely have time to recover and only the bushes do. It is only to be expected that with frequent burning down the heavy downpours of

---

[52] Bor, 1663, pp. 350, 353.
[53] Rangel, Lisboa, 1635, see Boxer, 1947, p. 3.

the westerly monsoon will bring about erosion. After deforestation the soil has a lower moisture-absorption rate, moreover, so that in the dry season the springs supply less water.

But it is extremely difficult to establish with certainty whether this does take place, as the processes involved are slow, and as in most areas the soil has been tilled as far back as man can remember, while the springs have usually been carefully conserved. Of old the areas surrounding most of the springs have been taboo (*nuni*) for cultivation so that small groves have remained here.

Only in Manamas is the position slightly different. This formed of old a bone of contention between Ambenu and Tunbaba (see map no. 4) and later, in 1911, between Portugal and the Netherlands. In 1913 there were 600 refugees from Ambenu in this no-man's-land [54] following an insurrection in Portuguese Timor. From the fact that when in 1915 it was brought under effective Dutch rule Tunbaba no longer asserted any claims to this area it may be concluded that it was practically uninhabited. It was then possible for Manamas to become a separate district, inhabited by the people from Ambenu. In 1947 an investigation brought to light that people were forced to return to old *ladang* fields too soon, within seven years in fact. The old people who could still remember the first years after 1913 unanimously agreed that the springs had supplied more water then than at present. But this information is not altogether reliable, as in 1946 there was an extremely short wet season, followed by an extraordinarily long dry season.

The picture presented by the three areas of North Central Timor is a varied one.

The nucleus of Miomafo is the area surrounding the 1400 m. high mountain of that name. Here are the evergreen mountain pastures with scattered *adjau* trees [55] and large shade trees surrounding the springs. On the slopes of the central Mutis range grow the splendid, extensive, sparse, evergreen *anpupu* forests [56] with remains of original, mixed forests. These are majestic, solitary forests alternating with mountain pastures, the whole giving an alpine impression (see photograph 9). Not all of Timor is strictly speaking tropical. And in this area in particular one imagines oneself in a different world alltogether. Lower

---

[54] Steinmetz, 1916, p. 73. Ezerman, 1917, p. 1216, states that the number of refugees was 600.

[55] In Insana and Beboki: *ajau*; Indon. *tjemara*; *Casuarina* Jungh.

[56] *Eucalyptus decaisneana,* according to Meijer Drees; according to Ormeling, 1955, p. 59, it is *Euc. ptalyphylla Auct.*

down, on the northern spurs, extend the vast eucalyptus forests on the reddish gravel soils which are covered with sparse grass.

To the east of the Miomafo the Noilnoni (or Gold River) flows through a very steep valley into the Noiltoko, which has cut a deep gorge through the mountains and flows into the Noilmuti. Here it becomes a typically Timorese river, its bed covered with boulders, sand and gravel, and having a width of 100 - 300 m. At this point we reach the vast central plain of Timor, with eucalyptus trees growing on the elevations, and in the flatter parts coarse grasses and only relatively little *alang-alang* [57] (used for roofing). Here trees only grow in scattered clusters. Even if these plains have always existed here, which is not an unlikely supposition,[58] they have undoubtedly expanded considerably as a result of annual burning down. Large numbers of cattle graze here; these have to be transferred to higher pastures during the driest months, however.

Such pastures are found in the hill country with its unusual park landscape and its acacia trees, which are so typical of the scenery of Timor with their umbrella-like foliage of tiny, rolled, needle-shaped leaves. These leaves are used as hand-fodder for cattle during the driest months. The largest number of herds graze here; but here the impenetrable *lantana* shrub is also found. Encroaching from the west it is found especially in Noimuti and even as far as Bikomi and Noiltoko, while it also occurs in Portuguese Timor. Its habitat is especially on rocky grounds rather than the black soils of the plain. The *lantana* serves as a vegetable manure, but as these shrubs usually grow in dense clusters there is no grass growing underneath them, so that there is little to bind the soil.

These hills merge into the low mountain country to the north of the plain, which rises up to a height of 1000 m. on the border with Oikusi and in Tunbaba. On some of the steeper mountainsides there are groves containing some excellent varieties of timber, such as *hau meni*, or sandalwood (*santalum album* L.), for which Timor has become famous.

The fauna of Timor is not as rich and varied as its flora. There are relatively few species of birds and mammals. The results of the inter-school competition in 1947 revealed that the Atoni knew only 53 names of animals. Of course this may only be an indication that they do not

[57] Tim. *hoen* or *hoe musu*; *imperata cylindrica* L.
[58] Ormeling, 1955, p. 65.

distinguish between more than 53 varieties. All species of butterflies, for instance, are called *napan*, while on the other hand there are six different names for different kinds of flees which, as they are a greater nuisance, apparently are more important than butterflies. The Atoni is only moderately well acquainted with the birdlife, for 143 species and sub-species have been observed in the area. It should be noted here, however, that many of these species are confined to either the eastern or the western half of the island.[59] There are no large beasts of prey.

Very important is the sporadically occurring crocodile. Its name, *be'i*, is the same word as that used for genetrix, grandmother. It occupies an important place in Atoni mythology. "She" is, for instance, the great ancestress (*be'i*) of the house of Senak, the lineage of the most important chief of Bikomi in Miomafo. A daughter of the first Senak was named Bikomi, and she was turned into a crocodile, thereby giving her name to the area. Killing crocodiles is taboo for the Atoni, and if one is killed in self-defence, for example, Senak has to bury "her" as though it were a human being.[60] All over the island the crocodile is considered a holy animal, and is frequently depicted in weaving patterns.

It is extraordinary, though it typifies the Atoni, that he knows only a few names of fish, in spite of the fact that the seas surrounding Timor abound with fish. In Beboki, a large part of which borders on the sea, only thirteen names were known, while in Miomafo, which has only a short coastline, people were able to enumerate 27 names; the latter referred mainly to fresh-water fish, however.

---

[59] Mayr, 1944, p. 130.
[60] Cf. p. 294 below.

CHAPTER II

THE ECONOMIC LIFE

This part of the world was brought under cultivation by the peoples of Timor. In Miomafo, Insana and Beboki these were the Atoni, or, as they call themselves, the *Atoni Pah Meto* (= people of the dry land). This name implicitly indicates the type of cultural choice made by them, as they avoid the sea and the coast. They do not know any names of fish, and do not go fishing or sailing — contacts with peoples from other islands were not established or maintained by them.

Of the six climatic zones in which they may choose to live — the coastal plain in the north (F and G), the adjoining hill country (E), the extensive central plain and the surrounding low mountain country (D), and the central mountains (C and E) — they occupied almost exclusively the lower mountain country (500 - 1000 m.) in earlier days. Here they lived in small communities (*kuan*) on the mountain tops or *fatu*, the inaccessible, easily defendable places, laying out their gardens on the mountain slopes and tending their cattle (buffalo = *bidjael*) on the rolling lowlands.

1. CRAFTS AND TECHNIQUES

An important factor for the economic life is the degree to which man has learnt to control nature or to master some form of technical development, i.e. the degree to which he is a *homo faber*.

The level of technical development reached by the Atoni is extremely low. As far as agriculture is concerned, the implements used are a stick for drilling holes in the ground, in which grains of rice or corn are dropped in sowing, and a digging-stick (2 m. in length, and pointed at one end) for turning the soil when reclaiming grasslands. With the aid of such sticks a large number of people can turn the sods simultaneously. The Atoni further uses an axe (*fani*) and a matchet (*benas*); the latter he always carries about with him. He furthermore uses a large and a smaller weeding-hook. The surprising thing is that he has

never learnt to fashion these iron tools himself, which are nonetheless indispensable to him. As early as 1518 Duarte Barbosa [1] writes that in exchange for sandalwood "axes, hatchets, knives, swords, Cambaya and Paleate cloths, porcelain, coloured beads, tin, quicksilver, lead and other wares" were imported into Timor. This trade with Malacca, and before that with Kediri and Majapahit and also China, had probably been going on for centuries even at that time.

Because of this trade the Atoni outgrew the stone age at a relatively early stage, but he has never learnt to forge iron objects himself, or even to cast a silver bangle. This is a remarkable phenomenon, for which I am at a loss to find an explanation. A comprehensive comparative study of all the ethnic groups which lived outside the major streams of Hinduism and Islam, and so lived in comparative isolation until the end of the 19th century — or even, as in the case of Timor, till the beginning of the 20th century — apart from the trade contacts which existed all over the area, would be of great importance in throwing some light on the question as to why some of these peoples did adopt a number of skills and techniques while others, like the Atoni, copied virtually none. Could it be that Timor's wealth in sandalwood, as a result of which it was easy to come by any article desired, was a factor in this?

The Atoni's silver ornaments are manufactured chiefly by the Rotinese and Belunese (see photographs 10 and 25). The latter are also their iron-smiths; prior to 1947, at any rate, no Atoni engaged in this kind of work. He is able to do some leather-work, however. The men here wear wide leather belts decorated with silver coins or discs, in which formerly they carried their lead bullets and powder for their rifles, and which nowadays fulfil the same function as trouser pockets in European dress. Ever since the 17th century muzzle-loaders were one of the most important import articles. The rivalry between the Dutch and the Portuguese probably played a part in this. Although a great many breech-loaders were still imported in the 19th century, these imports have been prohibited for the past hundred years in order to avoid increasing the unrest in the island. The old rifles have become precious family heirlooms. Their butts are often covered entirely with silver strips. They were used in tribal warfare (see, for example, chapter V) and in stag-hunting.

The only craft at which the Atoni excels is weaving. In his weaving

---

[1] Duarte Barbosa, 1921, p. 195 (1518 ed. Dames).

techniques a marked similarity with those employed in the remainder of the Archipelago can be detected. The Atoni does not have any garments made out of bark, but all garments are woven out of cotton, which in the drier areas is planted amongst the corn in the gardens. In addition, modern yarns are used; these are great time-savers, but detract from the splendour of the colours of the traditional fabrics.

Cotton, which is home-grown, is separated from its seeds with the aid of a mangle, called *bninis*, and then loosened and cleaned by means of a cord stretched tightly on a kind of bow (see photograph 11). The same bow is also known in Sumbawa, Java, Flores, Roti, Alor and Borneo.[2]

The spinning-wheel is not known here as in western Indonesia and West Flores. Instead, the peoples of Timor as well as those of the surrounding islands and North Sulawesi use a wooden spindle (*ike*). This spindle is rounded at the bottom, so that it can easily revolve in a tiny bowl or plate (*suti*). It tapers towards the top where it also has a number of grooves. The spindle is turned with one hand and the cotton held in the other (see photograph 12). Women often do this work in between other chores, as spinning is a very time-consuming task, the time needed for spinning enough yarn for one large shoulder-cloth (*bete*) being estimated at about two months. Sometimes women can be seen spinning like this on their way to market, carrying their wares on their heads.

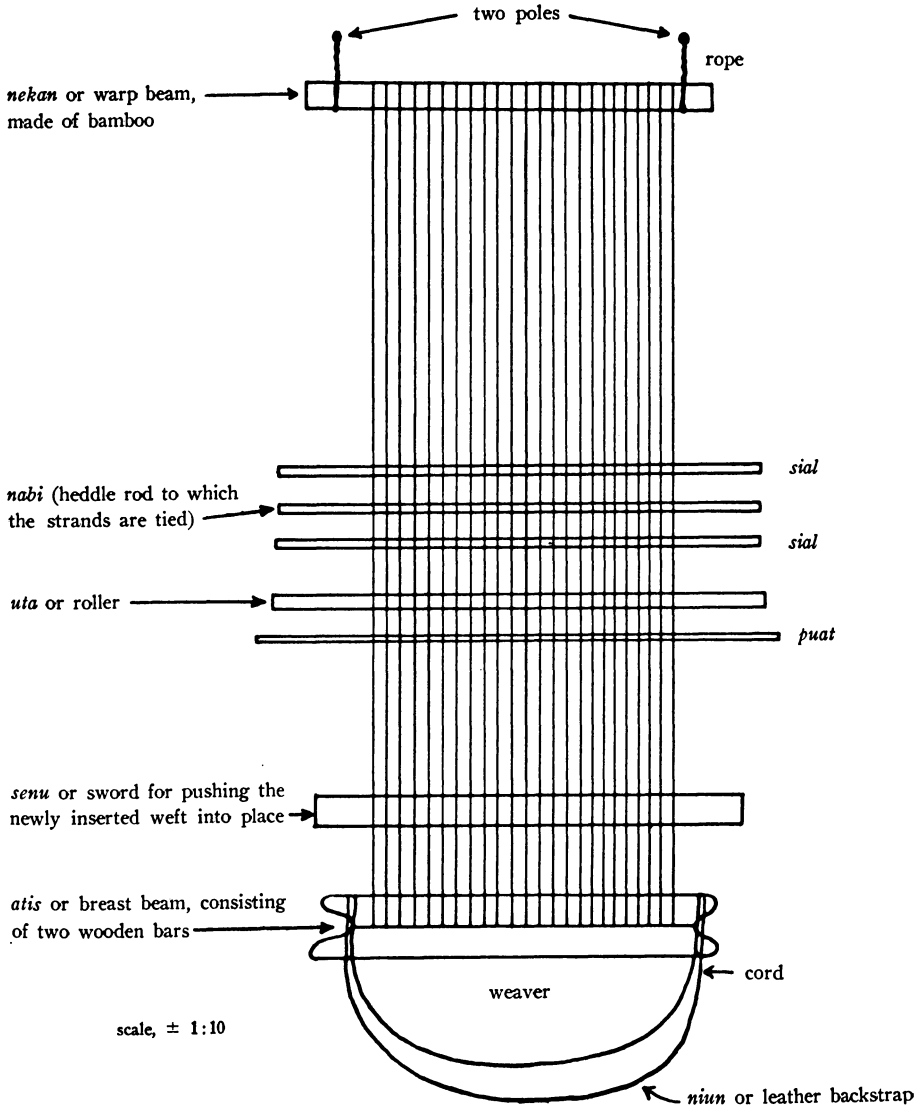
As soon as there is sufficient yarn weaving can commence. In Indonesia various stages of development in weaving-techniques are found, Timor occupying a roughly intermediate position technically speaking. But in Timor itself techniques vary among the Atoni as well. On photograph 13 we see a loom with a warp of different coloured threads. The pattern has already been applied on the warp threads by means of the *ikat* (= to tie) technique. The latter technique involves tying bundles of yarn together before weaving by wrapping *lontar* leaves, scraped thin beforehand, around them at certain points, so that they remain white. Then the bundles are dipped first in the darkest of the dyes to be used, such as indigo.[3] For the second colour the bundles are wrapped with *lontar* leaves in the places where they have already

---

[2] Loeber, 1921, IV, p. 720. The comparisons with other areas below have also been taken from him.

[3] For weaving techniques in Indonesia in general, and the art of *ikat* dyeing in particular, the reader is referred to the works of Jasper and Pirngadi, 1912, Loeber, 1921, Nevermann, 1938, and Jager Gerlings, 1952.

DIAGRAM No. 1



A Timorese loom

been dyed, while the rest remains unwrapped, and so are dipped in dye again. If a third colour is wanted, only part of the bundle is untied after the first dip, while before the third immersion *lontar* leaves are wrapped around the parts dyed in the first and second, leaving the rest unwrapped. The art of *ikat* dyeing, in which very intricate patterns have to be applied from memory, is the most difficult part of weaving.

For weaving itself the warp is wound around a piece of bamboo at one end, called the warp-beam (*nekan*), and around the breast beam (*atis*), consisting of two pieces of wood — between which the fabric can be firmly secured and rolled up as weaving proceeds —, at the other end. The distance between these, or in other words, the length of the cloth, is 1½ to 2 metres. The *nekan* is tied by means of a cord to two poles inserted in the ground, or sometimes to a tree, while the beam at the weaver's end is tied with cord to a leather strap (*niun*) against which she leans back in order to tauten the loom. For this purpose she needs something against which to support her feet, such as a pole or a rock (see photograph 13 and diagram no. 1). The weaver in the photograph is holding a flat piece of wood (*senu*), which is used to push the weft firmly into place. Then follows the *puat*, a bamboo rod around which the yarn is wound spirally. Together with the roller (*uta*), consisting of a thicker piece of bamboo, it serves to raise the alternate strands of the warp. Two vertically placed laths (*sial*) behind these serve to raise the even and the odd threads in turns. The *nabi* between the two *sial* is used for tying the strands to in order to prevent them from moving out of place. This way a cloth of about 50 to 60 cm. wide and 1½ to 2 metres long results. For a men's shoulder-cloth or a women's sarong two such cloths are sewn together, shoulder-cloths frequently being sewn together in such a way as to obtain a white band in the centre — into which beautiful patterns are woven, as in Ambenu — and two red bands at the sides.

The main colours are indigo and red. To obtain indigo dye the leaves of the indigo plant are left to draw in water for several days. Chalk is then added to the extract, after which the yarn is immersed in it and then wrung thoroughly. This procedure is repeated for three days in succession, the resulting colour being a deep, dark indigo.

Red dye is manufactured from *bakunu* leaves (Indon. *bengkudu*, L. *morinda citrifolia*) to which the bark of a certain tree is added. Thus the colour terracotta or brown — depending on the quantity of bark — results.

In addition yellow is used, obtained from *hukil* (Indon. *kunit*, L.

curcuma longa), as well as green, which is obtained from an extract from the leaves of a special plant.

It is remarkable that apart from some wood-carving — e.g. the geometrical designs on the doors of the houses of heads — and the decoration of bamboo cylinders and of horn objects, weaving should be the Atoni's only technical achievement, and that he should show such remarkable skill and artistry at this.

It is also worth mentioning here that every political community or important, more or less independent sub-section of a community, has its own pattern, and that these are often alternately red and indigo. The most important nuclei of the old realm of Sonba'i, namely Molo and Miomafo, have red cloths with a white central band, for instance, although this is only true of part of Miomafo, as Noiltoko has chiefly blues, or at any rate a blue central band; Ambenu and Amfoan both also have red cloths with a white central band, as does Amarasi, although here the red tends more towards terracotta. Amanatun and Amanuban both belong together in a sense, but Amanatun has red and white cloths, while Amanuban has blue ones. The same applies to Tunbaba, while in Beboki terracotta is the main colour.

The question forces itself upon us whether this can have anything to do with the distinction made between the white-toothed people (*nis muti*), i.e. those who do not file their teeth, and the black-toothed people (*nis metan*). But not enough is known about this. The question also arises whether there are geographical similarities here. But the extraordinary fact remains that red and dark blue (black) as the main colours of cloths are spread in an extremely irregular pattern across Indonesian Timor. They are at the same time the colours which play an important, though rather vague part in the classificatory system.[4] Black is the colour that belongs with the night, the north and the feminine, while red belongs with the day, probably with the south, and with the masculine. Further research is desirable, though it is open to doubt whether all this can still be traced. This is just as unlikely as in the case of the symbolism of the different designs, which is also intriguing. Is there a similarity with tattoo patterns here?

The art of weaving is of great economic importance for Timor. In times when imports are restricted the Atoni always has his own cotton to fall back on, without this involving far-reaching changes in the pattern of life and habits of dress. It is only as a result of the sandal-

---

[4] See Ch. XII below.

wood trade that formerly precious fabrics were imported into the country. These were destined exclusively for a small élite of heads. It was only in the 20th century that yarns as well as women's jackets were imported on a larger scale. But when, after the Japanese invasion, imports were stopped altogether for three and a half years, all cloths were made out of home-grown cotton again. Even in 1969 I saw most people still wearing their traditional dress, the only big difference being that the face of the provincial capital Kupang had changed completely.

The cloths have an important function in the social life, constituting the feminine presents offered by the bride's lineage as counter-gifts to the bridegroom's lineage, which has to pay bridewealth. In addition, they are important as winding-sheets at funerals. The finest cloths are reserved for such occasions, and at funerals of prominent persons scores of these cloths are used for this purpose.

The chapter on crafts and techniques should also deal with the construction of houses. There is little to be said about this from an economic point of view. The pillars of the house are of wood, the walls are made of the ribs of palm-leaves, and the roof of *alang-alang* grass. Notwithstanding, for the Atoni his house is a microcosm, and the *lopo* which serves as meeting-place a reflection of his political system. For these reasons it is described in chapter XIII of this book.

2. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Of all the domestic animals the buffalo has the greatest social and religious importance for the Atoni, as it constitutes a considerable part of the normal bridewealth and is used as a sacrificial animal. Ownership of a large number of buffalo confers high social prestige on a person. It is generally said to have had little economic significance in pre-colonial times.[5] But in that case the fact that — as among the Nuer, for whom the cow has so much social value that killing one "for no particular reason" is inconceivable — every cow killed for sacrifical purposes or dying a natural death is ultimately eaten[6] is not taken into account. The milk of the buffalo is also used.

Ownership of buffaloes is to some extent the key to greater wealth and more prestige and power. For if an *ume* (descent group) has enough buffaloes to be able to spare some for killing, it will be able to tend larger garden plots. (In order to cultivate a garden sacrificial

[5] E.g. Ormeling, 1955, p. 112.
[6] Evans Pritchard, *The Nuer,* 1963 (1940), p. 26.

meals have to be prepared for the helpers.[7]) Larger gardens give a greater yield, and, furthermore, that part of the harvest which an *ume* does not need for its own consumption may be exchanged for other articles, especially in lean years (which are frequent in Timor) for what are considered by the Atoni to be the most important valuables: silver coins, silver and gold jewellery and coral beads (*inu leko*).[8] Hence the buffalo is the source of wealth.

Ownership of buffaloes is also necessary for establishing sound affinal alliances, as they constitute the main part of the bridewealth. Together with silver coins, silver and gold jewellery and coral beads they are the "masculine" objects which the bridegroom's lineage (*ume*)[9] has to give to that of the bride. At the time of marriage and later, in cases of death, the bride's lineage presents hand-woven cloths to the bridegroom's *ume*. Sound affinal alliances and such alliances with various lineages, and possibly a second or third wife, increase a man's prestige and that of this descent group. Buffaloes form the basis for this.

Chiefs are always surrounded by a circle of people, such as messengers (*hake*), guards (*abeat*) and, in the case of prominent chiefs or the ruler, various functionaries with whom we shall make our acquaintance in the section dealing with the political system. To feed these they need rice and corn, which they obtain from the yield produced by the gardens which they have their subjects lay out for them. In order to have this done they must kill animals regularly for the sacrificial meals with which to reward those who work the gardens. Hence buffaloes and pigs are necessary for them to be able to harvest sufficient rice and corn. Thus the possession of buffaloes is the basis for their power. It is not surprising that in former times cattle-raiding was an important motive for war besides that of headhunting, which was always the chief objective of an expedition. Any political system of any importance and with any form of hierarchy at all is able to survive only if there is a large enough agricultural surplus to feed those in power. Here again the possession of cattle is indispensable.

Besides the buffalo the pig (*fafi*) is of great importance. It is a small, black animal kept around the house. Buffaloes are owned exclusively by the rich, but anyone may own pigs. It is eaten especially on ceremonial occasions and is seldom killed without a special reason. The

---

[7] P. 58 below.
[8] Cf. Rouffaer, 1899.
[9] *Ume* = limited lineage, descent group. P. 92 below.

pig partly replaces the buffalo and, moreover, supplements it. At a sacrificial meal usually a buffalo is killed first and then a number of pigs. It is tended by the women (see photograph 15). The goat (*bibi*), too, has of old been kept as a domestic animal and is found everywhere, but especially in the drier areas of Insana and Beboki.

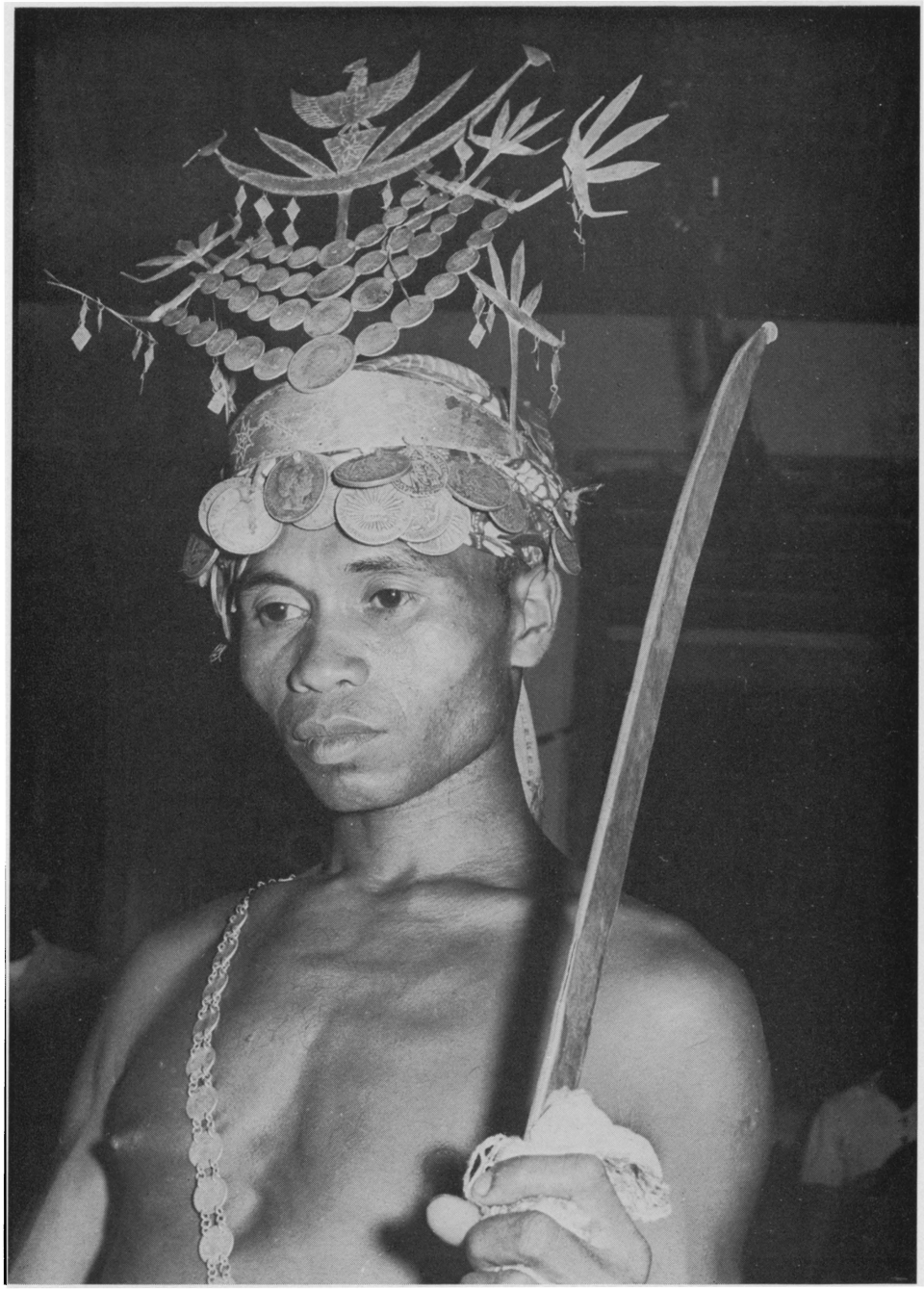
Perhaps the oldest domestic animal is the dog, its master's loyal companion when out deer-hunting. The Atoni used to go and beat game armed with spears (this is still done at present). Economically speaking hunting was of some importance for the daily meat supply. Hunting in the form in which it has been known by the Timorese for the past few centuries, however, has only been possible since the introduction of the rifle. It gained in economic importance with the establishment of trade relations with people from other islands, when horn became an export article. The dog has also at all times served as food, and it has an important place in the war ritual.

The hen (*manu*), too, has of old been an important domestic animal. Every Atoni keeps hens. Egg production is low, so that the egg is not an important item of daily food. Hens, and especially roosters, are raised exclusively for consumption. This finds ritual expression in the rule according to which at every sacrifice a rooster has to be offered first. In many sacrifices only a rooster is killed, such as, for instance when the causes of a disease or the propitious omens for some prospective undertaking are investigated.

The Atoni's acquaintance with the horse is more recent. This is apparent from the fact that it is not used as a sacrificial animal and that it has no place in any of the rituals. However, when a man dies one of his horses, one he himself has designated prior to his death, is given to his *atoni amaf* (= his wife's father or eldest brother). This is then called *bikase suf muti* (= the horse of the white flower).[10]

Pigafetta, who sailed along the north coast of Timor in 1522, does not mention the horse, according to Le Roux.[11] The latter finds this reason to suppose that horses did not exist in Timor at the time. But even nowadays there are very few horses, if any, to be found on the rocky coast of Atapupu and Batu Gedeh, where he landed, and the same holds true for the dry coastal plain of Amfoan where he touched land for only a very short time. Horses can be seen here only when wax or sandalwood is transported to the coast. And although at the time Pigafetta was there a junk from Luzon was at anchor in Atapupu for the sandalwood trade, this does not necessarily imply that he would have seen the sandalwood

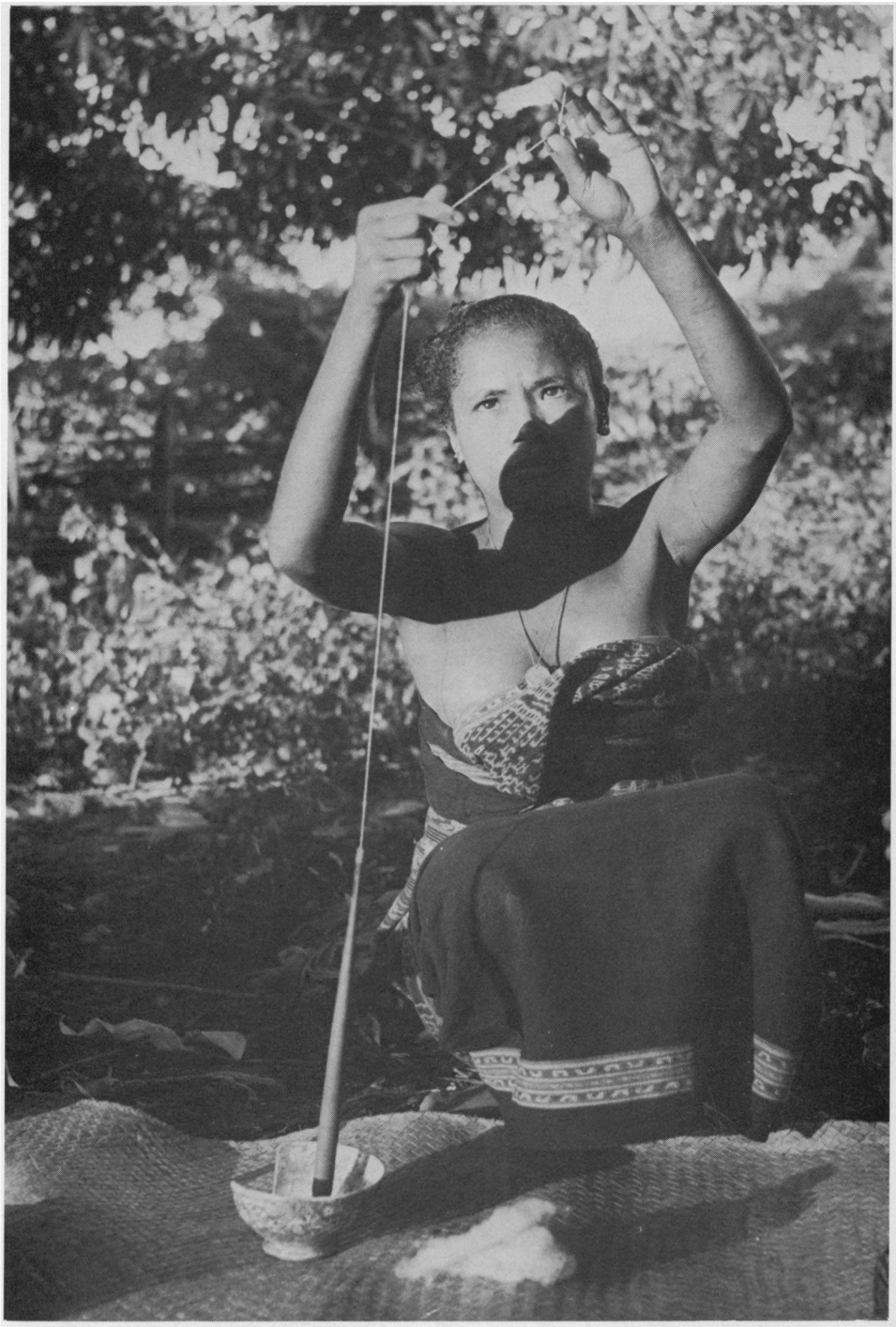
[10] Communication Middelkoop. See Middelkoop, 1949, p. 89, plate no. 2.
[11] Le Roux, 1929, pp. 30-39.



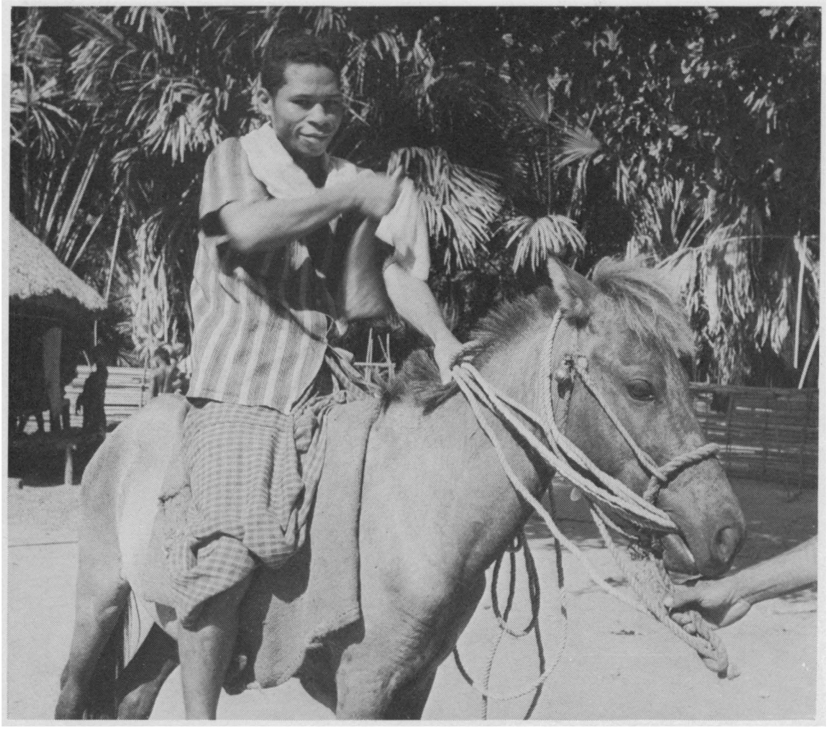
10. Man from Besikama, in South Belu, wearing head-dress of the type also typical for the Atoni. The coins originate from different countries, e.g. the one bearing the image of King William III of the Netherlands (ca. 1890) which is clearly visible in the centre. The coin above the left eye is a Mexican dollar (*petaqa*), which was still current in Portuguese Timor in 1947. These coins form part of the bridewealth (cf. p. 115). In his left hand he is holding a sword (*suni*) of the kind formerly used in headhunting.

11. Cotton, after separation from its seeds, is fluffed with the aid of a bow (*sifo*) with a stretched cord and is pressed by means of a small mangle (South Belu).

12. Woman spinning.



13. Woman weaving. The *ikat* border is finished; the counterpart of this cloth will have its *ikat* border on the left-hand side. This is a cloth from Belu, where the main colour is indigo.



14. A Belunese on horseback. The Atoni uses the same kind of harness, as well as a cloth for a saddle. The horse is a typical Timor pony, which has an average shoulder height of 1.22-1.25 m.

15. Pigs are looked after by the women.

transports. Ormeling[12] supposes that the horse was introduced into Timor by sandalwood traders. Even so, this supposition leaves a margin of many centuries as regards the time of its introduction. Middelkoop[13] bases his theory on the etymology of the strange Timorese word for a horse — *bikase,* a derivation, according to the Atoni, from *bidjaekase* (*bidjael* = buffalo, *kase* = strange, from abroad). Hessing[14] lists the following example of folk etymology concerning the origin of the horse: a girl (*bifel*) was changed into a mare, from which all horses in Timor descend. Hence the name *bikase*: the *bi-* of *bifel* combined with *kase* (strange, here in the sense of unusual). With reference to Sumba, where the horse is a sacrificial animal, Hoekstra[15] quotes the information given by Onvlee to the effect that the horse does not feature in creation myths, but that it does play a part in myths of origin of special clans coming from other islands such as Bima, Lombok, Bali, western Flores and Savu, all of them linguistically related areas which maintained contacts with Java long ago in the past.

According to De Roo van Alderwerelt[16] horses' heads are depicted on very old gravestones on Sumba. The Sumbanese word for horse is *djara* and the Javanese *djaran.* Hoekstra[17] draws the conclusion that we should look for its place of origin in these areas. This throws no light on the question as to how long the horse has existed in Sumba, however.

It is certain from Duarte Barbosa's description from 1518[18] that the horse was found in the Lesser Sunda Islands as far back as 1500, for, as he relates, the inhabitants of Oçapa, beyond Cinboaba or Java Minor, i.e. Sumbawa, were good horse-breeders. Oçapa is more than likely the district of Sape in Bima.

Our conclusion concerning the origin of the horse in Timor can only be a tentative one. The horse must have come to the east from the west, probably from Java via the island of Sumbawa. It may have been known on Sumba before the Timorese made their acquaintance with it. It is difficult to conjecture when exactly it actually came to Timor; this may have been during the period of Majapahit's commercial expansion, i.e. in the fourteenth century or earlier.

We can assume, then, that the horse has played a part in the life of the Timorese for many centuries.

The horse has little economic importance for the Atoni's day to day life. Its importance is apparent only in hunting and the social life. Although journeys between villages and from the villages to the political centres usually take place on foot, anyone who is at all prominent practically always travels on horseback (see photograp 14). The horse further has great importance as a beast of burden in the trade with foreigners on the coast, especially because the major export article is the heavy sandalwood which has brought fame to Timor for centuries.

---

[12] Ormeling, 1955, p. 114.
[13] Personal communication.
[14] Hessing, 1921, p. 238.
[15] Hoekstra, 1948, p. 43.
[16] In Hoekstra, 1948, p. 41.
[17] *Op. cit.,* p. 44.
[18] Le Roux, 1929, p. 41.

3. TRADE

In the case of the Atoni trade is focused first and foremost on the sandalwood which, as was said above, brought fame to Timor long ago. As early as 1436 a Chinese source states that "the mountains are covered with sandal-trees and the country produces nothing else".[19] But this says nothing about the possibility that trade might have been going on for many centuries before that. In view of the intensive contacts between China and Java this is even likely. And in 1518 Duarte Barbosa[20] writes of Timor: "there is an abundance of white sandalwood, which the moors in India and Persia value greatly, where much of it is used". How much importance was attached by the Portuguese to the sandalwood trade is apparent from one of the large world maps by Gerolamo da Verrazono from 1529, which are on exhibition in the Borgia Gallery of the Vatican Museum. On the map of South-East Asia only Sumatra is mentioned — while Java is omitted — apart from Timor and the spice isles, or "*insule de Meluche*".[21]

In addition to sandalwood Duarte Barbosa lists honey, wax and slaves as export commodities transported by ships which came from Malacca and Java. In exchange for these the Atoni received "axes, hatchets, knives, swords, Cambaya and Paleate cloths, porcelain, coloured beads, tin, quicksilver, lead and other wares". Although this refers to the trade with Malacca, there were contacts with Majapahit[22] even before that time, while, moreover, Timor is listed as one of the fifteen dependencies of the realm of Kediri[23] in the 12th century. As a result of these trade activities the Atoni outgrew the stone age at quite an early stage, although, as we have stated above, he has never learnt to forge or work metals himself.

This trade was of little economic importance for the ordinary people, although it may have had an appreciable political influence. This does not have anything important to say about the origin of the political system. If the major share in the profits from exports fell into the hands of the chiefs, these must have already existed. But accepting this as an established fact, it is nonetheless obvious that their power

---

[19] Groeneveldt, 1880, p. 116.
[20] Duarte Barbosa, 1921, p. 195.
[21] Cf. also *Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana,* vol. I, 1944, map no. 26, and the description on p. 53. This map must have been copied from "*da un Padron real iberico*", p. 54.
[22] See p. 463 below.
[23] Krom, 1938, p. 229.

grew as a result of their increasing wealth. Again, this says nothing as to the nature of their power.

Apart from this Timor did not have much to offer for trade. The only other articles listed by Duarte Barbosa were, as we saw above, honey, wax and slaves. This situation prevailed unchanged until well into the 19th century, when there were some exports of hides and horn.

The most coveted article brought to Timor from the West later on was the rifle. The Dutch and the Topasses [24] first imported it in the 17th century. Although virtually no rifles have been imported for the past hundred years,[25] silver-mounted rifles continue to constitute the most important family heirlooms.

4. USEFUL TREES AND PLANTS

Apart from the sandal-tree we must mention here the various kinds of palm-tree.[26] In the first place there is the *lontar* palm which is of great importance in the lives of the Timorese. It grows in and around the villages which lie at lower altitudes, found mainly on the hills and in the lower areas and on the edge of the plain. Its nourishing, vitamin-rich juice is tapped and fermented until it turns into palm-wine (*tuak*), which in turn can be distilled into the popular drink *sopi* (from Old Dutch *zoopje* = draught of strong drink). Considerable skill is required for tapping its juice (see photograph 16), and quite often fatal accidents happen. Palm-wine is relished even more when twice distilled. The trunk of the *lontar* palm is used in the construction of houses. The *aren* palm supplies palm sugar, the coconut palm an important item of the Atoni's diet and the areca palm an indispensable stimulant. The Atoni plants his fruit-trees — banana-, manggo- and papaw-trees — in the villages.

Insana and Beboki conform with this pattern, except that the large coastal plain extending to the north is partly covered with dense *gebang* palm forests, especially to the east of Wini. The ribs of its leaves are

---

[24] P. 165.

[25] P. 3, note 5, above.

[26]

Lontar palm	—	*Borasani flabelli fer* L.;	Tim. *tune.*
Coconut palm	—	*Cocos nucifera* L.;	Tim. *noah.*
Areca palm	—	*Polyscias Forst*;	Tim. *puah.*
Gebang palm	—	*Corypha gebanga* Bl.;	Tim. *gebang.*
Sago palm	—	*Arenga pinnata*;	Tim. *bone.*
Banana tree	—	*Musa paradisiaca* L.;	Tim. *uki.*
Manggo tree	—	*Mangifera op.*;	Tim. *upun.*
Tamarind tree	—	*Tamarinda indica* L.;	Tim. *kiu.*

used for the walls of houses. There are also large clusters of sago palms. These are an important source of food for the inhabitants of the coastal plain, one tree supplying enough flour for a family to live on for two or three weeks. The tree is chopped down, and its trunk split into halves and the pith dissolved in water and subsequently dried (see photograph 17). As a result it is very important here, and people are prepared to travel distances of up to 50 km., if necessary, to fetch its pith (*putak*).

The enormous, fire-resistant tamarind is found scattered throughout the lower lying areas of this region. It, too, may serve as a source of food at times when food is scarce. However, it frequently gives rise to gastric upsets. At such times *bataten* and other tubers are also eaten. Cassava, sweet potatoes and other tubers are of great importance, and on the north coast and generally in areas where no rain falls for nine months of the year, cassava is even almost as important as corn and millet, though it is less nutritious, being made up almost entirely of starches.[27] Usually, when all the rice and corn has been eaten, *bataten* and other tubers are the Atoni's staple food. In times of famine it is also necessary to look for tuberous roots in the forests. Then even wild pods (*koto fui*, L. *datura factucia*), which have to be boiled ten to twelve times to get rid of their cyanide of potassium content, are eaten.

The *matani*,[28] too, is economically of great importance, as it supplies the best timber and, like the *anpupu* (eucalyptus), is fire-resistant; hence it and the latter are two survivors of the ancient rain forests.

5. AGRICULTURE AND ITS RELATED RITUAL

Agriculture is of much greater economic importance than either animal husbandry or trade. Moreover, the agricultural cycle determines the rhythm of the Atoni's entire life, while it is also the basis for the political system. The climax and culminating point of the agricultural ritual is the presentation of the harvest gifts to the sacral ruler, so that a knowledge of this ritual is of importance for understanding the political system.

The chief food crops are corn and rice, which are cultivated in rotation. Rice is the most valued and is planted on the most fertile land, especially on forest land the first two years after it has been brought under cultivation. In some cases this is suitable only for corn

[27] Tahalele, 1950, p. 496.
[28] *Pterocarpus indicus* Willd., Indon. *kaju merah.*

in the second, but usually in the third year. The garden is generally abandoned after the third or fourth year. In the drier areas millet is also grown.

The religious cult is intimately bound up with the cultivation of rice and corn. The agricultural cycle and its related ritual described on the following pages were recorded in Maubesi, the centre of the princedom of Insana, in 1946, partly in connection with a plan for the introduction of mechanized agriculture in the Sekon plain near Maubesi.[29]

a. *Choosing a Plot*

At the beginning of the dry season, sometimes as early as May or June, a suitable site for a garden is sought. Most people till a number of plots at a time, usually three, the oldest of which is abandoned first in order to allow recovery of the soil. Depending on the quality of the soil a fallow period of at least five to seven years is necessary before the same land may be cultivated again. Usually a new garden is laid out each year. Virgin forest land is hardly ever brought under cultivation, and there is less and less of this becoming available. Population growth is even making it difficult to allow the soil of older plots sufficient time to recover.

Usually three or four people decide jointly on the choice to be made. In most cases these are members of the same limited agnatic lineage, so that those who collaborate in tilling a plot are usually brothers, brothers' sons and fathers' brothers' sons and their sons. The project is carried out under the direction of the head of the lineage, or if he is very old his future successor. If there is not sufficient interest in the one *ume* (= lit. house, i.e. agnatic lineage) its members can without the slightest hesitation ask people from other *ume* (e.g. affines) to participate in the undertaking. In the case of a large garden having to be prepared, or the reclamation of a patch of forest — hence land which has never been cultivated at all — usually ten to twenty men, sometimes more, join in the work. Preferably the assistance of people of

[29] The major custodian of the land (*tobe naek*) of Subun was the most eminent authority on ritual texts. The clerk of Insana assisted with the editing. With their assistance and that of a large number of *adat* experts in Insana a translation of these ritual texts was made. After my departure Dr. Middelkoop took the text in hand and retranslated it. We later discussed the mutual deviations, and during these discussions his extensive and profound knowledge of Timorese was invaluable in the interpretation of passages which were obscure because of their archaic language or as a result of poetic licence and peculiarities of dialect.

the natal clan (*kanaf*) or village (*kuan*) is sought, although others may also be approached. A *kanaf* is a group of kinsmen who all claim descent from one common ancestor, from whom the lineage also derives its name (*kanaf*). A lineage of a clan is also called *kanaf*.

Members of the one lineage of a *kanaf* used to live together in a residential unit called *kuan*, which formerly generally consisted of not more than five to ten houses. Hence the members of the one *kanaf* but of different *kuan* which were located close to one another used to join forces whenever a large plot had to be tilled. At present these may in some cases be people from different *kanaf* though of the one *kampung*.[30]

As soon as a suitable patch of land has been found a few branches are lopped off one of the trees growing on it, as a sign that this land has been chosen for cultivation.

Next is determined whether the choice is a good one. In order to do this the cultivators wait until one of them has a dream, which usually occurs not long afterwards. If this dream is propitious there are no further obstacles to overcome before the work on the garden can commence. But if it is unpropitious the medicineman's (*mnané*) aid is solicited; in order to be able to give this, the *mnané* must first have a dream about the plots in question. On the following day he has to relate this dream. Meanwhile a white rooster has to be sacrificed, white being the colour which belongs with heaven and with the Lord of Heaven, Uis Neno, to whom the sacrifice is offered.

A bamboo stalk is cut down and its top split into four or eight sections. This *sèpè* is inserted in the ground and the *mnané* delivers an invocation (*onen*), in the recitation of which everyone present may join in, the parallel words, especially those following the long-drawn *ma* — (= and —), being repeated by the entire group.

> "This day I stand, I present myself,
> I bring a feathered one, a furred one [31]
> To Thee, o Brilliant One and — o Fiery One,
> In order to announce unto Thee and — to bear Thee tidings;

---

[30] We shall call the archaic community *kuan* and the modern one, which is much larger, *kampung*.

[31] Lit. a hair of the head or body (Middelkoop). This is a common term for a sacrificial animal, whether this be a rooster, pig or goat or a buffalo. The first sacrificial animal during a ritual which requires the killing of a number of animals is always a rooster. Hence the translation "feathered one, furred one" in Insana.

May it bring forth a propitious oracle and — a propitious omen [32]
for Thy people and — for Thy children,
So that the young plants and — the seedlings of Liurai-Sonba'i [33]
May germinate and — give forth shoots,
So that there be health and — prosperity [34]
For Thy people and — for Thy children.
Let no disease descend upon them, no disaster befall them.[35]
May it please Thee to remove the clouds, to withdraw the mists.
May it please Thee to hold them in Thine hand and — hold them
Every day, every morning." [fast

While delivering this invocation he scatters rice grains which he carries in a small basket of *lontar* leaves, as is customary throughout a prayer. The cockerel is suspended, dead or alive, depending on the *mnane*'s instructions, on the split bamboo stalk.

If the *mnane*'s dream is also unpropitious, another white cockerel has to be sacrificed.

At the end of this ritual the *mnané* dismisses the men planning to cultivate the garden, instructing them to sacrifice a buffalo before clearing the land.

b. *Requesting Permission*

It is not necessary to "inform" (*mutonan*,[36] as the Atoni says) the *tobé* accordingly if one intends to cultivate a garden in the territory of one's own *tobé*, on land one has cultivated before or on land that

[32] Lit. "egg", that is, an egg used in auguring. Lines are drawn across its surface (e.g. one for the Lord of Heaven (Uis Neno), one for the ancestors (*nitu*), and so on). The line which turns out to be nearest the germ of the egg is then considered to have predictive significance.

[33] Liurai-Sonba'i are also substitute words for corn and rice, without either of them appearing to refer to one of these crops in particular. According to a populair myth Liurai-Sonba'i are the origin of corn and rice. P. 271 below.

[34] Lit. "coldness and coolness" (*mainikin ma oetene*); it denotes all that is good and beneficial: the health or well-being of the individual and the community as well as that of the livestock and the crops. Cf. the Nuer word *koc*, cool, in the supplication "may we be cool", and the benediction "may you be cool", which can be freely translated with "peace be with you"; as well as in the evening prayer "may their souls be very cool". Evans-Pritchard, 1962 (1965), pp. 25, 150. "Coolness" has the same meaning in most Indonesian languages.

[35] The Timorese word for disease, *menas* (= heat, as opposed to *mainikin*) refers to the heat of fever and disease, as well as to the heat of an excessively dry season which leads to famine. *Bunuk* = misfortune, taboo sign and the resulting misfortune if it is disobeyed; here it refers to the disaster which will ensue from errors in the performance of the ritual.

[36] *Mutonan* = to inform; it is a euphemism for "to ask permission". Cf. also the prayer on p. 59.

has been previously cultivated by one's father, although formerly it was customary to do so. Permission has to be asked, however, (even nowadays) if one intends to cultivate a patch of virgin soil. But there are virtually no uncultivated forest lands left which have not been set aside as forest reserves by the Netherlands East Indies or Indonesian government, or which are not part of the holy, inviolable, sacred (*le'u*) areas. However, sometimes grasslands are cultivated, and in that case the *tobé*'s permission is required; in return for his permission he receives the *pak sufan* (= the flower of the land), which is usually a coral bead or a piece of silver.

If planning to lay out a garden in the territory of a *tobe* other than one's own — which is possible, as, for instance, when one collaborates with someone who has land in that territory, or when brothers tend a garden in the area in which the family-in-law of one of them resides — it is customary to inform the *tobé* concerned of one's plans to cultivate a certain patch of land. As is the custom whenever a request is made, a complimentary gift is offered to the *tobe*. The latter may withhold his permission, but is more likely to grant the request as usually the permission of those who have previously worked the particular patch in question has been obtained beforehand. The *tobe* is bound to say that a buffalo has to be killed before cultivation can commence. Even if permission has been obtained in this manner one runs the risk of being evicted later on — if the *tobe* does not receive further gifts to which he is entitled, for instance.

The first people to cultivate a certain patch of land always retain certain rights to it, even if someone else cultivates it after them once or even twice for a period of two or three years at a stretch, and they have neglected it for twenty years or more. If another person occupies it without their permission, this person has to compensate all the animals which the original occupants have sacrificed for this garden, for else the newly sown crop is doomed to failure. Religious sanction is clearly the basis for the maintenance of the legal order, as is often the case. The original occupant, moreover, may at all times, even after planting, demand that the new occupant leave the garden. Naturally in this case the matter develops into a legal dispute, the strong arm or physical power of the head being expected to implement the verdict by force if necessary. This is only a hypothetical case, however, — no-one was able to name an example of anyone ever being actually turned out of a garden. The *tobe*, lineage heads or, in some cases, the village head usually work out a settlement that is acceptable to both

parties. But this will never at any time have the power to interfere with the rights of the original occupant.

c. *Sharpening the Matchet*

The next ceremony takes place when the matchet is sharpened, before a start may be made with the felling of trees and shrubs.

In order to avert misfortune and to ensure the success of the crop an invocation is delivered to the ancestors. This is done first beside the *ni monef* (the masculine pillar) or the *hau monef* (masculine pole) in front of the lineage shrine in which the sacred objects (*le'u*) belonging to the lineage are kept. This is always the house of the oldest member of the *ume*. From this it is evident that the cultivation of a garden is primarily — as it has in all probability been of old — an *ume* concern. The lineage head or the oldest of the cultivators offers a sacrifice and delivers the following invocation (*onen*): [37]

> "O my female ancestors (*be'i*), my male ancestors (*na'i*), old and [young,
> Thou who art far and Thou who art nigh,[38]
> May it please Thee to come with me, to accompany me.
> May I this day clear a space and — make room
> For the young plants and — for the seedlings of Liurai-Sonba'i.
> May there, until I come back, until I return,
> Descend no clouds, no mists upon me." [39]

He thereupon enters the house and approaches the maternal pillar (*ni ainaf*) [40] on which are displayed the sacred objects (*le'u*) and the *sirih* purses of the ancestors, and says:

> "O my female ancestors, my male ancestors, old and young,
> Thou who art far and Thou who art nigh,
> Thou who art my origin and — my forebears,
> May it please Thee to come with me and — to accompany me.
> This day I wish to make room and — clear a space
> For the gift bestowed upon me by the clouds, the sprinkling of the mists upon me.[41]

---

[37] *Onen* = invocation; it implies information given as well as prayer and worship.

[38] "Old and young" refers to the distance in time, "far and nigh" to social distance or the degree of relationship.

[39] The weather has to remain dry until after burning down.

[40] P. 430 below.

[41] *Nope* = cloud; *habu* = mist, vapour, and here means rain or drizzle, that is, the rains of the westerly monsoon and the light drizzle of the easterly monsoon.

May there be health and prosperity.[42]
This is the case and these the words.
May clouds and mists
Be the cause of many such cases, many such words.
We lay it before Thee,[43] the case is Thine."

d. *Felling the Trees*

After this the trees are chopped down. First the shrubs and smaller trees are cleared. This is done in order that the number of large trees may be easier to survey. An estimate is made of the number of men necessary to chop down all the trees which need to be felled in one day. Some trees, such as sandal-trees, trees in which bees usually make their nests and those providing timber suitable for the construction of houses and which is fire-resistant (such as *matani* or red timber) are left standing. Clearing of the undergrowth is commenced preferably as early as August. When this has been done the leader of the group preparing to till the plot approaches other inhabitants of his village, or in some cases anyone who is prepared to help, for assistance; formerly he probably restricted himself to a number of hamlets of his own or related clans. He tries to rally the minimum number of men he considers sufficient to complete the work in one day, as he has to kill animals on every day he has people working for him. This characterizes, and offers a partial explanation for, the Atoni's general mode of work — he gives preference to carrying out a project in coöperation with as large a number of people in as short a time as possible. The Atoni invariably endeavours to finish the work to be done in a few days' strenuous toil. This lends the work a very special, and even festive character, especially when we bear in mind the meal at the end of the day. The small group preparing the garden would probably be able to chop down all the large trees in a few weeks' consistently hard work, but quite understandably the more companionable, festive method of working communally, which acts as a break in the monotony of the daily routine, holds more attraction for the Atoni. Furthermore, there is the religious requirement to offer a sacrifice to Uis Pah, the Lord of the Earth, each day on which trees are felled, which at the same time ensures the provision of meat for eating. This religious necessity also acts as an incentive for working collectively and finishing the work in

[42] *Mainikin* and *oetene*: coldness and coolness; here the words denote fertility and the waxing of the crops.
[43] Lit. "upon Thee".

one day. It can be posed, besides, that economic motives play a role in determining this method of work, as in order to reward the helpers with a feast animals have to be killed. As a result they work very hard, the young men especially showing off their strength and endurance and their dexterity at felling large trees skilfully and speedily with the aid of no other tools than their matchet (*benas*). It is far from surprising that they like to have a few days' rest to recover before they join forces again to help with the same work in another garden. Nonetheless, this far from inefficient method has met with negative criticism on the part of Europeans who accuse the Atoni of being lazy and unsuitable for regular work.

In the afternoon of the day on which the trees are felled the animals are killed — a buffalo and one or more pigs, depending on the number of people who have participated in the work. Here the head, or usually one of the oldest members of the group laying out the garden, a person well versed in the ritual, expresses the following invocation:

> "This day I would express unto Thee and — inform Thee
> that this is my ground, my land, my soil and my lake.[44]
> I shall make room and — clear a space
> for the small and the large *nono*,[45] the small and the large trunk.[46]
> Therefore I clasp in my hand and bring (Thee), I hold in my hand and — bring (Thee)
> This feathered one and — this furred one.
> A few men help me clasp it and — help me hold it in my hand.
> This I ponder deep in my heart and — in my mind,
> if they help me hold in my hand, help me clasp
> this sacrifice and — this offering,
> let there, when this sacrifice has been offered and people go their way, be no talking about me, no gossiping about me.[47]

---

[44] These are four synonyms for soil: *afu* = fine earth, dust; *naidjan* = black soil, humus, land, territory (Nai is also one of the ruler's appellations); *pah* = earth as opposed to heaven (*neno*), but also refers to a territory and its people, and in the latter case even becomes a form of address — *hei pah* = you people, man, lord; *nifu* = lake. Cf. Indon. *tanah air,* earth and water, native soil, native land.

[45] *Nono* = a forest creeper planted around gardens and attached to the surrounding fence; metaphorically it designates, here too, the fertility of the clan as well as that of the crops.

[46] *Hau* = tree, wood; here it designates the extended and limited lineages of the clan.

[47] That is, about this rite or prayer, for if errors have been committed — if, for instance, a line has been omitted — talking about it will result in the disaster which may possibly ensue manifesting itself sooner.

O my female ancestors, my male ancestors,
my hidden power, my progenitive power,[48]
come here, all of Thee, appear Thee here,
keep watch over us and guard us,
shelter us and protect us
against being wounded, against being struck.[49]
Of this I bear Thee tidings, of this I inform Thee."

Before nightfall, when the work is finished, the workers assemble for the meal. The ornaments and *sirih* purses which have been placed in three baskets woven out of *lontar* leaves prior to this are removed and the baskets are filled with rice. One is for Pah Tuaf, the Lord of the Earth, and has to be placed near the *hau monef* (the masculine pole outside),[50] and one for the *be'i na'i*, the female and male ancestors, which has to be placed at the *ni ainaf* (the maternal pillar inside the house).

Before the meal the senior occupant of the garden or one of the elders delivers the following invocation:

"After speaking to the Lord of the Earth, the Lord of the Lake,
To my female ancestors, my male ancestors,
My hidden power, my progenitive power,
I have finished preparing this [51] — cooking it,
Accept, then, receive (it).
May it bring us health and prosperity."

After the meal everyone returns homeward and the work is considered finished. In more recent years — according to the Atoni — people have tried to some extent to avoid these obligations imposed by the *adat* by means of a system of mutual exchange of labour. Anyone planning to lay out a garden plot with his own people, a few brothers or sons or other members of his lineage, will try to come to an agreement with people outside his lineage to take turns at helping each other. In that case there is far less need for killing animals. If the sacrifice is omitted as well, there is no need for killing animals at all. Each worker brings along his own food. "This was never done in

---

[48] *Au le'uk - au matau. Le'u* may also mean sacred, inviolable. It is often used in combination with *nuni*, taboo, prohibited, as well as with *nono*, fertility. Here it occurs in parallelism with *matau*, which is usually combined with *mahonit*, e.g. *au mahonit, au matauk*: my potency, my progenitive power.

[49] Lit. to shake. This must be a reference to the circumstance of a person's being hit by a falling tree.

[50] *Mone* = masculine, outside.

[51] Lit. covered, i.e. of the cooking-pot.

olden days", according to the Atoni. In his culture the past is normative and is considered the ideal situation — it cannot but have been better than the present. Formerly the *adat* was much more rigorously observed, as the Atoni is bound to say, even though he may add that in former times the *adat* was not always observed in every case either; in some cases — if, for example, a large number of beasts had died in a drought — no animals would be killed for the communal meal. Poor people cannot always (and could not always in the past) kill a sufficient number of animals, or in any case not enough buffaloes. This form of exchange of labour must therefore always have existed.

It goes without saying, then, that the wealthier, who wish to live up to the respect accorded them by the rest of the community, cannot and will not come to such agreements and shirk their *adat* duties. It is fitting for a wealthy person to invite the people of his lineage to work for him and to reward them afterwards with a plentiful meal. This boosts his prestige. A lineage head or any other man who owns sufficient numbers of cattle and has thereby built up a reputation for himself, will be able to have a large number of people work for him. He will be able to cultivate a large patch of land and expect a more plentiful harvest, so that the next year he will be able to offer another lavish meal with rice as the main dish. (A host is always expected to serve rice at these feasts, and it is in fact always served for the first course, while corn is served with subsequent courses. Corn is, after all, the staple food, while rice is considered a greater delicacy and is hence more highly valued socially. The corn is ground so as to look like rice.)

If the land to be cultivated is grassland, the heavy work of turning the soil (with the aid of long digging-sticks) is similarly carried out by a large group of people working communally. They stand thirty to forty men in a row and all simultaneously thrust their pointed sticks (*suah*) as deeply into the ground as possible (approximately half a metre) and similarly push them back and down simultaneously in order to lift the heavy sods. They sing songs in accompaniment in order to indicate the rhythm, as during the rowing of a *perahu*. When this work is done they usually have buffaloes tread the larger sods to break them up. A garden laid out in one day in this manner cannot possibly be large. The maximum size of the area worked by each man may be roughly estimating 80 to 100 square metres. As, moreover, wood for the enclosing fence is difficult to procure on the plain, whilst here the fence needs to be especially strong in order to keep out stray cattle, whereas on the mountain slopes trees are so plentiful that most

of them have to be felled anyway, it is not surprising that the Atoni has always avoided the plain.

e. *Burning off*

When the wood of the trees and shrubs thus felled is thoroughly dry — two or three months later, that is, towards the end of September or in October — it is burnt. This is done by the occupants themselves; if possible, a still night is chosen for this. First firebreaks are made around the trees which have to be spared (such as the sandal-tree) by clearing the undergrowth around them.

When the workers return home from this work they have to be on their guard against practical jokers, as in accordance with the traditional custom everyone is permitted to "cool them down". Quite unexpectedly and unawares — when, for instance, they are peacefully finishing off their meal — someone will pour water (preferably dirty water) all over them and yell: "have a good harvest". The *atoni amaf* and his people (i.e. the bride-giving affines) especially have a right to play practical jokes of this kind.[52] The Atoni is aware of the reasons for this, as the lineage which supplies wives supplies fertility; and the hot soil has to be cooled down after burning down (*mainikin* = cool, healthy, good, fertile; it is diametrically opposed to *menas* = hot, feverish, bad). This is the reason for the symbolic act of throwing water and wishing the victim a good harvest. The fact that the water may be dirty and that an element of teasing is involved is a result of the superordinate position of the bride-giving group in respect of the bride-receiving group.

Before burning, thick branches are put aside for the construction of the fence (*bahan*). Preference is given to bamboo, if a lot of it happens to be growing nearby, because it is easier to handle than the usually hard timbers.

These fences are constructed by the occupants themselves. This is quite a difficult task, for especially in areas where there are a lot of pigs, the palings of a fence have to be fitted close together. Where there is more open country there are fewer pigs, but a larger number of buffaloes, so that the palings have to be driven firmly into the ground (see photograph 18). If the garden is laid out on one of the rocky mountain slopes, on which there is usually a great deal of loose corallite — found particularly in western Timor — there are not normally such

[52] Cf. Radcliffe-Brown, *On joking relationships,* 1963 (1940). P. 113 below.

a large number of trees. In that case the surrounding fence is constructed of these rocks. This is an extremely arduous task, but the advantage is that this way most loose rock is removed from the gardens (see photograph 19).

Because of all the work involved in the construction of the fence, the Atoni are frequently late in finishing it. If the rains set in too early they are usually too late altogether, so that they will have to rush to get the job finished after planting.

f. *Sifo Nopo* [53] - *"extinguishing the bamboo"*

Whereas throwing water at the workers is a mere practical joke, though one with symbolic significance, *sifo nopo* is the solemn rite performed to restore the normal balance in the interplay of cosmic forces. The earth has to be made cool (*mainikin*) again and the forces of heat and fire rendered harmless, while the Lord of Heaven, Uis Neno, has to be implored to grant fertility for the next harvest. At the same time Uis Pah, the Lord of the Earth, has to be given an altar in the new garden plot.

The *tobe*, who is an authority in respect of the cult relating to plant growth, recites the long prayer appropriate at this stage at the gathering-place, the seat (*toko*) of Uis Pah or Pah Tuaf, which is the sacred centre (*le'u*) of the area in which the garden to be cultivated is located.

Everyone who has cultivated a new plot in this area assembles at the same point, bringing fowls, pigs and rice. The sacrificial animals are killed and the *tobe* recites the great invocation, he alone being permitted to do so:

> "Here then I stand, I present myself
> before Thee, O Brilliant One, O Fiery One,
> in order to sow my seed and — plant my seed [54]
> in my yard and — in my garden.
> O, may it please Thee to hold in readiness for me the early and — the late rains,
> in order that it may germinate and wax, that it may grow stalks and grow roots,
> that it may be cold and — be cool,

[53] *Sifo* = to extinguish; *nopo* = split bamboo. This *nopo* is symbolic of all the trees which have been burnt down. It gives off an especially intense heat.

[54] *Fini* = corn and rice put aside immediately after the harvest and kept for planting the next season. The rice and corn used for the mortuary feast are also called *fini*, as a supply of food must always be kept in reserve in case there are unexpected deaths.

that it may constantly sprout, constantly take root.
In bygone days Liurai and Sonba'i roamed
around their land and — around their lake.
They have sprung from three trunks and — three roots:
the people of Belu, the people of Sabu and — the people of Ti,[55]
Oenun, Maubeis, Oebiok, Hau Timu, Dirma and — Lakekun.[56]
This is the compound of the great, the garden [57] of the great.
There the great Kateri and — the little Kateri [58]
raises its peak and — rises to heaven.
There they made a permanent enclosure, a lasting fence.[59]
High was the enclosure and — high the fence.[60]
They looked up to heaven before them:
to Fautbesi and — Hauna.[61]
There they made a permanent enclosure, a lasting fence,
High was the fence and — high the enclosure.
They continued on their way and travelled on,
to the great abode of princes [62] and the great garden pavilion;
it was near Mount Lobus and near Mount Tubaku.[63]
They looked up to heaven before them:
it was Keun and — it was Mone.[64]
There they made a lasting fence, a permanent enclosure.
They looked up to heaven before them:

---

[55] I.e. Belu, Savu and Roti or part of Roti. The Atoni's international horizons were restricted to these three peoples. To these he opposed himself, but together the four of them constituted the familiar world. Anyone outside these was a "stranger" (*kase*).

[56] Oenun is the mythical place in South Belu at which Liurai-Sonba'i came ashore. Maubeis (a metathetical form of Maubesi) is a bay in South Belu — here it is not the Maubesi in Insana. Oebiok is equivalent to Waiwiku: *Oe* = *wai* (water); the *b* sound lies somewhere in between our *b* and *w*, and *io* before *k* is a common metathesis. Pigafetta (1522) already refers to Oebich (Le Roux, 1929, p. 31). Oebiok, Hau Timo, Dirma and Lakekon are the four quarters of this realm ruled by the Liurai and his three *loro*.

[57] *Etu* is the word for the gardens belonging to or laid out for a head. The garden of the ordinary Atoni is called *lele*.

[58] A mountain in South Belu. *Kateri* = prongs. A holy place of the Melu, according to the myth the original inhabitants of Belu.

[59] The Atoni has three kinds of fence, one made of bamboo (*biul*), one of small tree trunks and branches (*bahan*) and one of stone (*baki*). The words used here are *biul* and *bahan*. (See photographs 18 and 19.)

[60] In other words, while roaming through Timor, Liurai-Sonba'i established permanent, safe settlements.

[61] In South Belu.

[62] *Istana*, Skrt.; the usual word for the residence of a ruler is *sonaf*. In Timorese the word *istana* refers to a royal bivouac or temporary residence. Hence it is used in parallelism with garden hut, which is also a temporary residence.

[63] In South Belu. Tubaki lies a good five kilometres from the bay of Maubesi. Lobus lies on the border of Anas.

[64] There is a story about Keun according to which Sonba'i once fled there. Mone supposedly is a mountain in Oilolok.

16. An Atoni from Maubesi, in Insana, climbing a *lontar* palm in order to tap juice at the top of the tree.

17. Woman washing sago-flour.

is was Namkele and Noemuti.[65]
There they made a lasting fence, a permanent enclosure.
They looked up to heaven before them:
to the sky of Banam.[66]
There they made a permanent enclosure,
high was the fence and — high the enclosure.
They looked up to heaven before them:
it was Kopan and — Olain,[67]
that is, whence garlic and — the onion have come.[68]
There they made a lasting fence and — a permanent enclosure.
High was the fence, high the enclosure.
They looked up to heaven before them:
to Babau and — Panmuti.[69]
There they made a lasting fence, a permanent enclosure,
high was the fence and — high the enclosure.
Once more they looked up to heaven before them:
toward Mutis and — Babnain.[70]
There they made a permanent enclosure, a lasting fence,
high was the fence, high the enclosure.
Again they looked up to heaven before them:
Toward Tulika and — Aenmat.[71]
There they made a permanent enclosure, a lasting fence,
high was the enclosure and — high the fence.
Again they looked up to heaven before them:
toward Sisalula and — Tamnanu,
Kolkobi and — Bastian, Numusu and Faunon.[72]
There they made a permanent enclosure, a lasting fence.
Again they looked up to heaven before them:
toward Toa and — Puitlelo.
There they made a permanent enclosure, a lasting fence.
Again they looked up to heaven before them:
toward Faifnesu and — Bokboèk.[73]
There they made a permanent enclosure, a lasting fence.
Again they looked up to heaven before them:

---

[65] Thirty kilometres to the west of Insana in Central Timor.

[66] This refers to the central sacrificial place of the realm of Ambenu; cf. Beboki, pp. 243, 246 below.

[67] Kupang and the Dutch.

[68] In other words, garlic and onions were introduced via Kupang, possibly through the agency of the Dutch.

[69] Babau lies thirty kilometres to the east of Kupang; Panmuti is a promontory near the Noimina River, 60 kilometres to the east of Kupang.

[70] Mutis: the highest mountain in Central Timor. Babnain the twin of the Mutis.

[71] In Portuguese Oikusi. Tulika is the centre of Ambenu.

[72] Four villages near the coast of Insana, not far from Mena, the former port of Insana; cf. p. 160 below.

[73] These lie further away from the coast. Fafinesu is the northernmost district of Insana, named after Mount Fafi-nesu.

it was Faina, Maubeis, Naike and — Nofanu.[74]
These places are in the centre of the realm, and — in the navel of [the realm,
There two pillars were erected,
the pillar of Liurai and — the pillar of Sonba'i,
there are sunrise and sunset, masculine sea and — feminine sea.[75]
There we shall gather and — we shall meet.
Let this not take place with empty hands, with empty arms,
but with rain-tree (corn) and tail-grass (rice),[76]
heap these up and — pile them up
for the children of the moon and — the children of the sun.[77]
They are as ignorant vessels and — as unknowing platters.[78]
This is the case, this is the word." [79]

The *tobe,* who has filled his basket (*tobe*) [80] with rice, scatters rice as he recites the above. The livers of the sacrificial animals are examined in accordance with the custom to see if the omens are favourable.[81] Then some of the blood is poured into a bamboo stalk and sprinkled around the gardens. This may be omitted, however, if, as is frequently done, a sample of earth from the plots in question is taken to the gathering-place (*toko*) in order to be sprinkled with blood there.

Then a meal is eaten at the *toko.* Everything is served in separate baskets (*kasui*) - a separate basket for each kind of meat (buffalo

---

[74] These are the four places of origin of Maubesi, the nucleus of Insana.

[75] That is, east and west, south and north. In Amarasi the masculine sea (*tasi mone*) is the "external sea", and the feminine sea (*tasi feto*) the "internal" one, that is, that part of the ocean that is nearest the coast. Cf. Cunningham, 1964, p. 50. In Insana and Beboki as well as in Portuguese Timor (Forbes 1885, p. 448) this dualism refers exclusively to south and north. Both forms of categorization fit in equally well with the total world view, as exterior and south are both masculine, and interior and north feminine. Pp. 240, 414 below.

[76] These two words are interchangeable. *Kaidjulan,* "rain-tree" (not mentioned by Meijer Drees, 1950) refers to corn. *Ik-elo* "tail-grass", *elo* meaning grass and *iko* tail; this refers to the ear of the rice, which is not supposed to be mentioned by name. It is the finest variety of rice and is reserved for the heads.

[77] *Funan ankina ma nenba ankina,* i.e. Liurai and Sonba'i. *Funan* = moon, *neno* = heaven, sometimes sun, day. Liurai and Sonba'i are also called *neno ana,* which may then be translated with "son of heaven".

[78] The word used is *mon* = ignorant, foolish; cf. p. 73. Here it means that they only receive; the usual principle of reciprocity, which requires that all gifts be remembered in connection with the counter-gifts which must be offered later, does not apply to them.

[79] *Lasi ma tondje* or *toni,* the ritual words. For *lasi* see p. 424.

[80] A *tobe,* like a *kasui,* is a small basket woven out of *lontar* leaves. A *kasui* is a simple, round basket, whereas a *tobe* should be more ornamental and is quadrangular or hexagonal in shape.

[81] Cf. Middelkoop, 1931, p. 279. I was once a witness (in 1947) to the examination of a pig's liver at a sacrifice at which a pig was immolated by the raja of Molo, Tobe Sonba'i.

meat, pork and chicken). The rice is placed in the baskets first, then the meat. A portion of each dish is placed in a basket: one for the seat (*toko*) of Uis Pah, one for the ancestors (*be'i - na'i*), and one for the hidden forces (*le'u*). A basket has to be set aside also for unexpected guests, such as the deceased (*nitu*) of the lineages of the *atoni amaf*, (the heads of the bride-giving lineages). Before the meal the *tobe* recites the following invocation:

> "This have I prepared and — have I cooked.
> This I wish to express and — this I wish to announce unto
> the Brilliant One and — the Fiery One,
> therefore I heap it up and — pile it up
> before Thy heavenly countenance and — before Thy divine eyes.
> Accept it, receive it.
> Sprinkle it well, give it good black soil."

Following this the Uis Pah is installed in every garden. It consists of a large stone or of a heap of smaller stones with a larger stone on top of them. This stone has to be sought by the medicineman before the ritual. Beside the stone, or if there are more than one, in the midst of them, the "heartwood" (*hau tes*) is erected and some of the sacrificial foods, such as the corn cobs from the offerings to be sacrificed, and the lower part of a pig's jaw, or a buffalo skull, are suspended from it. A small quantity of the cooked food and parts of the sacrificial animal (the heart or part of its intestines) are placed on the stone — called *bak-bak* in Miomafo.[82] At this initial sacrifice money and *sirih pinang* — seven pieces of each — are placed on the Uis Pah. In Beboki this number is not fixed though it should be an odd one, whilst in Miomafo it should always be an even number. As the words: "All of thee, come guard and keep watch over my Liurai-Sonba'i, which I have planted" are said, four times four grains of corn and an equal number of rice grains are quickly planted around the Uis Pah. The Uis Pah does not necessarily have to be installed in the gardens on the same day — this can be done just as well on the following day — but is always done so as part of the ritual of cooling down the land, or "existinguishing the bamboo" (*sifo nopo*). Thereupon the *tobe* recites the following invocation:

> "This day I wish to set Thee down and — give Thee a place
> in the midst of my yard and — my garden.
> For now I intend to plant, to sow, Liurai and — Sonba'i.

---

[82] *Baki* = stone. Hence more than one stone is used.

O my female ancestors, my male ancestors,
my hidden power, my progenitive power!
All of Thee, come and behold, appear before us;
keep watch and — guard
until I have planted, have sown Sonba'i and — Liurai.[83]
O, may it please Thee to go thither also, to pay homage to
the Brilliant One and — the Fiery One;
sprinkle it well, give it good black soil.
Allow not the manggo to wither, nor the watermelon to parch.[84]
May they constantly grow shoots, constantly sprout.
This is the case, this is the word."

All the seed for the garden is placed on the altar-stone; it is removed little by little and immediately sown. If sowing is continued the next day the remaining seed is first placed on the altar-stone again. Once more an animal is killed and prepared and the *tobe* or an *amaf* recites:

"This have I prepared and — cooked.
Therefore I invoke, I summon
the Lord of the Lake and — the Lord of the Earth,
my female ancestors, my male ancestors,
my hidden power, my progenitive power,
to come nearer and — approach hither,
to accept and — receive
what I have placed before Thee, prepared for Thee,
this heap (of rice), this pile (of meat)." [85]

During these last words the baskets of rice and meat are placed before the altar.

The ritual of cooling down the ground, *sifo nopo*, is very important in that it includes an invocation to the ancestors, while the Lord of the Earth, Uis Pah, is assigned a place for the coming season and made the Lord of this garden in a very tangible way.

As soon as the rains begin to fall planting commences — this is usually the same day on which the *sifo nopo* ritual is performed, or the day after, for this ritual is performed as soon as there is rain under way or even after the first rain has fallen. Frequently the Atoni plants

---

[83] There is no mention here of the seed of Liurai-Sonba'i, for Liurai-Sonba'i are the rice and the corn themselves; their names are substitute words for the crops, the real names of which must not be mentioned in the ritual.

[84] The manggo (*upu* - L. *mangifera indica*) is a fruit which ripens during the westerly monsoon, and the water-melon, *timo*, is picked during the easterly monsoon. This is a substitute expression for the early and the late rains, therefore.

[85] *Setel* is a reference to rice, *asak* to meat, neither of which is to be mentioned by name.

too hastily, for the rains do not always persist once they set in. Then the seed dries up and he has to plant a second time.

Planting is women's work, just as felling and burning are exclusively men's tasks. Holes spaced two paces apart are made in the ground with a dibble; in each of these are placed theoretically four grains of corn, or if rice is cultivated, four grains of rice; this is so in theory, but in practice this number is often four to six, because, as the Atoni says, the grains are so small. The holes are closed with the feet.

Before planting the seed is carried to the garden by the women; no-one, neither man nor woman, is allowed to speak during this time. The rice is planted in plots surrounded by rows of corn. At the same time native peas, gourds, cucumbers and watermelons are sown. When the rain has thoroughly soaked the ground cassava, *bataten,* peas,[86] bananas and sugar-cane are planted as well. Banana-trees and sugar-cane, like coconut and *pinang* palms, are usually planted in the village, in the compound surrounding the house.

g. *Eka hoë - "filling in the ditch"*

The aim of this invocation is to prevent the seed from being washed away by heavy downpours. This ritual is performed shortly after planting.

Before the sacrificial animal is killed the *tobe* or the *amaf* recites the following invocation:

> "This day I bear Thee tidings and — I announce unto Thee
> that my younger and my elder brothers, my mother and my father,
> my distaff-side and spear-side kin,
> who are seen here and — have appeared here,
> have come to meet here and — to assemble here
> before Thy countenance and — before Thine eyes,
> bearing from Thy land, Thy lake,
> its yield and — its fruit.
> They have come not only with the yield and the fruit of the land,
> but with their hearts and their feelings (of gratitude).
> Their hands are filled and — their arms are filled,
> each one holding in his hands a feathered one and a furred one,
> that it may rise (to Thee) and — ascend (to Thee),
> o my rock of renown, my source of renown.[87]

---

[86] Lit. tropical *pea.* Indon. *katjang idjau.*

[87] The name for the place of origin of the clan (*kanaf*) always denotes a high, inaccessible place such as a cliff, which is nevertheless habitable because there is a spring on it. Furthermore, the words "rock" and "source" express the dual unity of earth and water; cf. note 44 above.

May it please Thee to admonish the early and the late rains,
do not allow them to escape me and — to elude me.
If they should escape me and — elude me
Liurai-Sonba'i
will surely not grow good shoots, not wax well.
My Lords,[88] aged Uis Taolin, aged Uis Fal,
aged Uis Pupu and — aged Uis Tonbesi,
who are the heads of the sacrificial basket,[89] the heads of the sacrificial pannier,
which comes from the lords[90] of the sacrificial basket, of the sacrificial pannier, namely
Hitu, Taboi, Saidjao, Banusu,
in order that, when I bear gifts of tribute and pay homage,
rain-tree (corn) and — tail-grass (rice),
to the Son of the Moon, the Son of the Sun,[91]
what lies before them, what is placed before their eyes may not be inferior,
so that we may praise Thee and — extol Thee greatly."

As soon as the sacrificial animal has been prepared and the rice cooked the *tobe* or *amaf* speaks the following words before the meal commences:

"This have I prepared and — have I cooked
in order that I may pile up (rice) and — heap up (meat)
before Thy countenance and — before Thine eyes.
Accept it, receive it,
in order that there be health for me, prosperity for me,
that the sacrificial basket be filled, the sacrificial pannier be filled."

h. *Drought and failure of the crop*

If the rains are late this is ascribed to some error in the ritual.

If the crop appears to be wilting the *tobe* or an *amaf* who is well versed in the tradition is consulted. He spends a whole night in the garden hut, repeating aloud passages from stories (*nanuan*). In contrast to the invocations made at sacrificing here there is no-one else

[88] *Uisfini* is the plural form of *usif* (lord); the title of the Lord of Heaven is Uis Neno and that of the Lord of the Earth Uis Pah. The ruler and his representatives are also addressed with *usif*.

[89] *Kelili* is an oblong basket which is used for offerings and for serving important guests; *tobe* is also a sacrificial basket. *Nakaf* = head.

[90] *Tuanfini* is the plural form of *tuan* = lord, a form of address for all persons of high social rank. In this context it is used with reference to the major custodians of the land, who as such own the sacrificial basket, while the *usif* are the heads of the basket.

[91] I.e., in this case the *atupas*. See also the chapter on the political structure.

present and there is no-one to join in and repeat in chorus the appropriate parallel words. The contents of this recitation, like those of the great prayer recited when the ground is "cooled down", refer to the group's descent from and relationship to Liurai-Sonba'i, who are also the origin of rice and corn. This myth of origin is often related. Sacrificing takes place by day, recitation of stories by night.

The *tobe* assembles all his people and investigates the possible causes of the failure. Was the *tobe* who was in charge of sacrificing at the *sifo nopo* (cooling down of the earth) ritual a minor one, that is, the *tobe* of a few small lineages or of a large lineage living by itself, and did he commit an error, so that the ancestors have failed to come? Did he perhaps omit part of the invocation? Or was the Uis Pah — that is, the stone representing Uis Pah — installed incorrectly, or not at all, in a particular garden? Or have the unpropitious omens of the augural egg or of the liver been ignored and has a second animal not been killed?

The cause cannot but lie in an error in the ritual. It cannot possibly be some secret sin, such as murder or incest, as misfortune is bound to strike the person committing such a sin; it would not enter the Atoni's mind in the first instance, however, to associate drought or failure of the crop with the misdemeanour of a member of the group. For this reason the ritual requires great accuracy and people pray that: "when this sacrifice has been offered, let there be no talking and no gossiping about us".

If an error has been committed, mention of it, which would bring it out into the open, can only aggravate its consequences. The question as to whether Uis Neno, Uis Pah and the ancestors would not themselves have noticed such an error was evaded, as was the question as to whether an error in the ritual would not automatically have unpleasant consequences. This is a line of thought which is beyond the Atoni's mental scope. He reasons that an error in the ritual is bound to have adverse consequences, while making such an error public will make the manifestation of these consequences even more inevitable.

Conversely, it can be said that if the ritual has been performed faultlessly a good harvest may be expected. This never follows automatically, but a bad harvest has a closer causal relationship with an error in the ritual than a good harvest with a perfectly faultless ritual.

If the rains are late, a black animal has to be sacrificed. People in Insana said that it had to be black because black clouds were needed here.

When the *tobe* thinks he has discovered the error he utters the following invocation:

> "O my rock of renown, my source of renown,
> I have transgressed and — have committed an offence.
> This transgression, this offence
> I shall not suppress and — I shall not conceal;
> therefore I approach and — come near (Thee)
> bringing Thee a feathered one and — a furred one.
> It is thus: my *nono* was immature, my *tani* was unripe.
> I confess and I admit (lit.: to split)
> that I have committed adultery, that I have been foolish.
> I shall be forgetful of Thee no more, shall disregard Thee no more."

This prayer is important in that it throws a great deal of light on the Atoni's way of thinking and his attitude towards the powers of the hidden world.

The sentence "It is thus: my *nono* was immature, my *tani* was unripe" is difficult to translate. *Nono* and *tani* are used in parallelism with each other, the words literally meaning: liana, forest creeper. However, *nono* is also the word for the fertility power of the clan and its related ritual. Each clan has its own *nono*, so that *nono* also denotes the circle of all those who have the same *nono*. As a verb it means "to roam around" — Liurai-Sonba'i 's wanderings are *nono*. *Nono* can also be a qualification of *le'u* (= hidden power). *Le'u nono* then is used in parallelism with *le'u musu* (hostility *le'u*), the former being the secret power of fertility and *le'u musu* the secret power by means of which one's enemies may be conquered. Together they make up the two complementary spheres in which the Atoni's life is set, namely fertility and defence, life and death, peace and war, or, in the Atoni's own words: "*mainikin ma menas*" (coolness and heat).*Nono - tani* covers the totality of the concept of fertility power. This was immature (*maté* = green (of fruits and crops), raw (of meat), not quite cooked). The meaning of this sentence appears to be that the fertility power was not able to function properly; the manner in which the *nono* was served or in which the ritual was performed, was "raw", crude, rash. People in Insana said, however, that it meant: "In order that my vital force may remain vigorous, my fertility power remain vigorous" on the analogy of the phrase *tah feu oke, tah mate oke* (= we all eat the new, we all eat the fresh, i.e., the new, fresh corn) in the ritual in which it is announced to the implements that there is new corn. This is not a very like interpretation; it is rather an indication that

people no longer understand the full meaning of their own ritual, partly because the ritual language is archaic and not at all like the spoken language.

The prayer continues in the first person, with the confession that he, i.e. the *tobe*, "has committed adultery", which was a "foolish" thing to do. "Foolish" (*mon*) is frequently used in this connection. Adultery is an offence against the rules of conduct governing life, in accordance with which people are supposed to act; if they do not conform with these something goes amiss with this "life". That is why adultery is "foolish", "stupid". A sensible person would not commit an offence such as this. The same applies to the *tobe* who has not observed the ritual forms through inadvertence.

After the sacrificial ceremony, before the sacrificial animal is eaten, a prayer is said, as follows:

> "A heap (of rice) and a pile (of meat) before Thy
> countenance and — before Thine eyes
> have I prepared and — have I cooked.
> Pray accept it, pray receive it.
> May Thou accept it in all sincerity, receive it in all sincerity."

Now the *tobe* has repaired his former omission. Formerly he would probably have had to pay a fine to the *kapitan*, the principal *tobe* of the whole sub-territory.

If it appears by the continued absence of rain that the error still has not been repaired, or that there is another error requiring requital, the *kapitan* is consulted. The latter then rallies all his *tobe*, traces the error or offence, and informs the lord (*usif*) of his sub-territory accordingly. According to my informants in Insana the *usif* thereupon givers orders to assemble at the *kapitan*'s[92] *tola* (the wooden pole erected in the midst of a pile of rocks, hence the centre of the altar and the ritual centre of the community). Then a sacrifice is offered on the spot on which the error was committed or on the *kapitan*'s sacred cliff (*fatu le'u*) itself.

The prayer appropriate to this sacrifice is recited by the *kapitan* as the principal *tobe*. For the sacred cliff (*fatu le'u*) is the place of origin of the whole of that particular group: it is "the rock of renown and the

[92] *Kapitan* is a Portuguese title still used with reference to the major custodians of the land, who are at the same time the great fathers. See p. 232 below. Clearly the *usif* has no actual function here. This is a development which took place specifically in Insana, where the *usif* became very prominent. Cf. pp. 220 and 374 below.

source of renown" of the great *sifo nopo* prayer. That is why sacrifices are also offered here before the men go to war.

This time a white buffalo has to be sacrificed — white because the group has to be purified and cleansed of the offence which has been committed. The colour of the buffalo previously sacrificed, when the objective was to rectify the error that had been committed, was black; this time the objective is purification — hence the white coloured buffalo, even though the rains have not come. The buffalo has to walk up to the *fatu le'u,* where it is killed. As it is slaughtered the *kapitan* speaks the following words:

> "O my bearded rock, bearded tree,[93]
> at the gathering-place of the tribe and of the people and — at their meeting-place,
> the sacrificial basket and — the sacrificial pannier
> was wielded wrongly, treated wrongly.
> I professed Thee not and — paid not homage unto Thee.
> I stood not and — did not present myself.
> Therefore I bring Thee a feathered one and — a furred one.
> Thou hast admonished me, Thou hast reproved me.
> Thy grave admonition, Thy stern reproval
> did not send down disease upon me, nor a curse upon me,
> but a curse and disease upon Liurai-Sonba'i,
> upon his crop and his harvest.
> Therefore the early and the late rains have been delayed and
> For this reason am I afraid and do I fear, [detained.
> so that I come with bowed head and approach Thee most
> bringing Thee a feathered one and a furred one, [reverently,
> because I have committed an offence and have transgressed.
> Alas, I shall be forgetful of Thee no more,
> I shall neglect Thee no more.
> Sprinkle the crop and the harvest of Liurai-Sonba'i, give them
> pray send the early and the late rain. [good black earth,
> May it please Thee to lend this case Thine ear, lend this word Thine ear,
> in order that the stem be cold, the root be cold (*mainikin*),
> that it may constantly grow shoots and constantly sprout,
> so that I may acknowledge (Thee) as lord (*usif*) and not deny
> Thee as head, not be disloyal.
> Let the moon know of it and let the sun know of it."

Disease, *menas,* heat, evil, is opposed to *mainikin,* coolness, well-being.

---

[93] "Bearded" means "covered with long moss" and refers to the cold mountain summit. It is also symbolic of the antiquity of the cliff of origin of the natal clan and hence also of the *kanaf.*

A curse (*bunuk*) is the consequence of a transgression of the ritual rules or of a taboo (*nuni*) or of the desecration of a holy place or a sacred object (*le'u*). If the individual commits such an offence he is bound to be struck by a curse, which will bring disease upon him or his next of kin. If the ritual is not observed in every detail such a curse will strike the community as a whole, while if the ritual concerned is a fertility rite, as in this case, the curse will strike the crop. When the *kapitan* has, as he himself confesses, "committed an offence and transgressed" (the words *tanhai - laksae* both mean "to transgress, to overstep the bounds") he has violated the rules which constitute the norms governing the life of man and overstepped the bounds imposed on man. And this is the essence of the "transgression", as a result of which he has brought down a curse (*menas* and *bunuk*) upon himself.

The *kapitan* does not address Uis Neno, the Lord of Heaven, or Uis Pah, the Lord of the Earth, but the ancient moss-grown rock of origin. There the ancestors of the tribe have emerged from the earth, as many Timorese myths relate. This is almost a form of deification of the origin of the natal group. Not so much so because the Atoni considers his own community to be sacred — this is altogether beyond his mental horizons — but because a person's origin lies in the hidden world, of which his ancestors also are part and to which he will one day himself belong.

If the drought nevertheless persists, bringing with it the threat of failure of the greater part of the crop, and efforts to trace the error which may have been made in the ritual, and likewise the sacrifices to the ancestors and to the rock of origin have been to no avail, the Atoni tries to find a different solution.

During the famine of 1930 the people of Amfoan sought help from Lauf Neno,[94] a woman living by herself in a shack in a river valley. Her only clothing consisted of a ragged loin-cloth, and she had no other belongings than a cooking-pot and a *sirih* purse. She had been discovered in 1927, when there was also a food shortage, and was reputed to have descended from heaven on to the Mutis, so that she was a *neno anan*, or celestial child. Others said she came from Kauniki where Sonba'i, the great son of heaven, once lived. She was said to have attended school and to speak many languages. People brought her quantities of sacrificial gifts, such as hens, pigs, cloths, beads and *sirih pinang*, in order to bring on rain. Her fingers were deformed,

[94] Van Alphen, 1933. Cf. Middelkoop, 1938a, pp. 454-461, and 1949, p. 461.

except for the index fingers and thumbs. She had the appearance of an old woman, although she was probably not much older than 30. It was believed that if she opened her right hand the drought would continue for a very long time to come, and if she opened her left hand many people would die. The *fetor* (district head) decided to send her to Kupang, but when she became aware of his intentions she was literally struck dumb and wept so much, for days on end, that the *fetor,* prompted by apprehension, released her. But a few months later she was conveyed to Kupang after all, on the orders of the Netherlands East Indies Government. Here people continued to bring *sirih pinang* to her in jail. She was charged with fraud and died a month later. She had opened the fingers of her left hand before her death and was buried with her hand in that position. And many people indeed died, for the drought continued.

The above is an example of how popular imagination places a lonely and disfigured person in the sphere of the hidden world and how such a person is expected to mediate when people are in distress themselves. The woman herself probably had no part in this at all.

The case of a man from Bekwin, also in Amfoan, was different. This man had a vision in which a man and a woman from heaven, in shimmering garments, revealed themselves as Uis Neno, the Lord of Heaven. The latter gave instructions to "no longer cleave (i.e. till) the earth and the rocks. For we have created thy father and thy mother from dust and their bodies have turned to dust and rocks again". The meaning of this was that corvée labour for road-work was no longer to be rendered and that anyone who disobeyed this order would die. They did have to pay taxes, so he said. His followers had to pay these to him, either in money or in animals. The government exiled him, but this did not put an end to people's fear of him.

Neno Sonba'i, too, a descendant of the old Sonba'i dynasty in Fatule'u, wandered around the country organizing sacrificial feasts, as Sonba'i as the son of heaven is associated with the rain from heaven.

These examples will serve to illustrate how people may act deliberately in order to bring on rain and win fame and fortune for themselves. This does not imply that the man from Bekwin did not believe in his own vision. Sonba'i certainly was aware of the position accorded him as mediator between man and the hidden forces of heaven and earth.

i. *Paying the tobe*

After weeding, and usually before the crops ripen, people assemble

once more to pay the *tobe* his fees (*noin tobe*). The sacrificial basket (*tobe*) is placed on the altar stone (*toko*) of the *tobe,* who sits down beside it. Formerly everyone placed rice and corn in it, according to his means, so that a large number of baskets belonging to the *tobe* were filled with the latter. This rice and corn could be exchanged or sold back in return for cattle, bangles or cloths in times of famine. The cattle would then be tended by the *tobe,* and the other objects and the rice and corn stored in his *tola.* Here the meaning of *tola,* the wooden pole in the centre of the altar, is: central storage house for the territory of the major custodian of the land (*tobe naek*). Each *tobe* has two *tola* or sacred storage houses. These have the same shape as ordinary storage houses (*lopo*) but because they are *tola* they are inviolable (*le'u*). There is a *tola molo* and a *tola metan,* which are due west and east of one another respectively (*molo* means 'yellow' and belongs to the west, *metan* is 'black' and is often associated, in a different context, with the north).

Obviously the *tobe* had to be paid after the harvest, as is at present still the case with the *kapitan,* the *usif* and the ruler. But people did not agree unanimously that this was so. Some said that the *tobe* — i.e. the *tobe* of a smaller territory inhabited by a few clans — had to be paid at the beginning of the wet season so that during the months to follow, when food could be expected to be scarce, (there is a period of food shortage every year, though sometimes it is not serious) he would have corn and rice to sell.

During the colonial period the amount paid him was a guilder or the equivalent of five Chinese coins of 20 dollar cents each, which were officially in circulation in Portuguese Timor up to the second world war.

The old system contained an excellent social institution. The surplus of the harvest of a community was committed to the custodianship of the *tobe,* so that in times of famine the people of that community could rely on him for food, having an opportunity to purchase it from him, as long as the supplies lasted, at prices that were more or less fixed. The returns also fell under his control, although they never became his own — he could never dispose freely over them or use them for his personal benefit. Just as he is the custodian of the land of a number of clans, he is the trustee of their reserves and of the cattle and objects paid him in exchange for food. The Indonesian term "*tuan tanah*" ("lord of the manor", landed proprietor) which is commonly used and is even translated into Timorese with *Pah tuaf* is definitely incorrect. *Pah tuaf* or its possessive form *Paha in tuan* may

be used only with reference to the prince and the *usif* because they represent the political community as a whole, but never applies to the *tobe,* not even to the major custodians of the land or *kapitan.*

A suggestion which was put at great length to the chiefs, the lineage heads, village heads and *tobe* and which involved re-introducing this old *adat* institution in a modern form in order to provide for a reserve to draw on in cases of shortage of food met with little response. The reasons for this were several. The Atoni has little desire to pay the *tobe* a substantial tax, as was formerly the custom, in addition to the taxes he now pays to the government. Another reason, which is closely connected with the first one, is the shift in power which took place during the colonial period. It is no longer the *kapitan,* or *tobe naek,* and under him the *tobe* and the *amaf* (lineage head) who are the chief authorities, but rather the *usif* (who has been created district head) and the village heads. The latter are not always recruited from the ranks of the most prominent lineages and, what is more important, wield authority by virtue of different considerations. The whole of the traditional system has been undermined and it is impossible to re-instate it at this stage.

j. *Guarding the young plants*

After weeding, a constant watch has to be kept against birds and monkeys. This is done by the entire lineage, or all the families which have participated in cultivating the plot. By day usually the old men and women and children keep watch, whilst at night the men do this. They keep an especially sharp lookout for wild boars and buffaloes. They are always armed for this purpose and try to shoot or spear any stray animal which is likely to cause damage. Because all the members of the lineage are engaged in this activity the village (*kuan*) is practically deserted during this time, often only a few old men remaining behind. People at this time live in small garden huts erected on tall wooden pillars high above the garden fence. Sometimes the hut is built against the trunk of a tree, and the floor may be raised more than two metres above the ground. It is a very simple construction and is often quite small because it serves only as temporary dwelling (although sometimes people live in it up to three or four months). The only requirements it must meet are that it be waterproof and that it provide enough room for all its occupants to sleep in, with some room to spare for the hearth stones. It frequently lacks a front wall, and if the hut is sheltered from the wind there may be no walls at all.

From the hut there is a system of wires with leaves or pieces of cloth attached to them strung across the plants. These may be set in motion by pulling them inside the hut — an effective method of keeping birds at bay.

In the mountains, especially on the steep slopes of mountains with limestone cliffs, which are usually riddled with caves and deep fissures, it is an especially difficult task to keep monkeys out of the garden, and they frequently cause a great deal of damage. Buffaloes and pigs may also cause serious damage. It is permissible to spear down any buffalo or pig entering a garden by jumping across the fence, or pushing its way through it, provided this is sufficiently strong and adequate to prevent animals from entering any other way. The following morning this has to be reported immediately to the owner of the beast and to the village head concerned or, as was formerly done, to the lineage head and, if the owner belonged to a different lineage, to the head of the clan or even to the *kapitan* or *usif*.

The owner of the wounded or killed animal may come and collect it, but at the same time has to pay compensation for any damage the animal may have caused to the plants. The lineage head (*amaf*) or the village head (*temukung*), who is himself usually an *amaf* as well, then tries to settle the affair by mutual agreement. He may not always be successful in doing so. Often the owner of the garden will exaggerate the extent of the damage, whilst the owner of the animal is likely to assert that the fence was not strong enough. If a pig can push its way through, then it cannot have been adequate. Complications arise if the pig has dug the soil away underneath the fence. If a settlement cannot be reached the case is brought before the *kapitan* or the *usif*. If two lords are involved because, for instance, animals from another district are responsible for the damage, these two hold counsel and the *kolnel,* the masculine counterpart of the central ruling authority, becomes inolved in the case as well. At present this may be the district head (*fetor*) or the raja. If the case concerned cattle from another princedom hostilities might break out, especially if the owners were convinced that their cattle had been speared even before the fence had been damaged.

During the wet season, when people occupy the garden huts to keep watch over the crops, the supply of corn swiftly dwindles. There is probably no rice at all left because most of it will have been consumed at the feasts organized during the dry period. A small quantity of rice is always put aside immediately after the harvest and is reserved for

planting (*fini*), but what is left of this is never eaten until the rice and the late corn begin to swell. Then it is distributed among all the members of the community, and the water in which it has been boiled is sprinkled over the new plants.[95] This coincides approximately with the ripening of the young corn, sixty days after planting.

But this surplus may be so small that supplies may run out altogether. Then the time of the *mnahat* (Indonesian *lapar biasa*) or annual famine sets in. This may be extremely serious, as during the first months of 1966. The reason then was that in 1964 the wet season set in too early, so that preparatory work on the gardens could not be finished — some plots had not een been burnt down. Hence the new gardens could be only partially planted. In addition the rains ceased far too early at the beginning of 1965 — before or at the beginning of April — so that most of the rice crop failed and the late corn bore smaller cobs than usual.

k. *The first corn*

At the end of 60 to 70 days the short variety of corn, the one with small cobs, is sufficiently ripe for eating. In the mountains this is at the end of December or the beginning of January and on the north coast not until February.

In every garden plot the first corn harvested is placed as a sacrifice on the Uis Pah, the altar stone for the Lord of the Earth, and a number of cobs is taken by the *tobe* to the holy rock (*fatu le'u*) of the *tobe naek* or *kapitan*. He announces that the new harvest is ripe and that there is food for the children and the buffaloes.

Back in the village "the feeding of the buffaloes" (*bidjae nah feu* = buffalo, to eat, new) now takes place. The buffaloes are corralled and people with armsful of corn plants (with roots and cobs still attached) walk around the pen, making a complete circle beginning and ending at the gate, and back in the opposite direction. This symbolizes the buffalo walking to its pasture and its return to its corral. The plants are fed to the buffaloes while the following words are said:

> "Steal not someone's side-dish,
> Rob not someone's side-dish.[96]
> Know Thy enclosure,
> Know Thy shelter." [97]

[95] Cf. p. 63, note 54, above.

[96] Another metaphor for corn, which must not be called by its usual name.

[97] Lit.: shade, i.e. the spot in which they lie in the shade of a clump of trees in the meadow.

18. A sturdy wooden fence (*bahan*) with gate.

19. Building a fence of corallite (*baki*).

20. Women pounding *padi* into *beras*.

After this the younger children are allowed to roast and eat the corn cobs, this being their exclusive privilege. It is considered a disgrace for an adult to eat of the young corn, as it is reserved for the young life.

Whilst the children are engaged in this a few men take some cucumbers and watermelons and smash them to pieces on the withers of the female buffaloes. The symbolism of this is: bear male offspring (the cucumber symbolizing the masculine because of its phallic shape), and: give birth to female offspring (the cavity of the water-melon symbolizing the womb). Sometimes designs are carved on the skins of these fruits to ensure that calves born will have similar markings; or they are coloured black or red for the same purpose.

After the first corn (*pena sain* or *pena masa* [98] = fine corn) has been reaped for the children the other early variety (*pen balu, pen molo* = the nourishing corn, the yellow corn) which ripens in 90-100 days is harvested for the adults. Again sacrifices are offered on the Uis Pah and at the *tola,* the *kapitan*'s central altar. Corn stalks with the cobs still on them but with the roots removed are also placed on the boundary stones marking the *tobe*'s territory. The *tobe* is informed accordingly and the first "white corn, yellow corn" is eaten at his *tola.* Again a sacrifice is offered and a communal meal is eaten. This is the "new food", the actual ritual harvest feast. During the sacrifice the *tobe* or a prominent and capable lineage head delivers an invocation in front of the masculine pole (*hau monef*). It runs as follows:

"O my female ancestors, my male ancestors,
old and young, far and nigh,
my hidden power, my progenitive power.
This day the daughters and sons have come.
They come to announce and — to bear tidings thereby
that Thou hast given us succour and — hast not turned away from us,
that the early rain has favoured us and — the late rain has favoured us,
that the sprinkling has been abundant and the soil plentiful
for Liurai-Sonba'i.
His roots grew constantly and — they pushed constantly deeper into the soil,
the shoots increased constantly and the sprouts waxed large all the time.
I have kept guard constantly, I have watched continuously.

[98] *Pena* = corn; *sain* = millet (*sorghum vulgare*). Here it is used as a synonym for the young corn; *paen sain* has become the general term for this corn; *sain* (millet) is also found in Timor, especially in the drier areas.

Now I have received him, now I have gathered him in.
Now let everyone seize and clasp
his feathered one and — his furred one
in order to express it truthfully,
to bear tidings of it truthfully."

Only hens and pigs are sacrificed on this occasion. Before they are killed a number of corn stalks with cobs still on them are lashed to the masculine pole (*hau monef*) and the maternal pillar (*ni ainaf*). After the animals are killed the sacrificial meal is prepared. Corn is boiled in the cob. Then a cob is taken, a grain removed from it between the thumb and finger and rubbed all over the arm, four times up and down between the elbow and the finger tips, once along the upper surface and once along the lower surface of each arm. The word *tui* [99] is uttered a few times while this is done, indicating that with the new harvest people gain renewed vigour. This vigour is also communicated to the men's tools and the women's implements, which are all placed before the maternal pillar before sacrificing commences. When the food is cooked, boiled corn mixed with rice and meat is scattered over the implements before commencement of the meal. As this is done the names of all the implements are uttered in pairs:

"Axe and matchet (*fani, benas*),
large and small weeding-hook (*tofa, hoka*),
spindle and distaff plate (*ike, suti*),[100]
cotton mangle and cotton bow (*bninis, sifo*),[101]
weft sword and breast beam (*senu, atis*),
rods and rollers (*sial, uta*),
backstrap, warp beam (of the weaving-loom) (*niun,*[102] *nekan*),
I express unto Thee, I inform Thee,
We all eat of the new, we all eat of the fresh."

After this the meal commences, but not until the following prayer has been recited in front of the masculine pole:

---

[99] *Tui* used verbally means "to draw a line". When a deceased person is carried away for burial the *atoni amaf* holds a coin in his hand, and with it draws a line along the ground: *tui lalan* = he draws the path, i.e. he points out the direction in which the deceased has to be carried. *Tuis* also is the word for the continuous borders on Timorese cloths.

[100] The small plate on which the distaff is spun with the hand in cotton spinning. (See photograph 12.)

[101] *Bninis,* a small mangle used for seeding cotton. *Sifo,* a bow which is bent by means of a string and with which the cotton is beaten. (See photograph 11.)

[102] The weaver places the *niun* around her back so that she can tauten the entire loom by leaning back. (See photograph 13.)

"This have I finished preparing and — have I finished cooking,
This heap (of rice), this pile (of meat);
I place it before Thy countenance and — before Thine eyes.
Receive it, accept it,
that there may be health for us, prosperity for us."

Then the same prayer is recited in front of the maternal pillar.

1. *The rice harvest (honu ane); ripping off the rice*

When the rice has ripened the chief occupant of the garden looks around for a small stone which he then places near one of the pillars of the garden hut. Usually the medicine-man (*mnane*) helps him with this, as this stone may resemble others and only the *mnane* can distinguish the proper one to which the vital force (*smanaf*) of the rice, or its "soul", may be "tied".

This ceremony is called *fut ane smanaf* (the tying of the vital force of the rice). A sitting-mat on which the "soul" of the rice is to be placed is spread out. *Sirih* mixed with certain herbs has to be chewed and spat onto the rice about to be harvested. These herbs are a compound of banyan bark and leaves. Each person does this in his own fashion, acting upon his own knowledge. Then everyone walks in a circle around the garden, spitting the chewed mixture onto the rice in order to prevent its vital force (*ane smanaf*) from escaping. Thereupon an old woman, usually the wife of the *amaf* of the lineage to which the occupants of the garden belong, approaches the Uis Pah in the centre of the garden in order to cut four bundles of the rice planted there during the *sifo nopo* ritual. Because it is she who bundles the blades she may also be called *afutu smanaf* (she who ties the vital force). Then she spits chewed herbs on them. Steinmetz [103] reports that two rice blades are tied above the altar stone to prevent the "soul" of the rice from escaping. Kruyt [104] also says something to this effect. Then the *amaf* kills a sacrificial animal, reciting as he does so:

"This day I invoke, I call loudly unto
my female ancestors, my male ancestors,
my hidden power (*le'u*) and — my progenitive power (*matauk*),
my source of renown and my rock of renown.
I shall make room for them and seat them

[103] Steinmetz, 1916, p. 31.
[104] Kruyt, 1923, p. 483. Kruyt's report on Timor is not altogether reliable, as he was forced to employ a guide with an inadequate knowledge of the language.

during the weeding of the garden and the tapping of the *lontar*
for I have had good fortune and — prosperity, [palm;
thus I announce unto Thee, I own
that the good fruit,[105] as a result of the early and the late rains,
has swelled and has waxed to maturity,
its roots reaching deep into the soil, deeply penetrating the soil;
it budded forth constantly, sprouted constantly.
Therefore we display this feathered one, this furred one.
May it please Thee to rise with us, to lay Thee down to rest
[with us."

When the meal is ready to be eaten he says:

„This heap (of rice), this pile (of meat)
do I place before Thy countenance and — before Thine eyes.
For I have finished preparing it and — finished cooking it.
Receive it, accept it,
in order that there be health for us, prosperity for us."

After the vital force of the rice has been tied in this manner harvesting may commence. Care still has to be taken to prevent the "soul" from escaping. The senior occupant of the garden erects a stake, often with a red cloth attached to it, on the side of the fence nearest to the path leading to or running alongside the garden. This is a taboo sign (*nuni*) by which passers-by know that it is prohibited to talk in its vicinity. If anyone disregards this taboo through inadvertence or for any other reason, one of the men keeping watch will confiscate, without saying a word, some object he is wearing or carrying with him, such as the cloth he is wearing around his shoulders or his matchet. This is later produced as evidence. Then everyone goes on silently harvesting. In the evening the chief tiller of the garden returns this piece of evidence to its owner or to one of the elders of his village, such as the *amaf* of his lineage. It is carried in a large basket made of *lontar* leaves. When the article is handed over to its owner or to the village elder he has to fill the basket (which has a capacity of approximately 30 - 40 kg. of rice) with unhusked rice. This is the penalty imposed for violating the taboo. After all, the offender has chased away the "soul" of the rice with his noise, leaving the ears empty and thus causing the owners to suffer a loss.

Harvesting is women's work. It is carried out by the women belonging to the lineage of the cultivators of the garden — their wives, unmarried sisters, mothers or, as the case may be, daughters. The work

---

105 *Fua mnutu* is a reference to rice, which is not supposed to be mentioned directly.

is carried out in utter silence. As they harvest, the women keep their face turned towards the Uis Pah, the altar stone in the centre, in such a way that all of them circulate in the same direction — what direction is not important. No implements are used, but the ears are stripped of their grains (or the ears are ripped off the stalks) by hand. As this becomes very painful to the hands sometimes a piece of cloth is wrapped around them for protection. Frequently this method is abandoned after the first few days, when a small, usually straight, knife is used for cutting off the blades. The women carry a small basket suspended from their waists, and place the rice in it. When it is full the rice is transferred to a larger basket (*ainaf* = lit. mother). Some of the grains of the rice harvested in this way are left in the ear, though most of them are separated from the ear. The rice is poured onto a mat in the garden hut and threshed with the feet to separate the remaining grains. During this work also strict silence has to be observed. Prior to this the hut has to be locked; if there are no walls, makeshift walls are quickly improvised with the aid of a few palm-leaves, for instance. Then the "door" is locked and a cloth or some other object fastened to it as a sign that it is taboo to open it from outside. Absolute silence reigns inside. Anyone who absolutely must say something to one of his or her fellow workers will have to leave the hut with him and speak in a whisper even outside. Threshing is done by both men and women, but after threshing the men go outside and leave the women to do the winnowing inside. Formerly threshing also used to be exclusively women's work. The rice (*ane*) is placed in a heap and its vital force (*ane smanaf*), the sheaf of rice stalks, placed on top of it. The woman who has tied the vital force seats herself on top of it and the other women sit down in two groups beside her on a mat on the floor. This mat has to be placed in such a way as to run east-west lengthwise. At the eastern end the *leo maka* is placed underneath the mat; it is a "loop" made up of the same ingredients used for spitting onto the vital force of the rice, the purpose of which is to keep the rice fastened down. At the other end medicines are also placed beneath the mat: *pandan* and *nikis* leaves[106] which will make the vital force of the rice cool (*mainikin*). Everyone has to sit on the floor, and no-one is allowed to sit on the bamboo bench (*halak*, Indon. *balé-balé*). The old woman then chews some medicine compounded of banyan[107] leaves and other things "to make abundant the rice". This she spits onto the outside

[106] *Pandan*, Tim. *ekam*. *Nikis*, L. *Cassia fistula*.
[107] *Ficus fulva* Reinr.; Tim. *hau saib*.

and inside of each of the winnows. This is the so-called "piling up (*nasaib*) and making heavy (*hafena*) of the rice". As a result the quantity of rice put in the winnow will increase before it is tipped out again. When the winnows have dried they are filled with rice and returned to their owners — the last one left is for the old woman herself. Then the women begin to winnow, all commencing at the same time. The winnowed rice is tipped into open baskets.[108] There are two of these: one to the right and one to the left of the old woman. The group on her right puts its rice into the former and the one on her left in the latter. When the winnow is empty its lid is put back on it and it is returned to the old woman, who refills it and returns it. This is done in the same order as before. This procedure continues until the old woman is finally sitting on the mat. Now the taboo on speaking is no longer in force — "the closing of the mouth" (*ek fefan*) is over. Everyone rises and speaks aloud again.

Usually the rice is kept in the garden hut for some time, to be carried to the village a few weeks later and stored in the *lopo*. Young women pounding rice are a regular sight here (see photograph 20).

m. *The Corn Harvest - Seke Pena*

The last crop to be harvested is the late variety of corn. This is the tall variety, which takes 150 - 170 days to ripen. It matures latest on the higher mountain slopes. It is left to die off completely on the stalk and is gathered in well-ripened and dry. In this case, too, the "tying" of the vital force of the corn (*fut pena smanaf*) takes place before harvesting. There is no taboo on speaking during the corn harvest.

A few corn plants growing around the Uis Pah are tied to a pillar of the garden hut. This is believed to be the "soul" of the corn (*pen smanaf*). It is a fairly large sheaf, consisting of approximately eight to twelve stalks (Middelkoop[109] and Steinmetz[110] report that it consists of only four stalks; in any case, it is a multiple of four). The *pen smanaf* is placed on the mat in the garden hut and the harvested cobs are later piled up around it. Before harvesting a few black hens or a black pig are sacrificed, the owner of the harvest, or in other

---

108 *Poni* in Miomafo and Oilolok (in Insana); in the remainder of Insana and in Beboki this basket is called *oko,* and in Manamas and Ambenu (Port. Oikusi) *bo'o.*

109 Personal communication.

110 Steinmetz, 1916, pp. 30, 31.

words, the chief occupant of the plot, reciting the same invocation delivered during the sacrifice offered before the rice harvest.

After the meal harvesting commences. The cobs are placed around the vital force of the corn. As was the case when the rice was harvested, the work is done by people of the one lineage; but this time the men do the work. The cobs are broken off the stalks, which remain standing in the field — they are bent back later, before the plot is abandoned for the remainder of the year. This keeps the soil fertile. As soon as harvesting is over a number of outsiders are asked to help with the binding. Everyone is eager to help and many hands indeed are needed because the binding has to be finished in one single night if possible, and may not be commenced till night has fallen. The family head of the group cultivating the plot seats himself on the *pena smanaf*. The cobs are tied in bundles of six,[111] called *aisaf*. (Ten *aisaf* (or 60 cobs) make up a *kabutu* and three *kabutu* make up a horse-load.)

In between the work finely pounded roasted corn is eaten and generous quantities of palm-wine (*tuak*) are drunk. During the work the men sing the praises of Liurai-Sonba'i, as follows:

> "Food [112] from Uis Neno is Liurai-Sonba'i,
> He beholds us, He tends his children, his people."

and:

> "White, strong corn has a profusion (of leaves) hanging down,
> If they resemble cloths I shall use them, wear them."

By this is meant that the cobs are so large that the leaves covering them could be used as cloths.

When all the corn has been tied up in bundles the workers have another feast on *tuak* or *sopi*, and *uk*, i.e. distilled palm-wine. During the meal *pantun* are said, and the two missing, final lines of these have to be made up before the men return home at dawn. Anyone unable to supply the missing lines has to remain behind, even if it means having to stay until the next evening. Stories giving examples of people racking their brains for hours on end, in some cases until late in the afternoon in order to complete a *pantun* — to the great hilarity of the others, although they do their best to conceal their mirth — are told with great relish.

---

[111] In bundles of four in Molo. Communication Middelkoop.

[112] *Maka'*, boiled rice, the most highly prized food and hence the term used to designate food in general (Indon. *makan* = to eat). Liurai-Sonba'i are once again metaphors for rice and corn.

This merry harvest feast marks the climax of the entire agricultural cycle.

n. *Returning to the Village*

After the harvest has been collected the owner has to take it to the village himself. It is usually carried on horseback, a few weeks (in some cases up to two months) after harvesting, depending on the easterly monsoon rains. In the mountains this may not be until July, as the farmers invariably wait until they are certain of dry weather.

The garden is now finally abandoned for the remainder of that particular agricultural year. The *pena smanaf* is detached from its pillar in the hut. This is referred to as "the closing of the door" (*taek eno*). On this occasion, too, a sacrifice has to be offered. Afterwards the vital force of the corn is taken to a brook to be made cool — it then becomes ordinary corn again and is lifted out of the sphere of the sacred.

The owner of the harvest, or his *amaf*, delivers the following invocation:

"I bear Thee tidings, I announce unto Thee,
O my female ancestors, my male ancestors,
my hidden power, my progenitive power,
my source of renown, my rock of renown,
Liurai-Sonba'i are here this day,
their life, their vigour,
these large, fine fruits,
handsome in appearance, beauteous to the eye;
now I bear Thee, now I carry Thee,
to my house, my granary,
in order that there I may continue to keep watch over them, there continue to guard them.
I shall have them guarded for
Hitu-Taboi, Saidjao-Banusu,
in order to call unto them and invite them to be there,
together with the lords of the land,[113] the lords of the lake.
These are Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu and Us Tonbesi.
They are as great baskets, great panniers
for rain-tree (corn) and tail-grass (rice),
who are the lords thereof, who are the *usif* thereof,
Therefore I express unto Thee, I inform Thee,
go back cautiously, go back warily
to Thy seats and to Thy chairs."

---

[113] *Paha tuan*: N.B. *tuan*, not *usif*. Only Uis Pah, the Lord of the Earth, is called *usif*.

Before the sacrificial meal is eaten he delivers the following invocation:

> "This heap (of rice) and pile (of meat)
> Do I set before Thy countenance and — before Thine eyes,
> For I have finished preparing and — have finished cooking.
> I indicate it unto Thee and — announce it unto Thee.
> Receive it, accept it,
> that there be health for us, prosperity for us,
> for I have preserved, I have kept watch over
> the large fruit, the fine fruit
> in my house and in my granary.
> Lend my case Thine ear, hear my word."

The ancestors invoked at the *sifo nopo* ceremony before planting now go back, each to his own place. This marks the conclusion of the cycle of the crops. Now the time has come for attending to the numerous social activities which take place in the village during this period. All aspects of life take on a new dimension. There is food in abundance, the harvest and its appropriate sacrificial meals are over, and other feasts are approaching. Now that everyone is back in the village the social life reaches its climax (see photographs 21, 24 and 25). Weddings are celebrated, mortuary feasts are held, relatives exchange visits and, when the time has come for burning down the grass in the lowlands, it is time for stag-hunting as well.

And then the time comes anew to choose a suitable patch of land and to cultivate it. The garden laid out the previous year is usually no longer suitable for rice-growing, but will produce corn, while the soil of the *ladang* that has been cultivated for three consecutive years will most probably be too exhausted to grow anything at all. The plots already under cultivation are fertilized to some extent by burning down branches (usually eucalyptus branches) and weeds, the ashes acting as fertilizer. Cultivation of a patch of which the soil is exhausted may be resumed after a fallow period of seven to ten years.

With the renewed energy which results from having an abundance of food after the recent harvest a new patch of land is reclaimed in its place. The agricultural cycle is also a cycle of waning and waxing vigour.

CONCLUSION

From this agricultural cycle, which was to be observed in Insana and, with slight deviations, throughout the entire Atoni area before the war it is evident that culture in the primary meaning of the word — namely "the tilling of the soil" — is intimately bound up with the religious

cult, which is in this case the worship of the Lord of Heaven and the Lord of the Earth, the ancestors and the place in which the clan has its origin, and the entire host of forces of the hidden world.

A salient feature of this culture is that only the cultivation of corn and rice is related to the religious cult — none of the secondary crops are ever mentioned in the rites. The latter are more or less silently understood. To the question as to why these sometimes very important food crops such as cassava and sweet potatoes are not mentioned the reply is invariably: "if the corn and the rice flourish all is well"; although every crop is important the chief food crops are more so than the others and therefore occupy a central position in the Atoni's thinking. Cassava and *bataten,* moreover, are more recent imports; their non-mythical origin is well known, like that of the onion and garlic which, according to the Insana ritual, were introduced to the area via Kupang.

Analogous to this the fertility rite in animal husbandry is focused entirely on the buffalo. We have seen how, during the harvest of the first corn, female buffaloes are struck with cucumbers and water-melons. At approximately the same time the *pen suf bia* (corn, flower, buffalo — *bia* is probably the original form of *bidjael*) is held, while a ritual to increase the fertility of the buffaloes takes place when the later variety of corn is ripe. And, according to the Atoni, these cover the other domestic animals as well.

The Bali cow, only introduced during this present century, has no place at all in the religious cult, although its qualities make it a more highly valued animal than the buffalo. But the Atoni would not wish to do without the latter, as it is indispensable as a sacrificial animal and even where sacrificing is no longer in practice people are attached to it by tradition.

Another important feature of this culture is the more or less rigorous division of labour between men and women, which has been fitted into a more general cosmological categorization (formerly it was emphatically prescribed by the *adat*). The men fell and burn down trees and clear away the undergrowth. The women are responsible for planting. In addition to this there is a further division. While the names of Liurai-Sonba'i, the givers of rice and corn, are used as alternative words for these plants, it is erroneous to say that Liurai or Sonba'i refers either to rice or to corn by itself, as the names denote the dual unity of rice and corn. (They also refer to the two ritual princes at the apex of the political hierarchy in whom heaven and earth

and the male and female principles are united.) But as soon as the harvest of corn and rice commences an extraordinary division of labour occurs: the women harvest and winnow the rice; they perform this work in the daytime under observance of the strictest silence. Furthermore a woman, usually the wife of the lineage head (*amaf*), but in any case the wife of the oldest member of the agnatically related group engaged in the cultivation of a garden plot is responsible for the "tying of the vital force of the rice". The bundling of the corn, on the other hand, is the responsibility of the men and the "tying of the vital force of the corn" is the *amaf*'s task. This work is done by night and the men drink palm wine and ask each other *pantun* in between. So they may speak as they do this, while there is often even boisterous hilarity.

Now, the word *feto* (female) also denotes "the interior" — during winnowing only women from *within* the lineage are present — while another connotation of the word *mone* (male) is "exterior" — when the corn is bundled men from *without* the lineage are invited.

Another fact worth noting is that the crops in question, namely corn and rice, are never once referred to directly by their own names throughout the entire ritual. They are referred to as "the young plants", "the seedlings" of Liurai-Sonba'i. Or Liurai-Sonba'i by itself may be used as a synonym for the words "corn" and "rice". Metaphors such as *kaidjulan* (rain-tree) and *ik-elo* (tail-grass) are also used to describe corn and rice respectively, the latter being a poetical designation for the finest variety of rice. Similarly the rice used for sacrificing is not referred to by name. The passages in which it is mentioned say: "I place this heap (rice), this pile (meat) before Thee". But the actual word for rice must never be used on these occasions. Perhaps we should put it as follows: *pena* (corn) and *ane* (rice) are names used in the sphere of day to day life, and never in the sphere of the sacred. Through the sacrificial ritual everyday matters are lifted above their ordinary plane and transferred to the religious sphere. The ritual act is powerful. Not as much as in the case of the Vedanta, where the priest has absolute control over the forces of the hidden world through his ritual. But it is powerful enough to elevate such objects as corn and rice to the sacred sphere and put them into relation with the hidden world so that man may, as a result, expect the favours of the forces belonging to that world. In fact it is so powerful that when the crops threaten to fail this must *surely* be attributable to an error in the ritual.

CHAPTER III

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

The *ume* (= lit. 'house'), i.e. the territorially localized descent group, forms the basis for and nucleus of the entire social organization of the Atoni. As a limited lineage it is part of a clan (*kanaf*) which comprises all those who claim descent from one and the same ancestor and therefore all have the same name or *kanaf*. They all share the same settlement (*kuan*) of origin, which is the "sacred rock and the sacred source" with which their name is associated. The descent group and its territory are inseparably bound up with one another. The *kanaf*, moreover, has a totemistic aspect, its members being associated with one or more particular animal or plant which it is taboo for them to kill or eat. The reason why certain taboos (*nuni*) apply to certain *kanaf* is always explained by a myth.

The *ume* is exogamic. Little is known, however, as to the nature of affinal relationships between *ume*. In theory the *kanaf* is also supposedly exogamic, but although this may be the norm it is certainly not the practice. According to Van Wouden [1] there is some evidence for the existence of an asymmetric, circulating connubium connected with a double unilineal kinship system. Ethnographic material on Timor was then, and still is at present, too scanty to provide conclusive proof that this is in fact true for Timor. Middelkoop [2] has since offered some

---

[1] Van Wouden, 1968, pp. 85 ff. Cf. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, 1935, p. 10. Rassers, 1959, p. 278. And according to a Terrain Study of MacArthur's Headquarters "It is very likely that the Timorese social organisation was originally characterised by a combination of the two clan systems, i.e. that each member of society belonged to a patrilineal clan, as well as to a matrilineal clan, in the same way as is found in the social organisation of the Australian aborigines". But it adds: "In west and central Dutch Timor, however, the patrilineal system became dominant to such a degree, that only a few symptoms of the matrilineal system are still to be found, particularly the important place of the mother's brother in the family life". (Allied Geographical Section, Terrain Study No. 70, Dutch Timor, p. 43).

[2] Middelkoop, among others 1929b, 1931, 1933 and 1958c.

valuable contributions to our knowledge of the way in which an affinal relationship is established. He did not touch on the network of clan relationships, "the web of kinship", however, although he did pass on detailed kinship terminology to Fischer, who concluded on the basis of this terminology that instead of there being a circulating connubium "kinship terminology even suggests a real marriage by exchange".[3] Cunningham is also of the opinion that the kinship terms found here "indicate that there is a two-section system of marriage alliance, i.e. one based on direct exchange".[4]

Locher,[5] who conducted research in Central Timor in 1941, the material of which was lost during the war, however, tends to agree with Van Wouden as far as the main points of his hypothesis are concerned and suggests that the system does not exist (or no longer exists) in its original, pure form, and that actual relationships are much more complex.

As far as the social structure is concerned we shall deal first with descent and then with affinal relationship. A genealogical survey of a number of *kanaf* and of an entire village, which at present is inhabited by lineages of different *kanaf*, would provide the ideal point of departure for an analysis of affinal relationship; it alone could solve the controversy between Van Wouden and Cunningham. So far, this has never been attempted. (My own efforts to analyse a village in Tunbaba in 1947 were in vain for lack of time.) Yet on the whole the system is quite clear.

1. RELATIONSHIP WITHIN THE KANAF

a. *Residential pattern*

As we have seen, a clan comprises all persons who bear the same name and have the same place of origin. It has a territorial origin, therefore. In actual fact, however, a clan has various ramifications spread over different areas. There is no doubt that this is not a new development, as a number of old traditions relate of royal marriages to princesses from other princedoms. Such princesses were always accompanied by a number of "names" of their own, that is, people of their own clan, as well as people of others, who perhaps would settle

---

[3] Fischer, 1957, p. 24.
[4] Cunningham, 1962, p. 203.
[5] Personal communication.

in the vicinity of the ruler's residence, thus resulting in considerably large communities. Groups of people might also flee to another area as a result of war and be given land in the territory of another ruler. There are numerous stories of these migrations,[6] and there must have been such migrations in every period of history.

The residential pattern of such groups is certainly very different from what it used to be in Central Timor a hundred or even sixty years ago. Then a hamlet (*kuan*) was only inhabited by people of one "name" (*kanaf*). Such a *kuan* used to consist of not more than four to ten houses, each occupied by one family. This was the pattern generally found in most of Timor. With regard to Amarasi we find references to such a pattern as early as 1656 in Bor,[7] and in respect of the part of Portuguese Timor which lies to the south-west of Dilly in the Tetun language area in Forbes.[8] In fact, all references in old journals dealing with Central Timor point to the same pattern. It was not until the Colonial Government actually took over the administration of the interior and established an administrative centre there (i.e. from 1905 - 1915) that larger villages sprang up everywhere as a result of people being forced to move from their mountain villages near "the rock of renown, the source of renown" to lower lying areas. These offered more space and favoured the development of larger communities. And here groups belonging to different *kanaf* combined to form one community. Although the process actually set in several decades before this, as the presence of the Dutch in Kupang and Atapupu on the coast had led to increased security, later on coercion was sometimes used to make people move to lower lying areas. Nonetheless, the Timorese have never shown any inclination to return, though a few elders usually remained behind near the sacred place where people continued to sacrifice, as we have seen in the case of the agricultural ritual.

An excellent and very clear account of the way in which these groups live side by side with one another in a present-day village and its constituent hamlets is given in a chapter of Cunningham's dissertation [9] on Soba, a village in Amarasi.

The Timorese has not forgotten, however, how formerly his people lived in small hamlets as described above — in 1940 there were even

---

[6] Middelkoop, *Trektochten* (Wanderings), 1952; *idem, Headhunting,* 1963.
[7] Bor, 1663, p. 355.
[8] Forbes, 1884, p. 409.
[9] Cunningham, 1962, pp. 269-328. This is published in R. M. Koentjaraningrat, ed., *Village Communities in Modern Indonesia,* Ithaca, 1967, pp. 63-89.

some old men who remembered this from their own experience. Stories are often told of clusters of four such *kuan* forming a residential unit, each of these *kuan* being inhabited by a group from a different *kanaf*. This is how the Atoni represents the pattern which prevailed in the past, and it is confirmed by Dr. Middelkoop, the outstanding authority on Timor. But it is quite possible, of course, that such a tradition is the reflection of an ideal pattern which found no echo in real life. There are in fact few traces left of such a pattern in present-day Timor, although there is remarkable evidence for such a traditional structure in reports concerning refugees from Portuguese Timor during the insurrection of 1911. On two different occasions four villages fled together from Camenase, one of the former sub-territories of the old realm of South Belu.[10] If, in order to save their lives, people had to leave everything behind — the land and the graves of the ancestors — the initiative was taken by the basic social unit, namely the cluster of four villages. The first group of four villages from Camenase numbered approximately 750 people and the second approximately 600, so that these villages must have been much larger than those in the Atoni area. This is quite plausible when we consider the fertility of the plain of South Belu, which favoured a different residential pattern.

Another example of the prevalence of this tendency towards quadrupartition is furnished by a cluster of four villages on the north coast of Belu asking the Colonial Government for asylum. Hence the same basic pattern is found in the Kemak-speaking area. No numbers are quoted in respect of this particular migration.

There is a third, more recent example. Some years ago the Indonesian government decided — in consultation with the village and district heads concerned — to turn the old villages into larger administrative units. In a number of cases four different villages were combined to form one unit.[11]

We should bear in mind, however, that the number of villages which formed a cluster says nothing as to the number of the clans represented by the lineages inhabiting them. Although there used to be four-village clusters even in the isolated, practically independent district of Mutis, in the central mountains, these were inhabited by many more *kanaf* (lineages). Each of these villages consisted, in turn, of various hamlets, each of which was probably originally inhabited by one single *ume*.

Generally speaking *kuan* (hamlets) in the mountainous country of

---

[10] Lalau, 1912, pp. 659-661. See also pp. 275, 276 below.
[11] Personal communication in Timor in 1969.

the Atoni area remained small because the available farming land lay more widely scattered. Here there was probably a stronger tendency towards scission within lineages because of this. In that case a number of *kanaf*, possibly four, may have been grouped together, and inhabited more than four hamlets, which in turn were arranged so as to form four villages.

The reason why there was such close unity between four such villages was that they constituted the basic social unit within which most affinal relationships were confined.

Economically speaking, too, they acted as one unit, as they shared one custodian of the land (*tobe*) between them.

The inhabitants of a hamlet consisted of a man and his wife, his adult sons and their families, his brothers with their wives, and the latter's sons with their families. When the younger generation began to grow up there would be marriageable daughters as well, who would marry and be joined by their husbands in their natal hamlet until most or all of the bridewealth was paid. Then the marriage would become patrilocal and the wife would be admitted to the *nono*, the fertility circle, of the husband's *kanaf*, to which she would thenceforth belong. Such is the general norm, but needless to say it was a very flexible one. It is this group which forms the nucleus of Atoni society. It is the Atoni's *ume* (house). This, then, is the descent group or limited lineage which inhabited its own hamlet (*kuan*). Instead of the word *kuan* the expression *ume mese, lopo mese* (one "house", one communal house) may also be used with reference to this tiny nuclear community. (See photograps 22 and 23). The *lopo* is the village granary and meeting-place. It is a house without walls, with four pillars in addition to a maternal pillar (*ni ainaf*) in the centre. The latter is not inserted in the ground as is the case in ordinary dwellings, but rests on the ceiling. It has a conically shaped roof. (Cf. photographs 32 and 33). In the term *ume mese, lopo mese* the word *ume* tends to refer to the genealogical unity and *lopo* to the territorial unity of the group.

It is the Atoni's traditional conception that the original clan sprang forth from the earth near the rock of origin and the source of origin. There the first *ume* lived, being in this case identical with the *kanaf*. Later on this ramified, giving rise to a number of *ume* which went to live separately, each around its own *lopo*. A number of *lopo* or hamlets would then make up one *kuan* (village).

Such was the terminology used in Amanuban. In Molo, however, the concept of *lopo* as the name for a residential unit is unknown. In

Miomafo, where it is found, people do not use the word *lopo* for the residential units of one *kanaf*, but speak of the different *kuan* of a *kanaf*; here the word *kuan* is used both for a hamlet and for a village with its constituent hamlets.

> Nowadays attempts are made to make the distinction clear by the introduction of Indonesian terms. Thus a number of *kuan* in combination make up a *kampung* (village) or *ketemukungan* (the area headed by a *temukung* or village head). But in Timorese the word *kuan* is still always used, even to denote the whole village.
>
> Even at present each separate hamlet of the *kampung* is dominated by a particular *kanaf* in which case a number of lineages of this *kanaf* usually live together. Other lineages of the same *kanaf* may live scattered throughout the other hamlets of that *kampung,* where they do not usually occupy a dominant position.

One of the lineages, usually the senior one, supplies the *amaf* (= father) for the entire clan. He is charged with the safekeeping of the clan's sacred objects (*le'u*) and is usually recognized as its leader. As a result of the political changes of the past fifty years his political authority has been partly supplanted by that of the village heads. But his moral authority has remained intact, and so has his religious authority inasmuch as people still cling to the traditional religion. As the ritual leader he is the link between the living and the dead and represents the *kanaf* (clan) as a whole when addressing the ancestors. He is supposed to live near the ancient "rock or renown, source of renown", the *kanaf*'s place of origin, from which it usually derives its name. Even now he usually lives in the *kuan* nearest to this cliff.

Hence we may distinguish between: (a) the *kanaf* as a whole, or, in other words, the clan; (b) the *kanaf* as the lineage of a clan; and (c) the *kanaf* as a limited lineage or *ume*. Where it designates the clan as a whole it covers all persons who bear the same name; but it hardly ever functions as such, except at funerals of prominent clan members, where all groups are usually represented. However, the clan *amaf* always represents his clan as a whole in its external relations. There is no separate word in Timorese for the *kanaf* as a lineage. The latter is that part of a clan which can trace back its descent to the original *ume* without difficulty, and the *ume* of which live close together — usually in one village or district.

Kanaf in the sense of *ume* or limited lineage is therefore always territorially localized, while an extended lineage may be so localized, although it would be far from the truth to say that the *kanaf* as such has the disposal over a well defined territory, or ever had in the past.

In the chapter on agriculture we saw that land tenure rights were exercised by the *tobe* or custodian of the land. Not every *kanaf* has a *tobe*, however. There is reason to believe that originally the *kanaf* which lived together in four *kuan* and together formed the basic social unit shared one *tobe* between them. In this connection we would point to the prominence given to the number four in Atoni thinking. The planting of four grains of corn in one hole may derive its symbolism from the fact that four *kuan* tilled their garden plots in the territory of one *tobe* — it then becomes a symbol for the four *kuan* tilling the one field.

This residential pattern of four separate villages in one particular territory was probably prevalent until quite recently, but has at present disappeared altogether. Even before the advent of the Dutch Administration it had been absorbed by larger political affiliations, of which it nonetheless constituted the nucleus. For example, the villages of Camenase constituted part of the realm of the ruler of Camenase, which in turn was a constituent part of the realm of South Belu.[12]

When dealing with the political structures we shall see how the lord or *usif* constitutes the fifth in the centre in this system of four-fold division. As a result of the concentration of people and power around the *usif* a large number of other clans settled near his palace or *sonaf*, each the bearer of a particular function. Members of clans from different political communities accompanying their royal mistress when she was married outside her natal community resulted in an even greater complexity of the original pattern.

In modern times, when *kuan* combined to form larger villages in the more open lowlands, the traditional pattern virtually disappeared except in a few isolated areas. But the principle of quadrupartition still asserts itself as a structurizing principle to this day, as we shall see in the case of Insana. In a modern village like Soba in Amarasi, a description of which is given by Cunningham, there are no traces left of the old pattern, although the *kuan* as hamlets or separate residential units have retained a large measure of social, economic and ritual independence, under the dominance of certain lineages which Cunningham calls "hamlet owner lineages".[13]

Leadership in the hamlet in its traditional form, i.e. comprising a single *ume*, was vested in the oldest male member until such time as he

---

[12] Grijzen, 1904, p. 22. *Loro* is the Tetun word for sun and also a term designating the ruler. See also diagram no. 18, p. 391 below.

[13] Cunningham, 1962, p. 307.

could no longer perform the sacrificial ritual. He was the *amaf* (father) of the community. He was always succeeded by his eldest son. A village (*kuan*) is inhabited by more than one lineage (*kanaf*) and by more than one *ume* of the dominant lineage or *kanaf*. As a rule the oldest male member of the senior *ume* of the latter is the leader and he is succeeded by the eldest son of the senior branch of his *ume*. He is also called *amaf*, but as there are more than one *amaf*, and even *amaf* of other lineages, he is also called *mnasi* or elder. So the fathers of a village form a council of elders. The latter has no form of official organization whatever.

b. *Blood-relations*

For convenience sake we give below a list of kinship terms used by the Atoni for the different kinds of relationship falling under this heading.

na'if — grandfather, ancestor
be'if — grandmother, ancestress
amaf — father, father's brother, fa. fa. br. so., and further all male members of the same agnatic lineage who are of the preceding generation
ainaf — mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife, and all female members of the same agnatic lineage who are of the preceding generation, including those who have been admitted as members of the lineage through marriage
anah — child, all members of the *ume* who belong to the next generation down
an mone — son
an feto — daughter
olif — younger brother, used only by elder brother; younger sister, used only by elder sister
tataf — elder brother, younger brother speaking; elder sister, younger sister speaking. The same applies to all members of the *ume* who are of the same generation.
nauf — brother, term used by sister
fetof — sister, term used by brother
upu — grandchild.

All social ties within the *ume* are determined by kinship, which furnishes the categories in which the Atoni expresses all his social relationships. The same nomenclature is also used to designate political

relationships. Authority is vested in the *amaf* (father), in the first place in respect of his children (*ana*). He exacts obedience from his son(s) (*an mone*), who learns from his father how to tend the livestock and how to till the soil. Older sons are allowed to be present at ritual performances and to join in the communal recitation during sacrificing and repeat the key words of the parallel phrases. They also learn the myths of origin of the clan from their father. These are recited in set phrases chanted in a fixed rhythm. It is most important that all names featuring in these myths be learnt.

A son also learns from his father how to make and use tools. These tools, if fashioned by the Atoni themselves, are extremely crude. The digging stick (*pali*) and the planting stick (*suna*) are easily made by sharpening into a point one end of the branch of a tree with the aid of a matchet (*benas*), the Atoni's most important tool, which he always carries about with him although, as was said above, he has never learnt to manufacture it himself.

Sons learn all sorts of things from their *amaf*, who is not necessarily always their own father. The sacrificial ritual and its performance are taught them by the *amaf* of their *ume*. Furthermore, all the men of the preceding generation of a boy's *ume* are called *amaf* by him. They gradually learn everything that it is important for them to know, and in this way are the receiving party. In return, obedience and respect are expected of them. They have to listen quietly when stories are being related, and have to help not only their own father, but all the *amaf* of their community.

The relationship between father and son is marked by affection, but it is also characterized by distance. There is respect for old age on the one hand, and the young man's pride in his increasing strength as against the growing weakness of the older generation on the other. Especially high esteem is shown to the elder capable of reciting the numerous texts belonging to the ritual accompanying the various phases of the life-cycle — which culminate in the mortuary rites — the ritual of the agricultural cycle and, last but not least, the war ritual.[14] There is even greater respect for the man who has the ability to welcome his guests in rhythmic language and to complete *pantun*, or who can make up such difficult *pantun* that no-one is able to add the missing lines. On the father's side there is admiration for the strength and ability of his sons and for their prowess in hunting, and he will praise

[14] Cf. Middelkoop's splendid collection of texts with regard to the mortuary ritual (1949) and the headhunting ritual (1963).

them especially on their attainment of *meo*ship (*meo* = warrior, champion, lit. cat), after they have taken their first head. This they have been taught by their *amaf*.

We shall encounter the term *amaf* again when dealing with the political organization, as an appellation for the heads of the clan and for all the heads who are collectively termed *amfini* (fathers). The relationship between political communities is sometimes also designated with the term *ama - ana* (= father - child).

The second relationship in which a boy is involved is that to his mother (*ainaf*), which is complementary to that to his father. She has less authority but more concern for the welfare of her children when they are small. The tie between a mother and her children is usually an intimate, more affectionate one than that between father and children and less marked by respect; the distance between them is smaller. Outside the family it is not a very significant relationship.

There are besides the mother her sisters, who are also addressed as *aina*. The relationship to them is more or less close, depending not only on the personality of the *ainaf sniʔu* (= other mother) but also on where she is resident. If she has married into the same village the tie may be a strong one. The same applies if both sisters are resident in their own village during the first years of their marriage, before payment of the bridewealth has been completed. Sisters will look after each other's children and even nurse them if necessary and possible. The relationship between sisters is usually very good.[15] They help each other and have no secrets from one another. Even if living in different areas they continue to visit each other, provided the distance is not too great (women do not as a rule travel large distances). However, affinal relationships used to be, and still are at present, confined within limited areas. Children never lose touch with their "other mothers" and will always continue to visit them, even when they have grown up.

The relationship between father and daughter is also characterized by affection and trust. I could think of no better illustration than that offered by the superb photograph by Father Beltjens (photograph 3) — words are superfluous here. Middelkoop[16] gives an account of an extraordinary incident which also characterizes extremely well the close tie between father and daughter. The approximately fourteen years old

---

[15] It is difficult to define a relationship of this kind, be it even roughly. Suffice it for me to say that in my experience no legal case ever ensued from a quarrel between sisters.

[16] Middelkoop, 1949, pp. 165 ff. Cf. girl as *meo*, p. 351 below.

daughter of an Oematan (the name of the princely family of Molo) danced an individual war dance (*namso*), as though she were a boy, at the final mortuary ritual held for her father four years after his death. She was attired in the array of a *meo*. Suddenly someone remarked in tones of delight: "Her posture (*nosen*) is like her father's", meaning that she was the image of her father, as *nosen* means both posture, gesture and character. She danced precisely as she had seen her father do, moving only when her father's gongs were being beaten, and taking a rest whenever his gongs ceased to play and the borrowed set of gongs took over.

The upbringing of a girl is mainly her mother's task. It is from her mother that a girl learns everything she needs to know; this she does with a matter-of-factness that is similar to that described by Margaret Mead [17] for Samoa.

The relationship between brothers is more formal, with a higher conflict potential, as here there is a greater emphasis on a certain order of precedence, as reflected by the kinship terminology. The eldest son is the *an mone* = masculine child and *an mone naek* (*naek* = big). The second son is called *an tnana* (middle child), and the ones younger than him *an ikun* (*ikun* = to follow). The relationship between them is expressed as *olif-tataf* (younger-elder brother), the elder being superior. There is no word to designate the relationship between two brothers as such in Timorese, so that in talking of brothers a certain inequality or a certain order of precedence is always expressed. There is a general word for brother (i.e. *nauf*), however, which is used only by sisters when speaking of their brothers. Sisters are also distinguished into *olif* and *tataf*, and only brothers use the general word *fetof* when speaking of their sisters. All of father's elder brothers' sons are referred to as elder brothers, even if they are chronologically younger than ego. *Tataf* exercise authority over their *olif*. But as there is less distance between them than between fathers and sons, there is more likelihood of tension between them.

> The *tataf* has the custody of the property of the *ume*. If he dies before his sons reach adulthood (that is, before they are married) this custodianship will pass on to his *olif*. If the latter lives long, his sons will try to keep the articles themselves, even though they are *olif* in respect of their father's elder brother's sons. If the articles are traditional heirlooms belonging to the lineage's *nono* or vital force, such as an old rifle or old coral beads used for paying bridewealth, or a herd of buffalo reserved for

[17] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, 1963, especially pp. 115 ff.

the same use, it is a clear-cut case: the senior branch will receive them, if necessary through the mediation of the head of the clan or of the *amaf nack,* the head of the most prominent *kanaf* (clan) of the district, or the *usif.* The case becomes more complicated if a man has bought a rifle and leaves it to his sons, upon which it passes into his elder son's custody. If the latter dies when still young his *olif* will gain "custody" of the article, and if the latter lives long his sons will claim possession. They can depend on the support of their mother, who is bound to defend the rights of her own children against those of the children of her husband's *tataf.* This, too, is a potential conflict situation, especially as the issue is a subtle one. Custodianship over a period of many years gradually confers rights of tenure. If his sons actually do inherit it they will attain ownership rights, as their grandfather did at the time of purchase.

Tensions such as those between *olif* and *tataf,* especially if they involve a junior and a senior branch, often give rise to quarrels and estrangement and may induce lineages to move away. The junior branch, consisting of two or three brothers and their families, will move off to found a new settlement. This will not usually take place without the intervention of an *amaf,* usually the lineage head, as the new branch will have to take with it some of the *le'u* or sacred objects of the lineage. These are the repositories of special powers. The new *ume* will need some of them to hang up on the main maternal pillar of the *amaf*'s house in the new hamlet. The entire gamut of conflict situations is found here, ranging from mild rivalry or reluctance to acknowledge the senior branch's superiority (this is always present) at the one end right through to feuds (which, as far as I know, are not permanent, however) at the other end. Cunningham [18] says with some justification that brothers "may fight a great deal". But he goes even further by suggesting, partly on the basis of information from Atoni government officials, that many cases of maltreatment and murder are to be interpreted in this light. My own experience does not corroborate this. Most serious cases had their origin in the violation of ownership rights, such as cattle theft, damage caused by cattle to garden plots, or quarrels over a woman. Other quarrels that arise are practically always between two branches of one clan which stand in an *olif-tataf* relationship to each other, and not between the sons of one father, or even between "brothers" of the same *ume.* And such quarrels, which were frequent indeed, were not usually put before the Council of Chiefs for which the Dutch government official used to act as advisor, but were settled by the local chiefs. Only if these failed to reach a satisfactory settlement, or in other words, if one of the parties refused to accept the verdict

[18] Cunningham, 1962, p. 217.

of the chiefs, or if a serious offence had been committed, the matter was referred to the Council. But really serious crimes, such as that of causing grievous bodily harm or worse, were not on the whole committed very often, let alone on these grounds.

The relationship between all lineages of a clan, even if resident in different political communities, is referred to with the term *olif-tataf* (younger - elder brother) which at the same time indicates their order of precedence. In the chapter on the political organization we shall see that the relationship between the leading clans of a princedom, and even that between princedoms, is referred to with the same term.

Within the lineage the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also important. (Grandfather = *na'if*, grandmother = *be'if*, and there is only one word for grandchild, namely *upu*, which does not differentiate between male and female.) This is a warm, affectionate and intimate relationship, in accordance with what is probably a universal human pattern. If the grandparents happen to be still living in their own house the grandchildren will visit them often, especially during early childhood. Cunningham [19] quotes a wonderful remark made by an Atoni in this connection, namely that the grandchildren are expected to rouse their grandparents from their nap when they doze off outside their house "to let the old people know that they are still alive and have people who love them". As the children grow older the idea of respect due to old age becomes more dominant. After their death the grandparents become the ancestors (*au be'i, au na'i* = my female ancestors, my male ancestors) who are invoked in ritual prayers. Then fear of them begins to predominate. In Tunbaba and Insana the deceased grandparents are also called *am koko, ain koko*, the *koko* being a mythical animal by whose name the ruler is sometimes referred to. The best translation for *am koko* is probably "much dreaded father". The usual form of address is *au be'i, au na'i*, however.

Finally there is the relationship between sisters and brothers (*fetof-nauf*) within the lineage, in which the brother is superior. He has authority over his sister, watches over her and gives her his help and protection. This is of the greatest importance for the brother himself, too, as he is also to some extent dependent for the marriage he makes on the bridewealth received for his sister. That is why she will not marry without her brother's being consulted. This protection is given

[19] *Idem*, 1962, p. 206.

especially by the eldest brother, who will replace their father after his death. This is very important in view of the fact that the father is his daughter's husband's *atoni amaf* (masculine father). This brings us to the second category of relatives, namely affines. The relationship between husband and wife (*mone-fe*) belongs to this category until the wife is adopted into the *nono* of her husband's lineage.

2. AFFINES

The terms used to designate relationships falling under this heading are:

mone - fe	—	husband and wife
babaf	—	all male members of the wife's lineage who belong to the preceding generation
mone fe'u	—	(= lit. new man), son-in-law, all men who have married a woman from the natal lineage, and who belong to a younger generation
nanef	—	married-in-woman of a younger generation
ba'ef	—	affine of the same generation
atoni amaf	—	mother's eldest brother, and after his death his eldest son, head of the bride-giving lineage
fe lalan	—	mother's brother's daughter
mone lalan	—	father's sister's son
am baba	—	mother's father, affinal father
ain baba	—	mother's mother, affinal mother.

Affines include all those with whom the lineage has affinal relationships of any kind whatever. If they belong to the preceding generation they are called *babaf* and if they belong to the younger generation they are ego's *mone fe'u* (new man) or *nanef* in the case of women, whereas affines of the same generation are each other's *ba'ef*: *ba'ef monef* or *ba'ef fetof*, depending on their sex. The sharp distinction drawn between agnatic and affinal groups explains the deviations in kinship terms for grandparents in Amfoan in Middelkoop's list, which are confirmed by Cunningham, who also worked in Amfoan. In Amarasi, Amanuban and Molo mother's father is called *na'i* (grandfather) and mother's mother *be'i* (grandmother), like father's father and father's mother. But in the case of Amfoan we find *am baba* and *ain baba* = affinal father and mother. These terms are also found in Tunbaba, Insana and Beboki and are, in a sense, the correct ones. Mother's father and

mother's mother are *am baba* and *ain baba* because they are affines; but they are generally called *na'i* and *be'i*, especially by the younger children, and certainly if they are resident in the same village. That they are not strictly speaking *na'i* and *be'i* becomes apparent after their death. The invocation *au be'i, au na'i* (my female ancestors, my male ancestors) refers exclusively to the ancestors of the *ume,* who are members of the same *kanaf* and *nono.* Middelkoop once presented me with a prayer — in a different context — which is said in cases of illness, beginning with *am baba* (= my male ancestor, i.e. maternal ancestor).

If the Atoni made no further distinctions it might follow from the fact that for a male ego both father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter are *ba'ef fetof* and that a marriage with a *ba'ef fetof* is given preference, that the affinal system is based on direct exchange, as Fischer concludes. He could hardly have arrived at a different conclusion, as he restricts himself entirely to the terminology, which would even tend to support Cunningham's hypothesis of a reciprocal affinal alliance between two groups.

However, the Atoni distinguishes between two groups of affines, namely the *feto* or feminine affines, i.e. all those related to his lineage via marriages of its women, and those belonging to the groups of the *atoni amaf* (masculine father, i.e. the head of a lineage to which it is related via a marriage of one of its men).

This distinction determines the social classification into *feto* and *mone* groups. The bride-giving lineage is superior in respect of the bride-receiving one. The former is *mone* (masculine) and the latter is termed *feto* (feminine). The bride-giving group receives presents, services and respect from its bride-receiver.

Just as the term *olif-tataf* is used with reference to the relationship between clans, sub-territories of a political community or even between political communities — although strictly speaking this relationship exists only between men of the same generation within a particular lineage or *ume* — the term *feto-mone* has similar applications, though strictly speaking it designates a relationship between two *ume.*

This distinction between *feto* and *mone* has important implications for both the kinship system and the political organization. As far as the kinship system is concerned it means that once a *feto-mone* relationship exists between two *ume* it should be endeavoured to perpetuate this relationship, or, in other words, that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is preferential, though not prescriptive. This dis-

tinction which Needham [20] makes, but which Lévi-Strauss [21] ignores, has far-reaching implications, as we shall see later. If ego does in fact marry his mother's brother's daughter the bride is referred to as *fe lalan,* the wife of the (trodden) path, *lalan* being the word for the path connecting two *ume*. Her husband, who is her father's sister's son, is called *mone lalan* (the husband of the path, i.e. a man born of a woman of her own *ume*). They are each other's *panu*: the two halves of a coconut which fit together. In the diagram below a man (1) from *ume* (a) of clan A is married to a woman (2) from *ume* (b) of clan B. Their son, A 4, will preferably marry B 5, whose father, B 3, will be his *atoni amaf* or *bab honit* (= life-giving, life-generating affine), just as his own father is called *am honit* or *ahonit* (life-generating father, procreator). This way the *ume* of B will remain superior to that of A. Of course the agnatic composition of the lineage implies that A 4 may equally well marry his mother's father's brother's son's daughter, B 8, the daughter of B 3's parallel cousin. After the death of his mother's brother the latter's son, that is, ego's wife's brother, B 6, becomes A 4's *atoni amaf* in the stricter sense of the word, whilst the *amaf* of the latter's *ume* is the *atoni amaf* who will lead the negotiations preceding the marriage and who will perform the appropriate rites.

It is this *atoni amaf* whom the young bridegroom fears. Whereas he has respect for his father (*amaf*) he fears his *atoni amaf*.

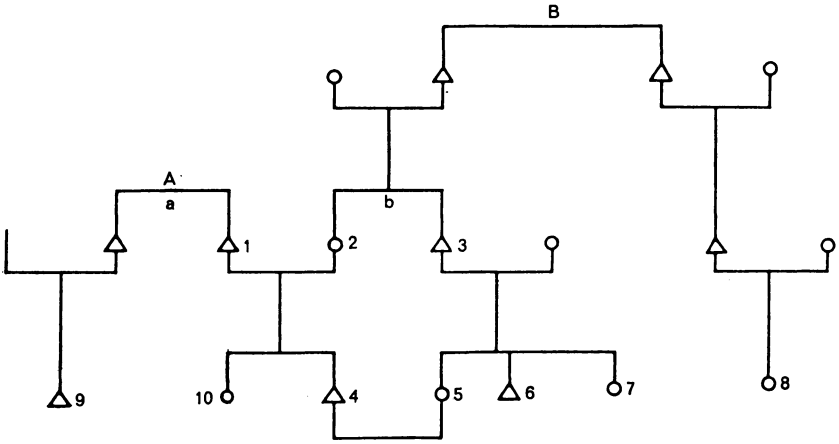
If the "paved way" for a marriage is that from *ume* (a) to *ume* (b) it is to be expected that A 4's brother — either his own brother or, for example, his father's brother's son, A 9, who is his *tataf,* will also follow that path and marry B 7, for instance. This is not prescribed, however. He may equally well, or even preferably, marry a girl from a lineage of clan C or D. If this has happened before in previous generations marriage to a girl from C or D will also be a *fe lalan.*

He may also marry a woman from an *ume* of a clan with which no previous affinal ties exist, although this will present some difficulties. If the way has been paved not only will social relations between the two groups have been long-established, but the bride-receiving group will have some idea as to the extent of the bridewealth. In principle this will be the same as that paid to the mother's relatives when she was married. But personal qualities such as physical attractiveness, a good name or skill at particular tasks may raise the sum of the bridewealth, or conversely, if the bride has some defect or other, lower it.

---

[20] Needham, 1958, p. 201; 1962. And before him, Salisbury, 1956.
[21] Lévi-Strauss, 1949. Cf. 2nd ed., 1964, Preface p. XVII.

DIAGRAM No. 2



A and B are clan names, a and b are the names of the lineages of these clans

If an alliance is established with a new clan, the sum of the bride-wealth will be higher and will be fixed only after protracted negotiations. But the possibility exists. The difficulties may be evaded by resorting to marriage by abduction — the bridegroom accompanied by a number of armed members of his lineage simply goes and takes the bride-to-be from her village by force. The number of helpers usually exceeds by far the number of people who belong to his *ume* and includes both men and women. The term "abduction" is not strictly speaking correct, therefore. The bride is merely taken away and the negotiations forced, and afterwards gifts are brought to the bride's *ume* to induce her relatives to attend the wedding.

Middelkoop [22] furnishes an example of another form of "abduction", where only two women go to fetch the bride from her house. They are accompanied as far as her village by twenty or thirty men, so that the threat of violence is present; but in reality violence cannot be used.

Both types of marriage in which the bride is taken away from her village, so that the marriage is patrilocal from the beginning, are exceptions.

In the third place there is the possibility of marrying within the clan or *kanaf* (name). The *ume*, however, is strictly exogamic. Marriage

[22] Middelkoop, 1931, p. 262.

within the *ume* is out of the question and sexual intercourse between members of one *ume* amounts to incest and will bring on disaster for the entire *ume*. The clan, on the other hand, which has lineages in different villages and some even in other princedoms, is not strictly exogamic in practice. It is difficult to determine whether it ever was in the past. It is said that "formerly" the clan used to be strictly exogamic. Even at present people prefer to marry outside their own clan. But endogamous marriages do take place, be it chiefly between poor people — they are contracted chiefly by young men from *ume* which have no property. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that poor lineages have "always" existed. It is the least desirable, though not the least frequent form of marriage, and its unpopularity is not so much a matter of the Atoni's condemning marriage between blood relations as perhaps one of prestige and social status.

Hence marriage with a large number of *ume* is possible; even marriage between a girl from A and a man from another *ume* of B which is only distantly related to the *ume* from which her father obtained his wife. Only marriage between the sister of the bridegroom and the brother of the bride, A 10 and B 6, which would amount to a direct exchange of women, is against the rules and definitely disliked, as in that case A 1 (or A 4) and B 3 (or B 6) would become the *atoni amaf* of each other's children, which is an impossibility, as Middelkoop [23] confirms emphatically. The *feto-mone* relationship, that of socially subordinate and superordinate groups, would in that case become self-contradictory.

This does not exclude the possibility of its taking place in practice. But even then it will never take place between direct cross-cousins, that is, between A 4 and B 5 and between B 6 and A 10. Such marriages are probably more frequent in Amarasi, where Cunningham worked, than in Central Timor, where there have been fewer changes and where influences from Belu are sometimes stronger; this is certainly the case in Beboki and, in some respects, in Insana. In the case of political marriages, however, exchange of sisters may take place. It is customary for a ruler to endeavour to establish affinal relationships with princes of neighbouring princedoms. In this case an exchange of sisters may bring about a relationship in which both parties remain each other's equals. At the conclusion of peace the promise of an exchange of brides marks the climax of the negotiations. Although this may imply an exchange of sisters,[24] the kinship system remains

[23] Personal communication.
[24] Cf. p. 356 below.

unaffected in spite of such marriages, as the *amaf naek* of the clan which is the ruler's traditional bride-giver remains his *atoni amaf* — it is impossible for a ruler of a different princedom to become this. At any rate, such an exchange of sisters never takes place in the case of a first marriage.

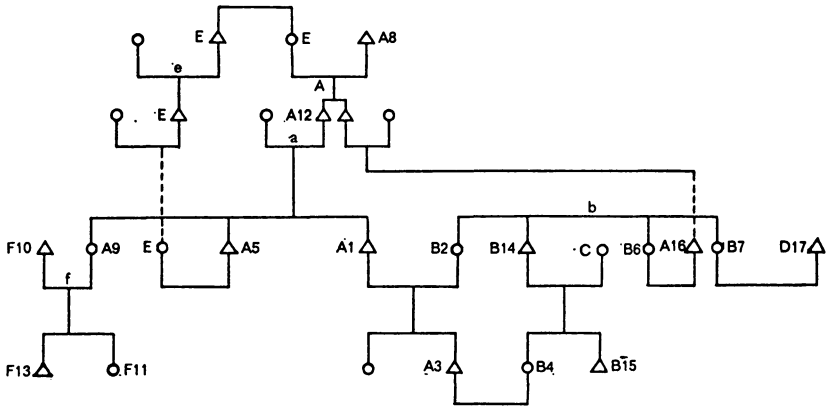
It is customary to marry a woman from one of the groups which are *mone* in respect of the bridegroom's group, which will therefore remain *feto*. This *feto-mone* relationship between clans, between sub-territories of the princedom and between any large groups in general is a fixed one usually based on some affinal relationship established in the mythical past. But between lineages this need not in practice be a permanent relationship. A reversal of the *feto-mone* relationship is quite common and is to be expected in the first place if there has been no marriage between a man from (a) and a woman from (b) for one or two generations, either because the men from (a) have had a choice out of various other possibilities, or because (b) had very few women in a particular generation. Royal lineages usually endeavour to effect such a reversal; in any case they try to create the impression that reversals do occur. Us Taolin (the lineage of the present raja of Insana), for instance, is *feto* in respect of "Liurai", and will immediately admit this, but will not omit to add that such and such a woman from the house of Taolin was married to a Liurai. However, this in itself is not significant, "Liurai" being a collective name for all the royal lineages in the realm of Waiwiku-Wehale in South Belu, among whom the Meromak O'an (Son of Heaven) was the central figure. He was Sonba'i's *tataf* (elder brother) and was *mone* or bride-giver in respect of many royal lineages. Conversely these latter may at times have given a bride to one of the Liurai lineages who formed a unity together with the Meromak O'an. But this can have had no effect on the fundamental, original *feto-mone* relationship.

Now the entire web of kinship becomes clearer. In diagram 3, A 1 is married to B 2, so that *ume* (a) of clan A has a *feto-mone* relationship with *ume* (b) of clan B, as (b) has with (c). A 1's son, A 3, will preferably marry his mother's brother's daughter, B 4, while A 1's brother, A 5, could marry B 6, B 2's sister, and follow the path trodden by his brother. According to Middelkoop[25] the same bridewealth as that paid for their mother may in some cases be paid for both daughters

---

[25] Middelkoop, 1931, p. 282.

DIAGRAM No. 3



together. This is only possible if both follow the same path as their mother.

In this connection it is interesting to note Cunningham's remark in respect of mother's sister. She also is called *aina* (mother) because, according to the Atoni, her husband is *amaf* (father). Cunningham [26] rightly infers from this that this woman must therefore be married to an agnate, that is, to one of her sister's husband's "brothers". In our example A 3 calls his mother's sister, B 6, mother, because her husband, A 16, is *amaf*, being his father's father's brother's son, hence a parallel cousin of his father's. So if A 3's mother's sister marries A 16, the statement that her husband is his *amaf* is correct. Cunningham proceeds to say: "On the other hand, whomever that woman married would be termed 'agnate' (i.e. *amaf*)". But this contradicts Middelkoop's [27] data and my own experience. If B 7, A 3's mother's sister, is married to D 17, the latter is A 3's *babaf*, that is, an affine of the generation before his, and not his *amaf*. Two things are clear from the Atoni's statement according to which mother's sister is *ainaf* because her husband is *amaf*, namely that (1) she is not *ainaf* simply by virtue of the fact that she is mother's sister (just as father's brother is "father" simply because he is father's brother), for she belongs to a different clan and is her sister's husband's *ba'ef fetof*, the latter being her *ba'ef*

---

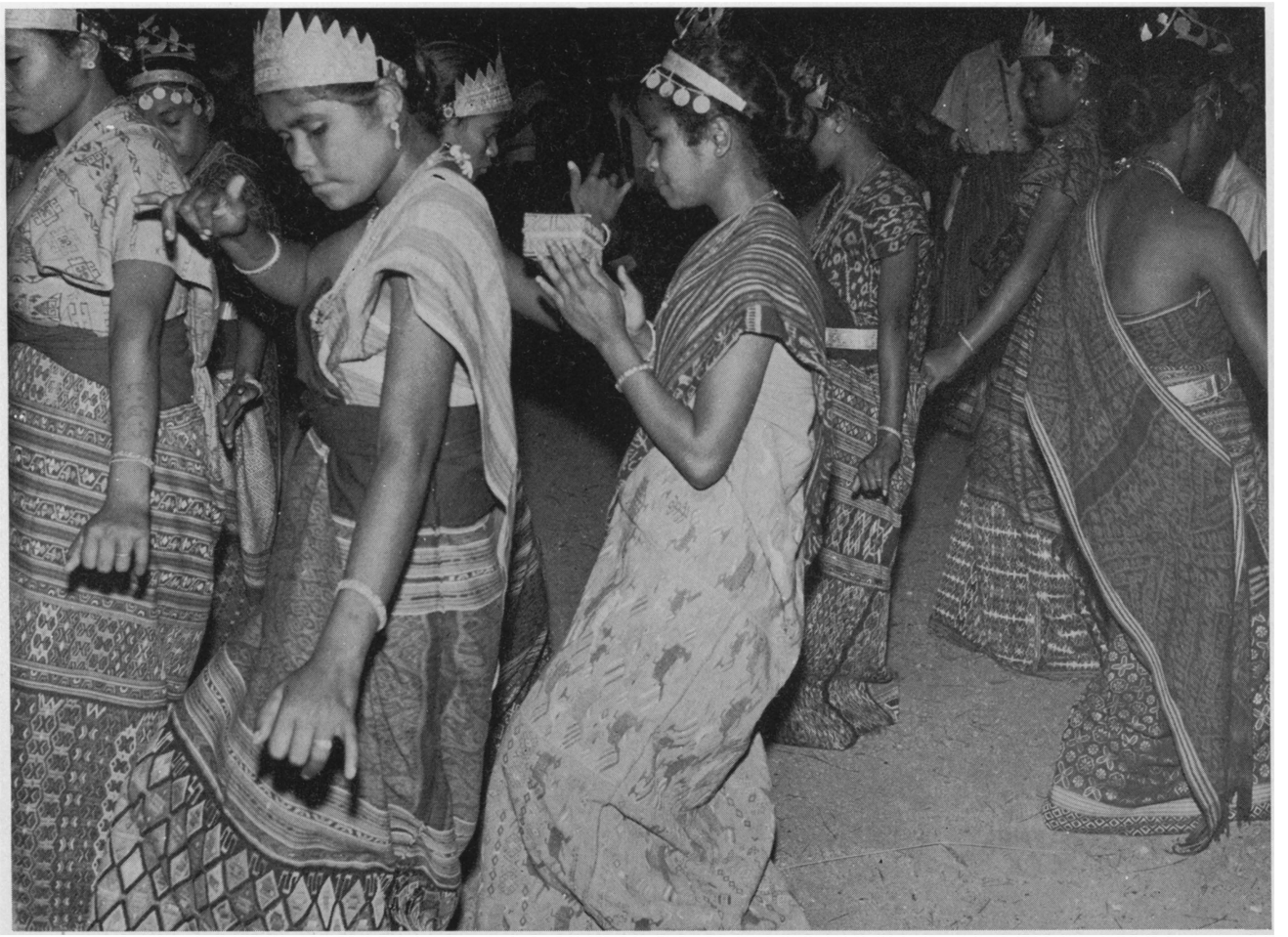
[26] Cunningham, 1962, p. 210.
[27] In Fischer, 1957, p. 25.

monef (= feminine and masculine affine respectively). Nevertheless, because the tie between two sisters is usually close she is normally addressed as *aina* by her sister's children, even if she marries into a different clan. Forms of address used by children cannot be decisive in determining the relationship, however. It is furthermore clear that (2) a marriage between the husband's classificatory brother (e.g. A 16) and the wife's sister (B 6) is usually presupposed. This would point to the existence of a prescriptive unilateral connubium. But in practice this man may equally well marry a girl from clan E (as A 5 did), to which his father's mother also belonged; then (e) like (b), will be one of (a)'s bride-giving *ume*. A 9, A 1's and A 5's sister, is not allowed to marry a man from (b) or (e) because these are (a)'s bride-giving *ume*, but she will marry someone from a different *ume*, e.g. F 10 from *ume* (f). And in that case A 3 will not be allowed to marry F 11, not only because A 1 and F 10 would then be each other's *atoni amaf* but also because A 3 would be marrying his father's sister's daughter. Cunningham [28] reports this too. He says: "Blood is transmitted through agnation, and they may justify their dislike for marriage with F.Z.D. on these grounds. Though F.Z. is an 'affine' (*babaf*) and her daughter is also an affine (*ba'ef*), they say that F.Z. (being a daughter of F.F.) is really *na' mese,* one blood".

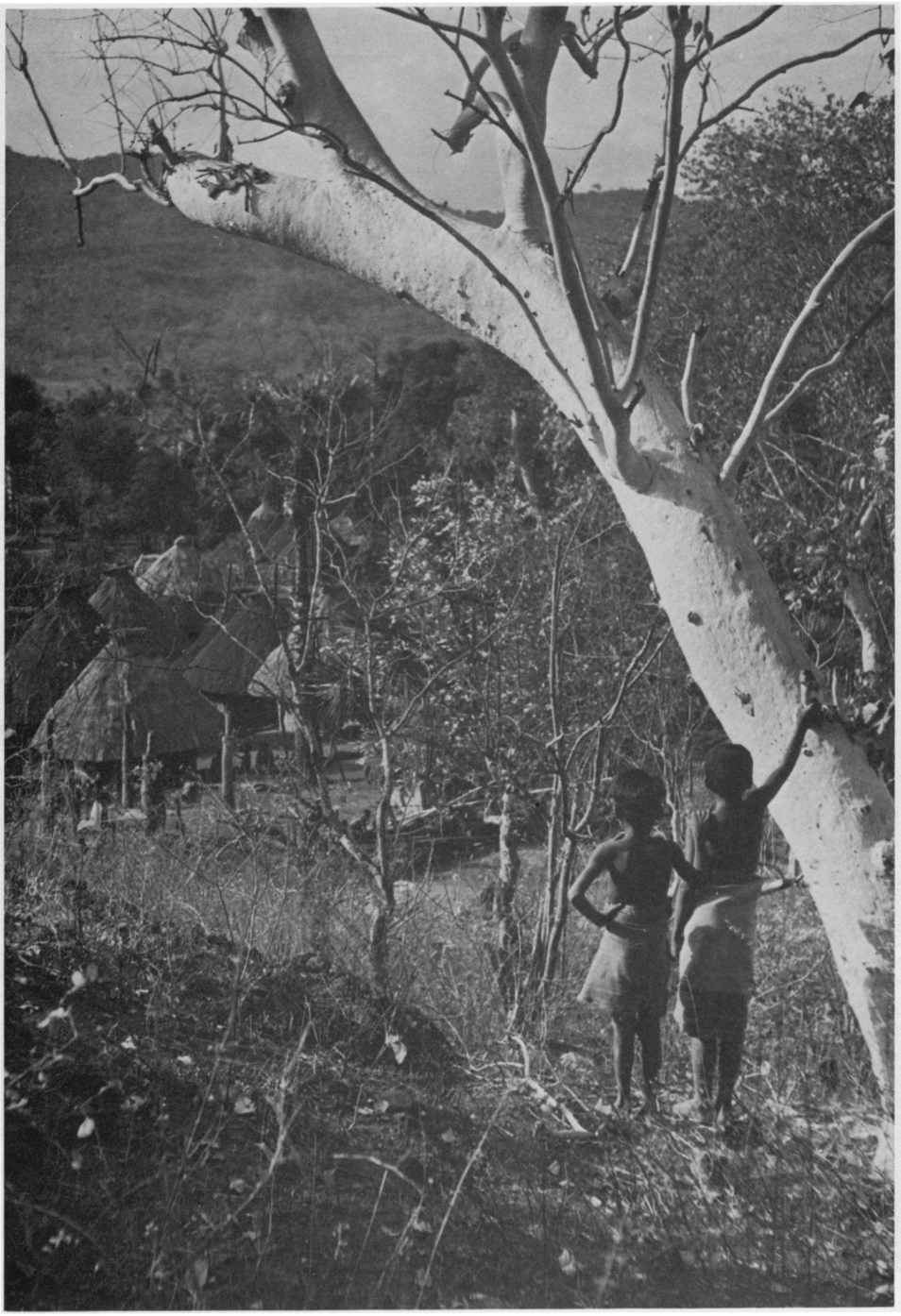
This is correct. We need only add that father's sister, A 9, will only become A 3's *babaf* through her marriage to F 10, or rather, only after she has been admitted to the *nono* (life-circle) of *ume* (f).

Looking once more at the affinal kinship terminology it will now become clear that there is only one set of names applied to affines: *babaf* as against *mone fe'u* and *nanef* for members of different generations, and *ba'ef* used reciprocally by members of the same generation. If a distinction were made between maternal and paternal cross-cousins this might support the theory of a unilateral, circulating connubium. But in practice there is a choice out of many possibilities. There is, admittedly, a preference for maternal cross-cousins, but instead of marrying mother's brother's daughter ego may equally well marry father's mother's brother's son's daughter, as A 5 did in our example. There is also the possibility of creating a new affinal relationship. Marriages may take place in the opposite direction a few generations later, or in some cases earlier. Such a reversal of the *feto-mone* relationship may even be desirable in view of the payment of bride-

[28] Cunningham, 1962, p. 211.



21. Performance of the *likurai* dance at a wedding feast. The dancers move in a line twisting in and out, resembling the way in which a snake moves along.



22. An Atoni hamlet, Manufui.

wealth. Apart from paternal parallel cousins, obviously because they are regarded as brothers and sisters and call each other brother and sister (*nau-feto*), maternal parallel cousins and paternal cross-cousins from the same *ume* (limited lineage) are excluded from the range of possible marriage partners. This rule does not apply strictly, as the prohibition concerns only the daughters of a young man's father's full sisters and of his mother's full sisters. Marriage with a daughter of mother's or father's classificatory sister, if resident within the *ume*, is not desirable either, but if they live in different villages the taboo hardly applies. All these relations — father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter — are *ba'ef*, while father's sister's husband and mother's brother are both *babaf*. In spite of the fact that these kinship terms are the same, behaviour towards each of the two groups of affines is markedly different, however. In our example F 10 is A 3's *babaf, bab mone,* namely the husband of his father's sister. And as Cunningham [29] writes, "*Babaf* are in a superordinate age level, but ego's relationship to them is familiar, in contrast to that with his *amaf ainaf*. He may joke with them, laugh freely, behave generally with less restraint, and he may touch them (as when jabbing during a joke)". For after the death of A 12, the father of A 9 (F 10's wife), A 5 (A 3's father's brother) will become F 10's *atoni amaf* as A 9's eldest brother. This is why A 3's behaviour towards F 10 may be free, even though A 3 belongs to a younger generation, and why this *babaf* will usually help him and give him small presents — not simply because he is his *babaf*.

The respectful behaviour that is due from him towards an older generation is counterbalanced by his superiority as a member of a *mone* group in respect of a member of a *feto* group. For F 10 is his *feto*, having received a wife from (a). In the chapter on agriculture we came across an example of "a joking relationship". When F 10 has been burning off a garden plot together with the members of his wife's *ume*, A 3 will be one of those who throw dirty water all over him to "make him cool" (*mainikin*). He will not actually throw the water himself, as he belongs to a younger generation. This will probably be done by A 16, F 10's wife's (A 9) father's brother's son, who is his *ba'ef* or affine of the same generation without being an *atoni amaf*. The *atoni amaf* himself will not throw the water either, because there is too great

---

[29] Cunningham, 1962, p. 212.

a distance between him and F 10. More likely F 13 will be the butt of a joke played on him by A 3, his maternal *ba'ef,* who will only become his *atoni amaf* after the death of the latter's father.

On the other hand, A 3's behaviour towards B 14 is altogether different. For although B 14 also is his *babaf,* he is at the same time his *atoni amaf* or his *bab honit* (life-generating affine) by virtue of the fact that he is his mother's eldest brother as well as his father-in-law, and there is no trace of a joking relationship or even of the slightest familiarity in respect of this *babaf.* I have seen newly married men in Beboki talk of their *atoni amaf* with fear in their eyes. His respect is due first of all to the *amaf mnasi,* the eldest father of his wife's *ume,* although his wife's *amaf* and the *amaf* of his wife's *ume* may be one and the same person. This *babaf* is the person who demands payment of the bridewealth and reprimands the bridegroom if he does not pay his instalments in time. He demands the bridegroom's services during the period of bride-service. And even when the bridewealth has been paid and he is living with his wife and children in his own village and the relationship to this *babaf* has become less marked by tension, he is supposed to be prepared at all times to help with such things as the felling of trees or the building of a house; in return for this work he will receive the counter-gift of a meal. He is also expected to be of assistance in less important situations. Even after the death of this *babaf* his wife's eldest brother is at all times allowed to impose on him for *sirih pinang* or tobacco.

His behaviour towards his *ba'ef* or paternal cross-cousins, *ba'e mone* and *ba'e feto,* F 13 and F 11, is equally complex, though this is less pronounced. His behaviour here is relaxed and gay and clearly superior. He is allowed to play jokes on his *ba'e mone,* F 13, father's sister's son, and to tease F 11. This playful banter will sometimes develop into an erotic game, though marriage will not ensue, as we have seen. If he desires an adventure with this girl he will send her *sirih* leaves with a yellow thread tied around them, yellow being the colour of subordination. She will send back the *sirih* leaves without the thread if she consents.

Conversely, A 3 will treat his *ba'e mone,* B 15, with more respect. He can expect to be at the receiving end of any practical joke B 15 may wish to play. And when they grow up B 15 will keep a watchful eye on A 3's behaviour towards his sister, B 4, a fact of which A 3 is well aware. A 3 will need his coöperation when he begins to court his *ba'e feto,* B 4, his mother's brother's daughter, who is ideally his potential

bride. And he will therefore give him tobacco and other small presents, even when they are still young boys. Similarly he may direct his attention to any other girl from *ume* (b), all of them being his *ba'e feto*. Girls from other *ume* which have supplied brides in previous generations are also potential brides.

But in all these cases the social relationship in respect of his *ba'e mone* is the same — as their social subordinate (for he has to ask favours of them), his behaviour is cautious. And this similarly determines his relationship to his *ba'e feto*. She belongs to an *ume* which is socially superior to his. He has to treat her with deference and will send her presents as a sign of his intentions to court her. The first token of affection will be *sirih* leaves with a red and a green thread tied around them, to which she will respond, is she wishes, with a present of *sirih* leaves tied up with a green thread. Red is the colour of superiority. If she is not inclined to respond she will let him know that she is too strictly watched or that there is another man. She will send a bottle of palm-wine as a consolation gift. If both do become serious there will follow an elaborate ceremonial exchange of gifts and smaller counter-gifts up to the time when the bridewealth is determined and the marriage is finalized. This is accompanied by an exchange of *manus luman* or *mnuke* (i.e. the empty or young *sirih pinang*), the first bridewealth. *Sirih pinang* (areca nut with betel leaves and some lime) is always offered to guests. It is a tangible symbol of a valued relationship, the fundamental gesture of hospitality and the introduction to all relations with people outside the *ume* or lineage. In the case of marriage it symbolizes a series of exchanges of small gifts which accompanies the relationship between a boy and a girl from the first day of their acquaintance until their wedding day. It is largely a formality, hence the term *luman* (empty). The bridegroom's *ume* presents a cylindrical container with a few coins, coconuts, bananas and sugar inside it. These are the bridegroom's introductory gifts. The bride's return gift to the bridegroom consists of a belt and a *sirih* purse (*aluk*). This belt is a symbol of both *ume* becoming linked to one another. Besides, one or two shoulder cloths, two *sirih* containers and headbands are presented to the bridegroom's parents.[30]

The bridewealth which is to be paid later is the *puah mnais-manus mnasi* (lit. the old *sirih pinang*). This consists chiefly of cattle, strings of coral beads, silver ornaments or coins, and bride services. Each time

---

[30] Middelkoop, 1931, p. 250.

an instalment is paid the *atoni amaf* gives a pig and a cloth in return.

When the marriage has been finalized the husband is *mone* and the wife *fe* (husband and wife respectively), with the implication that he is superior. This is strictly speaking true only when she formally ceases to belong to her father's *ume* and joins her husband's *ume* and its *nono* (lianas which encircle the clan and hence symbolize its fertility). This is not possible until the greater part of the bridewealth, the old *sirih pinang* (*puah mnais-manus mnasi*) has been paid, which in some cases is not until many years after marriage. By means of a formal ritual act the woman then leaves her own *ume* and is incorporated in the *nono* of the husband's clan. This ritual is called *kasu nono, kasu* being the word for taking off a sarong by pulling it over one's head: thus she symbolically casts off her own *nono*. Then she enters that of her husband, the ritual symbolizing this being called *nanta* (to enter). Henceforth she will be allowed to return to her natal *ume* only as a guest — she may come back to eat but not to sleep. She will be expected from then on to observe the totemic taboos of her husband's clan. Theoretically she will be able to disregard those of her own clan, but in practice she will continue to exclude the totem animal or plant of her own clan from her diet.

In this connection we shall have to say a few words also about the problem of patrilinearity of descent and patrilocality of marriage. It is a problem because in Belu, the culture of which is very much akin to that of the Atoni area, there are two types: a chiefly patrilineal kinship organization in North Belu and a matrilineal organization coupled with uxorilocal marriage in South Belu. It is impossible to say anything about South Belu until the publication of the results of Francillon's research.[31] The Atoni area presents a similar variety. There is a remarkable series of differences which form a scale of gradations from a purely patrilineal and patrilocal to a chiefly matrilineal and purely matrilocal system. They vary from one political community to the next.

At one end of the scale we have Ambenu, a group from which princedom lives in Manamas in Miomafo. As everywhere else, first the payment of *puah manus luman* or *mnuke,* the empty or young *sirih pinang,* is made. Following this a very high *puah manus mnasi* (old *sirih pinang*) is decided upon. This is the substantial part of the bridewealth, consisting of cattle, beads and silver coins. Here too, the bridewealth varies with social status and wealth, but it is always a heavy

[31] G. Francillon conducted research in South Belu and finished working out his material at the Australian National University, Canberra.

burden on the paying party. The second characteristic of Manamas is that this bridewealth has to be paid as soon as possible. Marriage is first uxorilocal, the husband being required to render bride service during this time, but the norm here is that the couple go to live in the village of the husband's father as soon as sufficient bridewealth has been paid. Hence marriage here is clearly patrilocal. The social and economic life is restricted to the *ume*, the territorially localized agnatic lineage. It should be added, however, that the *atoni amaf*, that is, mother's eldest brother in the immediate sense of the word, and the head of the agnatic bride-giving *ume* in the general sense of the word, have an important social and ritual function. And this direct *atoni amaf* ideally speaking becomes ego's father-in-law.

Amfoan is Ambenu's immediate neighbour. In the political organization both princedoms are closely united in a *mone-feto* relationship — as Ambenu is Amfoan's bride-giver — and in an *olif-tataf* relationship because their founders came to this area together, according to the myth. Amfoan is markedly patrilineal — all children are integrated into the father's lineage — in contrast with all the other Atoni princedoms where according to Cunningham [32] usually one or more children are incorporated into the mother's *ume*.

In Molo and Miomafo and in the entire area that was once under the sway of Sonba'i, as in Amanuban, the bridewealth is not so high, even though it varies much with the social status of the *ume* concerned; it may reach considerable proportions in royal lineages and *usif*'s *ume* as well as in lineages of heads of prominent clans. And in the former realm of Sonba'i there are many prominent *ume*. But in general the bridewealth is not considered to be high by the people themselves. This means that a considerable portion of it may be converted into bride service, a widespread practice. As a result the bride's *ume* does not usually press for payment. Hence the marriage will remain uxorilocal much longer, so that the first children are born into the wife's *ume* and thus bear her name (*kanaf*). Even the husband is temporarily admitted to the *nono* of his wife's clan. Although he continues to be regarded as a member of his own clan he is temporarily adopted by the *ume* of the other clan. In some cases the bridewealth may not have been wholly paid at the husband's death, so that the members of the husband's *ume* will have to pay the remainder so as to be allowed to take a son born of the marriage and admit him to their own *ume*. It

[32] Cunningham, 1962, p. 25.

is more difficult to have one of the daughters transferred, because she herself will secure bridewealth and services as soon as she reaches a marriageable age. Here we see a shift away from the agnatic system. Although it still operates as a structural principle, it is counterbalanced by the principle of bride service, which tips the balance in favour of uxorilocal marriage and partially matrilineal descent.

Hence in the entire area of the former realm of Sonba'i and in Amanuban — i.e. in the major part of the Atoni area — a corporate lineage comprises in the first place a number of limited lineages (*ume*), each in turn consisting of a number of nuclear families each occupying its own house. Descent is patrilineal, except in the case of children for whose mother bridewealth is not yet fully paid. These then belong to their mother's *ume*, or rather, to that of their mother's father. There are examples in many *ume* of children remaining in the mother's *ume*, while in others examples are quoted of this occurring in the past. Hence the system is extremely flexible, but is mainly patrilineal and patrilocal. It is important to note that the corporate unit of the *ume* is the fundamental, strictly exogamic unit. A boy who has been incorporated in his mother's father's *ume* will in that case call his mother's brother's daughter *fetof* (sister) and not *ba'ef* (affine of the same generation). If she were his *ba'ef* marriage with her would be desirable, but now it is out of the question. The husband residing with his wife's *ume* is admitted to the *nono* of his wife's clan, as we have seen, but lives among his *ba'e mone* and with his father-in-law — he lives with the group in respect of which he is *feto* (feminine, and hence inferior) because in a sense he remains a member of his own *ume*. In the course of time the distance will decrease. His son is wholly integrated into his wife's clan, even to the extent that he may obtain a leadership function and become *amaf* of his *ume* if his mother is the eldest member of the senior branch of her *ume* and there are no descendants in the male line.

We find the same pattern in Insana.[33] (See photograph 24). When a boy and a girl decide to make public their relationship the young man has to give the girl's parents *puah kolo, manus kolo* (the hidden *pinang*). This gift consists of some silver coins, twenty at most, a sarong and,

---

[33] My data regarding this were checked and supplemented in 1965 by Father J. Smit, S.V.D., who worked in Timor for a period of over 40 years and, moreover, had the assistance of the aged *adat* authority Silvester Taneo, a retired teacher.

in modern times, under Western and especially church influence, a ring. The meaning of this "hidden" first gift to the bride is that the relationship which has hitherto been kept secret is now made public. In the words of the Atoni: as a result of the presentation of *puah kolo, manus kolo* it becomes *puah mtonan, manus mtonan*, the announced *sirih pinang*.

The second gift is determined after this. Here it is called *puah oenun, manus oenun. Oenun* designates the confluence of several rivers; and so the idea of an alliance between two groups is apparent here. The meaning of the word in this context is that now the bridewealth to be paid to the whole *ume* of the bride is to be decided upon. It will amount to a hundred silver florins at most. Other objects may be and are given, and their worth is nowadays usually assessed in terms of monetary value. It usually consists of cattle, however, so that there is little deviation from the supposed basic pattern according to which the *ume*'s herds serve as payment of bridewealth.

In addition a silver bangle has to be presented. Its name is *oe maputu, ai malala* (= hot water, glowing fire). According to the Atoni this relates to the "heat" or danger of the first childbed, when a fire is lit in the hearth and mother and child are washed with warm water. A female buffalo is included in the bridewealth. It is the symbol of the milk with which the mother will feed the child.

This bridewealth is not usually paid all at once, so that at the beginning a marriage is usually uxorilocal. The children born during this time belong to the mother's *ume*. Although the husband will always endeavour to pay the bridewealth this does not necessarily mean that it is in fact always paid, even though the church insists on fulfilment of the payment. There are some marriages in which the second instalment of the bridewealth is never paid at all. This also used to occur formerly. In that case the children remain members of the mother's clan. This is especially true if there are many sons and few daughters in a particular *ume*, for then the balance is unfavourable for that *ume* in respect of payment of bridewealth in that particular generation.

If a second bridewealth instalment is paid the Atoni say that it is for the *tsea bife fe'u* (the drawing of the new wife, i.e. her removal to the husband's village and admission to his clan). The young family is accompanied by the members of the wife's lineage who are paid a sum of twenty florins for providing this escort, called *tub nobif* — the covering of the tracks. Hence there is no return for her, and she has left her own clan for good (see photograph 25).

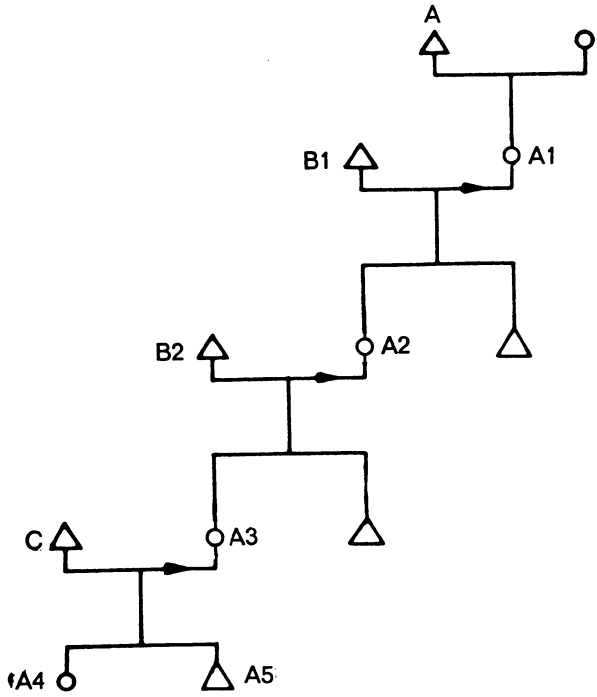
Then, when the wife reaches the age at which she is no longer able to bear children the final instalment of the bridewealth is paid. This is called *sinab besi tofa* — putting away the weeding hook. The woman is the field which has borne its fruits and now the final affairs relating to the harvest (i.e. the children) have to be settled. The husband brings five silver coins, a pig, rice and palmwine for a meal to the wife's *ume*. Then it is decided which of the children, a boy or a girl, will belong or continue to belong to the mother's *ume*, where it will replace her. Hence even if the bridewealth is paid completely, in accordance with the normal practice, the descent of one of the children is matrilineal.

Beboki presents a slightly different picture again. Here too a moderate bridewealth is required in theory, but many men continue to live with their wife's *ume*, so that marriage here remains uxorilocal longer, whereas in the Sonba'i area and in Insana it was chiefly patrilocal. This implies a gradual shift towards matrilineal descent, for if the husband remains with his wife's *ume* the children will belong to her clan. Yet people generally say that bridewealth ought to be paid, even if at the end of many years, and that the family is to become patrilocal from then on and has to be admitted to the father's clan. The actual practice is very different, however, and as a rule the young family will live uxorilocally for years; in every present-day village there are families which have remained uxorilocal, as a result of which the descent of the children is matrilineal. Here, too, one child is always assigned to the mother's clan when the rest of the family joins the father's. If in diagram no. 4 a man, B 1, marries A 1 uxorilocally and remains in her *ume* all his life, children born of the marriage will be integrated into clan A. In the next generation B 2 marries A 2 and the marriage is again permanently uxorilocal. Next C marries A 3 on the same terms. The children born of these marriages are then similarly integrated into clan A. If all future marriages remain consistently uxorilocal descent will become matrilineal. For instance, in our example A 4 and A 5 belong to the lineage of their mother's mother's mother's father.

Yet another variation is found in Noemuti, where the "old" gift (*puah manus mnasi*) does not exist. Notwithstanding, most of the marriages here are patrilocal. Descent is not uniformly patrilineal, however. Instead of bridewealth being paid an agreement is made that some of the children will belong to the mother's clan and *ume*. Noemuti is exceptional in any case because, together with Lifau on the north coast

of Oekusi, it was the centre of the dominion of the Topasses and of Dominican missionary activity for many centuries. (The Topasses were Portuguese-speaking mestizoes.) This may have had some influence on bridewealth customs as the Mission regarded this as a kind of purchase price for a bride, which was not in keeping with Christian doctrines concerning marriage. Nevertheless, this variation per se fits in quite well with the scale of variations presented by the Timorese kinship system. For in the district of Mutis, which is now part of Molo but used to be practically independent partly as a result of its isolated

DIAGRAM No. 4



position in the Mutis mountains, a second gift has never been the practice among common people, although the custom is found in the families of heads. This is usually explained as follows: "we are only poor people and have never had enough money for bridewealth".[34] The

[34] Middelkoop, 1931, p. 242. Cunningham, 1962, p. 33, writes, on the other hand, that Mutis, like Amfoan, has a high bridewealth. Mutis is in fact closely related to Amfoan. Cunningham's information therefore probably applies more specifically to the norm, and Middelkoop's probably more to the actual situation, as Middelkoop spent a considerable time there.

elevation of the Mutis area is too high for sandalwood, bees' wax and areca nuts so that it never had any export products. There are not many buffaloes here either. The usual form of marriage is that beginning with bride service and ending with the incorporation of the wife and children in the husband's clan. Especially because here it is not customary to pay a second bridewealth instalment — its payment is liable to postponement as a result of unforeseen difficulties — the family will as a rule live patrilocally and descent become patrilineal. So it most resembles Amfoan, to which it is akin in other respects as well, and Ambenu, the two areas which are most markedly patrilineal.

In conclusion we have an example, in the Atoni-language area, of the opposite end of the scale. In Anas, the former Nenometan, which is now part of the princedom of Amanatun, marriage is permanently uxorilocal. This means that the men leave their own *ume* and women remain in theirs, so that marriage is matrilocal. Descent is matrilineal [35] inasmuch as the husband and children remain in the wife's clan if she dies first. But if the husband dies first the wife and her children will have to move to the husband's *ume*. If there are no children when the husband dies the wife's *ume* will be required to give that of the husband a girl, a "sister" of the wife. Kruyt's [36] information that inheritance is matrilineally transmitted is in agreement with the matrilineal system of descent. He writes that the eldest daughter receives the entire inheritance and distributes some of it among her sisters and brothers as gifts. This means that the inheritable property of an *ume*, i.e. cattle and valuable objects such as coral beads, jewellery and silver coins, remains undivided.

The system prevalent in South Belu more or less corresponds with this. Francillon writes in this context: [37]

"What happens in Wehali is that the uma is a local exogamic extended matrilineage sometimes part of a *fukun*, sometimes coterminous to it. A *fukun* is only a ritual grouping and is neither an endo- nor an exogamic unit per se. Now the most important thing in my view here is that marriage is exclusively uxorilocal, and I have chosen the term with care. Men at marriage leave their natal house and move to their conjugal house. They do not in the exchange become any sort of significant members of their conjugal houses. And they lose much of their rights in their natal houses. What a married-out brother represents for his natal house (his mother and sisters) is that one of his daughters will be returned to

[35] Middelkoop, 1931, p. 284, states, erroneously so, that the children bear the name of the *father*, whereas it is obvious from the context that it should be the *mother*. Confirmed by personal communication.

[36] Kruyt, 1923, p. 366.

[37] Personal letter.

them after his death. As younger daughters adapt themselves best to a new environment, it amounts for a man's sisters to wish him to go away and die early. Great difficulties arise from the fact that such a girl (called mata musan, pupil of the eye) whom one obtains in exchange of a dead man does not cease to be a daughter of her mother, i.e. a member of her mother's lineage, and never becomes one of her father's, even if she comes to reside with her patrilineal kinswomen. Endless complications follow when a man marries outside his fukun into another one which has a different set of ritual prohibitions (matrilineally transmitted). This may give some ground to the hypothesis that a fukun unit is normally endogamous, but it is not actually so at the present time. Fukun endogamous and exogamous marriages are found in equal proportion.

There is no circulating connubium in this south plain of Belu, both patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousins are marriageable and both types of parallel cousins are prohibited. Given the matrilineal and uxorilocal emphasis one is led to think, contrary to the opinion which you expressed for Atoni-Timor, that marriage takes normally the form of an exchange of brothers. If it were regularly done, there would be no necessity for mata musan child exchange (one man being at once replaced by another), but actual cases of brother exchange are rare, less than 2 %, marriage with MBD or with FZD do not exceed 5 % each. All other marriages are with women who fall in neither of the categories "mother", "sister" or "daughter", i.e. outside the uma.

The uma of the hill Belu is not completely patrilocal. On the other hand Wehali and Suai uma groups are completely matrilineal. Very little is transmitted from the father's side to his children (only his personal name which is only worn by his children after their own personal name, sometimes by his grandchildren as well, but not further down)".

With such a diversity of forms in the kinship system one may well ask what model to design with which to cover this diversity. Designing such a model is by no means an arbitrary task, for what we have to do is construct our model in such a way that it will furnish the key to an understanding of the social reality of the area under discussion. Van Wouden [38] suggests as model a double unilineal system, but he arrives at this hypothesis in the supposition that in Timor too there is a unilateral, circulating connubium among four agnatic groups as a result of which matrilinearity can in fact be distinguished genealogically speaking. We may question with Goody [39] the use of supposing that there exists a double unilineal system if the local people do not have a term for it and recognize only one lineage — either the patrilineage *or* the matrilineage. P. E. de Josselin de Jong,[40] on the other hand, suggests with good reason that if in adjoining areas both types of descent occur, the hypothesis of a double unilineal system may be useful in explaining the existence of these two systems side by side

[38] Van Wouden, 1935, p. 95.
[39] Goody, 1961, p. 11.
[40] P. E. de Josselin de Jong, in: Goody, 1961, p. 14, and *id.* 1951, p. 91.

in a related culture province. This is certainly true for West Africa, where in the closely related Akan-Ewe area the Akan were clearly formerly double unilineal, having separate terms for the mother's and the father's lineages,[41] whereas the Ewe, Fon and Ga are patrilineal.[42] And in Sumatra, for example, the Minangkabau are matrilineal although they have an implicitly patrilineal structure.[43] Their neighbours the Batak are patrilineal,[44] however, while in Atjeh descent is patrilineal and marriage matrilocal.[45] Not only is the desire to find a key to furnish the explanation for the existence of these systems side by side reasonable, but it is one of the demands of science, which not only seeks knowledge through analysis but wishes to explain and clarify by discovering the structural principles determining the social reality.

We may dismiss the supposition of the evolutionists that here we have to do with phases of development, for their approach is only pseudo-historical. We may similarly do away with the cultural-historical idea that a society with matrilineal descent, inheritance, and so on, forms a more primitive stratum, as Vroklage[46] still maintains. (He sees two different strata of culture in Timor.) P. E. de Josselin de Jong[47] also favours "an historical reconstruction of a social system which shows a greater measure of integration than the system of today" in his study of the Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan. But he states most emphatically that this in no way amounts to a pseudo-historical reconstruction, "for we clearly recognize that perhaps at no time in the past did the actual facts completely agree with our reconstruction. This reconstruction may be compared with a word marked with an asterisk in a linguistic publication: it represents the most acceptable form that can be constructed from the available data, and the best suited to explain the present-day facts — but it is purely theoretical and has never been observed in actual existence". What we need, as Pouwer observes, is a "structural explanation", "the underlying integrative idea or model".[48] This does involve, however, that the facts will have to point to a past that approached more closely the ideal pattern containing the structural principles which underlie the present-day situation as well.

---

41 Rattray, 1923, pp. 45 ff. and 77 ff.
42 Herskovitz, 1938, Field, 1940.
43 P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1951, p. 90.
44 Vergouwen, 1933, p. 17.
45 Snouck Hurgronje, 1893, I, pp. 46, 55.
46 Vroklage, 1952, I, p. 257.
47 P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1951, pp. 5, 6.
48 Pouwer, 1960, p. 114.

This is how Van Wouden should have set to work, and doubtless would have been able to had he made use of official memoranda and records. As far as the Atoni area of Timor is concerned he referred to not more than about ten articles, the only good ones among which are those by Heijmering and Salomon Müller. Van Wouden's ingenious hypothesis is based on the pre-supposition of a unilateral, circulating connubium whereby men from clan A marry women from B, men from B marry women from C, men from C marry women from D, and men from D marry into A, the women therefore circulating in the opposite direction. But this kind of unilaterality is not, and as far as we know never was, in practice here. Yet people knew the precise details of affinal relationships extending many generations back. Middelkoop [49] gives a very eloquent example of the Atoni's knowledge in this respect in a text recorded from the mouths of some chiefs of Molo in 1930. This story tells how the house of Pa'i possessed a sacred stone, that is, an object which is charged with mystical force directed against the enemy. When these heads turned Christian they handed over their *le'u musu* objects and on this occasion related the story of how the Pa'i line had gained possession of this sacred stone as a result of a vision. Here the descent of the Pa'i line is traced as follows (see also diagram no. 5). Bi (= woman) Kon Neonsaban possessed mystical gifts. Her husband was Nai Naju Pa'i. She gave birth to Nai Tal Pa'i and Bi Kau Pa'i. The latter married Nai Tae Abakut. They begat Bi Ena Abakut, who married Nai Auken Tanono, Bi Sil Abakut, who married Nai Bul Pa'i, and Nai Keba Abakut, who married Bi Beto Pa'i and moved to the Pa'i lineage. Nai Tal Pa'i (Nai Naju Pa'i's son) [50] came to Molo and married Bi Esu Kune and begat Tal Pa'i, who married Bi En Pita'i. They gave birth to Nai Eli Pa'i, who married Bi Kol Niuflapu. They begat Nai Teok Pa'i, who married Bi Maul Taboen. They begat Nai Kol Pa'i, who married Bi Lauf Sanam and Bi Sain Abi. Of the first marriage were born: Nai Sain Pa'i, Bi El Pa'i in the village of Numenis [51] and Bi Eok Pa'i. Of the second marriage were born Nai Nos Pa'i in the village of Bisene,[51] Nai Tal Pa'i and six more children. The eldest son, Nai Sain Pa'i, married Maria Manu Lolomsa'it. They safeguarded the *le'u* and begat Nai Antoin Pa'i and Bi Kon Pa'i.

---

[49] Middelkoop, 1963, text B, pp. 68 ff.

[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 74. Middelkoop's translation reads: "they (Nai Kebu Abakut and Bi Beto Pa'i) begat Nai Tal Pa'i". This must be based on an error as the Timorese text does not state this — he is the son of Nai Naju Pa'i.

[51] Hence these marriages were uxorilocal for the first few years.

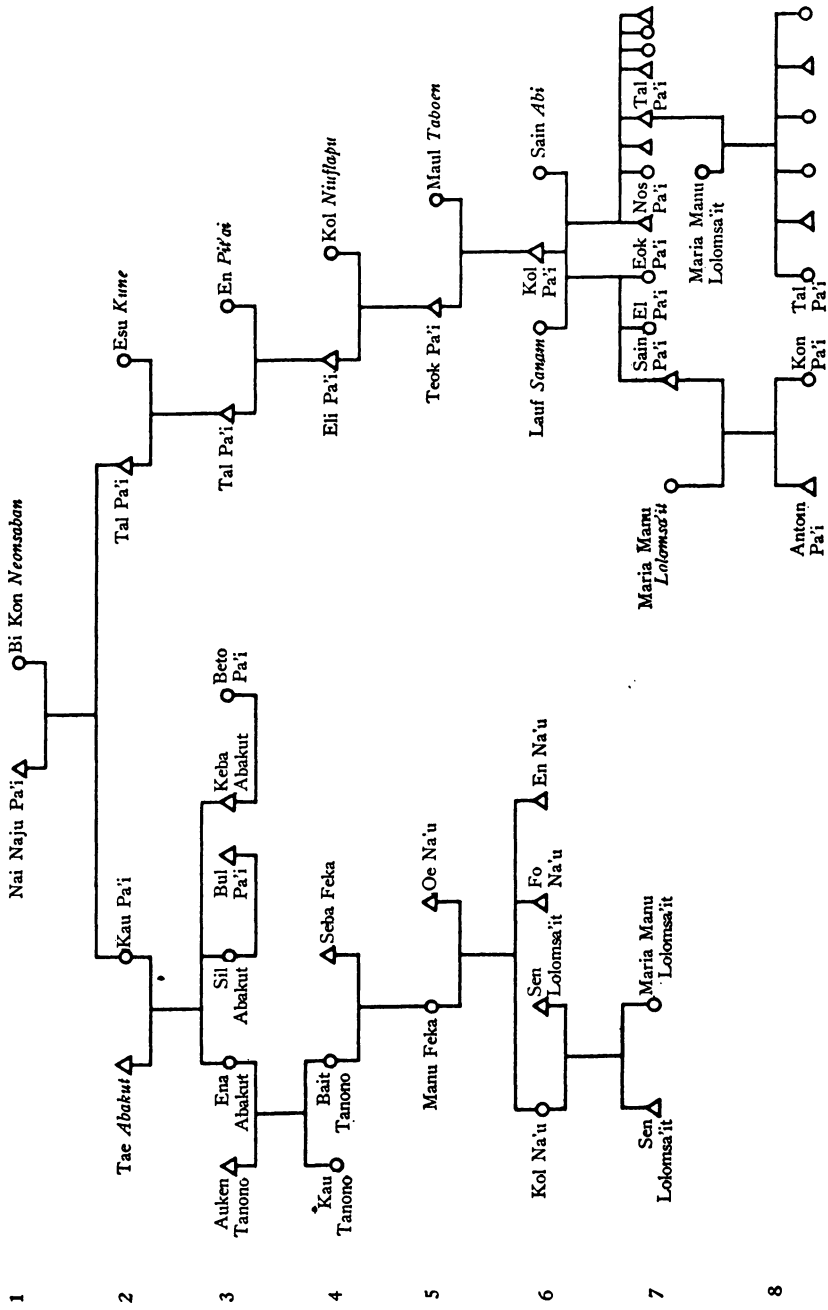


DIAGRAM No. 5 *Genealogy of the House of Pa'i*

Nai Sain Pa'i fell ill, his body shrivelled up and he died. Then Nai Tal Pa'i weeded the field [52] for the aged Maria Manu Lolomsa'it, and looked after her. She bore him Bi Tal Pa'i and five more children, the youngest of whom, Bi Sani Pa'i, "finished off the milk".[53]

Then follows Bi Maria Manu Lolomsa'it's genealogy: "Nai Auken Tanono married Bi Ena Abakut and begat Bi Bait Tanono and Bi Kau Tanono. Nai Seba Feka married Bi Bait Tanono and begat Bi Manu Feka. Nai Oe Na'u married Bi Manu Feka." They had ten children, the sixth of whom was Nai Fo' Na'u and the seventh Nai En Na'u, the narrators of the story. The second was Bi Kol Na'u, who married Nai Sen Lolomsa'it. They begat Nai Sen Lolomsa'it and Bi Manu Lolomsa'it, that is, the aged Bi Maria. Diagram no. 4 represents the genealogy in table form. It offers positive confirmation of the above. Men from Pa'i do not marry women from one group, but from eight different groups (printed in italics in the diagram), a different group in each generation. While in the second generation Pa'i is Abakut's bride-giver, the situation is reversed in the third generation. Here we have an example of a reversal of the *feto-mone* relationship in two successive generations. It may be the result of the payment of the bridewealth for Kau Pa'i by Tae Abakut not being fulfilled. The daughter, Sil Abakut, was probably married to a Pa'i by way of "payment", as her mother's replacement. Her brother also married a Pa'i, so that here we have, to all appearances, a direct exchange of sisters. However, formally speaking this is not so. In this generation Abakut is the bride-giver and therefore the *amaf* of Abakut is Pa'i's *atoni amaf*. Now, in order to avoid Pa'i becoming at the same time Abakut's *atoni amaf* as a result of Bi Beto Pa'i's marriage to Nai Keba Abakut, that is, to avoid their becoming each other's *atoni amaf* (an impossibility) Keba Abakut simply had to be admitted to the house of Pa'i. He paid no bridewealth for his wife, and his children were made members of the Pa'i clan. In the Atoni's categories of thinking this does not constitute an exchange of sisters — one *ume*, Abakut, has simply given another *ume*, Pa'i, a brother and a sister.

The above is an example of the astounding amount of knowledge possessed by the narrators, Fo' Na'u and En Na'u. They are familiar with the genealogies of their sister's daughters' husbands and know how they are related to these via their mother's mother's mother's mother.

---

[52] I.e., he had intercourse with her. This is an example of a leviratic marriage, therefore, Tal Pa'i replacing his deceased brother.

[53] She was her last child.

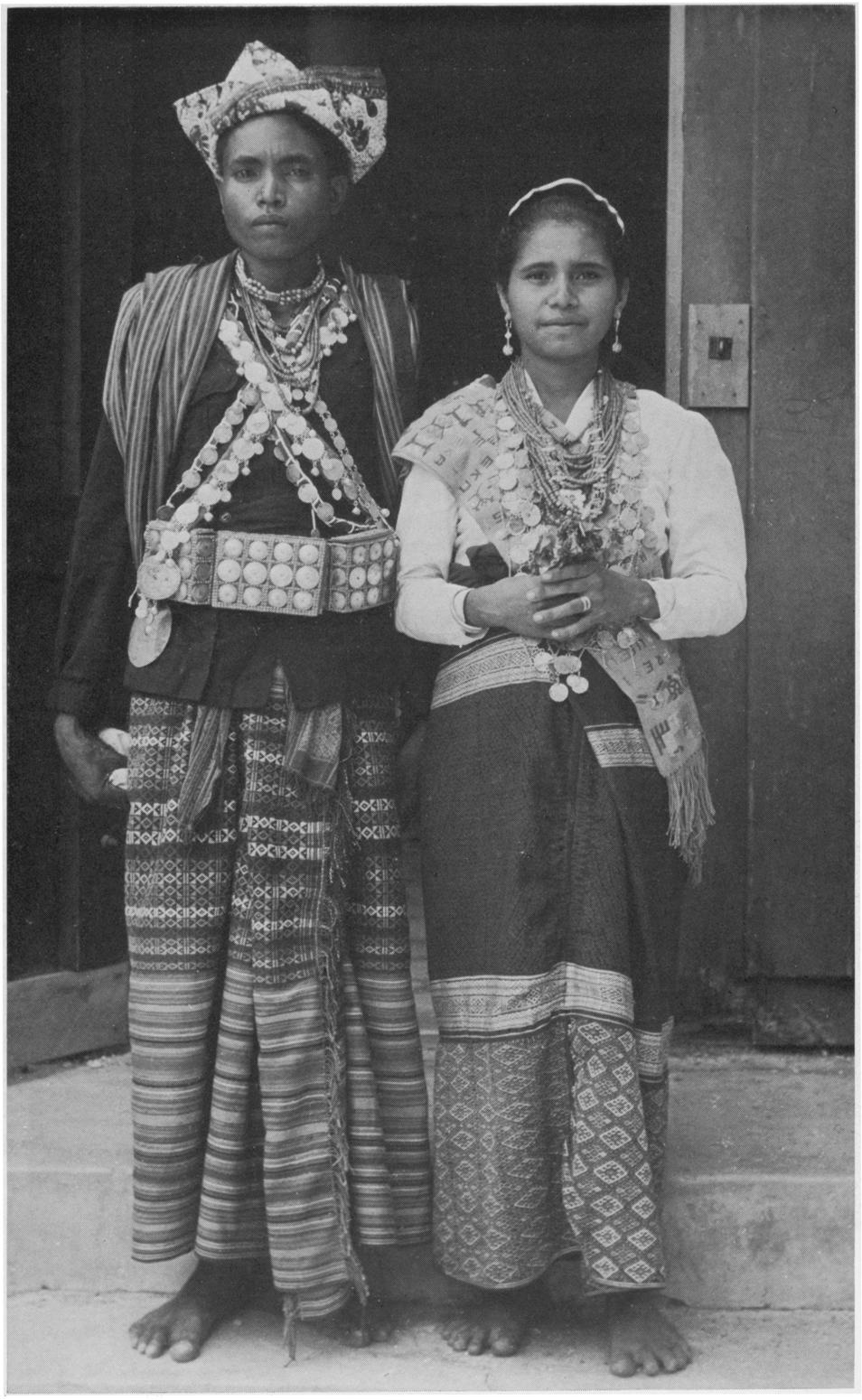
The genealogy must be reliable, judging from the fact that every detail fits in exactly, for Maria Manu Lolomsa'it marries a man who, like herself, belongs to the seventh generation, counting down from their common ancestor, Naju Pa'i.

This genealogy was enumerated in 1930 by Fo Na'u and his brother, En Na'u, when their sister's daughter had eight children. Hence they must have been at least 60, and the genealogy must go right back to before 1800 or even before 1750. The numerous genealogies of royal and chiefly lineages found in old memoranda confirm the picture presented by this one, as well as the data of my own research in Miomafo. We must draw the conclusion, therefore, that the data concerning the Atoni area before the colonial period, which began here in 1910, give insufficient evidence to support the theory of fixed, unilateral, circulating affinal alliances in this area. The ancient principle of quadrupartition which was in fact found by us to operate as a structural principle sheds insufficient light on the matter of affinal relationship. But, as we shall see later, it is important for the political structure.

Van Wouden's conclusions are too speculative, therefore. The supposition that such a system may formerly have been in force, or may at any rate have existed as an ideal pattern which operated as a structural principle, is in actual fact no more than a historical speculation which, moreover, is far from capable of furnishing the key to an understanding of the social reality in Timor. This does not mean to say that his model is not of use as a hypothesis in a wider context, however, although it is not even workable for Timor as a whole.

In the Atoni area of Timor we find neither an exchange of women via a unilateral, circulating system such as that proposed by Van Wouden, nor a direct exchange of women between two groups as Cunningham suggests. There is strong preference for an asymmetrical connubium, however. If it is strictly prohibited for a male ego to marry his father's brother's daughter and if marriage to father's sister's daughter and mother's sister's daughter is undesirable, then only mother's brother's daughter remains. We have seen, however, that although theoretically correct this conclusion is not supported by what happens in practice, because there is nothing to deter ego from marrying a daughter of one of father's or mother's classificatory sisters, there being a greater social distance between them. The same applies to father's classificatory brother's daughter, provided the social distance is sufficiently large, which it may be as a result of her living in a dif-

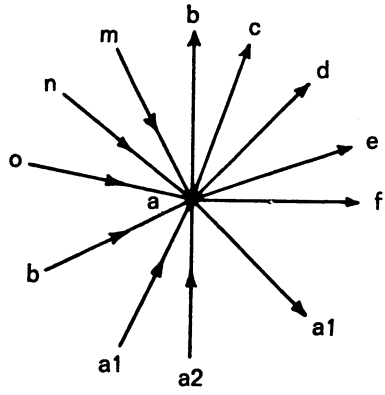
23. An Atoni hamlet. On the left can be seen a *lopo*, which serves both as a storage-hut for rice and corn and as a meeting-place. On the right is a traditional house, which is oval in shape and has a roof coming almost down to the ground. Cf. p. 429, photograph 32.



24. A bridal couple from Insana.

ferent village, for instance. Of course we could surmise that formerly this used to be different. But this would amount to mere historical speculation, there being little or no evidence for it in the present-

DIAGRAM No. 6



day network of affinal relationships at any rate. Although preference is clearly given to marriage with mother's brother's daughter, ego's choice is never restricted to one particular, fixed group, at least not to the extent that we can speak of a closed, circulating connubium. At most we can say that there appears to be a preference for the perpetuation of existing affinal relationships with different groups, so that what we have here is primarily an open, asymmetrical system, using the distinction made by Salisbury.[54] Thus we arrive at the diagram above.

Here *ume* (a) of clan A is the bride-giver of (b), (c), (d), (e), (f) and (a 1), and is therefore *mone* in respect of these *ume*. And (a) receives brides from (m), (n), (o), (b), (a 2) and (a 1), and is therefore their *feto*. *Ume* (a 1) and (a 2) belong to the same clan as (a), that is, clan A, so that marriages between them are endogamous as far as the clan is concerned. *Ume* (a 1) and (b) both receive brides from and give brides to (a), although this will happen in different generations. *Ume* (a) will endeavour to give brides to as varied a number of groups as possible, and to restrict the number of groups that supply it with brides. We find a similar practice in Sumba.[55]

It is important to note that it is not in the first place a number of

[54] Salisbury, 1956, p. 641, cited by Schoorl, 1957, p. 34
[55] Onvlee, personal communication.

triads with which we are dealing here, but always a number of double pairs, as (a) is to (b), (c) and so on as *mone* is to *feto* and to (m), (n) and so on, as *feto* is to *mone*. They are not involved in a combination as, for example, (f)-(a)-(o), and (f) and (o) are not related via (a). The key relationships are those involving (a) with a number of bride-receiving *ume* and with a number of bride-giving *ume*. The relationship in question is therefore always one between two groups. Any affinal relationship that may exist between (f) and (o) does not concern (a). We do not presume to deny the existence of another form of tripartition, namely that involving (a) as an independent *ume* with a number of bride-giving and a number of bride-receiving *ume*. This triad has an important bearing on the Atoni's social life.[56]

The basic, predominating fact is that the Atoni belongs to a corporate lineage which he calls his *ume* (= lit. house). This *ume* is the nucleus of the social structure. He is also a member of a *kanaf* (clan) and from this he derives his name (*kanaf*). But the residental unit in which he lives is the locally defined *ume* which constitutes part of a village (*kuan*). Formerly it probably constituted a separate part of the village as a hamlet (*kuan* or *lopo*). Like a dwelling, the *ume* has its specific location. When the *ume* has outgrown its territory or if there have been quarrels, scission will result and a junior branch will settle elsewhere, usually in the immediate neighbourhood; in the case of war it may settle far from its ancient place of origin. The senior branch usually remains. An *ume,* even a recently established one, always has its fixed location, its *kuan*. Together with a number of other *lopo* or *kuan* it shares a specific, bounded territory, which is in the custodianship of a *tobe*. This gives rise to speculations concerning the possibilty of a traditional division of a territory into four communities, as was mentioned above, and as we shall come across in the political system. However, as far as the kinship system is concerned we must restrict ourselves to taking as our point of departure the primary importance of the *ume* as a corporate unit. Those who marry into this group, this *ume,* are admitted to its *nono,* that is, the circle and the fertility power of the clan to which it belongs. They will henceforth observe the taboos (*nuni*) which are in force in that particular clan, of which they become members, while their children are members by virtue of their birth within it. This does not prevent their transfer, in some cases, to the clan of the married-in parent, as a consequence of which the child(ren) will

[56] Cf. p. 106 above, p. 409 below.

have to move to a different locality. The members of an *ume* furthermore include strangers who have been admitted to it, these usually being slaves or a wanderer or refugee.

When we discover that the *ume,* as part of a clan, may be patrilineal as well as matrilineal, the question as to the line of descent becomes of secondary importance. Both patrilineal and matrilineal forms of descent are found in the Atoni area — both fit in with the system. The customs vary with virtually every different political community, and although the Atoni is quite capable of discerning these differences in *adat* he takes them for what they are: incidental differences which have no effect on the basic structure of his *ume* as a corporate lineage, nor substantially affect that of the clan. Land tenure, inheritance and hereditary succession are internal *ume* affairs. Leadership of the *ume* is vested in an *amaf* (father) also called *mnasi* (elder).

The question which now remains to be answered is whether this kinship system should be termed ambilocal and ambilineal, as Pouwer[57] does in respect of the Mimika. These terms do not quite fit the situation in Timor, however. The term "ambilocality" presupposes a free choice. Any variety of marriage within the range encountered in Timor commences uxorilocally and is supposed eventually to become patrilocal. The question as to whether or not descent may be termed ambilineal is a more difficult one to settle. An *ume* which always adopts one of the children of its daughters, as happens in Insana, and sometimes adopts the entire family of one of its daughters can hardly be said to be unilineal. On the other hand, these children are integrated into the clan of the mother's father, so that the accent remains on agnatic descent. This is also evident in the distinction made in the names for father's father and mother (*na'i* and *be'i*) and mother's father and mother (*am baba* and *ain baba*); the literal meaning of the latter two is: affinal mother and father respectively. The clan of the agnatic lineage is the most important one. The daughter's children born while the marriage is uxorilocal observe the *nuni* (taboos) of their mother's father's clan. Even the man who resides in his wife's *ume* for a long period of time is temporarily admitted to this *ume* in the sense that its *nuni* also apply to him.

We can therefore only describe the marriage organization as being first uxorilocal and then patrilocal and the system of descent as chiefly unilineal, namely patrilineal, although when uxorilocality is repeated

---

[57] Pouwer, 1955.

for several generations descent becomes matrilineal. We have seen this to be the case sometimes in Beboki. It is in this sense that Francillon regards South Belu as purely matrilineal. Of North Belu he writes: "the non unilineal (patrilineal) descent system is in fact matrilineal with the possibility always open for men to purchase the rights of the father by drawing their wives into their own natal houses".[58] I would say the reverse of adjoining Beboki: descent is traced through the father's line, but as the husband's *ume* may always remain in default with regard to payment of the bridewealth, one or perhaps all of the children will belong to the mother's lineage. But perhaps I view the situation too much from the perspective of the patrilineal system prevalent in the western Atoni area, and Francillon too much from that of the purely matrilineal system of South Belu. It occupies a typically intermediate position, but the hypothesis of a double unilineal system fails to explain it entirely. The model underlying diagram 4 is a much simpler one. Depending on whether marriages in Timor are more or less frequently and permanently uxorilocal or patrilocal descent will be more or less matrilineal or patrilineal respectively. The advantage of this model is that it corresponds directly with the social reality in South Belu, which is matrilineal, and the western Atoni area, which is patrilineal, as well as being capable of explaining all intermediate forms in North Belu and the eastern Atoni area.

Thus, by taking as our point of departure the *ume* as a locally defined group of kin, all further grouping will branch out into two different directions: the territorial and the genealogical one. Various *ume* of different clans live in a particular geographically defined area. They share a *tobe* between them. Although the function of the *tobe* is therefore not restricted to a particular genealogical group, it is connected with one of the *ume* which have joint rights to a certain territory, namely the territory of the village. Formerly each *ume* lived apart from the others, and the residential communities thus formed were also called *kuan* (or *lopo,* as in Amanuban). The different *ume* sharing one common territory and one common *tobe* form one group. That is why, when later they began to live closer together, whether of their own accord or under coercion on the part of the colonial administration, this was not felt to be a drastic change in the traditional structure. For this reason little resistance was offered to this measure, and people continued to live in larger villages even when the pressure

[58] Personal communication.

on them to do so eased. A major factor responsible for this was the greater measure of security enjoyed under colonial rule, moreover. During the Japanese occupation, when the population was heavily oppressed, people began to spread to isolated areas again, but nonetheless kept away from the ancient, lofty cliffs which did not offer protection against the Japanese anyway. The tendency was to occupy isolated garden huts so as to be able to suppress a small portion of the harvest, the whole of which was requisitioned by the Japanese. Thus the risk involved in moving it to the villages was avoided.

The growth of settlements around *usif* and *kapitan* was also a logical development and one which is consistent with the traditional structure.[59] A large village like this always has only one *tobe*, however.

Hence the territorial and genealogical principles coincide in the *ume*. A number of *ume* make up a clan (*kanaf*) which is not a territorial unit. In between the *ume* in the sense of a limited lineage and the clan as a whole there are the lineages of varying sizes. When an *ume* outgrows its territory, or if there are quarrels inside it, scission takes place. But the *amaf* of the senior branch will remain the custodian of the *le'u*, the sacred objects of the lineage. The fathers (*amaf* or *amfini*) of the various *ume* are the lineage elders (*mnasi*). Similarly there is a "senior", leading branch and a leading *ume* in each clan. There are, however, no separate words in Timorese for any kind of intermediate genealogical grouping between the *ume* and the clan.

Analogous to this there are a number of elders (*mnasi*) in each village occupied by *ume* of different clans. Together these form a council of elders which wields considerable authority, in spite of the fact that it is not instituted by a higher political authority. The *tobe*, the *amaf* of one of the *ume*, is in charge of the ritual of the agricultural cycle.

The *amaf* who is also *atoni amaf*, that is, the head of the bride-giving group, is in charge of the ritual of the life-cycle of his affines in the bride-receiving *ume*. Apart from that each *amaf* conducts the affairs of his own *ume*. The degree of authority with which he acts is very much dependent on his personality, but in accordance with the traditional institution he definitely has authority. He is expected to settle all matters with authority, though in consultation with the people concerned. For instance, the marriage of a girl of his *ume* is a matter that concerns her parents. It is her father, and, after his death, her brother who is her children's *atoni amaf* in the stricter sense of the word, though actually in a ritual sense it is the *amaf* of the bride's

[59] Cf. p. 186 below.

ume who is *atoni amaf*. The latter will, in consultation with the girl's father, negotiate about the bridewealth. The *amaf* is also responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *ume*. If, for example, one of them has a fine imposed on him by the ruler or his representative the *usif*, the *amaf* is responsible for its payment. And it is he who has to see to it that the orders of the heads (*nakaf*) are carried out. Here we see the village acting as a united whole, however, nowadays under the leadership of the *temukung* as village head. But even in the remoter past a *mnasi*, who was one of the *amaf* of the *ume* inhabiting the village, was the *primus inter pares* to whom the *usif*'s messenger always addressed himself. This brings us to the political structures of larger units. Each village was part of a district at the head of which stood an *amaf naek*, a "great father", of the leading clan of that district. He was a genealogical head (*amaf*) as well as a territorial head (*nakaf*) and as such was also *tobe naek* (major custodian of the land). We shall devote a later chapter to this political structure. Our present concern is solely to demonstrate how inextricably the kinship system is interwoven with the territorial organization.

It was a long time before this fact was recognized. McIver, thinking along the same lines as Maine,[60] wrote as recently as 1947 in his book entitled *The Web of Government*: "Tribal government differs from all other political forms in that the territorial basis is not sharply defined. In its primary sense a tribe is a community organised on the basis of kinship".[61] Of course the social anthropologists themselves were partly at fault in this respect. Some attention was given, it is true, to the geographically defined community, but then only to "the little community" as such, to the "band" or the village, and not to the geographically defined community as a genealogical group. The study of kinship organization developed into a separate specialization, as a result of which in present-day scientific terminology the use of the terms "*corporate* lineage" or "*corporate* clan" is emphatically called for to indicate that the genealogical group is territorially localized. A reversal of this method, that is, by taking the smallest geographical unit as the point of departure for the study of kinship organization, may lead to greater clarity. For this geographical unit is probably of universal importance in the progress of mankind. This is certainly true as regards the groups or "bands" which live as independent units in Bushman society. These bands roam the desolate Kalahari desert

[60] Cf. Maine, 1861, p. 129; 1875, p. 68; 1861, p. 17.
[61] McIver, cited by Schapera, 1956, p. 3.

and live by hunting and gathering food; each of these bands is made up chiefly, though not exclusively, of a genealogical group which claims a sharply defined territory as its own.[62] In these chiefly agnatic groups we sometimes see husbands permanently living with their wives' kinsmen.[63] The agrarian Tallensi, one of the West African Volta peoples, have "houses" (*yir*) which are almost identical with the *ume* of the Atoni, that is, in the sense of "the joint family as a coherent social unit residing in its own dwelling".[64]

Territorially defined groups are found even among the semi-nomadic Somali. Lewis[65] says of these that "in relation to their ecology, the Somali have developed a system of grazing where no firm titles attach to pasturage except those which depend on force". This is not altogether correct, however. A Somali who has experience in such matters by virtue of his function as government official once put it like this to me: "The Somali is so firmly insistent upon his rights to pasture-lands that he will fight for them at the slightest provocation".[66] The result is the same — constant conflict over grazing-lands — but the method of approach is diametrically opposed. I personally favour the latter. Besides, Lewis himself also draws the conclusion that "although primary lineage-groups are not geographical units, people of the same lineage tend to camp side by side where they are temporarily gathered in a region of pasture". And "the same tendency for lineages to provide nuclei of settlement is found also in the villages and towns".[67]

In ancient Israel too the social nucleus was the *bēth-'āb,* i.e. the paternal house. Like the Timorese agnatic *ume* this comprised the family of the father or those of a number of brothers and those of their married sons, as well as their servants. A group of these "agnatic houses" made up a clan (*mispāchāh*) which usually, though not always, constituted a separate settlement. The actual unit was the *bēth-'āb* as a territorial and, chiefly, genealogical unit. The head of a *bēth-'āb* was a *zaqēn* or elder, and the combined elders of the *mispāchāh* were responsible for the welfare of their clan, for its ritual and for blood-revenge.[68]

These are only four examples, drawn from four culturally totally different areas both as regards language and mode of existence.

---

[62] Schapera, 1956, p. 11.
[63] *Op. cit.,* p. 33.
[64] M. Fortes, 1957 (1949), p. 44.
[65] Lewis, 1961, p. 89.
[66] Communication M. Abucar.
[67] Lewis, 1961, p. 90.
[68] Cf. Johua 7: 14. De Vaux, 1961, I, p. 25.

Among the patrilineal Karo Batak in the Indonesian culture province itself we find the lineages of the *marga* (clan), called *rumah* (house), which have lands of their own. These lands are the *terpuk* (sections) or *kesan* (compounds) of a village. Each house has its own name.[69]

Among the matrilineal Minangkabau all those who descend from the same mother and live in one large house (*rumah*) are members of a *parui'* (= womb). If this becomes too large it may ramify into various "branches" (*djurai*), each with a dwelling of its own and thus forming a new "house". Each "house" has its own possessions. Hence it is not the *parui'* or the *djurai* per se that is the nucleus of Minangkabau society, but the *parui'* or *djurai* as it is resident in one *rumah*.[70] Umar Junus,[71] in his study of the genealogical structures of the Minangkabau, takes the locally defined land-owning *peruik* or *parui'* as his point of departure.

In general it can be stated that even in a society in which genealogical ties are of prime significance the social nucleus of that society is to be found where the genealogical organization and that of the territorial units cross-cut. When once we recognize this fact a remark such as that made by Versluys,[72] namely that in Timorese society the genealogical ties still exceed the territorial ties in importance, becomes meaningless. It would be beyond the Atoni's own comprehension, and is quite incorrect structurally speaking. All it does is create more confusion. What Versluys means when he says this is that the function of district head is still hereditary in certain lineages.

And when Cunningham[73] says: "Social life is primarily ordered in terms of agnation and affinity, but territorial ties (from hamlet to princedom) are important, with implications in economic, social and religious life, and in legal matters" he unjustifiably separates from each other the principles of genealogical and territorial organization.

In the past few decades the inseparability of the basic territorial and genealogical unit of an archaic society has been clearly recognized, as the examples listed testify. But in practice it has been insufficiently taken into account.

In conclusion a word about the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity is of prime significance in the Atoni's affinal relationships. Not, how-

---

[69] *Batak-spiegel,* 1910, p. 195; Vergouwen, 1964, p. 34, speaks of village ward and kinship ward for Mandailing.

[70] De Josselin de Jong, P. E., 1951, pp. 10, 55 ff.; Joustra 1923, p. 110.

[71] Umar Junus, 1964, pp. 305 ff.

[72] Versluys, 1949, p. 134.

[73] Cunningham, 1962, p. 13.

ever, in the sense of an indirect exchange of women with the implication that the latter circulate in the one direction and the bridewealth in the other, a balance being achieved in both directions. Nor is there reciprocity in the sense of a system of a direct exchange of women between two groups. Here again we must take as our point of departure the locally defined *ume*. The *ume* contains a number of people, living souls (*smanaf* - the word is also translatable with "vital force"). Now, when a woman capable of reproducing life is married into another *ume* her own *ume* loses not only one *smanaf*, but future lives as well. It therefore exacts life in return: in the first place in the form of bridewealth, which is paid in instalments, each instalment being regarded as compensation for a part of the body of the woman in question. For example, one part of the bridewealth is given in return for her head, another for her hands and feet, and so on. The number of payments and their names vary from case to case, but they are always named after parts of the body. Originally the bridewealth consisted mainly of cattle, while later on silver was introduced, and later still silver in the form of coins. These latter are not actually money in the economic sense of currency but as objects with an intrinsic, fixed value, which may be used as ornaments and thus permanently retain their value in the exchange of life (*smanaf*) (see photographs 10 and 24). In the second place the *ume* exacts bride services. Through his labour the husband produces rice and corn, which are also *smanaf*, for his wife's *ume*. He works the soil, which brings forth life. Hence the husband's *ume* pays for what it will receive, namely *smanaf*, by means of bride services. That the Atoni himself sees it this way is apparent from the fact that the words for the implements which he uses, i.e. a matchet (*benas*) and a weeding-hook (*tofa*), which are often used in parallelism with each other and each of which denotes the kind of work for which it is used, are also used as a metaphor describing a husband's relationship with his wife, in which he also creates life. The tilling of the field and the relationship between husband and wife run parallel with each other.

In areas in which the husband is integrated into the wife's *ume* and remains there permanently there is of course no bridewealth, as in that case the husband's *ume* itself is giving a *smanaf*, which it has returned to it in the form of one or more children.

The method by which the balance between two *ume* is achieved and the principle of reciprocity is expressed may vary a great deal. It may vary from a substantial bridewealth and a short period of bride service, as in Ambenu, to an insignificant bridewealth, or none at all, and a

long period of bride service, or the definite obligation to return a "soul" brought forth by the wife to her *ume*.

When once we have established what the basic structural principle is, the different forms which are distinguished by institution in the different communities become easier for us to understand. Even inside a particular community there may be a considerable degree of flexibility. They are not to be seen as exceptions to the structural principle, as this principle may find expression in different ways. The principle of reciprocity does not furnish the answer to the question as to the backgrounds of an asymmetrical affinal relationship or a direct exchange. In this context that is a question of secondary importance only, although the rule of establishing asymmetrical affinal relationships with a number of *ume* is of primary importance for the social structure as a whole. For as a result of it a large number of *ume* of different *kanaf* are linked together in a lasting alliance. And, moreover, for the Atoni relationship, both agnatic and affinal, is the basis for nearly all social and political relationships, as we shall see when dealing with the political structures.

In accordance with the structural principle of reciprocity per se a direct exchange of women would lie within the range of possibilities, and this would not even be too much in contradiction with the other principle, according to which affinal relationships should be established in as many different directions as possible. Although a direct exchange is sometimes found, it is an exception. For there is a different objection to it — its practice would be in conflict with another structural principle, namely the one operating in the relationship between bride-receiver and bride-giver, i.e., the *feto-mone* relationship. Cunningham [74] gives a very clear account of the nature of this relationship. Each *ume* has its *an mone* (masculine children), that is, the members of the *ume* into which its sons have married or those which have given it one or more of their daughters and whose *amaf* are therefore its *atoni amaf*. These are socially superior, then. Besides these there are the *an feto* or feminine children, that is, all members of the *ume* of its daughters' husbands, which are therefore socially its inferiors. When feasts are given, at the death of one of the members of the *ume*, for example, the *an mone* and *an feto* of the various *ume* with which it has, or in the preceding generation had affinal alliances, are invited. Cunningham says that the *ume* organizing the feast "refers to itself on such occasions as the *uem tuaf* (house master)" (*uem* = *ume*). Now, a host may

[74] *Op. cit.*, pp. 244-249.

never refer to himself as house-master, for, as Cunningham brings out clearly, he plays the part of the subordinate. He is, in fact, inferior in respect of his *mone* affines. But although the *ume* of the deceased is responsible for issuing the invitations, it is the *atoni amaf* who is in charge of the actual feast. Only in respect of its *feto* affines is the *ume* superior, as becomes apparent during the feast itself.

This relationship involves not only a triad, namely *feto-ume-mone*, but also two pairs. The *ume* is *feto* in respect of all bride-giving *ume* and *mone* in respect of all bride-receiving *ume*. Generally speaking only a few groups will be represented on such occasions as the name-giving feast of a child. But at the death of the *amaf* of an *ume* all the *amaf* of the bride-giving *ume* will come, if possible, while the *atoni amaf* of the deceased person is in charge of the ritual. In addition, bride-receiving *ume* and those *ume* of the clan with which social relations are still maintained are invited. Especially the *amaf* who is the lineage head, and possibly the *amaf naek* of the parent clan will also be present on this occasion.

It is evident from the nature of this relationship that a direct exchange of women is almost impossible.

The situation is slightly different in the case of a marriage inside the clan. This is a very common occurrence, although people prefer not to talk of it. It is a sign of poverty, as within the clan bridewealth does not have to be paid, except for the small gifts before and during the wedding ceremony. Bride service is required, on the other hand, and possibly in most cases the return of a child. Marriage inside the clan is possible, as the social nucleus is the *ume*, which is strictly exogamic. Any form of sexual relationship between two members of one *ume* is tantamount to incest. The decisive factor is the structural distance between two *ume* of the same clan. If they have split only in the preceding generation, marriage between members of the two will not be possible. However, if the two lineages have been living apart for many years there is not such strong objection and it is prompted mainly by considerations of social status, as such marriages are looked upon as a sign of poverty. Yet such marriages take place even in lineages of distinguished families. There is an example of it in Taolin's genealogy: the grandfather of the Kahalasi Taolin who became raja in 1915 was married to a girl from his own clan.[75] Marriage inside the clan is never considered ideal, neither from an economic nor from a social or political point of view. For each marriage to a *fe lalan* (woman of the trodden

[75] Steinmetz, 1916. Appendices.

path) guarantees the perpetuation of a social relationship, or, in the case of marriages of heads, a political one. Efforts will invariably be made to increase the number of *ume* with which there are affinal alliances, especially, of course, by marrying daughters into them so as to become *mone* in respect of these *ume*. There is, however, another possibility of establishing alliances between *ume*. Cunningham has pointed this out in an important article of his entitled: *Atoni borrowing of children, an aspect of mediation.*[76] The point in question is that ties are established by lending children to families belonging to a different clan. Apart from lending them to their grandparents, children are most commonly lent to the father's sister's family.

Hence we can infer that the following structural principles which control and shape the kinship system, operate.

1. The indissolubility of the ties of a particular group of kinsmen with a particular territory.
2. The necessity to extend the *ume* as an exogamic, geographically defined genealogical sub-group of a clan and to reinforce its *smanaf* or vital force.
3. The principle of reciprocity by means of which it is endeavoured to maintain the stability of the balance of life. The *ume* always requires the same amount of *smanaf* it has given away to be given in return, no matter by what means.
4. The superiority of the *ume* which gives away the source of life (woman) in respect of the receiving *ume*. This principle requires that affinal relationships be asymmetrical.
5. The superiority of the elder brother in respect of the younger. There is no word for brother in general — the terms used always denote some order of precedence. This way there is never any uncertainty as to who is to be the head of the *ume*, lineage or clan.
6. The tendency to perpetuate existing affinal alliances, thereby increasing the stability of existing groupings.
7. The tendency towards establishing and maintaining affinal relationships with a large number of clans, thereby strengthening the ties between various genealogical groups and resulting in a closely knit social fabric.
8. The preference, at least in the major part of the Atoni area, for agnatic descent and hence patrilocality of marriage. This preference is not general.

[76] Cunningham, 1965.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGION

In this chapter we do not, by all intents and purposes, aim to give anything like a detailed account of the religion of the Atoni, the objective of the present book being to describe the political system. However, we wish to do this in such a way as to place this system against the background of the total culture. A few introductory remarks will therefore also have to be made on the religion. It is impossible for me to do more than that in any case, as the necessary material is far from complete.[1]

In the description of agriculture we saw how closely it is bound up with certain rites. Culture in the primary meaning of the word, namely the tilling of the land, and the religious cult here form the two opposed poles, the magnetic field of which encompasses the entire cycle of the crops and, connected with it, the year-cycle of the Atoni community.

The same applies to the life-cycle. All important phases of human existence are accompanied by *rites de passage*. The rites performed by the *atoni amaf* at marriage and death are by far the most important socially speaking. For they relate to the establishment of contacts between various *ume* and the breaking off of these ties after death. The remaining rites, which the *atoni amaf* performs throughout the life-cycle of the children of his daughter(s) or sister(s), such as at name-giving ceremonies and circumcision, are related rather to the integration of a man into his own community or *ume*. I have not recorded any of the life-cycle rites, partly because my work did not put me in frequent contact with these and because the majority of them can be found in

---

[1] A thorough study of Middelkoop's Timorese texts, especially those relating to the mortuary ritual, as well as of his numerous other publications could bring to light considerably more valuable information. Especially a comparison of these with the numerous texts reproduced by Vroklage in his book about the Belunese (Vroklage, 1953).

Middelkoop's work anyway.[2] On the other hand, in a study of the political system it will be absolutely essential to include an examination of the rites as well as the myths, the latter especially because they always form the basis underlying any existing political relationship.

If we wish to discover the interrelationship between the Atoni's ways of expressing himself in the economic, social and political fields we cannot omit to make a few remarks concerning his religion.

1. GOD AND MAN

a. *The hidden world*

Uis Neno, the Lord of Heaven, is the supreme god. We have gained some insight into the Atoni's conception of Uis Neno from the numerous prayers said during the agricultural ritual. Middelkoop[3] has rendered a magnificent text which mentions Uis Neno in his various manifestations.

1. Uis Neno, Crocodile: water of the moon, water of the sun.
2. He bestows righteousness (*tetus*), gives coolness (*mainikin*), coldness (*oetene*).
3. A shining body (*au mina*), a splendid body (*au leko*), as we say.
4. Uis Neno of the water.
5. Uis Neno the radiant one, the brilliant one (*apinat, aklaäl*), the sun (*manas*).
6. Uis Neno who art a vault (*aöbet*), who dost give shelter (*abenit*), who dost shade (*aneot*),
7. He who brings about change, who alters,
8. Who provides and supports (*afatis, ahaut*),
9. Who burns and scorches,
10. Who raises up (*atetus*) and administers justice (*amnit*),
11. Mayest Thou give us coolness and cold.
12. Star (*afkoen*), morning star (*faif nome*) and full moon (*meuk funu*),
13. Are the younger brothers (*olif*) of Uis Neno.
14. The moon (*funan*) is the wife of Uis Neno,
15. His spouse (*kato*) is the moon.
16. When Uis Neno sleeps (*tupan*) we do not go forth.
17. The divine man (*neon atoni*) we call sun (*manas*).
18. The divine woman (*neon bifel*) we call moon (*funan*).
19. *Le'u* moon, *le'u* sun.
20. Thou art both radiant.
21. Thou art both brilliant.

---

[2] See Middelkoop, 1931, 1933, on marriage, and also (1949, 1948b) on the mortuary ritual.

[3] Middelkoop, 1960, p. 24. This is a text from Kasle'u in Mutis, from 1925.

22. Awe-inspiring, both of you.
23. Thou art both taboo (*nuni*).
24. We pray Thee
25. To provide for us,
26. To support us,
27. That we may walk upright (*tetus*),
28. That we may be just (*nit*),
29. Because Thou dost raise us (*muteut*),
30. Because Thou dost justice unto us (*munik*),
31. Mayest Thou give us coolness and coldness.

In lines 1-4 Uis Neno is the god of the water. He is identified with the crocodile whose abode is in the waters, in rivers and lakes (*nifu*). He is Uis Oe (= Lord of the Water) just as the python is Uis Meto (the Lord of the Dry (land)). Here Uis Neno is the God of the fertility of the earth. He dispenses justice (*tetus*), or right in the sense of upright, hence also righteousness in the relations between men. In this context it intensifies *mainikin, oetene* (coolness and coldness) in the sense of well-being or health, prosperity and shalom.

In these lines he is almost identical with Uis Pah, the Lord of the earth, who is his pendant and the deity that is complementary to him, though its nature is entirely different. Uis Pah is also the name of the altar stone placed in each garden plot.[4] Although he constitutes a multiplicity of forces, he is everywhere the one and only Uis Pah. This multiplicity is probably a consequence of the different ways in which the Atoni encounters him. He meets Uis Pah in numerous spots. Uis Pah is much the same as the earth spirits. These first four lines especially clearly express that the earth is fertile because of Uis Neno.

Uis Neno is the Lord of Heaven, *neno* meaning both "heaven" and "day", while it can also mean "sun", especially when mentioned in parallelism with the moon.[5] *Neon saet* means "sunrise", that is, the east. But the usual word for sun is *manas*. Uis Neno is radiant and fiery as the sun, but is also the vault of heaven stretching its sheltering arch over all mankind. He causes the appearance of the earth's surface to change in the succession of the seasons. He provides for man by giving him corn and rice, though he is also the agent responsible for the dry, arid months of the year, during which everything wilts and

[4] P. 67 above.

[5] Etymologically *neno* is related to the Tetun *loro* (= sun) and the Sumbanese *lodo* which, like *neno,* should sometimes be translated with "day" and sometimes with "sun" (Communication Onvlee).

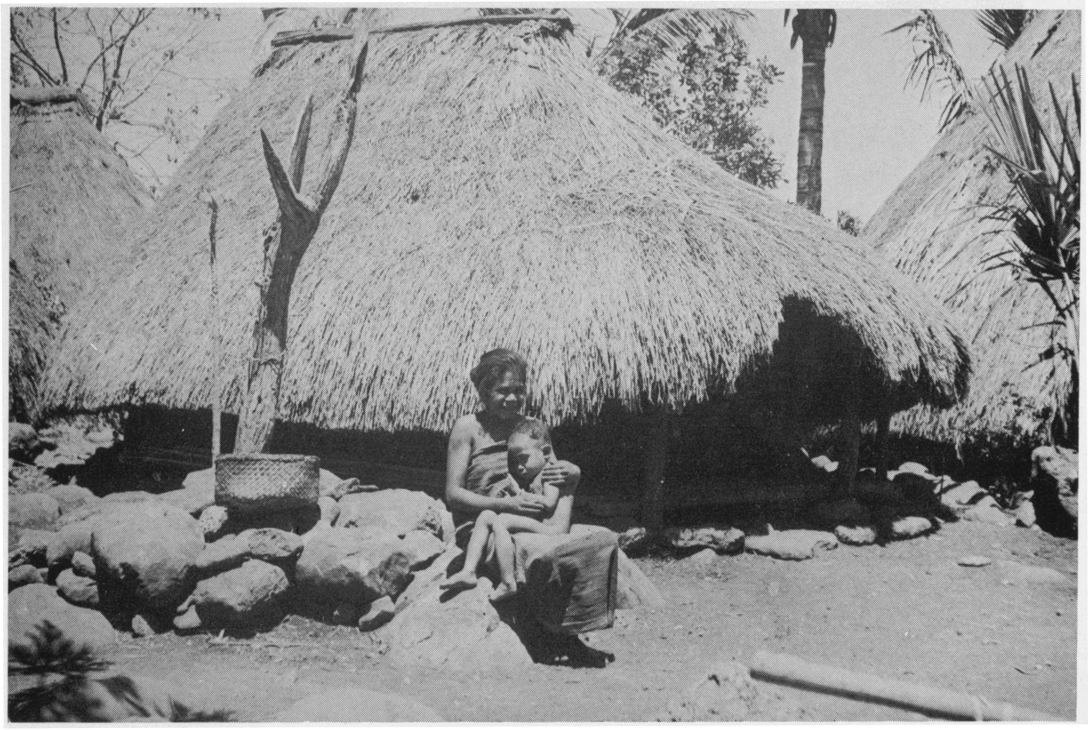
withers. Immediately following this he is said to raise (*tetus*) and administer justice (*nit*), in other words he dispenses justice and sees to it that there is righteousness in the relations between men. *Tetus* and *nit* here belong to the same category as *mainikin* and *oetene*.

Then his relationship to the moon and the stars is described. The latter are his younger brothers, while the moon is referred to as his wife, moreover. In this text Uis Neno emerges almost as a nature god, although the Atoni certainly does not disassociate the mighty manifestation from the supreme power which reveals itself to him through it. My informants, especially those in Miomafo, categorically denied that Uis Neno could be referred to in terms of the categories based on the differentiation between the two sexes. But in Beboki there was some mention of a marriage between Uis Neno and Uis Pah. Everything on earth has sprung from this marriage: man, the dry land (*pah meto*), cattle and other animals, trees and plants. Beboki borders on Belu, where the rain is said to be the sperm of heaven. Hence the idea of a sacred, divine marriage between heaven and earth is clearly present here. In Miomafo, on the other hand, the possibility of characterizing the relationship between heaven and earth in terms of a *feto-mone* relationship was vigorously rejected. Uis Neno is high up in the sky and far away. He is the elevated one, the high one (*afinit, amnanut*) — the supreme being. He is *le'u,* which is perhaps best translated with "holy", "awe-inspiring", "*deus tremendus*". He is *nuni,* taboo, in the sense that he stands aloof and is unapproachable. It is forbidden to approach him.

A distinction is made between two forms of Uis Neno: Uis Neno Mnanu and Uis Neno Pala (the high (here the tall) and the short Lord of Heaven). In most Atoni villages (*kuan*, here in the sense of hamlet as inhabited by one *ume* or lineage) there are two altar poles near the *amaf*'s house (see photograph 26). Every lineage is supposed to have them, but lineages which have broken away from the parent lineage often do not. The altar pole for Uis Neno Mnane is taller than that for Uis Neno Pala. Their alternative names are *hau monef* (the masculine pole) and *hau tes* (the heartwood). Together with the *ni ainaf* or maternal pillar inside the house they form the trinity of the Atoni's sacrificial cult relating to the life of the *ume*. An altar pole may also branch out into three prongs, one of which is longer than the others. The longest one is the Uis Neno Mnanu, the second the Uis Neno Pala, and the third represents the female and male ancestors (*be'i, na'i*). There are supposed to be three sacrificial stones at its foot (see photograph 27). Under-

25. A man taking his wife home to his *ume*.

26. A rooster being offered before the *Uis Neno Mnanu* (= tall Lord of Heaven) and *Uis Neno Pala* (= short Lord of Heaven). This photo was taken in Kiupasan, the ritual centre of Insana. In the background can be seen a large *lopo*.



27. The masculine post on this photo is three-forked, its prongs having the appropriate length, though there are more than three stones at its base. The house has only four *ni manu* (lit. "chicken pillars") in the front part or *siu* of the house. Cf. p. 430.

lying this distinction of Uis Neno into different entities is the Atoni's recognition of the fact that Uis Neno is present nearby and far away. In his invocation during sacrificing the Atoni frequently first addresses Uis Neno Pala as, in his own words, he is nearby. Uis Neno Pala is then asked to transmit the prayer to Uis Neno Mnanu, whose name may be translated as High or Supreme Lord of Heaven. In this light, it is incorrect to classify Uis Neno with the *dei otiosi,* for although he is far away, he is also nearby and is very much part of the Atoni's day to day life.

Man is surroundede by a host of spirits and invisible forces. One might even say that they stand between man and Uis Neno. In his daily activities man has more frequent and intensive contact with these spirits, which he also invokes in his prayers. But Uis Neno occupies a central position. The Atoni expects all good things to come from him, though in the final analysis Uis Neno is also responsible for all evil things, such as famine, failure of the crop, diseases and epidemics, disaster and death. These are usually the immediate consequences of an error in the ritual or the contravention of a taboo, or are thought to be brought about by hostile forces.

So we can infer that Uis Neno is more than a nature god. He is the origin of all things. Yet the Atoni has no clear creation myths or cosmogonies. Uis Neno is higher than heaven and earth, the transcendant being, the Lord of the hidden world, whose most tangible manifestation is the sun. This is why in the Atoni's mind he is especially associated with the vault of heaven and the sun. He is the "shining one" (cf. Sanskrit *div* = to shine,[6] cognate with *deus* and perhaps with *dewa,* which is the Sumbanese and the Ngadha [7] word for God, although in Sumbanese the attribute of "shining" is not associated with *dewa* [8]). What Eliade says with reference to the celestial gods: "*dieux ouraniens: Le ciel révèle directement sa transcendance, sa force et sa sacralité*", and "*La catégorie transcendentale de la "hauteur", du supra-terrestre, de l'infini, se révèle à l'homme tout entier, à son intelligence comme à son âme. Le ciel "symbolise" la transcendance, la force, l'immutabilité par sa simple existence*" [9] is applicable to Uis Neno also. Uis Pah is Uis Neno's pendant. They form a dual divinity, in which Uis Neno's superiority is obvious. That is not to say that Uis Pah has emanated

[6] Cf. Eliade, 1957, p. 70.
[7] Arndt, 1936 and 1937. The Ngadha live in the mountains of West Flores.
[8] Communication Onvlee.
[9] Eliade, 1949, pp. 47, 48.

from Uis Neno. They are two distinct entities, but are inseparable from each other — one cannot exist without the other. All these names for Uis Neno, all these attempts at defining his nature and essence represent the Atoni's efforts to come to terms with the enigma of the hidden world and to fit it into the categories at his disposal.

b. *The Spirits*

The fact that Uis Neno is regarded as the supreme being does not imply that the Atoni's religion is monotheistic, unless Uis Pah (the Lord of the earth) and the earth spirits (*pah nitu*), the spirits haunting springs, rocks and trees, should be regarded as emanations from Uis Neno. Even then it would not be monotheism in the historical sense of the abnegation of polytheism [10] which we find in Israel.

The first four lines of the text quoted above might justify the assumption that the Atoni has only one god. Uis Neno is the origin of all things, including the fertility of the earth. But the tendency towards bipartition which is predominent in all Atoni thinking asserts itself here too. Speculations about the possibility of a development from monotheism, where Uis Neno was originally regarded as the sole deity, are irrelevant. It may be supposed with as much or as little justification that as a result of four centuries of contact with Christianity, no matter how little influence this may have had, Uis Neno has received gradually more emphasis than the other deities. In any case the view is never put forward that Uis Pah, like the heavenly bodies, is an emanation from Uis Neno.

The degree of individuality of the Uis Pah of every garden plot, of the *Pah nitu* (earth spirits), and the *pah tuaf* or *naidjuf* (the lords of a particular territory) is very limited. They are much the same as the more anonymous forces. The term *pah nitu* must be related to *nitu* (deceased person, the spirit of a deceased person). However, the Atoni does not say explicitly that the *pah nitu* are spirits of the deceased.

In general not much good is to be expected of the spirits. They have to be appeased and man has to be careful not to provoke their wrath. In some situations it is feared that they will bring on misfortune. That is why a certain group of spirits is now called *diabo, li-abu* or *djapu* (derivations of the Portuguese word *diabolos,* devil) by the Atoni. There is no Timorese word for these. They are often associated with

---

[10] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, 1965, p. 104.

the owl (*sman*), which, together with the *atois* or *ataois*[11] is called "witch bird" (*kol alaut*). There is strong belief in witches among the Atoni.

c. *The Le'u Concept*

In this context we should also say a few words about the *le'u* concept. *Le'u* means "holy", "sacred", "awe-inspiring". The sacredness denoted by this word is objective, that is, uninfluenced by man. It is a force which can be dangerous on the one hand, or beneficial on the other. High cliffs are called *fatu le'u* (there are numerous examples of mountains which are *le'u*). And in the text quoted above Uis Neno, the sun and the moon are described as *le'u*. Whatever is *le'u* is also *nuni* (taboo). An altar pole is *le'u* and it is therefore taboo to soil it. *Le'u* and *nuni* are two very closely connected concepts. In Tetun there exists only the *luli* concept, the word being etymologically equivalent to *nuni*. In the Tetun language area the *uma luli*, analogous to the *ume le'u* in Timorese, adjoins the ruler's residential quarters.[12] Anything may become *le'u* as a result of some act of consecration. For example, a tree may be designated *le'u* consequent upon a dream. It will then be *nuni* to pick its fruits. Or a *le'u musu* (hostility *le'u*) may be found as a result of a dream.[13] And the leaves and roots of a *le'u musu* should be sought anew each time.[14]

The Atoni distinguishes between the following kinds of *le'u*[15]: *le'u nono* or fertility *le'u*, and its complement, the *le'u musu* (hostility *le'u*)[16]; *le'u fenu*[17] a medicine used during pregnancy and childbirth; *le'u abanat*, another medicine, used for taming buffaloes, and *le'u kinat*, applied in conjunction with the manufacture of dyes for weaving (*kinat*).

2. MAN

There are no creation myths or cosmogonies that we know of in Atoni tradition. Every clan, however, has its own myth of origin, and sometimes these myths mention the creation of man or the origin of

---

[11] Neither the Latin nor the Indonesian word for *atois* is known to me.
[12] In East Sumba we find an *ume lilingu* (communication Onvlee).
[13] P. 125 above, the story of Nai Pa'i finding a stone.
[14] P. 333 below.
[15] Cf. Middelkoop, 1960, p. 21.
[16] P. 408 below.
[17] *Fenu* — *Aleuteritis Moluccana* Willd., Indon. *kemiri*.

the universe. But they contain a great many influences which appear to be biblical.

For example, in the story concerning the origin of Lasa [18] it is said that in primeval times heaven and earth were one, all was dark and all was water. Thereupon Uis Neno decided to cause the earth to descend, the sky to ascend and the oceans to recede.

In primeval times there was a *bubuk* [19] (banyan tree) which grew together with a sandal-tree. Its fruits were like those of the papaw tree. At their foot a snake (dragon) named *koko* [20] had its nest in their shade. Once upon a time a deer came and lay down in the shade at the foot of the banyan so that there was no shade left for the *koko*. Suddenly a reed shot up from the ground and the *koko* lay down at its foot, whereupon the snake suddenly became the lord of the earth (*pah tuaf*). Uis Neno looked down upon him every day. Then *pah tuaf* decided: let us take a spear and kill the deer with it. The deer's fur was as prickly as a cactus. The lord of the earth took the spear and ran the deer through, inserting its hairs into his sides. Thereupon he scared the bees away with his spear and climbed up the tree; breaking branches with leaves off the two trees he put them into a heap to form a layer on which to place the deer. Its flesh he cut into long strips with the aid of a stone knife, taking care not to touch the hairs, which fell onto the layer of leaves and branches. He ate the flesh and impaled the head on a forked branch, where he left it to decay. An animal without legs, hands or eyes fell out of the deer's nostril onto its hide, upon which Uis Neno asked the *pah tuaf,* "What is that?". The reply was, "It appeared of its own accord, O Lord, out of the deer's nostril". Uis Neno said, "I shall return. If it develops into anything I shall come back. I shall be back in five days." Uis Neno returned at the end of five days, when the animal had grown big and fat and round in shape. Uis Neno then ordered that the *pah tuaf* pick up the animal, bear it on his hands, and offer it to Uis Neno. The latter stretched out his hand towards it, whereupon it suddenly had hands and legs and turned into a man. It became a perfect human being. Then Uis Neno blew into its nose and all of a sudden it breathed. Uis Neno ordered: "Shout", and suddenly he shouted with resounding voice. Uis Neno said to the *pah tuaf,* "I wish to call him *Lasa neno nima* (five-day Lasa)". Then Uis Neno ascended to heaven. He looked down upon him every day

[18] This myth was recorded by Locher in 1941.
[19] *Bubuk* — *Ficus glomerata* Roxb.
[20] See p. 191, A5, note 11, below.

for five days, after which he came down again and said, "Does Lasa have a spouse or not?" He repeated it once, and once more — three "voices" (that is, three times). Then Uis Neno removed one of the *pah tuaf*'s ribs, kneaded some earth together and created a woman. He breathed into her nostrils and she breathed. Then he gave her to Lasa neon nima to be his wife. She bore him Nai Kit Nina. Uis Neno informed the *pah tuaf*, "I shall return. If anyone comes, Thou shalt give them a name. Their only food shall be the fruits of the banyan tree. If it dies, the papaw will replace it". It has been so unto the present day.

In this myth Uis Neno clearly emerges as the supreme lord who has the right to give orders to the *pah tuaf*. The meaning of *pah tuaf* is "lord of the earth". When the raja is referred to as the lord of the land the possessive case is used — *paha in tuan*. It is evident from the context that *pah tuaf* here stands for Uis Pah. For he is represented as a snake (*koko*) — in the shape of the python Uis Pah is the lord of the dry (land). Generally a *pah tuaf* is an earth spirit, however. The theme of a primeval earth which is enveloped in darkness may be a result of biblical influence. A theme that is widespread in Timor — it is found also in Fialaran in Belu — is that of the sea covering all the land except for the highest summit in the neighbourhood. This is where the clan's first ancestor lived. An interesting detail is the appearance of a kind of worm from the head of the dead deer and its subsequent development into a human being; it symbolizes the emanation of life from death. The live-giving agricultural crops sprout forth from the quartered body of Sonba'i's sister in a similar way.[21] Similarly, head-hunting is necessary to sustain the life of the community.[22]

The Atoni refers to himself as *au* (I), *au* being the first person personal and possessive pronoun. The form in which the *au* manifests itself is the *auk* (body, in the sense of "the whole man", the sum total of the human functions). The *auk* eats, sleeps, lives and thinks.[23]

The Atoni feels that his *smanaf*, the principle of life, the soul or vital force is seated in his pulse-beat (*kliuka*), in his blood (*na'a*). Blood and the *smanaf* are associated with each other.[24] Man is aware of his *smanaf* wherever he feels his blood pulsing. With reference to the pulse-beat the Atoni speaks of a *smanka ali'* (left soul) and a *smanka ne'u* (right soul), although he does not assert that there are two

---

[21] See p. 271 below.
[22] P. 356 below.
[23] Middelkoop, 1950a, pp. 414, 424.
[24] Cf. Hebr. *nefesj*, Leviticus 17:14; Deuteronomy 12:23.

separate souls. He does distinguish between two souls on the basis of his notions about dreams, on the other hand. Dreams occupy a most important place in the Atoni's life. The two souls thus distinguished are the *sman atoni* and the *sman kolo* (bird soul). The former belongs entirely to his body and is an inseparable part of it. When the *sman atoni* leaves the body the person dies. The *sman kolo* may escape the body during a dream, however, in the shape of a bird. This soul is often carried away by the bird and experiences what is seen in the dream. Yet even this distinction is only rather an arbitrary one. As soon as there is question of the soul being snatched away by a witch (*alaut*) there is no distinction between *sman atoni* and *sman kolo*. The witch "bites" the *smanaf*, carries it off and drives it into the body of a pig or some other animal (any animal except the horse, which is a more recent import). When the animal is killed the person will also die, or he will fall ill and waste away. The victim will therefore make every effort, with the co-operation of a medicine-man, to recover his soul. Spirits may also carry off the *smanaf*. In this context the *smanaf* is always spoken of as a single entity. The Atoni does not understand questions about this, as to him it is out of the question that there should be more than one *smanaf* where a dream is not concerned.

The aged philosopher Sikone Alumut of Beboki volunteered the information that the breath (*snaska* or *snasa*) is the *smanaf*. Others said that they did not know.[25]

When a man dies his *smanaf* leaves him. A small bird, the *poitemu*, first announces his death, and some people believe that it then carries the *smanaf* off with it. The birds which carry off the soul immediately after death are said to be the *feneklios* and later the *nus*.[26]

No-one in Beboki knew where the *smanaf* goes. Some said that it went to Uis Neno, but this is probably attributable to Christian influence. Others said to Kajuna, a marsh on the north coast. People in Insana said that the *sman atoni* abandons the body after death. The body remains behind and the individual is dead. The deceased person is *nitu* and manifests himself as a *nitu* spirit. These *nitu* spirits rise from their graves at night and dance, while their voices may be heard imitating the grunting of pigs and the clucking of hens. They should

---

[25] Cf. *nefesj*, psyche, animus. *Smanaf* is the same word as Indonesian *semangat* = 1. soul, (vital) spirit, consciousness; 2. energy, enthusiasm, mentality.

[26] The scientific names for these birds are not known to me. The *nus* is a kind of parrot; Indon. *nuri*.

always be avoided. The realm of the dead is in Miomafo, in the vicinity of the Mutis mountains.

To recapitulate the above, then, all living persons have an *auk* and a *smanaf*. Upon death man continues his existence as a *nitu*. These are the three aspects of human life. As far as I know this dichotomy and trichotomy are not associated with any other categories of classificatory thinking.

3. MAN'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE HIDDEN WORLD

Little remains to be said explicitly about this relationship. The thought underlying the Atoni's conception in this respect is that man is dependent on Uis Neno and the spirits and forces of the hidden world. It is not "the other world" in the way in which we are familiar with this concept, because this is the world which, combined with his own, forms an inseparable unity; in it live Uis Neno and the spirits and forces which transcend the human world and on which man is dependent. From the awareness of his dependence on these it is evident that the Atoni is a *homo religiosus*. This hidden world is not supernatural in the sense that it acts counter to the normal order of human existence. On the contrary, the order of the Atoni's world has its very roots in this hidden world. That is why a correct performance of the ritual is of such great importance. This hidden world does not altogether conform with European ideas of an invisible world, as the Atoni sometimes sees much of it in his dreams and he sometimes hears voices from this world. Nor is it the hereafter, because to the Atoni it is a very real world, which surrounds him while at the same time it is hidden in the sense that it is mysterious and therefore sacred (*le'u*).

Uis Neno, the spirits and other hidden forces control man's destiny. The Atoni is aware that danger lurks on all sides and that he is always prone to failure. And he knows that that which overpowers him is never a human force, but the forces of the hidden world, even when he meets with an accident or is killed by an enemy. On the other hand he knows that he may also expect justice, prosperity and health — these come to him from Uis Neno in the first place, and from Uis Pah and the spirits in the second — provided he performs the appropriate ritual correctly and observes the rules of the order imposed on him, i.e. the *lais meto* or the ritual of the dry land. If he performs the appropriate ritual correctly and has powerful *le'u* objects for his *le'u musu* to back him, and if the latter is properly compounded by him, he may trust

that the powers on his side will be stronger than those on the side of the enemy. He can never be sure, however. Even a witch may employ evil powers against him. And sooner or later death, the inescapable enemy, will get the better of him, either through the medium of hostile powers or as a result of his own *smanaf* becoming increasingly weaker. Then his *nitu* will go to the "other side".

The boundary between the *diesseits* and the *jenseits* is often tangibly represented by a river in the vicinity of the village in question.[27] The deceased belong to the realm "on the other side of the river". The objective of the mortuary rites is to cause the deceased to "fly to the other side of the river". Once the ancestors, both female and male (*be'i-na'i*) are there they are classed with the forces of the hidden world, the *nitu*; they are now the "spirits of the deceased" who are invoked during the rites performed to ensure a good harvest and in all the rites of man's life-cycle. Is this sufficient justification for supposing that the Atoni deifies his ancestors? Perhaps it is, though not in the sense that they come to belong to some sort of pantheon, as the Atoni is definitely not familiar with this idea.

This brings us to the dichotomy of the hidden world and the familiar, ordinary world which underlies the polar opposition of the sacred and the profane.[28] Parallel with it is the opposition of the *diesseits* and the *jenseits*, though both of these opposites belong to the terrestrial plane, with the dome of heaven arching over them. This is where Uis Neno is "who is a vault, who shelters and shades". Here we have a dichotomy, then, but above the two sides is the dome which unites them both. This is a familiar pattern, and we shall come across it again in the concept of the two halves of a princedom, with above them the raja (*neno anan* = the son of heaven). The comparison is obvious, but the Atoni never makes it, and there is no evidence whatsoever for this in the political structure.

In the discussion of the political system we shall see, however, how important the implications of these fundamental religious notions are for all aspects of life, and especially for the political life, where the raja is the mediator between the living and the dead and between the community of the living and the dead on the one hand and the forces of the hidden world on the other. He is the most important being, the apex of the hierarchical order, which is not only a political one, but

---

[27] Cf. p. 423 below.
[28] P. 425 below.

pervades the whole of the *lais meto*. *Lais meto* is a contracted form of *lasi atoni pah meto* — the words or affairs of the people of the dry land, that is, the words handed down by the ancestors, especially those laid down in the ritual. They are the things man does or ought to do. It is the Timorese definition of the Indonesian *adat* concept.[29] The raja is the principal preserver of this divine order. He is responsible for the ritual performed at the presentation of the harvest gifts, when his great altar (*tola næek*) is used for sacrificing, and for the ritual accompanying war. The latter takes place in the shrine (*ume le'u*) adjoining his palace. Thus he is also the religious centre of his realm.

Note I:

After writing the present book I noticed that I had used the term "sympathetic magic" once, namely in the passage describing how in cases of drought the Atoni of Insana kill a black sacrificial animal, as they then expect dark rain clouds in return. I later on crossed this word out, as we may well ask whether this is perhaps a rationalization on the part of people who no longer understand the symbolism of colours, seeing that the final offering which can be made in such cases of drought consists of a white buffalo.[30] The word "magic" cannot possibly be used in the context of the religion of the Atoni without doing violence to it. Similarly I discovered later that Schärer [31] never speaks of magic either.

Note II:

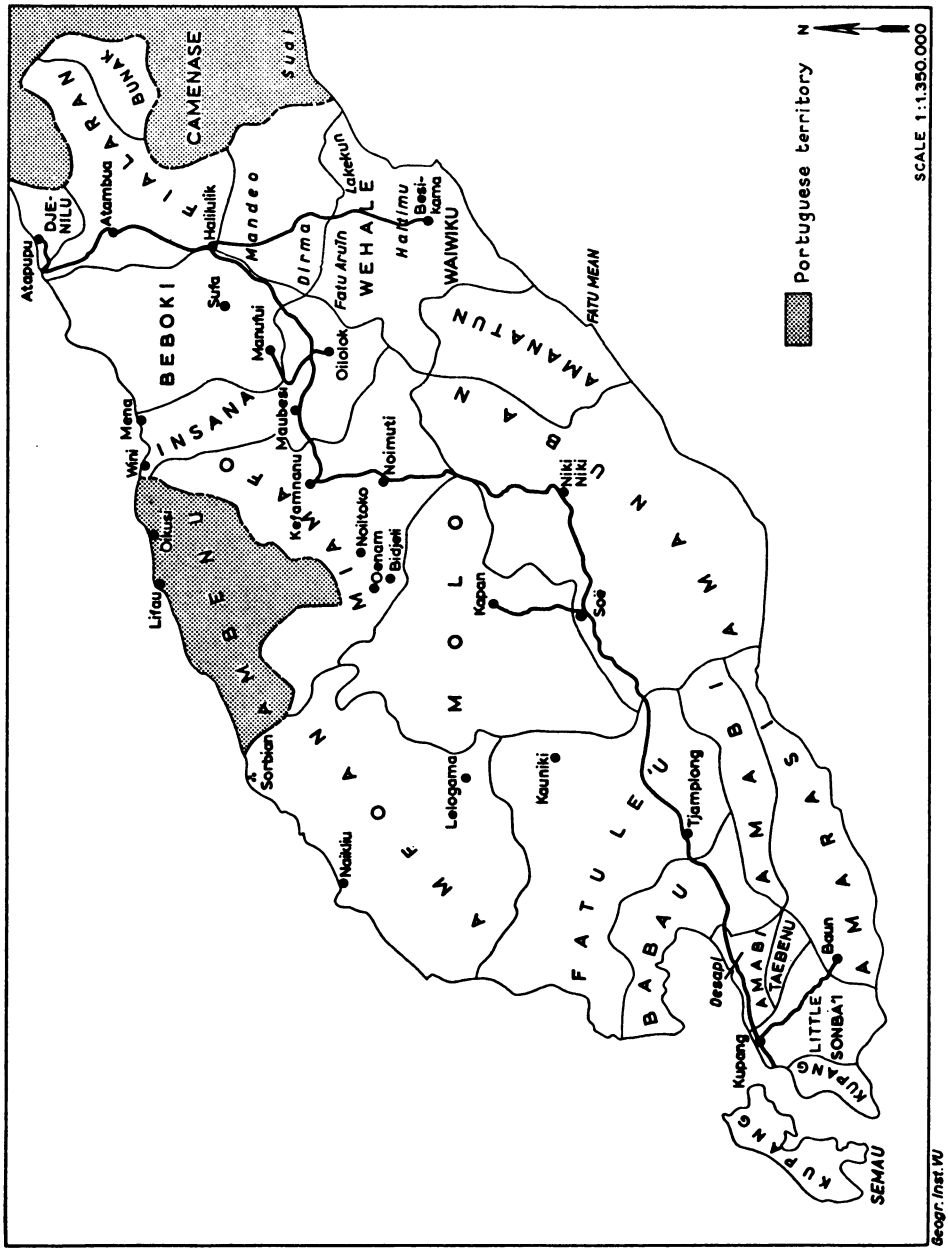
Not until recently, during a restudy in Timor in the second half of 1970, I discovered that in Insana and Miomafo too a sexual relationship exists between heaven and earth with the same central meaning in the world view and religious thought of the Atoni as it has in Belu.

For the Atoni this marriage is visualised in the sacrificial pole, *hau monef*, with three prongs. Uis Neno Mnanu, the longest one, the tall Lord of Heaven, who is far away, represents heaven, and Uis Neno Pala, the second one, the short Lord of Heaven, represents earth. She is close by. They are related to each other as male and female and the rain is the sperm through which Heaven impregnates Earth.

Nevertheless, it is remarkable that both are called Lord of Heaven. Thus the divine, cosmic unity is visualized, to a higher degree than in the duality of *Uis Neno*, the Lord of Heaven, and *Uis Pah*, the Lord of the Earth: an approach also often used, especially in the agricultural ritual.

---

[29] P. 424 below.
[30] See pp. 74 above and 240 below.
[31] Schärer, 1963, cf. p. 64, note 44.



MAP No. 3 *The princedoms of Indonesian Timor*

MAP No. 3 *The Princedoms of Indonesian Timor* Population of Indonesian Timor

	1930 [1]		no of km²	1949	1952 [7]
Princedom of Kupang		41817 [2]	1550	49168	52000
town of Kupang	5636 [3]			10830	
little Sonba'i	10871			8926	
Amabi and Amabi-Oefeto	7800			10767	
Babau	6859			7860	
Taibena	3893			4216	
Funai (Helon)	2550			2395	
Semau (Helon)	4208			4174	
Amarasi		16832	740	17204	18000
Fatule'u		10484	1325	13762	15000
Amfoan		12366	1500	17517	20000
Total for the 4 princedoms		81499	5115	97651	105000
Amanatun		32672	585	43042	45000
Amanuban		59256	2075	81877	87000
Molo		20435	1250	28800	30000
South Central Timor		112363	3910	153719	162000
Miomafo		31649	1085	42519	45000
Insana		13428	635	17062	18000
Beboki		13587	745	17875	19500
North Central Timor		58664	2465	77456	82500
Belu		93142	2265	112134 [6]	113000
Kupang		83513 [4]		97651	105000
S. Central Timor		112674 [4]		153719	162000
N. Central Timor		59291 [4]		77456	82500
Belu		94586 [4]		112134	113000
Indonesian Timor — Total		350064 [5]		440960	462500

[1] Census 1930.

[2] Not including residents who did not fall under ruler's jurisdiction, such as Europeans, Chinese, and other foreign residents from the East.

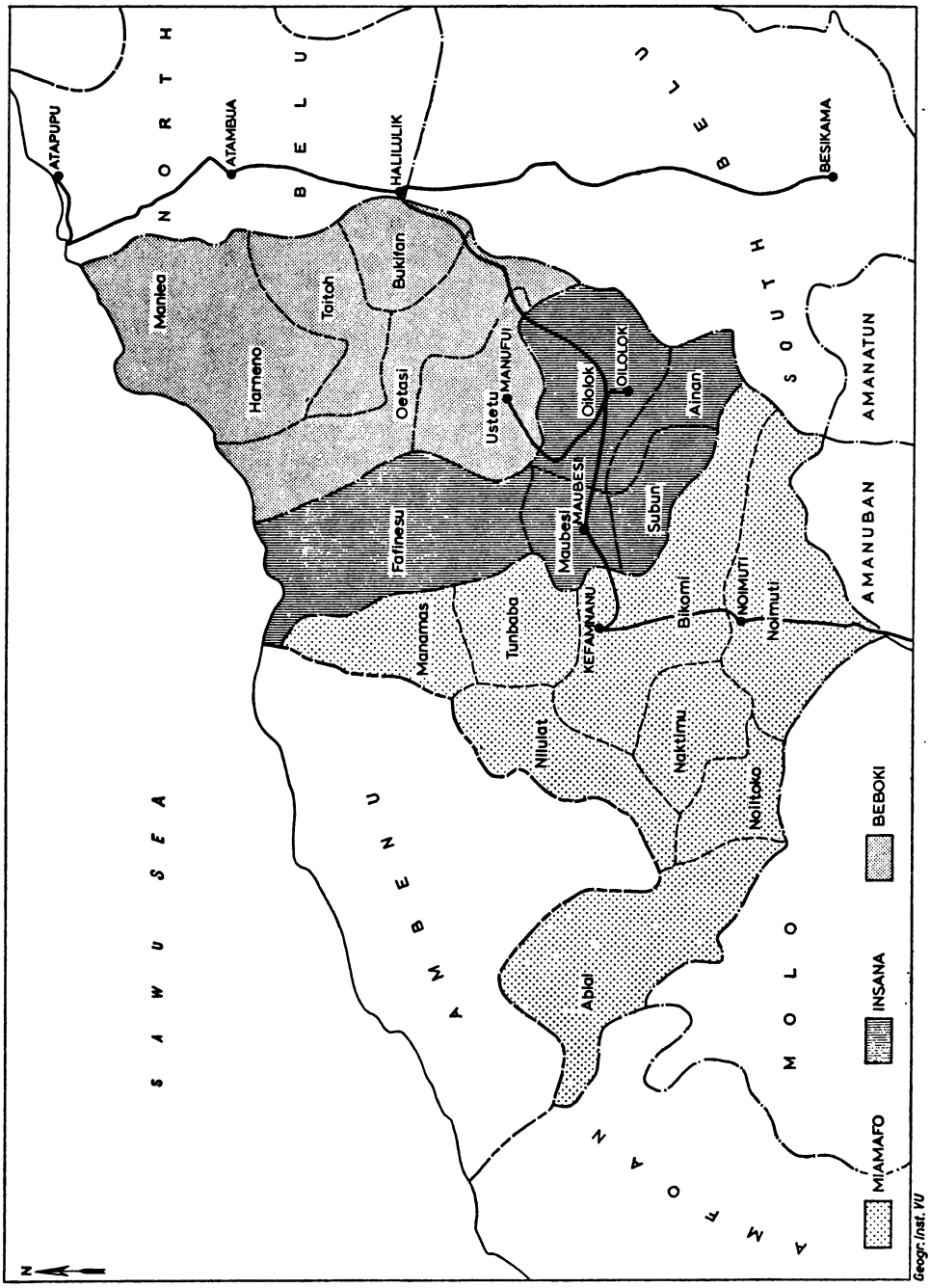
[3] Plus 930 Chin., 342 Eur. and 26 foreign residents of Oriental origin.

[4] Hence none of these figures tally with the corresponding figures above.

[5] Ormeling, 1955, p. 182, gives 345, 519.

[6] Number taken from Ormeling 1955, p. 182.

[7] Taken from *Handbook Republik Indonesia*, Vol.: Propinsi Sunda Ketjil, 1952, p. 221.



MAP No. 4 *The Principedoms of Miamafo, Insana, Beboki*

PART TWO

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this study of the various political communities of Indonesian Timor is to gain an insight into the system of the political organization before the far-reaching changes brought about by the introduction of colonial rule. To do so we shall subject the political communities existing then and still existing at present to a careful analysis.

Even before these changes the political organization was far from static. But only when the Netherlands East Indies Government was actually established in Timor did the nature of the changes become revolutionary, that is, only then did they result in the disintegration of the basic structures. In order to discover what the old structures were we shall turn to North Central Timor. It is essential to ascertain beforehand, however, whether the communities found here have always been independent political communities or whether they once formed part of a larger whole. In our discussion of the agricultural ritual it was shown that the most important culture crops, namely rice and corn, are referred to in the rites as Liurai-Sonba'i, the titles of the ritual rulers of the realms of South Belu and the Atoni area. Does this point to the one-time existence of a more extensive political unit? If so, when and how did this dissolve? Will it be possible to say more about the relationship towards a sacred centre which may once have existed, or the interrelationship between the individual princedoms?

In order to give even an approximate answer to these questions a historical analysis is essential. The oral traditions of the Atoni fail to supply concrete data, and the only reliable method is that of an analysis of the available literature and official records. Much has been

written on the history of Timor and there are still a great many documents which have up to now been drawn on only in part or not at all. But all that has been written and that is contained in official records is focused, as in the chronicles of the crusades, on the *gesta Francorum,* the feats of the Dutch and the Portuguese, and contains only oblique references to the Timorese princedoms. We need only concern ourselves, for our particular purpose, with what has happened to the Atoni and his political communities.

The resulting historical survey, therefore, is history as written on the basis of sources written by outsiders, though concentrated exclusively on the Atoni. It aims to be a sample of the type of historiography with which for the greater part a start has still to be made, namely Indonesian historiography on the basis of colonial sources. It is essential that all such sources be re-read, this time with a different aim in mind. This method is dependent on the close coöperation between Indonesian and Dutch (or Dutch-reading) scholars. Moreover, for 16th century history, as well as for the history of Eastern Indonesia, a knowledge of Portuguese is also essential.

CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL COMMUNITIES OF TIMOR IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

A large part of Timor was at one time covered by the realm which had its centre in Belu, in the Tetun language-area. A story recorded by Jonker in Amabi,[1] in West Timor, begins as follows: "A long, long time ago there was one ruler of this island in Babiko-Babali" (i.e. Waiwiku-Wehale). The ritual ruler of this realm had three subordinate rulers (*liurai*) immediately under him, each of whom exercised the executive power in his own territory. The first *liurai* was the *liurai* of South Belu itself, the second was Sonba'i, and the third was the *liurai* of Suai-Kamanasa, the Belu area in Portuguese Timor. Sonba'i was the "younger brother" of the ruler of South Belu and was himself the ritual ruler of a realm comprising the major part of the Atoni area. Even until well into the 19th century his title was *liurai*,[2] a Tetun word, this being a further indication that South Belu was the political centre.

It is impossible to judge at this juncture what the extent of political unity in the realm of South Belu was. Duarte Barbosa,[3] who was in the service of the Portuguese until 1516 or 1517 and who visited Malacca, writes that beyond Greater and Lesser Java there were a great many islands inhabited by heathens and a few Moors. "Among these there is one which they call Timor, which has its own independent king and tongue". In Malacca, which carried on a brisk trade with Timor in the 14th century, Timor was therefore thought of as one single, unitary realm. But this statement says nothing about the degree of unity. Fei Hsin [4] in his "General Report of my overseas Wanderings" says of Kih-ri Ti-mun (the characters still used with reference to Timor) in 1436: it is situated to the east of Madura and "there are twelve ports or mercantile establishments, each under a chief". Most

[1] Middelkoop, 1952a, p. 202.
[2] Müller, 1857, II, p. 145. He speaks of Liurai Nai Sobe, the emperor of Sonba'i.
[3] *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* II, p. 195.
[4] Groeneveldt, 1880, p. 116.

of these twelve ports must have been situated on the north and south coasts of the realm of South Belu. Clearly there were political subdivisions even at that time. But this conveys nothing as to the relationship between the parts and the whole.

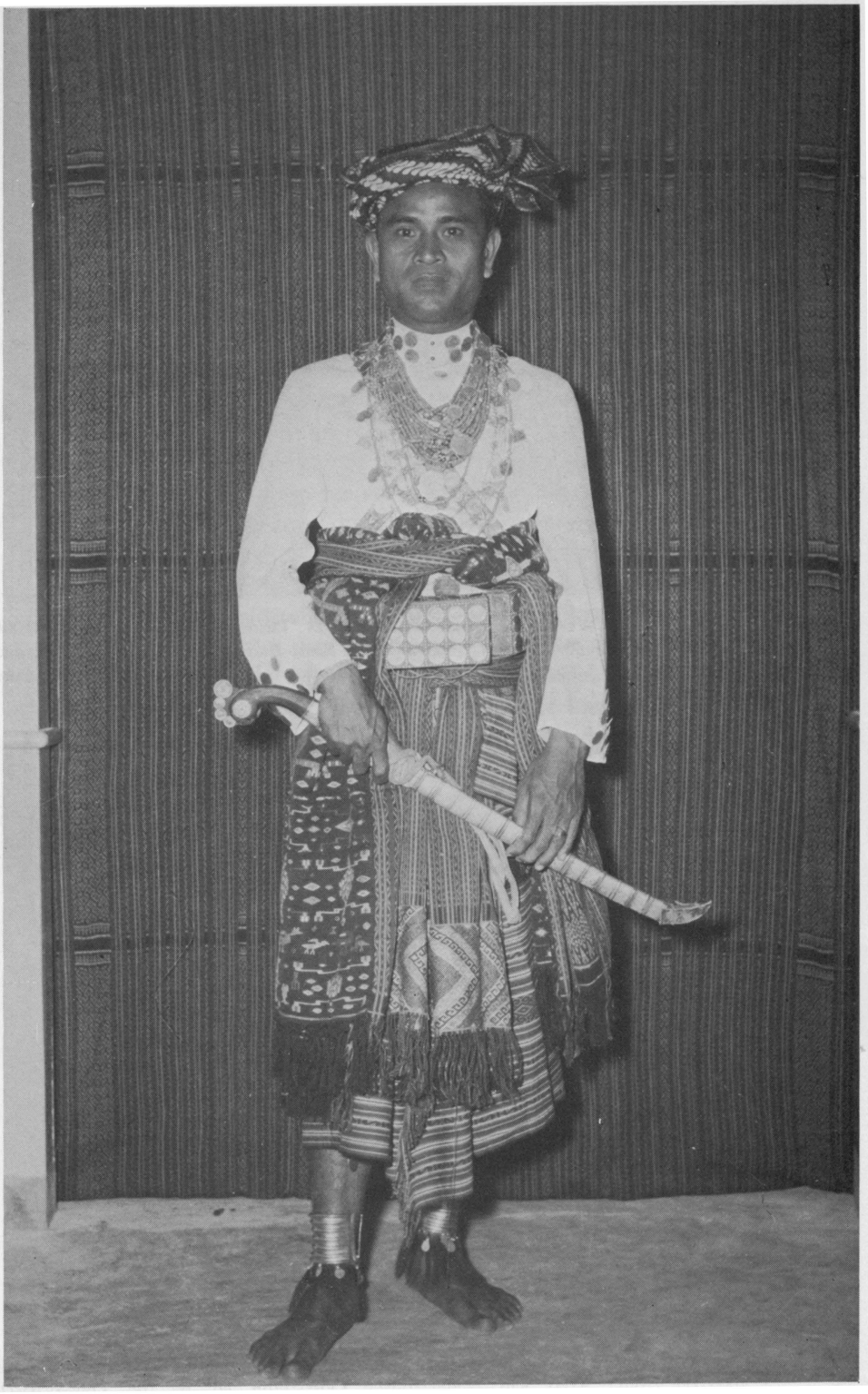
Pigafetta has left a slightly more informative report. He travelled on the *Victoria* — the only ship of Magellan's fleet to later complete the first voyage around the world — and made a landfall on the north coast of Timor, in the vicinity of Batu Gede (now part of Portuguese Timor, close to the border of present-day Indonesian Timor), in 1522. He writes: "On the other side of the island there are four brothers, who are the kings of that island. Where we were there were towns and a number of their chiefs. The names of the communities of these four kings are: Oibich, Lichsana, Suai and Cabanaza; Oibich is the largest".[5] Oibich is Waiwiku, the centre of the executive ruler of the realm of South Belu. Sonba'i is not mentioned — it must have been sufficiently independent at the time not to be classed under South Belu. Or possibly Lichsana referred to Insana,[5a] which had an important port in Mena on the north coast, and perhaps represented the whole of the Atoni area, that is, the realm of Sonba'i, to the people in Batu Gede where Pigafetta must have obtained his information. It is even more likely still that as a result of trade the heads of the ports were able to win an independent position for themselves. Apollonius Scotte, who conquered the Portuguese fort in Solor in 1613, writes about Timor, where he had been trading for sandalwood, that the kings of Mena and Asam on the north coast of Portuguese Timor, were "the two most important and prominent kings of Timor". And in another passage he calls the "Raya Mena" the most important of the "different kings" of Timor. The latter was already playing a distinctive part in Indonesian politics by maintaining relations with Muslims in Adonare in order to provide a counter-balance to the power of the Portuguese. This he could afford to do because the power of the Portuguese had been temporarily weakened as a result of a defeat suffered at the hands of the Dutch.[6] Scotte left a merchant, Jan Gijsbrecht de Vrije, behind in Timor, who

---

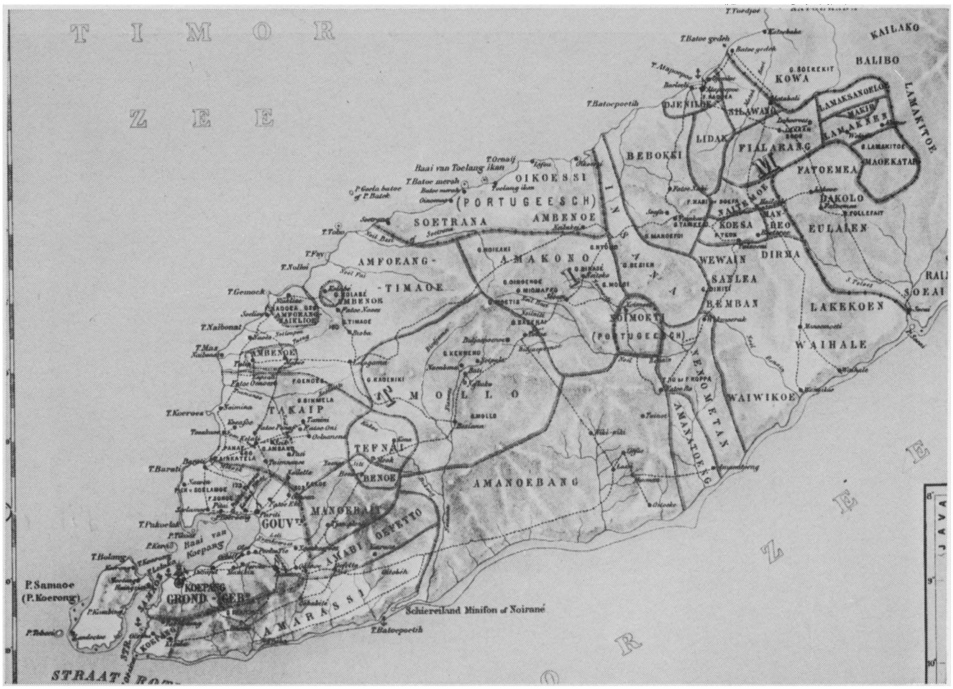
[5] Le Roux, 1929, p. 31.

[5a] It is etymologically more probable that Lichsana refers to Likusaen, though the latter is not located in South Belu either. There is, however, a place called Liquica 30 km. west of Dili, although this lies in the Tukudede (or Tocodé) language area. But according to a well known story in South Belu, Likusaen fled to the north-east. If this story has a historical background this must have taken place after 1522, as Francillon (1967, pp. 67, 69) supposes.

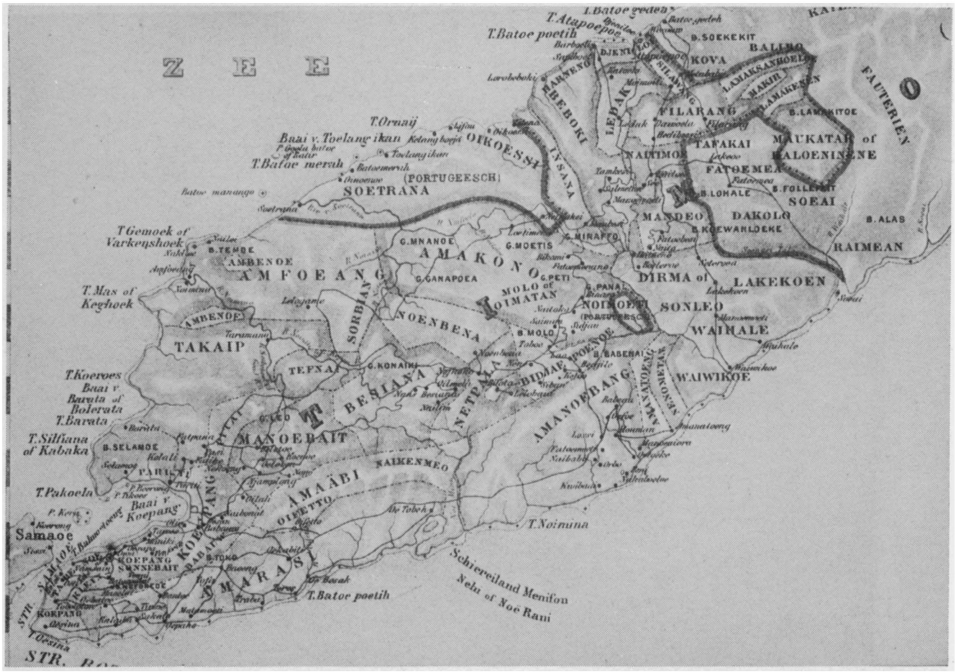
[6] Tiele I, pp. 20, 15, 19.



28. Laurentius Taolin, raja of Insana since 1942.



MAP 5. The princedoms of West Timor. 1883. Part of p. 13: Lesser Sunda Islands 1 : 1000.000 from: Atlas der Nederlandsche Bezittingen in Oost-Indië, by J. W. Stemfoort and J. J. ten Siethoff, The Hague 1883-85. Collection Free University, Amsterdam.



MAP 6. Timor. The princedoms of West Timor. 1898. Part of p. 15: Lesser Sunda Islands 1 : 1000.000 from: Atlas van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, ed. by the Topografisch Bureau, Batavia in 1897-1904 [revised edition of the Atlas by J. W. Stemfoort and J. J. ten Siethoff].

died in "Batu Mian" a year later, in 1614.[7] Batu Mian is the Timorese Fatu Mean, the cape on the south coast of Amanatun whence sandalwood from Amanatun and Anas was exported.

At this time the rulers in control of these ports were acting independently, and they had considerable power over their subjects. Crijn van Raemsburch writes: "The Timorese are a people whom one should treat with the utmost patience. When one arrives there to trade one is required to offer a few gifts, which they call *sirih pinang,* to the kings and their nobles, as is their custom of old. Then one has to negotiate with them as to the amount of *roubbe-roubbes,* i.e. toll, and *lonbebata,* that is, anchorage dues, and other such things, that has to be paid to the king. With regard to this, it is customary for it to be given to him first before any of his subjects are allowed to bring wood. The latter are then given his consent to sell this on the beach. They sell it at ridiculously low prices, so that they are hardly compensated for their toil. All other profits are for the king and his most prominent nobles".[8] According to a Chinese report of 1618, too, the power of the ruler was considerable. Trading was not allowed to commence until he appeared; he then had to be paid taxes each day, though these were not heavy. The Chinese were impressed by the marks of respect shown the ruler: "When they see their king, they sit down on the ground with folded hands".[9] This was still the custom in 1947 in respect of honoured or feared heads. But "the *liurai* of Wehale and Sonba'i were regarded as Emperors; some kings acknowledged them as such, while others paid a small tribute" wrote a governor of Portuguese Timor a hundred years ago.[10]

According to the Count of Sarzedas' instructions Timor was inhabited by Belus and Vaiquenos (the Portuguese name for the Atoni)

"who differ a great deal from each other, making up as it were two provinces and two peoples, the eastern part being inhabited by the Belu, who live in the province dominated by the Belu, and the western part by the Vaiquenos in the province called Serviâo".

There was furthermore the realm of Kupang, situated on the southern tip of the island.

"These two provinces were divided into kingdoms or *reinos.* The province of Belu comprised 46 kingdoms of varying power, but they were all free and independent one of the other". "The province of Serviâo consists of 16 kingdoms,

[7] *Op. cit.,* p. 92.
[8] *Op. cit.,* p. 101.
[9] Groeneveldt, 1880, p. 117.
[10] De Castro, A, 1867, p. 19.

all of which recognize Sonba'i as their supreme ruler. He bears the title of emperor (*imperator*) and is king of the kingdom of Serviâo, whence the province derives its name".

These documents describe the situation which prevailed from 1722 to 1725, and "as it is still found in 1777".[11] That is to say, in fact, they contain a summary of the 46 areas which once lay in the sphere of influence of Dilly, and of the sixteen areas to the west of this which made up the territory of Serviâo. It is clear from this that there was once a certain measure of unity. The princedoms were mutually free and independent, but they all recognized either the ruler of South Belu or Sonba'i as their overlord. This must have been true also of those areas which now claim never to have been subordinate to Sonba'i. We shall endeavour to discover what was the nature of these relationships.

Some evidence that Ambenu, which has beyond a doubt been independent of Sonba'i since 1641, originally had some kind of a link with Sonba'i is found in the myth according to which Liurai-Sonba'i, Ambenu-Amfoan were four brothers who came from the east together.[12] Liurai and Sonba'i are described as the elder, and hence the superior pair. We find a similar mythical allusion to a connection with Sonba'i in Amabi, where Abi and Sonba'i are mentioned as two sons of "Belu Liulai".[13] Yet another indication is given by the name Serviâo, by which Sonba'i's realm is designated. This is not a corruption of the word Sonba'i, as Sonba'i is mentioned (spelt Senobay) in the same documents. Serviâo probably derives from Sorbian, the name of an important sandal-trading port in North-East Amfoan which occurs on a Portuguese map as early as 1613 [14]; Oenam, the ancient centre of the realm of Sonba'i, is within easy reach of it, at approximately 50 km.'s distance. It is not at all unlikely that it was once Sonba'i's own port handling the export trade of the realm. Later on the port of Sorbian became a more or less independent part of Amfoan, in the tradition of which it plays an important part.[15] This makes a close tie between Amfoan and Sonba'i most probable.

What the sixteen princedoms which made up the realm of Sonba'i were cannot be established with any degree of certainty. In the 19th century only Miomafo, Molo and Fatule'u belonged to the realm of

---

[11] *Documentos de Sarzedas,* par. 44 in: De Castro, 1867, pp. 200, 203.
[12] P. 318 below.
[13] Middelkoop, 1952a, p. 203.
[14] *Mapa de Solor e Timor* of 21st Nov., 1613, in: Faria de Morais, 1944, p. 112.
[15] See p. 315 below.

Sonba'i in the strict sense of the word. North of these are Ambenu, the present-day Portuguese enclave, and Amfoan. To the south we have, once more from east to west: Anas, Toianas or Nenometan, now joined to Amanatun, and Amanuban, Amabi and Amarasi. To the east are Insana and Beboki, where Timorese is spoken but which had closer political links with South Belu than with Sonba'i. In total there are, therefore, twelve Timorese-speaking areas. The Documentos Sarzedas mention the following as belonging to Serviâo: Drima (Dirma in Belu), Aynanan (Ainan in Insana), Mena (the port of Insana), Ascambeloe (unknown - probably in Belu), Vaale Amanato (Amanatun), Amanecy (Anas), Vaibico - Waiwiko (the realm of South Belu), Ocany (unknown), Serviâo (North Amfoan), Mossy, which produced gold and copper (unknown), Amaluno, in which Lifao is situated (hence Ambenu or part thereof), Vaigame, Sacunoba, a gold-producing area (both unknown), Amanobau, a gold-producing area (Amanuban), Amarasi and Amassuax (also unknown). These come to sixteen, and at least three of them lie in Belu and therefore cannot have been under the sway of Sonba'i.

Finally we have, in the extreme west of the island, the Helon language-area of Kupang which was probably never connected with the realm of Sonba'i. It is furthermore mentioned separately in the Documentos Sarzedas.

The account in the *Historia de San Domingo* [16] also gives us some idea as to the degree of unity and disunity in ancient Timor. It deals with the "fall of the power of Behale". Sonba'i is not mentioned separately at first. There had been an insurrection against the Portuguese influence. In the same year in which Malacca fell into Dutch hands the Portuguese moved their trade and influence further east. Macassar became the centre of their trade, and in Timor, the wealthy sandalwood island, Wehale tried to maintain itself in the face of the threat of the Portuguese, who had now moved closer. On the other hand, there was a tendency on the part of the different rulers to become as independent as possible of the centre of Wehale and of Sonba'i. This explains why some of the rulers on the coast had had themselves christened, the Queen of Mena first, in 1640.[17] The political implication of this was that they had become the allies of the powerful Portuguese and therefore most probably no longer paid tribute to

[16] In Leitâo, 1948, pp. 207 ff. from *Historia de S. Domingo*. IV, Liv. IV, cap. VII.
[17] Biermann, 1924, p. 39.

Sonba'i and Wehale. The ruler of Wehale reacted by embracing Islam, as the Muslim Macassarese and Buginese were the powerful opponents of the Portuguese. At the beginning of 1640 the Kraeng of Tolo, near Macassar, tried (possibly at the instigation of the Dutch or with their connivance) to cripple the Portuguese in their hold on Timor. The sole outcome of this was that three coastal towns, including Mena, were burnt down and that some sandalwood and numerous people were carried off.[18] As a retaliative measure Captain Major Francisco Fernandes of Solor [19] was sent to Timor together with 90 musketeers and three Dominicans in May of 1642.[20] This was the first time a Portuguese force ever ventured inland — until then there had only been commercial contacts there, from the fort of Solor and from Larentuka. They were aided by the kings of Batimâo, i.e. Timau, and hence the interior of Amfoan, and by Serviâo or Sorbian, the coastal area of Amfoan. From Sorbian they marched against Behale and first came upon Sonba'i, who offered next to no resistance and had himself christened. Then they marched right across Timor to Wehale. In this story the realm of Sonba'i is clearly regarded as part of the realm of Wehale. Wehale was the main objective as it was the centre, both politically and religiously. This is apparent from the following story:

"Laying waste the regions through which he marched with his troops, the captain major held out in the face of pursuit by the enemy up to the place where Behale had his residence; after reducing everything to ashes there he withdrew to Batimâo.

The news of the destruction of the mighty potentate of Belos spread rapidly through the other kingdoms in the neighbourhood; the people of these kingdoms seized this opportunity to indulge in festive manifestations, and the kings of the other realms also asked the priests to instruct them in the teachings of Christianity".[21]

This was the turning-point in the history of Timor. The great kingdom of Liurai-Sonba'i had been destroyed. Irrespective of the question

---

[18] *Daghregister* (Journal) 13th May, 1649, p. 282. Letter from the king of Macassar to the Governor General in Batavia in *Daghregister* 3rd August, 1641, p. 383. There is no mention here of the capture of people. It is referred to in Biermann, 1924, p. 39, who mentions 4000 slaves.

[19] Concerning this Fernandes see Boxer, 1947, p. 4. He was a Solorese who had done much for the Dominican Mission. After the loss of the fort of Solor he himself went to enlist aid in Malacca (Rouffaer, 1923/24, p. 212) and in 1630 he helped the Portuguese recapture the fort.

[20] Felgas, 1956, p. 227, mentions the year 1643, which is improbable, as is the year 1641 in which Biermann, 1924, p. 39, states these three expeditions to have taken place. Leitâo, who suggests 20th May, 1642, is the most reliable; cf. Boxer, 1949, pp. 63-65.

[21] Leitâo, 1948, p. 207.

as to what the structure of this kingdom may have been, it is clear that the centre of its power was crushed. The consequences were overwhelming. A large number of rulers turned Christian, probably because the *le'u musu* or enmity *le'u* of the Portuguese was obviously more powerful than that of the Meromak O'an, the divine son of Wehale.

The hypothesis that the unity of the realm was gradually undermined as a result of Portuguese trade with the coastal rulers appears to be an acceptable one. For as a result of this trade these rulers gained riches and power. At first the power of the Portuguese was limited and there was no danger yet of Portuguese influence on the rulers which would induce them to break off their ties with the realm of Liurai-Sonba'i. They were at that time still able to play the Portuguese off against the Dutch, the Muslim traders of Celebes [22] and the Chinese. As late as 1614 a Dutchman writes about the latter: "the greatest damage is to be feared from the Chinese, as they trade in articles which are unprocurable for us. Besides, they can afford to pay much more than we, as in China manufactured goods are abundant and cheap".[23] Rockhill's [24] statement that there can have been little contact between China and Timor since the 15th century because the sources contain no further data about this, is therefore incorrect. He supposes, mistakenly so, that the Chinese obtained their sandalwood exclusively via the market in Malacca.

The position of the Portuguese was consolidated by the rise of the Topasses, however. These Topasses were Portuguese-speaking people of mixed descent — there were many of them in India and Malacca as well. They called themselves *Gente de Chapeo* [25] and the Dutch

[22] These had incited the great rebellion against the Portuguese in Solor, Adonare and Flores in 1598, as a result of which a portion of the population turned Muslim and has remained so ever since.

[23] Van de Velde, before 1st May, 1614, in: Tiele I, p. 83.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago ..., during the Fourtheenth Century, in Meilink-Roelofsz, 1962, p. 102.

[25] Boxer, 1947, p. 1. Hindustani: *topi* = hat; Dravidian: *tuppasi* = interpreter. Even if the name Topasses derives from *tuppasi* we would suggest that in general the word *topi* soon came to be associated with it. In India, too, they were called Topee Walas, while the name of a Sonba'i in Timor was Sobe Kase (= strange hat). This doubtless refers to a hat which he was given by the Portuguese. As recently as 1939 Portuguese hats based on sixteenth century models were worn by dancers at feasts in Leworakang on Hading Bay in East Flores. (Personal observation) Cf. *Tanah Air Kita,* p. 187, where the ruler of Sikka in East Flores is wearing an old-fashioned Portuguese hat. They were narrow-rimmed hats which were totally different from those of the Rotinese.

often referred to them as the Black Portuguese. The Topass colony made its first appearance in this area after the founding of the fort of Solor in 1562. When the Dutch captured this fort in 1613 they guaranteed its occupants, consisting of "250 able blacks and mestizos and approximately 30 Portuguese, both fit and disabled, together with 7 Dominican monks" a safe retreat. A few days later the Portuguese fleet returned from Timor where it had been trading for sandalwood. The crews of this fleet consisted of "at least 80 whites and 450 mestizos". Scotte knew that this fleet was likely to arrive at any moment and could therefore hardly have done anything but offer the Portuguese a safe retreat. He himself writes, however, that the reason was that "this place had been made out to be much smaller than we actually found it to be".[26]

Boxer[27] writes: "This apparently harmless transfer of a few fugitives was the seed of a growth which in later years prevented the Hollanders from extending their hegemony over the whole of this part of the Archipelago".

But in actual fact this was anything but a "harmless transfer of a few fugitives", as the Dutch well knew. The power of the Portuguese was greater than that of the Dutch. But they were only powerful owing to the aid of the Topasses who were to prevent the Dutch for more than a hundred years from extending their hegemony over Timor.

The Topasses settled in Larantuka in East Flores. Their first leader was the dominican Augustinho de Magdaleno.[28] But is was under the capable leadership of Jan de Hornay, the *Opperhoofd* of the Dutch fort of Solor who defected from the Dutch East India Company in 1629, that they became really powerful. This all but dealt Dutch trade in Timor its death blow. From 1624 to 1636 the journal of the *Kasteel* of Batavia mentions only one yacht returning from Camenase, on the south coast of Belu, with a good load of sandalwood — this, furthermore, was only after De Hornay, still in his capacity as *Opperhoofd* of Solor, had reached an agreement for truce with the Portuguese.[29] The extent of the power of the Topasses becomes apparent when we consider that in 1630 they captured a Dutch yacht and its entire crew in the Bay of Batumean on the coast of

---

[26] Scotte, in: Tiele I, pp. 17, 18.
[27] Boxer, 1947, p. 3.
[28] Biermann, 1924, p. 25.
[29] The yacht *de Hasewint* returned in May 1627, loaded with 410 *pikul* of sandalwood: *Daghregister* 1627, 19th May; the truce was proclaimed on 18th July.

Amanatun. Five of the crew "who took to the shore were massacred". A second yacht, at anchor in the roads of Camenase, narrowly escaped the same fate.[30] And in January 1636 Governor General Brouwer writes to the *Heeren* XVII (Lords Seventeen — the representatives of the different Chambers of the Dutch East India Company) in the mother country:

"Because of their longstanding and frequent trade with Macao the Portuguese are in a much better position than we to please the Timorese and also know much better how to deal with them, as few strangers come here...; the most skilful traders in Timor have withdrawn to Larentuca, so that as a result the abovenamed Portuguese are in a stronger position".[31]

The Topasses were in fact permanent settlers in the Archipelago, who had intermarried with the local population and spoke their language, even though they did not definitely settle for good in Timor until 1642. Then, when the realm of Wehale or the realm of Liurai-Sonba'i met its downfall in that year, the independence of its confederate states was seriously endangered as long as the Topasses retained their dominant position. Their efforts were nevertheless concentrated on maintaining as much of their independence as possible. Hence the political tactics of the Timorese rajas were completely influenced for the next few centuries by the changing balance of power between the foreigners, i.e. the Topasses and the Dutch. Now that their own religious and political centre had proved to be incapable of holding its own against the foreigners they tried even more than before to play the foreign powers off against each other.

The Dutch were given a friendly reception as early as 1613, after their conquest of the fort of Solor. The king of Kupang "offers his land for the construction of a fort and expresses his willingness to have himself christened, together with all his subjects, as he promised the Portuguese on (viz. before) our arrival", writes Scotte.[32] The king of Amanuban also asked for a supplementary contract, and the kings of Mena and Asson pledged that they would sell their sandalwood to the Dutch. And when Solor was once again occupied by the Dutch in 1646 and Dutch ships dropped anchor at Kupang once more two years later the Dutch immediately won the ruler of Kupang over to their side. For the missionary Frei Jacinthe had had a small fort built near Kupang only a year before that "with a stone wall facing the sea and

[30] Letter from Crijn van Raemsburch, 2nd May, 1630, Tiele, II, p. 164.
[31] Tiele-Heeres, 1890, II, p. 286.
[32] Letter from Scotte, in Tiele I, p. 15.

a palisade on the landward side".[33] In Mena there was even open rebellion against the Portuguese, and "27 people, both whites and mestizos, were massacred" on the orders of the queen.[34]

Nonetheless Dutch influence was negligible at this stage. When the Dutch returned to Kupang in 1653 and took over the Portuguese built fort without having to strike a single blow their difficulties really only began.

The king of Kupang was made to pay dearly for his friendly attitude towards the Dutch. The inhabitants of a village which lay at three quarters of a mile's distance from the fort were massacred to the last man, and when the Dutch made a sally from the fort they lost "two blacks and eleven of their own men".[35] The previous year the Dutch *Opperhoofd* of Solor had been killed when fighting in Timor and a few years later Major Jacob Verheijden fell at the hands of Antonio de Hornay, the son of Jan de Hornay and a woman from Solor.

The redoubtable De Vlaming van Oudshoorn dropped anchor off the coast of Timor in June 1656 in order to establish the Company's power in Timor and to avenge the death of Jacob Verheijden. He came with a fleet, "a considerable force",[36] and was accompanied by his historiographer, Livinius Bor, whose book entitled "Amboinese wars heroically fought by Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn, Military Governor of our provinces in the East" appeared seven years later.[37] It is difficult to discover what really happened, as Pieter van Dam and Valentijn both used one of De Vlaming's own reports.[38] He twice undertook an expedition to Amarasi, where Antonio de Hornay and Mateas da Costa had rallied a considerable force. According to Bor [39] they had got within four miles of the enemy when heavy rains, against which this "barren, hummocky mountain range" offered no shelter, forced them to return to their last halting-place. "At which incident the blacks, seeing us retreat, were so overcome by their emotions, imagining that we had been routed by the enemy, that they threw off all their packs and even their arms, and bolted like a pack of white livered poltroons". This leads us to assume that at least there must have been a powerful enemy nearby. He returned to Kupang and set

---

[33] Leitâo 1948, p. 211.
[34] Tiele-Heeres, III, p. 429 note 1.
[35] *Daghregister* 1653, p. 153.
[36] Pieter van Dam, II, 1, p. 256.
[37] Published in Delft, 1663.
[38] Pieter van Dam, II, 1, p. 257, note 1 by the editor, Dr. F. W. Stapel.
[39] Bor, 1663, pp. 350-363.

out again ten days later. The enemy tried to block their passage, whereupon De Vlaming sent ahead "lieutenant captain Keler together with six detachments of ensigns" to reconnoiter and thwart the enemy's designs. This considerable force was ambushed by an enemy who used rifles and was therefore equal to the Dutch as far as arms were concerned. Undoubtedly this was a different situation altogether to that encountered by De Vlaming in the Amboinese uprising. Nor were the Topasses inferior on the point of courage. Keler's vanguard suffered a loss of eight dead and forty-six wounded. The following night was spent in the field, and that same night lieutenant "David de Koning was accidentally shot and killed by one of our own soldiers at midnight". Clearly there was great tension among the soldiers. The next morning they retraced their steps along a narrow path.

"We had to walk in single file if we wished to escape uninjured; this put us at a disadvantage, which the enemy turned to his own advantage, and after sending down a shower of assegais on us assaulted us like lightning, stabbing some of us in the back. This gave rise to a great deal of shouting and commotion, one man trampling another underfoot in his bewilderment. The lieutenant captain, who had been struck down by his own men, almost lost his life but for one of the soldiers kicking over the black who was already sitting astride him, his assegai poised to strike the final blow, so that Keler escaped with his life. The enemy, seeing that some of our men were incapable of properly handling a rifle, were goaded on to unheard audacity, furiously flinging themselves at them with no more fear than if the rifles had been mere hemp-poles, seizing now this man's now that man's rifle from his shoulder or out of his hands, transfixing their bodies with assegais as though they were helpless sheep. Nay, what is more, they carried off by force ensign Gerrit Gerritsen from the midst of his company, with banner and all, and seized the drummer's drum, and there was nothing we could do to stop them. As the bewilderment of our men lessened somewhat, the assaulter was forced to take to his heels".[40]

---

[40] "*Man after man, wilde men onverlet gaen, hadden wij ons te voegen; nadeel, dat den vijand tot sijn voordeel nam, en, na't uitwerpen van menichte Hasagajen, ons schichtich op het lijf viel, ook eenige op den rug stiet. Dit verweckte groot geroep, getier en gewemel, d'een d'ander van verbaesdheid onder de voeten lopende. Den Kapitain Lieutenant, door de sine te neergestoten, had 'er het leven na bij gelaeten, maer een seker Soldaat schoot de swart, die hem reeds op het lijf sat, en sijn Hasagaij ten doodsteek vaerdich had, in den voeten tred, dat Keler het leven bate. De vijand siende d'onse het gebruik van 'er geweer ten besten niet machtich waren, sijn tot die koenheid, en op haer, met geen hoger afschrik, uitgebarsten, dan of de roers maer hennipstokken waren, nemende nu dees dan gene, deselve van het lijff, en uit de handen, hun daer aen, met Hasagaijen als onweerbare lammeren, doorpriemende, ja, dat meer is, sij rukten den vaenvoerder Gerrit Gerritsen, met vaendel en al, uit den troep, ontweldichden ook een trommelslager de trom, dat niet geweerd kon worden. Maer de verbaesdheid, onder d'onse, weinich bedaerd, wierd den bespringer genoodrukt de vlucht te nemen*".

De Vlaming embarked all his troops as soon as he reached Kupang. Of his own men 37 had died and 54 were wounded. According to Haga [41] he suffered a loss of 170 white soldiers. De Vlaming put the blame on his Timorese allies,

"they being excessively timid and faint-hearted and not to be trusted when valiance is called for. Apparently courageous and valiant braves, they run for their lives as soon as they are confronted with a real enemy" ... "The Sonnebai king was a mighty ruler (so they shouted) and capable of rallying a force of 10,000 armed soldiers; yet he did not so much as send one man to find out the news about us. This gave rise to strange thoughts, namely that his excuse that he was besieged by the Portuguese was too feeble: either his enemies there were much stronger than they had been reported to be, or the Sonnebais were white livered cowards, not daring to march against a small handful of the enemy's soldiers to save their own country".

However, this "handful" can have been anything but small, as the heavy defeat suffered by the formidable force — formidable by Timorese standards at that time — of experienced, well armed European soldiers shows. According to a report by the Portuguese merchant Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo to the viceroy of Goa, the Portuguese forces were commanded by Balthasar Gonçalves, whom he describes as an old man of over seventy, a native of Amboina, and married in Solor.[42] Hence it was clearly a Topass army. Moreover, it is scarcely likely that De Vlaming's auxiliary troops should have been more cowardly than those of the Topasses. The true reason was probably that Sonba'i, although an enemy of the Topasses and hence a potential ally of the Company, was in fact "besieged by the Portuguese". For it is fairly certain that the Topasses had marched on Kupang via Amfoan and Fatule'u, i.e. Sonba'i territory. He probably had enough sense, moreover, to wait and see who would prove to be the stronger. For he knew from bitter experience how strong the Topasses were and had seen their strength prove itself even against the powerful Dutch. The supposition that Sonba'i "probably has a secret agreement with the enemy and tried to lure us deeper and deeper inland to trap us thus" is an unlikely one.

In any case, the consequences of this Topass victory were that for the next hundred years they had more power in Timor than the Company. The king and queen of Mena, who had offered the Portuguese resistance, were executed in the same year by Francisco Carneiro,

[41] Haga, 1882, p. 207. He must have taken this information from Valentijn, 1726, III, p. 125.

[42] Boxer, 1967, p. 19.

an act which Vieira condemns, "For after all, they were king and queen, and it is a cause of great scandal to all these other kings, including those of Macassar, when they see that a private individual presses sentence of death on a king and queen. He could have had them killed secretly by poison or in some other way which would not have aroused such resentment nor caused such a scandal".[43] It is not surprising, then, to find the following entry in the Journal at Batavia [44]:

"And as from now on there will be little in the way of trade for us in the areas of Solor and Timor, and the sandal-trade has almost been lost, so that there will be more expenses to incur than profits to gain for the Honourable Company, it has been resolved, in accordance with the written instructions of the Distinguished Lords Seventeen, to abandon the fortresses Henricus and Concordia,[45] these being sufficiently unprofitable, and to transfer the Company's factory gradually to the isle of Rotte". It was planned to build a fort here "big enough to accommodate 60 to 70 men, in order to gain some footing in that area and to keep an eye on the doings of the Portuguese, and to resume the sandalwood trade if a better opportunity presents itself".[46]

The *Opperhoofd* Hendrik ter Horst was given the order a year later to remain in Kupang for another year to supervise the demolition and transfer of the fort from Kupang to Roti.[47]

Though this order was never executed, Timor continued to be the centre of the Topasses' power and the stronghold of the De Hornays and the Da Costas.

In 1659 we even see the "rajas of Sonnebay, Amaby and Coupan" travel to Batavia, together with Ter Horst, where they probably went to ask for aid. They were put off "with a suitable gift" [48] and the raja of Kupang was given a native teacher with a Portuguese name, Manuel Pais, to instruct him in the teachings of Christianity.[49] Furthermore it was decided, with an eye to the sandalwood trade, "to propose peace or truce to the Portuguese for some years" as the Portuguese "of Larentucque" [50] had no fort in Timor and were merchants, on condition that they sell all sandalwood to the Company, either there or in Batavia, "in order to acquire said wood by this means, as the Company is badly

---

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 19, 20.
[44] *Daghregister* 1656-1657, 14th November, 1656, p. 11.
[45] Fort Henricus is located in Solor, and Concordia near Kupang.
[46] *Daghregister* 14th November, 1656, p. 11.
[47] *Op. cit.* 27th February, 1657, p. 104.
[48] *Op. cit.* 11th February, 1659, p. 29.
[49] *Realia,* 21st February, 1659.
[50] Larantuka lies in Flores, but with Timor is meant the entire area, just as formerly, in the time when there was still a fort in Solor, it was customary to speak of "the localities of Solor".

in need of the continuation of the sandalwood trade at any event, and in order to give our allies in Timor greater security against their enemies and ours, namely said Portuguese, by that means".[51] Mere words do not suffice to help an ally, however. When Ter Horst returned to Batavia in November of the same year he reported:

"how the Portuguese had seized control of the whole of Timor and Solor, in spite of the Company's firm footing in Kupang, and all of the Company's confederated allies had taken refuge and had fled in order to escape the Portuguese, the number being approximately 20,000, both big and small and strong, who endured severe hardship and many of whom are dying for want of victuals and from other causes, without the Distinguished Company's being able to help them obtain these".[52]

The truce proposal was rejected of course, the Portuguese appealing to the priority of their claims to the whole of the island. Negotiations were out of the question unless the Company had the fort in Kupang vacated. This it did not do; nor did it give any kind of help to its allies after the bloody and above all costly defeat — considering that it was primarily a trading body — of De Vlaming van Oudshoorn.

If there really were 20,000 refugees, or in any case thousands, in the barren surroundings of Kupang, with in the south a hostile Amarasi, a great many of them must have perished for want of food and water.

Fort Concordia lay in the territory of the prince of Kupang. Not far from it lies Amabi. The majority of the refugees were therefore probably the subjects of the Company's third ally, namely Sonba'i. This meant that the great realm of Sonba'i, which had been overthrown as a result of the Portuguese expeditions of 1642, was still offering the Topasses resistance, but had now been completely defeated and no longer existed as a political power in the year 1659. Moreover, its population had probably decreased considerably, if we accept the figure of 20,000 refugees as being anywhere near the truth, its centre most likely having been virtually depopulated. It is undoubtedly to these refugees that the realm of Little Sonba'i near Kupang owes its existence. The latter has always been one of the Company's traditional allies.

Except for the immediate surroundings of the fort in Kupang the Topasses were in control of the whole of Timor inasmuch as this

---

[51] *Daghregister* 15th February, 1659, p. 31. The resolution to "seize a small fortress in the Bay of Amaby" (i.e. the Bay of Kupang, hence in Timor) (*Realia* 10th February, 1659) can have been no more than an empty promise to the allies, therefore.

[52] *Op. cit.* 8th November, 1659, p. 222.

affected trade. In spite of this the wealthy, powerful Portuguese merchant Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo [53] appointed the reckless, bloodthirsty Portuguese Simâo Luis as *"capitâo-mor de Timor"*. According to Felgas this was the first instance of Portuguese settlement in Timor. The place was Lifau, close to present-day Oekusi.[54] This does not mean to say that the Topasses could not have settled in Timor before this, like the Dominicans, who were there as early as 1618.[55]

After Simâo Luis' death Vieira appointed Antonio de Hornay as captain major [56] instead of another Portuguese. In spite of Vieira's power through his ships, his men and his wealth — his fortune was estimated at 120 thousand florins [57] — he was no longer a match for the unruly Topasses after Simâo Luis' death, notwithstanding the fact that the Topass leaders became involved in a bloody internal feud.

The De Hornays' rivals in Timor were the Da Costas. The first Da Costa on record was Mateas Da Costa,[58] who refused to recognize his opponent, Antonio de Hornay, and was supported in this by the

---

[53] See Boxer, 1947, p. 7. After the fall of Macassar, where he had lived for 25 years, he had to leave this town in 1664 and settle in Goa (*Daghregister,* 1664, p. 240). He went to Larantuka instead (*Daghregister,* 1665, p. 160). After the capture of Macassar the Dutch omitted to occupy Larantuka as well, although they sailed past it on their return journey, when it was not fortified. Two years later, when the Hague Peace Treaty for the East came into force, it was impossible to do so (Boxer, 1947, p. 7). The treaties of 1661 and 1669 put an end once and for all to the conflict between Portugal and the Netherlands (Boxer, 1958, p. 41). Boxer devoted a monograph to this remarkable man in 1967 (Boxer, 1967).

[54] Felgas, 1956, p. 228. Luis fought against De Vlaming van Oudshoorn, however, and must therefore have been in Timor as early as 1656. He died in Lifao in 1663 (Boxer, 1967, p. 39).

[55] Biermann, 1924, p. 38.

[56] Letter by Van Cuylenburg, *Opperhoofd* of Kupang. *Daghregister* 29th August, 1664, p. 347. Boxer, 1967, p. 39, says that Vieira had or claimed to have the title of Captain-General over all the Portuguese establishments east of Malacca with the exception of Macao.

[57] *Daghregister,* 1664, p. 457.

[58] According to Felgas (1956, p. 228) Mateos da Costa was "a native chief of Oikusi". This is not in itself impossible, as the Portuguese frequently endowed chiefs with Portuguese names as well as titles. In 1939 the name of the ruler of Larantuka, for instance, was Don Lorenzo Diaz Vieira de Godinho. It is more unlikely that they should have given a native head a typically Jewish-Portuguese name, however. It is more probable that he was the son of a Portuguese father and a Timorese mother. The Da Costas of Noimuti claim descent from a Portuguese and a princess of Ambenu.

raja of Amanuban, to whose daughter or sister he was married.[59] Antonio de Hornay was married to a daughter of the raja of Ambeno.

Here we have a typically Timorese pattern to which the Timorese rajas have continued to adhere down to the present century. A raja could acquire political prestige in another princedom by marrying off a daughter to another raja. We shall see that such affinal alliances were also the basis for political claims. A raja who has given his daughter in marriage may always be approached for military assistance. This in turn strengthens his political position, as a person who gives assistance is considered to be superior. The recipient will then have to pay him tribute. This is the traditional Timorese pattern, but Da Costa and De Horney ignored it. They married princesses in order to secure aid in their efforts to defeat the Dutch and Sonba'i, but failed to draw the inference from this that they thus became the subordinates of the rajas in question.

A curious example of adaptation to the Timorese kinship structure is found in Anas, which is matrilocal and matrilineal. Here there were two kings in 1750, one of them named Luis Hornay.[60] He was unable to write his own name and had therefore not been educated in Lifao. Hence a De Hornay had married a sister of the king of Anas, and the son born of this marriage became successor to the throne.

This way De Hornay and Da Costa came to occupy an important position in different princedoms, and after Simâo Luis' death in 1663 they had no other rivals than each other for some time. An envoy from the Viceroy of Goa came to Timor with letters of appointment for both De Hornay and Da Costa, with orders to give the appropriate letter to whichever of the two had the most power. De Hornay thus came to be acknowledged by Goa as Captain-General of this quite independent part of the Portuguese kingdom.[61] The *Daghregister* in Batavia [62] reports "that the Timorese Portuguese governor Matheus da Costa had died and been succeeded in his realm by a certain Antony Ornady". Until his death in 1695 De Hornay was "virtually the uncrowned king of Timor", except in the environment of Fort Concordia in Kupang. At the same time he passed himself off as the loyal governor representing

---

[59] *Daghregister* 1665, p. 160. It is small wonder that the people of Amanuban objected to Simâo Luis' lawful successor, as Luis had failed to take any action against a Portuguese who had seduced the wife of the ruler of Amanuban (Boxer, 1967, p. 40), and hence took sides with Da Costa.

[60] *Corpus Diplomaticum* V, p. 508.

[61] Boxer, 1947, p. 8.

[62] *Daghregister* 1673, 24th June, p. 167.

the Portuguese Crown. For example, he once offered the Viceroy of Goa a gift of gold-dust to the value of 23,000 silver xerafims.[63] On his death he left a fortune of 246,082 *pardaos* and 2559 new Spanish *petacas*.[64]

Da Costa's supporters were driven out of Larantuka.[65] One report even stated that De Hornay "had exiled all the nobles of the late Matheus Da Costa from the land of Timor, so that these were expected in Japare any day".[66] There is no further mention of Da Costa's followers actually arriving in Java — it is only reported that there were further disturbances in Larantuka.[67]

After De Hornay's death in 1695 the Viceroy of Goa appointed a Portuguese government administrator for the first time in history. He was driven out in next to no time — within one year of his arrival — during an uprising which was presumably led by Domingos da Costa.[68] Another attempt was made in 1701, when Antonio Coelho Guerreiro, secretary to the Viceroy of Goa, was appointed. It meant promotion for him, in spite of the possibilities of disturbances in the interior, as there was much wealth in Timor. A Dominican writing at the time stated:

> "It is the general opinion in India that the effective conquest of the Zambesi River valley together with the occupation of Timor island would yield sufficient wealth to make His Majesty the most powerful monarch in all Europe, without possession of any other realm or dominion whatsoever".[69]

Guerreiro settled in Lifao in 1702 and this was the first time a Portuguese government official settled in Timor. He had, however, been given an escort of only 50 Portuguese soldiers as a result of the heavy losses sustained by Portugal in Mombasa, East Africa, in 1699,

---

[63] Boxer, 1947, p. 8. Xerafim or xeraphine from Arabic *ashrati* (= golden Moor); for centuries the standard unit of currency of Hindustan; equivalent to approx. 10 to 14 rupees (P. van Dam II, III, vocabulary). The silver xerafim or xeraphine was current in Goa and a large number of Eastern ports. It was worth 300 to 360 *reis*, or slightly less than 1/6d., according to Hobson-Jobson.

[64] Leitâo, 1948, p. 246. A *pardáo* was a coin originally minted in Goa, to the value of 300 *reis* (P. van Dam II, p. 1, Glossary). The word *petaca* is not included in Van Dam's Glossary. According to Hobson-Jobson it is "A term formerly much diffused, for a dollar or piece of eight". From Arabic *abutaka*, "father of the window (or niche)"; this referred to the coat of arms on the reverse side. In the 1930s the *petaca* was still an official unit of currency in Portuguese Timor. At that time they were old Mexican dollars.

[65] *Daghregister* 1673, 20th October, 1664, p. 295.

[66] *Op. cit.* 11th November, 1664, p. 311.

[67] *Op. cit.* 1st December, 1664, p. 337.

[68] Boxer, 1947, p. 9.

[69] Boxer, 1948, p. 183.

when Portugal was forced to renounce its claims to the territory, and of the large number of deaths among its sailors. He was sent another 32 men and material from Macao. His appointment should be interpreted partly as one of a series of manoeuvres in the competition for the sandalwood trade between Macao and the Topasses. This struggle lasted from 1688 to 1703, resulting in the downfall of Macao.[70] Before long Guerreiro clashed with Domingos da Costa. Lifao was besieged, but Guerreiro held out in spite of starvation and an epidemic of the plague.[71] But in 1705 the former "Governor of Liffao" arrived "clandestinely" in Batavia.[72] Hence he was no greater success than his predecessors. An unsettled period followed.

The third Portuguese force in addition to the Topasses and the Government, i.e. the Dominican Mission, also began to exert its influence again. Manoel de S. Antonio, O.P., titular bishop of Malacca from 1701 to 1723, whom Guerreiro called "an angel in human disguise", and who had converted 10,000 people to Christianity in five years' time, was "forgetful of his duties as a Prelate" and "only interested in those of a General or a Politician". The Viceroy of Goa added, "a temptation to which many of the clergy succumb".[73] He expelled the Portuguese Governor of Lifao in 1720. This event had been preceded by an "uprising of the heathen kings of Timor against the Christians and the Portuguese" in 1719.[74] The kings had found a supporter in Francisco de Hornay, probably because his rival, Domingos da Costa, gave his support to the Portuguese, as Boxer surmises. This Da Costa fell out with Bishop Manoel de S. Antonio, who excommunicated him. Hence the bishop was actually on the side of the insurgents, who massacred two Dominicans and burnt down churches. This is plain evidence that the Timorese rajas took advantage of the internal conflict between the Topasses, the Dominicans and the Portuguese. The next Governor, Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, who was in office from 1722 to 1723,[75] was able to maintain his position only with the greatest of difficulty. In 1729 rebellion flared up again with renewed vigour. The alliance between the Topasses and the Timorese rulers was renewed in a concerted effort to drive out the

---

[70] Boxer, 1947, p. 10.
[71] Boxer, 1947, p. 12.
[72] *Realia,* II, p. 259, cf. Boxer, 1947, p. 11.
[73] Boxer, 1947, p. 12.
[74] Biermann, 1924, p. 41. Boxer, 1947, p. 13, mentions this in connection with the 1722 and 1725 uprisings.
[75] Leitâo, 1948, list of governors, appendix.

Portuguese. The Governor was besieged in Manatuto on the north coast of the eastern part of Portuguese Timor, but was able after incredible suffering to finally shake off his besiegers. A new governor arrived and "things reverted to the uneasy status quo ante". The *Opperhoofd* of Kupang wrote at the time that the scales were turning in favour of the white Portuguese again, to the disadvantage of the "Black Topasses". But trade in Lifao was "still at a standstill'..[76] For the period 1731-1748 (or 1749) no governors are mentioned by Leitâo. The de facto power was in the hands of the Topasses, so that now they were able to devote all their attention to their other enemy in Timor, the Dutch. But at the same time they had to re-establish their overlordship over the Timorese rajas. A petition for assistance against the Topasses addressed by the heads of Sorbian to the Dutch East India Company shows that they did not succeed immediately in subduing them. This was in 1747, and in January of 1749 eleven "kings" of Amakono did likewise. When Amanuban and Amfoan offered resistance "then they (the Topasses) had our brother, D(on) Sebastiao, and other kings of Sorabiao (Sorbian) apprehended". Amakono was attacked and defeated next — "2305 armed men besides women and children" fled to Kupang. Don Mieguel Fernando de Consençao, the king of Amanuban, had also come to Kupang for aid, together with six of his heads.[77]

In 1735 [78] and 1745 attacks were launched in the direction of Kupang. The great decisive attack did not take place until 1749, however.[79] On the 18th of October the king of Amabi reported "that his subjects in the highlands and the mountains had spotted armed men". There were at least "2,800 rifles besides those of the Amarassi". Seven years later Paravicini reports in his treaty with the Timorese rajas that the "black Portuguese" had not scrupled to "invade our territories unexpectedly with hostile intentions, with a force of 50,000 men".[80] "The enemy had assembled in Amarasi to the south of the Kupang area. Their leaders were the Lieutenant-General Gaspar da Costa and *Tenente de Provincia* [81] Pasqual da Costa; *Tenente-Coronel* Siko Bras;

[76] MS. Visscher, 12th March, 1731.

[77] De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 209. The fact that eleven kings of Amakono and six chiefs of Amanuban are mentioned implies that Amakono represented the realm of Sonba'i. See p. 134.

[78] MS. Visscher, February/March 1735.

[79] Haga, 1882, b., pp. 390-408. He made use of the report of *Opperhoofd* D. van der Burgh.

[80] *Corpus Diplomaticum* VI, p. 98.

[81] That is, of the Province of Amanuban.

Capitâo-mor da Pouoaçâo Domingo de Faria; *Capitâo-mor do Campo* Simao-Luis; the new emperor of Amacono,[82] Bastiano, together with his generals, colonels and so on; the king of Ambeno, Paulo, with as his equal Januario Fernandes Varello, chief of the men from Larantuka, and in conclusion a number of kings as well as the Belunese and other Timorese princedoms under their sway", including Amanatun and Amanuban. Hence this enormous army was led by the Da Costas. This shows that the de facto power over most parts of Timor was wielded by the Topasses. In some cases, for instance in Amanuban, they had even supplanted the rajas. However, they could not expect much support from these armies. The Company's auxiliary troops, on the other hand, were small in number. The Rotinese and Savunese, in fact, were on the point of fleeing, but were prevented from doing so by the Company's giving them "handsome promises" and sinking their ships with the aid of the guns in the fort. They "forced" the Timorese to "go and spy on the enemy" and "to attack him as the situation dictated". Hence the Dutch were not in a position to place much confidence in their allies either, and had equally little to expect from such allies. After the Topasses' first sally from the terrain in which they had hastily constructed seven or eight stone walls, the Timorese began to take flight. They were driven back by Vaandrig Lip, however. A few villages had been burnt down and three quarters of the Kupanese had taken refuge on the isle of Semau. Nevertheless it was resolved "to launch an attack under the command of Vaandrig Lip, assisted by one sergeant, two corporals and twenty rank and file, 130 Mardekers,[83] 240 Savonese, 60 Solorese, 30 Rotinese and a number of volunteers, both servants of the Company and private citizens" two days later, on Sunday, 9th November. There were also a large number of Timorese. The *Opperhoofd* guarded the fort together with a number of soldiers and private critizens. The battle lasted all day. The Topasses sallied forth once again at 3 p.m., "and our men, making a counter-attack at the same time, forced them after an obstinate, bloody battle with many casualties on their side, to abandon the same and retreat to a second entrenchment. Although our men were forced to surrender the same three times afterwards, when they finally got hold of it for good, the second, third and fourth followed in quick succession. The

[82] The executive authority at Sonba'i's side, who was probably appointed emperor by the Portuguese after Sonba'i's flight to Kupang.

[83] *Mardijkers,* from Indon. *merdeka* (= free). They were descendants of emancipated slaves. See Haga, 1882, a.

enemy's men were driven out and those who could not reach the fifth and last entrenchment fast enough tried to escape, though too late. Whilst our Timorese, who had until then stood immobile, now gathered courage and assaulted them in an almost complete circle and committed such a dreadful massacre among them that the field was instantaneously covered with dead bodies". "The Tenenty and other high-ranking officers defended themselves almost desperately" in the last entrenchment. But when it, too, was stormed "by the Europeans, Mardekers and the brave Savonese" they took to flight. The commander, Gaspar da Costa, was

> "struck down by a Timorese with an assegai and immediately beheaded like all those killed before him. Though it is difficult to estimate their number it is at any rate certain that that very evening our Timorese carried off in triumph approximately a thousand heads and at least as many again in the course of the next two days, while they were still relentlessly pursuing the enemy".

The emperor of Amakono and three kings were also among the dead.[84] The Dutch lost nineteen Timorese — there is no mention of Savunese or Rotinese — one Mardeker and two volunteer civilians from Kupang. They had many wounded. This was what is known as the battle of Penfui.

This lugubrious account gives an excellent illustration of the attitude of the Timorese towards and their manner of conducting war. As a century before, the Timorese were onlookers — the battle between the Dutch and the Topasses was not their battle. Even the people of Amarasi, who had been lined up in front of the Topasses before the battle, came running to the Dutch even before it commenced, shouting "that the Amarasis should be regarded as friends of the Company and the enemy of the Topasses". They retreated to their own kingdom and Lip persuaded his men not to pursue them. He was probably able to do so because Amarasi was not the traditional ally of the Topasses that it was held to be; it was, however, the arch-enemy of Kupang and Amabi. The other Timorese rajas did likewise, trying with the assistance of the foreigners to improve their own position in their internal conflicts at the expense of their rivals. The Da Costas of Noimuti, who were still able to discuss the battle of Penfui in detail in 1947, were able to inform us, for instance, that on their return journey the people of Sonba'i went about collecting a large number of heads in the interior, headhunting not only among the Topasses but especially

---

[84] Haga, 1882, b, p. 219.

among the Timorese allies of the latter, from Ambenu and Amfoan.

Battle on a virtually open battle-field was not characteristic of Timorese war tactics. This battle was of course fought by the Company and the Topasses. The panic and chaotic flight when the tide of battle turned are again typically Timorese, however.

What, then, are the reasons for Lip's victory, having at his disposal only a small force, whereas De Vlaming van Oudshoorn's mission ended up so utter a failure in spite of the fact that his army was by far superior in strength? The fact that Van Oudshoorn was totally unprepared to meet an enemy armed with rifles may account for this in the first place. Another reason was that Van Oudshoorn was not familiar with the terrain, so that he was ambushed on a mountain pass. But the principle reason was that the Company, which had held the fort in Kupang for only three years, did not at that time have any Mardekers, who could equal the Topasses in any situation, in its service. And, moreover, in 1656 the Topasses were assisted by Portuguese soldiers, the cruel, fearless Simâo Luis among them, whereas at the time of the battle of Penfui the Portuguese governor of Lifao was an opponent of the Topasses. When the battle was over he said that "the Tenentes had got their just deserts". Da Costa's rival, Juan de Hornay, did not take part in the fighting either. And, finally, the Dominican missionaries were no longer in as strong a position as they had been, which probably had some influence on the issue as well. Heijmering [85] says, however, that this time, too, white priests recruited soldiers for "Costa d'Hornay".

Haga tries to give Vaandrig Lip the full credit for the victory, contrary to the legends still alive in Kupang in 1947, according to which the sole credit was due to the Mardekers. Although Lip may have been a reckless fighter, he could not possibly have been De Vlaming van Oudshoorn's equal. And with his 23 European soldiers it cannot possibly have been his strength but rather his leadership and courage that were the decisive factor which accounted for his success. There is mention neither of Lip nor of the Mardekers in the Company's annals. Lip's name was suppressed because he had fallen out with the *Opperhoofd* writing the report, while the Mardekers were omitted because they constituted a dangerous element for the Company in the society of Kupang.

The consequences of the battle of Penfui were far-reaching. If the

---

[85] Heymering, 1847, p. 152.

Topasses had won, Timor and the Solor archipelago would probably still be Portuguese today. Boxer says, quite correctly so, that

"Vaandrig Lip's victory on this Bloody Sunday not only saved Kupang from the Black Portuguese, but, in all probability, the Dutch position on Solor and Rotti as well, since Gaspar da Costa's colleague and successor, Joâo de Hornay, lay ready to follow up the expected victory with an attack on those islands".

But the statement that the battle of Penfui was the turning point in the history of Timor, "for from now on the Hollanders rather than the Portuguese exerted the principal influence in the western half of the island",[86] is an exaggeration. The Dutch supremacy lasted for only twelve years. But the Topasses never quite recovered from their defeat, although twenty years later they succeeded in driving the Portuguese out of western Timor. This points to a decline in Portuguese power rather than to an increase in that of the Topasses, however. The Dominican Mission had also declined from 1722 onward, during a period of widespread rebellion.[87] During the first phase immediately after the battle of Penfui a tremendous shift in the balance of power was observable in Timor.

Gaspar de Mascarenha of Amarasi, "who is charged with the executive government of the realm", came to Kupang from Amarasi in order to submit himself. He was dispatched to Batavia together with "two persons equal in rank to the kings of Amanissi-Anas and Amenatte-Amanatan, who, like most Amaconos had taken flight early in the course of the battle", in order to hand over personally the letters of submission of the kings and heads who remained at home.[88] So many followed "that the number of Timorese who had come over to our side since that revolution was estimated at more than 60,000".[89] Don Bernardo, the son of the emperor of Amakono who had lost his life on the battle-field, was brought up in Kupang.

Amarasi and Amakono deserted the Dutch again a few years later, however. Following this a punitive expedition was undertaken to Amarasi in 1752, and with the help of thousands of Rotinese and Savunese Amarasi was annihilated. King Esu stabbed himself to death in the face of all his enemies. Thousands of people were captured and conveyed to Roti and Savu as slaves by way of reward for the allies. The majority of the Amarasis, including the pretender to the throne

[86] Boxer, 1947, p. 15.
[87] Biermann, 1924, p. 41.
[88] Haga, 1882, b, p. 400, cf. *c.o.* V, p. 508.
[89] Haga, 1882, a, p. 219.

Don Alfonsus and his heads, were obliged to settle down two hours to the south of Kupang. Four years later Paravicini allowed every free-born man, woman and child to return.[90]

The Dutch also began to take the offensive after this.

In December of 1753 a fleet with a hundred soldiers left Batavia to bring Adé, Manatuto, on the north coast of Portuguese Timor, and Belu under the Company's sway "once more". Similar expeditions were undertaken to "the southern Districts" (the south coast of Portuguese Timor) in case the people there "were inclined to desert the Portuguese".[91] In 1756 this situation was laid down in a number of treaties by Paravicini, who was sent to Kupang as the Company's Commissioner in order to adjust Timorese affairs to the new order. He concluded a treaty with ten rulers in the Timorese language-area, viz. Sonba'i, Amakono, Amfoan and Sorbian, Amanesi and Nenometan, Amanatun, Amanuban, Amarasi and Amabi.[92] Neither Molo or Fatule'u nor Insana (or Mena) or Beboki are mentioned separately. The whole of the north coast, except for Amfoan, in fact continued to be under the hegemony of the Topasses. The Portuguese names of most of the rajas of these principalities show that they had all belonged to the sphere of influence of the Topasses.

The Company further extended its sway during the term of office of *Opperhoofd* Von Pluskow from 1758 to 1761. He was the first and the last Company employee to travel inland in the same manner as the Topasses and the Dominicans had done more than a century before him. Then the realm of Wehale had been overthrown, this time the Topasses were attacked in the heart of their empire, Noemuti. He enslaved more than 400 men and confiscated 14 cannon. As a result of this victory the kings of Ambenu, Viegornij,[93] Insana, Tonnebawa (Tunbaba),[94] Taito[95] and Dirma in Belu, as well as such heads of the emperor of Amakono as were still under Topass domination signed a treaty with the Company.[96] A detachment consisting of a Balinese ensign and twelve privates was stationed in Lixan in the interior. The Hollanders now ruled the major part of Timor, though less intensively so than the Topasses had done a hundred years before them. Military

---

[90] Heymering, 1847, pp. 162 ff.
[91] De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 201.
[92] *Corpus Diplomaticum* VI, pp. 87-107.
[93] Unknown.
[94] Now part of Miomafo, see p. 287 below.
[95] Now part of Beboki, see p. 250 below.
[96] This is the present-day Bikomi, see p. 291 below.

detachments were also stationed in present-day Portuguese Timor, both in Ade on the south coast and in Manatuto[97] on the north coast, to the east of Dilly, the Company's long-standing ally who had undertaken a fruitless journey to Batavia in quest of assistance in 1677.[98]

In 1761, however, Von Pluskow was assassinated in Lifau, where he had gone to conclude a triple alliance treaty between the Portuguese governor (who had recently taken refuge in Kupang), the Topasses and the Company.[99] Francisco de Hornay and Antonio da Costa were behind this,[100] thinking that they might re-establish their power by this expediency. They were partly successful in this scheme, the Dutch being supplanted from then on. Their policy for the next 150 years (until 1905) was to become involved in Timorese political affairs as little as possible, especially in the 19th century. The Portuguese governor also had to seek refuge in Dilly later on, arriving there in 1769.[101] From then on Dilly became the seat of Portuguese authority, the Portuguese never having gained a footing in West Timor.

So the Topasses reigned supreme again, but their power had been effectively crippled. Hence the Timorese princedoms, including the realm of Sonba'i, were able to recover themselves. Sonba'i had hitherto been an ally of the Company's. Now that the Topasses need be feared no more Sonba'i began to offer the Company opposition and as a result the executive ruler of the realm, Emanuel Subak, was exiled to the Cape in 1771 [102] on a charge of having given orders to massacre a party of Mardekers prospecting for gold in Molo. (The *fetor* of Molo had killed them all but one, and this marked the end of all gold prospecting enterprises.[103]) In 1785 the raja of Sonba'i died, leaving as his successor Alfons Adrianus who was still a minor. He was brought up as the foster-child of the *Opperhoofd* of the Company, W. A. van Este. Sonba'i's executive ruler, himself a Sonba'i, tried to persuade Van Este to murder the boy, but the latter overheard the conversation between them and fled to the interior, to Paineno-Oenam, Sonba'i's ancient

---

[97] De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 205.
[98] *Daghregister* 13th October, 1677, p. 353.
[99] Heymering, 1847, p. 173. De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 206.
[100] Boxer, 1947, p. 16.
[101] De Castro, 1867, p. 87. Veth, 1855, 1, p. 704, note 1, did not know when the Portuguese transferred their administration to Dilly. He writes: "Probably shortly before 1787". Even so, Veth was writing about Timor in connection with its relationship to Portugal.
[102] De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 212. Annual Report *Opperhoofd,* 13th September, 1771.
[103] Müller, 1857, II, p. 138.

residency in Molo.[104] The fact that since then Sonba'i's policy has been violently anti-Dutch is not surprising. One Sonba'i continued to reside not far from Kupang, however, as the head of a community established there in 1659, so that thenceforth there was a distinction between Greater Sonba'i and Little Sonba'i. Before that, the Sonba'i near Kupang should be regarded as a king in exile because his princedom was ruled by the Topasses. The contact with the raja was never broken — his subjects continuing to bring him tribute [105] and inform him of any wars that broke out. Kono, for example, sent him a message when he was forced by the Topasses to take action against Kupang.[106] The Topasses had acknowledged Kono, who had of old been invested with the executive power in the realm of Sonba'i, as emperor.

When Müller travelled in the interior in 1829 he encountered two of the sons of the abovenamed Alfons Adrianus. The elder, Sobe Sonba'i, was living in Kauniki in Fatule'u, and the other, Tua Sonba'i, in "the princedom of Amakono".[107] Fatule'u must have emerged as a political community under the leadership of a Sonba'i at this time.[108] Sobe Sonba'i refused to have anything to do with the Dutch. Müller did not succeed in seeing either him or the Sonba'i in Oenam. The fact that Sonba'i had sixty wives in 1844, according to Heijmering, shows that his power had recovered considerably. He was married "to a daughter of each of his vice-regents".[109] But this revived realm of Sonba'i never rose to power beyond what is now known as Fatule'u, Molo and Miomafo, and even here Sonba'i's power was limited.[110] When the Dutch occupied the cliff with Sonba'i's palace on it in Kauniki in Fatule'u in 1905, Sonba'i's power had disintegrated,[111] while there was no Sonba'i left in Molo either when the colonial government was established there. Oematan was referred to as the emperor.[112]

Ambenu and Noimuti remained under the sway of the Topasses, although they did not have much power in Ambenu.[113] When the

[104] Veth, 1855, I, p. 708. D.B. 1852, p. 219, reports that Van Este negotiated with the executive prince to have him "done away with".
[105] MS. Visscher, 9th March, 1731.
[106] MS. Visscher, 3rd February, 1735.
[107] Müller, 1857, I, p. 147. He lived in Oenam.
[108] P. 278 below.
[109] Heymering, 1844, p. 295, note 1.
[110] Heymering, 1847, p. 225, even says that Amakono (Miomafo) was no longer paying tribute.
[111] Weyerman, 1939, p. 88, Memorandum De Rooy, 1908.
[112] Report 1912.
[113] In 1816 the ruler of Ambenu even concluded a treaty with the Resident of Kupang, Hazaart. Heymering, 1847, p. 219.

Netherlands East Indies Government was established in Timor between 1905 and 1915 the configuration of the remaining political communities was found to resemble closely that of Paravicini's and Von Pluskow's time. However, a certain degree of influence had been exerted by the Kupang area and this had affected the political structure of the areas in West Timor. This was especially true of Kupang itself, and of Amarasi, Amabi and Amfoan, which, like Amanuban was prone to fierce internal struggles and civil wars. Even in the nuclei of Sonba'i, namely Molo and Miomafo, marked changes had taken place because Sonba'i had tried to re-assert his former authority. The areas which lend themselves best for our present study, therefore, are Amanatun (where the colonial government was established as early as 1906, however) and North Central Timor (where it was not established until 1915).

The fact that this study was focused particularly on North Central Timor therefore turned out to be a fortunate coincidence. Here Miomafo, Beboki and Insana are located. Miomafo used to be part of the realm of Sonba'i and itself consists of a number of different parts. Beboki, too, is only relatively speaking an integrated unit and its structure is complex. It, moreover, appears to have so much in common with North Belu that it cannot be regarded as being particularly representative of the Atoni culture.

The princedom of Insana, in conclusion, still comprises the same unit which existed before 1915, and in 1940 there were many elders (*mnasi*) and heads who could still remember the former situation from personal experience. The present investigation into the traditional structure has been based on the ritual accompanying the presentation of harvest gifts to the raja and to "the Lords of the Realm". In the few weeks Cunningham spent in Insana in 1960 he checked the results of the present investigation, and not only arrived at virtually the same results but also put forward some important views on the structures of this community.

If for these reasons, well founded as they are, we are going to take Insana as the point of departure for a discussion of the political organization of the Atoni, we must take care to remember that Insana borders on the realm of Wehale-Waiwiku in South Belu and has much in common with it. It is not absolutely certain, therefore, that Insana can serve as model for the whole of the Atoni area.

CHAPTER VI

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF INSANA

1. THE VILLAGE

The horizons of the world in which the Atoni live and within which formerly nearly all social relations were confined, excepting some trade relations via the coast or via itinerant Chinese traders, were restricted to the princedom. The only relations with the external world were those which resulted from marriages which princes might sometimes make with princesses of royal lineages of other princedoms. Wars might also induce people to cross the borders of another princedom, namely as attackers in a headhunting raid or as refugees seeking admission to another political community. The setting for the Atoni's day to day life, however, was the village (*kuan*), consisting of a number of hamlets, also called *kuan*.

As we have seen, hamlets (*kuan* or *lopo*) of four different clans were formerly probably territorially affiliated. Each hamlet was inhabited by one *ume* or lineage of a clan. They shared a particular area of land which was under the custodianship of a *tobe*.

In spite of the development of larger villages, as a result of various lineages settling in the same area either of their own accord or under coercion, and *ume* of other clans also settling in the territory under the jurisdiction of a particular *tobe*, the latter's position remained unaltered. There have probably always been cases of *ume* of more than four clans residing in and working the land of the territory of one *tobe*. Quadrupartition is the normative structural principle which gives shape to the social reality, although this reality never conforms with it completely.

In the present-day village there is hardly any trace of it to be seen at first glance because the number of lineages of different clans inhabiting it is usually more than four. But in this case every villager is invariably able to mention the lineage of the most prominent clan. However, in political centres surrounding the ruler or an *usif* and in

areas where countless migrations have taken place the traditional village structure is extremely difficult to discern.

Cunningham [1] gives a very good description of a present-day village in *Soba: A Village in Amarasi (Timor)*.[2] The ancient principle of quadrupartition is not (or no longer) discernible in this village, which lies close to the principal town of Kupang. However, in another community in Insana [3] which lies 230 km. further inland it is still quite obvious. The community I have in mind is spread over two villages, Sipi and Sekon, situated along the border of the district of Ainan, of which they are part, and separated from each other by a distance of ten kilometres. Sipi is due south-east, has a population of 197, and is the more conservative of the two. Sekon lies north-west of Sipi, has a total of 363 inhabitants, and is more open to change. There are no other villages between these two and their inhabitants say that they have belonged together of old. They are inhabited by four lineages, with a fifth one holding a superordinate position.

The latter is called Nai Bobe. This lineage derives its name from the function of its chief, viz. 'lord of the community' (*nai* meaning 'lord', 'representative of the *usif*'). He is the *amaf* (father) of the other four lineages, which in turn are his *ana* (children). The relationship between them is also expressed in terms of the *olif-tataf* (younger and elder brother) relationship. Nai Bobe is responsible, moreover, for bringing the harvest gifts for the *Usif* and the *Kapitan* of the sub-territory of Ainan to the palace.

Nai Bobe is itself divided into a masculine "house" (*ume mone*) called Nai Bobe, and a feminine "house" (*ume feto*) called *Lakule*;[4] this distinction refers neither to an affinal alliance nor to descent. The relationship between the two villages of Sipi and Sekon is probably also a *mone-feto* one (although there is no mention of this in Cunningham's book), as Sipi lies south-east in respect of Sekon, and Sekon lies to the north-west of Sipi, and the east and south are associated with the masculine, and the west and north with the feminine.[4a]

The four subordinate groups are:

[1] Cunningham, 1962, pp. 269-328.

[2] In *Village Communities in Modern Indonesia,* Koentjaraningrat, Ed. Cornell University Press, 1967, pp. 63-89.

[3] Cunningham, 1962, pp. 100-104. The following has been taken from him as far as the facts are concerned.

[4] Cunningham refers, incorrectly so in this context, to the distinction between *ume feto* and *ume mone* in affinal alliances, 1962, pp. 252-258.

[4a] But in 1970 I discovered that it is an *olif-tataf* (younger and elder brother) relation: "because we are one" they told me.

1. Am (*amaf*) Lifi, subdivided into the masculine house of Am Lifi and the feminine house of Am Lok.
2. Am Saidjao, with a masculine house by the same name and a feminine house called Haumeni.
   Saidjao belongs to the clan which supplies one of the district chiefs (*kapitan*) in the other half of the princedom, but occupies only a subordinate position here, being an immigrant group. This is only one example of the frequent phenomenon of part of a clan breaking away and settling somewhere beyond the sphere of power of the clan chief. Such a lineage recognizes its origin and hence the superiority of the parent clan, and observes the taboos of that clan, but has few if any social relations with it. The most probable cause of scission is conflict within the clan.
   A lineage by the name of Haumeni is also found elsewhere, and although it also lives in Ainan, neither of these lineages has any ties with the other.
3. Am Isa. This clan has no feminine house; nor has
4. Am Sabnani.

Yet another clan is represented in Sekon, but socially speaking it still belongs to the village of its origin, where the majority of its members still live. Hence it has not been integrated into the system of this old village. This sort of development is taking place more and more frequently and as a result the ancient structure is fast disappearing.

Hence there are four original lineages altogether, with a fifth, Nai Bobe, as the superordinate one in the centre. Nai Bobe lives in Sekon, so that it is not geographically in the centre. Its chief Nai Bobe is "the centre" only in the sense that he represents the total community. It is said that the land he occupies was given to him by the *usif* so that he is a representative of the *usif,* who is the Lord of the land, but could never be *tobe.* Nai Bobe is not the custodian of the land, therefore — he has no rights of disposal over the land, but is responsible for bearing the tribute gifts, collected by the *tobe,* to the palace of the prince and to the *usif.*

The other four lineages are designated with Am (*amaf* = father). *Amaf* here refers to the genealogical head of a group. One of them supplies the *tobe* for the entire village.

Here we have a case of double bipartition, as found in most villages. In special cases (such as this) the village structure leaves room for a fifth, superordinate group. The result is, then, twice two plus one

single group. In reality Sipi-Sekon contains eight lineages arranged as follows: twice two, plus two superadded (namely the two feminine houses Am Lok and Haumeni), plus, moreover, two groups in the centre, namely Nai Bobe and Lakule. Similarly we may find two lineages with a third in the centre, or four times two plus a ninth in the centre, or four times two plus a double centre, hence ten lineages. We shall encounter all these patterns in the political structures.

If, as in this case, there are six lineages apart from the superordinate one, they are grouped as a four-fold anyway, and are spread over two villages which have a common origin.

The main difference between the former situation and the present-day one is that formerly immigrant groups were eventually integrated in accordance with the traditional structural principles. A group which broke away and moved to a different area, either a different village or a different quarter of the princedom, was regarded as a stranger at first, but gradually became integrated in the existing structure without any deviation from the structural principles of bipartition and quadrupartition.

The phenomenon of a fifth being admitted as a superordinate centre will be seen to be one of the key principles influencing the political structure.

In the past few decades migrations have probably been more frequent so that this kind of integration is now more difficult. However, the principal reason why the structural principles are functioning less effectively in modern times is the disintegration of the political system. As the whole has lost its traditional structure, it follows that that of the parts will also gradually weaken. On the other hand it can be supposed that the whole is, in a sense, a repetition on a larger scale of the social nucleus as represented by the village.

A number of villages, usually eight to twelve in Insana, used to make up a quarter of the princedom. Two such quarters used to function as a half of the princedom, and in between two such halves, in the "centre", was the palace with all its officials and retainers. And this "centre" was the actual geographical centre of the princedom.

In this centre the unity of the political community became visible at the presentation of the harvest gifts. The political organization of Insana emerges plainly from the way in which people assembled to bring the harvest gifts to their ruler and from the related ritual. What is more, it is our most reliable source of information. The action is visible to the eye, while the accompanying spoken words are inviolable

and fixed; they were spoken, moreover, in the presence of the representatives of all parties whose interests were concerned.

2. THE HARVEST GIFTS

As soon as the harvest has been gathered in and the gardens have been abandoned the Atoni sets aside a portion of the harvest for the "four fathers and the four princes of the realm", as he expressed it during the final ritual of the agricultural cycle, namely the ritual of "the closing of the gate" (*taek eno*), at which the custodian of the land officiated.

The "four fathers" are the *amaf naek* (great fathers); they were given the title *kapitan* [5] by the Portuguese, this title still being in regular use. They are, besides, the major custodians of the land or *tobe naek*. It is partly in the latter capacity that they issue the order for the collection of the harvest gifts, which are called "the rice-baskets of the land" (*poni pah*); the *poni* is the large basket used for carrying the harvest from the garden hut to the village. Another name for these gifts is *maus*, found also in the expression *mu'it ma maus*, meaning "cattle (*mu'it*) and (other) possessions", like the English "goods and chattels".[6] Hence it has acquired the meaning of gifts of homage consisting of rice and corn which have to be presented to the prince. The word has yet another connotation, however, related to *mausak*, the leaf of a climbing-plant. With the aid of such leaves buffaloes are tamed or made *maus*; *bidjae maus* is a tame buffalo, that is, a buffalo tamed with the aid of *mausak*.

The prince, *Usfinit* (= Supreme Lord) notifies the four *usif* (one for each of the four sub-territories into which the territory of Insana outside the central area of the palace of the prince is divided) via his palace chief, the *Kolnel* [7] Bala, that the time has come for the harvest gifts to be collected. Each of the *usif* notifies his *kapitan*, who in turn passes the message on to his *tobe*, who transmits it to the lineage heads (*amaf*). In each sub-territory there is a man who shares the responsibility for the collection of the harvest gifts, such as Nai Bobe, the head of the lineage of that name in Ainan. This functionary has no special title, but is always one of the numerous elders (*amnasi*). Then these lineage heads — one of whom is *tobe* — go to the *kapitan* and *usif* accompanied by their people in order to proceed to the *atoni mnasi* (= old man)

---

[5] From the Portuguese *capitão*.
[6] Communication Middelkoop. Cf. p. 205, below.
[7] From the Portuguese *coronel*.

together. They may only enter the palace of the prince via the *atoni mnasi*; so they all proceed together from his village to that of one of the counsellors, who announces their arrival to the *Kolnel* Bala who in turn summons the palace guards and comes outside the palace with the latter to welcome all the people.

As the tribute gifts are presented one of the *kapitan* (in his capacity as *tobe naek* [8]) says:

A.

1. We now assemble around the altar pole (the altar itself) and gather around it in a circle
2. not without cause, not without reason,
3. but in order to feed and — provide for [9]
4. the son of the moon and — the son of the sun,[10]
5. the son of the Koko and — the son of Nai Bate.[11]
6. Let Thy mothers and — Thy fathers,[12]
7. that is Hitu, that is Taboi, that is Saidjao and — that is Banusu,[13]

---

[8] The *kapitan* is one of the four "great fathers" (*amaf naek*) enumerated in A. 7. It is primarily his people who have assembled around the altar (*tola naek*), and only some of them are the subjects of the Lord (*Usif*) with whom he is affiliated but who, as we shall see later, originally — that is to say, in the first place — belonged to the sphere of the palace of the ruler.

[9] To provide for. The word used here is *tnela,* which actually means "to settle". The dash following the Timorese word *ma* indicates that the part of the sentence following it is recited by the entire group.

[10] The son of heaven (*nenba ankina*), i.e. the ruler, who is often called *neno ana* or *neon ana* = son of heaven. As it is used in parallelism with "son of the moon" here, *nenba ankina* may also be translated with "son of the sun", although the usual word for sun is *manas.*

[11] A *koko* is a sacred (*le'u*) animal. It is said in Insana to be a kind of bush-fowl. Misfortune, disease and even death will strike the man who touches a *koko* or even walks on a feather which it has dropped. Nai Bate (Lord Bate) is also a sacred animal, the size of a small pig, according to my informants in Insana. According to Middelkoop there is a *kok manu* (a *koko* fowl) and a *kok kauna,* a kind of snake *koko.* It could be a flying lizard. And Nai Bate is the python which was Sonba'i's primeval ancestor. Hence the *koko* and the *bate* represent all that is sacred (*le'u*) and awe-inspiring in heaven and on earth. Cf. p. 148 above.

[12] As in the invocation to the ancestors of the natal lineage, in the expression "my female ancestor(s), my male ancestors" the female ancestors are usually mentioned first, similarly the great fathers (*amaf naek*) are called "mother-father" in this line. The ancestors include all the female ancestors who have been admitted to the *nono,* i.e. the sphere charged with mystical power, of the natal clan. When questioned about this, the Atoni would (sometimes) say this explicitly, although frequently the only answer would be a translation of the words. The disadvantage of questioning informants is that the answer is bound to be a subjective explanation and rationalization.

[13] These are the names of the four clans of the "great fathers". If we refer to

8. together with the lords of the realm [14] and — the *usif,*[15]
9. that is Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu and — Us Tonbesi,
10. pile up, place layer upon layer [16]
11. before those called the old men and — the old women,
12. that is, Kofi, Saunoah, Finsau and — Lamasi.[17]
13. They approach what is called the shadow of the *nunu,* the shadow of the *lete,*[18]
14. they approach Pala, Matau-Fina, Tkakin and — Banusu,[19]
15. in order to welcome them with the dance of the women and — the dance of the warriors.[20]
16. Thereupon they stand properly lined up near *Kolnel* Bala,[21] they stand in the correct attitude.

---

the political community as a whole as a "tribe", they are, in pairs, the "fathers" of the two halves outside the sphere of the palace (*sonaf*). However, the term "tribe" with reference to this political community is not correct, as it is always part of a larger realm, no matter how slight the latter's political significance may have been (concerning the use of the word "tribe", see Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer,* 1940, p. 5).

[14] The lords of the land (*paha tuana*; *pah* = land, *tua* = lord; cf. Indon. *tuan*). A woman can never be *tuaf.* Although "lords of the land", they have no land tenure rights in the strict sense of the word — the term refers to their authority to rule over a particular area.

[15] *Usif*; the word used is *Uisma,* or sometimes *Uisfini* or *Uisfina,* the plural of *Usif* (lord), which can itself be used as a plural form. These are the four *usif* besides Uisfinit, the supreme lord, who are each affiliated with one of the four "great fathers". When referring to these four *Uisma* we shall not translate the title, but keep the word *Usif. Paha tuana* and *Uisma* stand in parallelism, and both words refer to the *Usif,* therefore.

[16] That which is piled up (corn and rice) should no more be mentioned here than in the agricultural ritual.

[17] They take receipt of the gifts of homage. The masculine epithet is mentioned first in this line, but in line 41 they are again referred to as "the old women, the old men".

[18] *Nunu,* Indon. *waringin,* the great banyan, of which there are several varieties. This *nunu* is situated close to an *oe le'u* or sacred source. *Lete - alstonia scholaris,* Indon. *taduk.* These shade-trees are symbolic of the ruler, of whom it is said: *Naneom, namaf,* (he who gives shade, who gives shelter). At Fatu Nai Suan, a ritual centre of Sonba'i, these two trees grow so close together that they have become intertwined as a visible symbol of the nature of rulership. Middelkoop, 1949, p. 23.

[19] These are the four doorkeepers at the two place doors. This Banusu is therefore not the same as the *amaf naek* (A. 7).

[20] The dance of the women (*bidu*), the dance of the warriors (*psoöt*), which is accompanied by drums beaten by women.

[21] Kolnel Bala. *Kolnel* derives from the title *coronel* which was given them by the Portuguese. *Bala* means "to prepare". The meaning of *Kolnel* Bala is "he who prepares", "he who makes ready". When used in the expression "*in ume - in balan*" it means "domain" (his house, his domain). Hence *Kolnel* Bala is the majordomo. By "stand properly lined up" is meant that they look after the guests under *Kolnel* Bala's supervision.

17. They go to Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu and — Us Tonbeis,
18. who are called the four Lords and — the four female spouses.[22]
19. They bring *pinang* to chew, *sirih* to chew,[23]
20. silver spoon and — silver platter.[24]
21. For they have come as the lords and the *usif* of the rain-tree and — tail-grass,[25]
22. with the lords of the great (sacrificial) baskets and — the lords of the great (sacrificial) panniers;[26]
23. that is Hitu, that is Taboi, that is Saidjao and — Banusu,
24. who are the long-handled weeders, the long-handled matchets.[27]
25. The yield of the weeder has not been retarded nor impeded.
26. The yield of the matchet has not been retarded nor impeded.[28]
27. Atau-pah, Ana'-pah, Afen-pah and Abain-pah,[29]
28. line Thyselves up, stand in the correct attitude
29. before the Brilliant One, the Fiery One,[30]

---

[22] *Naiha ma kato ha. Nai* = Lord, masculine; *Nain* = territory; *naidjan* (with *dj* acting as connective consonant) = his territory; *naidjuf* = the (most prominent) clan of the area (*uf* = tribe) — this is also used with reference to the ruler as the head of the kingdom; *kato* = female spouse, only used of royal persons. In this expression *nai* always comes first, but here too *nai - kato* refers only to the four lords. There is no connection between this word and the word *na'i* meaning grandfather, ancestor. Cunningham, 1962, p. 102, confuses them.

[23] Guests are always offered *sirih pinang* first.

[24] The spoons and forks are not made of silver, but the word silver (*noni*) symbolizes the reverence with which an *usif* should be treated. In respect of the ruler the word "gold" (*mnatu*) is used. Cf. Middelkoop, 1939, p. 45. "Spoon" and "plate" are metaphors for the rice and meat of the meal offered them. In this case too the objects themselves are not mentioned lest the guests be embarrassed.

[25] See p. 66, note 76, above.

[26] Large basket (*sokal*) for corn and smaller basket (*nebe*) for rice. The *poni* is the largest basket, with a capacity of 60-100 kilogrammes, i.e. one *pikul* (62.5 kg.) or more. The harvest is carried from the gardens to the villages in it, hence the name *poni pah* (the (large) baskets of the land) for the harvest gifts. A *sokal* has a volume of approx. half a *pikul* (25-30 kg.). A *kaut* or *katu* is half of this, and a *nebe* is no more than 5-7 kg., although the Atoni say that it is one eighth of a *poni*.

[27] *Tof hau mnanu, ben hau mnanu,* designates their function as major custodians of the land (*tobe naek*), the leaders of the agricultural ritual and therefore the bringers of the *poni pah*; *tofa* = weeding-hook, *benas* = matchet.

[28] The harvest has been successful.

[29] *Atau-pah,* the defender of the land (realm); *Ana'-pah,* the guardian of the realm; *Afen-pah,* he who wipes out the people (the enemy). Although the primary meaning of *pah* is "land", it can also mean "people", e.g. in the vocative case; *Abain-pah,* he who renders the land fertile. They are the great sacrificers and ritual experts.

[30] Cf. A. 16. Here they line themselves up in preparation for the sacrifice for *apinat, aklahat,* the Brilliant one, the Fiery One, i.e. the Lord of Heaven or Uis Neno. Cf. p. 143 above.

30. bearing a torch and — a flambeau,[31]
31. in order that no curse shall strike and — no disease shall strike [32]
32. Hitu-Taboi, Saidjao-Banusu,[33]
33. but that their bodies may be ever glossy, their bodies ever vigorous,[34]
34. in order that their rock of renown, their source of renown,[35]
35. their deceased, their hidden power [36]
36. may lay themselves down with them, may rise with them; [37]
37. that they may weed with them, may tap palm-juice with them,[38]
38. that they may reign without causing anxiety, without harshness.[39]

Hereupon the *Kolnel* Bala accepts the harvest gifts on behalf of the prince and says:

B.

1. Now I shall bring to the lord of heaven, the lord of the moon
2. his holy quid (of *sirih-pinang*) and — his holy chew.[40]
3. I let it be known, I announce it unto the four lords, the four spouses,
4. that is, Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu and — Us Tonbeis,
5. with their mothers and — their fathers,
6. that is, Hitu, Taboi, that is, Saidjao and — Banusu,
7. with the old women, the old men,
8. that is, Kofi-Saunoah, that is, Finsau and — Lamasi.

---

[31] During sacrificing a lighted torch of dammar is required to illuminate the *le'u* (sacred place for sacrificing) or, as it is sometimes called, the *tola* (the wooden pole placed between the altar stones).

[32] *Bunuh* - curse; see p. 74 above. *Menas* - disease.

[33] Here, in contrast to l. 23, the four "great fathers" are mentioned in pairs, which reveals the tendency towards binary classification. In ordinary usage they are always referred to thus.

[34] *Mina* - shiny, i.e. of the glossy skin of a sleek, healthy body. Coconut oil is rubbed into the skin to make it shiny.

[35] The sacred places of origin of the four quarters of the realm.

[36] Deceased person (*nitu*), who lives on as a death spirit (*nitu*). Hidden power (*le'u*).

[37] This implies the thought that the deceased or ancestors are actually present and that the *le'u* is a tutelary power. But *nitu* can also be dangerous, and like *le'u* are always so in a sense.

[38] Only the word *heli* (to cut) is used. *Heli tua* means to tap the juice of the *lontar* palm; *heli oni* means to cut honey out of nests in trees. Here the words "to weed and to cut" refer to the totality of the agricultural produce.

[39] It is apparent from this that the *atupas* or *neno ana* (son of heaven) to whom the harvest gifts are offered is the representative of the ancestors as well, and also of the hidden forces (*le'u*) which reign through him. In the sacrifice to the Lord of Heaven the harvest gifts are "returned" to him.

[40] The harvest gifts, corn and rice, which are not supposed to be mentioned by name. This was described as *Kolnel* Bala's speech of thanks. Perhaps it should rather be regarded as a solemn assurance, given on behalf of the *atupas,* that the gifts of homage have been received in good order.

9. This day what is called rain-tree and tail-grass,
10. the great basket, the great pannier [41] has been prepared and — made ready,[42]
11. in order that the son of the Koko, the son of Nai Bate,
12. the son of heaven, the son of the moon,
13. may eat without anxiety, drink without anxiety.[43]
14. For if Liurai-Sonba'i [44] should eat with anxiety, drink with anxiety
15. he would surely be angry with us and — furious with us.[45]
16. Atau-pah, Ana'-pah, Afen-pah, and — Abain-pah,
17. line Thyselves up, stand in the correct attitude
18. before the Brilliant One, the Fiery One,
19. bearing a torch and — a flambeau
20. in order that no clouds may descend upon him, no mists descend upon him.[46]

After the harvest gifts are received by *Kolnel* Bala he sees to their further distribution. The best portion is for the Atupas and the rest for him. The four *usif,* Taolin-Fal, Pupu-Tonbeis, are also presented with harvest gifts, though not via the general collection before the palace of the prince but directly from the sub-territory to which they belong, after the presentation of the tribute at the palace.

3. THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE

The political structure becomes clearly apparent from the texts recited when the harvest gifts are presented and accepted. This structure emerges with even greater clarity from the words spoken upon the death of the prince. One of the palace elders announces the prince's death, saying:

---

[41] Corn and rice, see note 26.

[42] Prepared, that is to say, people have toiled to grow them.

[43] Cf. the Presentation, A. 38. The same word (*nenu* = to care) is used there, though causatively. May He, the son of heaven, eat without care so that the forces of the hidden world, the representative of which he is, may not give cause for anxiety.

[44] Liurai-Sonba'i — the pair of sovereign rulers; here, however, it refers to the *atupas*. The close connection between the *atupas* and Liurai-Sonba'i is visible in his palace (*sonaf*), where one pillar in the eastern side is called Liurai, and one in the western side Sonba'i — Liurai lived in the east and Sonba'i in the west. This also fits in with the categories of superordinate and subordinate, as the east is *mone* (masculine) and as such superior to the west, which is *feto* (feminine). This designation also expresses that he is the origin of rice and corn, which are also referred to as Liurai-Sonba'i (see agricultural ritual, p. 70).

[45] The acknowledgement of the receipt of the gifts turns into a warning here.

[46] A reference to difficulties and disasters, i.e. the prayer asks that the cosmic order be preserved.

C.

1. Let the sweepers and the dusters be summoned,
2. the snuffers of the wax flambeaus and — of the cotton torches,
3. that is Tkakin-Banusu, Pala and — Matau-Fina.[47]
4. Let them announce it, bear tidings of it
5. unto the old men, the old women,
6. the deaf ears, the blind eyes,[48]
7. the mouldering fences and — the mouldering enclosure,[49]
8. that is, Kofi, Saunoah, Finsau and — Lamasi.
9. Let them send the messenger, send news
10. to the great faces and — the great eyes,
11. that is, Atau-pah, Ana'-pah, Abain-pah and — Afen-pah.[50]
12. Let them announce it, bear tidings of it,
13. let them address the four Lords, the four female spouses,
14. the lords of the sacrificial baskets, the lords of the sacrificial panniers,[51]
15. the lords of the land and — the lords of the lake,
16. that is, Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu and — Us Tonbeis.
17. Let these instruct the great warriors and — the great headhunters,[52]
18. that is, Kase, Tahmate, Boas and — Tnufai.[53]
19. Let them in turn announce it, bear tidings of it
20. unto the mothers and — the fathers,[54]

---

[47] Cf. presentation of harvest gifts, A. 14. There they are the palace guards, here they are called the palace attendants who are also responsible for the torches, as ritual feasts are always held in the evenings.

[48] Cf. A. 11. There it is their task to take receipt of the harvest gifts, while here they are the highest counsellors, who must give the *atupas* their impartial advice in legal matters. They pay no heed to flattery or gossip, and give an unbiased opinion, hence the epithet "deaf ears, blind eyes" (*luke tono, mata folo*).

[49] Now that the *atupas* has died, the harvest has as it were left the garden, the garden is abandoned and the wooden fences and bamboo palings are mouldering: in other words, the counsellors no longer have a function.

[50] Cf. A. 27, B. 16. There their function was that of great sacrificers and ritual experts, here they appear as the chief great warriors. Great faces, great eyes (*huma naek, mata naek*) is the general epithet for great warriors.

[51] Cf. A. 22. There the major custodians of the land, Hitu-Taboi, Saidjao-Banusu, are the lords of the sacrificial baskets (called *tobe* and *kalili*). Indirectly the term is also applicable to Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu and Us Tonbeis, as they are the lords of the land and of the lake (*paha tuana, nifu tuana*). Cf. A. 8.

[52] In this text a direct link is established between the four Usif and the great warriors (*meo naekini ma sapa naekini*). *Meo* = cat; the word used in parallelism with it here is *sapa* = lit. *lontar* leaf pail; it is probably a metaphor for the head which they will take. Usually the word used in parallelism with it is *asu* = dog.

[53] These are not mentioned at the presentation of the harvest gifts.

[54] Cf. A. 6. There they are the mothers and the fathers of the ruler, and here the mothers and fathers of the people.

21. to the long-handled weeders and — the long-handled matchets,[55]
22. that is, Hitu, Taboi, Saidjao and — Banusu,[56]
23. in order that Hitu-Taboi, Saidjao-Banusu,
24. Kase-Tahmate, Boas-Tnufai,
25. Atau-pah, Ana'-pah, Abain-pah and Afen-pah
26. may shelter for a night, shelter for a day
27. with those called Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu, Us Tonbeis,[57]
28. near their holy altar pole Lanusu — near their holy sacrificial pillar Lanusu,[58]
29. with their holy quid (of *sirih-pinang*) and — their holy chew.[59]

The four *usif* reply:

30. It is as they say, his head is sore and aching and — his nose is sore and congested.[60]
31. We linger and — we tarry awhile,
32. we collect water, knives and — spoons [61] awhile.
33. When the day of the tribes arrives,[62]
34. as they say, the nights before this will not be many and — the days will not be many,[63]
35. then Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu, Us Tonbeis,
36. with their mothers and — their fathers,
37. that is Hitu, Taboi, that is Saidjao and — Banusu,
38. will bring on their shoulders, bear on their backs their knives and — their spoons,
39. to those called the old men, the old women,

---

[55] Cf. A. 24.

[56] The first enumeration (C. 3-22) begins with the "interior" and ends with the "exterior"; it begins with the palace and ends with the great fathers, the custodians of the land, whereas now the reverse order is given.

[57] Ll. 23-28. All those whose place is outside the palace have to assemble at the residence of the *usif*, who constitute the link between the interior and the exterior.

[58] Lanusu is the name of a sacrificial place, probably of that of the war ritual.

[59] Cf. B. 2. There it is the harvest gifts which are described, here the foods to be collected for the mortuary ritual.

[60] It is pretended here that the king has not yet died, so as to create an opportunity to collect the gifts for the mortuary feast.

[61] Water, knives and spoons are metaphors for palm-wine, meat and rice.

[62] Tribe, people - *naidjuf*. Cf. note no. 18 to A. 18. In other words, the ruler's own subjects as well as those of the princedoms with which Insana has friendly relations will attend the mortuary feast.

[63] A ritual feast always commences in the evening, so that the nights are mentioned first. The feast is talked of as though it will be celebrated immediately, but in actual fact months may pass before it takes place.

40. that is, the mouldering fences of Maubesi and — the mouldering enclosure of Maubesi,[64]
41. in order that *Kolnel* Bala with the sweepers, the dusters,
42. that is, Tkakin, Banusu, Pala and — Matau-Fina,
43. may come out to meet them and — to welcome them,
44. to show them in, to allow them to enter
45. into the tomb, and — into the grave.[65]
46. He (*Kolnel* Bala) will then put to the test the affection and — the disposition [66]
47. of Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu and — Us Tonbeis,
48. their holy quid (of *sirih-pinang*) and — their holy chew.
49. *Kolnel* Bala will run his eye over it, survey it with his glance.
50. After he has surveyed it with his glance and has run his eye over it
51. he will announce and make known
52. unto the four lords and — the four spouses (female),
53. that the spoons and — the knives
54. are sufficiently able to cope with the roads and — the doors.[67]
55. These four lords, these four female spouses
56. of the holy quid (of *sirih pinang*) and — the holy chew,
57. say to the old man, the old woman: [68]
58. prepare a pounding-block for the lord of the people, a pounder for the lord of the people.[69]
59. When this has been prepared the following day [70] *Kolnel* Bala will invite
60. Kofi, Saunoah, Finsau and — Lamasi,
61. in order to announce and make known unto the four lords and — the four female spouses
63. that they may determine the number of nights for the people, determine the number of days for the people,
64. in order that of Us Finit may come
65. the holy mother and — the holy father,
66. that is, Liurai and — Sonba'i,

---

[64] Maubesi is the centre of the realm, the territory under the immediate rule of the *atupas* which is governed by *Kolnel* Bala. This is where the palace is situated.

[65] This refers to the compound surrounding the palace of the deceased ruler.

[66] *Kolnel* Bala inspects their gifts to ascertain whether they are adequate. These are also an indication of their loyalty, and of their disposition towards the ruler.

[67] There is sufficient meat and rice with which to welcome the guests who come from every direction. Roads and doors (*lalan ma eno*) refers to the groups walking one behind the other, thus forming a long "road", and entering by the appropriate door for each.

[68] "The old man, the old woman" also designates the *atoni amaf*; he is the leader of the ritual of the mortuary feast.

[69] A pounding-block with a wooden pounder used for husking rice. The lord of the people - *naidjufa nai*; cf. l. 33 and A. 18.

[70] I.e. when the rice has been husked.

67. with the holy mothers, the holy fathers,
68. Nai Ahoin, Nai Bal, Nai Tef and — Nai Keis,[71]
69. Beaneno-Taeneno, Kaini'os-Kanmese,[72]
70. Kono-Oematan, Babu-Bifel,[73]
71. Tnesi-Aluman, Teba-Tautpah,[74]
72. Bobo-Ban'afi, Belak and — Taibeno.[75]
73. When the (number of) nights for the tribes, the (number of) days for the tribes
74. have been fulfilled, and the time has come,
75. *Kolnel* Bala will cut (the meat) into pieces and — pound it till it is tender.
76. He determines and — gives instructions
77. concerning the number of spoons and — the number of knives,[76]
78. to bring these, to share them out, distribute them
79. for Us Finit's holy mother and — holy father.
80. Then he will cut into pieces again — and will pound to tenderness
81. for the four lords, the four women,
82. that is, Us Taolin, Us Fal, Us Pupu and Us Tonbeis,
83. with those who support — those who provide,[77]
84. the long-handled weeders and — the long-handled matchets,
85. that is, Hitu, Taboi, Saidjao and — Banusu,
86. and also the great faces and — the great eyes,
87. that is, Atau-pah, Ana'-pah, Abain-pah and — Afen-pah.
88. Thereupon he determines again and — gives instructions again,
89. for the old men, the old women,
90. the deaf ears and — the blind eyes,
91. that is, Kofi, Saunoah, Finsao and — Lamasi.
92. Thereupon the sweepers, the dusters,[78]
93. in order that they may line themselves up, stand in the correct attitude

---

[71] These are the four lords, Nai, who "were there in the beginning", before the arrival of the son of Liurai-Sonba'i, hence they are mentioned first.

[72] Four "names" (of clans) by which Manlea in South Belu is designated. It is part of the realm of Liurai.

[73] Kono-Oematan are the two *usif* of Sonba'i, the rulers of Miomafo and Molo respectively. Of the two realms Miomafo receives most emphasis, for Babu-Bifel are two prominent clans in the territory of Kono. This is Miomafo as viewed from Insana.

[74] Four names representing Beboki; cf. p. 249 below, where they are called Eban-Tautpah, Tnesi-Aluman.

[75] Four names representing Ambenu in Portuguese territory. These are the princedoms with which Insana maintains friendly relations, therefore. These relations are in the first place affinal relationships with the *atupas* and his *usif*.

[76] *Kolnel* Bala is in charge of the distribution of meat and rice among all the groups of guests.

[77] *Ahaut-afatis* - a set expression for the four "great fathers", as they are the major custodians of the land who perform the agricultural ritual and are therefore the supporters and providers of the ruler.

[78] The four palace guards.

94. before the son of the moon, the son of heaven.
95. Thereupon *Kolnel* Bala will gather, he will collect,
96. the remainder of the spoons and — the remainder of the knives,
97. he examines these whole-heartedly, he inspects them whole-heartedly,
98. the remainder of the *sirih,* the remainder of the *pinang,*
99. he examines it himself, he is responsible for it.
100. Thus was the word, thus the case.[79]

4. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PRINCEDOM *

a. *The Centre*

The prince or *atupas* resides in the centre of the princedom, called by the Atoni "the navel of the realm" (*paha usan*). The Timorese word *atupas* is a derivation from the verb *tup,* meaning "to sleep", thus designating his function, as "he eats and drinks, he sits and sleeps". The prince is not permitted to be active and is not allowed to leave the precincts of his palace (*sonaf*); it is his duty to remain "inside". Here he "eats and drinks", in other words, here he offers sacrifices as the principal officiant in charge of the state ritual. His second title is therefore Us Finit (the Supreme Lord); this is definitely not his lineage name but a title. The word *finit* also occurs in one of the epithets for Uis Neno (the Lord of Heaven), namely in *afinit anesit,* which means "the highest, most elevated being". The *atupas* may also be called "the son of heaven" (*neno ana*) and in the ritual he is called "the son of the sun, the son of the moon" (*nenba ana, funa ana*). In the nineteenth century the ruling dynasty was mostly called Taeboko, which is not an ordinary family name either. Its literal meaning is "big-bellied", used especially with reference to a pregnant woman. As the ruler is "feminine" (*feto*), the name Taeboko is a symbol of fertility. In the genealogies of Beboki and Amfoan the ruler's lineage is also called Taeboko.

As the son of heaven he constitutes the link between the visible and the hidden world, between the Lord of Heaven and man. Another of his epithets is "the son of the Koko and of Nai Bate"; these two are the winged and landbound creatures which are the visible and tangible evidence of the hidden world of the deceased (*nitu*), i.e. the ancestors. These animals are so sacred (*le'u*) and inviolable and so highly charged

---

[79] Ritual - ceremonial (*lasi-toni*).
* See diagrams nos. 7, 8 and 9.

with special powers that any contact with them may result in death. This name implies, then, that he is the link between the ancestors and subjects (*in kolo in manu* = his birds, his fowls, according to the traditional Atoni saying). As such he himself is *le'u,* sacred and part of the sacred and the numinous.

He is associated with the sacred sphere by virtue of his function as guardian of the sacred objects (*atiut le'u*), moreover. This association becomes apparent in the ritual accompanying the presentation of the harvest gifts, as here the offerings of rice and corn are designated with Liurai-Sonba'i, the latter also being the names of the ritual princes of the sovereign ritual realm of which each princedom constitutes part. The prayer asks that Liurai-Sonba'i may rule without causing anxiety. And when the gifts are accepted *Kolnel* Bala says that the holy gifts have been received so that the son of heaven may eat without anxiety (he uses the same word here). If the ruler can eat without anxiety, the gifts having been presented and the necessary sacrifices having been offered, then the forces of the hidden world will not cause trouble. But if Liurai-Sonba'i were to eat with anxiety their anger would be aroused. (The name of Liurai-Sonba'i denotes not only the prince but also, as we saw above, the original princely pair who are the children of heaven in an even fuller sense of the word, as it is they who are the givers of rice and corn. Their wrath would therefore surely strike the next harvest.)

It is interesting to note in this connection that the sacrifice is offered to Uis Neno, whilst the deceased (*nitu*) and other forces (*le'u*) are regarded as the agents of evil. Uis Neno is considered to effect all that is good and beneficial to mankind, he bestows "coolness" (*mainikin*); but he is far away.[80]

Uis Finit, the supreme Lord, lives in the tamarind palace (*sonaf kiu*), situated to the west of the *kusambi* palace (*sonaf usapi*) in which Us Bala resides, to the east of the *atupas*. These two palaces differ only in size from other dwellings, their *lopo* (the granary and meeting-house) in particular being considerably larger. Their construction is practically the same as that of the Atoni house in Amarasi, of which Cunningham has given an excellent description, apart from the fact that he says that it is rectangular, whereas actually it is oval or round.[81]

Us Bala is also called *apopet-ananet* (the short one, the tall one). In

---

[80] Cf. p. 145 above, however.
[81] Cunningham, 1964a, and p. 428 below.

the ritual he constantly appears as "*Kolnel* Bala", a title given him by the Portuguese, which has its origin in the Portuguese *coronel.* The *atupas* was given the title *kesel,* which is rather a derivation from the Dutch *keizer* (emperor), while the Portuguese gave him the title of *rei* (king) as well. The title *kesel* may still be used for the *atupas* from time to time, but it is used less frequently than *kolnel* and *kapitan,* the latter being the title for the four "great fathers": Hitu-Taboi, Saidjao-Banusu. The *Kolnel* Bala is the masculine (*mone*) counterpart of the feminine (*feto*) *atupas.* The location of their respective palaces also brings out this relationship between them, the east being associated with the masculine, the west with the feminine.

The meaning of the term *feto-mone,* with *feto* always coming first, is extremely difficult to determine, as it has many different applications. The interpretation is dependent on the particular relationship to which it refers. In the relationship *atupas-kolnel* the *atupas* must always be immobile and responsible for the ritual, whilst the *kolnel,* as his "mouth" (*mafefa*) speaks on his behalf, as we have seen in the description of the acceptance of the harvest gifts. The *kolnel* is active, executing all of the *atupas'* orders. The latter merely exists, he "eats and drinks, sits and sleeps", while the *kolnel* is active. Cunningham calls the latter "the palace chief".[82] However, the statement by his informants according to which the *kolnel* is comparable with a modern raja's secretary is incorrect. He is rather to be compared with a *major domo* in Merovingian times[83] with all the possibilities of that figure. Without the *atupas* his position is inconceivable, but as the *atupas'* right hand he is the supreme executive authority of the realm. He is the *kolnel,* while the four "great fathers" bear the title *kapitan,* and the four *usif* have no Portuguese title at all.[84]

Cunningham[84a] writes:

---

[82] Cunningham, 1962, p. 71.

[83] The first author to compare the Timorese rulers to the Merovingian *roi fainéant* was Pelon, 1778, fol. 10.

[84] The title *fetor,* Port. *feitor* (= ruler, governor), does not occur in the instructions of the Count De Sarzedas (1811), and does not fit in with the series of military titles, viz.: *coronel-rei* for the highest *dato* (the princes' title in the Tetun language-area), *tenentes coroneis, sargentos-mores* and *captâes* for the other *dato's e tumugôes* (clause no. 46, in De Castro, 1867, p. 201); *tumugôa* = Jav. *tumenggung,* regent's title. The title *fetor* is not found in present-day Portuguese Timor either (Felgas, 1956). Nor did it exist in Belu at the beginning of the present century, but was introduced there by the Dutch (Grijzen, 1904, p. 129).

[84a] Cunningham, 1962, p. 67.

"The Raja of Insana says that the secular lords (that is, the four *usif*) were also dubbed *coronel* in rank. This is supported by Schulte Nordholt, who reports that both Fatin Taolin (1913-1915) and Kahalasi Taolin (1915-1933) were recognized by the Dutch Government as "*coronel*"."

Though the latter of these statements is correct, the former (made by the Raja of Insana, Laurentius Taolin) is not true. The actual state of affairs was that in 1913 the last "*Kolnel* of Insana" died childless. (He himself was not, as a matter of fact, a member of the *Kolnel* Bala lineage, but was one of the *atupas'* brothers, the last *Kolnel* Bala having been removed from office in 1908 "on grounds of incompetence"; although the latter had a son from a marriage to a woman of high rank it is said in Insana that the *Kolnel* Bala lineage has died out: "*Kolnel* Bala has gone". In 1946 no-one was able or willing to tell the reasons for this. Nonetheless this son was present at the meeting of the Chiefs of the Realm on 30th August, 1915; his name is mentioned last in the minutes.[85]) The person who succeeded him as executive authority, Kahalasi Taolin, therefore received the *kolnel* title. Although the Netherlands Indies Government adopted the existing title, it used it only with reference to this particular man, not with reference to all four *usif,* and not even with reference to the Taolin lineage in general.

Because the old *kolnel* lineage of Insana has "died out", Cunningham, with Taolin as his informant, failed to see that the actual polarity between what he distinguishes as "the ritual lord" and "the secular lords" exists within the palace itself and is a real and significant one, whereas this is less true of the relationship between the palace (the *atupas*) and the four *usif,* as we shall see later on.

When the harvest gifts are presented at the palace the *atupas* receives these from the "great fathers" and the four *usif* as the representatives of the princedom as a whole. These harvest gifts are called "tribute" by Cunningham; this word is correct provided that it is understood in this case as "gift of homage". The recipient is obviously superior, although the gifts of homage have another aspect as well. Every Atoni is bound to admit that the *atupas* is the highest personage of the realm, as his name "Uis Finit" clearly indicates. He shares the tribute he receives with the *Kolnel* Bala, who thereby shares in the homage, although he receives a smaller portion, "the inferior half". In his position as the *atupas'* masculine counterpart he, too, is *usif,* or the lord or ruler of the realm. When after the introduction of colonial rule

[85] Archives of the Netherlands Department of Internal Affairs, Report on Beboki and Insana; and Steinmetz, 1915.

in Timor it appeared to be impossible to appoint the *atupas* as raja because the nature of his ritual function rendered him unsuitable for this and because the Colonial Government considered this figure unfit in view of the fact that he was confined to his palace, the Chiefs of the Realm nominated a head such as, in Insana, the *kolnel* for the rajaship, who was then accepted by the Government. This is what happened in Beboki, too.

At the meeting of the Chiefs of the Realm in November of 1913 Taolin was appointed acting raja and given the title *kornel* or *kolnel.* He was given a trial period of two years. In spite of his despotic rule and his attempts at abolishing the custom of presenting harvest gifts to the *atupas* (in which he was supported by the Colonial Government, which wished to avoid double taxation), the people continued to bring their harvest gifts to the *atupas.* At the time this was Malafu Neno and after him his son, Tasaib Malafu, both of them descendants of a side-branch of the *atupas* lineage. This house survived, then, as it was part of a set pattern.

So we see that in the chaotic, new colonial period (chaotic in that it overthrew all the traditional structures) the central executive authority, i.e. the *Kolnel* Bala, could be replaced by another *mone* (masculine) figure, while the *feto* (feminine) *atupas,* on the other hand, continued to be recognized as long as the values of the old structure remained in force.

Although the structural nucleus, consisting of an immobile, feminine ruler and an active, masculine executive authority, has survived in Insana the original "masculine" lineage has been replaced. As a result the old structure is difficult to discern. Moreover, the ever-present Taolin lineage invariably tries to push the *Kolnel* Bala house even further into the background. I shall return to this in the discussion of the *usif*'s traditional function.

In the nucleus of the realm, then, both the feminine and the masculine principles are represented, both of them having their place "inside" this centre. The polarity is that between immobile and active, the source of power and the practical application of that power, the commanding and the executive principles, the head and the mouth (*nakaf* and *mafefa*), the leader and the speaker. He who commands is superior to the person who puts the orders into effect and is therefore orientated towards "the exterior". The resulting problem is that in the fundamental social relationship between bride-giving and bride-receiving groups, masculine *(mone)* is superior to feminine (*feto*), whereas in the re-

lationship at present under discussion the reverse is true. The factors responsible must be of a different nature, and a different set of principles must apply in each case. This will have to appear from the study of the whole.

The four palace guards also belong to the centre. They are Tkakin, Banusu, Pala and Matau-Fina. Their primary function is to serve the *atupas* and Uis Bala and to guard the *atupas* — they must see to it that he remains "inside", for if he were to be seen "outside" the guards would render themselves liable to a beating and the *Kolnel* Bala to a fine from the four *usif*, whose sphere lies "outside". It is their task to look after the palace. This entails that they have to take charge, under Uis Bala's supervision, of maintenance work. They are "the sweepers and the dusters" (*a-sani, a-nako*) with whom we are familiar from the ritual. When the ruler dies they keep vigil by his body — "let them line themselves up, stand in the correct attitude before the son of the moon, the son of heaven". They wait upon the guests, whom they welcome with round-dances and war-dances. Then they look after the guests, together with *Kolnel* Bala. The meaning of the word *bala* is, in fact, "to look after", "to prepare"; this is not an implication that Uis Bala is in any way inferior, however. Cunningham [86] makes an excellent observation in this respect. For the Atoni his home is always the superior centre. "However, when guests are received in a house, they must be honoured and the hosts must debase themselves, placing the visitors in the best seats, and saying that the things they have (household facilities, food, etc.) are inferior. This sort of debasement (not restricted to the Atoni but common in Indonesia, and an attitude which always leaves westerners uncomfortable and speechless when they meet it as guests) is a symbolic reversal of the basic superiority of the household to all outsiders, an etiquette which is nevertheless overcome when the household finally expresses its superordination by the inevitable meal in the Indonesian household, the 'feeding'." Now, the people first bring harvest gifts and "feed" the palace. The "fathers" (*amfini*) say: "We give the lords (*Uisfini*, that is, the four *usif* as well) food to eat from our soil, just as we have given the *atupas* food to eat". The people are therefore superior, despite the fact that they are paying homage. This gives the secondary meaning of the word *maus* (1. goods and chattels, harvest gifts; 2. tame) special significance. The tribute is given to prevent the ruler from becoming "angry",

[86] Cunningham, 1962, p. 112.

"furious with us", to prevent him from calling down a curse and thereby unchaining a host of evil forces. He has to be "tamed". But once the gifts have been presented and a sacrifice offered to Uis Neno, the Lord of Heaven, the principle of reciprocity begins to operate — the "fathers" are treated to a feast in the palace. This way the palace remains superior.

The guards are also the doorkeepers at the two doors. Both palaces are surrounded by a common compound which is encircled by a wall of piled up stones. One pair of doorkeepers is responsible for the southern, masculine door (*neus atoni* or *neus anu, neus* being a metathetical form of *eno* = door; *neus anu* = original, first door), which gives admission to the divisions living in the east and south, both of which are, as was said above, associated with the masculine. The other pair has to guard the northern, feminine door (*neus muni, neus bifel*; *muni* = younger, following, next; *bifel* = woman) which gives admission to the other divisions which live in the west and north, both of which are associated with the feminine.

Which pair belongs to which door is not clear. In the ritual associated with the presentation of the harvest gifts Pala-Matau Fina are mentioned first (A. 14), while in other passages Tkakin-Banusu are always the pair mentioned first. According to both my own and Cunningham's data the location of Tkakin is in the east and Pala in the south. Cunningham believes that they are dyadically opposed Tkakin-Banusu being associated with the east and west respectively. No-one was clear about this, as the system no longer functions. A dyadic opposition does not appear likely to me, judging from remaining, still observable structures, however. One pair must be responsible for one door. For this reason my own data, according to which Tkakin and Pala form one pair, cannot be correct — the ritual, which is absolutely reliable, places Tkakin and Banusu together. These two, then, must guard the masculine, southern door. For the structure is determined by the basic principle of bipartition, each resulting half being in turn referred to by a pair of names.

Hence each palace has two doors: the masculine door (the main entrance) on the southern side, and the feminine one on the northern, or, as in Beboki, on the western side.

The Us Finit and Us Bala lineages and those of the four palace guards each used to live in separate residential units in the vast compound surrouding the tamarind and *kusambi* palaces. Cunningham [87]

[87] Cunningham, 1964a, p. 53; 1965, p. 365.

calls this compound *ba'af* = the root of the realm. Neither Middelkoop nor myself have ever heard this term used. Although the ruler himself may sometimes be referred to as *ba'af* (root), only Kune Uf (*uf* = stem) the "original" inhabitant of the realm or *pah tuaf,* lord of the land, who gave Sonba'i his land, is recognized as Usi Ba'af. The palace and its compound are the navel of the realm (*paha usan*), then, while they are also commonly referred to as *se'at* (yard).

b. *The Periphery of the Centre*

This is made up by Kofi-Saunoah, Finsau-Lamasi, "the old men, the old women" (*atoni mnasi, bifel mnasi*), "the deaf ears, the blind eyes" (*leuk tono, mat folo*). The order of their names is reversed in the passage recited at the acceptance of the harvest gifts (B. 7). Cunningham [88], quoting from my report, says that they are called "old women, old men", whereas his informants asserted that the order should be reversed, which corresponds with other passages in the ritual (A. 11, C. 5, C. 39 and C. 57) which also give this order. Cunningham correctly observes in this connection that normally the female partner is mentioned first, and refers to an article by Middelkoop on the *adat* marriage ceremony for Christians,[89] where the bridegroom's parents-in-law are "turned into" and recognized as, his mother and father in that order.[90] In this example, however, two different individuals, a woman and a man are concerned. Middelkoop observes that the form of address for the Netherlands Indies government, what is more, is *aina kompani, ama kompani*; [91] here it is a foreign power that is being referred to, and not two individuals of different sexes.

Cunningham relates the expression "old men, old women" to the relationship between a bride-giving and a bride-receiving group (the former of which is *mone* and hence superior, and the latter *feto* and inferior) and says: "here apparently the authoritarian character of the relationship is being stressed". But it is not quite clear which relationship is being referred to in the expression "old men, old women". Certainly not their relationship to Uis Finit, the Supreme Lord, on whose behalf they receive harvest gifts and who is the highest authority

---

88 *Id.* 1962, p. 95.

89 Middelkoop, 1958c, p. 539.

90 *Na-ina, na-ama, ina* or *aina* - mother; *ama* - father. The prefix *na* - denotes the causative.

91 *Kompani* from *Compagnie,* i.e. the Netherlands East India Company.

in adjudication, in which they act as his advisors. Nor is it that to the four "great fathers" (*amaf naek*) or to the four *usif*, from whom they receive the harvest gifts. The *amaf* are masculine, while the *usif* are *monef atonif*, masculine men. The order *atoni-bifel* (man - woman) with reference to these four elders (*mnasi*) cannot, as I see it, express a greater degree of authority than the reverse order, possibly less. Cunningham [92] says in his study of the Timorese house that they guard the gates between the ritual lord's centre and the four great sub-territories. This is probably an error, for in his dissertation he only says that they take receipt of the tribute at the gates leading into the palace compound. The actual doorkeepers are, as we have seen, the four palace guards. But his remark that the "old men, old women" are called this because they are placed "between conceptually male and female areas" is very enlightening. To this it should be added that they are first called men and then women because their position is on the periphery, between the "masculine" exterior and the "feminine" interior, and not *in* the interior. They are the path connecting the exterior with the interior, to be followed by the bearers of tribute.

These "old men, old women" are the recipients of the harvest gifts which the great fathers and the four *usif* of the realm pile up before them, because they belong to the palace sphere, to "the shade of the banyan, the shade of the great *lete* tree", notwithstanding the fact that they live outside it. Because they reside on the outside they constitute the foci at which the people assemble before bearing the harvest gifts to the palace.

"The first pair (Kofi-Saunoah) received tribute from the tribute chiefs Hitu and Taboi (i.e. the districts of Oilolok and Ainan) at the gates (read: southern gate) of the court area of the ritual lord; the second pair from Saidjao and Banusu (i.e. the districts Subun and Faifinesu)",[93] hence at the northern gate. Kofi is resident in Oeliurai,[94] a village in the district of Oilolok, to the east of the *sonaf*. This means that he too, like Hitu, in whose area he lives, must be associated with the east. And in that case Saunoah must be affiliated with Taboi, who lives in Ainan in the south.

It is not quite clear to me, therefore, why Cunningham associates Kofi-Saunoah in a dyadic opposition with the south and north and

---

[92] Cunningham, 1964a, p. 63.
[93] Cf. Cunningham, 1962, p. 95.
[94] *Op. cit.*, pp. 94, 98.

Finsau-Lamasi with the east and west.[95] The usual order is east-south (which together constitute the masculine half) and west-north (which make up the feminine half).

As far as the subdivisions Hitu-Taboi, Saidjao-Banusu are concerned there is not the slightest doubt in this respect. These relatively large population groups still live in more or less the same geographical position in respect of each other in which the traditional classification places them — my research (conducted in 1946) is corroborated in this by Cunningham's findings. As the traditional system no longer functions it is impossible to determine the locality of most of its functionaries. They are no longer "in their places", and as a result the information collected may be self-contradictory. The logic of the system, supported by the extract from Cunningham's work quoted above and the actual location of Kofi's residence, excludes the possibility of any other conclusion than this.

The second function of these palace elders is expressed by the epithet "deaf ears, blind eyes" — they act as advisors to the *atupas* in adjudication. In this capacity they have to give an unbiased opinion without lending ear to flattery or gossip. Thus they form, together with Uis Finit, the highest tribunal.

c. *The Guardians of the Realm*

These are Atau-pah, Ana'-pah, Abain-pah and Afen-pah. Atau-pah means "the defender or guard of the realm"; Middelkoop[96] mentions the parallel term *ataupah ma ote musu* (= he who defends the realm and subdues the enemy). Ana'-pah means "the guardian of the realm", Abain-pah "he who renders the land fertile", and Afen-pah "he who expels (the enemy) from the realm". The same names are found in other princedoms of Timor as well, Atau-pah being the name of the

---

[95] *Id.*, 1965, pp. 369, 370. His error must be based on the fact that there are two oppositional doorways, namely one in the southern and one in the northern wall. The general pattern, as he himself states, is that "opposed parallel lines rather than a cross are formed". His next remark, namely that "tribute deliverers serve secular lords (as he calls the four *usif*) and tribute receivers the sacral lord" cannot be correct, as the ritual of the acceptance of the harvest gifts does not mention tribute receivers. Us Bala takes receipt of the gifts. The "tribute receivers" mentioned here by Cunningham are the palace guards.

[96] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 7. Ote Musu is also the name of a lineage in Amarasi. Cunningham, 1962, p. 78, quotes a myth in which Afen-pah ruled over the land before the arrival of the *atupas*.

great warrior (*meo naek*) of the ruling lineage, that is, of the ruler, of Amarasi,[97] and also that of a *meo naek* in Amanuban. While in Beboki the Tapen-pah is the masculine cliff to the east of the ruler's *sonaf*, which protects the navel of the realm. In Amfoan[98] the Asu'-pah is "he who carries the realm" and, according to Middelkoop's definition,[99] "he who carries the country on his head, who has to defend the country and to expand its boundaries". Zondervan[100] reports the occurrence of the title Ana'-pah in West Timor and calls its bearer the "exorcist of the realm"; Bastian[101] adds to this that he possesses esoteric knowledge and that the title is hereditary.

My informants in Insana said that each of these guardians of the realm was affiliated with one of the four *usif*, and that hence they were located east-south or west-north in respect of the palace, although like "the old men, the old women" they belong to the palace sphere. According to Cunningham[102] they belonged to the palace itself; he calls them *sona mnasi* (= palace elders), a title of which I have never heard and which does not occur in the ritual texts either. Middelkoop considers this title incorrect because its bearers were very much concerned with the conduct of war so that their position was too independent. This was probably determined by the degree of independence which they managed to secure for themselves, however. It varies from kingdom to kingdom. In Insana they are clearly ritual functionaries who perform their rites near the *sonaf*. In this case the title *sona mnasi* would be appropriate. Cunningham is correct in supposing that these "senior palace elders were, and for the most part still are, resident near Maubesi, traditional centre of Insana".[103] But they are not resident "inside" the *sonaf* — only the palace guards are. The word *pah* in their title would point to a different orientation from that towards the palace.

In the announcement of the death of the raja first the palace guards, "the old men, the old women", are mentioned and then a messenger (*hakef*) has to be sent to the guardians of the realm (C. 9) and next to the four *usif* who in a sense also belong to the palace, as we shall see later.

---

[97] Cunningham, 1962, p. 68, note 1.
[98] Müller, 1857, II, pp. 199 and 47.
[99] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 7.
[100] Zondervan, 1888, p. 400.
[101] Bastian, 1885, p. 3.
[102] Cunningham, 1965, p. 370.
[103] Cunningham, 1962, p. 69.

Hence in the diagram of the political structure (diagram No. 7) a circle has been drawn to represent the area surrounding the palace, with the titles of the advisors and of the guardians of the realm marked in it. Although they belong to the palace they live just outside it, thus forming the boundary — they are the bridge spanning the "interior" and the "exterior".

Their function takes on quite clear outlines in the ritual accompanying the presentation of the harvest gifts. Just as the palace guards have to line up and stand in the correct attitude before the guests (A. 16) and before the deceased prince (C. 93), similarly these guardians of the realm have to line up and stand in the correct attitude (*mihake, mibeta*) before the Lord of Heaven (A. 28, B. 17). They are the experts responsible for sacrificing, the great experts in ritual matters. Thus they avert any potential misfortune which may strike their people. In this respect they are comparable with the figure of Kune in the realm of Sonba'i.[104]

At the announcement of the death of the raja they are called the "great faces, the great eyes" (C. 10), that is, the watchful eyes which make them the guardians of the realm. This function they hold as a result of the performance of sacrifices. It is their sacrifices and their knowledge of spells and rites which protect the realm and make its warriors victorious. This knowledge makes them powerful.

They have a part in the performance of two types of ritual. Firstly in that performed to effect fertility (*le'u nono*), such as we encountered in the agricultural cycle. They conclude this rite by dedicating the harvest gifts to the Lord of Heaven, Uis Neno. The name Abain-pah (= he who makes the land fertile) refers directly to this aspect of their task. Secondly they are indispensable in the *le'u musu* ritual which is directed against the enemy (*musu*). They have to proceed for this to the sacred sacrificial pole named Lanusu, which most probably stood in front of the shrine or *ume le'u* in which the sacred objects of the realm are kept, and in which alone the war ritual may be performed. Without a doubt they belong to the palace, therefore, like the old advisors, in spite of the fact that their residence may be "outside". Most likely they also belong in pairs to each of the two divisions of the realm. I was told in 1946, although I failed at the time to see the connection and had not asked any questions in this direction, that Atau-pah and Ana'-pah belonged to Hitu-Taboi.

---

[104] Pp. 267 ff. below.

d. *The Four Usif*

The title of *usif* or *uisfini* (also a plural form of *usif*) for the four lords itself implies a certain development which in this form is typical only of Insana. They belong to the palace, but their domain is "outside". In primeval times (*um unu*), according to the myth, they were one with Us Finit — this explains why he is called supreme *usif*. They used to be resident "inside" but now live "outside" and are affiliated with the two divisions of the realm of which Hitu-Taboi (in the east and the south respectively) and Saidjao-Banusu (west and north respectively) are the great fathers.

If Us Bala, the *kolnel,* is comparable with the Merovingian *major-domo* the *usif* may similarly be compared to the earls who in Carolingian times functioned as *missi dominici* or ambassadors of the lord.[105]

Us Finit as *atupas* is feminine, whilst they are the masculine men — *monef atonif*. The *atupas* resides "inside", for his palace (*sonaf*) is situated in the "navel of the realm". The *uisfini* live on the "outside". However, their small sacrificial poles (*tola ana*) are "inside", surrounding the *atupas'* large sacrificial pole (*tola naek, niku naek*). Only the great fathers (*amaf naek*) have their altars really on the "outside". As we have seen, the "interior" is associated with the feminine and the exterior with the masculine. So the *atupas* and the four *usif* combine to form some sort of unity, a dual unity uniting two principles, namely the feminine and the masculine, the immobile and the active, the one being orientated towards the interior and the other towards the exterior.

It is similar to the relationship between de *atupas* and Us Bala. In the latter the two opposite principles, the feminine and the masculine, also combine to form a unity; while it also contains the polarity of the immobile and the active, or "he who sleeps and commands" as opposed to he who is active and carries out these commands. In carrying out these orders Us Bala represents the *sonaf* externally, so that within the *sonaf* itself we also have the opposition between "inside" and "outside" directedness, although Us Bala himself lives definitely "inside" the palace compound. It is impossible to ascertain what the nature of the relationship between Us Bala and the four *usif* was. It is my personal impression that Us Bala maintained relations with the four subdivisions via the four *usif*. The developments in Insana before the Netherlands East Indies Government began to interfere in the administration of Timor, and perhaps even as early as the 19th century,

[105] Cf. Halphen, 1947, p. 150.

were such that the Us Bala lineage was ousted and replaced by the *usfini*, notably by Us Taolin, the most prominent of the four. He was the obvious figure to replace Us Bala, as he was the most important *usif* after him. As we shall see later, developments in Beboki took a different course thus offering excellent material for comparison, the basic structure of Beboki being very similar to that of Insana: in Insana only one *usif* failed to become a district head or *fetor*, whilst in Beboki all but one failed to do so, the only exception being assigned only a small district, moreover.[106]

Us Fal is the only one of the four *usif* who no longer exists, so that his place in the political organization is not altogether clear. The ritual texts always mention Taolin-Fal, Pupu-Tonbesi in that order. This may be a result of the fact that Taolin claimed priority for himself once the Fal lineage had "died out". On the other hand, rivalries in Insana are so keen that is is not be expected that Taolin would be given first place in a ritual text such as that accompanying the abandoning of the garden or the closing of the door [107] — which was recorded in Maubesi, i.e., outside his own territory — if he did not originally occupy this position. Cunningham [108] writes, however: "People generally acknowledge that if Fal representatives were available, they would be on the throne". This piece of information speaks volumes when we consider that the present raja of Insana is, in fact, a Taolin. But Van der Wolk's testimony contradicts this. The latter was a government administrator in 1933, when Kahalasi Taolin had to be deposed and subsequently sentenced to twenty years' exile on fourteen counts of despotic committal to prison, 23 charges of cruelty, five of them resulting in death, and, in addition, a charge of manslaughter. He had run his own prison and used to give his prisoners only tamarind fruit to eat until death came to those who could receive no aid from their relatives. This was particularly offensive and provocative in view of the fact that supporters of the *atupas* and his tamarind palace (*sonaf kiu*) were forced to eat tamarind fruits. After his conviction a member of the *atupas* lineage, though not a direct descendant, was appointed raja. Taolin's downfall was complete. Under such circumstances Van der Wolk was told that formerly, when all four *usif* were still in function, these could not go to the palace of the prince unless accompanied by Taolin. This clearly indicates some degree of superiority.

---

[106] P. 249 below.
[107] P. 88 above.
[108] Cunningham, 1962, p. 72.

Moreover, Taolin is called the eldest of the four brothers — the relationship between them is expressed in terms of *olif-tataf*, the relationship between younger and elder brothers. What is more, Taolin lives in the east, in Oilolok, the territory of Hitu, the most prominent of the four great fathers. Cunningham [109] incorrectly suggests that Fal was affiliated with Saidjao, who lives in Subun, to the south-west of Maubesi, which from a classificatory point of view belongs to the west-north half. Taolin-Fal are affiliated with Hitu-Taboi. The theory that Fal and Taboi — the *amaf naek* or *kapitan* of the district of Ainan which, like Oilolok, at present has a Taolin at its head — belonged together is further supported by the following: in the *Documentos Sarzedas*,[110] based on the situation which prevailed from 1722-1725, Ainan is mentioned together with Mena, the port of Insana (by which name the whole of Insana was formerly designated), as an independent district. In 1760, however, Von Pluskow signed a treaty with Insana (but not Ainan),[111] so that somewhere between 1727 and 1760, but certainly by 1819,[112] according to a manuscript mentioning all the princedoms of Timor, Insana must have become a unified whole again. It is therefore very likely that the *usif* lineage of Ainan disappeared during this time. It is remarkable that a ruling lineage which disappeared about 200 years ago should still be mentioned in the state ritual; this bears at the same time strong witness to the reliability of ritual texts.

Pupu-Tonbesi, who are now affiliated with Banusu in the district of Fafinesu, belonged to Saidjao-Banusu, the western and northern quarters of the realm respectively. Bipartition is the most prominent feature, and the first mentioned of each pair of *usif* is invariably the leading one (that is, in this case Taolin and Pupu). Cunningham [113] rightly says: "When the Dutch became established in the interior in 1910-1915, they first recognised only two sub-territories of Insana, Oilolok and Fafinesu, the Taolin line became *fetor* of the former, Pupu of the latter".

The ruling lineage of Taolin was deposed in 1933 on account of cruelty and oppression. This is no more than a historical fact, the Colonial Government intervening in a situation for which she herself was partially responsible. Surprisingly this theme constantly recurs in

---

109 *Op. cit.*, p. 87.
110 In De Castro, 1876, p. 202.
111 P. 182 above.
112 MS. *Iets over het eiland Timor* (Some notes on the Island of Timor).
113 Cunningham, 1962, p. 87.

the myths. According to one of these, for instance, Sonba'i was once expelled for the same reasons. And there are stories about Taolin which relate how he was expelled by the *atupas*. This sort of myth is a fabrication by Taolin's own circles. They run as follows: The rule of Taolin, the "eldest of the four brothers", was too harsh and his orders too severe, so that the fathers (*amfini*) approached the *atupas* in order to complain about him. The *atupas* turned Taolin out of the country. Together with Hitu-Taboi he travelled to Lahurus in the mountains and Fatu Gede on the coast, on the other side of the realm of the Belus. In his palace, however, there was a woman, Pakai Noni, who was grief-stricken at Taolin's cruel fate. Moved by pity she travelled to Fatu Gede, helped by Us Kono and Us Olin, the great warriors of Molo-Miomafo, to fetch him back. Us Taolin refused to return, however, but his son, whose body was covered with wounds and who was in a deplorable condition, was persuaded to accompany them at night. That very same night he was taken back and restored to health. So Us Taolin returned after all. The young Taolin married Pakai Noni's daughter, and Nai Noni and Nai Kreas supplied people to replace Hitu-Taboi.

This legend was recorded in 1946 in Taolin's presence. It sounds like a legendary version of Taolin's downfall in 1933 [114] and his triumphant return in 1942. This must have been based on earlier story material, as it is not likely that an entirely new myth was created as late as 1946. But even such an old Taolin myth is doubtless related to the Sonba'i myth; [115] a fact that emerges from many of these Sonba'i myths is that although a ruler could be cruel and severe, and in that case might be deposed or possibly even killed, he nonetheless remained indispensable. On the analogy of this, other rulers could adapt such myths to themselves. In his capacity as *atupas*, the key figure in the performance of the fertility ritual (*le'u nono*) and the war ritual (*le'u musu*), the ruler is indispensable.

The story of Taolin's exile and the rescue of his son testifies to an enormous hubris. Taolin compares himself to the indispensable Sonba'i. His child, similarly, is suddenly restored to health and becomes "brilliant" (*pinat*), the same epithet as that used with reference to the Son of Heaven (*neno ana*); "brilliant" and "fiery" (*apina-aklahat*) are both appellations for the Lord of Heaven himself. Sonba'i's rescued

---

[114] Taolin was exiled once again in 1940.
[115] See pp. 263, 268 below.

child is looked after by two women belonging to his bride-giving groups headed by his "great fathers"; these groups thus remain superior or "masculine" in terms of the kinship structure. But in the Taolin myth the bride-giving groups — Hitu-Taboi — are degraded, as it is said that they are replaced by "new" people or "later" arrivals, and are therefore socially inferior, although they remain *mone* in respect of Taolin as his bride-givers. This myth, which presents Taolin in an extremely favourable light, is no more than the mythical, that is, preternatural justification of Taolin's new position of power. The myth in this form must be a recent creation. Although it is virtually impossible for ritual texts to change, myths, as an expression of political affiliations, inevitably do so, albeit within the frameworks of the traditional patterns.

The *usif*'s most important title is *monef-atonif* (= masculine man), "man with an emphasis on strength and masculinity", to quote Cunningham.[116] This strength and masculinity are the attributes par excellence of the warrior. Middelkoop[117] points out that *monef-atonif* is a term used throughout the entire Atoni area with reference to the *meo naek* (= great warrior or headhunter). Now, special *meo* lineages are mentioned in addition to the four *usif* lineages; I was given the names of four of these, Cunningham those of four times four. This fits in perfectly with the structure, in spite of the fact that these names are not mentioned in any of the rites. If four *meo* lineages are mentioned, these are representative of the realm as a whole, and if four times four *meo* lineages are enumerated, they must be representative of the four sub-territories of the realm. Even this is not the total number, as it is possible for any Atoni to become a *meo*. Nonetheless particular lineages are designated *meo* lineages in the political structure. It is compulsory for the sons of these lineages to become *meo* by taking an active part in a head-hunting raid. Boys may become *meo* merely by helping to take a head — if one, for instance, shoots one of the enemy's warriors and another beheads the corpse they both become *meo*.[118]

The four *usif*, however, are the actual war-leaders. Whether Usi Bala, as the masculine counterpart of the *atupas*, used to hold this function is no longer clear in the case of Insana. Some people expressed the opinion that this was so, and judging from the structures of other princedoms this seems very likely. In the Taolin myth even the ruler

---

116 Cunningham, 1962, p. 71.
117 Personal communication.
118 P. 344 below.

of Miomafo, Us Kono, is called *meo naek,* and this is correct provided he is regarded as Sonba'i's right hand or executive authority. Müller[119] also calls him the warrior prince of Amakono (Amakono being an old name for Miomafo). Within Miomafo itself, however, Kono is the *atupas,* the immobile, feminine custodian of the *le'u,* as we shall see in the description of the structure of Miomafo.[120] Furthermore, according to the legend of origin of Insana, that princedom was aided by the great headhunters (*meo naek*) Kono-Oematan, Babu-Bifel, in its struggle for independence against Liurai.

That in Insana the *usif* was in fact a *meo* is evident from Steinmetz's [121] communication that the head of Tafinesu, that is, Us Pupu, was called Meo Misa. And an old travel account of Amanuban from 1851 [122] mentions that there were four hereditary *meo* there, who were not members of the royal lineage; one of them, however, had succeeded in making almost all of the heads dependent on him. In other words, he had managed to secure for himself a position similar to that of Taolin in Insana.

In legends concerning headhunting raids [123] these usually appear to be led by important heads. But these stories are set almost exclusively in Molo and Amanuban, the structures of which are not identical with that of Insana notwithstanding a basic similarity. There is usually less consistency in the use of titles here, moreover. The general title used for prominent people is Nai (lord), a title which is also found in Insana with reference to the *usif*: "the four lords (*nai*), the four spouses (*kato*)". It is probably the oldest and most generally used title. The *usif* title was formerly used only with reference to Uis Neno and Uis Pah, the Lord of Heaven and the Lord of the Earth — and, by extension, to the prince as the son of heaven (*neno anan*) and later on also came to be used for other personages. Even Sonba'i is referred to as Nai Sonba'i in stories of headhunting expeditions. Not the title of *usif* or *nai,* but the epithet *monef-atonif* (masculine man) is decisive here, however. The latter is applied to the headhunter (*meo*) or to the war-leader. The four *usif* of Insana were such war-leaders. The close association of the epithet *monef-atonif* with warfare is apparent from the definition which is often added, namely

---

119 Müller, 1857, II, p. 164.
120 Pp. 280, 282 below.
121 Steinmetz, 1916, p. 74.
122 D. 1851, p. 7.
123 Middelkoop, 1963.

that they are the men who "kick the land, kick the lake" (*atika paha, atika nifu*) or, in other words, who kick in the "doors" of the realm and thus cross its frontiers into the territory of the enemy. Cunningham [124] says of them that they "were responsible for warfare, tribute to the ritual lord, adjudication and public order generally, and they had warrior chiefs who guarded the gate and the way of the princedom, controlling the movement of persons and tribute". He therefore calls them "secular" lords as opposed to "ritual lord", the name he uses for the *atupas*. In the traditional structure they were responsible not only for warfare, but also for the "harvest" of the war, that is, the heads taken during a raid which were brought to the ruler via them, just as the harvest gifts are offered to the ruler by the great fathers (the *kapitan*). It was the *kapitan* and not the *usif* who were responsible for the latter, however.

The ritual centre of the *usif* in their capacity as receivers of the harvest gifts is the *tola,* the sacrificial pole of the altar near the *atupas' lopo* — the four-pillared, open house, these pillars supporting a ceiling on top of which is a pillar which supports the conically shaped roof. This *lopo* is the customary meeting-place. Similarly the *tola* adjacent to the ruler's palace is the meeting-place for the entire princedom. It is to this *tola* that the *kapitan* bring the harvest gifts and here the thanksgiving sacrifices for the harvest are offered. It is called *tola naek,* or great altar, around which the four *usif* have their *tola ana* or smaller altars, thus symbolizing their unity with the prince. That is why they also share in the harvest gifts (*poni ane*), so that the practice of bringing them harvest gifts separately must be of more recent origin, going back to the time when they became more independent and their sphere came to be "outside".

Their function in respect of the second sacred centre of the realm, that is, the *ume le'u* or "house of the sacred objects", the ritual centre associated with warfare, is more important, however. This *ume le'u* is also situated near the ruler's *sonaf,* in the navel of the realm. It is a small, low, square hut with only one sacred pillar, the *ni le'u*. It lacks a maternal pillar, as it is distinctly masculine. Every *kapitan* and every *amaf* has his own *lopo* (which serves as the meeting-place for his community) and an adjacent altar. But only a community capable of acting as an independent political unit was originally entitled to have its own *ume le'u*. With the result that as soon as an *usif* had his own

[124] Cunningham, 1962.

ume le'u he was properly speaking "outside" and able to act independently as the leader of a headhunting raid. This was the case in Insana. This may be a potential cause of scission, moreover, which took place frequently in Timor. In his capacity as war-leader it was the *usif*'s task to protect the door (*eno*) which served as entrance (*lalan* = road) to the realm. This they used to do with the aid of their great warriors (*meo naek*). They are not usually themselves called *meo naek,* but this depends on the distance from which they are viewed — in Insana Us Kono and Us Olin of Miomafo may be called *meo naek,* as they are the war-leaders of that princedom. In Miomafo itself, however, the latter are not called this, but are referred to as Us Kono, and Us Olin with his *meo naek.*

When Cunningham adds that the *usif* are responsible for adjudication and public order as well as the general conduct of their subjects, and supervised the collection of tribute, he is thinking too much in terms of the present situation. Adjudication was not in the first instance the *usif*'s responsibility, but rather that of the great fathers or *kapitan.* And supervision of the public order is a modern concept. What are we to understand under the concept "administration" with regard to the traditional situation in Timor? Hardly what we understand under it in a modern society or even in respect of present-day Timor.

The political life of the community has a centre with two opposed poles. Us Finit is always the centre — he is the *atupas,* that is, he sleeps, is immobile and offers sacrifices. The two opposed poles are peace and war, "coolness and heat", and both have the prosperity or "coolness" of the realm in view. They are symbolized on the one hand by the *lopo,* that is, the meeting-place with the great altar (*tola naek*) together with the maternal pillar (*ni ainaf*) in the *sonaf,* from which the sacred objects relating to the fertility power (*le'u nono*) are suspended; and on the other hand by the *le'u* house in which the sacred objects relating to the enmity power (*le'u musu*) are kept. This *le'u musu* comes into operation during times of war when headhunting raids are held. During such times the *le'u nono* is temporarily suspended. Nothing is as highly charged with sacred power or surrounded by as much ritual as a headhunting raid. No *meo* would set out without a *le'u musu* or without first ritually preparing himself. After the expedition a new ritual was necessary to "cool him down" again. Seen in this light Cunningham's [125] statement that the "conduct of war" „is a secular

[125] *Idem,* p. 143.

pursuit" is not justified. Nor is it correct to call the *usif* "secular lord", even though he himself takes no part in the performance of rites. Cunningham's term "ritual lord" for the *atupas,* on the other hand, is most appropriate. Although the *atupas* himself may not perform many rites he is clearly the centre around which the whole of the ritual of his community revolves.

All matters which are of importance for the princedom as a political community are transferred by means of the ritual to the realm of the hidden and the sacred. Warfare and headhunting, moreover, are not only of vital importance for the community, but also constitute a very grave danger, as the enemy also employs hidden powers and thereby threatens the very life and existence of the community itself.

The *usif* is primarily concerned with this highly sacred event. Though he may not be a "ritual" lord, he is placed high above the incidents of day to day life. For in the Atoni culture the two opposed poles of the sacred and the profane find expression in the polarity of that which is essential for the survival and perpetuation of the community and the lineage (*ume* in the sense of the locally defined descent group) on the one hand, and all that is repeated a thousand times in the ordinary activities of day to day life, such as the children's play, the informal social gatherings in the village *lopo* at night, spinning and other women's work (although weaving is not done entirely without the accompaniment of rites), and guarding the gardens during the period between planting and harvesting on the other. In the latter activity an element of the sacred enters in the form of the taboo which will inevitably bring down a curse or disease upon those who fail to obey it. Although all aspects of the Atoni's life are related to the hidden world, he is least aware of this in his ordinary, day to day activities. It is important to observe in this context that the Atoni has no word to denote "profane", so that the dichotomy of the sacred and the profane does not constitute a category of his classificatory system.

e. *The Great Fathers*

So far we have dealt with the centre of the princedom as a political community and have discussed all those who belong to that centre to a greater or lesser extent. The great fathers (*amaf naek*) live well and truly on the "outside" of the centre. They are the "fathers" or heads of the two halves and, besides, the major custodians of the land or *tobe naek*. They are Hitu-Taboi, resident in Oilolok in the east and Ainan

in the south respectively; and Saidjao-Banusu, in Subun in the west and Fafinesu in the north respectively (see map no. 4 on p. 154). Hitu-Taboi are always named first — they represent the superior half. This corresponds with their geographical position in the east and south of the realm. Saidjao is supposed to be resident in the west. In actual fact his traditional centre is situated to the south-west of Maubesi, the centre of the realm, whilst Ainan lies to the south-east rather than to the south of Maubesi. In spite of these slight deviations we have here tangible evidence that east-south constitute one half of the princedom and west-north the other half. As the east and south are associated with the masculine, and the west and north with the feminine, the relationship between the two halves is a masculine-feminine one. This is not inconsistent with the *amaf naek*'s being masculine (*mone*) in respect of the *feto* ruler — they are all *mone* by virtue of their affinal relationship with the raja and the *usif* in general. They are the bride-giving groups and as such are invariably *mone* and socially superior.

The *feto-mone* distinction assumes a different meaning where the term refers to the interior (*nanan*) and exterior (*mone*). For in this case the interior is superior. *Nanan* refers to the immobile, ritual centre by which orders are issued, whereas *mone* stands for the active exterior which is protected by the ritual and puts the orders issued by the centre into execution.

This is the ideal pattern, which reveals a certain balance of power within the political community. The great fathers are socially superior because they are bride-givers; they are economically superior because they "feed" the ruler by bringing him their harvest gifts; and they are, to some extent, religiously superior because they are the *atoni amaf* of the ruler and the *usif,* who are therefore dependent on them for their life-cycle rituals. On the other hand, the ruler is superior because he conducts the ritual on which the success of the harvest is dependent and because he is the custodian of the shrine on which the fate of the realm is dependent when it is at war; wars, moreover, were not infrequent — small-scale wars took place every year. He furthermore has political power, as he issues orders. In practice, however, the central power is often weak. An *usif,* especially because he was the war-leader and the leader of headhunting raids, often acted politically independently.[126] The same applied to the *amaf naek,* though not (or no longer) in Insana, although it was an all too regular occurrence in other prince-

[126] Cf. Middelkoop, *Headhunting,* 1963, passim.

doms. In the latter the distinction between *usif* and *amaf naek* is less clear-cut than in Insana, in the structure of which it is most obvious. From the fact that in 1727 Ainan, the sub-territory of the *amaf naek* Taboi and *usif* Fal, is mentioned in the *Documentos de Sarzedas* as one of the *reinos* or kingdoms of Timor, in addition to Mena, the old port of Insana, it is clear that in Insana, too, the balance of power was most unstable. The changes during the past five decades, too, no matter how much they may have been influenced or even determined by the colonial situation, also show only too plainly how strong internal tensions can be.

The *amaf naek* was able to occupy such an important position in the political system and to make a positive contribution towards the preservation of a certain balance of power as a result of his position as bride-giver, because he was the immediate head of every clan and every lineage resident in his sub-territory.

Hence the political community is made up of two groups of clans (*kanaf*) each of which is in turn divided into a number of geographically defined lineages, each of them headed by an *amaf*. They are under the leadership of, or rather represented by, two great fathers (*amaf naek*) for each half.

This genealogical structure of the princedom reflects the territorial structure as well, while it also determines land tenure rights. These two kinds of structure are inseparable from one another, as the *amaf naek* are also *tobe naek* or major custodians of the land.

There are two perspectives from which to approach the question of land tenure rights. Looking at it from the highest level: when we speak of the land as belonging to the people as a political community we mean by "land": "territory". This is the political perspective. If land is interpreted in this sense an *usif* may call himself "*pah tua*" (= lord of the land). The *usif* are, in fact, called this on announcement of the prince's death (C. 15). Middelkoop lists many examples of this use of the term. For instance, the ruler of Molo (Oematan) is addressed as "*pah tuan*" in one of his stories about headhunting raids,[127] while the ruler of Amanuban said of himself: "I am the soil (*au nain*) of the whole of Amanuban. I am the land Amanuban (*au pah Amanuban*)".[128] Middelkoop compares this with Louis XIV's statement "*l'état c'est moi*". In Timor these words have an even fuller meaning, as the title

[127] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 227.
[128] Middelkoop, 1960, p. 22.

Nai (Lord) suggests, which is probably related to *nain* (soil; *nai kniti,* for instance, is gravelly soil). *Nai* is furthermore generally used in combination with men's names. In the Tetun language area *liurai* is a familiar title in which *rai* means "soil", "earth", "land", and *liu* denotes the comparative degree.[129] De Castro[130] observes that in Portuguese Timor the ruler is called *colonel-rai.* And Forbes[131] mentions *rai-luli* as the title of the most influential man in the princedom, *luli* meaning "sacred", "dangerous", "prohibited", cognate with the Atoni word *nuni.* He is the custodian of the sacred objects of the realm. This title again expresses the direct relationship of the head to his territory. In the ritual texts accompanying the presentation of harvest gifts to the *atupas* of Insana the four *usif* are repeatedly called *nai ha, kato ha* (the four lords, the four spouses). The *usif,* then, is first and foremost the ruler of his dominion, this word here having the same double meaning as in English, viz. (1) lordship, sovereignty, control, and (2) territory of sovereign or government. The prince — *usfinit* in Insana — is the sovereign of the entire territory and hence its representative, whilst the four *usif* have control, in pairs, of each of the two sub-territories, especially in respect of warfare.

Besides this political relationship to the land or soil, there is the question of land tenure, or the legal and economic relationship of a group or person to the soil which it (or he) tills and the fruits of which it reaps.

Looking at the question from the lowest level, we may ask who has a right to the land. Now, the house and its surrounding compound are the property of the head of the family occupying it. It is only in more recent times, since the villages were moved and have expanded, that the practice of constructing fences around this compound has come into use, as formerly there was no such fence. If the trees in the compound are planted by the head of the family they are his property, and his sons' property after his death. Hence all planted fruit-trees have owners.

A person cultivating a garden plot would always do so in collaboration with the people of his *ume* who lived in the same hamlet (*kuan*).

---

[129] Mathijsen, *1907,* pp. 78, 103. This title can therefore be compared to Afen-pah (= he who wipes out the enemy).

[130] De Castro, 1862, p. 474. The title *coronel-rei* occurs in the *Documentos Sarzedas* in De Castro, 1867, pp. 190 ff. Port. *rei* = king. De Castro, himself a Portuguese, could not possibly have confused *rei* with Tetun *rai.*

[131] Forbes, 1885, p. 443.

No permission for cultivation had to be sought if the same group had worked the plot before — it had certain rights to the use of the land from then on. Each member of the group would work a particular patch, the yield of which he could keep for his own family. Even if a young man were rendering bride-services for the *amaf* of his wife's *ume* he was allowed to keep for his own use the produce of the part of the garden cultivated and worked by him, in spite of the fact that it was expected of him to help his father-in-law. The *tobe* only becomes involved when the appropriate ritual after burning down has to be performed. As we saw in the description of the agricultural cycle, he is the ritual custodian of the land. His permission must be obtained before virgin forest land or pasture land can be cultivated. In such cases he has rigths of disposal over the land.

Formerly he was given a portion of the harvest. The primary meaning of the word *tobe* is "basket", or rather the lid of the small basket used for sacrificing rice and corn, which is at the same time symbolic of the harvest gifts. The *tobe* placed his *tobe* beside the sacrificial pole (*tola*) of the altar and the people placed their harvest gifts beside this *tobe* or, as is more common in modern times, cast a coin into it.

He acted, besides, as an intermediary in the presentation of harvest gifts (*poni ana* = pannier of rice) to the major *tobe* (*tobe naek*) and via him to the *atupas* and Us Bala in the palace. Hence in this function, as in his capacity as *amaf*, the *tobe* has a definite place in the political system. The major *tobe* (*tobe naek*) holds the same double function. He is in the first place the great sacrificer — at the presentation of the harvest gifts he offers a sacrifice at his own altar (*tola*) before bringing them to the ruler; in times of drought or in other cases of failure of the crop he is approached in order that he may perform the correct ritual.

As regards land tenure rights he is the highest authority with respect to the disposal over the land; the *tobe naek* is the actual custodian of the land in the sense in which Van Vollenhoven [132] uses the term. In Bahasa Indonesia his title is *tuan tanah* (= land-owner), often translated with *pah tuan* by the Atoni; but this he definitely is not. He is "the Lord of the great sacrificial basket and the Lord of the great sacrificial pannier" (this refers to his ritual function). He is, moreover, "the long-handled weeder, the long-handled matchet" (*tofa hau mnanu, bena hau mnanu*). This is the definition of his function as major cus-

[132] Van Vollenhoven, I, 2, 1931, p. 438.

todian (*tobe naek*) who, though indirectly (via his *tobe*), has the disposal over the land of his sub-territory. Each *tobe* has a particular, well defined area inside the territory of the *tobe naek*. The boundaries are not well defined, however — though people are aware of them they hardly ever mention them. Agricultural plots clearly constitute part of the territory of a particular custodian — there are never misunderstandings about this. Nor do people ever quarrel about pasture land — a herd of buffalo may safely stray across the border, as long as they remain inside the territory of the quarter concerned. Friction is more likely to arise in issues concerning rights of disposal over sandalwood and the yields of "bee trees" — besides cattle thieving, sandalwood and bees' wax are the most frequent causes of disputes and wars. They are no more than disputes as long as they are restricted to custodians within the sub-territory of one *tobe naek*. Everyone knows exactly which sandal-trees and which trees containing bees' nests belong to his particular territory. In spite of this, they never hesitate to appropriate trees beyond their borders, especially if there already exists some tension as a result of various other matters. People residing in the territory of one *tobe naek* will not hastily resort to violence against each other. Even within the political community as a whole there are certain restraints in this regard, although internal headhunting raids as a result of border disputes did sometimes take place. Such raids between two different political communities were a regular occurrence, however. The greater the political distance between certain groups, the more important was an exact kowledge of the border and the better people were able to name it: they would know all the names, from rock to spring, from grove to hill-top, alongside creek-beds and across mountain ridges, so that the border of a territory could be summed up "from name to name". A knowledge of the names is regarded as constituting an important part of the conclusive evidence in support of a claim to the rights to a certain territory. The opposing party, on the other hand, will try to define its border with even more convincing accuracy. Strings of names will coincide up to the critical point around which the dispute is centred.

In a border dispute between Bikomi and Tunbaba[133] in 1947 — two politically almost independent districts of Miomafo — the strength of the evidence furnished by a knowledge of the names was clearly demonstrated. Tunbaba insisted, with good reason, on a rectification of the border. The

[133] On the relationship between Bikomi and Tunbaba, and that between Noiltoko and Ablal see pp. 291, 287 and 283 below respectively.

usif, all the *tobe* involved, village heads, and hundreds of people from the two quarrelling districts assembled at a point on the old border consisting of a mountain ridge which offered a view across a large part of the disputed area. Both parties stood glowering at each other for a long time, only the moral authority of the government representative preventing a hand-to-hand fight. Each of the parties indicated the garden plots and clumps of trees to which it laid claim. Thereupon the government official asked Tunbaba, as the prosecuting party, to sum up the entire border between the two districts. And although the *usif* of Bikomi was a very strong personality, he and his people were dumbfounded when the prosecuting party summed up long strings of names of places through which the old border ran, and subsequently the names of places in the disputed area, which was rightfully hers. Thereupon Tunbaba added another string of names, all in one breath, thus claiming a considerable portion of Bikomi territory. Bikomi was rendered speechless. The raja of Miomafo, an extremely weak figure who had been appointed raja much against the wishes of Bikomi, said nothing in favour of Bikomi. The Netherlands Government official therefore concluded, after asking Bikomi emphatically whether it had anything to say in its defence, that Tunbaba's claim had to be satisfied; the raja agreed. Bikomi signed the agreement, which listed all the names enumerated by Tunbaba. Only months later did Bikomi have the courage to go back on this decision. Its head said that he had been absolutely dumbfounded and had been at a loss to think on the spot of any names with which to counter Tunbaba's claim. And the government official, who thought that he had experience in Timorese border disputes, realized that once more he had acted too hastily.

In a second case a border dispute arose between Noiltoko and Ablal. These were two very closely related districts of Miomafo which had for centuries been a unity when Us Kono was resident in Noiltoko as Prince of Miomafo, so that their borders were rather vaguely defined in the "greater" tradition. The reason for the dispute was that someone outside the house of Us Kono was to become district head of Noiltoko, so that a border now had to be definitely demarcated. The government official allowed the two parties to discuss the matter for seven hours on end, once again on a mountain ridge offering a view across the disputed area. The custodians of the land themselves were drawn into the case via their district heads and on the basis of their "lesser" tradition a border line was determined. This was possible without too much difficulty, be it after endless negotiations, because Noiltoko, Us Kono's former centre, and Ablal, the district of Uis Mone (the masculine Lord in respect of Kono), continued to recognize the fact that they formed a dual unity, even though someone other than a Kono was to become district head of Noiltoko.

The major custodians of the land therefore dispose over the land of particular areas with well defined borders. They are at the same time the "great fathers" (*amaf naek*) of these districts. They are the genealogical and territorial lords, in pairs, of the two sub-divisions which inhabit particular, bounded areas. Genealogical and territorial units are inseparable here, so that their land tenure rights assume political significance. Originally they were the territorial heads. So

the terms "territorial heads" and "genealogical heads" are both equally appropriate. They are the representatives of their *to ana, to kliko,*[134] the ordinary people living in their sub-territory. Therefore both the titles *nai* and *amaf* can be used, *nai* placing greater emphasis on the territorial, and *amaf* on the genealogical aspect of their function.

In recapitulation the following can be said: the nucleus of Atoni society is the *ume,* the limited, locally defined lineage. Genealogically this *ume* is part of a lineage which may or may not be locally defined and which in turn is part, along with other lineages, of a clan (*kanaf*) resident in a particular area headed by an *amaf naek.* Lineages of this *kanaf* may live outside this area as well. Different *kanaf* reside within the area of one *amaf naek,* who is the genealogical head of the most prominent *kanaf* and therefore the *amaf naek* of all of these *kanaf.*

Besides this, the territorial series runs as follows: an *ume* is a locally defined group of kin. Such an *ume* originally constituted a separate hamlet (*kuan* or *lopo*) but had no land of its own — this it shared with other *ume.* This land was in the custodianship of the *tobe,* who is the *amaf* of one of these *ume,* the area in the custodianship of one particular *tobe* usually coinciding with the territory of a village and its constituent hamlets. Hence the territory of a *tobe* is the smallest territorial unit of which the boundaries are accurately defined. The *amaf* of the various *ume* of a village make up a council of elders or *amnasi,* one of whom is the village head or *temukung,* a title which was adopted during the colonial period; formerly one of the *amnasi* used to be *primus inter pares.* The combined areas of these *tobe* constitute the territory of a *tobe naek* (i.e. a sub-territory of the princedom), who is also *amaf naek.* Hence the territorial and the genealogical aspects of the system coincide at the apex and at the base.

By virtue of their important position it was they, and not the four *usif,* who were given the title of *kapitan* by the Portuguese. And by virtue of their double function — that of *tobe naek* and *amaf naek,* or territorial head and genealogical head — it is they who have the task of bringing the harvest gifts to the palace of the prince and Us Bala, or, to use the Portuguese titles, which undoubtedly give a correct representation of the hierarchy, the *rei* (later *kesel*) and the *kolnel.* The four *usif* or "masculine men", whose sphere was "outside", also received harvest gifts and in this respect belonged to the palace, where,

---

[134] *To* - from *atoni* = man. *Ana* = child, little. *Kliko* = small.

in fact, they have their own small altars or *tola ana*. However, in their capacity as defenders of the realm they are "outside" (*mone*) and are masculine (*mone*) in respect of the prince (*atupas*), who is feminine (*feto*). Therefore they are affiliated in pairs with the two pairs of "great fathers", and hence their borders coincide with theirs. In reply to the question as to what is the territory of the two *kapitan* Hitu-Taboi the Atoni will summarize the names defining the boundary. And to the same question in respect of Us Taolin and Us Fal the reply is invariably that they "have found their places" with Hitu-Taboi as *usif*, hence as rulers or masculine counterparts of the central authority, who were entitled to receive harvest gifts directly.

It is only as a result of the developments during the colonial period, however, that the *usif* have become district heads at the expense of the position and function of the *kapitan*. If formerly an *usif*, who was "outside", came to be gradually more independent — a normal course of events — this *usif* would himself become the centre or "interior" of a new political community. We shall come across examples of this happening in the discussion of the relationship between Sonba'i and Kono. Kono and Oematan were both *usif* of Sonba'i and were in this capacity the *meo naek* or great warriors, the "masculine men" and the exterior of Sonba'i, who is the ritual, immobile centre and hence *feto*. But in Miomafo, which has been independent for centuries, Kono is in turn the immobile, *feto* centre, the masculine "exterior" of which is represented by Us Thaal and Us Olin.

Insana is unique in that this sort of division did not take place here. It is for this reason, and because it was not subjected to colonial rule until 1915 (so that in 1940 and 1946, just before and just after the war, there were still people who could remember the pre-colonial system from their own experience), that of all the Timorese princedoms Insana offers the best opportunity for analysing and describing the old system, notwithstanding the fact that drastic changes had taken place because Taolin, one of the four *usif*, had seized the power, thereby supplanting the entire centre. The only rival he had left was Meo Misa, Us Pupu, the first of the second pair of *usif* in the other half of the realm, with whom the fact that Taolin was recognized as raja in 1915 still rankles — rivalry between them is still keen. Cunningham's information that Us Pupu was temporarily deposed in 1960 and was replaced during this time by Taolin is further evidence of this. But he adds that a member of the house of Us Pupu was certain to become district head of Fafinesu (North Insana) again. Present developments are such that Insana will

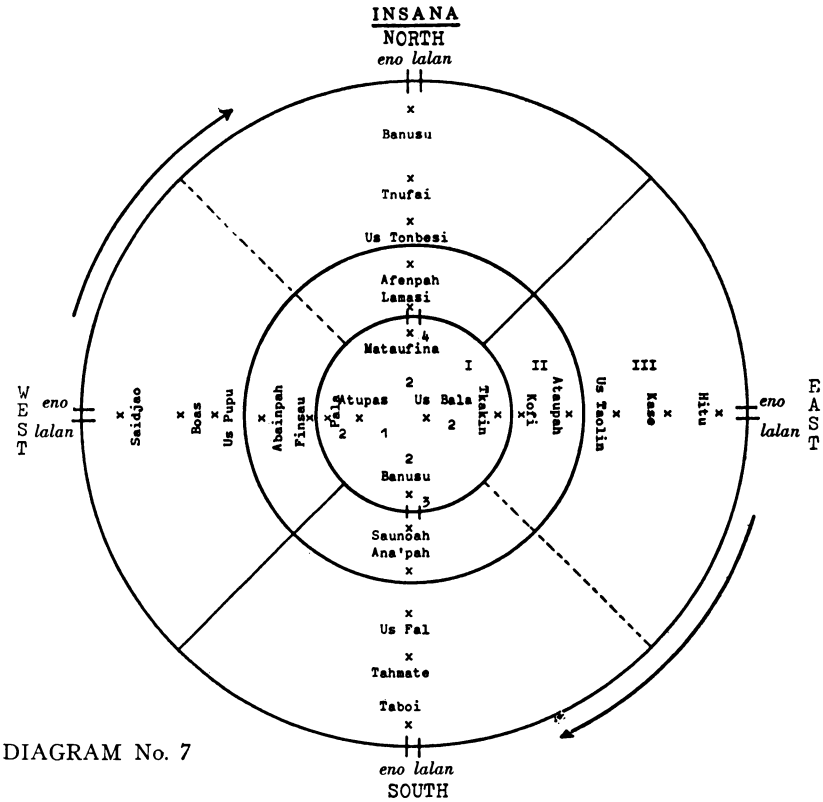


DIAGRAM No. 7

This diagram is based on a diagram drawn by an Atoni in Maubesi. This consisted of three circles and contained a south-east—north-west diagonal to indicate the dichotomy.

I. *Paha usan* - the navel of the realm, the feminine interior, surrounded by an extensive enclosing fence inside which are:
   1. the *tola naek* or large sacrificial pole (altar) adjacent to the *lopo* and the *ume le'u*;
   2. the four *tola ana* or small sacrificial poles of the four *usif,* surrounding the *tola naek*;
   3. *neus atoni, neus unu* - masculine door, original door;
   4. *neus muni, neus bifel* - younger door, feminine door.

II. The periphery of the centre.

III. The masculine exterior.

Atupas - he who sleeps, or *Usfinit* - supreme Lord, or *Kesel* - emperor; in *sonaf kiu* - tamarind palace.

Us Bala, kolnel; in *sonaf usapi.*

Tkakin-Banusu, Pala-Matau Fina: *asani, anako* - sweepers, dusters, and *ama kliko* - little fathers.

Kofi-Saunoah, Finsau-Lamasi: *atoni mnasi, bifel mnasi* - old men, old women.

Atau-pah, Ana'-pah, Abain-pah, Afen-pah: *huma naeka ma mata naek* - the great faces, the great eyes.

Taolin-Fal, Pupu-Tonbesi: *Usif* - Lord; *Monef-atonif* - masculine men.

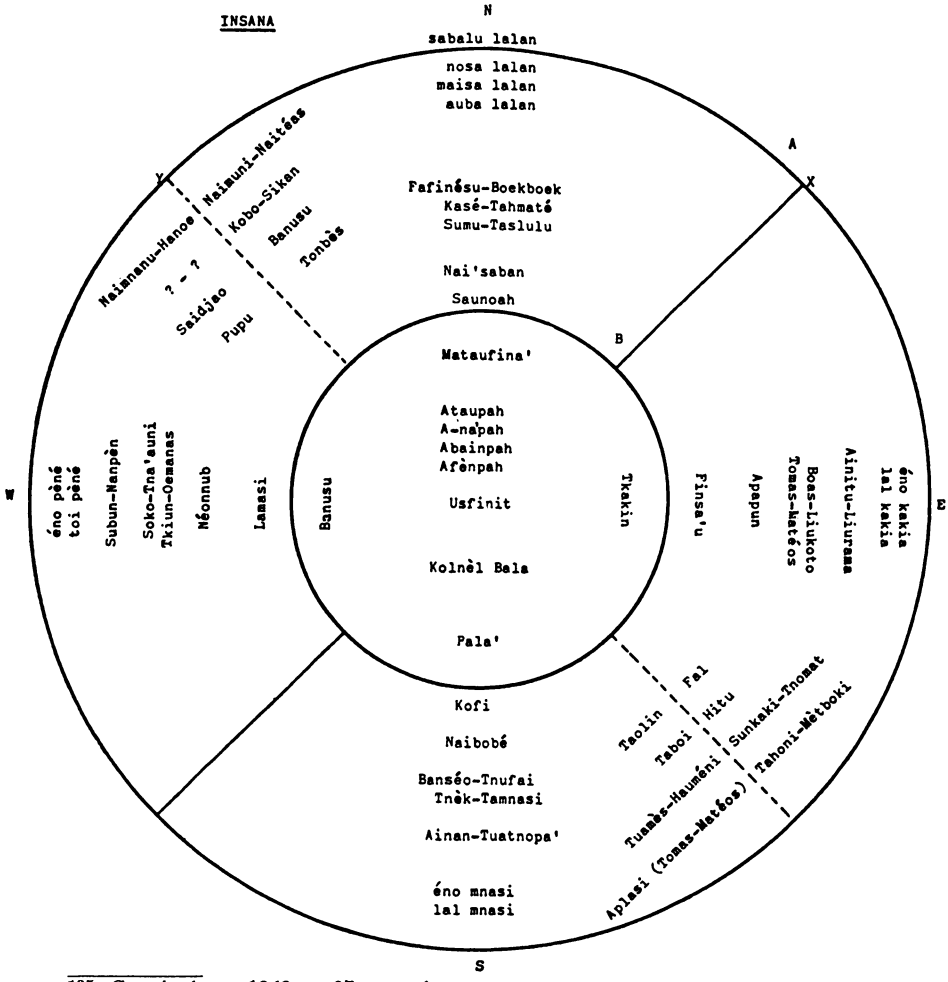
Kase-Tahmate, Boas-Tnufai: *meo naek* - great warriors.

Hitu-Taboi, Saidjao-Banusu: *amaf naek* - great fathers; *tobe naek* - major custodians of the land; *kapitan.*

probably split into two in the future.[135] But when I was in Timor for a short stay in 1969 Taolin very proudly informed me that Insana was the only princedom in North Central Timor which had not lost its unity.

This chapter has given the main outlines of the structure of the princedom of Insana. We shall now proceed with a comparison of this structure with that of other political communities in Timor and then go on to discuss the structure of the political community in Timor in general.

DIAGRAM No. 8



135 Cunningham, 1962, p. 87, note 1.

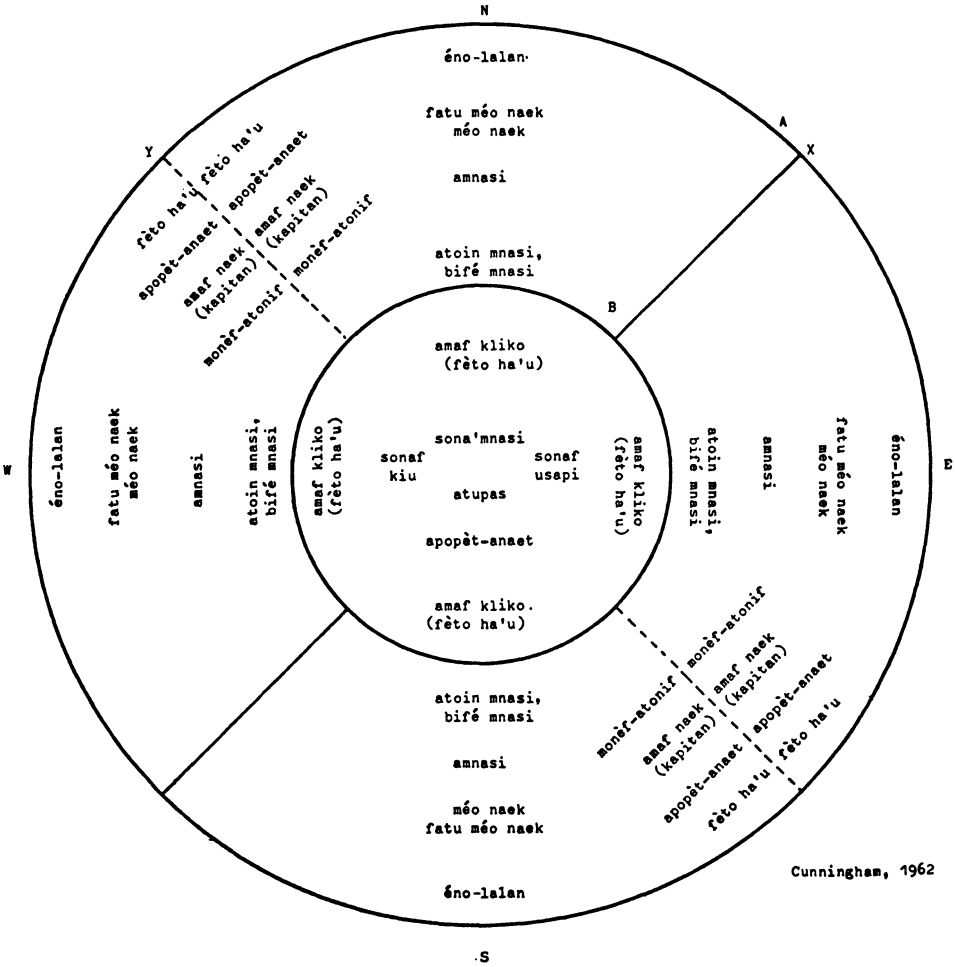


DIAGRAM No. 9

NOTE to Cunningham's diagrams of the structure of Insana:

Cunningham's diagrams and mine are basically alike. He gives two, one setting out the names and the other setting out the functions — I have only shown the names in mine, indicating the functions in the accompanying notes, and have indicated the sacred, ritual places in the centre. From the text it will be clear why I have placed various figures differently: I do not agree with the idea of dyadic east-west and south-north oppositions but favour the opposition of east-south versus west-north on the analogy of the chief division which we have both indicated by means of an unbroken line.

Another point of divergence between the two diagrams is that my informants have placed a circle around the centre, thus showing the peripheral area between the centre (the "inside") and all that belongs to it, and the two times two sub-territories of the princedom which are on the "outside".

Moreover, Cunningham has placed the four *usif*, the four great fathers and their followers in pairs next to the north-west and south-east diagonals. In my view this is unnecessary, as the Atoni does not associate a separate structural or classificatory distinction with this.

Cunningham has listed a larger number of names. Many more could be added, as there is continuous repetition right down to the village level.

CHAPTER VII

BELU, BEBOKI AND FIALARAN

1. SOUTH BELU

Although Insana is a Timorese-speaking area, in the past it had close links with the realm of South Belu. According to the tradition of this realm the ruler of Insana was a *loro,* that is in this case, a ruler of a vassal state, whose *loro*'s title was conferred on him by the ruler of South Belu. And according to the tradition of Usif Taolin of Insana his lineage used to receive brides from the Liurai (a collective name for the rulers of South Belu). This is correct only in part, as Taolins, the four last descendants before 1915 at any rate, married princesses from Manlea, a small principality situated on the border between north-eastern Beboki and North Belu, and from Manlea in South Belu, which was admittedly part of the realm of the Liurai but did not itself supply a *liurai* or even a *loro*. The memory of the *kesel* (emperor) of Insana as a former *loro* of the Liurai is still alive in Insana, so that it is probable that there was an affinal relationship between them in which one of the *liurai* was bride-giver.

Because of this historical tie between Insana and South Belu it is interesting to compare the political structure of Insana first with that of South Belu. The only source we have is Grijzen's study from 1904. The latter is sufficiently reliable as far as the data are concerned, as Wortelboer, who spent some time living in the house of the Liurai in Wehale in 1946, attests. Grijzen (as well as maps printed in his time) [1] often designates the princedom of South Belu as "Malacca", but this name does not occur in earlier sources. Paravicini concluded a contract with the "supreme ruler of the Belonese realm and the sovereign of Wywiko Bahale in that realm" in 1756.[2] And Pigafetta, who according to Le Roux [3] made a landfall near Batu Gede in the western part of

[1] For instance, a military sketch-map of the princedom of Malakka drawn in 1916 (privately owned).
[2] *Corpus Diplomaticum* VI, p. 88.
[3] Le Roux, 1929, pp. 31 and 27.

the north coast of Portuguese Timor, writes in 1522: "On the other side of the island there are four brothers, who are the kings of that island. Where we were there were towns and a number of their chiefs. The names of the communities of these four kings are: Oibich, Lichsana, Suai and Cabanaza. Oibich is the largest." Without any doubt Oibich is Waiwiku and represents the actual realm. If Lichsana is Insana, which is possible though linguistically improbable, this does not mean that Insana was one of the four original states which made up the realm of South Belu, but rather that the realm was described as viewed from Insana, which extended to the north coast and had an important port there called Mena.

Wehale was the seat of the Meromak O'an, the son of God — he was the ritual head and the custodian of the sacred objects which were kept in the *uma lulik*, or *lulik* house, adjacent to his palace; *lulik* is cognate with the Timorese word *nuni* (taboo). There was a double division of the realm, and the four tribes (*hutun rai hat* = tribe - lord - four) were said to originate from Sina-Mutin-Malakan (China - white - Malacca). Grijzen[4] draws the conclusion from this that the South Belunese, at any rate the uppermost population stratum, may have originally come from Malacca. On the strength of the myth of origin it may equally well be assumed that China was the country of origin. During their voyage these four tribes called at the islands of Kusu, Kaë, Api, Loë and at the town of Larantuka-Bauboin. The islands cannot be identified, and China, Malacca and Larantuka are clearly names with which the Belunese are familiar as a result of centuries of trade contacts. It is therefore incorrect to accept Sina-Mutin-Malakan as an alternative name for Malacca without further enquiry.[5] Vroklage, although an adherent of the cultural-historical school of Vienna, suggests very cautiously that a knowledge of the route was spread by the Chinese. As they had light skins they were, according to him, called Sina-Mutin (*mutin* = white, fair-skinned). He adds, however: "The most likely supposition is that this myth refers back to an invasion which took place in the 16th century. At that time many people were expelled from Malacca — there was even a bishop among them — some of whom thereupon landed in Timor".[6] There are no historical data whatsoever which point to large-scale emigration

[4] Grijzen, 1904, p. 18.
[5] Van Wouden, transl. Needham, 1968, p. 46, note 61.
[6] Vroklage, 1952, II, pp. 153, 154. The first Roman Catholic missionary to come to Timor did not arrive there until the end of the sixteenth century.

in the area, though it is not unlikely that after the fall of Malacca in 1511 a number of Malays sought refuge in Timor, which was of such great importance for their trade. But this could scarcely have made an impact on the people and the culture of Timor.

Because of physical and cultural differences between the South Belunese and peoples such as the Bunak, Kemak and Atoni it is fairly certain, on the other hand, that there were migrations to Timor[7] perhaps some thousands of years ago. Moreover, the supposition is not to be rejected that the tradition has preserved traces of such migrations and that it has integrated these into the world view. According to the myth, for instance, the four tribes on the coast of South Belu had three brothers as leaders. The eldest settled in Wehale, the second in Waiwiku, the third in Haitimu. The fourth tribe did not have a head, but later obtained a son of the ruler of Wehale, who settled in Fatu Aruin. They encountered the Ema Melu (*ema* = man), who are regarded as the original inhabitants. Their sacred place is still held in high esteem. These people were armed with bows and arrows, whereas they themselves had lances. (In Grijzen's time the Belu rarely used bows and arrows, although these weapons are still well known in the area.[8] The Atoni, on the other hand, have never used bows and arrows, and their language does not even include a word for these.)

According to other myths the Meromak O'an originally came from heaven.[9] This, too, fits in with the Belunese world view. Meromak O'an means "son of God". The ruler is associated with heaven. He comes from "outside" or according to the Atoni from the east, *neon sait* (= where the sun rises), from overseas or from heaven. The people who "already lived there" emerged from the earth.

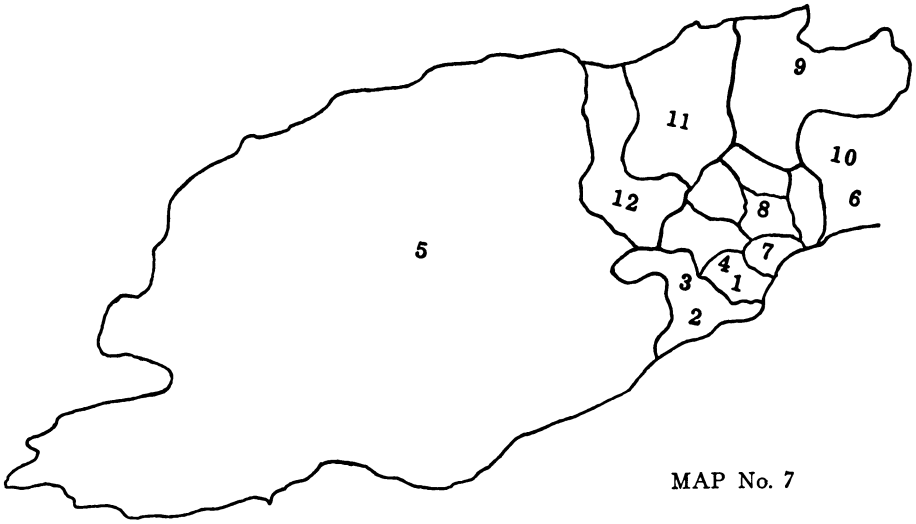
The four nuclear princedoms were mostly designated by the double name Wehale-Waiwiku. Besides these four Grijzen mentions as part of the realm Suai and Kamanasa (Pigafetta's Suai and Cabanaza) to the east, the present-day Portuguese Timor, as well as three districts, Dirma among them, in which Wehale-Waiwiku influence was dominant. Two of these were located in Portuguese Timor. He mentions, in addition, 23 petty princedoms to which the sphere of influence of Wehale-Waiwiku extended. Of these Beboki, Harneno, Insana and Nenometan or Anas belong to the Atoni area, while nine others are located in Portuguese Timor. These numbers vary continually, be-

[7] See p. 23 above.
[8] Vroklage, 1952, I, p. 646.
[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 579.

cause fusion and fission were the order of the day. In a summary in the *Instruçao do Conde de Sarzedas*[10] only a few of the names of the 46 petty principalities listed there as belonging to the Belu area of Timor — under which it classifies the whole of Portuguese Timor — in the years 1727-1777 correspond clearly with those mentioned by Grijzen. It does not mention Wehale-Waiwiku, and classifies Drima (Dirma) with the princedoms under the sphere of influence of the realm of Serviâo, which stands for Sonba'i, while of the thirteen petty principalities of Portuguese Timor mentioned by Grijzen in 1904 only four are included in the list of 47 *reinos* which existed in Portuguese Timor in 1864,[11] not including the enclave of Oikusi.

This may be partly the result of ignorance or of the practice of designating princedoms by the name of the ruler's residence. But Grijzen's description[12] of the petty principalities which were in exis-

The Realm of South Belu in accordance with the present-day district boundaries.



MAP No. 7

1. Wehale
2. Waiwiku
3. Haitimu

3 *liurai*
4. Fatu Aruin
5. Sonba'i
6. Suai-Kamanas

3 *loro*
7. Lakekun
8. Dirma
9. Fialaran

3 *loro*
10. Maubara
11. Beboki
12. Insana

[10] In De Castro, 1867, p. 202.
[11] De Castro, 1867, p. 311.
[12] Grijzen, 1904, p. 22.

tence during the period immediately preceding Dutch occupation points to continual, rapid change (Cf. maps nos. 5 and 6).

According to Grijzen the structure is as follows: The realm of Wehale-Waiwiku was ruled by the Meromak O'an, the son of God, who was the ritual head and whose residence was in Wehale. Like the *atupas* of Insana he was allowed "only to eat, drink and sleep". It was his duty to safeguard the sacred objects in the *ume lulik* (= the taboo house) and to lead the state ritual.

The Liurai of this realm was resident in Fatu Aruin, to the north of Wehale. He was the active ruler. (*Liu* denotes the comparative degree, and *rai* means "land".) Viewed from Wehale-Waiwiku there were three *liurai*, however: the *liurai* of Fatu Aruin as well as those of Sonba'i and of Suai-Kamanasa, the Belu area on the Portuguese side of the border. Hence we arrive once again at a division of the total into four: the Meromak O'an and his three *liurai*. In the Atoni area, on the other hand, Liurai denotes the whole of Wehale-Waiwiku, and even its entire sphere of influence in Belu. Here Liurai-Sonba'i therefore stands for the combined territories of these two. In Belu itself, too, the total area of the four nuclear territories is referred to as the realm of Liurai.[13]

These were surrounded by the realms of the three *loro* (*loro* = sun): that of Lakekun, Dirma and Fialaran. The first two are classified as sons of the Meromak O'an, while the third married one of his daughters. Beyond these areas in North Belu there are another three princedoms with rulers who were appointed *loro* later on: Maubara in the Tetun language-area of Portuguese Timor and Beboki and Insana in the Atoni area. In each case there are three, therefore, who make up a foursome with the Meromak O'an. There are supposed to have been another four *loro*, but people were able to name only three of these.[14]

In his own territory, that is in Wehale, the Meromak O'an had three minor chiefs who were in charge of the actual, practical government of the three areas outside the village of Wehale.[15]

Waiwiku, like Insana, had in addition to its ritual prince, who was the younger brother of the Meromak O'an, an active, executive authority who was that prince's right hand, the difference with Insana being that this executive authority did not reside in the same village as the ritual prince. There were, moreover, "four children", two of whom

---

[13] Grijzen, 1904, p. 38, cf. diagram p. 391.
[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 23.
[15] Grijzen, 1904, p. 33.

lived in a "double village", Besiek - Aman, the present-day Besikama, while the other two lived in two different villages. Hence in Waiwiku, as in Insana, there are two times two districts beyond the immediate palace area of the ritual prince.

The dualism of the ritual prince and the executive authority for the whole of the territory of the four tribes is represented by the Meromak O'an or "the elder brother", and the Liurai his "son" in Fatu Aruin. There is no further mention of the fourth tribal area, Haitimu, where the "younger brother" of the Meromak O'an lived. In the myth the tribe of Haitimu was headed by one of the three brothers while the head of Fatu Aruin had no name. Hence there has been a shift in power. Van Wouden [16] states that it is impossible to determine whether this is the result of a historical process or of a culture-psychological process, meaning that although the elementary four-fold division asserts itself both in reality and in the myth, it is overshadowed by a division into three which is also present in the myth — the four tribes were headed by three brothers — and is manifest in the present situation as a result of Haitimu losing its importance.[17] As we saw in the description of the kinship system, however, there is not question solely or even primarily of a triad, viz. bride-giver — ego — bride-receiver, but of a double duality, viz. ego — bride-giver (*feto-mone*) and ego — bride-receiver (*mone-feto*). In the political system we shall also find a double division at the basis of the structure, with the ruler in the centre making up a fifth; here he has at his side four *usif*, one for each of the four sub-territories, or — if the emphasis lies rather on bipartition — two *usif*, as in the princedom of Sonba'i. There is, besides, the possibility of tripartition. Perhaps the fact that the myth mentions only three brothers should be compared with the Sonba'i myth, which also mentions three brothers who came from the east. In that case we must suppose that there was formerly a centre with two halves of the realm. Wehale, the seat of the Meromak O'an, was in that case probably the centre and Waiwiku and Haitimu the respective seats of the heads of the two halves. When as a result of a historical process Haitimu lost its importance it was probably classified with and under Waiwiku, so that a partner had to be placed next to Wehale; this was a new personage,

---

[16] Van Wouden, transl. Needham, 1968, p. 106.

[17] In 1916 Haitimu was still a separate political community, but comprised only one village with a population of 216 (Report by Agerbeek, 1916, p. 13) and the situation was unchanged in 1947 (Report by De Haan, 1947).

hence a son of Wehale, namely Fatu Aruin. The latter then became the executive authority or *liurai* of Wehale at the same time, because in accordance with the general pattern of development in Timor the other sub-territory, Waiwiku, had grown into an independent centre, with a central, passive ruler and an executive authority at his side, surrounded by two times two quarters.

The fact that only three brothers are named in the myth may also be a result of the fact that the Meromak O'an, i.e. Wehale, is regarded as the point of departure for quadrupartition each time the sphere of its power increased. There are always three *liurai*, three *loro* and three "minor chiefs". The three brothers in the Sonba'i myth should perhaps also be viewed in this light. The two theories are not incompatible with one another.

This principle of quadrupartition in Wehale's external relations is one of the structural possibilities. The other possibility is, as in the case of Sonba'i, that the ruler always sees himself as the centre between two or four realms surrounding him.[18]

In the first case a division such as that suggested by Grijzen results:

W	E	
Haitimu	Fatu Aruin	N
Waiwiku	Wehale	S

This is not solely a mythical classification, as Van Wouden says, but also a geographical one which is mentioned in the myth as well but from which no classificatory conclusions are drawn. It is nonetheless possible to say that the east is superior to the west — Wehale is the supreme ruler and his son becomes *liurai* in Fatu Aruin, whereas Waiwiku is his younger brother. The dual unity is probably one of east as opposed to west — hence the name Wehale-Waiwiku for the total territory. Van Wouden writes that the antagonism between Wehale and Waiwiku in Grijzen's time is an essential element in the sphere of bipartition. But this is only true in part. For although dual unity in Timor implies a certain degree of rivalry it is nonetheless a unity. If there is no longer unity this may be the result of the historical process of disintegration which set in in 1642.[19]

Nor are Van Wouden's[20] reflections on moral power and actual

---

[18] P. 273 below.
[19] P. 164 above.
[20] Van Wouden, transl. Needham, 1968, pp. 114-118.

power, defence and government respectively, as set out in the table below, entirely correct, as the Timorese himself does not distinguish between these categories in this way:

Elder		*Younger*
Moral authority	—	Real power: Wehale (and Fatu Aruin) — Waiwiku
Defence	—	Government: Waiwiku — Fatu Aruin (and Wehale).

These are the terms used by Salomon Müller in 1829, during a short stay in the interior, to describe a system with which he was totally unfamiliar. To the Timorese the power of the ritual prince is the most real. He had "rain and drought, good and ill fortune, and the course of battle at his command" according to Grijzen. What Van Wouden regards as the real power is the executive authority — but this authority is ineffectual without the power of the custodian of the sacred objects to back it, although this of course does not prevent the executive authority from becoming so powerful as to destroy the unity of the realm. Furthermore his classification of government with the younger (Fatu Aruin) as against defence with the elder (Waiwiku), though in itself it fits in quite well with the Timorese system, cannot possibly relate to separate areas. There cannot possibly be a geographical separation between government and defence.[21]

2. BEBOKI

Like Insana, Beboki is an Atoni princedom on the border of Belu. The ruler of Beboki also used to be a *loro* of the *liurai* or, in other words, of the realm of Wehale-Waiwiku as this was represented externally. The difference between them is, however, that Insana borders immediately on Wehale-Waiwiku and that Beboki borders on the princedoms of North Belu.

During my investigations in Beboki in 1941 and 1946 the title of *loro* (sun) was still commonly used for the ritual ruler besides that of *keser*, contrary to the practice in Insana. But in ritual texts he is always called *atupas*, as in Insana.[22] My investigations in Beboki were at first seriously hampered as a result of the fact that the *loro* lineage had been eliminated for the same reason as in Insana, namely that the ruler cannot actively govern. With the consent of the heads of the

[21] Cf. p. 258 below.
[22] Cf. Vroklage's field-notes.

district of Oetasi, the *adat* centre of the realm, in which the *loro* lineage was resident, the head of Manlea was elected raja. Manlea was a tiny, more or less independent political community to the north-east of Beboki, half the population of which was Tetun-speaking. Because of its size the Netherlands Indies Government had joined it to Harneno, another small principality to the north of Beboki. These two were traditional rivals, so that there was opposition on the part of Harneno to the appointment of the head of Manlea as raja of Beboki. After the Japanese invasion, though before Japanese occupation of the interior, the long-standing tensions rose to a head and this resulted in the outbreak of a minor civil war in March 1942 against the son and successor of the aged ruler who had governed Beboki from 1915 until 1942 with a great deal of tact though with little authority.

After the war the young district head of Harneno died and the internal tensions eased considerably, partly because of the common suffering endured during the Japanese occupation. Besides, much of the old structures had disappeared during the thirty years following the introduction of an efficient administration.

Like Insana, Beboki had two palaces in Tamkesi, the sacred heart of the realm, situated on top of a mountain ridge at the foot of two peaks in the district of Oetasi. This twin mountain symbolizes the cosmic dualism which is manifest in every kind of relationship. The western mountain is the Oe Puah (= the source near the *pinang* palm).[23] The eastern mountain is called Tapen-pah[24] (= guard of the realm); doubtless it offers a view not only across the whole of the country — like the western mountain — but also as far as the Savu Sea (called *tasi feto* - feminine sea) in the north, or rather north-west, and the Timor Sea (*tasi mone* or masculine sea) in the south or south-east.

The Tapen-pah was the most sacred sacrificial centre. Only in cases of extreme distress, such as famines or epidemics, sacrifices — consisting of a white pig, or possibly a white goat — were offered on it to atone for the sin, that is, the error committed in the ritual. At the

---

[23] Actually Oe Puah is the name of the source near the mountain, the real name of the mountain being Tubu Soanmuhole. It is 945 m. high. The Fatu Bibi, the mountain which features in the ritual as Tapen-pah, lies 1200 m. to the east of it. Although from the 800 m. high saddle between the two summits the pointed peak of the Fatu Bibi or Tapen-pah definitely appears to be the higher of the two, according to a topographical map it is the lower.

[24] Lit.: We overlook the land.

risk of their lives a few *amaf* would climb its steep slopes, one of them carrying the sacrificial beast tied to his back. In places where the cliffs were too steep and barely a toehold could be found in the virtually sheer cliff-side, the animal would be carefully hoisted up with the aid of a rope. For it had to reach the top alive at all costs, as a dead animal is of no use for sacrificing. At the top of the mountain there was said to be a small lake in which a white buffalo had its habitation. This lake never dries up, and an *amaf* who had been up there once for sacrificing vowed that he had seen it with his own eyes.

Tamkesi lies on the saddle connecting the two peaks, and there, on the Oe Puah side, the *loro*'s palace was once located. To the east of his palace was that of the executive power or *kolnel*. Near the *sonaf* of the *loro* or *atupas* was the state shrine, called Neno Beboki (= the heaven of Beboki), in front of which stood the altar, the large flat stones of which still lay in perfect order and ready for sacrificing. So the ruler, who is regarded as feminine, and his masculine counterpart lived in between the two mountains, the *loro* — the mother of the realm — at the foot of the easily accessible, rounded Oe Puah in the west, while the foot of the inaccessible, sharply pointed Tapen-pah to the east was a pre-eminently suitable location for the residence of the *loro*'s masculine counterpart.

One of nature's freaks coincides here with one of the Atoni's classificatory principles — the masculine, inaccessible guard stands in the east, i.e. the direction associated with the masculine. At the same time, this Mount Tapen-pah is apparently higher than the western mountain, the Oe Puah, and this coincides with the requirement that the masculine sacrificial pole found outside the house of every lineage head be higher, as Uis Neno Mnane (= the tall Lord of Heaven) than the Uis Neno Pala (the short Lord of Heaven).

The source near the Oe Puah and the mountain itself are the "source of renown, the rock of renown" as we encountered these in the Insana ritual in references to the place of origin of a clan. In this particular case it is the place of origin of the princedom of Beboki as a whole. The foot of the cliff is overgrown with *kese,* a stinging-nettle shrub which serves as an even more venomous guard against likely intruders in the most holy sanctuary of the realm than the thorns of the cactus hedges more commonly used for this purpose. The southern slope of the Oe Puah drops perpendicularly; in its northern flank there is a small hollow in which the houses of palace servants, mainly descendants of slaves, stood. Like the *loro,* the majority of the court functionaries had moved. One of

the clans which guards the *sonaf* was referred to as Sonla'i.[25] One of its ancestors had once accompanied a princess of the house of Kono of Miomafo who was married off to the *loro* of Beboki. Now, according to a genealogy from 1915 a great-great-grandfather of the then *loro*, whose age was roughly ninety years, had married one of Uis Kono's daughters. So this must have been between about 1725 and 1775 or earlier, as sometimes genealogies skip a generation. He was even called the first *loro*, which might point to the restoration of Uis Kono to his former position after the annihilation of the realm of Sonba'i by the Topasses and the Portuguese in 1642.[26] The point worth noting is that from that time onward Kono of Miomafo was recognized as Beboki's bride-giver and hence as the *loro*'s superior.

My informants in 1947 denied having any knowledge whatsoever of this first *loro*, and mentioned his son Nesi as the first *loro* whose name was still known. As genealogies can usually be traced back eight to ten generations this can only point to one thing, namely that at that time people refused to recognize Kono as the *loro*'s superior, which is quite understandable in view of the conflicts which raged around Kono of Miomafo. For after all, the Atoni expresses political relations in terms derived from the kinship system.

To the north of the depression between the two mountains of Beboki there is a small hill with a few large trees on it. This was of old the location of the homes of court functionaries, and in 1947 a more recent palace complex was found here as well; the latter was surrounded on all sides by a high stone wall, in the midst of a forest which is several hundred metres deep on the eastern and western sides. The remainder of the ridge and the mountain near the Oe Puah are covered with mountain pastures which are usually green all the year round. Most of the buildings of this complex were extremely dilapidated, only the *loro*'s *sonaf* being still inhabited and its sanctuary, the Neno Beboki, in good condition.

In front of the *loro*'s *sonaf* stood, apart from the usual masculine sacrificial pole, two other poles surrounded by the altar stones; these were the Liurai and the Sonba'i. This is proof that Beboki also lived in the sphere between the two ritual and political poles of the dual monarchy of Timor, Liurai being the representative in the east and Sonba'i the representative in the west of the supreme ritual ruler. The same was seen to be the case in Insana.

[25] Sonla'i being a clan which functions as guard of Kono's *sonaf*. See p. 284 below.
[26] See p. 164.

Adjacent to the *sonaf* was the *lopo*, the *loro*'s meeting-place, with behind it, that is on the northern side, the Neno Beboki (= Heaven of Beboki). Here the tokens of the unity and solidarity of the realm were kept. Each clan which married one of the *loro*'s or *kolnel*'s daughters had brought its strings of coral beads (*inu leko*) here, each clan knowing precisely what it had brought here in the course of the years. Here also reposed (in 1947, at least) the gold-set Taninu-Fienbas, a necklace consisting of ten strings of coral beads, which was said to have been brought from Wehale in the very distant past. It was said to have been brought here by Taninu Fienbas, the ritual names for Bukifan and Taitoh, the two tribes which "came before" the *loro* — they "were already there". When the *loro* came "afterwards" this *le'u* necklace was given him for safe-keeping in the Neno Beboki as a symbol of the covenant between them. Here the *le'u hulan-manas* — a string of *le'u* beads, the name of which means "rain-sun" — was also kept. It is used during sacrificing on the *le'u* cliff, the Tapen-Pah, and is supposed to restore the balance of nature if carried as an offering to the top of the sacred mountain. The Tapen-Pah was ascended for sacrificing in cases of severe drought and the consequent threat of failure of the crop — when in fact it had already begun to wilt, as only then were sacrifices offered on the Tapen-Pah; this was supposed to bring on rain, as its name was "rain *le'u*" (*le'u hulan*). If, on the other hand, the harvest was being washed away by heavy rains it was supposed to bring on sunshine and warmth, as it was also a sun *le'u* (*le'u manas*).

The Neno Beboki furthermore contained a few gold discs and two knives, which were regarded as proof of the *loro*'s power over the land, as it was with these knives that he divided the territory of Beboki among all the rightful claimants. Or rather, the *kolnel* had done so on behalf of the *loro* as his active, executive authority. This is why there were two knives. Similarly, as the story had it in Tamkesi, there were two knives in the Liurai's *umaklor*[27] in Wehale, which had been used to divide up the whole of Timor. Most of the other *le'u* objects had perished. They included a rusted kris, which could have been Javanese in origin, some spears, only the points of which remained, and some small trinkets. The *loro* had been the chief custodian responsible for this treasure.

---

[27] Grijzen (1904, p. 32) only mentions an *uma-lor* of the executive ruler of Waiwiku.

The Neno Beboki had a door opening onto the south, which was the men's door (*neus atoni*), and a women's door (*nesu bifel*) in the western wall. It has two main pillars, called Liurai-Sonba'i, which are *feto-mone* in relation to each other. Their position is said to be north-south (i.e. feminine-masculine) respectively. But in reality the Liurai pillar is on the southern side near the men's door; no-one was able to offer an explanation for this. The explanation could be that the southern or men's door is the more important, just as Liurai is the more important of the pair; but Liurai is also the feminine centre around which the whole revolves and therefore classificatorily speaking belongs with the feminine north. Near this door there used to be a wooden bench for important guests who might come in by the men's door. The women's door is used by guests of lower rank. It is taboo (*nuni*) for women to enter the Neno Beboki.

Behind the *loro*'s *sonaf* there was a small house, called "the first house" (*soan unu, soan* being a methathetical form of *sona(f)*). According to some this was the house of Abu Kune, whom the first *loro* who came from Wehale married. Hence her father, a Kune who bore the title of Seon-pah (= receiver of the land), must have been living here before the *loro* came. Similarly a Kune who "already" lived there and gave his daughter in marriage to Sonba'i occurs in the Sonba'i myth of origin. In 1947 the Kune lineage was still prominent in Miomafo as its senior major custodian of the land. In Beboki, however, Kune seemed to have sunk into oblivion. And it was said by some that this "first house" was nothing but a temporary house for the eldest son of the *loro* to live in when he was about to get married.

Just as the *sonaf* of the *loro* or *atupas* had been transferred to the wooded hill to the north of the saddle connecting the two mountains, the *kolnel*'s *sonaf* had also been moved to the north. The latter's title was Us Aätan (= Divider of the land), while he also bore the name Us Kenat (= Lord of the Rifle), as one of his ancestors, who was an excellent marksman, had once hit the Pleiades when aiming at a buffalo. The Aätan was the *kolnel*, or in any case the potential *kolnel*. The *kolnel* title presents a great many difficulties in Beboki. Steinmetz's genealogical tree of 1915 of the *loro* line features a certain Tabesi Usi Ana'-pah who is *kolnel*; he is the husband of a sister of the *loro*, and died at a very high age in 1915. Besides him there was a *kolnel* by the name of Nesi Taut-pah, the grandson of a younger brother of a *loro*; he also died in 1915. Steinmetz also mentions the Mone Mnasi line as *kolnel* line, of which the last descendant in function died in

approximately 1885 and left no sons, although the house of Mone Mnasi has continued to exist to this day.

Uis Kenat said that he was a descendant of the *loro*, who, like Liurai, was a son of the Meromak O'an.[28] This means that they constituted a dual unity — he and the *loro* were one, and he belonged to the *sonaf*, as was the case in Insana. The same relationship still exists today in Miomafo between Uis Kono and his active, masculine, executive counterpart, the only difference being that here, as in Wehale-Waiwiku, this executive authority no longer lives in the *sonaf* but is the head of a separate sub-territory. Us Kenat was the person who took receipt of and distributed the harvest gifts on behalf of the *loro*. He played an active part, whilst the *loro* was forbidden to do anything but "sleep, eat and drink". He welcomed the guests to the *sonaf* and was in charge of adjudication. He had next to him Us Kaluan, whose name is a derivative of *kalua* = to pour out or to squander. The latter is his assistant, the functionary who pours out the gifts of homage before his lord. As in Insana, these gifts of homage, which are poured out so lavishly before the ruler, are also called *maus*, however, with the connotation of "to tame". This assistant occupied the same function here as the four "old men, old women" of Insana.

There was further located in Tamkesi the *sonaf* Nisnoni. Nisnoni (= silver-toothed one) originally came from the district of Taitoh and was one of those who "were already there" before the *loro*, i.e. the original inhabitants of the realm.

In diagrammatic representation this palace complex appears as follows (page 246):

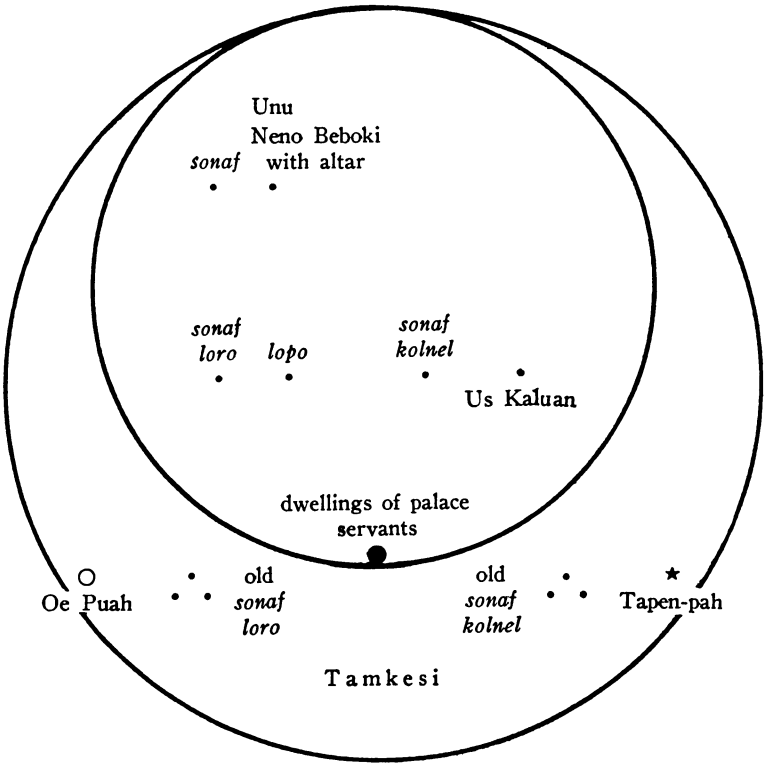
The antipole of this court or "interior" - which, though it itself encompassed the polarity of the masculine and the feminine, the immobile and the active principles, was, as the interior of the realm, feminine and immobile — was the Mone Mnasi (= masculine — in the sense of most prominent — old man). He lived "outside" or *mone*, and was the *kolnel*.

Here an insight is afforded us into the complexness of the *kolnel* function. The *kolnel* is clearly always the masculine, active antipole. But the question that is not always so easy to answer is: *who* is *kolnel*? And this is where we are constantly brought face to face with a point of political conflict. As we saw above, our informants in Insana cate-

---

[28] P. 236 above. In South Belu the *loro* of Beboki is not regarded as a son of the Meromak O'an, but as having been appointed *loro*.

DIAGRAM No. 10



gorically denied that there existed a *kolnel* there, in spite of the fact that his signature occurs in the minutes of the meeting of the Council of Chiefs held in 1915.[29] In Beboki we came across a *kolnel*, who was married to the *loro*'s sister, inside the centre of the realm, this being the normal situation. In this case the *loro* is also superior on account of the fact that he is bride-giver, and is by virtue of this relationship masculine in respect of the bride-receiving *kolnel*. Furthermore, we saw the grandson of a younger brother of the *atupas*, and in Insana one of the *atupas*' brothers, acting as *kolnel*. This is obviously a case of usurpation of the power. Now, as we have already said, there is in Beboki a masculine antipole outside the centre of the realm as well — more or less on the analogy of South Belu. His *le'u* centre is the Hau Tes (= hard heartwood) on a hill twelve km. to the north-east

[29] See p. 203 above.

DIAGRAM No. 11

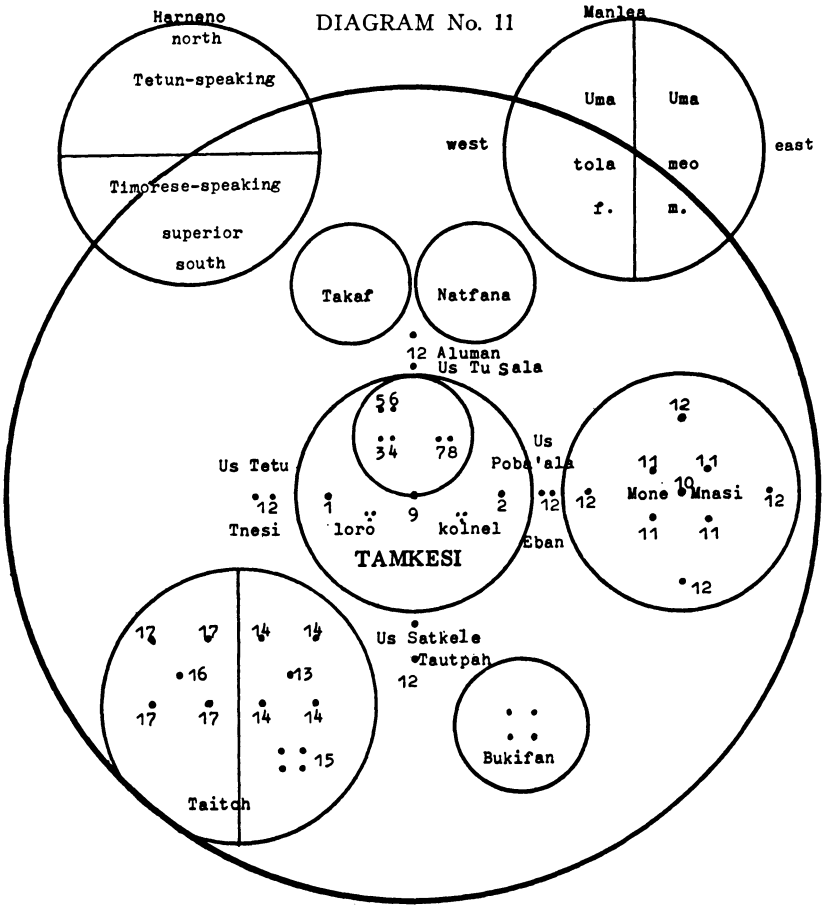


Diagram of the Structure of Beboki

1 Oe Puah; at its foot stood the *loro*'s *sonaf*
2 Tapen-pah; *kolnel*'s sonaf located at its foot
3 *Loro*'s *sonaf*
4 *Loro*'s *lopo*
5 *Sonaf unu*
6 *Neno Beboki*
7 *Sonaf* of the *kolnel,* Us Aätan
8 Us Kuluan
9 Palace servants
10 Mone Mnasi
11 Banu-Anonet, Nuku Taunbain
12 Eban-Tautpah, Tnesi-Aluman east-south, west-north they live around the *loro*
10 11 and 12 1 + 4 + 4

13 Taitoh tuaf; Naidjuf
14 Li'it-Saineno, Tobati-Asulan
15 Muni-Saman, Kani-Nafe
13 14 and 15 1 + 4 + 4
16 Us Abatan; Kato
17 Bnani-Tole'o, Tatoab-Li'anmanas
16 and 17 1 + 4
Total: Loro-Mone Mnasi and ten *kluni*:
Eban-Tautpah, Tnesi-Aluman
Takaf-Natfana
Taitoh-Bukifan
Harneno-Manlea
2 + 10

of Tamkesi. He is the father, just as the *loro* is the mother, of "the ten lying-places, the ten roots" (*kluni boas, ba'at boas*),[30] root here denoting "origin". People had difficulty in correctly naming these, and when they began to enumerate them they got as many as eleven, upon which they joined two *kluni* together. Hence the old structure had already faded into obscurity. In 1915 only seven of these names could be remembered, and these included Harneno and Manlea, moreover. A comparison with Fialaran in North Belu, which has a similar structure, will help to give us a better insight.

To recapitulate the above, then, we find in Beboki a *loro* or *atupas* — who is also called *pah tuaf*, meaning "lord of the land", though not in the same sense as the custodian of the land is called this, but rather as the representative of the realm as a whole. He has at his side the Mone Mnasi, who is the representative or head of the four clans Banu - Anonat, Nuku - Taunbain, which in turn make up his community, of which he is himself the centre. There are further the four clans Eban - Tautpah, Tnesi - Aluman. The remarkable thing about them is that the people of Beboki classified them with the Mone Mnasi although they live around the *loro*'s *sonaf*, once again in the order of their precedence as indicated by that of the points of the compass, Eban living in the east and Tautpah in the south, together making up the masculine, superior half; and Tnesi in the west and Aluman in the north making up the feminine, inferior half. This is another clear indication of shifts in the balance of political power taking place. It is with the names of these four clans that the entire princedom of Beboki is designated, and their heads are the great fathers. They are also referred to as the great warriors (*meo naek*), which is an indication that the actual tribal units are those of the great fathers, being the territorial and genealogical units which form the basis of the political system.

We furthermore find in Beboki the clans Takaf-Natfana, Bukifan - Taitoh, which lived there before the *loro* came and are hence the autochthonous inhabitants. They still occupy such an important position here that not only do they still constitute independent political districts, but the head of one of them, namely Nisnoni, also has his place in the *loro*'s *sonaf*, as we saw above. They live due north and east respectively of the centre of the realm. Their order does not seem to have any significance, Taitoh being the most important because it has the most in-

---

[30] According to Mathijsen, 1907, *kluni* in Tetun means pillow.

habitants and also being the representative in the centre of the realm.

Somewhat to the exterior of this princedom — which is extremely complex and divided as it is — are the districts of Harneno and Manlea on the north coast, which before 1915 acted as virtually independent units, although at present they identify themselves completely with Beboki, as was clearly apparent in the 1947 uprising.

For this reason the question whether perhaps we have here a double centre — with the *loro* and the *kolnel* on the one hand and the Mone Mnasi on the other — is completely justified. Hence the pattern is different from that in Insana, but rather resembles that of Wehale-Waiwiku.

Apart from the four principal clans Eban-Tautpah and Tnesi-Aluman which assist the Mone Mnasi as war chiefs — although their location is around the *loro,* so that they actually represent the population of Beboki — there are also four *usif* or lords who live around the *loro*'s *sonaf,* one in the north (Us Tu Sala) and one in the west (Us Tetu), one in the south (Us Satkele) and one in the east (Us Poba'ala). The *usif* in the west actually also comes from the north, where he lived on the opposite river bank from the *usif* in the north. The southern and eastern *usif* stand in the relationship of elder and younger brother in respect of each other ; they are also both called Us Tnesi and as such were the *meo naek* or great warrior of Mone Mnasi. Here we come face to face with one of the most extraordinary enigmas in the structure of Beboki. Although there are in reality two *usif* Tnesi living in the east and south respectively, Tnesi is one of the four quarters of the tribe which are grouped around the *loro* and lives in the west. So here we see how Mone Mnasi somehow contrived to bind two *usif,* i.e. representatives of the ruler or *loro,* to himself for purposes of warfare, he being the great defender of the realm, so much so that the great fathers are called his *meo naek* or war chiefs. But why these two *usif* should be identified with Tnesi, who lives in the west, I have as yet been unable to discover.

So a comparison with Insana gives many points of similarity, although Beboki has a double centre, and the four *usif* here are seen to be completely in the background. Only Us Tetu, the western *usif* and hence by no means the most important one, happened by coincidence to become district head. In Insana, on the other hand, one of the *usif,* Taolin, attained more or less the same position as Mone Mnasi — i.e. that of masculine counterpart of the *atupas* in the centre — while

the Mone Mnasi of Beboki no longer fulfilled an administrative function.

An important difference with Insana is provided by the fact that in Beboki there are two important districts, Taitoh and Bukifan, which are considered to be older than the political configuration of the *loro* and the Mone Mnasi. These ancient communities of Taitoh and Bukifan are *feto-mone* in respect of each other, Taitoh in the west being *feto*. Bukifan is very small, but Taitoh is a large community with a well defined structure of its own: in the first place it is divided into west and east, which here again are *feto-mone* in respect of each other. Four clans live in the west, with *usif* Abatan in their midst. There are also four clans living in the east, and another four were added to these later on. The *usif* for the entire community also lives here; he is Taitoh-tuaf (= the lord of Taitoh). Another name for him is Makun or Mako-en Tuan.[31] The Lord of Taitoh in the east is called Naidjuf,[32] whilst the *usif* in the west bears the title *kato*. Now this word means "wife", "spouse". In the ritual of the presentation of the harvest gifts in Insana there are references to the four lords (*nai*), the four spouses (*kato*), both *nai* and *kato* referring to the *usif*. People in Beboki even said that *kato* is used exclusively for men, *fenai* being the only title for wives of heads. Yet it is clear that the titles of these two heads express the division into an eastern, masculine, and a western, feminine half. Hence we have in Taitoh a western half with four groups and an *usif* in the centre and in the eastern half twice four groups with the *usif* constituting the ninth.

History also shows that Taitoh occupies a special position. It concluded a treaty with the East India Company as an independent princedom in 1760.[33] The same is true of Harneno and Manlea, which were in reality virtually independent until 1915. Yet they were classified, even at that time, with the *kluni* or "lying-places" of Beboki. This relative independence may have been a result of a fairly long-standing contact with the Netherlands East Indies Government, which had established a centre in nearby Atapupu in 1816,[34] though it is quite certain that both Harneno and Manlea were of old relatively autonomous in spite of the fact that they had an affinal relationship with the *loro* of Beboki and were regarded as part of Beboki. The *loro* was

---

[31] From the Tetun *mak'oan* = speaker, mouth piece.
[32] *Nai* - lord; *Uf* - tribe; *dj* is a connective consonant.
[33] P. 182 above.
[34] Van der Kemp, 1917, p. 6.

the first bride-giver, and was therefore politically superior. He remained superior even when three generations later a younger brother of a *loro* married a daughter of the ruler of Harneno. Harneno is divided into two parts — a southern, superior part in which the ruler is resident, and a northern part which is partly Tetun-speaking.

Manlea is for the greater part Tetun-speaking. It seems strange that in spite of this difference in language within the territory Manlea is represented as a unitary whole — so much so that it comprises only one single clan (*kanaf*), consisting of a feminine half — the lineage of the sacrificial pole (*uma tola*), and hence the half in which the ritual aspect has its place — and a masculine half, the warrior lineage (*uma mesa*). Intermarriage between the two is permissible but was reportedly not the norm. So in practice there is only one other alternative — there must be other clans present. This is in fact the case. But to all appearances we have here the only example in Timor of a locally defined clan which consisted of a feminine, ritual moiety and a masculine, active moiety.[35] It is no longer clear how this functioned and what affinal relations existed there if, as is sometimes asserted, the two moieties were not allowed to have any affinal relations with one another.

So we see that the structure of Beboki as a whole is extremely complex. There was a centre with a *loro* who was the "mother". He was the feminine, immobile ritual leader. His right hand was a masculine, active ruler. Their palaces were due east and west of each other. It was said that the *loro* had two clans, namely Suni-Banoen. Around the *sonaf*, due north, west, south and east of it, lived the four *usif*, as we saw above. They are listed in that order, which runs completely counter to the usual Timorese pattern. Similarly, in the mortuary rites of the ruler of Insana these four principal clans are mentioned in the west-north, east-south order.[36] But it is evident from the way in which the *usif* are grouped together that the main division is a north-south one, the *usif* of the west belonging with the north (which is where he actually comes from) and the *usif* of the east belonging with the south. Although fundamentally the dichotomy is similar to that in Insana — as north and west are both feminine, and east and south both masculine — the primacy no longer lies with the east.

Beboki is an ideal illustration of what is meant by structure and

[35] Except perhaps the clan of Sonla'i in Us Kono's palace in Miomafo, but this is rather a dichotomy on the basis of function. See p. 284 below.

[36] P. 199, C 85, above.

structural principles in the present book. Piaget [37] suggests as one of the characteristics of a structure its totality — the whole is more than the sum of its component parts. So we have a princedom, consisting of a ritual centre, the masculine antipole of the centre, and different tribal units. They are all of them structures which constitute a part of the total structure of the princedom of Beboki.

Piaget's second idea, which is of great significance in view of the fact that a certain synchronic rigidity is often imputed to structuralism, is that concerning *les transformations*. We have been able to observe in Beboki more than anywhere else how these structures are in constant motion. Although the structure has a certain *loi de composition* this is repeatedly being violated — the ruler is seen to try to oust the *kolnel*, and the Mone Mnasi to draw the ruler's *usif* into his own sphere, so much so that even the great fathers of the quarters of the realm are called the Mone Mnasi's great warriors. Everything is in motion or in a state of transformation.

There is nonetheless clearly a certain *autoréglage* — the third tendency mentioned by Piaget — perceptible. Everything arranges itself anew in accordance with "*les lois de composition*". Structures tend to re-adjust themselves, though this does not necessarily imply a repetition of the old. There is definitely a tendency towards self-regulation present. The masculine counterpart is indispensable to the ruler, the great fathers cannot exist without a ritual centre to which to bring their harvest gifts, and so on. We might sum up the entire system in this way, where in spite of all change there are certain powers of self-regulation or *autoréglage* inherent.

I should like to add as fourth point that this is connected with certain structural principles which are present in a society and which are firmly rooted in, among other things, man's structures of thinking. We shall elaborate on this in the chapter on classificatory thinking.

Looking at Beboki we clearly distinguish as one of the classificatory principles the principle of bipartition — there is a ritual centre with a number of tribal units grouped around it. This dualism is also observable in the dichotomy between the ritual centre and the Mone Mnasi, while the latter's community is in turn constructed on the classical Timorese pattern of four clans with a centre at their head in their midst. We repeatedly come across the number four, or two times two. So there are four tribal units grouped around the *loro* (which are at the same time the four war chiefs of the Mone Mnasi). They are

[37] Piaget, 1967, pp. 9-16.

grouped in pairs, and so form a masculine and a feminine half — east and south as opposed to west and north. The same is the case with the four *usif*, who are also always mentioned in pairs — north (under which west is classified) and south (in which east is included).

This does not become immediately clear even upon thorough investigation — let alone at first glance.

Around the Mone Mnasi were classified the four sub-divisions. These were: Eban - Tautpah, Tnesi - Aluman. At their head were the great fathers or *amaf naek*, with whom the four *meo naek* are identified. They are the actual *kluni*, or lying-places, which are the *loro*'s and *mone mnasi*'s children. Their names are also mentioned in the ritual of Insana with reference to the whole of Beboki.[38] Another four *kluni* live around this double centre, namely two which were there already, viz. Taitoh and Bukifan in the south-west and east respectively — these were in a sense original, constituent units; and Harneno and Manlea in the north which were rather semi-autonomous units. There are furthermore two *kluni* in the north, namely Takaf and Natfana. The latter are part of the structural nucleus of Beboki, and the *loro*'s northern and western *usif* are affiliated with them. It is not surprising, therefore, that people in Beboki have difficulty in enumerating all of the ten *kluni* or ten "children" on the model of Fialaran. The result depends on the approach to the whole.

Taking as our starting-point the familiar basic structures the structural development outlined below might well be possible. It should be borne in mind, however, that this is not a historical reconstruction, as it is impossible to trace back the history of the area concerned, but that it is a likely development which could have taken place as a logical consequence of the latent possibilities of the structure of Beboki itself and which fits in completely with the general framework of the political structures in Timor.

The basic structure for the whole is provided by the tribe "which was there in the beginning", namely Taitoh-Bukifan, the two-fold half of the tribe in the south, besides the dual half Takaf-Natfana in the north. The centre came from abroad later, itself consisting of a ritual, immobile centre which is feminine with at its side a masculine, executive partner, and in the exterior (*mone*) four *usif* who are also *mone* (= masculine). Outside the ritual centre — within which the polarity of the masculine and feminine principles had found expression — a new

---

[38] P. 199 above.

masculine centre developed, cutting across this pattern, in contrast with the pattern in Insana though in agreement with that in South Belu. This new masculine centre was that of the Mone Mnasi, and around it there were another four clans, while, moreover, the great fathers also grouped themselves around him, the two southern *usif* also being classified with one of the great fathers grouped around the Mone Mnasi. Is this a consequence of the principle — found to operate especially in East Timor and even more strongly so in South Belu — according to which the *loro* or *atupas* (= he who sleeps) is so immobile that political power has no significance at all for him? Under political power should be understood here the executive, military power, while it should not be forgotten that the ritual power has the most important political implications, as its bearer has the power of imprecation as well as the responsibility for the harvest and war rituals and is the mediator between heaven and earth and between the living and the dead. All these are matters which have daily political consequences. It nonetheless remains an extraordinary phenomenon, which Francillon points out emphatically in his dissertation.

The structure of Beboki is further complicated by the *usif*'s position which, as we saw, is so entirely different from that in Insana. The two northern *usif* have even gone as far as affiliating themselves with the autochthonous groups Takaf-Natfana. We can speak here of a weakening of the *loro*'s position, who has lost two of his *usif* or representatives with the "exterior" to these autochthonous groups. This was, in fact, the story that was told. But viewed objectively — possibly even from a historical viewpoint — we may equally well suppose that the ruler's representatives became the heads of the autochthonous groups, a similar process to that described by Southall [39] for the Alur in Uganda, where the ambivalent phenomenon of the ruler's sons — who had been invited by the autochthonous population to become their heads — sometimes also displaying a tendency to become independent, though never autonomous (this was equally inconceivable in Beboki), was also to be observed, for the rest.

So we see in Beboki a marked similarity with Insana, South Belu and even Fialaran in north-eastern Belu. In Fialaran there is question of a twelve-fold division, and this, too, is clear from the structure. The central position is still occupied by the *loro* as mother of the realm and the Mone Mnasi as the father. Then follow the four tribal quarters

---

[39] Southall, 1953.

grouped around the *loro* and with whose name the princedom as a whole is designated, viz. Eban-Tautpah, Tnesi-Aluman. Then there were the four autochthonous groups Takaf-Natfana, Taitoh-Bukifan. And in conclusion there were Harneno and Manlea in the north, which were added later. So we have the mother and father plus "the ten lying-places, the ten roots" all complete.

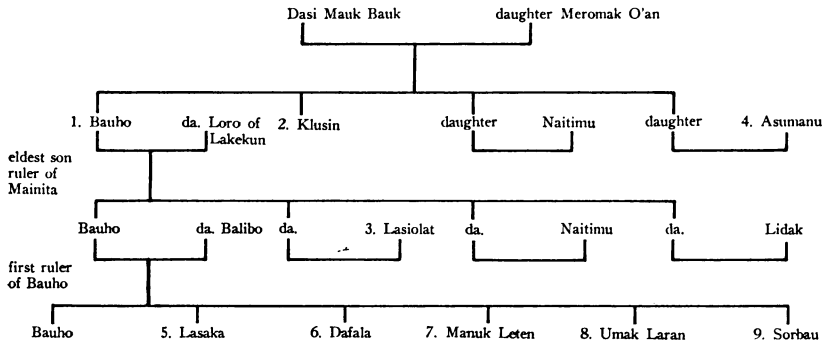
3. FIALARAN

The structure of this political community in North Belu, which was still of importance at the beginning of the present century, reveals many similarities with that of Beboki. Grijzen [40] first relates the myth of origin of this realm and of the ancient, ideal structure, and then gives an account of the structure as found by him. Van Wouden [41] follows in Grijzen's footsteps, but begins by saying that "its social statuses and their arrangement are embodied" in this myth, as are its relations with other princedoms. This is an overstatement, however, for the actual social and political organization is not embodied in the myth, although it may to some extent be reflected by it. The myth only indicates the structural principles and the ideal structure as conceived by the narrator and his circles at the time of narration.

The myth relates how in primeval times, when the entire country except for the summit of the Lekaän (the highest mountain in Belu) was covered by the sea, a man and a woman lived here. It was forbidden to tell their origin. They had a son and a daughter who married each other and had two sons and two daughters. Meanwhile the water receded and the elder son and younger daughter sailed away and became the founders of the royal house of Naitimu in the west. The brother and sister who remained behind had ten sons and three daughters. The youngest of the ten brothers was extremely cunning. He was the culture-hero who eventually insisted, on an occasion when he had once more been able to demonstrate his superiority, that the others recognize him as ruler. Following this his brothers moved away, five of them to the west and four to the east. The former are mentioned no more, but the latter became the founders of the related princedom of Maukatar. Only the youngest, Mauk Bauk, remained. The rest of the myth is best set out in a genealogical tree, in which the names following the numbers designate the parts of the realm:

[40] Grijzen, 1904, p. 26.
[41] Van Wouden, 1968, pp. 41, 43.

DIAGRAM No. 12



It should be noted that the Meromak O'an is recognized as superior ruler because he is bride-giver. But Fialaran was bride-giver in respect of Naitimu and Lidak, and hence their superior. Internally Bauho and Klusin are the senior two and hence are more prominent than the other districts, which are their "children".

The myth further relates how the ruler of Bauho one day encountered the ruler of Asumanu (4) and the ruler of Lasiolat (3). Both had emerged from the earth. When the ruler of Asumanu saw the ruler of Bauho he began to urinate with fright, and when the ruler of Bauho showed him his regalia he was frightened "almost to death". When the ruler of Bauho encountered the prince of Lasiolat, the latter cowered in fear and began to weep upon beholding the regalia. Thereupon they recognized Bauho as supreme lord. Three other, non-related areas (Tohe (10), Maumutin (11) and Aitoon (12)) also became part of the realm, Tohe through a marriage to the daughter of Lasiolat.

Hence there were twelve districts, among which Bauho was the mother and Klusin the father. The ruler of Bauho bore the title *astanara* (*as* = high; *tanara* = to look up at). He was the immobile, feminine, ritual ruler and the ruler of Klusin the active, governing, masculine ruler. The latter used to collect the tribute gifts from the other rulers, two thirds of which he passed on to the prince of Bauho. He was called, among other things, the chief ruler's right hand. The other ten were "their children" or the ten Lords (*dasi sanulu*). The rulers of Bauho and Klusin also bore the title *dasi*. Of these ten, Lasiolat was the most prominent of those who "were originally there". That is why he was the ruler's left hand, according to the myth.

The actual organization at the beginning of the present century was altogether different from the order reflected in the myth. Lasaka no longer existed. One of its rulers was so cruel, as one of the myths relates, that the supreme ruler of Bauho had him put to death and his territory annexed to his own realm. In Grijzen's time the structure was as follows:

West	East
Bauho - Klusin feminine masculine right hand	Lasiolat, left hand
Dafala, Manukleten	Asumanu
Umaklaran, Sorbau	Tohe
Uma hat, rin besi hat = "the four houses, the four iron pillars"	Maumutin Aiton
(1 plus 1) plus 4	1 plus 4

Those in the west descended from the original inhabitants of the Lekaän and those in the east emerged from the earth, or in other words, they "were there originally".

East Fialaran's ties with the ruler of Bauho and with West Fialaran in general had been virtually severed. It no longer brought harvest gifts. Bauho was only informed of important events such as the outbreak of war, and auxiliary troops were sent to Bauho whenever he became involved in a war. The highest position in the east was now occupied by Lasiolat, being the centre of East Fialaran. He had at his side a speaker, *mak'oan*, who was his right hand and responsible for the execution of his orders.[42] And only the rulers of Bauho and Lasiolat were still *dasi*, the others having been reduced to the status of *datu*.[43] Besides the personage in whom the executive power was vested there were commanders-in-chief (*surik ulun* = sword-head, hilt) in each district.

The structure of East Fialaran now seems to be as follows:

---

[42] Grijzen, 1904, p. 129.

[43] The Belu distinguish the following classes: *dasi* - ruler, high nobility; *datu* - lower nobility; *ema* - man, free person; *ata* - slave. Vroklage reports that the rulers of Bauho and Lasiolat were still *dasi* at the time of his research in 1937, but that their children were no longer called this (Vroklage, 1953, I, p. 547).

Lasiolat, with an immobile, ritual ruler and an active, executive authority or *mak'oan* with his warriors, surrounded by four sub-territories.

So we see Fialaran's unity symbolized in an ancient myth. It probably arose in the circles of Bauho; but this does not mean to say that it is not known in this form in East Fialaran as well. A myth may change for the very reason that, besides representing an ideal pattern, it is the reflection of actual social and political relations which are subject to change. In our examination of the structure of Miomafo we shall see how a changed myth is manipulated as a political weapon in the struggle for political power.

There are nonetheless elements in the myth which are recognized as true and correct by all. It is not clear, however, what kind of structure it depicts. Van Wouden's diagram [44] is not correct, omitting as it does details which do not fit in with it and including incorrect data, as the following diagram shows:

		Social	
Local	Sky	*Astanara* Bauho	*Fettor* Klusin
	Earth	Lasiolat *Surik ulun* (warriors)	Asumanu (?) *Mak'oan* (speaker, executive)
		Feminine	Masculine
		Ruler	Right hand

The first error is that, without any feeling for history, he tries to fit both the mythical situation and the situation prevailing in Grijzen's time into one diagram. He is determined to find quadrupartition and hence opposes Bauho and Klusin, who occupy a central position in the myth, to Lasiolat who in Grijzen's time occupied an independent position opposite to Bauho. And he dismisses Asumanu by adding the name with a question mark after it. It is furthermore incorrect to classify the *mak'oan* with Asumanu and the warriors with Lasiolat. For every ruler and every head has a ritual speaker as well as warriors. The other seven names in the myth have been omitted. It is no longer possible to say exactly what the old structure was in reality. But it is clear that we have here the same phenomenon as in Beboki. The old names

[44] Van Wouden, 1968, p. 104.

of the father and mother and the children still linger in people's memories. In Beboki there are a *loro* and a *mone mnasi,* the mutually complementary mother and father, who constitute a dual unity, plus two times two groups which were the original inhabitants, and four groups around the *mone mnasi* which came from abroad, whilst on the periphery there were another two virtually independent communities which had received brides from the *loro*.

In Fialaran similarly the myth confronts us with a father and mother. In this case there are five groups on the one hand, and two plus three groups of original inhabitants on the other: hence we have twice five, with the number five remaining unexplained. Usually the number five is composed of four plus one, the fifth being the centre and symbolic of the unity of the whole, as Van Ossenbruggen observes in his penetrating article on the Javanese term *montjo-pat,*[45] and as Van Wouden also suggests in this connection. The implication of this would be that we have here, as we shall encounter similarly in western Timor, a centre (a dual centre in this case) and two halves of the realm, one of which is affiliated with the ruler — who should most probably be associated with heaven, as in South Belu and in the Atoni area, and whom Van Wouden does, in fact, associate with the sky on the basis of his title of *astanara* (= to look up high) — while the other half was there before it, and therefore associated with the earth. Each group forms a unity, however, expressed by the division into five within each of the two. Thus we arrive at the following diagram:

West	*Centre associated with heaven*		East
	Bauho	Klusin	
half of realm, itself a unity, divided into five groups; associated with ruler	feminine, immobile, ritual	masculine active right hand	half of realm, itself a unity, divided into five groups; associated with the earth. The most important of these five is ruler's left hand.

It is worth noting that the half associated with the earth lives in the east. This is presumably a geographical coincidence. It is therefore not mentioned in the myth, nor is it included in the classificatory system. If the geographical position happens to fit in with the system, such a coincidence is gratefully taken advantage of, as in Beboki.

[45] Van Ossenbruggen, 1918, pp. 29, 30.

As a consequence of an evolutionary process or historical change in Fialaran, East Fialaran became virtually independent, so that the ancient centre of the realm as a whole, the mother and father of the historical situation which prevailed at the beginning of the present century, became the centre of West Fialaran only, to which they are more closely related anyhow, as the myth also states. As a result the west then consisted of a centre — Bauho and Klusin as a dual unity — as well as five groups. This is structurally impossible; therefore one of the groups, Lasaka, has disappeared, so that now the centre and the "four houses, the four iron pillars" remain. The principle of five-fold division has asserted itself again. And in East Fialaran we see one of the five developing into a superior centre. Here Lasiolat has the only remaining *dasi* and a *mak'oan*, or active, executive ruler, at his side. And, of course, he is surrounded by warriors.

The remaining political communities of Belu present roughly the same picture. Dirma, situated between Fialaran and South Beboki, has a *loro* who descends from the *Meromako'an* lineage, so that here there was a stronger political tie with the princedom of South Belu than in Fialaran. The immobile *loro* had an active ruler, resident in a different district, at his side — he was his right hand. And there are, in addition, eight "children", the first of whom is the prince's left hand. These were probably divided into two groups of four.

The princedom of Maukatar, half of which is Tetun-speaking and half Bunak-speaking, similarly had a sovereign prince and an executive authority residing in separate places, with, besides, six "children". As a result this princedom is called *kaluni nen* (= six lying-places; the same word as that used in Beboki). It would be interesting to find out how the two different language-groups arrived at the formation of a political community, what the myth says on this subject, what the structure was and how it functioned. For in one half of this community the population speaks a non-Austronesian language, so that quite possibly there are marked cultural differences between the two groups, also in the social and political structures.

However, the whole of the Bunak-speaking princedom of Lamak-nen (six dinner-plates) had exactly the same structure as Maukatar: a sovereign prince and his right hand, as well as six "children". So we have an eight-fold division in both Maukatar and Lamak-nen.

Djenilu on the north coast is divided into two, the two parts coinciding with the coastal area and the mountain area, as in Amfoan in West Timor. On the coast lived the seven Lords (*datu hitu*) under

a *dasi* or prince, this area therefore being divided into eight parts. In the mountains lived the four Lords (*datu hat*), whose unity was symbolized by the second *dasi*. This prince appeared from a cave in the mountains and ruled the old realm of Kabuna. When, in the course of time, there was only a female *dasi* left she married the *dasi* of the coastal area, thus uniting Djenilu.

It is quite likely that this myth reflects the way in which older elements of the mountain population intermixed with later arrivals who lived on the coast. The language (Kemak) also bears traces of such mixing, for it is a mixture of Tetun and elements which appear to be Bunak.

CHAPTER VIII

THE IMMEDIATE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE OF SONBA'I

1. SONBA'I

Besides the realm of South Belu there existed the realm of Sonba'i. which formerly probably covered the entire Atoni area.

Viewed from South Belu Sonba'i was one of the three *liurai*, one of whom lived in South Belu (Fatu Aruin) itself, one in the east (in the Tetun-speaking part of Portuguese Timor) and one in the west (Sonba'i).

Sonba'i's own myths also state that Sonba'i derived his power from his "elder brother", the *liurai* of Wehale-Waiwiku.

The structure of the realm of Sonba'i is even more difficult to trace than that of the realm of South Belu, notwithstanding the fact that important indications are given by the myths.

Middelkoop [1] has published an imporant collection of these myths and stories concerning Sonba'i along with their translation. It is of the utmost importance to note in this context in what circles the myth is related. Kruyt [2] relates a myth concerning the origin of Sonba'i which probably arose in Sonba'i's own circles. The same myth was recorded by Middelkoop [3] in 1934 as related by Balo Kune, a member of the lineage that "was there already", and the same story here takes on a completely different colour. Kune's version runs as follows: When the entire land was still under water Fai Surai Kune lived on the Mutis as its guard (the Mutis is the highest mountain in the Atoni area, just as the Lekaän is the highest mountain in Belu). When the earth had become dry he settled somewhere lower down on its slopes. Two other Atoni, Nai Djabi and Nai Besi Tlela,[4] also came to this place — they

---

[1] Middelkoop, 1938a.
[2] Kruyt, 1923, pp. 777-780.
[3] Middelkoop, 1938a, pp. 470-780.
[4] *Nai* = Lord. For the Nai Djabi group see p. 307 below. The name Kesnai is also mentioned here as that of one of the groups of autochthonous inhabitants. Cf. pp. 311, 453 below.

had also come down from the Mutis, as the story states further on. "That is where his father and his mother are".[5] They built a house with eight pillars, the ordinary Atoni house having only four.

Kune had a son, Nai Ke Kune; and later, when he went to live by himself near the source of Afoan, he had four daughters by another wife.

Later on Sonba'i roamed around the country until he reached Kupang, but he could not find the Lord of the Land (*pah in tuan*). Liulai,[6] who was reduced to drinking salty and brackish water on the coast, sent him back to look for the latter again. This time he found two of Kune's daughters at their spring. As he looked like a filthy Atoni fellow, the elder refused to fetch him water. But the younger agreed to get it for him. Sonba'i poured the water all over himself and suddenly became radiant in appearance, so that both sisters now wanted him for their husband. He thrust his spear into the ground with his *sirih pinang* purse attached to it. The elder of the sisters, Bi Djasa, was unable to extract it from the ground and, as it grew longer, could not reach the purse either. Angrily she returned homeward, whereupon the younger pulled the spear out of the ground without any difficulty.

When Sonba'i reached Kune he was given a golden chair to sit on, whilst Kune seated himself on a silver one. Sonba'i then said that his name was Falukis Belu and that Liulai was his elder brother. In order to inform his brother of the success of his mission they chopped down ten Kune bamboos, filled them with water and wild cassava leaves and a whetstone, and hurled them away as one would a spear. The rocks split asunder and the largest river of Timor, the Noil Benain, which flows from the Mutis to South Belu, first began to flow. When Liulai heard the water come rushing down he knew that his younger brother had met the Lord of the Land. To this very day bamboo and wild cassava, both with red stems, still grow on the coast of Wehale. Two stems are alive and two are dead. The whetstone is also still there, and the Belunese sacrifice at it. As a return gift Liulai sent "the precursor of the rifle, the precursor of the horse, the precursor of the coral stone and the precursor of the reins".

Not long afterwards Kono and Oematan came from Belu. Their

---

[5] Middelkoop, 1938a, p. 493.

[6] In the Timorese spoken in Central Timor *r* becomes *l*. Conversely in Amarasi l becomes *r*.

names were Nai Ebo Belus and Nai Iuf Belus.[7] The former married Bi Djasa and the latter Bi Funu, the second daughter of Kune. Then the *usif* of Timau came from Belu together with Banam and Nai Lamu am Tein Lasi.[8]

Kune thereupon gave them new names in his village of origin. Ebo Belus was named Kono because he could hurl Sonba'i's spear right through Kune's house, Kono meaning "(to hurl) right through". Sonba'i's name derives from that of a white bird, *sone*, which he was given to eat. This and another white bird (*nes muti*) became taboo for him, "lest he should eat his own name".[9] Iuf Belus was given his name when a spring gushed forth where the spear which he had thrown struck the earth: Oe Matan = water - source. And Timau received his when he turned over a stone; he became Amfoan: *foan* = to lift, *ama* = father. Banam too was given his present name, as well as all the other rulers (*uisfini*). Kune gave each of them one of his daughters in marriage. Later on in the story we hear, however, that Kono gave his daughter to Amfoan and became Amfoan's bride-giver, as well as Nai Benu's (Ambenu in Oikusi).

Nai Djabi and Nai Besi were angered by the fact that all the new arrivals were given a place, but the princes chased them away and many heads were taken. Kono now was given the mountain Miomafo in the east, and Oematan Mount Molo in the west. Sonba'i settled in between these in Paeneno - Oe Nam. Or, as Sonba'i says to Amfoan and Ambenu in the myth: "Go Thee to the flanks of the land (*pah in ninen*), for I came first and found the Lord of the Land". Thereupon he says to Kono and then to Oematan: "We must remain here with our grandfather in the navel of the land (*paha usan*), so that there be three of us to guard the Mutis". Then Kune says that he will assign them a place. "But I shall not honour Thee as *usif*, I shall not weed Thy garden (*au ka u'kuis ki, ka tof ki lele*). Thou shalt summon other

---

[7] According to the myth related to Reijntjes (Report 1948, p. 71) by Tua Sonba'i, the ruler of Molo, they had the faces of mice: *ifu* = mouse. There they are called Iuf Belek and Fae Belek. The *kauna ifu* (mouse snake) is Oematan's totem animal.

[8] The Timau is the highest mountain in Amfoan and it is similarly the name for this area in general. Banam is Amanuban. The last name is not known, but it probably refers to Amarasi.

[9] In another version Kune says to all those present: "*Mu sona he bai tama*" (stand aside so that he may enter) when the radiant man approaches (Koopmans' Report 1917, p. 175). And it is also said that he was given the name Sonba'i because he was victorious — *sona* = to stab, *bai* = many (Müller, 1875, II, p. 151). These derivations are of course no more than folk-etymologies.

Atoni for this. I shall not bring Thee sugar cane or bananas, as then it would seem as though I were not the Lord of the Land (*on au ka pah tuaf kau*). Formerly Nai Djabi and Nai Besi provided for me. They have fled because they did not wish to welcome the new-comers. But how would we look for water and what would become of our name? For if we did not welcome men who are in difficulty it would be as though we loved not Uis Neno, as though we were causing grief anew."

Sonba'i then married the daughters of Nai Sanam and Nai Mela. When his wife, Bi Djili, the daughter of Kune, reproached him for always going away he said: "I have ascended to my father Uis Neno, for my father is Uis Neno, my mother is Uis Neno". When she discovered that Sonba'i had deceived her by marrying other women without informing her, she felt disgraced and wished she were dead. For when Sonba'i had been in difficulty Kune had helped him and given him a ruler's golden name and a gold chair. Therefore she killed a man — one of Kune's children — when the harvest gifts were presented to Sonba'i. No-one said anything of it for that reason, but Sonba'i decided that when the harvest gifts were brought to him the following year he would have her killed by Nai Ten Neno. The latter danced ahead of the others when the time had come to present harvest gifts once again. Again Bi Djili danced towards them, and threw the spear at him. He ducked, seized the spear and killed her. Following this his name was changed to Nai Ten Ola (= devourer), because, as the people said, "You have killed the child of the Lord of the Land, you have devoured the ground; this will be the end of us". Her gold chair turned into stone. Thereupon Kune chased Sonba'i away, saying: "The thread has snapped, I have broken the thread with Thee; the thread of the *nono* has snapped, the eye of the needle has broken. I shall not attend the marriage ceremonies of Thy children, for that would mean your death and mine."

Sonba'i then saw a Chinese who wanted to buy sandalwood, and thought that this man might marry the children of Kune. Enraged, he had all the sandal-trees chopped down and the honeycombs cut away. But as a result of sacrifices offered by Kune there was no heartwood in the sandal-trees. He had said: "If I am not to be the Lord of the Land, the sandal-trees are not to have any heartwood in them". Then Kune went to collect the sandalwood himself and suddenly its heartwood was restored.

Sonba'i rallied all his people and together they smashed everything

of Kune's to pieces and decapitated Luis Kono. Kune resigned himself, as he did not have many men. Even though he had driven Sonba'i out, the latter had gained the support of Mela and Sanam and went to live with them in Bidjeli.

There he continued to harass Oematan and Kono, who finally went to the Kompani (the Dutch in Kupang). "Then the white man apprehended him in Kauniki; shots were fired, some were shot dead, others hewn down. If they had not been shot dead there and then he would probably have continued in the same manner. Only the women were left." One was pregnant and bore a son. "If he had not been born, that would have been the end of Sonba'i".

It is obvious at first glance that this myth is the creation of an anti-Sonba'i circle. When Sonba'i misconducts himself Kune has the power to punish him. Locher[10] was told this same myth by the same Kune six years later, when it agreed almost word for word with the first version. The only difference was that its tenor was even more unfavourable for Sonba'i — Kune did not offer Sonba'i the golden seat, but the latter had already seated himself on it before Kune realized.

A different version of this myth (one of the many in existence) is related by Müller.[11] Nai Akunel (probably Nai Kune) had four sons: Nai Mnuni, Pit'ai, Fonai and Nesi Mnaha. The eldest succeeded his father as ruler of the realm of Laba. Then three brothers came from Belu and conquered the realm. The eldest was given the name and realm of Sonba'i after acquiring the royal treasures (presumably the state *le'u*). The second was given the realm of Ambenu and the youngest that of Amfoan. The relationship between the four princedoms of Belu, Sonba'i, Ambenu and Amfoan is like that between younger and elder brothers.

An obvious characteristic which is typical of all myths is that they are altogether lacking in historical perspective or depth in time — all relevant historical events are set in primeval times (*un unu*), although the events take place in a prescribed order. The myth says of Sonba'i (the first Sonba'i, as all are one), for instance, that he came from Belu, married one of Kune's daughters, and went to live in Oenam. Then it proceeds to tell of the Sonba'i in Bidjeli, in respect of whom Mela and Sanam were the bridegiving great fathers. The breach between Sonba'i and Kune and Kono in Miomafo, where Kune is still resident at

---

[10] Personal Communication.
[11] Müller, 1857, II, p. 150.

present, is connected with the latter Sonba'i. This may be a reflection of the breach between Miomafo and Molo which came about before 1700. Finally, there are allusions to the opposition which the Sonba'i of Fatule'u in Kauniki offered the Netherlands Government, which conquered Kauniki after this, namely in 1905.

This myth is also important in that it gives us some insight into the old structure and the principles which shaped it. The very fact that this myth originated in anti-Sonba'i circles makes it all the more interesting to find out what was the nature of the position that was nevertheless accorded Sonba'i.

Kune is the original Lord of the Land, and Sonba'i's social superior because he is his bride-giver. Sonba'i comes from abroad, from the east, and he is the younger brother of the powerful Liurai, but also the son of the Lord of Heaven, Uis Neno; he is the son of God, like the Meromak O'an of Wehale. Liurai maintains relations with his younger brother, who presents him with the gift of water from the mountains and receives the imported culture objects in return: the rifle, the horse (which is not autochthonous), coral stone, and reins.

When Sonba'i first arrives he appears as a filthy Atoni, but soon reveals himself in heavenly radiance. The ruler is clearly a symbol of the dualism between heaven and earth as a dual cosmic unity, in which heaven is superior to earth so that Sonba'i, first and foremost the representative of heaven, is given the golden chair and Kune the silver one to sit on.

The spot in which Sonba'i settles is called Paeneno-Oenam, Paeneno meaning "heavenly hero", while Oenam is the name of a source that is representative of the water in the earth. Kono and Oematan appear later on; the story does not say whether they are brothers of Sonba'i. This constitutes an important point of divergence with Kruyt's version of the myth, which is the same myth though this time as related in pro-Sonba'i circles. In the latter version the story tells of three brothers, of whom Sonba'i is the youngest; he is fetched by the other two and therefore arrives later. As he reveals himself in heavenly splendour, Kune states that he is the rightful ruler. The name "Sonba'i" is then explained as follows: *sone* = to subordinate oneself to someone; *bait* = to surrender something to someone — in other words, the others have to subordinate themselves to him. Kruyt adds that he was told by different informants that the three were not brothers, as only Sonba'i was of divine origin.

Another point on which Kruyt's version differs from that told in

Kune circles is that Sonba'i is killed on Kune's orders because he is cruel and has a man killed each year. Sabat Neno [12] kills Sonba'i with a spear. As a result of his death the crops fail. Mela of Bidjeli, one of Sonba'i's two bridge-givers in Molo, and the heads of Pita'i and Manubait — i.e. Sonba'i's executive heads in Fatule'u — went to Liulai and on their way found a three months' old child with a navel-string of gold slung around its shoulders. It was therefore a child from Uis Neno, and Liulai immediately recognized it as his brother. Mela reared the child in a cave; from then on there was rain in abundance near this spot, whereas the rest of the country was drought-stricken. Thereupon this Neno Sonba'i was recognized by everyone. Van Wouden [13] concludes from the above that his superiority and especially his indispensability predominate in Sonba'i's two-fold character — for his reason for killing a man was to make the earth cool, that is, fertile — and that Kune is the personification of the power of evil. Hence heaven and earth are opposed to each other as light to dark and as good to evil. The fact that Van Wouden interpolates an observation in the story of the myth related by Kruyt, an observation made by Kruyt in another article of his,[14] without any mention of the fact that he is combining material from different sources and without mentioning the sources, is inadmissible. For in Kruyt's version of the myth there is nothing to imply that Sonba'i kills a man to make the earth cool — nor is there in any existing myth that I know of. Kruyt himself states this in a different connection in his article written in 1923. But his data are not completely reliable either.

If we credit Kune's myth with an equal degree of validity this theory is certainly not tenable. Here Kune's daughter is killed, and he tries to avenge her death, but Sonba'i turns out to be stronger than he.

Sonba'i's indispensability is obvious in both myths; as is the comparison of the relationship between Sonba'i and Kune to that between day and night respectively. Not only is Sonba'i the son of the Lord of Heaven, but the first Sonba'i, moreover, usually bears the name Manas (= sun), while the first Kune is called Fai (= night). The marriage between Sonba'i and Kune's daughter, therefore, is one between day and night, light and dark, between the son of heaven and the lord of the land, and hence we can conclude that the marriage in

---

[12] In the myths which have arisen in Kune circles it was Fen Neno who killed Kune's daughter.

[13] Van Wouden, 1968, p. 111.

[14] Kruyt, 1921, p. 779 and 1923, p. 432.

question is one between heaven and earth. This mythical conception has continued to have so much reality for the people of this area that even as recently as 1946 the wives of Tua Sonba'i, the ruler of Molo, were strictly forbidden to venture outside in the daylight, and bear the name "darkness" and must not be seen by other men — even a physician was forbidden to treat one of this Sonba'i's wives during an illness. At that particular time, however, Tua Sonba'i was making a conscious effort to assert himself once more as a real Sonba'i, and the myth had been made subservient to practical political ends. There is no evidence here of an opposition between good and evil, however.

Middelkoop [15] also relates the myth of the murder of Sonba'i by Kono. His source was an informant from Molo who had connections with Kune and whose father's father was said to have known (this) Sonba'i.

The myth begins with the story of the radiant youth whom Kune raised to the status of ruler (*kesel*). But Sonba'i was a cruel, despotic ruler and a brute (*atoni amaunut*) who was continually at war. His residence, Oenam, "was a rotten case". Nevertheless Pit'ai, Kune Manbait,[16] Kono and Oematan brought him harvest gifts, recognizing Sonba'i as their *usif*. The women would carry the gifts into his palace, but only those with grey hair would return, as Sonba'i used to keep all the young ones with him in his palace. At Kono's instigation Sab Neno killed Sonba'i and all of Uis Kono's people murdered every member of the house of Sonba'i. Only a baby boy escaped the massacre. The infant was reared by a woman from Mela and a woman from Aboin. They went to live with Oematan. Now Oematan in Molo received rain, whilst Kono in Miomafo did not; thereupon Kono said: "I have hewn Sonba'i down completely, so that one part of the realm has only sunshine, whilst the other receives rain as well". Kono then decided to go to Sonba'i, but on his way he met with an accident and died. The other Konos then recognized Sonba'i again.

Here we have the same myth presented in yet another light. This time it is not Kune but Kono who is guilty. If, as Van Wouden [17] suggests, Kono was believed to be associated with heaven because his spear kept going right on, while Oematan was associated with the earth (he caused a spring to well up out of the earth with his spear),

---

[15] Middelkoop, 1938a, pp. 421-434.
[16] Pitai and Manbait are the heads of Sonba'i of Fatule'u.
[17] Van Wouden, 1968, p. 110.

he could not have perpetrated this evil deed. At least not if, as Van Wouden poses, good and heaven are associated with one another.

It is quite clear that these myths do not give us much in the way of concrete facts. We should be mindful not to jump to conclusions on the basis of myths and should pay special attention to the place of the myth in a particular political and historical situation. The crucial point — Sonba'i's indispensability as the son of heaven — is confirmed by all of them, however. This myth reflects, among other things, Miomafo's independence of Molo. Sonba'i lives here, near Oematan, whilst Kono forms a centre of his own. This is bound to give rise to tension between Kono and Sonba'i, as Sonba'i is indispensable to Kono as his ritual prince.

Sonba'i's indispensability is even more pronounced in another myth, which originated in Molo.[18] "Sonba'i was up to all sorts of tricks; he killed us like buffalo, slaughtered us like pigs". "It would be a good thing if he were to turn into a woman, with no knowledge of affairs (*lasi*). He had Mela, Sanam, Lake, Senak[19] in his *sirih pinang* purse, in the sheath of his knife."[20] He was also in the habit of taking young women every year. The heads, including Oematan — Kune is not mentioned — made common cause (*lasi*) and decided to kill Sonba'i, whereupon Kono had this resolution carried into effect. "When the *usif* was dead, Bau Sonba'i went to pick manggo fruits at the foot of Bataib, and had them sent to Kono Oematan, saying to the messengers: "Go forth, and when you reach Kono Oematan his manggo will be in the other hand" (hence Sonba'i's manggo was in one hand). "If his heart (*nekaf*) be rotten and putrid, his manggo will be worm-eaten. If my heart be rotten and putrid in respect of Uis Kono, then my manggo will be worm-eaten. If my heart be good, then my manggo will be sound. I am in one hand, he is in the other." When the messengers reached Uis Kono his manggo was worm-eaten and Sonba'i's was without a blemish. Although in this myth Sonba'i's reign is censured particularly strongly, in the end his fruit and his heart appear to be sound. Van Wouden is correct, therefore, in saying that his evil deeds notwithstanding, Sonba'i represents the good, probably because he is the son of the Lord of Heaven. But his suggestion that Sonba'i has an evil side *because* he is also of the earth, and therefore earthly, is

---

[18] Middelkoop, 1938a, pp. 419-421.

[19] Lake and Senak are the two most prominent heads of Bikomi in Miomafo. Perhaps the narrator had some connection with Bikomi.

[20] I.e., he was able to do as he pleased with them.

not founded on information from Timorese sources, attractive though this theory may be.

It is interesting to note that the names of Kono and Oematan are mentioned jointly, as though they stand for one person. This is still regularly done in Molo, though not as frequently in Miomafo, Kono's realm, which has become independent.

Sonba'i's benevolent side is apparent from his conduct as a culture hero, moreover. He has given the people their agricultural crops.[21] Two brothers, Lilai Sonba'i, the elder, and Saun Neno Sonba'i, the younger, descended from the Lord of Heaven. They surveyed this dry land (*pah meto*) and saw that the people were eating wild forest bulbs and black beans.[22] Then the elder brother (*tataf*) said to the younger (*olif*): "Visit Thy land, Thy lake, Thy people, Thy subjects (*ho to, ho tafa*)", and ordered him to fetch his sister. Then they killed their sister, cut her into pieces, and wrapped her in a black cloth (*tais metan*). When four nights had passed they went to take a look and discovered that the flesh, the bones and the skin had disappeared and been replaced by corn and green peas, rice and begans, gourds and maize, cassava and millet. "We hail the earth with eight names, eight kinds". Then follows a prayer: "My child of the Lord of Heaven (bi Lauf Neno), it is as though Thou hast changed Thy flesh, Thy muscles, Thy bones, Thy skin, and turned them into corn and rice in exchange. We look up to Thee as we plant and sow to obtain food and drink, as though Thou wert giving a sign to our father, our mother, the blazing one, the brilliant one, that he may give us a good word, a good case (*toni leko, lasi leko*)".

The elder brother, Lilai Sonbai, is of course the Liurai from Belu who appears in the same connection[23] in other myths. In another version[24] it is Lilai's daughter from whose body the different plants sprout forth at the end of seven days. In yet a different version[25] the body of Sonba'i's sister turns into corn, bananas and sugar-cane, her bones into sandalwood and her brains into honey.

This myth is generally well known in the areas once affiliated with Sonba'i. It is important in that here a distinction is made between

---

[21] Middelkoop, 1938a, pp. 415-419. Van Alphen, 1933, p. 127.

[22] *Kot fui* = poisonous beans which have to be boiled down eight to ten times before they are edible, because of their high potassium cyanide content. See p. 52 above.

[23] Middelkoop, 1938a, pp. 407, 438.

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 410.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 414.

male and female which is not made in the case of Uis Neno and Uis Pah. Sonba'i, the man, is the son of the Lord of Heaven (Uis Neno Ana), while his sister, also addressed as Uis Neno Ana, is clearly associated with the earth. In the prayer rendered by Van Alphen she is even called "ruler of the earth", probably a translation of *ana' plenat* (= he or she who has authority).

Hence Sonba'i and his sister symbolize the cosmic unity of heaven and earth; they are also indicative of a distinction made between the two sexes, which one might possibly attribute to influences from Belu.

Sonba'i's religious significance is, of course, of great importance for his political influence. Sonba'i's religious power and indispensability are a recurrent theme in Timorese history. Even after the Sonba'i lineage had been eliminated politically in both Molo and Fatule'u it continued to exert a strong influence. This was especially evident during the mouse plague and ensuing famine of 1929 and 1930, of which Van Alphen gives such a vivid account. When we consider the above we will not find it surprising that during times of serious distress people invariably turn to Sonba'i again. Van Alphen[26] writes — and his account is probably not in the least exaggerated, at least not with regard to this particular period of famine — "belief in Sonba'i is the centre around which life revolves, the source from which the people draw, the ground on which the community is built". He was the first of the Atoni rulers and is acknowledged as such even in areas which pride themselves on never having lived under his rule. A myth[27] relates in this connection that the Lord of Heaven sent eight princes (*usif*) down to earth: Lilai and Sonba'i, Uis Nuban (Amanuban), Nai Lasi (Amarasi), Nai Benu (Ambenu), Nai Foan (Amfoan), Nai Bolu Tubah and Nai Saun Tanas. "These seven are the minor ones. These eight princes came down to earth in primeval times and laid out garden plots." They had no fire, however, and Lilai ordered Bolu Tubah and Saun Tanas to fetch it from the Lord of Heaven. But these were burnt by the fire, until the Lord of Heaven gave them bees' wax for candles.

This myth indicates the relationship to the rulers surrounding Sonba'i. Although the realm of South Belu is superior, Sonba'i is the supreme ruler in the Atoni area. The princes who were burnt by the fire are the only two who did not become founders of a realm. The structure of the realm of Sonba'i as a whole is as follows, therefore:

---

[26] Van Alphen, 1933, p. 126.
[27] Middelkoop, 1938a, p. 409.

NORTH

	Amfoan		Ambenu		
WEST		Sonba'i		Liurai	EAST
	Amarasi		Amanuban		

SOUTH

The remaining princedoms, Amanatun and Kupang, do not fit into this scheme, which represents Sonba'i as the fifth in the centre as the symbol of unity. His place is in the "navel of the realm". It is clear from the historical outline that before 1642 Sonba'i must, in fact, have been the ritual centre of these princedoms. And he probably supplied the rulers of these princedoms with brides.

The fine story related by Tua Sonba'i, who became raja of Molo in 1932 and thereupon proceeded to set forth at length to Reijntjes [28] his views on his illustrious forebears, is an excellent example of the manner in which modern events may be incorporated in an old legend. In this case these events have become interwoven with elements of the old myth of the arrival of Sonba'i. Kono, Oematan, Amfoan, Ambenu, Banunaek (Amanatun), China, Africa and Belanda (Holland) are the companions who followed Sonba'i, China referring to the Chinese, Africa to the negroes in Portuguese Timor, and Belanda to the Dutch. All foreign groups which have entered the Atoni's horizons have been assigned a place in the myth of origin. Kune was the only original inhabitant, the others being later arrivals. Kune was Sonba'i's first bride-giver, and in spite of his glorification of his own line Sonba'i recognizes this ancient affinal relationship.

When later on he became emperor in Bidjeli, Kono-Oematan, Beboki, Insana, Fatule'u and Bikomi (a part of Miomafo) fell under his sway. He calls Amfoan, Ambenu, Amanatun and Amanuban his younger brothers. Again there are four: two in the north and two in the south; but this time Amarasi is replaced by Amanatun — apparently the number should be four. Moreover, he calls his relationship in respect of the powerful Amanuban, at that time ruled by a strong ruler, a *neno mone* — *neno feto* one, Sonba'i being the bride-giver (*mone*). *Neno* is an appellation indicative of heavenly origin. In Molo, Fatule'u and Miomafo Sonba'i is still acknowledged as the ritual figure to whom tribute gifts were formerly offered. But in the myths of other princedoms Sonba'i is also recognized [29] as the superordinate ruler.

---

[28] Reijntjes' Report, 1948, pp. 69-87. Indonesian text.
[29] Pp. 318, 373 below.

Hence these myths confirm the historical data which indicate that before 1642 there must have existed an extensive realm of Sonba'i.

2. MOLO

When investigating the structures of the disintegrated realm of Sonba'i it is important to give special attention to the constituent parts of which this realm was formerly composed. Scission may be useful in revealing the parts which at one time apparently arrived at a certain degree of cohesion. A reversal of this process is equally conceivable, however. What was originally a cohesive unit may have gradually expanded to such an extent that scission became inevitable once the central power weakened for some reason or other. It is therefore difficult to make any definite statements concerning the internal structure of the realm of Sonba'i. After Sonba'i's flight in 1659, or slightly before, Kono, as the eldest, took over the leadership. He was appointed *imperator* by the Topasses. Nonetheless, Sonba'i remained in a sense the ritual centre. Harvest gifts are brought to him in Bakunasi, near Kupang. They come to him from as far away as the interior — only because of this was it possible for him to send 200 men laden with harvest gifts as tribute to the *Opperhoofd* of the East India Company in Kupang.[30]

Kono and Oematan were *usif* who, like Sonba'i, came from abroad or "outside"; in other words, they had no land tenure rights. Their function was that of active administrators, Kono in the east and Oematan in the west. Now, as we have seen, the east is superior to the west, so that Kono was the senior of the two. This implies at the same time a division into two. By a gradual process of expansion it was possible for two separate realms to come into being. Naturally this cannot have taken place without political or military conflict. Sonba'i left Kupang in 1785 in order to take up residence in his former centre of Paeneno-Oenam, close to the village in which Oematan was resident. Hence Oematan became the active administrator at the side of the ritual ruler Sonba'i, and Kono more or less retained his independent position in Miomafo. Oematan also married one of Kune's daughters. Kune was, as the myth relates, the first Lord of the Land (*pah tuan*). There are, besides, traditions of other groups such as Djabi, Besi, Lasa and Tanesi, which lived there as the original inhabitants and therefore had certain rights of land tenure.

---

[30] MS. Visscher.

As the executive authority Oematan was also one of Sonba'i's rivals. When Müller travelled across Molo in 1829 the realm had become practically divided. Molo was governed by Oematan, by two brothers' sons: Djefo-Bilik and Djefo-Oematan. The elder was in charge of "defence" and the other was responsible exclusively for "government". These terms are not used correctly here, for "defence" should be understood as "the guarding of the sacred objects of the realm". This would point to the beginning of a process of fission between Molo and Miomafo, the more so as within Miomafo the same process had been going on.

There was, besides, the centre Oenam, in which Sonba'i or, as Müller[31] puts it, the *liurai* "himself exercised the highest administrative and military authority". But his power had declined as a result of his long absence which was followed, moreover, by scission caused by a fraternal quarrel, subsequent to which the senor branch settled in Fatule'u. He nonetheless remained the ritual centre and in many cases had a mediating function. A few former headhunters were able to inform Middelkoop[32] that in a war between an Oematan (aided by Kono) and Amanuban one of the great fathers of Sonba'i acted as impartial mediator, for instance.

The political unity was weak. There were even reports of a war between Oematan and Sonba'i.[33] In spite of this, the tie between Molo and Oenam has remained closer than that between these areas and Miomafo. This is partially a result of later historical developments. The house of Sonba'i was ousted because of its anti-Dutch attitude. Consequently Molo was integrated into the Netherlands East Indies administrative organization as a self-governing princedom.[34]

In 1916 the independent district of Mutis was joined to it. This district still consisted of only three villages in 1932, or in other words, only three village heads were recognized,[35] and in 1947 it consisted of four, with 325 taxable male inhabitants.[36] The fourth village had always existed.[37] This is an indication that whenever a large-sized political community — such as in this case the realm of Sonba'i — disintegrated, the basic community consisted of four residential units.

---

[31] Müller, 1857, II, p. 149.
[32] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 77.
[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 311.
[34] See Govt. Resolution 14th April, 1909, No. 6, Memorandum 1912, p. 146.
[35] Weidner's Report, 1932, p. 23.
[36] Reijntjes' Report, Appendices.
[37] Reported by Reijntjes and Middelkoop. Cf. p. 95 above.

In the immediate Sonba'i area there are in addition to Sonba'i the two prominent groups Mela and Sanam (or Saenam). A myth of origin of Mela names three clans in addition to Sonba'i: Paut, Mela and Sanam.[38] This coincides with the pattern found in South Belu: the ruler with three *liurai* and three *loro* at his side.[39] In the Sonba'i myth, too, the number of men who come to Kune is three.[40]

Mela is called "the guardian of the house" and Sanam "the guardian of the land".[41] They are bride-giving groups in respect of Sonba'i, and hence his great fathers. In the affinal relationship they are therefore Sonba'i's *atoni amaf*, and their relationship to Sonba'i is *mone-feto* respectively. A Sanam once said: "I make Sonba'i *feto*". This is the bride-giving group's social superiority. But, on the other hand, as a Sanam once formulated it,[42] Mela and Sanam are "as dish-stands (*muni*), as *feto* in respect of Sonba'i, as his silver-handled sleeping-mat, the pillow which he causes to bulge", that is, which he makes pregnant.

It seems strange that in a different story,[43] in which Oematan is at war with Amanuban, the names Mela-Sanam occur in the summary of the ten warrior groups (*meo*), whilst they appear in the same story as two of the eighteen "fathers". Here it is the task of Mela-Sanam to guard "Amanuban's door, Amanuban's entrance". This corroborates our observations [44] according to which the *meo*-ship is not necessarily restricted to particular clans.

Four of these eighteen *amaf* belong with Mela-Sanam: Tafui - Sunbanu, Seko - Ba'un "who prop up the enclosure, who support the throne". Together they form a unity in which Mela-Sanam are feminine and Tafui-Sunbanu, Seko-Ba'un are masculine. Hence we have here a double centre surrounded by twice two clans. It is these clans which were most closely affiliated with Sonba'i. They lived around Paeneno - Oenam. But in the larger whole of Molo, Oematan calls Mela-Sanam "my great fathers". Here they are masculine, as they are in respect of Sonba'i.

Masculine or feminine, superior or inferior — these qualifications depend entirely on the angle from which the relationships they describe

---

38 Data supplied by Locher.
39 P. 236 above.
40 P. 267 above.
41 Weidner's Report, p. 24.
42 Middelkoop, 1963, p. 76.
43 *Id.*, p. 315.
44 P. 217 above.

are viewed, therefore. Socially as well as in respect of his life-cycle ritual Sonba'i is dependent on Mela and Sanam as his *atoni amaf*; but politically and religiously speaking Sonba'i, as the great prince and the son of the Lord of Heaven, is so powerful that Mela and Sanam regard themselves as feminine in respect of him. The structures of Molo are no longer as clear as those of Insana. But the confused statements concerning the relations within this area clearly indicate that the structure of Insana should never be considered as a model. The ritual centre of Sonba'i has Kune at its side. Instead of a ruler-*kolnel* relationship we have here a ruler with two executive counterparts. These differences are not fundamental, however.

3. FATULE'U

Fatule'u is a high, precipitous, rocky mountain which rises to a height of 1115 m. above the hill country of West Timor. Hence its name "*le'u* rock", *le'u* clearly having the meaning "numinous" or "ominous". This mountain has lent its name to a political community which consists of five parts: Takaib, Manubait, Benu, Tefnai and Kauniki. According to the myth [45] Takaib owes its existence to Kono *mnais* (the elder Kono) being forced to leave his country to make room for the younger Kono, who had won greater popularity than his elder brother. He fled together with "four men" who are mentioned by name. Here once again we have the familiar pattern of four clans whose unity is symbolized by the central *usif*. Thenceforth they constituted a sub-territory of the larger whole into which Fatule'u developed.

There was also a break-away group from Oematan which after much wandering about also landed in Pasi, the territory of Takaib, and formed the second sub-territory, called Manubait. Later on, according to the legend, Tefnai and Benu came. Once again the result is four sub-territories which belonged together in pairs. There are, however, groups of other clans as well, including the Pit'ai, who are renowed headhunters. Kauniki in the centre became the seat of Sonba'i, whom the four sub-territories came to regard as the new ritual centre of their own newly founded political community. This must have happened in approximately 1820. When Müller [46] arrived in Fatule'u in 1829 a

---

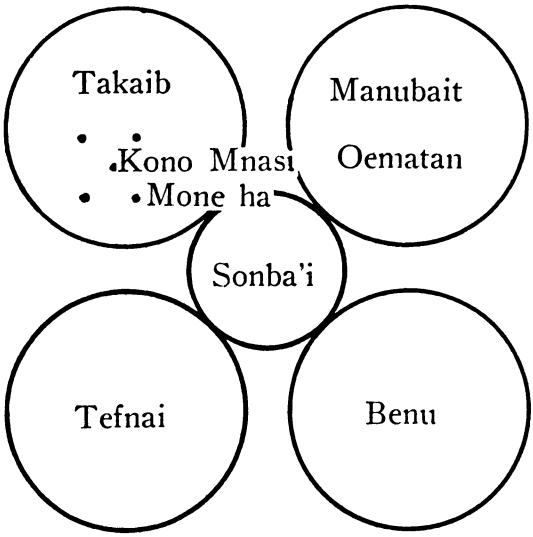
[45] Koopman's Report, 1917, pp. 172 ff.,
[46] Müller, 1857, II, p. 147.

certain Nai Sonba'i was living in Kauniki. He was approximately 36 years old and the son of the Alfonsus Adrianus[47] who had fled from Kupang in 1785. His younger brother lived in Paeneno-Oenam.

The above shows that Fatule'u came into being as a result of internal conflicts elsewhere, and that the princedom is made up of break-away groups from the old realm of Sonba'i which united with the groups already settled in the area. Kono and Oematan were the most prominent groups, but as soon as a Sonba'i arrived he became the centre of the new political community. In the re-grouping of the different groups the traditional structural principle of quadrupartition with a fifth group symbolizing the unity between them in their centre was once more active as a normative and structural principle — although reality does not necessarily conform to this. Just as a sub-territory may comprise more than four clans, a political community which comes into being as a result of fusion may comprise more than four sub-territories, but the whole is always designated with four names that are representative.

A map from 1879 does not mention Kauniki, but only Takaib and Manubait, two groups from Ambenu and Pit'ai.[48]

DIAGRAM No. 13



[47] P. 183 above.
[48] Cf. map no. 5, no. 6 and Riedel 1887 map on p. 287.

4. MIOMAFO

a. *The nucleus*

Miomafo comprises the eastern part of the realm of Sonba'i and part of its sphere of influence. It derives its name from the 1400 m. high mountain. According to Middelkoop [49] Miomafo means "morning shadow".

It is difficult to establish when it separated completely from Molo and the rest of the old realm of Sonba'i. After Sonba'i's flight Kono became ruler under the supervision of the Topasses. But in January 1749 "Amakono" also sought refuge in Kupang [50] after a conflict with the Black Portuguese. At the battle of Penfui, however, in November of 1749 "the new emperor of Amacone and all the other kings under his sway" together with the people from Amarasi marched on the Dutch in Kupang [51] under the command of the Black Portuguese. And in 1756 Paravicini concluded a treaty with the "emperor of Amacona, Don Barnardo".[52] The East India Company did not at any time conclude a treaty with Oematan of Molo.[53]

These various communications show that Kono, as the senior and more prominent of the two active administrators, was viewed from abroad as the external representative of the realm of Sonba'i as a whole. The unity between Kono and Sonba'i is also borne out by the fact that the emperor of Sonba'i, Jacobus Albertus Tassy, and the emperor of Amacono, Albertus Jacobus Tassy, both embraced the Christian, Protestant religion in 1759.[54] To all appearances these two belong to the same family. But this may also point to a classificatory *olif-tataf* relationship between them.

It is interesting to note that after the defeat suffered by the Topasses Sonba'i continued to live near Kupang. Perhaps the Dutch refused to allow him to return to Oenam. Their interests, as well as those of the Topasses, were best served by the existence of weak petty princedoms in the interior. Sonba'i, hitherto the loyal ally of the East India Company, was from then on its enemy.

The division between Miomafo and Molo had doubtless been a long-

---

[49] Middelkoop, 1929b, p. 52.
[50] *Corpus Diplomaticum* V, p. 489.
[51] Haga, 1882, p. 391. Pp. 177 ff. above.
[52] *C.D.* VI, p. 88.
[53] *C.D.* I—VI.
[54] De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 205.

standing fact when Sonba'i came and settled in Oenam once more in 1785,[55] for there were reports as early as 1765 of a war between the "Amaconians and the Molonese", and later on again in 1782.[56] But from 1785 onwards the tie between them must have grown stronger again, as in the nineteenth century Uis Kono is always called the *fettor* of the emperor Sonba'i, this being the title which in West Timor was always conferred on the second most important functionary in the kingdom, the executive counterpart of the ruler (who was himself given the Indonesian title 'raja'). In Portuguese Timor this title is never used; in Belu it was introduced by the Netherlands East Indies Government.[57] It is probably a title which was introduced by the Dutch and derived from the Portuguese word *feitor*, the word for a functionary in a business firm, or an agent, but also used with reference to a European district officer. It was introduced as a title for chiefs especially (or perhaps exclusively) in Timor because of the widespread use of the Portuguese language and perhaps also because the Dutch wished to introduce different titles from those used by the Portuguese — as recently as 1764 the kings of Amanuban and Amanesse asked to be given the title of Don.[58] The title of *fettor* continued to be used for Uis Kono as ruler of Miomafo until 1920. When after the ruler's death a temporary raja was appointed he was given the title *kolnel*, a title also used for the executive authorities of Insana and Beboki.

Both Kono and Oematan were Sonba'i's *fettor*. Their relationship in respect of each other was an *olif-tataf* one, Kono being regarded as Oematan's elder brother even in Molo. There is also a *feto-mone* relationship between them, in which Kono is feminine. This does not refer to an affinal relationship between them, but to Kono's higher ritual — hence more feminine — position. When the ties with Sonba'i were broken Kono became more or less the ritual prince of Miomafo, though not to the extent of being given the title of *atupas*, as in Insana.

There are many myths and legends concerning the origin of Miomafo's independence. In these myths Sonba'i's behaviour becomes more and more that of the tyrant who ill-treats and oppresses his subjects in all kinds of ways, and even kills some of them, until Kono-Oematan

---

[55] P. 183 above.
[56] De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, pp. 209, 214.
[57] Grijzen, 1904, p. 129. Cf. p. 202, note 84 above; for the Indonesian word *fetor* see Klinkert, 1916, p. 731.
[58] De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 210.

finally succeed in jointly driving out the cruel oppressor. Below is the story as related in 1947 in Kono's *sonaf* in Noiltoko.

Kono's house of origin was in Silo, high on the precipitous slopes of the 1400 m. high Mt. Miomafo. Later on his *sonaf* was transferred to Blipun, further down the mountain slopes. It was at this time that the rebellion against Sonba'i took place. The objective was to send him back to Belu, whence he originally came, but his *atoni amaf*, Mela, kept him in hiding in Bidjeli so that he was able to flee to Kauniki. When he had been expelled, Kono as the elder went to Kupang to complain about him to the Kompeni.[59] Sonba'i had of old been the Kompeni's enemy, so that Kono was lent a favourable ear. He was given two gold-knobbed mace for a sceptre and a flag, both symbols of his independence in respect of Sonba'i, as well as of his alliance with the "Kompeni". This happened five generations ago, long after the battle of Penfui. When Kono came back from Kupang with his sceptre and his flag he assembled all his people and said: "From now on we shall have no more dealings with Sonba'i, but only with the Kompeni". All the *amaf* agreed and from then on gold from the Noilnoni — the gold-river at the foot of the Miomafo — sandalwood and wax were brought as tribute to the Kompeni. When all the *amaf* had assembled they unanimously agreed to divide the power between Kono and Oematan. Some of the *amaf* followed Kono and the others Oematan. No boundary was demarcated, because all of the land belonged to the original Lord of the Land (*pah tuaf*), Kune Uf, and, moreover, there was an *olif-tataf* relationship between them. Each permitted people from the other to lay out garden plots in his territory. However, the areas in which they lived were separated by a river flowing from the Mutis to the district of Noilmuti which was Portuguese territory until 1916.

In this story we have a reflection of the myths of Sonba'i, who was hidden by Mela in Bidjeli after he had found the child with the golden navel-string. The fact that Kono or Kune first killed Sonba'i is suppressed. At the same time Sonba'i's expulsion is regarded as being the result of a joint effort by Kono and Oematan, and is hence associated with the flight of a Sonba'i to Kauniki in Fatule'u and with a subsequent treaty with the Dutch. This may therefore coincide with the time when Amakono went to prospect for gold for the East India Company in 1781.

---

[59] The designation still in use for the Netherlands East Indies Administration, which originally referred to the Dutch East India Company.

The anti-Sonba'i tenor of the story is attributable to the fact that it relates how Miomafo gained independence; it is perhaps also a result of the fact that at that time (1947) a Sonba'i was in power in Molo. This Sonba'i might have been tempted to assert certain claims, and hence Sonba'i is portrayed as the long-standing enemy of the Dutch. Be that as it may, this representation of the facts is entirely false as regards the 17th and 18th centuries, as Sonba'i only became anti-Dutch after 1785. The fact that the Dutch are portrayed exclusively as allies of Kono may be partly determined by the situation in 1947, when a decision had to be made in respect of the succession to the throne of Miomafo, when the chances of the candidate from the house of Kono were very slim.

Here again the structure of the realm emerges quite plainly from the ceremonial of the presentation of the harvest gifts (*poni*; also called *tuthais* in this area). Four clans lived around Kono's *sonaf* in Noiltoko, from which another four developed, so that now there are eight: Banu - Ola, Suan - Talaub, Babu - Bifel and Kope - Tafin. Of these Babu - Bifel are first and foremost Kono's great fathers and his bride-giving clans. Kono has at his side Usi Thaal, who lives in the north and used to defend the "door" between the realm and Amfoan and Ambenu. Thaal and Kono are *olif-tataf* in respect of each other, and conversely *mone-feto*, Kono being the ritual authority (and hence feminine) and Thaal the military authority (masculine). The latter's name was explained as "smooth" — he smoothes out conflicts and restores the balance. Once, when Kono had given Ambenu permission to attack a village in Tunbaba — a border district in its own territory — as punishment for insubordination, Us Thaal was sent there two days later to arrange a reconciliation, according to some informants.

Viewed from the centre he is the younger brother, but as the defender of the realm (*mone*), he styled himself elder brother. This is a typical example of the difference in approach. In the larger whole he is definitely the younger brother, but because of his power and strong personality no-one dared contradict his spokeman when he asserted the above at the meeting of Chiefs of the Realm in Noiltoko — hence in Kono's presence. Us Thaal in Ablal is surrounded by yet another four clans, two of which later broke away and were given new names. Here we have a centre with four plus two groups, with an *usif*, which gave preference to forming a district of their own. Furthermore, there was Us Bais, surrounded by four clans, the boundaries of whose district had been demarcated by the Netherlands East Indies Government. There was no boundary between Kono and Thaal. Their territory was

one and the same and even though Thaal lived in the north, Kono's regalia in Noiltoko were his as well.

Here in Noiltoko there was a myth in which Kune also appeared as the original Lord of the Land of Timor. He supplied Sonba'i, Oematan and Kono with brides, and is the bride-giver of all of these rulers (*ahonit* = he who generates life). This is why it is taboo for him to work for Kono, whether it be in his gardens or in his *sonaf*. As the oldest, original bride-giver, i.e. as *atoni amaf*, Kune supervises Kono's entire life-cycle ritual. Whenever a Kono dies Kune has to hasten to his deathbed. If there is any conflict he has to be offered a conciliatory gift first. He has the place of honour at all official ceremonies, and has only "to eat and drink". He is not to take any hand in whatever arrangements have to be made. Of course he does not concern himself with government affairs, nor with the ordinary agricultural ritual. Even though he is the *pah tuan*, the *tobe* (custodian of the land) have the power of disposal over the land. He was, however, still regularly given a share in the returns from the sandalwood trade. In the case of serious drought or any other calamity which the sacrifices offered by the *tobe* have not succeeded in warding off, Kono is consulted and he then conducts a sacrificial ritual near his great *le'u*, the cliff near Lemun. Then, if this has no effect either, Kune Uf, who has lived above Noiltoko on the slopes of the Miomafo for as long as people can remember, is approached. If the ritual he conducts brings no relief either, the last resort is the shrine Finisba, situated in a *le'u* forest a few hundred metres above Kune's house, on a very steep slope of the Miomafo at the foot of a perpendicular cliff. The *le'u* kept in its shrine here is called Nai Masu (= Lord Smoke, i.e. darkness); this was the name of the founder of the clan of Kune Uf. Another name is Fenai Kune, *fenai* meaning "night". The second *le'u* is kept in Kono's *le'u* shrine, and its name is Nai Bonat (Lord Cover). Kono therefore appears as Kune's external counterpart (*mone*). The third *le'u*, which is equal in importance to the second, is called Bi Nap (woman who picks up (spilt rice off the floor)). This has been placed in Fai Mnasi's custodianship (the latter is Us Kono's *mafefa* or speaker);[60] it is Nai Bonat's feminine pendant.

It is apparent, then, that Kune's function is to some extent similar to that of an *atupas*. In Tunbaba, the easternmost part of Miomafo, he was recognized as the root of the land — Usi Ba'af; Us Kono, as the

---

[60] Van Geuns, 1927, p. 447.

centre of Miomafo, fulfils an analogous function, because he developed from Sonba'i's executive right hand into a ritual prince in his own right, namely the ritual ruler of Miomafo. But even in this position he is not independent of Kune, who therefore remains the "root".

Kono's now dilapidated *sonaf* has a masculine door, a men's entrance (*eno atoni, nesu atoni*) which is in the front or southern wall, and a feminine door, a women's entrance (*eno bifel, nesu bifel*) in its rear or north wall. This *sonaf* is guarded and maintained by the clan of Sonla'i, which is divided into two parts. The first is Sonla'i *mone*. This group guards the men's door; it welcomes and addresses the male guests there and receives the tribute gifts on the ruler's behalf. Its *amaf* is allowed to take receipt of the corn and rice and other gifts only if he is able to give a correct, dignified reply to the words spoken in accompaniment of the handing over of the gifts. The gift-bearers wait with their loads suspended from the carrying-poles across their shoulders until he has replied in the proper manner. Then the gifts are carried inside, where Sonla'i *feto* accepts them. Sonla'i *mone* is also in charge of *sonaf* maintenance work. He summons the subjects who are qualified to carry out this work. If necessary all the *usif* and *amaf* will be asked to help.

Sonla'i *feto* guards the women's door, through which only women may enter.[61] He brings the harvest gifts up to the *sonaf* attic. For in Kono's realm, as in Molo, there was formerly no separate *lopo* which could serve as a meeting-place and as granary. He further supervises the preparation of meals and "guards the fire". He offers the guests *sirih pinang*. Here we have a different aspect of the *feto-mone* relationship. *Feto* denotes the hearth and all that is "inside"; *mone* refers to all that is "outside".

Besides Sonla'i *feto* and Sonla'i *mone* there are Us Kono's two spokesmen (*fefaf, maf* = mouth and tongue; usually called *mafefa* in Timor). Their clans are called Haekase[62] and Fai Mnasi. They stand next to each other and are each other's equals in rank. Their mutual relationship was not further specified. In 1916, however, Fai Mnasi was still Us Kono's executive authority in Ablal, in Leonai, a part of the present-day district of Noiltoko, and in a part of Bonleo which now

---

[61] Cf. Beboki, where only men of inferior rank may enter by the women's door. There, however, it is the door of the Neno Beboki, and here the door of the ruler's *sonaf* that is concerned.

[62] *Hae* = messenger. *Kase* = foreign. *Haekase* was the go-between in their dealings with the Topasses.

belongs to Molo.[63] But Us Thaal had grown gradually more independent as a result of Fai Mnasi's incompetence and his own powerful personality. To all appearances, then, Fai Mnasi was the masculine executive authority in the *sonaf*, and Us Thaal's function was rather that of defender of the border, as might be expected of an *usif*, being a "masculine man" (*monef atonif*). As *usif* he was surrounded by his own clans in the north, approximately 20 km. from the centre.

The *mafefa* may also take charge of the internal affairs of the realm on Us Kono's behalf. If the harvest gifts are not brought on time, one of them goes to investigate; one of them always had to remain in the *sonaf* to welcome guests. They are the ruler's counsellors in any matter brought before him. They are his spokesmen — the ruler can communicate to them in but a few words what he wants to say, and they will then interpret his message in the high-flown language of the court. A ruler "sleeps and sits", he does not see to anything himself, he travels only if absolutely necessary, and is accompanied everywhere by his spokesmen; even his speech is limited and his orders brief.

Just as Us Thaal is the "northern door" of the realm, Us Olin is the "southern door" in Naktimun. He is surrounded by four clans. He is the southern defender of the realm, and the "door" via which the two *usif* of Tunbaba in the east used to come with their people to bring harvest gifts. They would spend the night in his *sonaf* and be escorted by him to Us Kono the next day. Bikomi used to bring its harvest gifts in the same manner.

> Us Olin once related a story which is important in giving us an insight into mutual clan relationships. The place of origin of Olin's clan is Bitoini in Molo, whence Tau-olin (Taolin of Insana) also originates.
>
> The relationship between Olin and Tau-olin is still recognized, according to the former. They have the same *malak*[64] as their clan mark and as cattle-brand. They observe the same taboos (*nuni*) and therefore originally belonged to the same totem community. Originally they shared one *le'u* in their place of origin. That is why Olin of Naktimun came to sacrifice at Tau-olin's *le'u* in Oilolok and Tau-olin used to come to Naktimun's *le'u*.

---

[63] Steinmetz's Report, 1916, p. 72. One difficulty, however, is that *fai* means night. There was one old Fai Mnasi who was nicknamed *Metan* = black, and whose son was nicknamed *Molo* = yellow. In the classificatory system of Timor all these designations are associated with the feminine (p. 416 below). His *le'u*, furthermore, was called Bi Nap = woman who picks up. We should perhaps assume that even at the time when Kono was still the masculine, executive authority of Sonba'i, he had a feminine, ritual function or was a *meo feto* (pp. 342, 343 below).

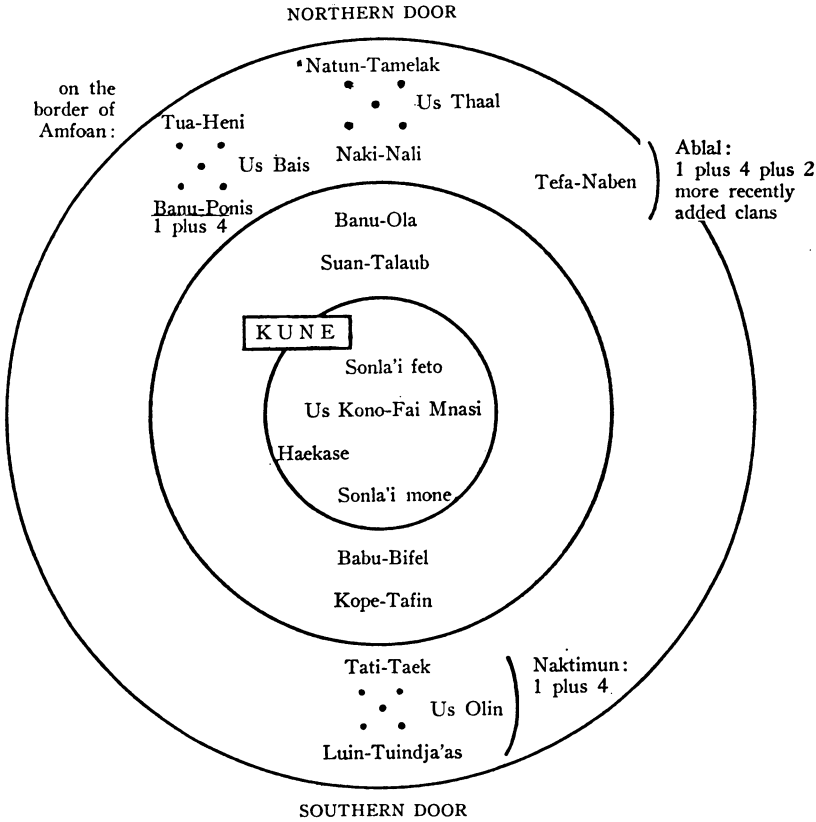
[64] From the Portuguese *marca*.

Tubani Besi usually was their envoy, as he was Mnasi Uf (= old tribe) and was well versed in the traditions of the Olin clan.

Tau-olin, however, did not accept this story. "Perhaps that is how it used to be, but we have had our own *le'u* for a long, long time". The ruler of Insana could hardly be expected to say anything else; but implicitly his answer is a recognition of the old tie. His relationship to the Olin lineages in five villages of Molo cannot be denied. But only in Miomafo does Olin have a function in the political organization.

There are many other clans similarly scattered over large parts of the Atoni area of Timor. And the resulting ties are of as much social and political importance as affinal alliances. Another interesting detail divulged by Us Olin is that Tau-olin used to bring tribute to Us Kono, not because he belonged to Miomafo, but because Us Kono was his *atoni amaf*. This is supposed to have taken place until Us Kono's death in 1920. It is an example of a different aspect of the practice of giving tribute (*tuthais*) and was probably the original form: the presentation of gifts as a mark of respect to the giver of life (*ahonit*) at the head of the bride-giving

DIAGRAM No. 14



The Nucleus of Miomafo

group, the much dreaded and highly respected *atoni amaf.*[65] An expansion of the sphere of political influence on this basis is the most likely development. For whenever proof is required of certain political rights, this is always based on some long-standing affinal alliance. Within Miomafo itself this is the case with Us Olin of Naktimun, Us Ukat of Tunbaba and the *usif* of Bikomi. All of these have *feto-mone* relationships with Kono, therefore, in which they are *feto* in respect of him. Kono is *mone,* and hence superior. This he remained even when, in a later generation, the other group gave one of its daughters in return, as Us Lake of Bikomi did.

Similarly the *loro* of Beboki had such a relationship, and Tau-olin probably also did, although the latter declares that he does not remember — Kono had become unimportant, and quite understandably Tau-olin did not like the idea of the existence of a relationship with Miomafo in which he was Olin's equal and Kono's inferior.

This centre, together with four plus four clans and Ablal and Naktimun formerly constituted the eastern or "senior" half of the realm of Sonba'i. Molo, under Oematan, used to make up the western or "younger" half of Sonba'i.

b. *The areas annexed to Miomafo*

Tunbaba

We first come across the name Tunbaba in 1760, when the "king of Tonnebawa" concluded a treaty with the East India Company.[66] Hence at that time it was acting as an independent princedom. It is nonetheless conscious of its ties with Sonba'i and Kono, as is evident from the following myth: Tunbaba had its origins in Malacca (i.e. South Belu), where its two founders came ashore in Oinun on their way from Kamuno Klakam,[67] whence they came together with Liurai. The latter remained behind whilst Sonba'i and Kono proceeded to Bakinain in Tunbaba, at the foot of the Bifelmnasi.[68] Here they encountered Antoin Lulai and Tub Lulai, two brothers who were living there. These two are the actual founders of Tunbaba.

There is a certain ambivalence inherent in this story, as the two founders came with Sonba'i from the land of the rising sun, while on the other hand they "were already there". At a meeting of all the heads and authorities on matters relating to the tradition the opinions expressed were divided on this point, until some said that they had not come earlier but had always been there, as their fathers, Saku Mataus

---

[65] Gifts presented to important guests are also called *tuthais.*

[66] That is, in Dutch sources; De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 204.

[67] According to the myth of Wehale-Waiwiku it was *Sina Mutin - Malaka.*

[68] *Bifel* - woman; *mnasi* - old. The name of the highest mountain of Tunbaba.

and Neti Mataus had lived there before them. This was accepted as conclusive proof.

As regards these myths of origin, the question is what carries more weight — autochthony, i.e. original independence, or a link with the great royal traditions of Timor. Both elements are invariably present, partly because they symbolize to some extent a synthesis of heaven and earth: the Lord who comes from the land of the rising sun representing the former, and the autochthonous inhabitant who has the oldest claims to the land and who emerged from the earth in the beginning the latter. In this particular case it was stated most emphatically that Tunbaba's founders were independent of Sonba'i, and were the owners of the land.

The names Antoin Lulai (= man *liurai*) [69] and Tub Lulai (= the sleeping *liurai*) reflect the familiar dualism of the active, masculine, and the immobile, feminine aspects of rulership. They also point to a connection with the *liurai* of South Belu. These two, Antoin Lulai and Tub Lulai, are the founders of the clans of Us Ukat and Us Sakunab, who are each other's *olif-tataf*, Ukat being the younger. Hence there are two clans; between these there is only question of an *olif-tataf* relationship and not a *feto-mone* one, so that marriage between the two is impossible. It would, in fact, amount to incest, as they are regarded as the two halves of one clan. Their two *usif* are the respective heads of the two halves of the tribe as a whole. The tribe is again made up of twice two clans: Tandja - Neo, Nobe - Natan, whose founders were four brothers. Us Sakunab and Us Ukat constitute the centre of the tribe; the clans of which they are the heads are Moni - Noil. Marriage between these clans is not prohibited, the prohibition applying only to the *usif* lineages. Between Us Sakunab and Us Ukat there is also a *molo - metan* (that is, yellow - black) relationship. Yellow is the colour of death and it is associated with the west, and *metan* with the north, though less clearly so.[70] In this case Us Sakunab lives in the west and Us Ukat in the east. The centre is therefore made up of two *usif*, the leaders of two clans surrounded by four dominant clans.

Another myth relates how upon their arrival Sonba'i and Kono encountered the original inhabitants of Tunbaba. These were Amaina Uf and Atoni Manuni (*ama - aina - uf* = father - mother - tribe, while the meaning of the second is "taboo man"). There were also four indigenous clans: Funas - Lilis, Loles - Tanus. Sonba'i settled in

---

[69] In Van Koot's Report, 1913, p. 10, he is called Attoni Lulai, so that this name should definitely be translated with "man Liurai".

[70] Cf. p. 296. There Tunbaba *metan* comes from the north.

Bakinainu and Kono continued on his way. Sonba'i had a *sonaf* built and had people haul stones for a large surrounding fence. The yoke of his oppression weighed heavily upon the people. Later on Kono returned because Sonba'i had whistled; and Sonba'i said, "Oh, this is the Lord of the Land". Thereupon he gave an account of what had happened. Kono summoned his people, and was recognized by them as their *usif*. Following this Us Kono gave his sister, Bitau Kono, in marriage to Neno Sakunab and his other sister, Bene Kono, to Nautu Ukat. Thus Kono became Tunbaba's "life-giver" or *ahonit* and a *mone-feto* relationship resulted, in which Kono was *atoni amaf* and *mone*. As a result of this position he has rights to the "corn of the field, corn from the garden", and he is brought tribute consisting of corn and rice, betel and coconuts each year.[71]

Like the first myth, this one tells of an ancient relationship with Sonba'i and Kono. It was, in fact, related to supplement the first. Here too there are two obviously mythical figures — the original father-mother figure Amaina Uf, ("father" comes first, contrary to the normal practice), and Atoni Manuni. Hence there were indigenous inhabitants and their clan names still exist. At present they are small, insignificant clans and are in no way different from the many other small clans. The story implicitly suggests that the *usif* were not the original inhabitants.

Neither of the myths includes Oematan within its horizons. It is the relationship to Sonba'i and Kono which counts. The former is once more represented as the tyrant who is ousted in a vague kind of way, an appeal being made to Kono's rights to the land — i.e. rights in the sense of the *usif*'s territorial sovereignty. This means that Kono replaced Sonba'i. The purpose of the myth is to consolidate Kono's position. Conversely it may be said that Tunbaba, the tiny unit (in 1946 its adult male population numbered 1157) on the border of a hostile Ambenu and Insana, with next to it its rival Bikomi whose ties with Kono had slackened a long time ago, was dependent on Kono's support and expressed its desire for an alliance with him in the forms available to it, namely the myths and kinship terms. Kono's social position as bride-giver is here again made the basis for his political rights. As *atoni amaf* he has a right to having a garden plot (*lelen*) laid out for him; as, moreover, he is *usif* the garden is called *etu* and tribute gifts from the whole of the realm are brought to him.

---

[71] *Puah* = betel, but both the betel and the areca nuts are meant here.

These gifts are collected by a *kapitan*, each half having in addition to its *usif* one *kapitan* who organizes the collection of the harvest gifts together with the *amaf* or *mnasi*. Us Kono's share is approximately 1 kg. of unhusked rice and an *aisaf* (i.e. a sheaf of six cobs) of corn per head of population working a garden plot. Each half furthermore contributes two horse-loads of coconuts and areca nuts. In any case this is the norm, from which in reality people may deviate, depending on the harvest and the strength of the ties with the ruler. In 1946 Us Kono received only approximately 250 kg. of rice and 90 *aisaf* of corn, in addition to the coconuts and the areca nuts. His authority had by that time decreased considerably while the harvest of 1946 was extremely poor, and a series of even worse years had been experienced under the Japanese immediately prior to this. The significant point is, however, that judging by the fact that tribute gifts were paid at all, Tunbaba had remained loyal to Us Kono in spite of the fact that it lived furthest away from the centre. There is another point worth noting in the relationship between Tunbaba and Kono, which pertains to warfare. Each head taken in a headhunting expedition had to be brought to Us Kono's *sonaf*, and he was given one half of the prisoners of war as slaves. Whether this was in fact done in reality is impossible to determine at this juncture. It was probably a practice connected with the aid which Kono used to give tiny Tunbaba in its frequent border conflicts with Ambenu and Insana, though these were normally restricted to mutual headhunting raids between border villages.

The relative independence of the different districts and the weakness of the political unity of Miomafo is apparent also from the latent hostility between Tunbaba and Bikomi, which sometimes resulted in mutual headhunting raids.[72] All the same, Kono's sovereignty was acknowledged by them; this is also brought out by a story in which he punishes Tunbaba for insubordination. He had the right to do so, as the people of Tunbaba were his subjects.

Noimuti

This is a district of Miomafo in which the Topasses or Black Portuguese became settled before the end of the seventeenth century. The extraordinary forms of acculturation to be observed here (with the church replacing the *atupas*, for instance) will therefore be dealt with

[72] Van Koot's Report, 1913, gives many examples of invasions suffered by Tunbaba.

in the part of the book which deals with change. In 1916 Noimuti was ceded by Portugal to Holland and in 1917 it was annexed to Miomafo. with which, not surprisingly, it had little in common.

As a result of an extraordinary series of events the body of Luis Sonba'i has lain here awaiting burial for centuries. The body was kept all this time in a coffin beneath a roof shelter under a huge banyan tree. Luis is a Portuguese name and this leads us to believe that this Sonba'i may have lived during the time when the Topasses first penetrated the area. The fact that he could not be buried points to the beginning of the process of disintegration of the realm of Sonba'i. All the Chiefs of the Realm had to be present at a funeral of this kind, but as the house of Sonba'i had placed itself under the protection of the Dutch it was impossible for either its members or its supporters to come to Noemuti in view of their attitude towards the Topasses, whilst others refused to come because they no longer recognized the authority of Sonba'i.

He was eventually buried in 1960 — a sign that the Sonba'i myth has once for all become a thing of the past. It has lost its tangible reality and its value as a norm regulating the behaviour of the community.

Manamas

This is the smallest district, situated north of Tunbaba near the eastern border of Oikusi. It was created a separate district after 1912, when a large number of people (more than 400) sought refuge in Dutch territory following an uprising against the Portuguese Colonial Government. They were allocated the uninhabited northern part of Tunbaba under a district head of their own. It had been uninhabited because it had always formed a bone of contention between Ambenu and Tunbaba. Manamas therefore has no ties with either Kono or Miomafo. Relations between it and Tunbaba are strained.

The annexation of Noimuti and Manamas to Miomafo was entirely the doing of the Netherlands East Indies Government. But the admission of large groups seeking refuge from a stronger enemy conforms with a traditional pattern in the political structure of Timor. (See, for instance, Map no. 5).

Bikomi

Bikomi offers the clearest example of a myth being manipulated as a political weapon. The ties of this part of Miomafo (it occupies a third

of its territory and comprises one fourth of its total population) with Kono have been weakened by centuries of Topass influence. Oikusi and Noimuti in the interior were Topass strongholds, and Bikomi was wedged in between these two. In the mountain country Kono was on the whole able more or less to maintain his independent position, but where Bikomi with its much more easily accessible hill-country was concerned this was rather more difficult.

In 1756, for instance, the emperor of Ama Kono concluded a treaty with the East India Company. But only three years later, during an expedition against Noimuti, "the Tommogongs of the emperor of Amacono who are still under the sway of the Topasses swore an oath of allegiance and commended their lands to the care of the Company".[73] These words cannot but refer to the *tommogong* (tribal heads) of Bikomi.

Bikomi, like Tunbaba, is a relatively independent tribal unit. There are four clans which supply heads: Atok - Bana, Lake - Senak. The two partners of each of the two pairs are *olif-tataf* in respect of each other, as well as *feto-mone*, the latter term referring to the nature of the affinal relationship between them. The second in each case (i.e. Bana and Senak) is the senior and the bride-giver (*mone*). Moreover Atok - Bana together constitute the active exterior (*mone*), whilst Lake-Senak constitute the immobile interior and are both therefore *feto*. In terms of the affinal relationship Bana and Senak are therefore *mone* and superior, while in the political and ritual relationship Lake - Senak are *feto* and superior as the interior. It follows then, that Senak, although mentioned last, is the most important of the four — there is unanimous agreement as to this in Bikomi. Senak is the *atupas*, he who sleeps, and Lake is his active, masculine counterpart.

As can be seen from the above, the *feto-mone* relationship has three different aspects: in the first place it refers to the affinal relationship, in terms of which Lake is *feto*. Secondly to the political and ritual division of the tribe into an interior and an exterior part, in which respect too, Lake is *feto*. And thirdly to the ritual and political division within this interior — in accordance with this Lake is *mone*, and the second in importance in the structure as a whole. The actual distribution of power, however, is strongly dependent on situations and personalities.

After 1934 a Senak became acting raja of Miomafo because there was no Kono available and Lake's mother was a Kono. He was married to

---

[73] De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 204. P. 182 above.

a Sonba'i, moreover, which won him much respect. He furthermore had a talent for keeping together, through diplomacy, the internally crumbling princedom.

Bana was his opponent — a powerful personality who was desirous of severing Bikomi's ties with Kono and of becoming raja himself. For he was, after all, the more important partner of the masculine exterior and had of old been the defender of the realm. He was therefore, in his own opinion, the obvious candidate for the rajaship. He was not successful, and at present (ever since 1960) [74] Lake is the most rebellious aspirant to the rajaship.

Administratively Atok-Bana and Lake-Senak each formed a district, the heads of which were Bana and Lake respectively. Senak was not made a head, originally because he was *atupas* and later because he was acting raja.

In connection with the solution of the problem of the succession in Miomafo, lengthy meetings of all heads and elders were held in every district, and sometimes went on for days on end. The myth of origin was always the basis for political claims, whether they were for or against the acceptance of a Kono as successor to the throne of the princedom. At each meeting all the important heads, *usif* and *amaf* and their spokesmen (*mafefa*) were present, accompanied by countless elders and followers. I wish to go into the myths of Bikomi at considerable length because they furnish an excellent example of the myth as basis for current loyalties and of the changing myth in a changing world.[75]

The myth of origin of Bikomi tells of four brothers from Malacca (i.e. South Belu). Here they lived with Liurai. They moved further inland in search of a suitable place and arrived at Nunu Koba, a few hours' walk from the southern border of Bikomi. Here their path was blocked by a huge banyan. Sonba'i, who was with them all of a sudden,[76] decided to fetch a matchet to lop off a large branch. He came across Senak, who was sitting under the Taupi Senak tree. Senak asked Sonba'i whether he knew him. Sonba'i recognized him and named him

---

[74] Reported by Wortelboer.

[75] Cf. Locher, 1956.

[76] Although there is a tendency to suppress the name of Sonba'i in order to prove Bikomi's independence, it is impossible to do so. The narrator omitted Sonba'i's name when relating the myth to Locher (1956, p. 176), but he was alone at the time, whereas now he was accompanied by Senak who was married to a Sonba'i.

Senak, after the tree under which he had encountered him. Together they removed the huge banyan branch, so that they could continue on their way. Then they climbed the hill called Kaumone Tapen-pah [77] and looked out over the land. They decided that Sonba'i would go to Oenam, the place in Molo where his *sonaf* was located, whilst the four brothers set out for Sasi, a prominent cliff on the northern edge of the plain of Bikomi. This is Senak's *le'u* rock.

Near Nunu Koba, still in Liurai territory, Soi Liurai, a woman acting as their guide, decided to return to Liurai, but died. She was buried near Nunu Koba. Here they encountered eight brothers who had come from Wehale, Liurai's residence, before them. They married the daughters of these eight brothers. Senak married Sani Bantene at Sasi, Bana married Oba Uki at Naineno, Lake married Bitnani Tpoi at Bitaik and Atok married Nebe Lite in Anab. The *le'u* of the clans are still kept in these places and they regularly go there to sacrifice.

Thus runs Bana's story. As he is the narrator, his name is always mentioned immediately after that of Senak. The latter gave a different version. Senak saw some smoke and went to investigate. Then he met Kisnai,[78] whose daughter, Soni Kisnai, he married. They had a daughter, Komi Senak. This Bi Komi Senak [79] had to draw water for a great many people, and out of sheer laziness she went and stood in the lake. There she fell and turned into a crocodile. When people came to look for her she called out: "Say that this ground is Bi-komi and Naidjan Bikomi, Usif Bikomi".[80] Hence Senak was the lord of the tribal area and gave it its name, and the crocodile is Senak's totem animal. If a crocodile is killed in self-defence Senak has to bury it as though it were a human being. Bana, Atok and Lake came, and Kisnai went to the west only after this. First they lived with Lake in Sasi and then went to their own residences. There were people living there before they came; these — Lete-Banef, Uki-Bantene — were the original owners of the land; Bantene married his daughters to Atok, Bana and Lake.

---

[77] *Tapen-pah* = we overlook the land. Cf. p. 241 above.

[78] Kisnai is a similar figure to Kune. In Noimuti, Bikomi and Amanuban he is the original inhabitant; his name is also known in Molo. P. , note 4, above.

[79] *Bifel* = woman. *Bi* placed before a name turns it into a woman's name, while *Nai* is used with men's names. So the same name may be used for both men and women, e.g. Nai Tal Pa'i and Bi Tal Pa'i (pp. 125, 127 above).

[80] *Naidjan* = lord, with regard to the soil. *Uf* = stem, trunk. *Usif* = lord, with

Now we turn back to Bana's story which continues as follows. All of them gathered in Naineo, his *le'u* place.[81] The eight brothers — Uki-Bantene, Lite-Bana and Kame-Tpoi — were present here too.[82] They gave the newcomers gardens and the latter began to plant them.

Then Atok-Bana, Lake-Senak went to Netnoni Oilafoan, close to the border of Molo. Here they came across Sonba'i. They chopped down a bamboo stem and in its tip put a red-plumed cockerel, a whetstone and a rifle.[83] Nai Bani Tobe, one of the men of Bikomi, was then ordered to hurl this bamboo in the direction of Liurai. The bamboo bored its way right through the cliffs near Temef,[84] thus giving the Benain River an outlet. After travelling for a day and a night, the bamboo arrived at Liurai's *Uma lor,* or shrine containing the sacred objects. The cock crowed and cried: "I have been given land and subjects". Liurai appeared and said, "These have been given to my younger brother".

Thereupon Bana divided the land with Sonba'i. A white bull buffalo and a white boar were sacrificed on Mt. Mutis. The buffalo's horns indicated the direction in which Sonba'i and the four brothers would be allocated their land. The latter then returned to Naineo, Bana's *le'u* place.

As was said above, Bana was married to Oba Uki. When Oba Uki was eight months pregnant, her husband, Sani Bana, was carried off alive to heaven by two hawks (*kolo teme*) one morning. The eight brothers took every care in looking after Oba Uki, their sister, lest

---

[81] When Bana is the narrator his *le'u* place is always the point of departure.

[82] They were able to enumerate only six names for the eight brothers. The four names mentioned by Senak are probably more authentic. But there is no essential difference, eight having the same classificatory function as four, as four clans may each in turn be divided into two.

[83] Red is the masculine colour for victory and is often associated with the south. The cockerel is associated with Sonba'i, the representative of the sun and daylight. It is always possible to assign modern articles of which the time of their first introduction is known a place in a myth concerning primeval times. Cf. Fortes, 1945, p. 22, where one patriarch who came from abroad had a fez and a rifle.

[84] There was a natural bridge here, formed by a huge boulder connecting both banks of the Noil Benain across a forty metres' deep chasm. It was swept away by a great river-flood which resulted from a tropical cyclone, when in one week more than 700 mm. of rain fell in the whole of the central mountain range, from the Mutis to the Molo (Cf. Ormeling, 1955, p. 20). Cf. also the Sonba'i myth, p. 263 above.

Bana disappear for good. Oba Uki bore a son, so that Sani Bana lived once more.[85]

Now that they were together again they decided to divide the land — Bana and Senak remained in Naineo, Atok and Lake went to the north coast. There they were joined by Us Benu,[86] who was given the land which is still his at present. Lake and Atok returned to the area in which they have been resident to this day, together with Bana and Senak. Then Tunbaba Molo[87] came and asked the four *usif* for land. They gave him Mt. Tunbaba, which means: "they increased the population of Bikomi"; therefore the former has to help and follow Bikomi, for *bab* means "to help". Then Tunbaba Metan came, who lived in Beboki and came to Ambenu from the north along the coast. On his way he encountered Da Costa, who escorted Tunbaba Metan to the four *usif* and handed him over to them. They allowed him to live to the south of Wini, a place on the north coast. People now went in search of a Lord, as Tunbaba Metan wished to have an *usif* of his own. They found Lalu Matfuaf, the big-eyed one, in Kupang and he was recognized as *usif*. He got into debt with Da Costa and a Chinese in Oikusi, however, and in order to pay his debts people went to steal sandalwood and bees' wax. But this was not sufficient to redeem the entire debt, so that he had to resort to a trick. He took a large stone and covered it with a layer of wax. A woman had devised this scheme, and had undertaken to carry out the plan. But unfortunately the weight of the stone caused the balance to break down and the fraud was exposed. The people wished to kill Tunbaba Metan and everyone fled. The *usif* returned to Kupang and Tunbaba Metan sought refuge with Bikomi, who gave him land.

Much later Naktimun also came. Olin brought drink, sugar and tobacco for sale. He came regularly from Bitoini in Molo and eventually asked for land on which to settle. Olin married Ena Lake Naek and Ena Lake Ana, two sisters by the same name. Since then Olin has been resident in Naktimun on land given him by Bikomi.

---

[85] Taken by itself this seems to point to the existence of a form of belief in reincarnation. This is the only story known to me which can be interpreted in this light. The point in question is always the preservation of the name. In Sonba'i myths, too, the tyrant and all his kin are massacred but for one infant boy who is saved. This is also the case with Taolin and Abi of Harneno on the analogy of the Sonba'i myths (Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 298 ff.).

[86] The ruler of Ambenu and Oikusi.

[87] The first of the two Usif of Tunbaba, who lives in the west, hence in a district with borders on Bikomi.

Us Kono also once came from South Belu. "But if we have to relate this story, wicked things, which are better kept silent, will come to light. If these affairs have to be settled (i.e. the issue of the succession in Miomafo) we shall not be able to live together on good terms again afterwards." This introduction to the episode heightened the suspense — the chiefs of Miomafo listened breathlessly.

Us Kono lived in Haitimo in South Belu, where he committed an offence against the law — he committed sodomy with a horse and had to flee because the people wanted to take his life. Thereupon Kono supporters jumped to their feet, roaring furiously at Bana. At length he was able to proceed with his story, saying: Us Kono hid in Asu Nake and then went to Molo, where he asked Sonba'i for land. Not long afterwards he committed adultery with Sonba'i's wives, Taha Lake and Bai Lake [88] and with Kolo Pit'ai and Kolo Sife, the daughter of the *fettor* of Mutis. Now he fled to Bikomi, to the highest point of the Miomafo. He went to Sani Bana in Sasi,[89] taking a smooth bangle with him, and there asked for help. The four rulers of Bikomi declared war on Sonba'i. They took sixteen heads and captured eight prisoners. Thus Us Kono broke with Sonba'i for good. Oematan also fell out with Sonba'i, for whenever Kono-Oematan brought their annual harvest gifts, Sonba'i would kill one of them. And so together they drove Sonba'i out. Us Kono dared not return, and hence asked Bikomi for land and married Uki Lake and Neno Lake. The latter died the same year as Us Kono.[90]

Us Thaal is also dependent on Bikomi, as formerly he lived together with Us Kono. When they quarrelled about their joint treasure kept in Kono's *le'u* shrine, he went to Ablal in the north, which belonged to Amfoan and Ambenu. In order to make this area his he asked Bikomi's aid. The four *usif* of Bikomi went to discuss the matter with Amfoan and Ambenu and were given the land against payment. Each of the two was given a large string of coral beads and a disc worth ten

---

[88] Here Lake is twice Sonba'i's bride-giver, therefore.

[89] Here Bana is allocated Senak's *le'u* place, i.e. the most prominent place.

[90] Lake (hence Bikomi) thus becomes one of Kono's original bride-givers; this relationship is consolidated by a marriage in the 20th century, which is historically verifiable. This marriage was concluded on the basis of the rule according to which a ruler should marry the daughters of his *amaf* and of the *usif* of the peripheral areas, as well as those of the *usif* of other princedoms. It is another eloquent example of how the recent past may fuse with primeval events (*un unun*).

Mexican dollars[91] — Tasi Sena on behalf of Amfoan and Manu Babe on behalf of Ambenu. Then Thaal was permitted to live there.

It goes without saying that this Bikomi myth of origin is no more "historical", than any other myth. Notwithstanding, there are definitely historical moments discernible in it, especially as a result of the practice of putting all that is of vital interest to the community at the moment of narration on the one horizontal, synchronic plane. This particular myth contains too much history for it to be acceptable entirely as a myth. The quarrel between Kono and Thaal in respect of the joint heirlooms did not occur until 1920, after Kono's death, and was not settled until 1947. The acting raja, Kefi Lelan, who succeeded him was a foreigner, a mere figure-head manipulated by the Netherlands East Indies Government. He defalcated these treasures, which were in his custodianship. The young princes did not inform Us Thaal of this. Nor was the latter informed when the case was adjudicated and Kefi Lelan was instructed to restore the entire sum; this he did in part, in fact. Nonetheless, Thaal was Kono's "elder brother", and the treasure was owned jointly by them. The young princes had therefore proved themselves to be lacking in respect for him. The dispute was settled in 1947 by the payment of four strings of coral beads by way of fine and conciliatory gift. Before this the aged Us Thaal repeatedly replied, when questioned about Us Kono's rights of succession, that there was no longer a Kono left. The last one had died in 1920 and left no sons. "The sarong was tied fast" (= the womb of the wife of Kono was closed, so that she could not bear children). "What about Oinunu and Afoan?" (the two sons of the Kono who had died in 1920) "I don't know them, Us Kono was childless, the sarong was tied fast." Bana now alluded to this in order to avoid a rapprochement between Kono and Thaal.

Are we to say that this myth is not authentic? If we use the word "myth" in the sense as defined by Locher,[92] namely as "referring in general to the representation by means of language of events which human beings consider as absolutely essential for their existence and as giving meaning simultaneously to the present, the past and the future", our answer cannot be a simple "yes" or "no".

This myth clearly contains references to the great Sonba'i tradition

---

[91] The Mexican dollar (*petaca*), still current in pre-war Portuguese Timor, has a higher silver content than the old Dutch East Indies rix-dollar, and usually constituted part of a higher bridewealth. See p. 175 note 64.

[92] Locher, 1956, p. 169.

with which we have become acquainted in Molo and Miomafo. It is set in the same frameworks, and relates and explains, furthermore, the position of the group by which it is related. When this position changes, the myth, as a form of expression and the justification of the position of the group, has to change too. The mythical basis, which is rooted in a primeval past of culture heroes, both original inhabitants of the area and later arrivals, children of heaven and of the earth, remains unchanged. Inasmuch as this is so, all changes which result from the group's impressing its own specific stamp upon it and which indicate the relative strength of its relations with a larger entity are authentic, therefore. Even slight deviations resulting from differences in emphasis given by the different narrators of the four different quarters of Bikomi may be considered authentic in this sense.

Senak, as *atupas* who is in charge of the ritual of heaven and earth, cannot omit to indicate his relationship to Kisnai, the original lord of the land, for instance; and Bana will always have the four brothers depart from and return to his own *le'u* place.

But the question as to the authenticity of this particular myth still remains unanswered. The statement that Kono and Ambenu and all those surrounding them are Bikomi's inferiors, and were given land and brides by Bikomi, is a hubris equal to that displayed by Taolin in the myth in which he calls himself Liurai's bride-giver and puts himself on a par with Sonba'i as the radiant son of heaven. This would nevertheless be authentic if the group itself were positively convinced that this was the truth. But this is where some doubts arise. In both cases the myth is manipulated as a political weapon in a new and modern way with less respect for the values of the old system — Taolin uses it to consolidate his position and Bana uses it to acquire the title of raja of an independent Bikomi, "cost what it may". To this end even falsification of the myth is considered justifiable. This marks the end of a by-gone era, the total collapse of an ancient world view. Locher's definition of the myth is not complete, or rather, not sufficiently clear. Life is regulated by myths; they are "absolutely essential". It should be added to this, however, that they are inviolable; in the case of the Atoni it can even be said that they are sacrosanct (*le'u*). For the Atoni is extremely reluctant to relate his myth of origin, because, as he says, it might be stolen by others. The awe with which his ancestors and the myth itself inspire him play an equally important part in this. But for Bana and Taolin the myth is no longer inviolable. They no longer have such a deep-rooted fear of the curse of the ancestors

and the forces of the hidden world as to leave unaltered the words spoken by their fathers before them. Even the aged Kune, who lived high up on the slopes of Mt. Miomafo, not far from his *le'u* house, related his myth with a slight alteration seven years later — this alteration concerned Sonba'i's position, and it was consciously introduced. Myths constantly change because the communities for which they are meaningful change — but they are never changed so brazenly or individually.

In spite of this, Bana created an impression of sincerity — he appeared to believe himself in the myths which were his own fabrication. He had been engaged in the modernization of myths for at least eight years. Why should he, as an Atoni who is convinced that political proof has to be derived from the myth, not have believed in them, convinced as he was of Bikomi's lawful pre-eminence as the largest, most densely populated sub-territory of Miomafo?

But the nature of his belief is different from that of Kune and of the old narrators of myths. Bana's myth shows a greater degree of similarity to the myths on which the political goals of modern European powers were based; it distinguishes itself from them in form rather than in purpose.

At the plenary meeting of all the heads of Bikomi, at which Bana presided because the aged Us Senak was a supporter of Kono and could not, on the other hand, oppose too much the interests of his own group, the Government administrator asked with reference to this myth how Us Kono could formerly have been *fettor*[93] of the whole of Miomafo. After a confused silence Bana[94] finally replied: "He came as Sonba'i's *fettor* but was not allowed to do anything without the consent of the four *usif* of Bikomi. And when Kono came to live in Bikomi he was a nobody."

"Then how do you explain the fact that Us Kono brought gold to the Company in Kupang?"

"It is true that Laknem Kono brought gold to Kupang, but Kono was still in Molo at that time. It was no concern of Miomafo's."

"Didn't he bring gold from the Noilnoni near Noiltoko?" (This is the

[93] The title bestowed by the Dutch on the executive authority of each princedom. Hence in the realm of which Sonba'i was emperor Oematan and Kono were *fettor*. Cf. p. 280 note 57, above.

[94] Of course Bana generally spoke through his *mafefa*, who did so at great length and in very high-flown language. He related the entire myth of origin. But Bana replied personally to some of the questions which followed.

river that flows along the eastern flank of the Miomafo, not far from Bikomi, therefore, and it was Kono's only source of gold.)
"He probably did so without our knowledge."
"Then how is it that when the Company arrived a Kono was still *fettor* of Miomafo and that Kono had been *fettor* for the past five generations?"
(The five names were summed up.)
There was no reply for a long while, and then Bana said: "He had no right to this position, for we, the four *usif* of Bikomi, have never raised him to that rank. And we have never brought him the flower of the harvest as tribute."
"If all the land belonged to Bikomi, and Bikomi gave it to Kono, Thaal, Tunbaba and Ambenu, then why is it that the *usif* of these areas have never brought harvest gifts to Bikomi?"
There was no reply. Finally Bana suggested that the son of Senak be appointed ruler of Miomafo. But Senak said: "I am the greatest of the four *usif* of Bikomi. That is why we (that is, his father) have married Uis Kono. And that is why I have been elected raja of Miomafo. What I say is the truth: I have summoned the eight district heads in order to recognize Uis Kono. That is all." Bana continued to offer opposition, however.

The question Locher [95] once put to Bana sheds even more light on the matter. Bana came in one evening to see Locher, who was doing research in Bikomi in 1941, and confided his myth of origin to him, much to Locher's surprise, familiar as he was with the reluctance of the Timorese to relate their myths. Locher therefore suspected that he had ulterior, political motives, and he asked Bana, when the latter had finished his narration, whether he knew the story of the origin of fire. Bana's spokesman replied spontaneously in the affirmative. But all of a sudden there was a painful silence, upon which Bana asked to be excused and left. The others also left without a word. When he got outside, Bana burst into tears. For the myth of the origin of fire relates how in primeval times a number of ancestors had become acquainted with fire. One took it in his hand, another put it in his *kain,* a third in his mouth, and so on, until finally one discovered the correct use and brought it in contact with wood, thus lighting a hearth-fire. This story was always told amid much hilarity. Bana, now, was one of the figures who had acted foolishly. And so the authentic myth had destroyed the modern one.

---

[95] Locher, 1956, pp. 174-177.

After the issue of the succession of Kono had been thus discussed at great length in all the sub-territories of Miomafo, the decisive general meeting was held. All the chiefs and dignitaries of the eight sub-territories were present, accompanied by their spokesmen, those well versed in the tradition, the fathers, and the elders with their followers — more than 300 persons in all. The meeting was held in front of the *lopo* of Us Senak, the acting raja of Miomafo. All around, on the surrounding hills, another several thousand people had assembled in groups.

The situation was extremely complex. Noimuti had not become Dutch territory until 1916, and had only been annexed to Miomafo in 1917. The people of Manamas were refugees from Ambenu who had come there in 1912; and in the centre there was an unruly Bikomi, where only Us Senak was loyal. Furthermore, Us Kono's eldest son was unacceptable as he had committed adultery with a few wives of his *amaf*, that is to say, women belonging to the groups of his *atoni amaf*. And the second son was a simpleton; but he was married to the daughter of the extremely progressive and highly popular ruler of Amarasi.

Perhaps this was the last occasion on which a decision concerning the future of the community was to be made in a setting in which the old ways of thinking and the ancient customs still prevailed. Everyone, without exception, was adorned in his finest hand-woven cloths, each district being represented by its own pattern — Tunbaba by the splendid large *ikat* of dark indigo and white; Manamas by two brickred bands and a white central band with various patterns woven into it and — in the case of the *usif* — colourful edges; Bikomi, Naktimun and Noiltoko by brown, red and yellow *ikat* patterns without a central band; Ablal and Molo by red cloths with a plain white band in the centre; Noimuti by floral patterns, copied from the Portuguese;[96] and so on.

The heads were recognizable by the shapes and colours of their kerchiefs, by their heavy silver bangles, the large silver discs on their chests, the countless strings of coral beads with gold or silver clasps around their necks, and their silver anklets (worn only by some). Only the Netherlands Indies Government administrator and two Timorese officials (an interpreter and a secretary) were wearing European dress. They represented the foreign power which made it possible for the

[96] Therefore Cunningham's statement that Atoni cloths are red and white in contrast to those of the Helon and the Belunese is incorrect. Cf. p. 45 above. Noiltoko also has indigo cloths in some parts.

heads to assemble here without fear of serious disturbances, even in the absence of the police. But, on the other hand, the final decision, by which they would have to abide, lay with this power.

Like the dukes of Shakespeare's royal tragedies, the *usif* identified themselves with the territory and the people they represented; in this case this identification with their tribe went right back into the mythical past.

The Government administrator who chaired the meeting explained its purpose. Us Kono had died in 1920, when Kefi Lelan had temporarily taken over the rajaship on behalf of Kono's sons, who were then still under age. He had been appointed to this function only because of his glib tongue and his ability to speak Malay, which had secured him a favourable position with the Company. It was not until 1934 that all sorts of outrages he had committed came to light. Us Senak had become his successor with the approval of all. Now that he was old and Us Kono's sons had reached their majority long ago he wished to return the government to Us Kono.

Us Senak repeated and confirmed the above; the problem of the administration of Miomafo had to be definitely settled once for all. It had been discussed at great length for more than a year. The aged Us Olin of Naktimun supported him: "Us Senak has temporarily replaced Us Kono, so Us Kono now has to return". Us Bana, representing the two sub-territories of Bikomi and Nilulat, and speaking on behalf of the four *usif,* requested that Liurai, Sonba'i, Ambenu, Amanatun, Amfoan, Amarasi, Insana and Beboki be invited to attend and set forth their views on the rights of succession in this country. Mateos Da Costa, Lord of Noimuti, stated that he had formerly always been independent. Us Meko of Manamas said that he came from abroad and belonged to Ambenu and therefore did not know Us Kono. Us Thaal from Ablal then called out: "Amkono is one of the *amaf* of Timor". Tunbaba and Naktimun declared that they had been followers of Us Kono for many years. Thereupon Noiltoko was asked its opinion, upon which a confused murmur arose. "Noiltoko cannot be asked, for that is Us Kono himself." Then Fai Mnasi, the executive authority within the *sonaf* itself, Us Kono's spokesman and executive counterpart, rose to his feet and said: "Everything up to Insana and Beboki is Us Kono's, for he gave brides, he gave land, even to Nilulat (the district of Us Lake, one of the *usif* of Bikomi)."

The chairman, seeing that there was disagreement, asked for a decision on Bikomi's proposal to invite other rulers to be present.

Ablal said: "There is no need for witnesses. I always was Us Kono and still am Us Kono. The name has not been stolen." Bikomi reiterated its demand, and was supported by Noimuti, who said: "Then we shall hear where the navel of the Dry Land is; it is Noimuti, where Kisnai was lord of the land in primeval times."

The aged Senak said: "The presence of other *amaf* (fathers of the people) would embarrass us, as though we did not know our own tradition." Everyone agreed that no other princes were to be invited. The meeting was able to continue. Us Bana of Bikomi now related his myth of origin, with omission of the episodes concerning Us Kono's committing sodomy with a mare and other outrages. The narration took up half an hour and was recited by the *mafefa* in the usual rhythmic, archaic language. The audience listened with rapt attention.

Fai Mnasi, acting as Kono's *mafefa,* then asked: "To which of the surrounding realms did Bikomi give brides, if all of the land of Miomafo belongs to Bikomi? To Ambenu, Amanatun, Banam or Insana?" Bikomi replied: "I have said enough and have stated my origin. Now ask what Kono's origin is."

Fai Mnasi mentioned the names of two daughters given by Us Kono to Liurai and the names of two received by him in return,[97] and proceeded to sum up his affinal relationships with Ambenu, Amfoan and Banam. He was Lake's and Senak's bride-giver too. All names concerned were enumerated.

Bikomi asked: "Where was Us Kono living at the time?"

Fai Mnasi replied: "In the place of origin of Miomafo, in the land of Amkono."

Bikomi: "Kono came later. Bikomi was here first."

Fai Mnasi: "Then how come there are two Lake graves on Mt. Miomafo?"

Bikomi: "It is true, Snoe Lake lies buried above Sito (the site of Kono's former *sonaf*), but his body was brought there by Kono."

Fai Mnasi: "He died in Us Kono's service, for Lake is as a mat, as an underlay (i.e. wife) to Us Kono." [98]

There was uproar on the side of Bikomi. Both sides continued to argue about the affinal relationships hinted at in this statement.

Then the old and powerful Us Thaal of Ablal stood up and bellowed: "Us Kono is *atupas*. He sits in the centre, in the navel of his realm,

---

[97] Of course the reverse order is correct.

[98] Cf. p. 276 where the same expression as that for Mela-Sanan in respect of Sonba'i is used.

his men have been dispatched to the gateways of the realm. That is why Bikomi lives near the gateway, on the edge."

An indescribable tumult and clamour followed this remark. Bikomi: "Let Ablal speak of the division of the lands."

Ablal: "There is an Oinunu (taboo banyan near the source) in the east and similarly in the west, that is Oinunu Kono's place (name of Kono's eldest son). From there each was given his place in Amkono." He then summed up *usifs*' names. "And Lake's head is as the stump and his legs are as fire-wood."

Further uproar ensued. Above the din Ablal thundered contemptuously: "I know of Ambenu, Amfoan, Amanatun, Amarasi. But where is Amlake, where is Amkomi?" He clapped his hands and jumping up in the air he drew up his knees.[99]

Bikomi yelled: "Au Bikomi - I am Bikomi." This was greeted with shouts on both sides. People from the surrounding hills came running into the meeting.

The chairman rose from his seat and ordered silence. Fai Mnasi: "Where was Bikomi when the Kompeni came? Why didn't you join the Kompeni as raja?" (This was an appeal to the Netherlands East Indies Government not to recognize Bikomi this time either.)

Ablal: "All of a sudden you wish to steal Us Kono's place. Nilulat has robbed us of our land through a petition [100] and now you want to take away our soul; you have even robbed Noimuti of land." [101]

Bikomi asked permission to speak and said: "Sonba'i and Kono-Oematan came to Neto Mnanu. There Kono committed adultery with one of Sonba'i's wives. Then Lake was summoned to give assistance and was given a rifle by Sonba'i in order to guard Kono.[102] Lake fetched Timau, Amfoan and Ambenu, who came to Hanuf on Mt. Mutis and gave Kono land." And then he repeated in short his myth of origin. The audience listened to it with menacing faces, their heads turned the other way. The chairman concluded the meeting with the words that to comply with Us Bana's and Us Lake's demand would involve opposing the will of Us Senak, the greatest of the four *usif* of Bikomi. That it would mean cutting Tunbaba off from Us Kono, the ties with

---

[99] This is an imitation of the way a cat leaps — *meo* = cat and warrior. Sometimes they would pull up their *kain* as they were doing this and expose their genitals — an expression of the deepest scorn for an enemy.

[100] An allusion to a border dispute with Nilulat.

[101] An attempt to win Noimuti over.

[102] This is how he would like to explain the presence of Lake's grave near Kono's *sonaf*.

whom it wished to maintain; that Manamas would then no longer have any place in this realm either; and that Noimuti with its 1879 inhabitants could not possibly form a separate princedom. That for these reasons he would propose to the resident in Kupang that he appoint as raja of Miomafo Gaspar Kono, the second son, who was married to the daughter of the raja of Amarasi, president of the newly founded Council of Chiefs for the whole of Indonesian Timor.

No-one opposed this decision. In fact, the majority agreed because it wished to maintain the unity of the realm and there was no other candidate available. Noimuti resigned itself because it realised that it was too small to become independent. And Bikomi bowed its head to the decrees of a foreign power and the demands of a new age. But the new raja will never posses real authority. The process of scission which split the ancient unitary whole into different political communities had completed itself here. It was essentially an authentically Timorese process which would have come about in approximately the same manner even if the Netherlands Indies Government had not interfered — and perhaps would have completed itself even more rapidly, though not without bloodshed and with one main difference: the characteristic nature of the autochthonous political community, which the foreign government did not understand and could not accept, would have remained intact. New communities would have developed and the possibility of former centres trying to exert their influence anew would always have remained.

The process of disintegration of the traditional political communities did not cease when Timor became part of an independent Indonesia. Moreover a new process, whereby the members of the tribe are beginning to regard themselves as members of the new Indonesian nation, is slowly completing itself.

CHAPTER IX

THE PRINCEDOMS BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE OF SONBA'I

These included Amanuban and Amanatun in the south, Amfoan and Ambenu in the north and Amarasi, Amabi and Kupang in the west.

1. AMANUBAN

According to the myth there lived four clans around Mt. Tunbesi: Tenis, Asbanu, Nubatonis and Nomnafa. Of these four Nubatonis [1] or Nuban was the most prominent and the land derived its name from it. Nai Djabi lived in the west of the land. He was the original inhabitant or the lord of the land, but was driven out and sought refuge with the Dutch in Kupang, and so the realm of Amabi [2] came into being not far from Kupang.

The prince of Amanuban, Uis Nope, and his two *usif* came "from outside". Amanuban later extended its territory and power so that many other clans — such as Niti-Bani, a branch of the clan of the ruler of Amanatun — came to settle there. But the first four clans continued to be acknowledged as those that have the oldest rights.

The pattern here is the same as elsewhere, therefore, with some small, though important deviations — we have here an original group and four great fathers after one of whom the realm was named. The latter is a phenomenon which we have not encountered elsewhere so far and is probably connected with the myth of origin of the ruling lineage. This was recorded by Müller [3] outside Amanuban as early as 1829.

---

[1] Nubatonis = *atoni* from Nuban.

[2] Abi is the name of the lineage; Amabi is a compound of Amaf and Abi. The *dj* is a connective consonant between two vowels.

[3] Müller, 1857, II, p. 214.

A Rotinese slave of Abineno,[4] an *usif* of Amarasi, though originally affiliated with Abi, once saw a flickering flame in a dream — a propitious omen. He robbed his lord of all his gold and silver and fled to Amanuban. At night he lit a huge fire on a high cliff. When people went to look at the fire they saw a youth as radiant as gold. He had been sent by Uis Neno to be their ruler. Thus runs Müller's version. Here we have once more the familiar pattern of the ruler who at first appears to be "dirty" — "dirty" in the sense of "lowly" or "abject" here — as he is a slave who resorts to cunning and takes possesion of his master's gold and silver, the symbols of the sun and the moon, and later appears as the radiant one (*apinat*). His master, Abineno, is reminiscent of Nai Djabi, who was driven out.

A hundred years later Venema[5] was given a different version in Amanuban itself.

Bil Banu and Sopo Bilas came to Amanuban from Kupang or Roti; there they married the raja's daughters. Thereupon they reached Mt. Tunbesi, where they helped the people in the trade with the Portuguese. Bil Banu was then recognized as ruler — he changed his own name to Bil Nope and that of his companion to Sopo Isu.

This is most likely a rationalization of the older myth in which the representation of the ruler as a slave before be became a prince probably marks its source as a hostile one. Müller was never in Amanuban, the attitude of which princedom towards the Dutch and the surrounding princedoms was antagonistic in his time. The changing of names is an authentic motif, which also occurs in the Sonba'i myth.

According to the Amanuban version, too, the ruler came via Amanatun, where he married the daughters of Niti Bani, one of the oldest clans of Amanatun. Worthy of note is the information that the ruler of Amanuban is supposed always to marry Niti Bani women and never — contrary to the practice elsewhere — the daughters of the *amaf naek*. He has a stronger position, therefore, because there are no superior, bride-giving groups in his realm. On the other hand, he has to recognize Niti Bani of Amanatun as his *atoni amaf*. On the basis of this permanent affinal alliance he is called *feto* in respect of Niti Bani. But, people added, the fourth ruler did not marry a woman from Niti Bani in Amanatun, but one from the clan which had broken away from it and lived in Amanuban itself. From then on marriage with this

[4] This name relates to the Abi clan, which is so important in the whole of West Timor.

[5] Venema's Report, 1916, p. 42.

clan was considered more desirable. Marriages were made, besides, with daughters of the *atupas* of Insana and Tfunai of Noimuti. Although the ruler sometimes contracted a marriage with a woman from his own princedom, he never did so with a daughter of one of the four great fathers.

Another unusual detail worth noting is the position of the two *usif,* Uis Isu and Uis Fina. These belong to the sphere of the *sonaf,* even though originally they were affiliated with two of the sub-territories. They remained under the ruler's immediate control and had no governing powers of their own — they were no more than intermediaries between the ruler and his subjects. Their status was no higher than that of the most prominent *amaf.*[6] They were only appointed district heads by the Netherlands East Indies Government in 1908. Hence this confirms what was already observable in Insana, namely that the *usif* are the ruler's executive, masculine counterparts and belong to the centre. In Amanuban, however, the immobile, feminine ruler in the centre has no *kolnel* as in Insana. This is an indication that in this area, which is rather more distant from the direct sphere of influence of South Belu, the ruler is less feminine. We find this pattern of a ritual, though not specifically feminine ruler — who in this case does not bear the title *atupas* either — in all the western principalities.

Nor are there four *usif,* but two, as in the case of Sonba'i. In accordance with the ever-present dualism in Timor this number cannot but be two: when Us Fina's lineage disappeared — Us Fina having been murdered and most of his clan having fled — another line, Nakamnanu, which descended from the first ruler, was elevated to its position. This may be interpreted as a further centralization of the ruler's power, for the myth of origin relates that Us Isu came with the ruler, while Us Fina had come separately, and was therefore more independent. He had to be raised to the status of *usif.* There is still to this day a district head Nakamnanu in the palace of Nope, the ruler of Amanuban.[7]

Amanuban's tradition and history also furnish a fine example of the weakening and subsequent re-strengthening of the ruler's position. "Originally" he was very powerful. As a result of the wars with the Topasses in the first half of the eighteenth century he had to flee to Kupang and, as the saying goes: "The land remained behind empty". After the defeat of the Portuguese (i.e. the Topasses) by the Kompeni

[6] Van Lith's Report, 1921, pp. 65-72.

[7] Information given by Middelkoop. On Nakamnanu see also Middelkoop, 1958b, pp. 526-531, and 1960, pp. 137-140.

and the Mardekers[8] near Penfui he and his people came back.[9] They settled down in a new place called Niki-Niki. "Here they all lived together out of fear for the enemy." The first *kesel* or emperor here was a very powerful ruler who received the epithet Tames Pah (= we make the land one; the ruler always uses the royal plural). This name denotes that the ruler is the peace-maker of the land. In the nineteenth century the ruler's authority weakened. Amanuban was decidedly anti-Dutch during this time, so that a *meo naek,* Atau-pah, who sided with the Dutch, managed to gain most of the power for himself.[10] Towards the end of the century the ruler recovered his power to some extent, although internal wars continued to rage especially with the Nabuasa of south-west Amanuban, who nonetheless did not cease to be aware that they "had been allocated their place by the ruler". It was the Netherlands East Indies Government which first caused the great crisis in Amanuban through lack of understanding and mismanagement, which resulted in a suicidal rebellion, and then proceeded to restore the authority of the emperor, Pae Nope.[11] The latter set himself up as a powerful, much dreaded ruler in the course of time, though no longer on the basis of support from the Colonial Government, but along the lines of the tradition of Amanuban, according to which the ruler need pay very little heed to his *amaf naek* and his *usif* (at present his district heads).

2. AMANATUN

Amanatun is an inaccessible territory because of its rugged, steep mountain ridges and deep valleys. This is why it remained isolated for a long time. It fell under Colonial rule in 1908 and was subsequently joined to Anas or Nenometan with which it had no ties whatsoever. It remained what it had always been: an ancient Timorese political community in which there are probably as many vestiges of the old structures as in Insana. But no research has ever been conducted here, although there are a few administrative reports, written just after the subjection of Amanatun, which bring out clearly the basic structure.[12]

---

[8] From the Indonesian *merdeka* = free; free persons or free citizens.
[9] This was in 1749. Stories of this incident have continued to circulate in the whole of Atoni Timor. Cf. pp. 177 ff. above.
[10] D. 1851, p. 167.
[11] See photograph no. 29. Cf. also p. 456.
[12] Report by Venema, 1916; Report by Van Lith, 1921.

Originally there were four clans, each pair of which had one founder. Here there are not, therefore, four brothers, but two patriarchs who founded four groups, so that there is greater emphasis on bipartition. They were Niti Bani - Bana, Nenabu - Misa, the four great fathers.

Niti Bani is the first and most prominent of the four. What the relationship between the two groups was is no longer clear. Bana and Niti-Bana are *feto-mone* [13] in respect of each other on the basis of an affinal relationship. The royal lineage Banu Naek, which according to the tradition is very old and is regarded in the whole of Atoni Timor as equal in every respect to Liurai and Sonba'i, once again came from abroad or overseas, and landed at Menu near the cliff of Tun Am on the south coast.

Banu Naek acted as leader in the battle waged by the four great fathers against the oldest, original inhabitants of the realm, the Kesnai or Kisnai, also mentioned as the oldest inhabitants in Amanuban and Noimuti on the analogy of Kune in the realm of Sonba'i and the Ema Melu in Belu. In Amanatun, too, a story still exists in which Kune figures as one of the oldest inhabitants. Banu Naek had him buried alive and changed the name Kune to Afi, meaning "past" — Kune's rights had become a thing of the past and Banu Naek had taken his place.[14] This is the reverse of Kune's fate in the realm of Sonba'i, where he became the bride-giver and *usif* of Sonba'i.

Like Sonba'i, Banu Naek is the culture hero. He introduced fire to his people. His name means "great prohibition", because once during a period of mourning he forbade the counting of the heads taken during a raid after the victory. The clothes he wore at the celebration given in honour of the victory were embroidered with gold-thread and he had golden ornaments around his neck, beard, wrists and ankles. Hence the name of the land became Ama-natun (= father - gold). Contrary to the practice in Amanuban, but entirely in conformity with the pattern found in the rest of Timor, the ruler is obliged to take a daughter of one of the four great fathers for his first wife. They are his *atoni amaf,* and are therefore in charge of his life-cycle rites and his superiors in this respect.

The ritual prince has at his side his *mafefa* (mouth) who resides in a different village. He executes the ruler's commands. In 1920 this was someone from a side-lineage of the Banu Naek clan. His function was hereditary and it was said that it had always been held by a Banu

[13] Report by Venema, 1916, p. 44.
[14] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 13, 14.

Naek. In the case of Insana and Beboki too, we have seen that the *kolnel* function could be passed on to a member of the *loro* lineage. But this was not a traditional practice. The question is whether it was so in Amanatun. There is a myth concerning the disappearance of the ruler, which runs as follows. Once upon a time a Chinese merchant carried off the young heir to the throne to compensate the loss of a servant of his who had died in an accident. When the ruler died Nai Mone, the masculine lord and the ruler's executive counterpart, wanted to succeed him. He subjected Nai Nokas, the defender of the northern border near Santean, to a grave insult by giving him buffalo meat and corn to eat instead of pork and rice on the occasion of the deceased ruler's mortuary feast. Hence Nai Nokas went in search of the abducted prince and found him in Oikusi, in the territory of the Portuguese on the north coast. Nai Mone was chased away.[15]

Two things are worth noting here. As in the Sonba'i myth, which we also found in Insana, there is question here of the ruler's disappearance and his subsequent restoration to glory. Secondly, we have here an explanation of the disappearance of the ruler's masculine, executive counterpart. As far as this is concerned the myth may be a reflection of a struggle for the political power between the ritual ruler and his executive authority. This may explain why from then on this office was conferred on someone from the ruler's own lineage, whose title thenceforth became *mafefa,* implying a greater degree of dependence on the ruler than the title Nai Mone.

Nai Nokas also came from abroad. He lived in the north to defend the border against Anas and is the head of Beti and Liu Noka, the original inhabitants. He should perhaps be regarded as the masculine exterior.

It is interesting to note that there is no separate mention of two *usif* who are connected with the centre. The four great fathers, as well as Nokas, are also addressed as *usi.* Nokas can be regarded as *usif,* while the first of the great fathers, Niti Bani, had attained a similar position. When the Dutch arrived in 1906 the raja Banu Naek only ruled over the four central villages (through his *mafefa*), whilst Niti Bani ruled the district of Noe Bone to the south-west and west, and Nokas the district of Noe Bana to the north and east of the centre.[16] The great fathers lived in the centre and in Noe Bone. Hence Nokas had no connections with the great fathers and could therefore never

[15] *Op. cit.,* p. 39.
[16] Report by Venema, p. 200.

supplant the ruler, whereas Niti Bani, as *amaf naek,* had too strong a tie with the ruler. A consequence of this situation was that only a Banu Naek could be appointed raja by the Netherlands East Indies Government, in contrast with what happened in Insana and Beboki. Banu Naek was of course more suitable for modern government than the rulers of these two princedoms because he was less feminine and immobile — this was true in any case after Nai Mone's disappearance. From a structural point of view Amanatun is a border-line case. It borders on Anas, among others, which is matrilineal and which in turn borders on South Belu, where the ruler is strictly feminine and immobile.

In spite of the fact that the ruler's position is so central and traditionally important, the balance of power is quite stable because the great fathers occupy such an important position. Middelkoop [17] furnishes a very fine example of this; it is one from his own experience. A school once had to be built, and the ruler summoned his people to help. As was frequently the case when this kind of "strange" work had to be done, not enough people responded to his summons. So he ordered the *amaf naek,* Nai Misa, to come with all his people. The latter sent his *mafefa,* who expressed his indignation in the usual rhythmic prose, as follows:

> "Who received you when you first landed at Menu?
> Who took you on his lap and fostered you?
> Who brought cooking-pots and plates?
> Who brought rice and maize?
> Who brought pig's meat and buffalo meat to feed and foster you?
> When your ship was wrecked and your canoe was shattered
> at the foot of the rock Tun Am and Faut me...
> Why does Nai Misa alone have to work and toil,
> carrying poles and the stalks of palm-leaves
> to erect the school building, to build the teacher's house
> in Nunkolo and Oe Nopu?
> Why does not Santean come, why is Nai Nokas not here?" [18]

The ruler sat absolutely silent, as Nai Misa was his immediate *atoni amaf.*[19]

Nai Nokas had not been summoned because, according to the myth, he had brought back the prince.

---

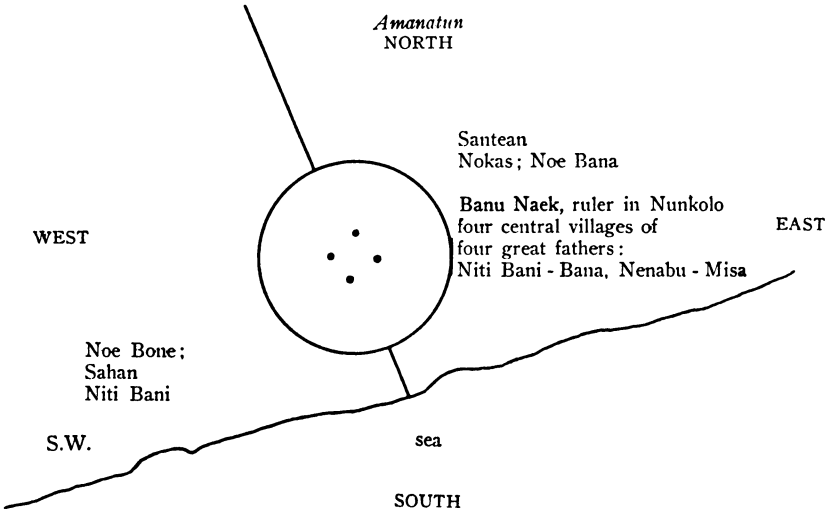
[17] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 37.

[18] Nunkolo is the principal village and the ruler's residence. Oe Nopu is the parallel word for Nunkolo. Santean is Nai Nokas' residence.

[19] Report by Van Lith, 1921, p. 51.

This is an excellent example of both the intimate nature of the *amaf naek*'s ties with the ruler and the ineffectualness of the latter's political power, especially in matters of modern government.

DIAGRAM No. 15



3. AMFOAN

It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of the structure of Amfoan unless, like Van Wouden,[20] we are satisfied with a single source.

According to the myth there once came two clans — Taebenu to the south, near Lelogama, and Tabelak to the north of this, near Leloboko and Bioba. They were the Hau Muti (= white wood) as opposed to the indigenous inhabitants, who were called Hau Metan (= black wood). The latter emerged from the Timau, the 1700 m. high mountain in the centre of the princedom. The name of this mountain is often used with reference to the princedom as a whole.[21] The Hau Metan comprised five groups, later joined by another two.[22]

In a story of a war between Molo and Timau the four groups of Timau are listed as: Timau, Faumes, Puinle and Maunaban. In another story their "female sides" are added to these: Bobo - Ban Afi,

[20] Van Wouden, 1968, p. 54, note 89, only mentions Gramberg, 1872, and Francis, 1838, who only devotes one paragraph to Amfoan and never travelled beyond Kupang.

[21] Cf. the princedom of Miomafo named after Mt. Miomafo.

[22] Report by Koopmans, 1917, pp. 187 ff.

Tabelak - Taebenu.[23] Bobo - Ban'afi are two groups from Ambenu.[24] We have here a strange phenomenon in that the groups which came from abroad are said to be feminine, while the masculine names are not those of the Hau Metan either.

Again the royal dynasty is not autochthonous. But the stories are contradictory on this point. Müller in 1829 found a division of the realm into Sorbian in the interior [25] and Amfoan on the coast. This division is explained by a conflict between two brothers, the younger of whom took his brother's bride-to-be when the latter had gone to Kupang. This resulted in a battle, in which the younger brother was victorious. There has been a division ever since. The elder brother was given a small piece of territory and the village of Naikliu on the coast. Van Wouden's interpretation is that the moral authority rests with the elder brother, who is responsible for external affairs on the coast, and that the younger has the actual power, being in charge of the internal government in the mountains. He then proceeds to take this as confirmation of his theory concerning the division of power in Wehale.[26]

The actual situation is altogether different. Sorbian was situated on the north coast, to the west of the border of Ambenu. The Portuguese regularly dropped anchor in this part of the island as early as the sixteenth century in order to carry on trade. They called it Serviâo, referring with this name to the entire realm of Sonba'i.[27] Doubtless Sorbian was the name of a more or less independent part of Amfoan. For according to the Atoni themselves it is a derivation of: *sole* (= to separate), *bian* (= part). The legend of its division, which fits in so well with the political structures of Timor, may refer back to the time when Malacca or even to the time when Majapahit and Kediri carried on trade here, i.e. to the 15th or even the 14th and 12th centuries. At that time the coastal area was the more important. All subsequent quarrels were fitted into this old dichotomy in accordance with the mythical pattern. As, for example, the story of the quarrel between two brothers over a woman, whereupon the elder sought refuge with

[23] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 225, 287.

[24] See map no. .

[25] Van Wouden, 1968, p. 54, observes that Gramberg confuses the issue and locates Sorbian on the north coast and Amfoan in the interior, without taking the trouble to consult Müller, 1857, II, p. 20, on this, although he does refer to Müller elsewhere. Pilon's MS. of 1778 also speaks of Amfoan Sorbian as bordering on Molo, so that it is situated in the interior.

[26] Van Wouden, 1968, p. 118.

[27] See *Mapa de Solor e Timor* of 21st November, 1613, in Faria de Morais, 1944, p. 112. Cf. p. 77, note 14.

the Dutch in Kupang but was later given back Naikliu, a village on the coast some distance to the west which owes its origin mainly to the fact that a number of Rotinese settled there, and therefore has nothing to do with Amfoan itself. Hence the more important district was called Sorbian again. According to Koopmans[28] the name of the younger brother was Sorbian, and the two parts of the princedom were called Amfoan Timau (i.e. the interior) and Amfoan Naikliu. The former of these occurs in the government decree of 13th November, 1849, as *fettor* of Lelogama. When Müller was in the interior of Amfoan in 1829 Masu Taif-woko (i.e. Tai-boko = big-bellied, lit.: pumpkin-shaped abdomen — and therefore female), also called Usi Molo (= the yellow lord) was ruler here. He had two *fettor*: Tabelak *mnasi* (= Tabelak the elder) and Tabelak *mnuki* (= Tabelak the younger). The raja of coastal Amfoan also had two *fettor,* although he was ruler of less than 5,000 people. The Taibenu living in the south near Lelogama were independent at the time. Subsequent to a war between Taibenu and Oematan of Molo its head and a number of his subjects fled to Kupang. The eastern part of Amfoan was later occupied by Ambenu, moreover. The heads of Ambenu who lived in this area later broke off their ties with Ambenu and submitted themselves to the Netherlands East Indies Government. After this Government had become definitely established in 1905 Amfoan became once more united under Elizabeth Aunono (= golden body) from Amfoan Naikliu with the assistance of Netherlands East Indies troops.[29] In 1914 the former royal lineage of Amani was reinstated.[30]

It is clear from this historical outline that it is impossible to draw far-reaching conclusions about the structure on the basis of a single historical piece of data. One thing is certain, however, namely that all historical developments are shaped by the traditional structural principles.

4. AMBENU

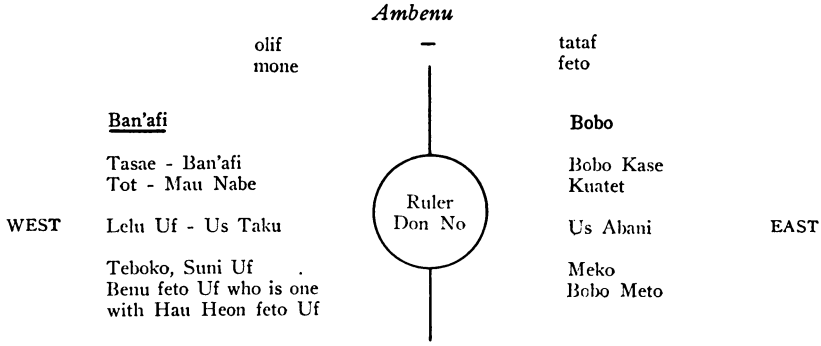
The borders of Ambenu coincide with those of the Portuguese enclave of Oikusi. Here once again bipartition is the basic pattern — it is divided into Bobo - Ban'afi. They were given their names simul-

---

[28] Report by Koopmans, 1917, p. 179.
[29] 30th July, 1908.
[30] Report by Van Lith enclosed with letter from Resident Couvreur dated 20th November, 1923. Archives of the Netherlands Department of Internal Affairs.

taneously with Sonba'i. Bobo is the more important of the two; the name means "to sleep on one's stomach". Like the title *atupas* this stresses the immobile nature of the ruler's function. He lives in the east and is the head of the *Naidjuf nim,* the five tribal lords. Ban'afi lives in the west and is the head of the *Naidjuf sio,* the nine tribal lords. The meaning of Ban'afi is said to be: he who conceals the truth (*ban* = someone who interprets dreams; *afi* = to hide, conceal). The diagram below is based on the abovenamed division.[31]

DIAGRAM No. 16



Bobo Meto (*meto* = dry) lives in the eastern half, in the interior, and Bobo Kase lives on the coast (*kase* = foreign, overseas — although Bobo himself is not a foreigner he has contacts with foreigners). Bobo Meto and Bobo Kase together are one, as are Benu feto Uf and Hau Heon feto Uf (*heno* = to form a complete whole with; *uf* = tribe). The numbers five and nine clearly indicate the structural principles, for in the Bobo half there are really four groups, so that one is divided into two. In the Ban'afi half there are ten groups, so it is said that two of these groups are one.

It is interesting to note that the figure of the *usif* is less accentuated. Bobo is the most important figure. As regards the Ban'afi half, it is stated most emphatically that Tasae is first and Ban'afi is second in importance. Us Taku's position is therefore not a dominant one, although it is central. Other heads such as, for instance, the head of the group of Meko are sometimes also addressed as *usif.*

The raja from the Bobo clan used to reside in the centre. In 1911 he rose against the Portuguese, but the rebellion was suppressed in 1915

[31] Further geographical and classificatory positions in the Ban'afi half are unknown to me.

with Da Costa's help. The raja, Don No (derived from Jâo), sought refuge in Indonesian Timor, where he was still resident in 1947. His position in the whole is not clear to me, because I only had his confused, rather biased, statements at my disposal. Da Costa had become *rai* (king) in his place.

It will be extremely difficult to gain any insight at all into the original structure as the Topasses were in power in Ambenu for centuries. The ruler of Ambenu succeeded in maintaining his own position in spite of their presence there, but much of the old structure probably disappeared nonetheless.

Ambenu's independence in respect of the Topasses is expressed in the myth by the statement that Kosat - Ornai (Da Costa and D'Hornay) came "later", from Malacca and Larantuka respectively. When they arrived in Oikusi they received a lump of earth from Liurai - Sonba'i, Amfoan - Ambenu, Amanuban - Amanatun, Pit'ai, Beboki - Insana to keep in the church of Noimuti as a token of the fact that they had permission to live in Timor.

In the minds of most Ambenu as a whole has close links with Amfoan. They are masculine-feminine in respect of each other, for Ambenu is Amfoan's bride-giver. They are jointly referred to as Belak - Taebenu, Bobo - Ban'afi, the first two names representing Amfoan. They are also brothers, for the myth of origin relates of four brothers — Liurai-Sonba'i, Ambenu-Amfoan — who came from the east.[32] Here we see, therefore, how Ambenu places itself in the greater whole in accordance with the following outline:

NORTH

Ambenu
(gives brides to Amfoan and Insana)

Amfoan (gives brides to Pit'ai in Fatule'u

Liurai (gives brides to Insana)

WEST EAST

Sonbai
(gives brides to Amanatun and Amanuban and on his arrival receives brides from Kono-Oematan)

SOUTH

[32] Letter from Couvreur to the Governor General dated 20th November, 1923. This is confirmed by the statements of the people of Amfoan.

It is said of Bikomi that the four brothers Atok - Bana, Lake - Senak fled from Belu and were pursued by Liurai. They sought aid from Ambenu, who gave them a sword and a spear named *matmanas* (= eye blinded by the sun) and *tel* (= to ask repeatedly — for help in this case).[33] Thus Bikomi fell under Ambenu's sway and became its "door-keeper" in the south.

The story explains its relationship to Tunbaba as follows. There were 44 men hidden on the Bifelmnasi (Tunbaba's central mountain). They were spotted by the smoke escaping from a fire. Sonba'i sent four men to seek them out. These could only find their tracks, as they had hidden in the trees. Thereupon Sonba'i ordered Ambenu to seak them out. An *ote naus*[34] (diviner) from Ambenu found them. They turned out to be a number of Sonba'i's herdsmen who had run away because some buffalo had disappeared. They did not have a name and were therefore called Tunbaba, because they had to help (*bab* = help). Sonba'i and Ambenu each received 22 men.

These stories, related in Manamas, are obviously prompted by a hostile attitude towards its immediate neighbours.

5. AMARASI

This princedom in south-western Timor has undergone more changes than any other because of the proximity of the settlement of the Netherlands East Indies Government in Kupang and as a result of a progressive government of its own during the past forty years.

In 1829 it consisted of three parts: Buwarein under the *naidjufa naek* (lord - tribe - great), with under him Talba and Houmen, each with a *naidjufa* at its head.[35]

The sub-territory of Buwarein was in turn divided into two parts, each of which was governed by a younger brother of the *naidjufa naek*. Here again the two possible patterns of division are observable, namely bipartion and quadrupartition, with the ruler as fifth within the centre.

In 1892[36] these five parts still existed and the titles used for the heads were: *raja* (for the ruler), *fettor,* and *seninti* or *amtiran* for the

---

[33] According to Middelkoop *tel* means to challenge, threaten. This would be more in keeping with the function of a spear.

[34] *Ote* = to strike. *Naus* is probably a substantive form of *nau* = to give; i.e. lines are drawn across an egg to represent the paths; then it is determined which path should be followed.

[35] Müller, 1857, I, p. 113.

[36] Anon., *The princedom of Amarasi,* 1892, p. 213. Also in Bruynis, 1919, p. 176.

other four.[37] There was little central authority, so that these four heads were the ruler's equals rather than his subordinates. Each head was in turn dependent on his *nakaf* or *amaf* (*nakaf* = head).

Each district head had a *tobe naek* at his side, whose function was only a ritual one.[38]

Here, too, we have a myth of origin according to which the people of Amarasi came from the east, namely from South Belu, and subjugated the indigenous population, the Buarari.[39] It is also said that the ruler came from Harneno in northern Beboki.[40]

6. AMABI

According to its own myths the ancient princedom of Amabi once covered the whole of southern Timor, an area extending from Amarasi to the border of South Belu. Amanuban at any rate is regarded by it as a constituent territory of Amabi. Fina, Isu, Nuban and Nope were Abi's *monef atonif*. Obe Abi bestowed "a name on their heads" in order to establish an antipole (*bian*) for Nai Lasi (i.e. Amarasi). Lasi and Nuban are both Abi's war chiefs, who "kick the land (open), who kick the lake (open)" (*atika paka, atika nifu*),[41] the term used with reference to a headhunter.[42]

Nai Abi or Nai Djabi is a name which also occurs in the Sonba'i myth, where it refers to one of the original inhabitants of Timor. It is found in an Amanuban myth as well.[43]

The oldest verifiable reference to Amabi dates back to 1659, six years after the Dutch settled in Kupang.[44] Sonba'i, Amabi and Kupang were at that time allies of the East India Company. The ruler of Sonba'i had fled from the Topasses who had conquered his realm in 1642. From then on he ruled as Sonba'i *ana*, (little Sonba'i) over a tiny principality which was under the protection of the Company. This territory had been ceded to him by the ruler of Kupang. Something similar may have been the case with Amabi. It is more probable, how-

---

[37] *Senenti* — Port. *tenenti* — lieutenant, deputy. Amtiran is not a title, but the name of the lineage of Amtiram.
[38] Kruyt, 1921, p. 475.
[39] Military Memorandum, 1930, p. 109.
[40] In Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 299 ff.
[41] Middelkoop, 1952, p. 204.
[42] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 176.
[43] Pp. 262 and 307 above.
[44] *Daghregister*, 11th February, 1659, p. 29.

29. The raja of Amanuban in ca. 1950.

30. A woman offering betel to a *meo*.

ever, that the principality of Amabi has always been located to the east of Kupang. Amarasi and Amanuban which by virtue of their position on the south coast had maintained relations with the Portuguese for a long time, and had taken sides with the latter — here represented by the Topasses — in their struggle for supremacy with the Dutch, expanded at the expense of Amabi. Doubtless Amabi then sided with the East India Company.

In spite of its territory thus shrinking, and even its removal to the west, Amabi retained the characteristic structure of a Timorese princedom until well into the nineteenth century.

There was a ruler in whom most of the authority was vested and who lived at a small distance from Kupang, as well as a war leader. The latter's title was Naidjufa - pa'e (*pae* or *pa'e* = hero). He lived an hour's walk to the north of the ruler and had to defend the border with a hostile Amarasi. The ruler had at his side two *fettor* or *siko* and two *lopo nakaf naek* (= great meeting-places), i.e. *amaf naek,* while the war leader had two *lopo nakaf baun* at his side. The *fettors'* titles were: Nai Talang Mnasi and Nai Talang Mnuke (= the old and the young Lord Talang); Siko and Talan are ancient, untranslatable titles. The names of their districts were Nai Matan and Nuken - Meo.[45] Here we have once again the familiar pattern of an immobile ruler and an executive authority, with besides these two administrators, one for each of the two sub-territories of the realm. But there is also quadrupartition here, there being four "*lopo* heads".

7. KUPANG

This is the ancient princedom of the Helon, who speak a different language altogether. This language is most closely related to Rotinese and Timorese on the one hand and Tetun on the other, though it displays marked differences with all of these.[46] The old Helonese name for Kupang was Kaisalun, which means "sandalwood".[47]

Nothing remains of the old princedom. The Helonese were gradually pushed back by the Atoni, one of the reasons for this being that Sonba'i and Amabi placed themselves under the protection of the Dutch East India Company and were given territory at the expense of Kupang. The Dutch had scarcely occupied Fort Concordia near Kupang in 1653,

---

[45] Müller, 1857, II, p. 124.
[46] Jonker, 1904, p. 251.
[47] Middelkoop, 1952a, p. 181. *Kai* = tree, *salun* = sandal-wood.

when the Topasses attacked them with the aid of Amarasi, and a village at "a distance of three quarters of a mile from our fort Concordia was attacked by surprise and more than 206 of its inhabitants, mostly women and children, were massacred and their heads taken"; "general" Amapono only just managed to escape to the fort. The people of Kupang then moved to the island of Semau [48] led by their two heads, Amabesi and Amapono. Later on, in 1664, they returned, when there was "wide-spread pestilence and death", especially in Semau. This disease manifested itself in a kind of plague-sore at the throat: "though still healthy in the evening, they may be dead the next morning".[49]

It is interesting to note that the ruler of Kupang has special connections with the crocodile. Veth [50] mentions in his article on Timor, a compilation without any acknowledgement of the sources, that at the coronation of the ruler of Kupang a virgin had to be sacrificed to a crocodile. He is probably basing this statement on Van Hogendorp's article of 1784,[51] in which he writes that during the Klaiba feast on the occasion of the installation of the king of Kupang a virgin was sacrificed to the crocodiles. She was then considered to be married to the crocodile.

Van Hogendorp's story is corroborated by the account of a French engineer who worked in Timor for seven years.[52] This runs as follows:

"J'en ai été témoin l'année 1773 comme ils ont une grave superstition envers le crocodile. S'imaginant en être issus, ils lui font souvent offrande en le faisant venir sur le bord de la mer en lui donnant quelques morceaux de chair. Ces animaux habitués à un certain cri et surs de trouver de la proix se rendent (ou) on les appelle. Le Roi et ses sujets les distinguent particulièrement de trois en trois règnes à l'avènement des petits fils sur le thrône. Ils s'assemblent en grand nombre dans un endroit consacré pour cette cérémonie et qu'ils nomment Koyba, sur le bord de la mer. La victime qui doit servir d'offrande est une jeune fille encore vierge qu'ils habillent le plus proprement qu'ils peuvent en l'ornant de fleurs. Ils lient cette malheureuse sur le bord de la mer et appellent le crocodile qui l'emporte comme ils le croient pour en faire sa femme. Ils m'ont assuré que cet animal sait bien distinguer si elle est pucelle où non, et qu'il est arrivé qu'en ayant offert une qui ne l'était pas, le crocodile la rapporta sur le bord de la mer saine et sauve. Le croira qui voudra. Ils joignent encore à cette victime un cochon qui doit avoir le poil rouge sans oublier de présenter au crocodile du ris, des cocos et du betel auxquels ils ne touchent pas. Je me suis informé de la raison de cette barbare coutume du Roi même de Coupang. Il n'a su m'en donner d'autre que celle de l'ancienne

---

[48] *Daghregister,* 1st December, 1653, pp. 153, 154.
[49] *Op. cit.,* 29th August, 1664, p. 348.
[50] Veth, 1855, p. 565.
[51] W. van Hogendorp, 1784, p. 69.
[52] Jean Baptiste Pelon or Pilon was a military engineer in Timor from 1770 to 1777. De Graaf, 1963, p. 84.

coutume, peutêtre que la honte le retient de m'en dire la véritable car ils firent en 1773 cette cérémonie à l'insu de M. l'opperhoofd qui en ayant été informé quelques jours après, en punit le Roy et son premier ministre en le condamnant à une amende au profit de la Compagnie".[53] ("In the year 1773 I was a witness to a bizarre superstition which they entertain in respect of the crocodile, believing that they descend from it. They often bring it offerings, luring it ashore, and feed it a few pieces of flesh. These animals, which are accustomed to a particular call, certain as they are of finding some prey appear wherever they are called. The king and his subjects show them special honour each third reign, at the accession to the throne of a grandson. They gather in large numbers at a spot on the beach especially consecrated for this ceremony, which they call Koyba. The victim of the sacrifice is a young girl, a virgin, whom they attire in as much finery as possible, adorning her with flowers. They tie the poor girl up on the beach and summon the crocodile, which then carries her off to make her its wife, so they believe. They have assured me that the animal is quite capable of discerning whether or not she is a virgin and that on one occasion when a girl who was no longer a virgin was offered, the crocodile brought her back to the beach safe and sound. Believe it who will! As well as this victim they offer a pig with red bristles, and they are certain to give the crocodile rice, coconut and betel, which they will not touch themselves. I have been informed of the reason behind this barbarous custom by the King of Kupang himself — he could give no other explanation than that it was an ancient custom. Perhaps shame prevented him from telling me the real reason. For in 1773 they performed this ceremony without the *Opperhoofd*'s knowledge; when he was told of it a few days later, he punished the King and his prime minister, imposing a fine to be paid to the Company".)

The ruler is believed to descend from the crocodile. It is his totem animal, like that of Us Senak (the *atupas* of Bikomi). In Bikomi, however, the crocodile was feminine, this being in keeping with the name with which it is designated: *be'i* (= grandmother, ancestress). In the account quoted above, on the other hand, it is a bridegroom to whom a young girl is given in marriage. This in turn corresponds with the name Nai Besi (Nai = lord, *besi* = iron).

The animal associated with Sonba'i and with the Meromak O'an of Wehale[54] is the python. Both it and the crocodile are symbolic of the earth, night and death. The crocodile is thought to be capable of shedding its skin at night and to join the dancing in human form. There is a story, for instance, which according to Sonba'i is part of the secret of his *nono,* and in which some crocodiles disguised as human beings one night took part in the round-dance (*bonet*) in a village in Fatule'u. During this dance food was served to the raja. Then, before daybreak, they slipped their crocodile skins back on and devoured all the people of the village. Only the people of one house escaped because

[53] Pelon or Pilon, MS. *Description abregée de l'Isle de Timor,* folios 11, 12.
[54] Grijzen, 1904, p. 21.

a crocodile's jaw got jammed in the large wooden rice-pounding block in front of the house, so that it died and the people inside were left unharmed.[55]

And in South Belu there is a myth which relates of a man who turned into a crocodile. He promised to return twice a year during planting time, provided the members of his *ume* offered sacrifices to him.[56] Here, in the fertile plain where corn is planted biannually he is the bringer of fertility, therefore.

It is the crocodile which gave the Timorese the buffalo, the most important sacrificial animal. Out of gratitude to an Atoni who had dislodged a fishing-hook from his throat the king of the crocodiles presented him with a gift consisting of a herd of white buffaloes. This is why every year, during the mating season of the buffalo, sacrifices are offered to him.[57] And there is a story in Kupang according to which a small crocodile was carried off by a whirlwind and dropped somewhere in the interior. Here it almost died for lack of water, but it was found by a man who, prompted by compassion, took it to the source of Tarus to the south of the Bay of Kupang.[58] The crocodile instructed the man to erect an enclosing fence. Seven days later the man found a herd of buffaloes inside it.

According to a different version of this story the crown-prince of the crocodiles joined the dancing every night at a large-scale celebration near the village of Fatu Feto (feminine cliff). A crocodile was seen swimming landwards every evening after sunset and each morning, before daybreak the prince, a youth of great beauty, would hastily disappear. One night the village head went to the beach and hid the skin he found there. As usual, the prince disappeared just before dawn but returned wailing and lamenting loudly, saying that he would die if he did not return to the palace of his father, the king of the crocodiles, by sunrise. He was given back his skin on condition that he present a return gift. He instructed the people to build an enclosure, inside which they found a herd of buffaloes at the end of seven days.[59]

This prince of the sea and the night, who appears in radiant beauty, is the proto-type of the ruler, who is first unclean and then reveals

---

[55] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 18.

[56] Cornelissen, 1929, p. 341.

[57] Krayer van Aalst, 1921, pp. 120 ff. This story may have originally come from Molo.

[58] The Tandjung Manikin (= coolness, well-being) is located near Tarus, which was formerly part of the district of Kupang.

[59] Report by Ruychaver, 1918, pp. 11 ff.

himself as the brilliant one (*apinat*), as was seen in the Sonba'i myth. It is not improbable, therefore, that there is a link between the Koyba ritual and this myth. At the inauguration of the prince of Kupang his realm enters into an affinal relationship with his mythical ancestor, just as the *amaf naek* are always expected to give a number of their daughters to the ruler.

A very striking detail in the account of the eye-witness Pilon is the communication, couched in somewhat tortuous French, that "the king and his subjects show them (the crocodiles) special honour each third reign, upon the accession to the throne of a grandson". The meaning of this is not altogether clear. It is too extraordinary a detail for Pilon to have invented, and besides, other descriptions by this first ethnographer reveal him to be a most reliable observer. It may possibly refer to a system of alternating successions. This may imply all kinds of things, even a *karadjeri* kinship system, in which the grandson belongs to the same section as his grandfather. However, we know nothing of the Helon, except that they were the least self-assertive of the races found in Indonesian Timor. They were driven constantly further westward, so that at present the Helon language is found only in the extreme west of Timor and on the island of Semau. Hence we might suppose that the Helon (like the peoples driven into the interior of central and especially eastern Timor, whose languages are non-Austronesian) were among the oldest races in Timor. But this theory is contradicted by the fact that Helonese is an Indonesian language. A thorough study of all these older races, inasmuch as this is still possible, could furnish some valuable answers.

The political structure of the ancient principality of Kupang has since long been difficult to discern because of the settlement there of the Dutch and of refugee Timorese rulers. But formerly it presented a similar picture to that of other Timorese communities. The ruler had two heads at his side, namely Amabesi and Amapono.[60] Amapono is called "general". Furthermore, according to a statement in 1730 the ruler had two executive rulers at his side [61] — hence these must have been the two *usif* who functioned as the ruler's executive, masculine counterparts.

---

[60] *Daghregister,* 1st Dec., 1653, p. 154.
[61] MS. Visscher, 13th November, 1730.

CHAPTER X

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY IN TIMOR

Now that we have discussed almost every one of the political communities of Indonesian Timor separately we shall proceed to go into the general aspects of the manner in which they functioned, in order to arrive, partly on the basis of this, at a general evaluation of the structure and to determine the structural principles for the political community as an integral part of the culture as a whole.

The indispensable condition for the existence of a political community is the maintenance of its independence in its own territory. The points in question here are its relations with other political communities, defence and warfare, therefore.

Another essential condition is the preservation of its internal unity, or in other words, the maintenance of law and order, adjudication and administration.

1. WARFARE

It is difficult to determine the significance of warfare and the place it occupied in the traditional political structure. This structure has revealed itself to us chiefly in the myths and rites inasmuch as these were still functioning at the time when the research for this book was conducted. The danger involved is that the pattern which emerges is highly idealized, the ritual invariably representing the conditions as they *ought* to be. By studying the way in which the contents of myths are constantly subject to change we were able to correct to a large extent this image of the ideal situation. Although war was never ideal, is was a necessity. It was only too often the result of mutual dissension.

An insight into the significance of warfare and its place in the traditional Timorese communities will be invaluable in giving us a clearer picture of the political structure. The only possible way of approaching the reality of warfare and hence its place in the structure

is by studying stories concerning headhunting raids in which many Timorese still alive in 1946 had participated.

Middelkoop,[1] for instance, was able to record a unique collection of stories concerning headhunting raids related by men who had taken an active part in them. They are quite obscure in places, having been noted down word for word straight from the mouths of these Atoni, though this makes them all the more valuable. There is, besides, Heijmering's [2] important story of "A Native War in the Island of Timor". It is a highly romanticized description which nevertheless reveals a very intimate knowledge of the war ritual. This is rather more than could normally be expected from a missionary moving in the circles of the typically Eurasian society of Kupang, but notwithstanding is not surprising in a man who was married to the granddaughter of the ruler of Amfoan.[3]

The earliest administrative reports (i.e. those dating from the period when headhunting had not completely disappeared or had only been suppressed very recently) also constitute a valuable source from which a wealth of data can be drawn. Though not always coherent, they nonetheless verify and supplement my own research. It is not clear from Cunningham's [4] excellent, though in places refutable analysis of the political organization in times of war to what extent it is based on earlier data. This, the most abstract section of his interesting book on "the People of the Dry Land", testifies to a profound insight into the structure of the political organization, even though it may lack the description of reality which alone may form the real basis for abstraction.

The Causes of War

The immediate causes of war were generally border-land disputes which in turn were the consequence of claims being asserted by certain groups to sandal-trees, trees with bees' nests or areca palms. For sandal-wood used to be, and areca has been for centuries Timor's most important export commodity. The principal issue in the six years' war (from 1864-1870) between Sonba'i and Amfoan-Sorbean was, for instance, the rights to an area which produced large quantities of areca nuts.[5] The deeper cause was, as in innumerable cases, a historically

---

[1] Middelkoop, 1963, *Headhunting.*
[2] Heijmering, 1846.
[3] Veth, 1855, I, p. 735.
[4] Cunningham, 1962, pp. 120-146.
[5] Gramberg, 1872, p. 161.

grown hostility which was likely to spark off a war at the slightest provocation. Heijmering[6] tells us, for instance, that in his time the war between Amfoan and Sonba'i had been dragging on for thirteen years. The situation was exactly the same a hundred years before that.[7] From 1760-1782 there was continual conflict about gold-mining between Molo and Miomafo.[8]

Cattle raids were a constantly recurring cause of war, especially between communities whose relations with each other were normally strained. They were the cause of a virtually continuous state of war in the extensive Euroki Plain in the territory of Beboki and Belu. The political distance between the Timorese-speaking people of Beboki and the Tetun-speaking Belunese (especially those of Lidak and Naitimu on the eastern edge of the Euroki Plain) was of course greater than that between the Atoni communities mutually. The Belunese usually took the offensive, as they were more aggressive than the people of Beboki, the latter being more inclined to withdraw to their mountainous homeland, in which travelling was extremely difficult. It is tempting to associate defensive and offensive behaviour respectively with the fact that the people of Beboki are probably more typical of the older Timorese races than the people of Naitimu, where South Belunese influence begins to make itself felt, though this does not apply — or hardly applies — to Lidak. Although cattle-thieving here was facilitated by the possibility of bringing stolen cattle to safety on the other side of the Portuguese border without difficulty, this is a special factor which was only present in the past century. During the brief political vacuum after the Japanese defeat and before the return of the Colonial Government, the Belunese perpetrated scores of cattle raids. This did not lead to fighting, however, because the people of Beboki dared not take revenge and because headhunting was altogether a thing of the past.

Formerly none of the plains in Timor were inhabited, but were only used as pastoral land. Hence they were ideal operating grounds for cattle thieves.

In the case of internal cattle raids it was endeavoured to settle the matter by arbitration. But if the unity of a district was not strong enough, or if its government was too weak an outbreak of hostilities might ensue inside the community in question. If the thieves were strangers this would be much more likely to happen, although the first

---

[6] Heymering, 1846, p. 215.
[7] De Roo van Alderwerelt, 1904, p. 211.
[8] Veth, 1855, I, p. 705.

steps to be undertaken would take the form of negotiations for compensation of the damages.

Another well founded cause for a headhunting raid was failure to bring harvest gifts to the ruler, which was regarded as an open sign of rebellion or an attempt to break away. There is a story in Tunbaba (a border district of Miomafo), for instance, which tells of a village there — the residence of a side-branch of the Us Kono lineage — disobeying an order from higher on. The *meo naek* was the instigator of this particular rebellion. Us Kono, in his anger, thereupon supplied Ambenu, Tunbaba's arch-enemy, with guns and powder in order to punish the village. But after Ambenu had undertaken a headhunting raid and had fought for two days, Us Kono immediately sent Us Thaal (whose name means "he who restores the equilibrium") to restore the peace.

Another of the factors leading to a war might be unwillingness to give up a tribute-paying territory. Amanatun once waged war on the realm of South Belu because the more or less independent Anas had brought "harvest gifts", which in this case especially assumed the importance of tribute or a token of allegiance, to Belu instead of the ruler Amanatun.[9]

There are innumerable other motives — as many as the human mind is capable of inventing. According to one story,[10] for example, Amanuban once declared war on Sonba'i because it had not been invited to the mortuary feast of a Sonba'i. According to another story [11] a war once broke out between Molo and Amanuban after a medicine-man from Molo had suddenly shot a man from Amanuban whom he had just cured of leprosy, whereupon he took the man's head.

On another occasion a long-standing conflict between Amfoan and Molo flared up equally unexpectedly. A man from Amfoan and his sister had been bartering in the border area of Molo. When they returned, a *meo* from Fatule'u, one from the notorious Pit'ai lineage, took both their heads. To avenge them Amfoan burnt down a village at random in Molo; all of the inhabitants were killed, either burning to death in their blazing houses or dying at the hands of the headhunters.[12]

Pilon has recorded a similar story.[13] In 1776 the ruler of Amfoan-

---

[9] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 329.
[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 283.
[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 335.
[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 221.
[13] MS. (Pilon) 1778, folio 14.

Sorbian murdered 50-60 women and children, all of them subjects of the ruler of Molo, who had sought refuge in a cave. He had bundles of branches burnt in the cave entrance. Much later (in 1926), though probably still in connection with this incident, a house was unexpectedly set on fire and nine men inside it were burnt to death.

Internal quarrels sometimes had their origin in the rivalry between two brothers. Middelkoop [14] relates a story of a war which broke out as a result of Sonba'i's committing adultery with his elder brother's wife in the district of Fatule'u. Following this he fled to Molo, where two heads of the lineage of Oematan gave him their support, and as a result the Sonba'i in Fatule'u ended up by arousing the enmity of a part of Molo.

In Timor there is a relatively small number of stories concerning succession disputes between brothers, which in African princedoms are an inevitable part of a set pattern. A hundred and fifty years ago such a dispute was said to be the cause of the division of Amfoan.[15] There must have been many such cases of scission and rupture coupled with wars. Accounts of this happening are found not only in the Atoni's own tradition but also in summaries of the various princedoms in Portuguese and Dutch sources. Certain names, such as Amarasi, Amfoan, Amanuban, Amanatun, Sonba'i and Amakono recur regularly in these, while other names vary. This implies that break-away areas later on became reconciled again. It is therefore better to speak of fusions rather than conquests. The tradition in any case contains no stories of wars of conquest; in spite of the fact that the princedoms of Kupang and Amabi have disappeared almost entirely in the course of the centuries.

The ruler was responsible for the conduct of war in an indirect way. He is the keeper of the sacred objects (*atiut le'u*) and is the centre, or rather the shrine (*ume le'u*) near his palace is the centre (that is, if the war is conducted under his auspices). A clan head, an *amaf naek* or an *usif* may also conduct a headhunting raid on his own initiative, in which case his shrine is the sacred centre. In general, however, a war involved a political community as a whole, even though only certain *meo* (warriors) took part in the connected headhunting raids. Whether it is an entire community or only a section that becomes involved is usually dependent on the solidarity of the community concerned; this in turn varies from place to place and from time to time.

---

[14] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 263.
[15] P. 315 above.

The usual procedure was for a community to decide that its rights had been violated, after which the active ruler (the *kolnel,* or, to use Heijmering's [16] term, the regent) would rally all the heads (primarily the *usif* and the *meo*) of his territory, and in consultation with them instruct a few of the heads to institute an investigation into all the facts relevant to the incident.

When this had been done they would go and inform the ruler of the district responsible accordingly and demand satisfaction. Whether or not this demand was complied with depended on the relative power of each of the communities involved. According to Müller [17] deliberations on whether or not war would be declared might go on for months on end. Moreover, one of the elders supposedly had to place himself in the position of the enemy and explain and defend the latter's behaviour, and he had to point out the dangers of a war. The former seems improbable, though the latter is known to have taken place. In Insana this was the task of one of the four "old men, old women", the ruler's counsellors. If the plaintiffs were the weaker of the two parties, they would try to rally the support of an ally. In this case an envoy would be sent, along with some gold — as a sign that he wished to enter into an alliance — to the ruler of one or more befriended princedoms and ask for auxiliary troops. The rulers thus approached were in the first place the bride-givers of the ruler making the request, and hence the latter's social superiors. An affinal alliance between two principalities usually bore implications of a political alliance, giving the bride-receiver the right to ask his bride-giver for assistance. But if he did, this might involve that he would lose his political independence so that as a result he might thenceforth have to pay gifts of homage (*poni pah*). This may be one way in which the Meromak O'an of South Belu (always referred to as Liurai by the Atoni) and Sonba'i in the west extended their power in certain periods of history. When the battle was over envoys would be sent out again with gold, gold discs or other forms of currency, such as silver discs or coins, the amount of these being dependent on the number of warriors who had lost their lives. Payment had to be made for every part of their body, as in the payment of bridewealth at marriage.

Although in Belu blood brotherhood [18] was quite common, this was not known to exist in the Atoni area.

---

[16] Heymering, 1846, p. 204.
[17] Müller, 1857, II, p. 247.
[18] Forbes, 1885, p. 450.

If the demand for satisfaction was not complied with, a time and place for battle were fixed, or a term would be decided on by the end of which compensation had to be paid. Middelkoop[19] quotes an incident of a horse that was stolen in Amanuban on the instructions of Sanam, one of the *amaf naek* of Molo. The owner of the horse came and demanded it back. There was a long altercation, but to no effect. Then the two parties tied five knots in a rope, symbolizing five nights at the end of which they would negotiate once more about the return of the horse.

Such were the different forms of negotiation known to the Atoni, though they were often ignored. Middelkoop's story, for instance, ends with the man from Amanuban ambushing one of Sonba'i's subjects, "Sonba'i's bird, Sonba'i's hen", and making off with his head before the five nights had passed. This led immediately to a state of war between the two countries, as in the example of the medicine-man from Molo who took the head of his patient from Amanuban which was quoted above.

It was recognized, however, that the two parties first had to line up facing each other at an appointed time and place by way of formal declaration of war and commencement of hostilities. Fighting would not begin on these occasions. But in practice surprise attacks were probably the rule, although Gramberg[20] also reports that the *meo* would line up facing each other and each side challenge the other in a war dance, while a war of ambushes would only commence following this.

A correct definition of the motives for a particular war was always very important, this being the justification of that war. Here the choice of the correct word was essential for the success of the war. By this war formula (*fanu*) the people of the community were rallied to battle. Even if there was no previous meeting between the two opponents, a war slogan had to be formulated.[21] Sonba'i's formula at the time when one of his subjects was killed before expiry of the term of the ultimatum was, for instance: "The five days were not yet complete, the five nights not yet complete; he whetted his sword secretly, he loaded his rifle secretly; he stifled his rage, he bit his lip. The bird's feathers have been dispersed, the hen's feathers have been dispersed; the bird's feathers have been spilt, the hen's feathers have been spilt."

---

[19] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 81.
[20] Gramberg, 1872, p. 177.
[21] Cf. Grijzen, 1904, p. 112, on Belu. The *fanu* has to be a valid one, as the forces of the hidden world need to be able to approve of it.

Once Amfoan burnt down a village in Molo to avenge the murder of two of its people. But as this murder had been committed by men from Pit'ai, Molo was now able to formulate a war slogan, in which the burning of the village became the legitimate motive for war. It ran as follows: "Behold, Nai Kono Tbelak [22] was burnt and charred; the birds struck him, the fowls [23] struck him in the garden hut of Lupu, within the enclosing fence of Lupu, with his banana leaf, his sugar-cane leaf,[24] without a war formula, without a battle-cry, without a ritual word, without a case..... Thou, Pit'ai and Timaubas (Amfoan) didst not have a battle, Thou Pit'ai and Timaubas, didst not face each other; Thou dost turn towards me, Thou didst take me by surprise. I was asleep and stretched out, I died and perished, I was burnt without reason, consumed without cause, without a word, without a case, without a war formula, without a battle-cry." [25]

The ritual preceding battle

Even after a meeting had taken place by way of declaration of war the fighting could not commence, as first the preparatory ritual had to be performed.

Sacrifices were offered near the *le'u* shrine, consisting of black and red buffaloes, pigs, goats or fowls — black for the spirits of the ancestors and the spirits of the earth (both called *nitu*) and red for the Lord of Heaven. An egg and the intestines of a fowl served as augurer's media. Then the enmity *le'u* was compounded from various roots, herbs and leaves. Each particular case (*lasi*) had its appropriate *le'u,* which had to be compounded with the utmost care by a medicine-man or by a "guardian of the realm", such as Atau-pah, in the *le'u* house. Medicine-men who were charged with the compounding of the enmity *le'u* were distinguished from those responsible for curing diseases — both functions could not be united in the one person.

These enmity *le'u* had a symbolic significance. Each *le'u* had its own name. Middelkoop [26] gives a description of such an enmity *le'u*. It contained:

1. The "chewing-wood", a root from which a piece had to be chewed

---

[22] The village head here represents the entire village.
[23] The subjects of Amfoan.
[24] His people.
[25] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 222-225.
[26] *Op. cit.,* p. 143.

off in order to ascertain whether its bearer ought to turn left or right. The warrior was not allowed to choose his direction without this, while by this method he was certain to choose the correct one.

2. The "luring-wood", which was capable of irresistably attracting human beings and animals. Corraled buffaloos and tethered horses would break loose to give in to its spell. It could make sleeping people inside a *kota* (a fortified town) rise from their beds and come. It is used in another, different connection to lure away young girls not yet accustomed to "the affairs of men" (*lasi atoni*). It is a liana (*nono*).
3. The "drawing-wood". The function of this is the same as that of the "luring-wood" though according to the Atoni its power is different. It causes the enemy to run into an ambush or to be trapped. It, too, is a liana.
4. The "encounter-wood". Its function is the same as that of the above two. It is a *gebang*-palm leaf (*nono beba*).
5. The "contact-wood" or "scent-wood" enabled the warrior to sense where the enemy was. It was carried in the warrior's hair, and knocked against the side of his head on which the enemy was.

All of these combined to make up the *le'u humusu* (= the *le'u* of the sword-grass).[27]

Another potent *le'u* was the *le'u* Nai Nesi.[28] Whoever had been admitted to its circle (*nono*) had to comply with the strictest of taboos. It also contained the "chewing-wood" which in this case, however, consisted of a twig of the *usapi* tree[29] with two leaves left on it. The twig was held clenched between the teeth and one leaf held in the left hand, the other in the right hand. Then the leaves were pulled off the twig and thrown behind one. A leaf which landed with its outside turned up foreboded *le'u,* which here means "threat", "danger". If it landed with its inside facing upwards this was considered to be a propitious sign. Furthermore, it contained a "luring-wood" and a "drawing-wood", this time derived from different plants, as well as a *hau apa,* translated by Middelkoop with "adapting wood", which consisted of a herb called "dog's tail" and black grass. This was chewed with unripe areca nuts and betel leaves.

The red spittle from this was spat onto three stones which were

[27] *Imperata cylindrica.*
[28] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 151 ff. *Atob-tobe* not found in Meyer Drees, 1950.
[29] *Schleichera oleosa.*

then cast away. Then everyone had to walk in the same direction, saying, "That he may rally people, that they may come in groups". Before placing it in the warrior's *le'u* purse it was first rubbed along his rifle-barrel. The final ingredient required was the *hau tobes*. While normally a *tobe* is a sacrificial basket, and more especially its lid, in this case it means "protection". The *hau tobes* derives from the *atob-tobe* shrub, a shrub which offers excellent protection. It was chewed and then spat three times over the warriors, who first had to seat themselves and close their eyes. This *le'u* was supposed to make the soldier invisible to the enemy. "If he sees us, he will think we are a rock or a tree stump." Any group of any importance at all had its own enmity *le'u,* each with its own history. Its origin was usually traced back to a dream, in which it was revealed to the dreamer that a particular rock or root was, or rather contained his *le'u*. Only a group with its own enmity *le'u* was able to engage in war as an independent unit. Sanam, for instance (one of Sonba'i's two bride-giving groups in Molo) had its own enmity *le'u,* called Nai Ol Bota, a white rock which had been found in primeval times as a result of a vision which Pa'i [30] had once had. The medicine-man invariably was a member of this lineage and as such he was the lord or owner of the *le'u*. Similarly the other bride-giving group Mela had its own enmity *le'u,* the owner of which was also Mela's *mafefa* or ritual spokesman.

Part of the *le'u* was kept in the *le'u* shrine. This was the constant, permanent part or "ancient *le'u*". The other part was sought anew each time. The *le'u* was carried in small purses attached to the warriors' weapons. But this varied in practice. Heijmering [31] writes that the ritual leader first suspended on the only pillar of the *le'u* shrine, which he alone was allowed to enter, the purses containing tree roots and pebbles and bearing the names of the ancestors. Then three purses were placed on the hilts of the *meos*' swords. These they would wear around their necks and on their backs next to the powder horn during the battle. One of the purses contained a root urging on its wearer on the left side, so that he might strike the enemy with his lance or rifle. The second protected him against the enemy's lead bullets, though not against those made of gold, silver or brass; a lead bullet, however, would land flat against the body of the warrior wearing this purse without inflicting any wounds or pain. The third purse enabled the

---

[30] P. 125 above.
[31] Heijmering, 1846, p. 206.

meo to know when the moment had come when the enemy was asleep or off his guard.

In large-scale battles the enmity *le'u* of the various allied groups was combined during one of the phases of the war ritual before the attack.

During the offering of a sacrifice in the shrine (*ume le'u*) an invocation was addressed to the *le'u* and the invisible forces it contained. Below follows an example of such a prayer (from Amanuban) as rendered by Middelkoop [32]:

"I go, o hidden Lord,[33] o Lord revived,
Watch over me, carry me,
Keep me and — guard me,
Thou who dost protect and — shelter.
Oh, let me not fall, let not my blood flow
when the enemy aims his rifle at me.
Thou who dost protect and shelter,
Mayest Thou make his bullet to miss its mark, avert his sword,
So that he shall not overpower me and — kill me,
that he shall not strike me and — hew me down;
but let me follow the blunt edge of his sword and — the butt of his rifle.
Mayest Thou alone guide me and — lead me by the hand,
tame him and — chase him away,[34]
so that he may come before the barrel of my rifle, before the sharp edge of my sword,
and that I may overpower him, kill him,
seize him and — catch him.
If I return I shall impale him on Thee.[35]
Let him be suspended from Thee,
So that Thou mayest tread on him and — conduct him.
When I go Thou shalt lead and — guide me.
Mayest Thou be thus victorious and thus triumphant,
in order that Thy corral and Thy shelter be crammed full."

Then the sacrificial animals were killed — either red ones (symbolizing blood, Uis Neno and victory) or black ones (symbolizing the earth, Uis Pah or the earth spirits (*nitu pah*)). The liver was examined for good or evil omens. Then the ritual leader chewed the *le'u* and spat it onto the *meo,* thus making them invulnerable.

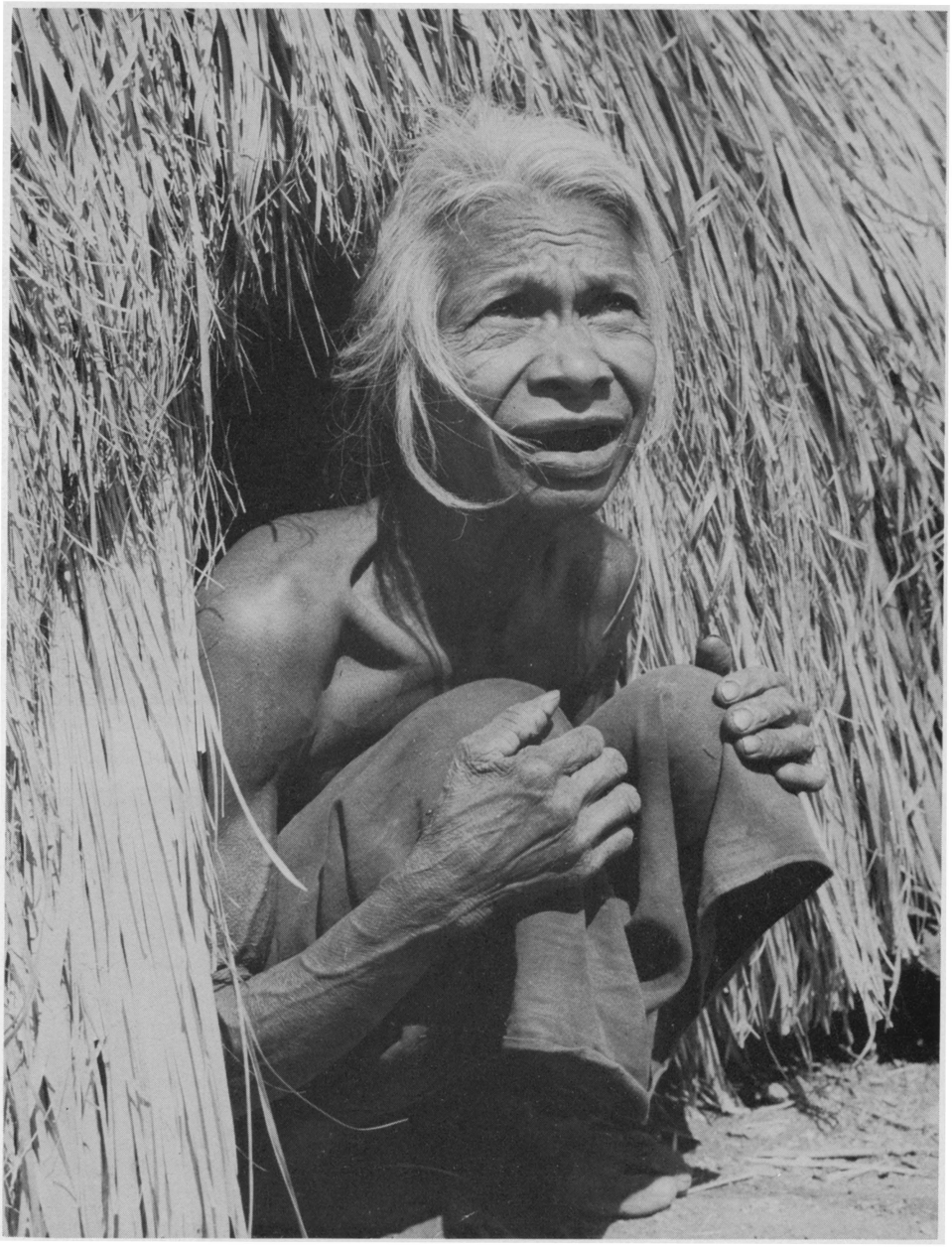
---

[32] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 110-113.

[33] Na Tamnaes.

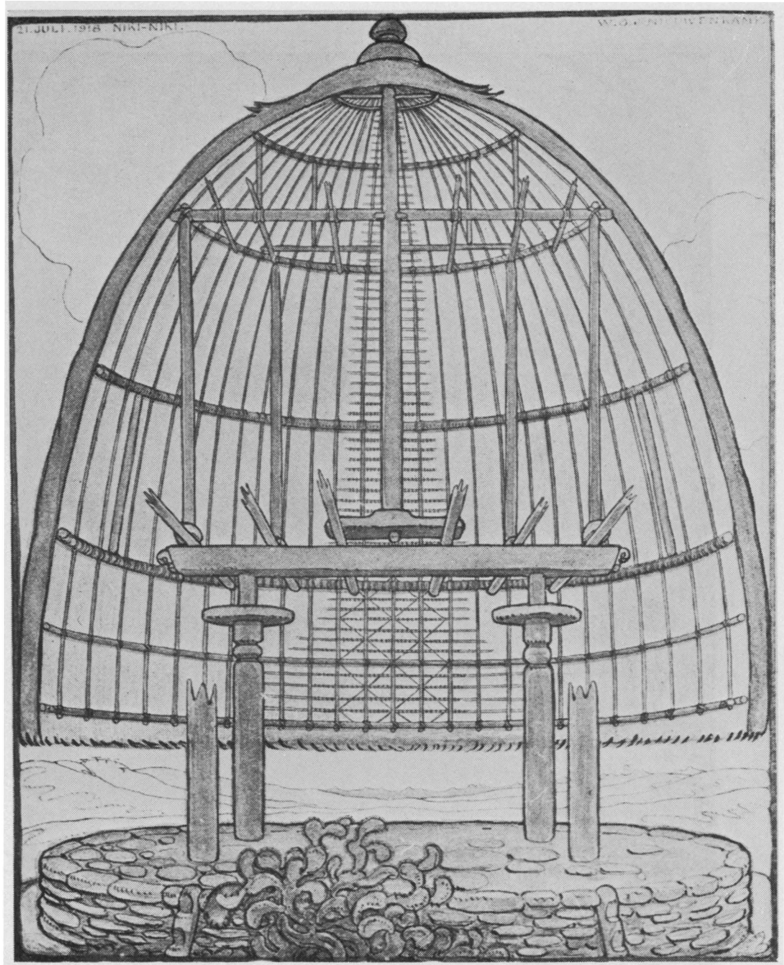
[34] *Maus* - to tame; it is the same word as that sometimes used with reference to tribute and the ruler. P. 190 above.

[35] I.e., the head is impaled on the pillar near the *le'u* shrine.



31. Many houses are much more primitive than the ground-plan on p. 430 would suggest, especially in the mountainous parts. Here the entrance is kept down to a minimum size in order to prevent the smoke — which helps to preseve the corn — from escaping.

32. A *lopo*, which serves as community house and storage-hut, in Manufui.



33. Section of a *lopo*. There are four pillars with round discs at the top to keep the mice out of the loft. The maternal pillar (*ni ainaf*) is placed in the centre of the loft. Sketch by W. O. J. Nieuwenkamp; from Nieuwenkamp, 1925, p. 101.

Or all the warriors entered the *le'u* shrine with heads uncovered, each holding a burning candle in his hand. Candles were symbolic of the light which would accompany them and show them the way in the enemy's territory. It was believed to show them where the enemy was lying in ambush. If the candle burnt with a small flame this was an unpropitious omen for the warrior carrying it. He was then asked by the leader of the ritual to confess his guilt in order that he might purify himself and join the fighters after all. Now cowards had their opportunity to remain behind. Purification was effected by sacrificing a red or a white cockerel, red symbolizing guilt and white purification. The other warriors stood around and repeated the prayer after the leader, in which the Lord of Heaven and the ancestors were implored to grant remission of the sins committed. Then the cockerel's entrails were investigated. These usually gave a favourable omen; if not, the warriors concerned had to remain at home.[36]

Or sometimes the ritual leader would pick up a stone, onto which he spat *le'u* spittle, and rub it against the *meo*'s head, chest, back and loins, uttering the words: "I press you with the defence of invulnerability, that his copper bullets, his silver bullets, may be dissolved and may become wholly liquid, may become wholly cool (*mainikin*) and wholly cold (*oetene*)." [37] If the leader of the ritual now received a bitter taste in his mouth and had almost no saliva, he would begin to tremble and perspire — the *le'u* made him dizzy. This meant that the man he was rubbing with the stone at that moment would be wounded or killed if he were to go into battle.

In Naitimu and in North Belu in general it was customary for all the warriors to be purified by the custodian of the *kakaluk* (i.e. purse containing the *le'u* objects). He would take a sword, a thorny branch and a silver coin, rubbing the warriors' bodies with these, after which the prickly branch would be cast away. This action purified the warriors if they had had sexual intercourse, as this was taboo for the entire duration of a headhunting expedition.[38] In Beboki there was a similar ritual. Sexual abstinence during a headhunting expedition was usual for the whole of the Atoni area.

In Turskain, the Tetun-speaking area of Portuguese Timor, the lord of the shrine (*datu luli*) killed a fowl for each warrior. If the fowl lay with its right leg raised and the betel juice spat by the *datu luli* onto

[36] Heijmering, 1846, p. 207.
[37] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 90.
[38] Grijzen, 1904, p. 113.

the head and chest of the warrior turned the proper colour, the warrior would say: "I am a man, a brave one". He was then invulnerable and would go and stand on the right. If the fowl's left leg was raised the man had to stand on the left and remain behind to guard the village and the *luli* shrine. The *datu luli* was not to leave the *luli* shrine until the warriors were back. If the man were to take part in the battle notwithstanding, he would be killed.[39] Red is the proper colour of betel juice. Red and the right-hand side here are associated with war and all that is masculine.

Sometimes a black dog would be killed by way of ritual preparation for war. Its head would be hewn off and *le'u* roots stuffed into its nostrils, ears and mouth. It would be flung into the enemy's village at night accompanied by shouts of "*hute molo*", that is, "displaying the yellow".[40] Yellow is the colour of death. Hence this was intended as an announcement of death and the final official declaration of war. Throughout the princedom gongs would be beaten and buffalo horns blown. From then on the whole community had to be on its guard against surprise attacks.

Prior to the great rebellion in Portuguese Timor in 1719 a piebald dog was killed. As a token of their loyalty to the alliance that had just been formed each man dipped his left hand in the dog's chest, which had been slit open. Then a sword was dipped in its blood and each one drank of this.[41] Another custom was to bring eight of the dog's teeth and its tongue to the territory of the enemy. Heijmering[42] says that the aim of this was that the dog's spirit restrain the enemy, so that it would be easy for the *meo* to take his head. And the enemy's tongue, like the dog's, would then not be able to bark at him as he did this. No doubt this is a symbolic act intended to prevent the dying enemy from cursing his murderer. This may be compared with the custom of piercing the cheeks of those condemned to death with a knife to prevent them from cursing the king, which is found among the Ashanti.[43]

The Meo

When the war ritual was completed an atmosphere of "heat" (*maputu*)

[39] Forbes, 1885, p. 445.
[40] Müller, 1857, II, p. 248. Cf. Kruyt, 1921, p. 462: Sonba'i threw dogs' carcases onto the fences and into the *lopo* of Amabi in order to lure the warriors out.
[41] De Castro, 1862, p. 471.
[42] Heijmering, 1846, p. 209.
[43] Rattray, 1959 (1927), p. 87.

prevailed, when the *le'u musu* began to operate. Though the community was under the protection of its enmity *le'u,* it was on the other hand exposed to the danger of being harmed by that of the enemy. This was the period in which the ritual sphere (*le'u*) pervaded all aspects of life. That is why the warriors were subject to a large number of taboos (*nuni*).

The close relationship between the *meo* and the medicine-man should perhaps be mentioned in this connection. It is so close that in Amarasi there is only one word (*mnane*) for both. Kruyt [44] tries to explain this by saying that, seeing that the *meo* no longer had a function after the introduction of colonial rule, the *meo* turned his hand to practising the art of the *mnane*. It is not likely, however, for such a change in word usage to have taken place within the space of fifteen years. Middelkoop [45] suspects an attempt at hoodwinking the new Government, because Amarasi was of old anti-Dutch, until well into the nineteenth century, and was therefore suspect. But if this were so, it is strange to think that this ruse should have been devised exclusively in Amarasi. He himself hints at a more likely explanation.[46] According to a story from which we quoted above, Eli Pa'i, guided by a vision, found the white stone called *le'u* Ol Bota, the enmity *le'u,* and consequently became a *mnane*. This function became hereditary in his lineage. But his grandson, Kol Pa'i, did not wish to cure the sick, and said "How is it that I should touch women's breasts?" He therefore offered a striped pig for sacrificing, so that the crocodile, the Lord of Kupang — who had appeared to his grandfather in a dream in the shape of a woman and then cohabited with him, as a result of which the latter had found the *le'u* Ol Bota — might leave him in peace, for, as he said, "I want to be a headhunter". He himself did not participate in headhunting expeditions, but was thenceforth the *mnane* responsible for the enmity *le'u*. Pa'i became the leader of the war ritual. From then on the Nai Ol Bota *le'u* possessed powers which made warriors successful in headhunting, and the Fenai *le'u* of Sanam became the *le'u* which cured diseases (*fenai* = female spouse). Hence there is a masculine *le'u* for war with a *mnane* of its own, and a feminine *le'u* for curing diseases also with its own *mnane*. It is clear, then, that

---

[44] Kruyt, 1921, p. 421.
[45] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 6; 1939, pp. 69 and 79.
[46] *Op. cit.,* p. 69. See p. 125 above.

a war *mnane* has extremely close connections with the *meo* — so close, in fact, that Heijmering [47] calls the leader of the war ritual also *meo*.

The primary meaning of the word *meo* is "cat"; in its secondary meaning it denotes the warrior who has taken at least one head. In Tetun the word *meo* has the same double meaning. In keeping with the Atoni's predilection for parallelism, the *meo* is also sometimes called "dog" (*asu*). When a head speaks of his warriors he refers to them as *in asu, in meo* (his dog, his cat). *Mat-meo* is an honorific term for a *meo*. Middelkoop [48] suggests that this means that he has eyes (*mata*) that are dangerous because the *meo* is associated with the *le'u* sphere. By means of the war ritual the *meo* also becomes an *atoni au-besi ma nakfatu* (= lit. a man with a body of iron and a head of stone — in other words, he has become invulnerable).

The *meo naek*'s attire was the expression of the leader's courage and glory. There is an excellent description by Heijmering [49] of the costume of a *meo naek* of Amfoan. He wore a red and white checked kerchief embroidered by his wife with gold-thread and adorned with small gold and silver discs which flashed in the sun with every movement of his head. They were probably suspended from the silver comb on the right side in his head. (See photograph 2.) The top of this comb consists of a silver crescent (*noin funan*) or a silver horn (*noin sunan*). These names denote growth, as symbolized by the waxing moon, and power and courage, as symbolized by the horns of the buffalo. Kruyt's [50] observation that the latter is probably the original symbolism of the ornament is irrelevant. In East Sumba [51] we also find a gold ornament in the shape of a buffalo horn which is worn on the forehead; but in Timor this ornament is associated with the moon as well. This crescent or horn frequently has three prongs, the meaning of which is not (or no longer) known. The three-pronged moon or horn also features on the hilt of the sword.[52] According to Heijmering the latter had seven prongs, the longest one in the centre. See photograph 10, where the middle prong is replaced by a bird which is obviously stylized, like the Indonesian *garuda*.

The *meo* further wore a scarlet jacket with gilt buttons and with flowers embroidered in gold at the hem. His white belt was covered

---

[47] Heijmering, 1846, p. 205.
[48] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 8.
[49] Heijmering, 1846, p. 210. See photograph 2.
[50] Kruyt, 1921, p. 446.
[51] Sumba 1965, p. 11.
[52] See photograph Middelkoop, 1963, p. 423, and photograph 25.

with silver and gold discs and fastened with a clasp at the back. In photograph 25 the silver discs on the cartridge pouches attached to the belt are clearly visible. He had seven of his upper and seven of his lower teeth covered with gold. Around his neck he wore twenty to thirty strings of coral beads interspersed with silver and gold beads. As we have seen, these coral beads constitute the most important part of the bridewealth by means of which a woman, who is a *smanaf* (= soul, life), may be obtained for the *nono* of the group. Perhaps the *meo*'s wearing strings of coral beads is symbolic of the fact that he also introduces a human being into the *nono* of his community. This supposition seems tenable in the light of the story according to which refugees from Amfoan saved their lives by handing over their strings of coral beads.[53] His muzzle-loader had silver strips mounted on it and similarly his sword was covered with many such strips. His horse was covered with a red cloth which came halfway down to its tail and almost touched the ground. On the top of its head, between its ears, it wore a silver, three-pronged crescent mounted with small red and white tufts. The rest of the horse's adornments consisted of brass bells, Chinese red horse-hair on its bridle and reins, and four silver shin-guards which were open at the back and tied with cords to its body and legs. Clearly such adornment made escape impossible for "the princely horseman". But according to Heijmering "an Amfoan prince never retreats". Clearly the chief *usif*, the second most important man of the realm of Amfoan, here is the war leader.

In one of Middelkoop's [54] stories we find a rather extraordinary and difficult to explain reference to the special, mystical tie linking the *meo* to his victim. After the head of one of Sonba'i's men had been taken the warriors assembled in the huts constructed for the *meo* outside the enclosing fence encircling the village, saying, "We sat with heat — *haim tok nok maputu* (i.e. in the *le'u* sphere) — and inquired into the cause (*lasi*) of his death." And then the *meo* or some other person says on behalf of the dead man: "My companion (*au bia*) raged against me, thundered against me with a furious sword and with a furious rifle." Now the word *bia* is often used in parallelism with *benu* (= friend); and the term *au bian, au benu*, for instance, is used to denote a person's relationship to his totem. Therefore the rendering of *bia* with "companion" is too weak. Middelkoop freely translates it with "counterpart".

---

[53] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 233.
[54] *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

This is a very good characterization, as it expresses the extremely strong bond between the Atoni and his totem. This totem is associated with the origin of his clan, and the connected taboos (*nuni*) daily remind him of this bond. It is with the same word that the tie between the *meo* and the enemy he has killed is expressed. After the headhunting raid the head which he has taken is addressed by him with words of reconciliation in this atmosphere.

The above shows how closely the *meo* is connected with the sacred sphere of the *le'u musu*. All the more reason why Cunningham's characterization of warfare as a "secular pursuit" is incorrect.[55]

In conclusion we would make an observation on the extraordinary phenomenon of referring to *masculine* and *feminine* great warriors (*meo feto* and *meo mone*). I have heard this distinction being made several times but have never been given an explanation for it. According to an early report [56] *meo* who are the sons of a sister and brother are *mone* and *feto* in respect of each other. This is the usual social relationship between bride-giving and bride-receiving groups. Middelkoop also thinks in terms of an affinal relationship in this connection. Of course this may well apply in certain cases, but it does not explain why there should *always* be *meo feto* and *meo mone* unless there is a fixed unilateral connubium between these groups. But in view of the total social structure this is not likely. An additional difficulty is that the *meo* are invariably referred to as *monef-atonif* (= masculine men). Their place in the classificatory system is on the active, masculine side. The matter is far from clear. But for the very reason that this particular relationship does not on the face of it fit in with our classification, special attention should be given to it.

Middelkoop [57] gives an extraordinary example (the only one he gives, for the rest) of this *meo feto* - *meo mone* relationship. The name of the *le'u musu* of *meo mone* Nai Banoet is *le'u* Nai Humusu, Lord Sword-Grass. It was originally called Nai Oe Nono, Lord Source-bed,[58] i.e. lord of the spring which brings fertility and which supplies so much water as to feed a permanent brook. As spring water flows from the earth it is associated with the earth. The *meo naek* Nai Toto is also connected with this *le'u,* as Toto decreed that if the bearer of this *le'u*

---

[55] Cunningham, 1962, p. 143.
[56] Report by Koopmans, 1917, p. 66.
[57] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 144 ff.
[58] *Nono* here means bed (of a river etc.). *Nanono* means to steer something onto the right course.

musu shot someone dead not he himself, but another man had to take the victim's head. Toto also had a *le'u musu* of his own, called Nai Hin, Nai Bona, the names of his ancestor spirits who infuse its particular power into this *le'u* (*hin* = to know). The Toto clan is divided into two halves: Toto Molo and Toto Metan (= the yellow and the black Toto, the colours associated with death and the night respectively).

The name of the *le'u musu* of *meo feto* Nai Tualaka is *le'u* Nai Boes Nome (= lord of the morning star plant, a plant with leaves that shine like the morning star [59] which fades at the break of day). Sometimes the *le'u* is even referred to as *bi* (= woman), just as Nai Tnesib's *le'u* is called Bi Nau and another *le'u* is called Nai Fenai (= lord female spouse [60]) — this is a fertility *le'u* or a *le'u nono,* however.

When the *meo feto* had taken a head he would hand it over to the *meo mone.* Middelkoop quotes the following dialogue between the two. Tualaka, the *meo feto,* addressing the *le'u* of Banoet, the *meo mone,* says: "Nai Humusu, you hero (*pae*) indeed we like a fine-faced man" (i.e. the head of the decapitated enemy). Then the *meo mone* replies: "I like you, good hero. I am the fire-place, *tunaf,* for meat, I am the fire-place for rice". Then the *meo feto* continues, now addressing his own *le'u*: "Nai Boes Nome, you hero, we like you, man of troops (*antoin nakpasan*)." The *meo feto* then says: "Nai Hin, Nai Bona (the *le'u musu* of Nai Toto), you hero, we like a fine-faced man." *Meo mone* then says: "I like you, good hero. I am kerchief, I am shoulder-cloth, I am rope and I am (small) basket." The *meo feto* is said to do his headhunting by day, moreover.

So we have here a total reversal of the usual classificatory relationships. *Mone* here is associated with the fire-place, the belt, the rope and the (small) basket; with the rice harvest and the meat and rice offerings, with the spring and hence the earth, with the kerchief (*pilu*) and the shoulder-cloth (*beti*), which, together with the belt (*tani*) are the bride's presents to the groom at marriage. And the *meo mone* is associated with the earth and with the colours of death and night (yellow and black respectively). He himself does not perform the actual act of taking a head, which is nevertheless pre-eminently the task of the *monef atonif,* the masculine man. The *meo feto,* on the other hand, is associated with all that is masculine. He is the "man of troops", i.e.

---

[59] According to Middelkoop *nome* is a metathetical form of *mone*; *faifnome* in that case means "boar" (*fafi mone*).

[60] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 215.

the hero (*pae*) who whenever he catches sight of a band of enemies rushes in to take their heads. He does this by day "in the sun" (*nok manas*) — in other words, he is associated with the day.

The *meo* is *maputu, melala*: the burning one, the fiery one. Heat and flames are symbolic of danger, disease and death. But the objective of headhunting is the welfare of the community, its "coolness" (*mainikin - oetene*), for the head taken is incorporated in the *meo*'s community, as we shall see below — it is a *nitu* (death spirit) which is added to the victor's clan.

This is analogous to the procedure which we observed in agriculture: first the field has to be burnt down so that later it may produce food; first it is rendered hot (*maputu*), i.e. dangerous, so that later it may bring forth coolness (*mainikin*), i.e. well-being, welfare. The fertility of the soil and the domestic fire belong to the feminine category. Therefore the work of the *monef-atonif* (masculine man) is in a sense feminine — it is a special kind of harvesting. That is why there is an apparently total reversal of the usual order in warfare.

A man may become a *meo* by taking the head of one of the enemies. Though *meo*-ship is not hereditary, certain lineages, especially most of the lineages of heads, are expected to produce *pae* who will become *meo*. Even Uis Senak, the acting raja of Miomafo until 1947, the *atupas* of the four *usif* of Bikomi, was himself a *meo,* although it was not clear from what he said whether he himself had ever taken a head — probably because if he had he felt somewhat embarrassed about this in respect of the government official. Or possibly because by virtue of his function as *usif* he had had to act as leader of headhunting raids, though in actual fact he was no more than a *meo baun* (*baun* = helper), i.e. someone allowed in return for payment to hold a head that had been taken by another man, or a *meo ana* (*ana* = child, small), i.e. someone who only accompanies an expedition.

In some cases cutting the enemy's hair was sufficient; this was done if the enemy was taken prisoner and kept as a slave. Kruyt [61] gives an example of two villages waging war on each other over some issue of land tenure after the Netherlands East Indies Government had prohibited headhunting, so that out of fear of the Government the warriors restricted themselves to cutting their enemies' hair. This way they could become *meo* and put the enemy to shame just the same.

---

[61] Kruyt, 1923, p. 437.

Not only are most heads expected to be *pae* and thus become *meo,* but there are particular clans which are *meo* in accordance with the structure of the political community. Even men from these *meo naek* lineages become acknowledged *meo* only after they have taken a head, however. Such lineages often live up to their reputation by producing outstanding *meo* — the fame of the Pit'ai of Fatule'u was widespread, for instance. But this does not mean that other clans could not become equally famous. The enumeration of four *meo naek* in Insana (or four times four, as Cunningham was told) rather implies that particular clans are *meo naek* clans, while others, also arranged in groups of four under the influence of the Atoni's thinking in terms of quadrupartition, may also be famous *meo naek*. There also exists the term *meo lopo,* which has approximately the same meaning as *meo ana* but places rather more emphasis on the ordinary *lopo* (hamlet) which has produced a *meo*.[62]

We should posit that the basic principle of *meo*-ship was that a young man's circumcision constituted a kind of initiation to marriage as well as to *meo*-ship, as will become clear from the headhunting ritual. This norm was probably never completely realized, but the fact that it was possible to become a *meo* merely by holding the head which had been taken by another man, or even by holding the sword used for this purpose, seems to indicate that it was a generally widespread one. In this context it should be noted that there were certain groups which were denied the right to become *meo*. I have so far not been able to discover the backgrounds of this.

The Headhunting Raid

When all the necessary preparations had been made one last matter to which attention had to be given was the flight of the owl and that of the parrot.[63] People generally apprehend the cry of the owl and will not leave their houses when it is heard.[64] In the case of a headhunting raid it similarly announces danger and death, but in this case for the enemy. This is another example of the way in which the normal order is reversed in the "heat" of the enmity *le'u* sphere — that which

---

[62] Müller, 1857, II, p. 236, on the other hand, considers the *meo lopo* to be equivalent to the *meo naek*.

[63] *Nus*; Indon. *nuri*. A *nus* is associated with the spirits of the deceased (*nitu*) who have died long ago, and the *fini kliu* with the *nitu* of the recently deceased.

[64] Cf. Smit, 1929, p. 197.

forebodes evil during peace time is regarded as a propitious omen during war time. It is an inauspicious omen if the owl does *not* fly towards the warriors from the direction of the enemy, but it is a very encouraging sign [65] if it does. Everyone chants in unison: "The *nono* comes. Come, receive Thy meat and Thy rice"; these foodstuffs are meanwhile hurriedly scattered. The *le'u nono* is the community's fertility *le'u,* which will be strengthened by the head to be taken, as the owl has announced. If the raid is to take place in the daytime the parrot has the same function. If a community was preparing to attack a village by surprise it would usually set out at night and launch a surprise attack on the village at daybreak, at the fading of the morning star. All the inhabitants of the Rotinese settlement of Nunkurus, for instance, were massacred by Amanuban [66] in this way in 1847.

Fighting methods varied widely. The weapons used were rifles (usually muzzle-loaders), swords and sometimes lances, although the latter were more commonly used for stag-hunting. The Atoni did not use shields or bows and arrows — there are no words for these in their vocabulary. Usually they would lie in wait for the enemy. Sometimes an ambush was laid. In a story recorded by Middelkoop [67] we read how on one occasion first a bamboo cylinder was placed just outside the enemy's village by way of *le'u.* A little further from the village an ordinary warrior (*meo ana*) stood with a bamboo cylinder filled with blood. When the enemy shot at him he flung himself down on the ground and let the blood trickle out of the cylinder to make a trail, and then took flight, running until he had passed the spot where the *meo naek* were lying in wait. In his pursuit the enemy first stepped across the *le'u,* thereby rushing headlong to his own destruction — for he then ran straight into the ambush and was attacked from all sides.

If a soldier was wounded and could not escape he would lie face down on the ground, thus awaiting the final blow.[68] This was the worst disgrace that could befall an Atoni. On a punitive expedition against Amanuban led by Resident Hazaart in 1818, the former took the auxiliary troops of the Dutch from Amfoan by surprise. In the fighting which ensued a man was hit in the leg by a bullet and was

---

[65] Heijmering, 1846, p. 207.
[66] D., 1851, p. 157.
[67] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 113.
[68] Heijmering, 1846, p. 220.

unable to run away. When his son saw this he rode up to the spot where he was standing and with one blow of his sword struck off his head. The son was hailed with cheers and shouts of approval by his companions because he had spared his father the disgrace of having his head impaled and having his *nitu* incorporated in the enemy's community.[69]

When one or two of the warriors had fallen, his companions would take to flight.[70] When the heads had been taken and the corpses looted the cry of victory was raised twice. The looting of the corpse was almost as important as the taking of the head, as the *meo* was richly adorned with strings of coral beads and silver discs — the articles paid as bridewealth to the bride-giving group in return for a woman, a *smanaf,* by means of which a source of new life could be incorporated in the bride-receiving group.

There is a story in which Molo set out to attack Amfoan with the aid of Amanuban. A few men slipped down from their horses and poured goats' blood all over the ground. In a blinding rage the men from Amfoan followed the trail of blood and fell into an ambush. All those who ran in the direction of Toto (a *meo naek* of Molo) were killed and their heads taken. But those who took flight in the direction of the men from Amanuban managed to escape with their lives by offering their strings of coral beads as ransom.[71]

Sometimes larger-scale, better organized campaigns were conducted in wars between princedoms. In a battle against hordes of robbers from Amanuban Molo once marched against the enemy in four groups by night.[72] Similarly Amanuban once set out on a campaign with 500-600 horsemen in 1822.[73] And according to the myth of origin of the house of Abineno of Amarasi from Harneno, in the north-east of Beboki, the Usif Kono and Oematan went to the aid of their sisters (*feto*), the lords of Beboki and Insana, in their battle against Harneno.[74] Similarly Oematan and Kono once marched together against Taebenu in Amfoan when the latter was accused of cattle raiding and the murder of an Oematan.[75]

It is impossible to say anything definite in respect of wars in which

---

[69] Müller, 1857, II, p. 249. Cf. Heymering, 1846, p. 218.
[70] As in Belu; cf. Mathijsen, 1895, p. 59.
[71] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 231.
[72] *Op. cit.,* p. 215.
[73] Müller, 1857, II, p. 217.
[74] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 299.
[75] R., 1855, pp. 405-410.

various princedoms formed alliances against others, because the large-scale wars waged during the past few centuries had much to do with the foreigners who had settled on the coasts of Timor, and therefore are partly beyond the scope of the autochthonous structures.[76] The large number of traditions concerning ancient alliances may justify the assumption that long ago princedoms could unite to wage war against each other, albeit that most conflicts probably amounted to no more than small-scale conflicts between neighbouring areas. We must refrain from making definite statements in this regard, as we know nothing of the functioning of the large princedom of Liurai-Sonba'i before it was conquered by the Topasses in 1642. But it is clear from the whole of the background of warfare that there must always have been head-hunting raids. The fact that the Atoni makes a distinction between a "wild" and a "tame" enemy (*musu fui* and *musu aem*) can be regarded as evidence for this. Molo's war with Amfoan, for instance, was a war against a *musu fui,* while the battle waged by Nai Toto, a *meo naek* of Molo, against Nai Mela, one of Sonba'i's *amaf naek* in Molo, is regarded as a battle against a *musu aem.*[77]

This distinction is made in the ritual performed preparatory to the raid. For example, after the theft of a horse in Molo by Amanuban it was determined by divination whether the enemy was going to be a "wild" or a "tame" one.[78] If he turned out to be a "wild" enemy then they had to tie silver bells and strips with black hair to their legs, and if he turned out to be "tame" they had to tie red bands around their legs and fan the fire. This implies that an investigation was being made to ascertain whether the headhunting raid that was to avenge the theft of the horse was going to be confined to the two parties concerned or would lead to total war between the two princedoms.

The Ritual Following the Headhunting Raid

As soon as the head had been taken with the aid of the *le'u* sword, which had been brought from the *le'u* shrine, the *meo* would address

---

[76] Ten Kate (1894, p. 286), for example, was presented with two heads on his expedition through Timor. They were a gift from the Queen of Amfoan and had been taken during a Dutch expedition to Flores, for which Amfoan had made available auxiliary troops. The Dutch, Topasses and Portuguese fought their battles with the assistance of the Timorese for centuries this way — as a reward the Timorese were allowed to keep the heads they had taken.

[77] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 221 ff., 237 ff.

[78] *Op. cit.,* p. 287.

it with the following words of conciliation: "Brother-in-law, how is it possible? It was of your own will that you came to fetch me, that I should come and we two should meet; well then, sleep by yourself. With whom shall I have fellowship? I am very cold (*au mainiki mate*)." Or: "O brother-in-law, actually we did not mean to meet and find each other, but it is on account of your chief (*nakaf*), who turned you into a cat (*meo*) and a civet-cat (*metan*); well then, I grasp you, I hold you in my hand. I have no war cry, no dispute (*lasi*); I have a war cry with heaven and earth, I have a war formula with heaven and earth. I shoot foolishly. I behead foolishly. When you go by day we shall meet and find each other; when you go by night we shall meet and find each other; you cat (*meo*), you have become known, you civet-cat (*metan*), you have become clearly known." Hence the cat is associated with heaven and the civet-cat with the earth: "the cat (*meo*) came down from heaven, the civet-cat, *meo metan,* came out of the earth." [79] Another part of this conciliatory ritual was the lament raised when the head was being brought to the *le'u* shrine.[80] Reconciliation was necessary because the head was going to be incorporated in the community's own *nono.*

When the head had been taken the war formula was repeated loudly once more in order to explain the reasons for engaging in battle. Then the heads were lashed with belts to poles carried across the shoulders. They were never carried by the *meo* himself but by his "younger brother", who was then also allowed to style himself *meo.* After this the triumphant homeward journey would begin, under continual singing of the war chant. A messenger was sent ahead to the *meo*'s village. The *meo* himself was brought to a leaf hut outside the village if the head he had taken was his first. Each *meo* had his own hut. If the expedition had been a large-scale one, organized by the ruler or conducted on his orders, the men would first to go him and circle around his *le'u* shrine three times and offer sacrifices. As this was being done an old woman sat on the ground with the heads in her lap. The *meo* then shouted: "I, brave son of (here follows the name of the princedom), it was with pleasure that I proceeded into battle." The prince would reply to this: "Welcome, younger brother (*olif*)." The heads were then placed on a stone before the ruler, who kicked them four

---

[79] *Op. cit.,* pp. 117, 217, 207 respectively. *Meo metan* was the war formula used once in a conflict between Amanuban and Molo. In the dialogue between the *meo feto* and the *meo mone* this conciliatory character also becomes apparent.

[80] Cf. Müller, 1857, II, p. 254.

times, kicking them off the stone the fourth time. Only then was the *meo* allowed to put his *le'u* sword back in its sheath. Then he was conducted to the hut.[81] In the village all the necessary preparations were now made. The *meo*'s wife, or if he were still single, his parents, would get his *meo* attire ready for him during this time. This consisted of, among other things, a waist-band, a woven cloth, a kerchief and a *sirih pinang* purse. These are the feminine articles with which his bride will also present him before marriage.

During the time spent by the *meo* in the hut it was taboo for him to eat cooked food. He could only eat raw food: roasted corn and raw vegetables.[82] It was not permitted for a woman to bring him this unless she passed herself off as a slave. She would hang the food in a tree and the *meo* would hang the empty cooking-pot back in the tree, where the boy could fetch it back. Here again there is some evidence of a connection between initiation to *meo*ship and circumcision. During and after circumcision too, as long as the boys remained outside the village (i.e. until the wound had healed) no woman was allowed to approach them. The man who joined a headhunting raid similarly had to abstain from all contact with women, even if he were married, from the moment he first participated in the preparatory ritual.

During this period of waiting the heads were prepared. The brains were removed, of which sometimes the *meo* would eat part, or rub his chest with the substance. Or sometimes part of a neck muscle was eaten. This was done in order to absorb the enemy's *smanaf* or vital force.[83] The purpose of removing the brains was to mark the speedy, violent transition from life to death which the victim had undergone, and to separate the sphere of life from that of death. As the victim's life had ebbed away from him his brains, the quintessence of life, had to be extracted before the dead man (*nitu*), represented by his skull, could be incorporated in the *nono* of the community. A hole was drilled in the skull and then the head was smoked above a fire until the flesh had dried out completely.

When these preparations, as well as those in the village, had been completed, the gongs were brought to the huts of the young *meo*. To the accompaniment of the beating of these gongs by the women the men came from the village to fetch the young *meo* and all would go to

---

[81] Cf. Müller, 1857, II, pp. 251 ff.

[82] Middelkoop 1963, p. 181. Cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1965, p. 21. Raw and roasted foods are classified together. See triangle p. 28 (Lévi-Strauss).

[83] Sobe Senak, the acting raja of Miomafo, had done so himself.

the *le'u* shrine together. Rifles were fired while the war formula was constantly reiterated and a lament sung for the dead man. As they arrived at the *le'u* shrine they were welcomed with loud cheering. A virgin dressed up as *meo,* holding a tall sugar cane in her hands, approached the young *meo.*[84] Holding the cane by its leafy end she would dance, together with the senior *meo,* until she reached the young *meo,* who would take hold of the cane by its roots. Then she pulled him into the compound surrounding the *le'u* shrine and danced four times with him around the pole on which the head was to be impaled (see photograph 1). The lord of the *le'u* carried a wooden hook in his hand "which he hitched into the skull" which was held by another person. Together they would thus walk four times around the altar, whereupon the skull was placed on a stone in front of the altar. Then the skull was placed back in the lap of one of the women and its hair combed. A new wooden comb was thrust into its hair. Forming a closed circle and holding each other by their shoulder-cloths everyone would walk four times around the woman and the shrine.[85] Middelkoop[86] describes how an old woman would carry four baskets filled with cooked meat and rice and say: "These three are ordinary baskets (*atupa mliafin*) but this one is a *nono* basket. All the *meo* have to come and gather around it and eat from it." Then she would place this basket in her lap and the *meo* would sit around her and eat out of her lap. The other three baskets contained food for the other participants of the ritual. The head was also offered a betel quid and then meat and rice. After the meal the leader of the ritual and the senior *meo* placed some silver coins in the basket. The former would thereupon strike the basket four times with a sword. Then he would place the basket on the woman's head and back in her lap, saying: "People and subjects, buffaloes and horses, silver and coral beads, yellow and white cloths, slaves and skulls are complete." Then the new *meo* was presented with a new belt and a *sirih* purse. The *le'u* sword was now suspended from the only pillar of the *le'u* shrine, which was in its centre, and the skull impaled on a stake outside it, as it was taboo to bring a skull inside the shrine. Following this a round dance (*bone nakaf*)[87] was performed

---

[84] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 98 ff. There is mention elsewhere (p. 187) of a bundle of three stalks. Middelkoop, 1949, supplies a photograph (no. 6) of two women who as girls had conducted *meo* into the compound of the *le'u* shrine this way.

[85] Heijmering, 1846, p. 220.

[86] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 103 ff.

[87] *Op. cit.,* pp. 30, 193, *bonet* - round-dance; *nakaf* - head.

in front of the head, to the accompaniment of songs which were sung four times. This dance was performed three nights in succession, each time to the accompaniment of different songs. The *meo* were then "made pure" again.[88]

The meaning of all of these symbolic acts is no longer clear and the Atoni is able to offer only a partial explanation for them, although he is fully aware of their general purport. The ritual performed after a headhunting raid has two objectives according to the Atoni: the incorporation of the head taken into the *nono* circle of the community and the changing of the sphere of "burning and flames" (*maputa, malala*) into one of "coolness and cold" (*mainikin, oetene*). As the Atoni expresses it, the head is incorporated into the *nono* of the community (*nanono nakaf*),[89] which literally means "to make the head *nono*." The closed circle (*nono*) formed around it and the *le'u* shrine is symbolic of this. Needless to say, this does not signify an increase in the *smanaf* of the community, as the victim is dead. It is rather a *nitu*, or death spirit that is added to the community, of which both the dead and the living form an integral part. The heads are integrated into the community as *nitu* just as slaves are added to it as live persons. That is why slaves and skulls are mentioned together in the senior *meo*'s speech.

The hooked implement (*kait*) which was hitched into the skull by the lord of the *le'u* symbolizes most graphically the incorporation of the head into the community. The first plants of the harvest were similarly gathered into the *le'u* house as offerings with the aid of the same hook, which is then referred to by the parallel word *lolu*. This offering is called "head of the corn, head of the rice" (*pena nakan, ane nakan*). And in the mortuary ritual there is a reference to the *lolu* Uis Neno, *tanu* Uis Neno. It is the harvesting-hook with which Tae Neno ma Banfena sets out to gather in the harvest for Uis Neno.[90] The meaning of the name Tae Neno ma Banfena is not clear.

We see from the above how intimately life and death, *smanaf* and *nitu*, are bound up with each other. Just as the increase of life (*smanaf*), or of corn and rice, is represented during the harvest sacrifice as an increase in the number of skulls (*nakaf*) gathered in with the aid of the harvesting-hook, similarly the slain enemies are regarded as an increase in the number of skulls (*nakaf*), though this time in the group of the deceased (*nitu*) to which the ancestors (*nitu*) also belong. The latter

---

[88] *Op. cit.*, p. 138.
[89] *Op. cit.*, p. 184.
[90] Middelkoop, 1949, pp. 31, 33.

were transferred to the "other side" in the same manner by Tae Neno with the aid of the same harvesting-hook.

As we have already indicated, the secondary purpose of the ritual following the headhunting raid is to restore the *meo* to the sphere of coolness. Both spheres are clearly separated, but in such a way that they nevertheless belong to each other and each is the other's complement.

The ritual of consecration held in preparation of war releases the *le'u musu* and introduces a period of "heat", in which the *le'u nono,* which should here be interpreted as the sacred circle of progenitive power, is put out of action. Sexual intercourse was taboo for the *meo.* Nor could agricultural rites take place during this time — the customary season for headhunting raids was always the dry season. During the "cooling down" ritual held after the raid the *meo* are transferred back into the *le'u nono,* which then begins to operate once more. The position is such that the entire raid has contributed to a better functioning of the *le'u nono.* On the *meo*'s return the basket of cooked meat and cooked rice is held by a woman, woman being the symbol of fertility, of the soil and of cooked food. This marks the end of the period of seclusion in the hut and of a forced diet of uncooked leaves.

We also have here some evidence for the close connection between circumcision and initiation, and between war and marriage, a connection of which the Atoni is no longer aware. After circumcision there is a similar period of isolation outside the village; then follows the headhunting raid. Then another period of isolation in a hut outside the village which is emphatically stated to have been constructed especially for the new *meo.* Because the raid and the attainment of *meo*ship is at the same time a preparation for marriage, the *meo* is pulled to the *le'u* house by a virgin holding the green, leafy end of a sugar-cane in her hands. Then the harvest of the *nakaf* is gathered in. Now the young *meo* is ready to re-enter the sphere of the *le'u nono.* This still takes place in the sphere of "heat" with its reversal of the usual order — hence the virgin is dressed up as a man, as a *meo.* It is still the *le'u nono* of war that is concerned here. Only when the peace-making ritual has been performed has the normal order been definitely restored.

The Conclusion of Peace

Usually impartial mediators were sought who might conduct the peace negotiations. They are the men "of level head and of level

shoulders." [91] After a war between the heads of Molo and the heads of Amanuban, Nai Mela, Sonba'i's *amaf naek* and traditional bride-giver, was one such mediator. The latter sent a man to the independent, formerly Portuguese territory of Noimuti, on which both Molo and Amanuban border. There the envoy met Nai Leon Tasoni. The meaning of Tasoni is: "we separate the combatants", and hence this may lead us to assume the possible existence of appointed conciliators, although I have not come across anything like this in Insana. More likely the name was a nickname for the man because he had acted as conciliator before. Together they went to Amanuban and Molo to request that "the dog's teeth and the spikes of the *gebang* palm leaf stalk be cast away." [92] Then they met on the border, where a barrier had been constructed. Heijmering [93] reports a structure of two poles inserted in the ground with transverse wooden bars or pieces of string strung horizontally between them in this connection. Then the *meo naek* of both parties cut through the barrier. Buffalo milk was poured out as an oblation and they kissed and embraced each other as a sign "that their blood had now cooled off."

At the conclusion of peace between Sonba'i and Amfoan which came about through the mediation of a Dutch envoy from Kupang in 1870, both parties also stood facing each other — the *meo* with loaded rifles and beside them a man with a silver disc and another with a bamboo cylinder filled with water. The *meo* each took a mouthful of water and spat it out as they fired their rifles and the silver disc was flung away. This peace-making ritual was called "the extinguishing of the fire." [94]

Middelkoop [95] has recorded a long story as related to him by a *meo naek* who had been present once at the conclusion of peace between Molo and Amanuban. This was attended by a number of heads, though no princes were present; but they nevertheless referred to themselves as "moon of Banam (Amanuban) and sun of Banam, moon of Oenam (Molo) and sun of Oenam", in spite of the fact that these epithets are normally reserved for the ruler — the heads were his representatives.

The two parties stood facing each other with in between them two medicine-men, one from Amanuban and one from Molo, each holding a large branch and an altar stone. They also carried bamboo cylinders

---

[91] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 77; *fuf hal ma haun hala.*
[92] *Op. cit.*, p. 65.
[93] Heijmering, 1846, p. 222.
[94] Gramsberg, 1872, p. 195.
[95] Middelkoop, 1963, pp. 156-167.

filled with water containing two *usapi* leaves.[96] Here the war formula was to be erased. Behind them stood the heads with their followers. Now a sacrifice was offered.

The *le'u* was addressed with the words:

> "Come, fetch rice, moon rice, moon hulled rice;[97]
> eat and drink; eat Thy fill and be sated
> in order that Thou mayest withdraw the hot, burning speech of Banam, the hot, burning speech[98] of Oenam.
> Thou art the white *le'u*, black *le'u*, *le'u* with face and eyes.[99]
> Thou, hair and down of Mutis and Babnain (i.e. Molo),
> sacrificial rock, altar rock of Mutis and Babnain,
> Thou bone and heartwood[100] of Mutis and Babnain.
> Verily I will not let Thee wither or wilt.
> I hold Thee in order to retract the hot speech (*fefa*) of Banam and Oenam.
> I hold Thee in order to retract the hot message (*hana*) of Banam and Oenam,
> in order that the wildcat (*meo*) may take it with him in passing,
> in order that the civet-cat may take it in passing;
> in order that the door be purified, the way be purified,
> that the people of Banam may go and return.
> Let Banam be a resting-place for birds, confluent waters.
> Let Oenam be a resting-place for birds, confluent waters.
> Let there be no lake, no fence, no hedge."

Then the branches were cast away, one to the left and one to the right. Thereupon the medicine-men took the *usapi* leaves in their hands and wiped the men's mouths with them. The men then spat on the ground, saying: "I spit out my *le'u* speech, my *le'u* message, my hot speech, my hot voice, ... the speech cannot but be cold, the message cannot but be cold." Then the leaves were cast away. But the stone was still being held, and was addressed as follows: "Thou sacrificial stone, Thou altar stone ..... take and carry off the speech and the message of Amanuban, the speech and the message of Molo to the deep, black sea, the deep, black lake." Then the stones were flung away. Water was sprinkled on the spot where the sacrifice was to be offered. A mouthful of water was taken and spat out, with the words: "I spit

---

[96] *Schleichera oleosa*; Indon. *kusambi*.

[97] *Aklau funan*. Perhaps because it takes place by night.

[98] *Fefa* - mouth; later on the phrase *fefa a hana* (= mouth and voice) occurs. It is a designation for the cause of the dispute.

[99] *Le'u* here refers to the sacrificial beast, a black and white animal, i.e. the colours for guilt and purification respectively.

[100] The wooden altar pole is placed between the altar stones.

out for good and spit out completely the *le'u* speech, the *le'u* message, the speech of dispute, the message of dispute; the speech has assuredly been made cold, the message has assuredly been made cold."

Finally each of the *mnane* took the branch with the *usapi* leaves and beat the mouths of the men of both parties with it; then they beat the earth with it and beat it in the direction of the sky, saying: "I beat Uis Pah on the mouth in order that it be shut and closed. I beat Uis Neno on the mouth in order that it be shut and closed." This means that the gods of heaven and earth will thenceforth be silent about the dispute — it no longer exists. The heads rubbed noses in accordance with the Timorese custom, and offered each other betel, and their subjects did likewise. Thus "the fire was extinguished", the land "made cool again". It was even said that "the land was turned into a woman (*pah anbifeën*)"; the *le'u musu* associated with the masculine principle was put away in the *le'u* house again and the *le'u nono* associated with the feminine, which had been out of action during the period of warfare, came back into operation once more. The usual order had been restored.

As an Atoni once said: "When we had hunted a head, we became the counterpart (*bian*) of the head; that is why they made us the counterpart of our wives again, that we should marry our wives again." [101] That is why they were offered betel in the same manner as during the marriage ceremony. As the attainment of manhood is the background of the attainment of *meo*ship, it is not surprising that other young men, who have not themselves taken a head, desired to become *meo* by touching the head or the *le'u* sword with which it had been struck off. For actually it was a condition for the attainment of manhood and for marriage. Only he who is married is a man, *atoni* — before marriage he is a boy. Similarly only he who has become a *meo* is a man, a brave (*pae*). Hence the headhunting raid and marriage, death and life, are inseparably linked together. War and death are a condition for life and marriage.

The connection between war and marriage is also expressed in another, altogether different way. For the climax of the peace-making ritual was marked by a promise by the two princedoms or the two princes involved to exchange brides.

For instance, once when Amanuban and Molo concluded peace Bi Kono Oematan, the sister of Oematan, married Nitibani, the *amaf naek* of Amanuban, and Bi Nopo Nitibani, the sister of Nai Kolo

---

[101] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 107.

Nitibani, married "Oenam".[102] To all appearances this is an exchange of sisters, which it may well have been, although it is not recorded whether the *sister* of the Nitibani in question married an Oematan, as only the name Oenam is mentioned. It is interesting to note that these women have names designating the unitary whole of their respective princedoms. Bi Kono Oematan designates the whole of the realm of Oenam, i.e. originally the realm of Sonba'i, which had its centre there,[103] while Bi Nope Nitibani refers to the whole of Amanuban, Nope being the name of the royal lineage and Nitibani that of its principal bride-giver. Hence it seems that the two women were called by these names in this instance because they represented their realms at the conclusion of peace.

2. ADMINISTRATION

It is difficult to define the concept "administration" in a Timorese political community. The point in question is the taking of joint decisions within the borders of a particular territory and the preservation of the unity which is thereby given expression. The territorial unity of the princedoms is clearly perceptible, and their borders are fixed; but it is less apparent whether the people inhabiting that territory form a homogeneous administrative unit. The unity of a territory becomes manifest at the presentation of harvest gifts. All groups are then expected to bring these compulsory harvest gifts to the palace of the ruler in the centre of the realm together. This did not always happen in practice, but it is a clear-cut norm. If it was not adhered to, and different groups — e.g. the two sub-territories of the realm of Insana — came separately, this was an unmistakable sign of a major internal conflict and a weakening of the ruler's authority.

The ruler has a powerful weapon in his envoys (*kabu*[104]), recognizable by the rattan staffs (*uel*) which they are allowed to carry and with which they may beat disloyal subjects. This they do often and with obvious relish, that is, if their master's authority permits them to do so. Hence their name *ana' uel* (= he who holds a staff), the staff being the symbol of authority; the ruler is also referred to as *ana' uel,* the staff in this case being the sceptre. Not only the ruler, but also the *usif* and the *amaf naek* have their envoys. The latter are usually lower in rank than the *kabu* and are called *hake* (= messenger). *Kabu* were employed to carry messages and orders between the ruler and the heads. The

[102] *Op. cit.,* p. 77.
[103] See pp. 264, 274 above.
[104] From the Port. *cabo* = sergeant. The Timorese word is *hake.*

ruler's envoy was allowed to address lesser heads only via the *usif* and *amaf naek,* and was accompanied by their *hake*; or the order was transmitted by the *usif* by means of their own messengers. Messages with regard to administration usually pertained to such matters as repairs to or the renovation of the palace and its precincts. Normally this did not amount to much, except in the case of a great ruler who had a large number of wives — Sonba'i had sixty in Heijmering's time, each of whom had her own house. Furthermore, certain groups belonging to the centre had to lay out gardens for the ruler and the other heads in the centre; such gardens also had to be laid out for the *usif.* And all these heads had the right to exact corvee labour of their subjects. Most of the clans had to supply a few of their people in turns in order to render personal services in the *sonaf* of the ruler and the *usif.* This number was only small during the wet season, but was much larger during the dry season, when large numbers of guests were entertained. Their number depended mainly on the position, power and personality of the head concerned. These *abeat* had to guard the *sonaf,* keep its compound clean, fetch water and fire-wood, tend the horses (especially if the *usif* were about to set out on a journey) and render many other small services.

Or labour might be requisitioned for the maintenance of bridle paths. This was only a minor task, however, as there was no travelling during the wet season, and during the dry season the paths were kept firm by constant use. Only if trees had fallen across the paths and obstructed the traffic, or in cases of landslides some work had to be carried out on them; if the worst came to the worst a new track had to be hacked through the timber and undergrowth.

Trade was of prime importance for the administration. In a study of the changes in the political system of Timor the significance of foreign trade will have to be examined at greater depth. The ruler's authority, as that of the heads in general, probably increased greatly as a result of it, as trade was monopolized almost entirely by the ruler, as we may infer from a report (dating back to 1618) by Wang Tsi tsung:

"The market-place is some distance from the town, and whenever a merchant-vessel has arrived, the king comes down from the town, accompanied by his wife and children, his concubines and servants, his suite being rather numerous. Taxes have to be paid daily, but they are not heavy. The natives continually bring sandalwood for bartering with the merchants, but they may not come when the king is not present, for fear of disturbances. Therefore the king is always requested to come first." [105]

[105] Groeneveldt, 1880, p. 117.

The most important administrative act, however, was the collection of harvest gifts. This set the entire administrative machinery in motion, as we have seen in the description of the presentation of harvest gifts in Insana. The messengers are the only functionaries not mentioned there. In the eyes of the lesser heads and the common people who had to pay the taxes these were the actual bearers of authority. Yet these messengers, who were equipped with no other attributes of authority than a wooden stick, were hardly worthy of the name "police force" by means of which the ruler might impose his will through the use of physical coercion.

If an *usif* refused to pay harvest gifts the ruler had to marshal the support of others who had remained loyal to him and try to impose his will by means of a punitive expedition or an internal war. This, however, is no longer a matter pertaining to administration, but belongs under the heading warfare.

It is difficult to assess the quantity and extent of the harvest gifts, because as a result of the new system under the colonial government usually not only the ruler and the *kolnel,* but also the *kapitan* were eliminated.

Müller [106] reports that the gifts of rice and corn comprised approximately one fifth to a quarter of the harvest; this was destined for the ruler as well as the other *usif.* If the taxes were in fact as high as this — and there is no doubt that they were, especially as this is corroborated by statements by elderly Atoni (although these are rather vague) — the figure quoted probably represents the total portion of the harvest which the Atoni had to surrender to his *tobe,* the *tobe naek,* who was entitled to a proportion in his capacity as *kapitan,* to the *usif* and to the ruler, i.e. the palace.

The proportionate share given to each of these was probably the same as their respective shares in the profit yielded by the sale of sandalwood, the ruler receiving 50 % of this, the district head 20 %, the village head 10 % and the men who had felled the trees 20 %. Fiedler [107] quotes the same figures. In respect of Belu and Amanuban he says that the ruler received 20 % if he were powerful enough. A concrete example listed in a Report on the island of Timor [108] is even more eloquent. In an Amanuban village numbering 77 adult male

---

[106] Müller, 1857, II, p. 242.
[107] Fiedler, 1929, p. 73.
[108] Anonymous Report, 1912, p. 115. Nubatonis is one of the *amaf naek* of Amanuban. P. 307 above.

tax-payers (tax = *poni*) approximately 6,000 cobs of corn were surrendered to the village head Kosot Nubatonis, who was *tobe naek* and *amaf naek,* in the year 1907, i.e. at the time of the first direct contact with the Netherlands East Indies Government. The total harvest amounted to approximately 16,000 cobs of corn, so that approximately three eighths of the harvest was paid in taxation. The village head himself kept 2,000 cobs, and the remainder had to go to the ruler Sufa Leu and to the district head Usif Sanu Nakamnanu. These 4,000 cobs were exchanged for two pigs and two strings of coral beads, however. Hence the *poni* consisted of three eighths of the harvest: one eighth for the *tobe* (who was also village head), one eighth for the ruler and one eighth for the district head, with the provision that both the ruler and the *usif* received other objects instead of corn, so that the 77 *poni* contributors retained 14,000 cobs for their own consumption after all. Usually the ideal of three equal portions was a fictional one. Although the immediate territorial and genealogical heads, i.e. the *tobe* and the *amaf,* usually did receive harvest gifts, hardly any of these reached the major heads, at any rate not in the form of a portion of the yield or only partially so. This was not necessary as there was another form of taxation: the ruler and the *usif* had the right to requisition corvee labour for the cultivation of their fields and were not obliged to pay for these services other than with sacrificial animals and feasts which had to be given in the course of the agricultural cycle. For this purpose they needed pigs, so that it was more practical for the people to give them these instead of rice. In Insana and Beboki the taxes (*poni*) amounted to one large basket (*poni*) containing half a *pikul* of rice (approx. 30 kg.) per garden or per family. The latter was a debatable point. In addition this included 90 cobs of corn as well as small quantities of other produce, such as areca nuts and sugar-cane. The *kapitan* retained 10 % and the remainder was sent to the *sonaf,* where the *kolnel* received less than half of it. Steinmetz [109] does not report a separate portion for the *usif.*

These taxes were therefore quite substantial, and in poor years were doubtless downright heavy. Taxes were one of the binding factors that held together the community and as such had an important function. The presentation of *poni* to a ruler by the heads bore testimony to their subordination to him and to the unity of the princedom. And

---

[109] Report by Steinmetz, 1916, p. 76.

conversely, failure to bring *poni* was an unmistakable, open sign of disloyalty and hence a cause for civil war.[110]

So we see that the size of the harvest gifts and the amount of tax paid varied in actual fact with the constantly changing balance of power.

3. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

A legal case in its simplest form consisted of an action brought by a prosecuting party against an opposing party. In the case of a difference of opinion in respect of personal property an envoy was sent in order to demand restitution of the disputed articles as well as to impose a fine. Legal action was and is impossible within the *ume,* because the *ume* is a unity and can only act as one body. Of course there may be quarrels within an *ume* which may lead to rifts and scission. A legal case generally ensues when a group breaks away, with either the senior or the break-away group acting as prosecuting party. This usually results in protracted negotiations, led by the *amaf* of the two groups, who appeal to the *amaf* who is the head of the lineage to which the two belong, assisted by other *amaf* of his clan. A *modus vivendi* is sought in order to enable the two parties to reach a settlement. This then marks the end of the case.

In the case of a dispute between different *ume* or between two larger communities, lineages or villages the same procedure may be followed. But on the other hand the offended party may also decide to take legal action. If it does so, each of the litigants, accompanied by a large number of other people, approaches the heads concerned. Formerly they did so armed with swords and lances.[111] Which heads are approached depends on the importance of the case, the status of the prosecuting party and the political distance between the two parties. Legal competence was and still is extremely vaguely defined. The fact that lances were brought along was a sign of either a large political distance or a weak central authority — this was never done inside the territory of one *usif* for instance, nor within that of a ruler who had some authority over his *usif* and *kapitan.* Usually the prosecuting party first approaches the arbiter in person and presents him with a silver coin and a bottle of distilled palm-wine by way of a gift. This wine is drunk during the trial. Wang Tsi tsung writes in 1618 that the Timorese have heads

---

[110] Cf. p. 329 above.

[111] Van Swieten, 1899, pp. 2, 63. This concerned Belu (Fialaran), but the same obtains for the entire Atoni area as well.

"to whom, when they have a dispute, each party brings a goat; he who is wrong loses his goat and the other takes his away again." [112] There is a great deal of corruption and judges are easy to bribe. A judge with integrity, however, like, for instance, the Uis Kono of Miomafo who died in 1908, enjoys so much respect that his memory will live on for forty or more years after his death.

A trial may go on for many days; all food eaten during this time has to be supplied by the litigants. The losing party has to pay a fine to the winning party, as well as a fee to the heads. There are always a number of the latter present, as both parties have brought their lineage heads and clan heads or village heads, while the *usif* usually draws a number of heads into the case as well. There are no strict rules as regards this and it is very much dependent on the popularity and legal authority of the heads involved. If the case is an important one — if it concerns some serious injury, cattle theft or a claim for compensation of serious damages to crops caused by straying cattle, or a serious moral offence such as adultery — the *kapitan,* in his capacity as *amaf naek,* as well as a number of juridical experts are invariably present. The *mafefa* is often such an expert. He is the spokesman of his lord and therefore well versed in the ritual language and the traditions of his clan, in its myths of origin and its laws. As he is present on all important occasions, including trials, he is in a good position to acquire the knowledge required for adjudication. For adjudication amounts to formulating judgments on the basis of precedents. We should also mention in this connection "the old men, the old women, whose ears are deaf and whose eyes are blind", i.e. the ruler's advisors, who never pay heed to flattery, and give the ruler their impartial advice, free from any ulterior motives whatever. Like the *mafefa* they are familiar with the community's traditions. The same applies to the guardians of the realm — Atau-pah, Ana'-pah, Abain-pah and Afen-pah [113] — who are not independent judges themselves either, but render their assistance especially in tracking down the offender. For they are, after all, "the great faces, the great eyes" who possess expert knowledge of the ritual and of the *le'u* used in auguring and trials by ordeal. During the colonial period such legal issues had to be brought before the Council of Chiefs of the Realm. This regulation has been kept in force by the Indonesian Government, but is not necessarily always observed.

---

[112] Groeneveldt, 1880, p. 117.

[113] Pp. 209 ff. above, and Report by Steinmetz, 1916, p. 77.

It goes without saying that there was no distinction between criminal and civil jurisdiction, and even less so between public and private law. Hence settlement by agreement was possible in all cases. On the other hand, any case of the slightest importance might spark off a head-hunting raid if the two parties lived in the territories of different *kapitan* or in different districts in general which had no close relations with one another.

Or people might take the law into their own hands. There is one example of a man in Tunbaba who caught his wife in the act when committing adultery. He tied her and her lover to the bed and, doubtless after consulting the lineage head, set fire to the house half an hour afterwards, while his grown-up son looked on.

Usually the identity of the offender was unknown, so that auguring and trials by ordeal were frequently practised. Someone who was expert in these matters, a "guardian of the realm" like Ana'-pah, or a medicine-man, first used a lance (*nahe auni* = fathom - lance) for divining. The lance was thrust into a tree or a pole and held with arms stretched in such a manner that the little finger of one hand just touched the tree. This hand was then swiftly turned. If the thumb touched the tree whilst the other hand remainded in its original position, the success of the investigation was assured. This general form of auguring, like the examination of a hen egg, usually preceded the actual trial by ordeal.

In Beboki there existed the same form of trial by ordeal as that reported by Grijzen [114] to exist in North Belu. Beboki consisted of ten *kluni* or districts. If there had been a theft, eleven pebbles (one for each of the *kluni* and one for the area outside the princedom) were placed in a circle described by a piece of rope tied to a stick inserted in the ground, the radius of the circle being formed by the length of the rope. A fowl was tied to the end of the rope, so that it could just reach each pebble. Then the *mnane* or the *mafefa* of the head would hold an oration, invoking Uis Neno and Uis Pah to point out the offenders. Thereupon the fowl's head was lopped off and its body freed above the pole to which the rope was tied. It would flutter around for a while and the pebble near which it landed indicated the *kluni* in which the culprits might be found. If another pebble happened to get smeared with blood the *kluni* which it represented was considered to be an accomplice.

More dangerous for the accused was the sword trial (*honu suni*;

---

[114] Grijzen, 1904, p. 139.

honu = to run one's hand along, *suni* = sword). A sharp sword was freely suspended and the accused had to run the length of his hand, protected by only a few leaves, along its edge, whilst the man in charge of the investigation held the hand of the accused tightly gripped and pressed it against the sharp edge. If the accused were guilty his hand would be cut by the sword, whereas if he were innocent he would withstand the trial unscathed.

Sometimes an accused person was suspended by his hands until he admitted his guilt. If he were innocent, the cord would slip loose of its own accord.

Or he had to retrieve a small whetstone out of a pot of hot water. A guilty person could not do so without scalding himself. Another method was to pour molten lead over some leaves he held in both hands. If he remained uninjured his innocence was proved.

There was also the trial, which appears psychologically more valid, by which uncooked rice had to be chewed. If the chewed rice remained dry this was a sign of the guilt of the accused. A similar procedure was to keep the accused in a squatting position while incantations were being recited. The person who was unable to stand up straight immediately after this, or who was frightened, was considered to be guilty.

Duelling was another form of trial by ordeal, reported by Grijzen [115] and by a reliable Military Memorandum [116] on Timor based on a number of earlier reports. The accused and the prosecutor were stood up facing each other a small distance apart, and fired their rifles simultaneously. He who was killed was considered to be guilty.

At all such trials by ordeal incantations which were recited by the medicine-man (*mnane*), and which were indirect imprecations, were of great importance. This reveals the ritual nature of adjudication. If the accused persisted in pleading innocent in spite of these incantations and the verdict of a trial by ordeal, he was certain to die within a very short space of time.

If the accused were proved guilty he had to pay a fine and compensation of the damages. If later on he was able to prove someone else guilty the latter would have to pay not only the fine, but also a compensation for damages to those who had been subjected to a trial by ordeal.

As opposed to this procedure, which was usually most unpleasant

---

[115] *Op. cit.*, p. 139.
[116] Military Memorandum, 1930, p. 47.

for the accused, there was a form of justice by oath of purification, through which one called down a curse upon one's own head if one were guilty.

The head, his *mafefa* or a *mnane* would carve a cross into the ground with a knife and place some of the soil from where the two lines intersected on the tip of the knife. As he did so, he would inform Uis Pah and Uis Neno accordingly, scattering rice all the while. He then placed this soil in a mug with some distilled palm-wine mixed with some gunpowder and a bullet in it. According to Steinmetz [117] it was formerly the practice in very serious cases to cut the throat of a hen above the mug, after which it was thrown away. Then the person administering the oath addressed Uis Neno and Uis Pah, putting the case before them and asking them to bring the truth to light. Subsequently the formula of the oath was recited, and was repeated by the person who had to take the oath, who raised the mug to Uis Neno and then bowed to the earth, to Uis Pah. Then he put some soil in his mouth, washing it away with the mixture from the mug. The bullet was left in the mug. The formula of the oath contained a curse upon the person taking the oath: "may the liquor consume my intestines, may the earth make me ill and the bullet kill me if I am not speaking the truth." [118] In the case of two parties accusing each other, both would drink from the mug. This may even have been the original form of the oath, thus lending the practice of taking an oath rather the character of a trial by ordeal. Even in 1947 this oath was sometimes administered to non-Christian Atoni. In accordance with European criminal law it was not, however, an oath of purification, but a testimonial oath required only from very important witnesses in serious trials. Wiggers [119] reports a slightly different formula, which renders the killing of a fowl more significant: "Usi Neno, Usi Paha, behold me. If I bear false witness in order to plunge my fellow-men into distress, I shall be punished. This day I take the oath and if I do not speak the truth, my head will fall like that of this chicken." After these words the chicken's head was lopped off. Venema [120] reports the following formula: "Uis Pah is here, Uis Neno is here. If it is true that I have committed a theft,

---

[117] Report by Steinmetz, 1916, p. 78. Cf. Report by Ruychaver, 1908, p. 14.

[118] Gramberg, 1872, p. 195, was witness to an oath taken at the conclusion of peace between Sonba'i and Amfoan. The tip of a sword was dipped into the mixture while the words "May this sword, this powder and this bullet kill me if I fail to observe this treaty", were uttered.

[119] Wiggers, 1893, p. 279.

[120] Report by Venema, 1916, p. 23.

may Uis Pah kill me, may Uis Neno kill me, may the *le'u* kill me, may the *nitu* ancestors kill me, so that I may die." Other evidence considered in legal cases was the testimony of witnesses (*asumanu* = dog and fowl; although thieves work in the dark, they may be seen by dogs and fowls who may bring the truth to light — hence this name). If they were able thus to give evidence in respect of one theft it was assumed that the offender had more on his conscience. In order to force an admission of guilt from him, a kind of thumbscrew was sometimes applied — the fingers were squeezed between two pieces of wood tied to each other by means of a string, which was twisted like a cord so that the fingers were gradually jammed more and more tightly.

The most common sentence imposed was originally compensation of the damages, which always more than covered the actual damages — sometimes double the amount was claimed. Even during the rule of the Colonial Government this compensation was always stipulated in addition to a fine or a jail sentence in order to satisfy the Atoni's sense of justice. The descent group of the guilty party was responsible for the payment of the fine and compensation. And the descent group could, and if necessary, had to, turn to other related lineages of the same clan for aid. If the accused had been forced to admit other, unsolved crimes recently committed in the neighbourhood, the amount of compensation might reach considerable proportions. His own lineage heads usually made him swear never to steal again. If he did, his own clan would sometimes have him put to death. Van Rietschoten gives an example of this.[121] In Tunbaba, at that time still practically independent, two boys of approximately 16 and 18 respectively, had been convicted for cattle-thieving several times, with the result that their lineage, and more especially their own descent group, had to compensate the victim for the damages and pay a fine to the head as well. Thereupon the heads of the boys' own lineage resolved to put them to death. Two "uncles" executed the sentence. These "uncles" must have been the *atoni amaf* of their fathers, hence their mothers' brothers, who supervise a man's life-cycle. So the bride-giving *ume* must have been consulted first. The boys had to dig their own graves and were buried alive.

There was, in addition, the fine which served as remuneration for the judges. This they divided proportionately according to their rank and office.

---

[121] Report by Van Rietschoten, 1914, p. 72.

The alternative to compensation for damages was the death penalty, which could be imposed by the ruler as well as the district head, the *usif* or the *kapitan*. Mathijsen [122] writes of a district head in Fialaran, in North Belu, sentencing a man to death on a charge of murder and having him beheaded. In some cases the convicted man was stood with his face turned to a tree and shot in the neck.

Formerly collective punishments were not uncommon. These were imposed for the most serious offences, such as witchcraft or the murder of a ruler or *usif*. In such cases an entire lineage would be sentenced to death. When a *mnane,* who was also a diviner, had established the identity of the witch, the *usif* would have her, and at least the members of her immediate family, put to death. Even as recently as 1934 the ruler of Insana, Dominicus Taolin, had a certain "witch" put to death together with her daughter and granddaughter after a *mnane* had established that she was responsible for the death of Taolin's child.[123] Such collective punishments were based on the belief that witches passed on their craft by heredity through the female line on the one hand, and the belief that such a murder must have been committed with the consent of the murderer's *amaf* on the other. Those least involved in the crime would be sold as slaves. Van Hogendorp [124] reports, for instance, that in a very serious case the accused was made a slave and that the death sentence was seldom pronounced. Van Hogendorp was writing about Kupang and its environs, however, an area in which there was a brisk slave trade at certain periods.

---

[122] Mathijsen, 1899, pp. 2, 68.
[123] P. 2 above.
[124] Van Hogendorp, 1784, p. 64.

CHAPTER XI

THE SYSTEM OF THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY IN TIMOR. SUMMARY

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

We preceded our analysis of the structure of the political communities in Timor with a historical outline in order to gain some insight into the unity and diversity of these communities. We discovered that at the time of the arrival of the first Europeans there existed a realm in Timor which was in a sense a unitary state. This was the realm of Wehale in South Belu, which encompassed the Belu and the Atoni areas. The historical outline failed to shed sufficient light on the nature and degree of the unity of that state. It was clear, however, that there was a division which more or less coincided with the language boundary. The Atoni area was itself a unitary whole with Sonba'i at its head. Sonba'i was a *liurai,* i.e. a representative, of the Meromak O'an, the ruler of Wehale. In the Atoni area the latter is referred to as the *liurai* of Wehale-Waiwiku, as it was the Meromak O'an's executive authority, the *liurai,* and not the Meromak O'an himself, who represented his realm in its external relations. Insana and Beboki probably formed an exception — these Atoni areas had closer links with Wehale than with Sonba'i, so that their ritual texts constantly refer to Liurai-Sonba'i. this term designating the total realm as a double monarchy.

In the remainder of the Atoni area the realm of Sonba'i is regarded much more as an independent unit whose head, Sonba'i, is the younger brother or subordinate of the ruler of South Belu. It is impossible to discover whether this has always been so, because the Portuguese, or more strictly speaking, the Topasses, accompanied by Dominican missionaries and aided by Portuguese soldiers, destroyed the realm of Wehale as early as 1642.

Sonba'i fled to Kupang. This happened several years after the Dutch had settled there. When a hundred years later, in 1749, the power of the Topasses was dealt its death blow by the Dutch — whose power subsequently also gradually weakened in the final days of the East

India Company so that after 1770 they hardly interfered at all in the affairs of the interior — the realm of Sonba'i recovered to some extent. This is true only of the former centre, consisting of Molo and Miomafo; and even here this recovery was only partial, as Kono of Miomafo made himself virtually independent. In actual fact this was no more than a continuation of the situation that had arisen under the dominion of the Topasses, as they had conferred the title of emperor (*imperator*) on Kono. The peripheral areas at present generally deny ever having been the subordinates of Sonba'i, but the myths show that in most cases there existed a relationship like that between younger and elder brothers between them, or a *feto-mone* relationship (bride-receiving - bride-giving) — in any case, a relationship in which they were inferior in respect of Sonba'i.

The way in which the relationship between the princedoms was interpreted elsewhere varies with the distance from which it is viewed. The structure as seen by South Belu was as follows: the Meromak O'an and his three *liurai,* one at his side, one in the east and one in the west (Sonba'i). The latter two were each in turn the centre of their own respective princedoms. Surrounding the nucleus of the realm of South Belu there were, in its immediate sphere of influence, three *loro* (suns), who were the rulers of their own realms and were the sons and a son-in-law respectively of the Meromak O'an, according to the classificatory system. Beyond these there were the realms of three rulers appointed as *loro*. Each time we have, therefore, a constellation of three rulers and the Meromak O'an combining to make up a four; even inside what was his own territory in the most limited sense in Wehale itself, the Meromak O'an had three "minor rajas" below him.

In Insana, which was orientated towards both Liurai and Sonba'i, Cunningham [1] was given the following classification: Liurai nanan, the centre, consisting of four sub-territories in South Belu — Waiwiku, Haitimu, Dirma and Lakekun. This summary therefore mentions only two of the four sub-territories of the realm of Wehale and two of the three original *loro* realms. In addition is mentioned Liurai *mone* (Greater Liurai), which consists of Amanatun, Amanuban, Insana and Beboki. Anas is not included in this summary, while Amanatun and Amanuban, which were never under the immediate rule of the Meromak O'an, are classified with South Belu. Then follows the realm of Sonba'i,

---

[1] Cunningham, 1962, p. 55.

which is similarly divided into two groups of four. Kono, Oematan, Babu and Bifel are listed as the princedoms which formed the nucleus of the realm of Sonba'i, the two latter being no more than two important great fathers of Miomafo.[2] Ambenu, Kune Uf (the original lord of the land who was there before Sonba'i arrived[3]), Amfoan and Amarasi are mentioned as constituting "greater" Sonba'i.

Although Cunningham's informant may not have been an authority on Timorese tradition, his summary represents a typical example of Timorese classification: the totality of a large number of names is arranged into a double dichotomy, each of the parts of which in turn consists of four sub-parts. A different informant would almost certainly have enumerated different, perhaps more correct, names, but the scheme is fixed.

Sonba'i, too, views his world in accordance with a fixed model.[4] Here we also have the dichotomy of Liurai-Sonba'i, Liurai (i.e. the Meromak O'an) being recognized as the senior half. In the Sonba'i half there is no scheme of dyadic pairs in which Sonba'i is the most important of the four (as in South Belu). The scheme here places Sonba'i in the centre of two pairs — they therefore make up a five. Which four depends on the time and place. The centre, i.e. Sonba'i himself, in turn consists of two parts: Kono-Oematan.

In the old realm of Amabi the whole of the political, ritual world is viewed in terms of the following genealogy: "In primeval times there was a ruler of this island. He was the Liurai of Wehale (the Meromak O'an) and had two sons, the Liurai of Kamanase (in Portuguese Timor) and the Liurai of Belu (i.e. of Fatu Aruin). The latter also had two sons, Liurai and Banu Naek (of Amanatun). The Liurai of Kamanase moved to Lifao — the port of the Topasses — and had twin sons, Abi and Sonba'i. They are said to be "the sound egg Abi Sonba'i", but Abi was the more important, being called "*mone naek*" - "the great male".[5]

Other peripheral areas will probably also generally represent their most important relations in two dyadic pairs, Liurai-Sonba'i being the first pair, and the princedom concerned together with one of its neighbours, the one with which it has its closest affinal relationships, the second. In Ambenu, for instance, the following set is given: Liurai-Sonba'i, Ambenu-Amfoan.

---

[2] See p. 282 above.
[3] See Sonba'i myth, p. 262, and the structure of Miomafo, p. 286.
[4] See p. 273 above.
[5] Middelkoop, 1952, p. 202.

This is how these relationships are viewed at present, three centuries after the disintegration of the realm of Wehale. The fact that the superiority of Liurai-Sonba'i is still recognized far and wide is an indication of the great importance they once had.

Only an analysis of the manner in which existing political communities functioned before the establishment of Netherlands East Indies rule will throw some light on the nature of these relationships, or, in other words, on the nature of the large political unit which the realm of Liurai Sonba'i probably once was.

2. THE STRUCTURES OF THE POLITICAL COMMUNITIES

a. *The Ruler*

The structure of Insana emerged most plainly from the ritual of the presentation of the harvest gifts to the ruler and from that accompanying the ruler's death. Viewed this way the structure invariably represents the ideal pattern, and the Atoni himself regards it as such. It is an ideal pattern also in that it presents the structure as a static phenomenon. For instance, when one of the four *usif* has disappeared — such as Fal, who has been absent for 200 years — the ritual texts persist in mentioning his name, even though these texts are repeated every year and are generally well known.[6] But as this is the model this is how things should be. The norms are fixed, but reality never conforms with them completely — a fact of which the Atoni is well aware.

The pattern may also vary from one princedom to the next. In the case of the kinship system, for instance, we found a gradual transition from a purely patrilineal form of descent and patrilocal marriage in Amfoan in the north-west, through a form of mixed descent resulting from uxorilocality of marriage and the practice of allocating children to the lineage of the mother in Anas in the south-east, right through to the firmly established matrilineal system of South Belu.

Parallel with this we also found a gradual transition from a low to a high degree of feminity in the nature of the rulership. The ruler is *feto,* he is the *atupas,* he "sleeps" and is immobile, but he is responsible for the ritual and the safekeeping of the sacred objects. Adjacent to his palace is the main altar pole (the *tola naek*) and the *le'u* shrine in and around which the war ritual is performed. At his side he had his masculine, executive authority, who was the actual ruler of the

[6] P. 192 above.

realm and was given the title of *kolnel* by the Portuguese. The *kolnel* was clearly the second highest authority. His palace was situated next to that of the *atupas,* on the eastern or masculine side of it. They shared the harvest gifts between them. It is not clear why he disappeared and why he was replaced in his function by one of the *usif,* as this took place before the introduction of colonial rule. On the other hand it is not surprising — in fact, it is a latent possibility inherent in the structure itself — that there should have been tension between the *atupas* and his executive authority. In Amanatun this resulted in the expulsion of Nai Mone, the masculine lord. In Beboki we come across the same pattern, except that here there is a masculine counterpart of the centre as a whole, represented by Mone Mnasi (the masculine old man), in addition to the ruler's masculine counterpart within the centre, Uis Aätan. They have both held the function of *kolnel* at times. Here tension probably existed between the *loro* and *mone mnasi* and between the latter and Uis Aätan. As a result the head of the peripheral district of Manlea was elected raja of Beboki when the Colonial Government stipulated in 1915 that Beboki should appoint a raja, an executive authority. Hence in the east of the Atoni area the feminine, immobile nature of the ruler's function is especially emphasized, and the ruler is therefore regarded first and foremost as the custodian of the sacred objects who is responsible for the ritual. Doubtless this is a result of the strong influence of a close tie with South Belu. There the Liurai, the masculine, executive authority of the nucleus of the realm, had his residence in a different place from that of the Meromak O'an; in Wehale itself the executive authority was vested in three "minor chiefs" who lived in different places from that in which Meromak O'an resided. The latter's palace was exclusively a ritual centre. Here the feminine, ritual nature of the ruler's function is most pronounced. The structure as a whole, however, most probably reveals marked differences even with Insana. Another reason why Francillon's research is of so much importance.

Further to the west there is less emphasis on the ruler's feminine nature. Witness the fact that the title of *atupas* is still found in Miomafo but no longer occurs further to the west.[7] Sonba'i himself had at his side a pre-eminently ritual figure associated with the earth and night — Kune, the original inhabitant. In Amanatun, almost bordering on South Belu,

[7] According to Middelkoop it is never used. It does not occur in the literature or in early administrative reports, either.

the feminine nature of the ruler's function is still present, but here the Nai Mone or masculine lord was expelled and the ruler was able partly to replace him. Hence he was acceptable as raja both to the Colonial Government and to the local population. But in accordance with the autochthonous structure his executive and administrative powers are very slight.[8]

The fact that the rulers in the west are less "feminine", although here also they are definitely the *atiut le'u* who bear the responsibility for the ritual, is probably primarily a result of a general shift in emphasis on the structural principles, a similar shift to that observable in the kinship system. A further explanation may be that most of the princedoms in the west regarded Sonba'i as their immobile ritual centre, so that the other rulers must originally have been Sonba'i's masculine men (*monef atonif*) — this was very clearly the case with Kono and Oematan; they were called this in Insana, and a text from Amabi [9] also refers to them as the *monef atonif* of Molo and Miomafo. Ambenu and Amfoan, too, are Sonba'i's juniors and receive brides from him (= *in muni in feto*); they accompanied him on his wanderings. They originally lived in Sonba'i's realm and lacked a special ritual centre of their own. The same applies to Amanatun and Amabi, though to a lesser degree; these themselves were ancient centres and more or less Sonba'i's equals, though connected with him in a way. Abi, for instance, is said to be Sonba'i's twin brother. The *usif* of Amanuban — Fina-Isu, Nuban-Nopo — are his *monef atonif* or commanders-in-chief,[10] as is Nai Lasi (i.e. Amarasi). According to the same tradition Sonba'i and Abi were supposedly the ritual rulers, together with Banu Naek of Amanatun. There is little to be said concerning the structure of Amabi — it was pushed back long ago to the area that was under Dutch protection. The realm of Sonba'i was also destroyed 300 years ago and the newly restored princedom which has existed since the end of the 18th century was always extremely antagonistic towards the Dutch, so that we have but few data concerning it. The first military action in Timor was directed at Sonba'i in Kauniki, in Fatule'u, and destroyed even this last of Sonba'i's independent realms. On the basis of the countless myths and judging by the position occupied by Sonba'i in the traditions of the Atoni princedoms we may safely assume that his function was

---

[8] P. 313 above.
[9] Middelkoop, 1952, p. 202.
[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

primarily a ritual one. But the fact that he is never called *atupas* indicates, nonetheless, that he was regarded as being less immobile and less feminine than his "elder brother", the Meromak O'an of South Belu, and also less so than the rulers of Insana and Beboki. The ruler's masculine counterpart in the centre itself is absent here, moreover — this is the case with Sonba'i, and more especially with the other rulers in the western princedoms — even though he had a number of "men" (i.e. the *usif*) at his side, such as Kono and Oematan in the case of Sonba'i.

b. *The Usif*

Just as the ruler's feminine nature is made most clearly apparent by a comparison between east and west, starting in the east, the masculine nature of the function of his counterpart (his *usif*) can best be examined by taking the west as our point of departure.

The ruler has at his side two *usif*, who are *monef atonif*. In Amarasi these are the two "tribal lords", Naidjufa, while in Amabi they are two Siko, "*siko*" being an ancient title the meaning of which is no longer clear. In Kupang, too, there used to be two executive princes. They belong to the sphere of the ruler's palace, but their attention as executive authorities is directed rather more to *mone* or external affairs. They are in charge of warfare, as the term *monef atonif* implies. This is brought out even more clearly by the qualification, as found in an Amabi text, that they "kick the land, kick the lake", in other words they "kick open" the door of the realm and expand the territory of their princedom. It is not the ruler but his masculine counterpart who is the "*Mehrer des Reiches*".[11]

The fact that the function of the masculine, executive authority was rendered by the foreigners with "war lord" is an indication that the Atoni — and in the case of Kupang, the Helonese — placed most emphasis on his duties relating to warfare. As the *usif* belong to the centre they do not generally have a sub-territory of their own. That is why the Colonial Government had so much difficulty in subdividing Timor into districts.[12] In the realm of Sonba'i the *usif* lived close to the palace in Oenam - Kono at a distance of some ten kilometres to

---

[11] This is a title of the German Emperor and a Middle German translation of the Latin word *augustus*, connected with *augere*. (Müller und Zarneke, *Mittelhochdeutscher Wörterbuch*, 1863, under *mêrer*).

[12] Report by Couvreur, 1924, p. 67. He compares the *usif* to the Balinese *punggawa*.

the east, and Oematan at an even smaller distance to the west. Only when the centre disappeared did Kono and Oematan themselves become the centres of new communities; people continued to say long after this, however, that these two have no mutual borders.

The structure of Insana and Beboki is different because there the very nature of the rulership is different. That is why originally the *usif* of Insana remained in the background, as they still do in Beboki. For the ruler of Insana had Us Bala at his side and the ruler of Beboki had Us Aätan; it was these two who were given the title *kolnel* by the Portuguese, whilst the great fathers became *kapitan,* and the *usif* were not given any title at all — a sign that they were not yet important at the time. In Insana their location was close to the palace, where their small altars were situated around the main altar (*tola naek*) of the *atupas*. But their sphere lay outside the palace. What their relationship to the *kolnel* was is no longer clear, because the *kolnel* had been ousted and two *usif* had stepped into the foreground even before the arrival of the Netherlands East Indies Government. One of them, Taolin, even took the ruler's place, because the *atupas* was too inactive to be acceptable to the Colonial Government, and too feminine, or in other words, too strongly associated with ritual matters to be made available for the strange Government of the foreigners. Both in Insana and in Beboki there are four *usif* around the centre, in contrast with the western princedoms, where there are always two. This is perhaps attributable to the influence of South Belu, where quadrupartition is the more prominent, whereas bipartition is the basic principle in the Atoni area.[13] Even here it is a system of double bipartition, however, so that in actual fact it again amounts to a quadrupartition after all. Nonetheless the emphasis here, especially further to the west, lies rather more on bipartition, whereas in the east it falls slightly more on quadrupartition.

We find something of a similar nature in Beboki. Here similarly the *atupas,* usually referred to by the title *loro* which he received from the ruler of South Belu, is so immobile as to be considered unfit for a function in the modern administrative organization. Here, however, not one of the *usif* was appointed executive authority, because their position was much less important. This tends to strengthen the assumption that in Insana the *usif* did not become important enough to replace the *kolnel* in his function until much later. The fact that two of the

---

[13] Cf. Amanatun, for example, where there are two patriarchs as against four clans. P. 311 above.

usif then became prominent — Taolin as raja and Pupu as district head — corresponds with the pattern which prevails in the princedoms which lie further to the west, where there are two executive authorities. It is connected, moreover, with the principle of bipartition which is of vital importance for the structure of the political community, the unity of which is expressed in terms of the unity of the masculine and feminine principles for the whole of the cosmos. But it is as a result of this same principle that scission is also an ever-present possibility. The parts are nonetheless united in their common relatedness to the centre, in which the unity of the two halves finds expression. Hence, as in the kinship system,[14] the principle of tripartition is also a possibility. The centre, in turn, has a masculine and a feminine pole, which factor may give rise to tension, especially in the case of geographical separation. As far as we can see, however, there has never been an example of the division of a princedom along this line.

The different palace functionaries have their place around the palace, first of all those who belong to the interior, and next those who constitute the link with the exterior. A comparison with other princedoms as regards these personages is not possible because the former structures of Beboki and Miomafo are no longer precisely known and research has not been conducted elsewhere. Perhaps no princedom offers a better opportunity for reconstructing these ancient structures than Insana, except, possibly, Amanatun.

c. *The Great Fathers*

Our point of departure for a comparative description of the position of the *amaf naek* in the structures of the political communities is once more Insana in the east. For it is here that the structural differentiation between them and the *usif* is most well defined.

In Insana the *amaf naek* are the four heads of the four sub-territories. They are heads (*nakaf*) by virtue of their position as *amaf* of the most prominent clan in their respective sub-territories. Their function is hereditary, therefore — it is normally passed on to the eldest son of the senior lineage. But in practice this rule is not always adhered to, competence, age and mutual rivalries having much influence on the succession. If, for example, a junior lineage has once supplied a head because a suitable candidate was lacking in the senior one at the time,

[14] Pp. 106, 130 above.

it will try its utmost to retain this function within its own circles. And the senior lineage for its part will make every effort to have the function returned to it.

The *amaf naek* are the immediate heads of the sub-territories of the princedom and are simultaneously *tobe naek*. They constitute the "exterior" (*mone*) of the *sonaf*, their unity being symbolized by the ruler "inside" the centre who is the ritual leader and is therefore *feto*. They bring him tribute as he is their superior. This implies, however, that they are his providers and supporters (*ahaut, afatis*) — they are the givers of life. This is borne out even more strikingly by the unilateral affinal relationship existing between them and the ruler, for they are his bride-givers. In this regard also, then, the relationship between the ruler and the *amaf naek* is *feto-mone*. But in this case *feto* is inferior, as he receives brides, or, in other words, life, from his *amaf*. The latter thereby become his *atoni amaf* and are responsible for his life-cycle rites.

The above may lead one to assume that in the balance of political power the scale would tip in favour of the *amaf naek*, if it were not for the fact that they are dependent for their life and for the fertility of the soil on the correct performance of the ritual at the ruler's main altar (*tola naek*), among other things. Besides, although they are the ruler's providers by virtue of the fact that they bring him their harvest gifts, they are at the same time his guests at the great sacrificial meal and as such on the receiving end and hence his inferiors. Moreover, the ruler has at his side the Us Bala and the *usif* as his executive authorities. The harvest gifts are gifts of homage which have to be presented not only in order to promote the fertility of the soil and the prosperity of the realm, but they are also indicative of the unity of the realm. Failure to present this tribute is a sign of scission or rebellion. This the ruler will try, via his *kolnel* and the *usif* and with the aid of other *amaf naek*, at all costs to prevent. The deepest significance of the *feto-mone* relationship, however, is that coercion should not be necessary, as *feto* and *mone* are complementary concepts — the one cannot possible exist and is inconceivable without the other.

In Insana the *amaf naek* were formerly the heads of the sub-territories occupied by the quarters of the princedom of which they were the genealogical heads — the title *kapitan* indicates this. But in this function they have been more or less supplanted by the *usif*. The distance between the latter and the centre gradually increased, so that they came to be more and more part of the "exterior". As a result they formed centres

of their own and the *amaf naek* with whom they were affiliated became their bride-givers and providers and supporters as well. Hence the possibility of a process of scission is inherent within the structure itself. Ainan's attaining independence before 1760, probably under Us Fal, is a good example of this. Later on, as a result of the influence of the Netherlands East Indies Government, two *usif* of Insana became district heads and one of them became raja as well. The third faded into the background as an ordinary village head, however, and the fourth has disappeared altogether, probably after Ainan's re-integration with Insana.

When the centre disappears the parts cannot but become independent. This happened in the realm of Sonba'i, where the two *usif* themselves became the centres of new princedoms. It is also possible for one or more of the quarters to become independent with an *amaf naek* at its head. Then the structural and functional distinction between the *amaf naek* and the *usif* disappears. We find this happening especially frequently in the western part of the realm of Sonba'i, so that in early reports and documents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we regularly come across references to Manubait, Pit'ai and Taebenu, among others, as independent units of Fatule'u.[15] And the same is true of Molo and Miomafo, though to a lesser degree. The *amaf naek* may himself become *usif*; this is probably the development that took place in Bikomi, where there are four quarters, each with an *usif* at its head. Conversely this confusion of the status and function of the *usif* and the *amaf naek* may be responsible for the application of the term "*ahaut-afatis* (= providers and supporters) of Molo and Miomafo in respect of Sonba'i", to the *monef atonif* Kono and Oematan.[16] Hence the *usif*'s function as war leader (*monef atonif*) is confused with that of the *amaf naek,* who were responsible for the presentation of tribute. It is also likely, however, that in West Timor the structural differentiation between the two was never as clear-cut as in Insana. In the five and nine sub-sections respectively of the two halves of Ambenu, for example, there are *usif* without any special function. In Amanatun, an old centre of Timorese culture, the distinction is similarly not well defined. The two *usif* do not (or no longer) exist here, while the four great fathers are called *usif,* as is Nai Nokas, who is responsible for the defence of the northern border. One of them, Niti Bani, has attained a similar position to that of Nai Nokas.

---

[15] Cf. map no. 6.
[16] Middelkoop, 1952a, p. 202. A text from Amabi.

In Amanuban, on the other hand, the *amaf naek* has declined in importance. Here they are not the ruler's bride-givers, hence never his *atoni amaf*. The decline of their importance has therefore benefited the ruler, who is as a result much less dependent on his *amaf naek*.

Hence we have side by side a weakening of the function of the *amaf naek* as a result of the strengthening of the *usif*'s position (Insana), a decline in function as a result of the strengthening of the ruler's position (Amanuban), and a strengthening of the position of the *amaf naek* at the expense of that of the *usif* (Amanatun). Flexibility of the structure makes different processes of change possible without affecting the underlying structure itself, especially where the relationship between the centre and the exterior is concerned.

Another point which may serve as a basis for comparison of the position of the *amaf naek* in the political structures is their relationship to the so-called "original inhabitants" of the realm. This varies from one place to the next and does not vary progressively along a straight line from east to west. In the former realm of Sonba'i, Kune, the autochthonous inhabitant, was Sonba'i's bride-giver. In Miomafo he has retained this function and is Kono's established *atoni amaf*. Here he occupies an important position, therefore. In Amanatun this same Kune was buried alive, according to the myth, and his name changed to Afi (= "past"): here Kune no longer exists. Kisnai, who occupies a similar position to that of Kune, is still recognized in Noimuti and Amanuban without this having any further political implications. In the ritual of Insana these two are mentioned as the first guests (after Liurai-Sonba'i) to be invited [17] after the Atupas' death. But they are mere guests and their names are not included with Insana's "own names", and they have no political significance whatsoever. When I carried out my research there it was not even clear whether they did, in fact, still exist as separate clans.

Finally there is the somewhat ambiguous position of Abi. In Amabi he is acknowledged as one of the rulers who came from the east and is considered to be related to Liurai, Sonba'i and Banu Naek of Amanatun. In the Sonba'i myth he is mentioned along with Kune as one of the original inhabitants who were driven out.[18] This version of the story is also related in Amanuban, where it is historically verifi-

---

[17] P. 199, C. 68, above.
[18] P. 262 above.

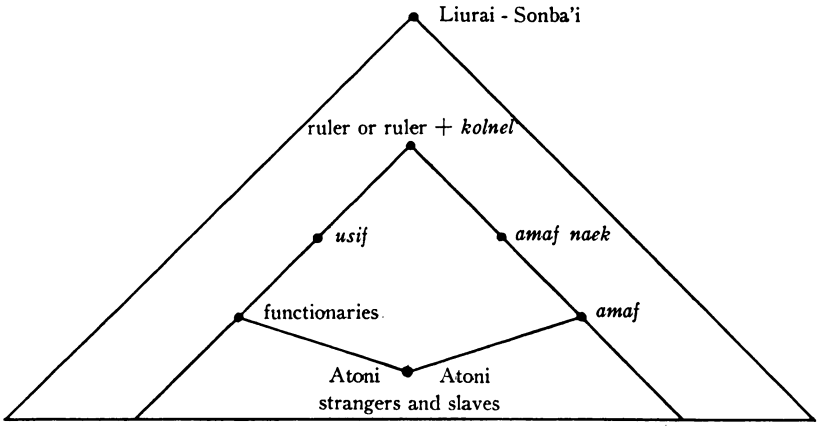
able that Amanuban for one conquered a great deal of territory from Amabi.

Our conclusion may be that the distinction between "those who were already there and who emerged from the earth" and "those who came later from the land of the rising sun" may well be a reflection of actual historical events. The most likely supposition is that there was a shift in the balance of power between the different groups (as in the case of Abi); but the tradition may quite possibly also be reminiscent of an invasion or immigration in the very distant past. In accordance with the usual practice these events, which are possibly historical, have been fitted into the Atoni's system of life. The indigenous inhabitants are classified with the earth, night and fertility, but cannot be said to be feminine, because they are clans which are on an equal footing with those of the *amaf naek,* as we have seen to be the case in Insana. They are given a place in the myths, rites and structures (e.g. Kune) if they have not disappeared, or in the myth only, as in Amanatun.

d. *Superordination and subordination*

The structures under discussion give rise to the question as to the political hierarchy. The point in question here is not the structure as represented by the concentric circles which represent the situation in Insana [19] but rather the order of precedence of the functions in the political hierarchy. Represented diagramatically the result is as follows:

DIAGRAM No. 17



[19] P. 229 above.

The larger whole of the realm of Liurai-Sonba'i encompasses various princedoms. At the head of each of these is a ruler, or, in the east, a ruler and his masculine anti-pole, the *kolnel,* and in the west the ruler with his two *usif* whose place is in the centre. The next phase everywhere is a repetition of this at a lower level. We have seen this to be the case in Taitoh in Beboki and Tunbaba in Miomafo and in the circles surrounding Us Kono. And we encountered a tendency towards this pattern in the village in Insana in which four clans had grouped themselves around Nai Bobe, the functionary who is responsible for tribute levying. This is precisely one level lower, but in principle it is an exact repetition.

At the same level as the *usif,* and only partly distinguishable from them structurally and functionally, are the *amaf naek.*

Together they make up the stratum of heads in whom the practical, executive authority is vested. Below them in order of precedence are the countless functionaries who surround the ruler in the centre, or those who constitute the link between the centre and the exterior. Generally speaking these functionaries are the *amaf* of less prominent clans. Needless to say, the *amaf* of the different clans are also placed under the *amaf naek.* These may also include the functionaries who constitute the link between the centre and the exterior, such as, for instance, the *meo,* who are on the one hand the *usif*'s subordinates in matters relating to war, but on the other hand belong to a particular quarter and hence are also the *amaf naek*'s subordinates. Here again we find that in practice the emphasis varies from place to place. To this category also belong the village heads, that is, *amaf,* who are *primi inter pares* among the *amaf* or *amnasi* (elders) of their village community. These functionaries and the *amaf* of the different clans therefore make up the third stratum in the hierarchy. Below them are the *atoni* or ordinary people. Among these a distinction should be made between the *amaf* who are *ume* heads, the *amnasi* of the village, and the *atoni* who have no function at all in the political organization.

The fifth and lowest stratum is made up of strangers, refugees or wanderers adopted by a particular *ume.* In Insana and Miomafo these were quite often Belunese. They have no rights, but are protected and in return render certain services in labour. After several generations they usually become wholly integrated into the *ume.* The same applies in part to slaves. Slaves were usually prisoners of war or victims of kidnappings. Although the main objective of war was headhunting, the capture of prisoners was also important, and children were especially

sought-after as slaves. This must have been a widespread practice, for especially around political centres there are to this day slave lineages which enjoy complete freedom and had equal rights under the colonial Government, but in accordance with the indigenous political structure are still regarded as slaves without political rights. However, this is a matter of social stratification rather than of political hierarchy.

Of old, the social stratification and the political hierarchy have run completely parallel with one another. Cunningham [20] speaks of a "nobility" which consisted of the *usif*, whilst the *amaf naek* belonged to a class of "commoners". In my view this is not correct, for in making this distinction Cunningham relies too heavily on the structural model offered by the system of Insana at the time of his research there. In a comparative study such a distinction is impossible. And it is extremely doubtful whether we can speak of a nobility in the case of Timor at all. "Nobility" denotes a social class to which particular families belong and the members of which enjoy special privileges; one belongs to this class by birth. Now, although it is a fact that people may only become ruler, *usif* or *amaf naek* by virtue of their birth within a particular lineage, conversely there are many members of the clans of these heads who nonetheless have no right to the *usif*'s title. Even though the names of these clans may endow their members with some social status, the latter certainly do not make up a special class of nobles. *Usif* and *amaf naek* are dignitaries; they hold particular functions which are hereditary, but their clans do not form a separate class. Admittedly their members do enjoy some prestige which varies proportionately with the distance of their relationship to the particular head in office.

A non-political factor which is important in determining a person's social status is the amount of wealth he enjoys — wealth in terms of cattle and jewellery (such as strings of coral beads, silver and gold discs and bangles). Formerly wealth and the possibility of attaining it were almost exclusively dependent on a person's position in the political life — it should be noted that this is not identical with position in the political structure, as a person could attain wealth by distinguishing himself as a warrior, since this enabled him to share in the booty, although this was destined primarily for the ruler and the *usif*. War therefore constituted one of the chief opportunities for vertical social mobility — one might become a *pae* (or brave) and win prestige and wealth as a result of bravery and success in war.

---

[20] Cunningham, 1962, p. 69.

Another opportunity for rising on the social ladder was that offered by a knowledge of the tradition, of the *lais meto* or the ritual word of the dry (land), that is, the ritual relating to all aspects of life. To some extent such a knowledge is connected with particular lineages, such as the Ana'-pah, though men from other lineages may also apply themselves to acquiring a knowledge of the ritual texts and the traditions of the community. This is comparable with the way in which, although the function of *meo naek* is associated with specific "names", everyone outside these lineages nonetheless strives to become a *pae*. However, this expert knowledge probably remains restricted to lineages which have some connections with the centre to begin with. Someone who has attained a high degree of learning in respect of the *lais meto* may then become *mafefa* (spokesman) to one of the heads and as such exercise some influence in jurisdiction, for example.

One may also win prestige by becoming a competent *mnane,* (medicine-man) or *ote naus* (augurer). The function of the *mnane* is another function which is connected with particular lineages. The *le'u* which confers special powers is kept in these lineages, but only a few members of these lineages become *mnane*. Again, only a few become famous *mnane* to whom people flock from far and wide in search of a cure. Exceptional gifts are equally to be found outside these lineages as well — a *le'u* may be found through a vision, for instance.[21]

Finally there is the long hard road of constant hard work. One group may work harder than the others, tend larger garden plots, do its burning and planting on time, and give its cattle especially good care, and thus become more prosperous than the others and win more prestige.

In each of the above cases the Atoni will regard his increasing prosperity and his rise on the social ladder as a gift from the forces of the hidden world, as a result of the potency of his *le'u musu* (in battle), his *le'u nono* (in the fertility of his fields, his cattle and his wife) and of the correct performance of the proper ritual. Thus he may become prosperous and increase his wealth through the bridewealth of a large number of daughters, or increase the yield of his fields through the services of their husbands, or the services of his own sons as long as they remain at home and continue to work for the *ume* (later, when they have paid the bridewealth for their wives, they will work for their own *ume* again, this time together with their wives). Conversely,

---

[21] P. 125 above.

an *ume* may decline in importance in the same way through the agency of evil forces. This may be attributable to shortcomings of its own; or it may be the result of errors in the ritual which have angered the *nitu*; or of the superior strength of the enemy's *le'u musu*; or it may be the consequence of a curse which has been called down on a person by a powerful enemy. Witches, too, are at all times feared as evil forces which may bring about illnes and adversity.

It can be stated that in general the Atoni's social position is determined to a large degree by his birth. Personal qualities, however, may be of considerable influence even in such matters as the succession of heads — the eldest son does not automatically succeed his father. Every factor determining a person's position is regarded by the Atoni as being influenced, and for the greater part effected, by the forces of the hidden world.

e. *The Unity of the Political Community*

The diagrammatic representation of the political hierarchy appeared to be pyramidic in shape, while that of the political structure of Insana was a closed circle. Both diagrams seem to suggest closed, more or less integrated unities. But this belies the actual situation. In our analysis of the various princedoms we discovered that they were prone to scission. And a description of the functioning of the political community in warfare, government and adjudication erased the impression altogether that the society under discussion was an integrated one.

The danger of a structural analysis is, moreover, that the structure is sometimes regarded as a static phenomenon, in this case especially so as the Atoni is not able to regard it as anything but static himself, since it has its origins in primeval times. In the functional approach to warfare, administration and adjudication the political community is seen in action, a dynamic state, while this approach furthermore clearly brings to light the tensions which are also inherent in the structure.

In the description of adjudication the structure of the political community assumed clearer outlines. Internal differences in an *ume* do not develop into law cases unless the *amaf* of the *ume* himself puts them before his clan head and before the *amaf naek* or the *usif*, as in the case of manslaughter, for instance. Even then there is not really question of adjudication, as no fine can possibly be imposed internally in the *ume*. If a member of the *ume* has misconducted himself the most serious measure which can be taken against him is for the *amaf* to announce

(*mutonan* - this implies the requesting of permission of the head who is his immediate superior) that this member of his *ume* must disappear. He may do so only in consultation with the *atoni amaf* of the man in question, i.e. with the *amaf* of the *ume* of the mother of the guilty person. If he does not run away he will then be put to death.[22]

In the case of a difference between two *ume* a law case may be restricted to negotiations between the *amaf* of the *ume* concerned. If the case is restricted to one village, the village head and other elders (*amnasi*) will usually also become involved. If it concerns a dispute between two villages, the village heads and the *mnasi* negotiate with each other. As adjudication in Timor is more than simply a matter of private law (in spite of the fact that, according to our Western categories, these cases are mostly in the first instance private law cases and hence open to negotiation) as the entire community is involved, both parties (i.e., in the example in question, the two villages) are in such cases most likely to refer the case to their clan heads and their *amaf naek*. The *mafefa* (the spokesmen and authorities on the tradition) then also become involved. A dispute which basically concerns only two villages thus assumes the proportions of a district affair (we use the word "district" here in the former sense of a sub-territory of a princedom). Moreover, the possibility also exists that the parties will appeal to the functionaries constituting the link between the centre and the parts. Or the *usif* may intervene on his own initiative. This is entirely dependent on the local situation and the personalities involved. If the ruler was very powerful, as Uis Thaal of Ablal,[23] it was out of the question that any dispute, not even one of minor importance, should be settled in his territory without his being informed (*mutonan*) accordingly. This implies that he had to give his permission, though informally, for the case to be tried.

Such powerful *usif* or *amaf naek* more or less made interference by the centre unnecessary, except in the case of disputes between different sub-territories of the princedom. Here the centre most definitely becomes involved, as failure to settle such disputes may lead to scission.

The picture of the political community which emerges from a study of adjudication is one of a political community composed of a number of local communities which were to some extent independent. Generally speaking the heads of larger local communities, assisted by clan heads

---

[22] P. 366 above.
[23] P. 285 above.

or lineage heads and experts on *adat* law become involved in the case of disputes between lesser local communities.

Although the parts are independent, they recognize the necessity of a hierarchy and of a common centre.

In the most important administrative event, i.e. the levying of tribute, we see the same procedure, though in the reverse direction. An order is issued by the centre, the *tobe naek* are informed (*mutonan* - again implying an order) via the appropriate functionaries (the *usif* and the counsellors in the case of Insana) that the time has come to bring tribute gifts. This order is transmitted to the *tobe* and thence to the village heads and the *amaf* of the *ume,* the latter being the basic units of Atoni society, as we have seen in the chapters on agriculture and the kinship system. The quantity of the tribute and to whom it is paid are indices of the degree of unity of the political community. The Insana ritual clearly shows that it is normal for the harvest gifts to be brought to the ruler's palace via heads such as the *amaf naek* (who are also *tobe naek*), who also take their rightful share. It depends on the local conditions whether the *usif* receive a portion of these gifts prior to the presentation to the ruler, or whether they levy separate harvest gifts afterwards.

Here we see plainly the deviations in practice from the structure as an ideal pattern. The degree of independence of the parts varies from one princedom to the next, and history demonstrates that this has always been so. I would point out once more, however, that nothing is known about the time before 1642 when the realm of Liurai-Sonba'i, Wehale, was destroyed. What we do know is that the opportunity for the development of more extensive political relationships was inherent in the presentation of the harvest gifts to the ruler via the various grades of the political hierarchy, viz. the *amaf* and the functionaries, the *amaf naek* and the *usif* and thence to the ruler. If the ruler were married to a daughter or sister of Liurai or of some other ruler (as, for instance, the *loro* of Beboki, the *atupas* of Insana and Senak of Bikomi were married to daughters of Us Kono, and as formerly rulers were invariably married to daughters of Sonba'i) this entailed that a portion of the harvest gifts had to be sent to such an important, bride-giving ruler as *tuthais* or gifts of homage — rather than *poni pah* or harvest gifts — that is, to the ruler who had established a political relationship of superordination and subordination by giving brides.

This tension between the independence of the parts and the unity of the whole was best to be observed in the description of warfare. Here

the Atoni distinguished between a *musu fui* (wild enemy) and a *musu aem* (tame enemy). The former term denotes a war between political communities, while the latter refers to internal wars. This implies a recognition of the unity of the community as well as its practical negation. A war against a *musu fui* might involve the entire community, although this was not essentially so. These were usually no more than border disputes, which were fought out by local groups, by a *meo naek* or an *usif* who guarded "a door and a road" (*eno lalan*) in one of the four sub-territories of the realm. Moreover, at certain "doors and roads" there were traditional enemies, war with whom was likely to break out at any time, or rather, at any time during the dry period following the harvest each year. The local group which then set out on a headhunting raid might perhaps represent the entire community on such occasions. The *usif* and the ruler had doubtless been informed (*mutonan*) beforehand and hence had expressed their approval. If not, the unity of the realm was seriously endangered — an *usif* or an *amaf naek* and his people were in that case acting as an independent entity. This happened quite frequently. For the units to come into conflict with one another and engage in hostilities with each other as *musu aem* (tame enemy) was only one step further.

Then the structural unity is destroyed by the violence of human aggression. We see from this, however, that structurally the most important social unit could be of a lower order than that of the political community as a whole, or, in other words, that communities of a lower order might temporarily act as independent political communities and might even end up doing so for good. This was and still is the practice, a practice which is firmly rooted in the structure itself. The principles of bipartition and quadrupartition imply a tension which must almost inevitably lead to conflict. We find this most aptly expressed in the Atoni's own term for the relationship between the constituent parts: it is compared to the relationship between younger and older brothers, *olif-tataf*. The relationship between Oematan and Kono is one such, as is that between Amfoan Timao and Amfoan Sorbian, and in Insana between Taolin and Fal on the one hand, and Pupu and Tonbesi on the other. It implies a constant, keen rivalry as between brothers and especially between *ume* of one clan. Although they belong together their relationship to one another is marked by a rivalry which may, and constantly does, culminate in scission and geographical separation. The relationship between the different sub-sections is on the other hand also expressed in terms of *feto-mone*. Hitu-Taboi, Saidjao-Banusu are

mone - feto in respect of each other, as are Kono and Oematan, Ambenu and Amfoan. The implication of this is that the one cannot exist without the other, that life would be impossible if this relationship were broken. Even so it is often broken off. Hence it implies the Atoni's awareness that life is constantly being threatened. Now, wherever this *feto-mone* relationship exists there must be peace. This is therefore always the case within political communities, the halves of which are *feto-mone* in respect of each other, as well as between political communities which have a traditional affinal alliance with each other. If a war does break out between them, it is less widespread and less violent than usual. The two parties are more easily reconciled and will seal the peace with a reciprocal marriage in confirmation of the *feto-mone* alliance — without thereby affecting the original unilaterality of the relationship, or, politically speaking, the original superiority of the one in respect of the other.

In the study of warfare too, we came across political relations which exceed the internal ones within princedoms. In the discussion of administration we saw how one of the implications of marriages between rulers was that the bride-giving, superior ruler had a right to exact tribute. A consequence of this was that in case of war the bride-receiving ruler could marshal the support of his bride-giver. Theoretically he might ask anyone for assistance, but would do so only of rulers with whom he had friendly relations. Such relations were always symbolized by an affinal relationship. If aid was given the receiving party implicitly became dependent to some degree on the party which lent it assistance. The gifts of homage presented by the former on the basis of the affinal relationship between them would then assume the character of obligatory, regular tribute paid in return for protection. Whereas one might speak on the basis of an affinal relationship of an alliance between two rulers, even though generally speaking the one was regarded as the other's superior, there is indubitably question of subordination once the one has received the other's assistance in war. Conversely, once there is question of such a relationship in which the one is superordinate and the other subordinate, a bride may be given as a reward for such assistance. For example, the *usif* of the virtually independent Harneno was given a bride in the first half of the nineteenth century by the *loro* of Beboki as reward for his assistance in the battle against Oikusi.

Here we have, then, one of the most important factors which have brought about the development of more extensive political relationships; for traditionally Liurai-Sonba'i were the ruling houses which supplied brides. Senak of Bikomi was married to a Sonba'i, and the *loro* of

Beboki had a long-standing affinal alliance with Kono. Similarly Taolin was reported to have had an affinal relationship with Liurai, although in actual fact the brides came from Manlea, a small tribe dependent on Liurai. Such affinal relationships with Liurai as bride-giver are usually acknowledged in Belu and the eastern Atoni area. After its downfall in 1642 the realm of Wehale-Waiwiku nonetheless continued to exist, and after the Topasses' absolute defeat in 1749 it was even able to recover to some extent. Sonba'i's fate was different, as his palace was too close to Lifao and Noimuti, both strongholds of Topass power. He fled to Kupang, from where the Dutch exercised a strong influence from 1749 on, so that Sonba'i was not able to exert any authority again until the end of the eighteenth century. Even then the extent of his power did not reach beyond Fatule'u and parts of Molo and Miomafo. This is a reason why affinal relationships with Sonba'i are sometimes not acknowledged in West Timor. Another reason may be, and most probably is, that Amanatun and Amabi were less dependent on the realm of Liurai-Sonba'i.

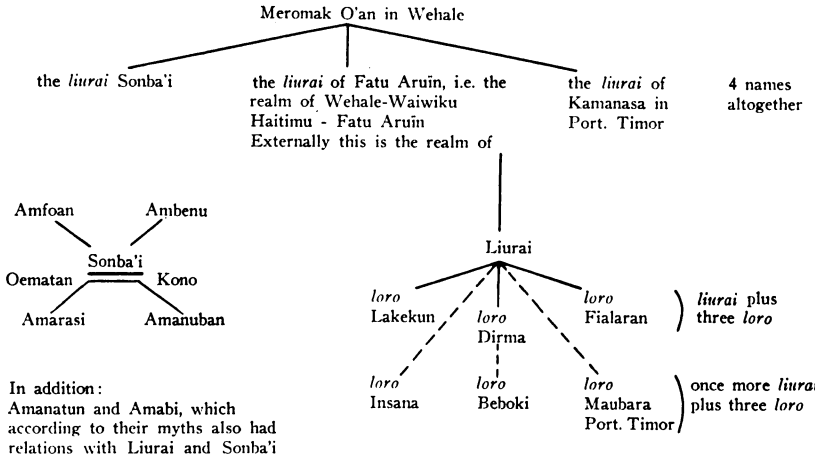
It is evident from a study of the whole that it is extremely difficult to delimit the Timorese political community as a concrete unit. Beginning at the lowest level, a sub-section under an *amaf naek* may be considered as a unit. But the very fact that we referred to this unit as a "sub-section" of a princedom implies that it is no more than part of a larger whole. Harneno may act with complete independence and even wage war against Beboki, but will never deny being part of Beboki. And although Us Bana of Bikomi refused to acknowledge a tie with Kono, i.e. with the ancient princedom of Miomafo, none of the other *usif* of Bikomi were on his side. His attitude was clearly a sign of the new times, when the ancient myth had lost much of its authority. Miomafo and Molo have been virtually independent for the past two centuries, but they are nonetheless aware that, notwithstanding any wars they may have waged against each other as *olif-tataf,* they belong to each other as *feto-mone,* and that they both belong to Sonba'i as his right and left hands respectively. Thus sub-territories of a princedom and the areas under the jurisdiction of *usif* may become partly independent. Molo and Miomafo, formerly sub-territories of the realm of Sonba'i, and the sub-territories of Amfoan even became wholly independent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But even so there remains a certain bond between them as a result of common links with a ritual centre. This is most obvious of all in Insana, although this structure was found almost everywhere. It provides the most fundamental and most

prevalent basis for political cohesion. The principal basis for cohesion here was provided by the ritual ties with the sacred centre. Such were the ties which linked the different princedoms to the great ritual centres of Liurai and Sonba'i. We know nothing of the Sonba'i centre that disappeared after 1642. From the myths it is apparent that Sonba'i was the representative or *liurai* of the ruler of the realm of South Belu, the Meromak O'an, who was himself referred to as Liurai outside his centre. The Meromak O'an had so much authority because of his great ritual power. Like any other ruler he was the custodian of the sacred objects, but he had an *uma lulik* or sacred shrine which was fire-resistant and water-repellent, notwithstanding the fact that it lacked a cover on the ridge of its roof. It was guarded by two snakes and was the most important shrine in Timor. Partly because of this the Meromak O'an was the most powerful ruler of Timor, and via him his three *liurai* (including Sonba'i) as his younger brothers, were the sovereign rulers of Timor. Diagrammatically represented this results in another pyramid, a new unity which was cemented by ritual ties and affinal relationships. It is no longer possible to determine the political unity of this realm prior to 1642, but its structure remains clear. The supreme power was vested in the ritual centre, and the political communities shared in this by virtue of affinal relationships, which were in principle unilateral, the supreme centre being the bride-giver. In return it was given bridewealth, while the regular gifts it received can be interpreted as gifts of homage. Participation in the ritual power of the central ruler, Liurai-Sonba'i, became perceptible as soon as a need for marshalling support arose. If such assistance was given the annual harvest gifts were offered as tribute in return for this. The actual strength of the bond is dependent on the situation. From the harvest ritual and the ritual of the presentation of the harvest gifts to the ruler, however, it is clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that these should be brought to Liurai-Sonba'i themselves. The names Liurai-Sonba'i are used as metaphors for rice and corn. Liurai-Sonbai (and in western Timor, Sonba'i only) are the givers of rice and corn, and to them these crops should be returned. The ruler as the "son of heaven", in conclusion, returns these gifts in his sacrifices to the ultimate giver, Uis Neno, the Lord of Heaven. This is the norm in accordance with which doubtless a large part of Timor acted before 1642. The concrete political unit was probably even then the princedom as we have become acquainted with it, namely as a unit in which decisions affecting the entire community are taken in a clearly demar-

cated territory. Such decisions concerned especially warfare, administration and adjudication and their related ritual. There was only unity at the level of the princedom, as it was most likely never true of the realm of Liurai-Sonba'i that decisions affecting the entire realm were made centrally, except that each part was involved in the ritual power of the centre. Because of this we are justified in speaking of a superstructure after all.

Diagrammatically represented the realm of Liurai-Sonba'i as a whole looks as follows:

DIAGRAM No. 18



CHAPTER XII

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE ATONI AS VIEWED BY MODERN SCIENCE AND AS CLASSIFIED BY TIMORESE THINKING

1. THE STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES

We have seen that a political system is a composite made up of a large number of structures of the political community. The latter we have defined as a community which is localized in a particular territory and within the bounds of which decisions are made which are binding on the community as a whole.

There is question here of a totality with a tendency towards integration, while there is also constant change or transformation, these changes usually, though not necessarily, being caused by conflict. This is a consequence of, among other things, the fact that there is question of internal inconsistencies. The political structures are based on a number of structural principles which are mutually contradictory.

In our study of the kinship system we discovered certain structural principles which determined the shape of that system. These principles may be transposed to the political system — the Atoni himself generally uses particular kinship terms to describe certain political relationships.

The first structural principle we discovered was that according to which a particular territory and a particular genealogical group are inseparably bound up with one another.

We established, be it with some difficulty, that the princedom was the territorial unit as far as the political community is concerned. The community inhabiting it may be called a tribe because it is viewed, in a sense, as a group of kin: the four *amaf naek* of the prominent clans are "brothers". In each case there are other clans as well, however, which represent the original inhabitants. These have been integrated into the political community as members who enjoy the same status as the other groups. There are slight variations from one princedom to the next in the relationship between earlier settlers and more recent groups.

The traditional conception of this unit in terms borrowed from the kinship system is often indicated by the occurrence of the prefix *ama* before the name of the political community, e.g. Ama-rasi, Am-foan, Ama-kono. The name Nai, e.g. Nai Foan, is sometimes also used, however, Nai meaning "lord" and, by extension, the territory ruled by him. The difference is one of approach, the one emphasizing the genealogical and the other the territorial aspect.[1]

The second structural principle was the necessity to expand the *ume* as an exogamic, locally defined, genealogical sub-group of a clan and to strengthen its vital force. Transposed to the political community this becomes the necessity to expand this community — for which, incidentally, there is no separate word, but which is always referred to by its proper name. It is the necessity to increase its vital force (*smanaf*) and the number of souls of both the living and the deceased (*smanaf* and *nitu*) in it. The number of living souls may be increased through birth, or, in some cases, through kidnappings. The latter take place only on a limited scale, because of the necessity to add spirits of the deceased (*nitu*) to the community as well. This is one of the chief motives for headhunting raids.

A difference with the realization of the structural principles in the kinship system is that in the latter the community is an exogamic, whilst the political community is an endogamic unit, so that in this respect, too, the political community is a self-contained unit — all affinal relationships are confined within its borders, except for some marriages of rulers and heads. Smaller strictly endogamic units do not exist, even though in actual fact the part of a princedom under an *amaf naek* is to a large extent endogamic. In this respect, too, there are variations from one group to the next.

The third structural principle, that of reciprocity, the objective of which is to maintain the balance of the *ume*'s life, is not — no matter how important it may be generally speaking — as important for the

---

[1] The raja of Amarasi, Hendrik Koro, thought that *nai* was the older and higher title, which dated back to the pre-Portuguese period. After the Portuguese seized the power the rulers were degraded to the rank of *amaf*. Cunningham, 1962, and Middelkoop have accepted this statement, although it is incorrect. The Portuguese, as we saw in our Historical Survey, never gained complete control of West Timor. In Amarasi there were only Dominican missionaries after 1618. Moreover, the title Ama occurs as early as 1659 in the Records of the East India Co. However, the statement by the raja of Amarasi confirms our theory that *nai* places rather more emphasis on territorial rights.

structure of the political community, as in the latter there is question of hierarchial relationships of superordination and subordination. Between princedoms, however, the necessity for reciprocity is all the more strict. Just as the various parts of the bridewealth are paid on the analogy of the parts of the body of the bride, the payment for the head being made last of all, so the warriors sent as reinforcements by an allied ruler who have died in battle are paid for similarly. Peace is usually possible only when both sides have lost an equal number of men.

The fourth structural principle, that according to which the bride-giving group is the superior one, not only applies in the same way to political marriages, but here it forms the very basis for political superordination and subordination. As in the kinship system, the affinal relationship is conceived of as being a unilateral one, a relationship in which the superordinate party remains so permanently, and vice versa. This applies to external relationships between princedoms — in Insana, for example, Liurai is regarded as Insana's traditional bride-giver and hence as Insana's superior — as well as internally, as in the relatonship between the ruler and his *amaf naek* the latter are the ruler's bride-givers and in this respect his superiors. The relationship is expressed in *feto-mone* terms, the bride-giver being *mone*. This *feto-mone* relationship is further transposed to the political relationship of superordination and subordination. But always in the sense that the one cannot do without the other, and that they are each other's complement. In the political sense this *feto-mone* relationship is no more than a counterbalance to the ritual superiority of the sacral ruler, who is *feto* in this sense also.

The fifth structural principle, that of the elder brother's superiority in respect of the younger, also extends to political relationships and here, too, indicates the order of precedence of the various political communities as well as of the various parts inside these communities. Besides indicating an order of precedence, the term also bears strong implications of the mutual political rivalry between groups.

The sixth structural principle, namely the tendency to perpetuate existing affinal relationships for the purpose of promoting the group's stability, also plays an important part in the political life. There we find in the first place the fixed affinal relationship between the ruler and his *amaf naek* or heads of the quarters of his realm, which are perpetuated through all succeeding generations. This way the internal unity of the political community is guaranteed most effectively. Con-

versely, there are fixed affinal alliances between the ruler and his *usif* and befriended neighbouring rulers to whom he marries his sisters and daughters. This way the peace between princedoms as well as the formation of alliances in wars is promoted.

The seventh structural principle, namely the tendency to make for as close-knit a fabric of society as possible through a large number of affinal relationships applies in the same way in the political life of the community, though here it does so more consciously. A ruler or head will try as frequently as possible to establish affinal relationships with the most prominent groups within their communities. They will marry their daughters to *usif*, or better still, to rulers and heads outside their own territory. Conversely, the ruler will marry women from as many prominent clans as possible. So it is not surprising to see a Sonba'i in the first half of the 19th century, when the house of Sonba'i was able to extend its influence once more, with as many as sixty wives.[2]

The eighth principle, which expresses a preference for patrilinearity of descent, with an increase in the strength of this preference from the south-east to the north-west of the Atoni area, is also encountered in the political structures, where we see a parallel decrease of the feminine principle in the nature of the ruler's authority from the south-east to the north-west, which had direct consequences for the extent to which he participated personally in active politics.

Besides the above principles which are encountered in both the kinship and the political system, there are a number of structural principles which apply more directly to the political system.

In the first place there is the hierarchical principle, or an endeavour to arrange the political community in a hierarchical system in which there is no equality between people, but in which everyone has his place in a system of ranks, and where every person is simultaneously superior and inferior. Although this may be expressed in terms of the familiar categories of *feto-mone* and *olif-tataf*, it nevertheless bears a character of its own as it is the ranks in the hierarchy of the political community which are important here. In a village inhabited by different *ume* no two *amaf* are equal. If members of the same clan, the *amaf* of junior and senior lineages are each other's *olif-tataf* respectively. Between *ume* of different clans the order of precedence is almost always determined on the basis of the clan's position or function or on that of the affinal relationships between the *ume*. On a higher level, namely that of the

[2] See p. 184 above.

amaf naek and *usif,* a stronger distinction still is made and in the circles immediately surrounding the ruler the differences are most marked of all.

In the second place there is in the entire Atoni area the unificatory power of the central figure. This is the case just as much at the village level — such as in Sipi and Sekon, in Insana — as in the different subterritories of a princedom — as in Taitoh, in Beboki, and in Bikomi in Miomafo.[3] It is of the utmost importance for the princedom as a whole, and is especially clearly observable in Insana, although it is present everywhere. It is the ruler who symbolizes the unity of the realm. More than that, it is because of him that the realm is an integrated unit. That is why his place is in the "navel of the realm". He is the immobile pivot around which all else revolves.

And in the third place there is the tendency towards cohesion through the ritual relatedness of the parts to this centre. The ruler is the sacral centre, the guardian of the *le'u* shrine with its sacred objects. This implies a more or less explicitly feminine and immobile nature of the ruler's function.

In conclusion of the above we can say that basically the two fundamental principles of reciprocity and rivalry are key features. No system is ever quite covered by either one of these denominators. Mauss has demonstrated the structural principle of reciprocity in a most brilliant way in his *Essai sur le don,* while Lévi-Strauss in his authoritative *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* considers it the fundamental structure of the kinship system and hence of the whole of the primitive society.

Although this is true, it is only one side of the medal of truth or of our empirical knowledge of reality. He does not break in this with the tradition of the French school of Durkheim, which also exercised a strong influence on functionalistic thought and functional structuralism in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Our modern era of constantly accelerating change, of revolutions and violence, has drawn the attention to the significance of another structural principle, namely that of rivalry, which leads only too readily to conflict and violence. This has resulted in the development of a special sociology of conflict, as in the case of Coser, Dahrendorf and Wertheim,[4] for example, who suggest that conflict is ever present, it in turn being based on a lack of security or of uniformity of the

---

[3] P. 250, pp. 291 ff. respectively above.
[4] Coser, 1956, and Wertheim, 1964.

norms and values which are shared alike by all. As a result coercion becomes a necessary condition for achieving a certain degree of unity. It is this coercion which leads to conflict. Hence fundamentally it is coercion that is the cause of constant conflict, such conflict similarly leading to continual change and development.

This is typically a model derived from a modern society undergoing revolutionary changes, which upon comparison with the political system of the Atoni loses its universal validity.

2. TYPOLOGY OF THE SYSTEM

In the foregoing section we directed our attention to the principles, or the driving forces which in the dynamic processes of change of the structures direct these processes, so that as a result a certain *auto-réglage* or a tendency towards recovery of the structures is observable.

Through our empirical analysis we were able to find a number of these structural principles, which the Atoni recognizes and acknowledges, but of which he is only partly conscious. They form as it were the "syntax" of his political system, the only difference with grammatical syntax being that in the political system we are dealing with an aspect of life in which man is more conscious of the why and wherefore of his conduct than he is of the rules in accordance with which he speaks his language. Nevertheless, even in the political system we clearly touch on a number of matters of which the Atoni is only partially conscious.

Moreover, we are dealing here with the empirically observable structures of his political system which are translated into words by the investigator in accordance with the methods of his scientific approach. This translation is the result of an interaction of knowledge and reality, it is a scientific "translation" of that reality, and it is out of the question that science can claim to have spoken the last word on this and thus exclude other possible alternatives or approaches.[5]

Another approach is that in which an attempt is made to place such a political system in a general typology. The difficulties encountered in doing so are considerable.

Eisenstadt,[6] following the example of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard in their pioneering work on African political systems, makes a dichotomy between "types of segmentary tribes" and "centralized chiefdoms". The

---

[5] Van Peursen, 1969, pp. 230, 231.
[6] Eisenstadt, 1959, pp. 206 ff.

fifth type of segmentary community listed by him he calls "the ritually stratified tribes"; among these are the Anuak, Shilluk and Ankole. This type is usually divided into two "classes - nobles and commoners".

This type comes nearest to what we find in Timor. Nonetheless the Atoni princedom by no means fits into this category: the structure of Insana, for instance, is slightly too centralized for it to do so. Furthermore, there are no class distinctions, although there are differences in rank.

Eisenstadt himself states that "the dichotomy between 'segmentary and centralized' primitive societies is not a true dichotomy". It is therefore better not to use it. Anyhow, as Smith[7] has demonstrated quite conclusively, a segmentary kinship structure need not necessarily provide a basis for political classification, as there are processes of competition between segments in every political system. The picture presented by Timor for one, confirms the implications of this statement. Eisenstadt tries rather to establish a connection between "social differentiation and levels of political organisation". He follows this up with the hypothesis "that the greater the differentiation and/or the inability of various subgroups of a society to regulate their interrelations, the greater would be the development of special political organisations, other conditions being equal". This may be correct, but it is so general that it offers little to go on in a further classification. As far as Timor is concerned, the subgroups of a community are capable of conducting most of their affairs independently, both in the economic life and in adjudication and, to some extent, in war; so there is little specialization here. But they are nonetheless so closely related to the centre ritually that they form a cohesive unit, as a result of which the tensions inherent in the system itself are usually overcome.

We may also compare with this a few of the West African states, such as the kingdom of the Habe, the part of Zazzau that is not occupied by the Fulani, with as capital Abuja. Smith[8] characterizes the Abuja government in the first place as corresponding "to the general idea of a 'state', perhaps the most important element of which is the exercise of government through a system of offices". It seems advisable to avoid the word "state" altogether. In the case of the Atoni there is also a "system of offices", the essential difference being, however, that

---

[7] Smith, 1956, p. 65. Although Eisenstadt mentions Smith in his bibliography, he does not give any comment on Smith's conclusions.

[8] Smith, 1960, p. 67.

in Timor these are connected with certain clans, while in Abuja virtually none are hereditary. The similarity as far as West Timor is concerned lies rather in that, as Smith says,

"the political power exercised by the Habe king was limited and conditioned by the context of political alignments in which he operated. We cannot therefore classify this Abuja system as either segmentary or centralised since its details reveal the prominence of both these conditions."

Easton,[9] in his analysis of a political system, distinguishes

"five basically different kinds of activities in which members of a society must engage if binding decisions are to be made and put into effect: 1. the formulaton of demands, 2. legislation, 3. administration, 4. adjudication, and 5. the marshalling of support or solidarity."

Although they may be important distinctions in themselves, they are not of much help in a typology of the political communities of Timor. They only provide a basis for comparison.

"The formulation of demands" has direct associations with "decision-makers". It is difficult in any situation to grasp the subtle political reality in this respect. This applies to Timor also. The ruler, *usif* and *amaf naek* take decisions. Which one of them will carry the most weight is difficult to predict in the case of a structure which is as flexible as the ones in Timor. And, moreover, the hierarchy is not rigid enough for the group in which decisions are made to be accurately delimited. Conversely, it is quite possible for the ordinary Atoni to force a decision, as in the case of the medicine-man decapitating his patient; this act made war inevitable for the community to which the victim belonged.[10] The principle of "right or wrong, my country" (or rather, "my people") carries much weight. Blood-revenge is usually a compelling factor. In this case demands cannot even be formulated, but are already an accomplished fact so that there are no "decision-makers" involved.

Legislation is the second kind of activity listed by Easton. This concept is far too Western. In principle legislation is inconceivable for the Atoni. Laws or norms regulating behaviour are firmly rooted in the cosmic order; no-one could possibly "create" them. People may observe laws or transgress them, but do not codify them. Jurisdiction does not involve administration of the law, but justice has to be sought by con-

---

[9] Easton, 1959, pp. 227 ff. Cf. Easton, 1953, p. 130.
[10] P. 329 above.

sulting the tradition. This is exactly the same procedure as that followed in ancient Germanic jurisdiction. Even in Islam it is assumed that the Shari'a or divine law renders further legislation superfluous. If it does not provide the solution, the *sunna* or "way of the prophet" is consulted; it has been laid down in the *hadith* via the *silsila* or "chain of traditions".[11]

Administration, too, as we have seen, is minimal and elusive. The fact is that in an archaic society there are only few affairs to be managed.

The fourth kind of activity, adjudication, offers a standard for comparison which is easier to manipulate. In the case of Timor we have seen that a legal verdict bears the character of a settlement rather than of a binding decision, and that most matters may be dealt with on the district level. Only if a settlement cannot be reached, or if geographically different groups are involved, an appeal is made to a higher authority and the verdict assumes a more binding character.

Easton's fifth "kind of activity" is "the marshalling of support or solidarity". This is so much a key issue that the political community stands or falls with it. The objective of the study of the structures and the functioning of the political communities of Timor was to discover the degree of solidarity determining the unity and the boundaries of the political community. It is important to note that Easton differentiates between support and solidarity on three different levels — the government, the regime and the political community. In the case of Timor the implication is that the regime, the system, is in principle inviolable. And changes in the administration (i.e. the body of persons responsible for administration) are almost out of the question, although there are a few examples of lineages which supply heads fading into the background, as happened to Fal in Insana, Nai Mone in Amanatun and Fina in Amanuban.[12] In the political community, the highest level according to Easton, scission is not an impossibility, however. But the integrative factors are strong enough here to re-establish unity. Now, this potentiality is inherent in the structure, and Easton has no eye for structures or for categories which exercise a structurizing influence. His classification is restricted to role-differentiation, though this may be important in its own right or for the sake of comparison.

In a typology of a political community I should in the first place wish to take into account the following factors:

---

[11] Cf. Juynboll, 1930, p. 12.

[12] Pp. 214, 312, 309 respectively above.

1. To begin with, the typology should indicate the degree of territorial segmentation within what has emerged as the unit of political organization. As regards Timor we may state, then, that in view of the great flexibility of the structure the unity of the political community varies with time and place, and is on the whole unstable. Therefore scission is possible, but the re-establishment of unity can, on the other hand, be expected on structural grounds. This way it is possible to create the structures which will form a new political system. It is also possible for units which have enjoyed independence for a long time to develop new structures when a ruler establishes himself in their midst. This is what happened when Sonba'i set himself up as raja in Fatule'u.[13]

In a classification based on the differentiation of functions it is of importance to observe the degree to which political and non-political functions co-incide with each other. So we can distinguish:

2. The degree of relatedness of political functions to genealogical functions. This is a common phenomenon in Timor, where all political functions are wholly or partially connected with certain lineages. Birth is an important determinant in the occupation of political functions. Only in the case of a medicine-man (*mnane*), a warrior (*meo*), who can become a hero (*pa'e*), or a speaker (*mafefa*) is there question, to some extent, of the appointment to these functions on the basis of personal talent, courage or competence.

3. The degree of relatedness of political functions to age and sex. Generally speaking the *amaf* (fathers) and *mnasi* (elders) are the leaders of the political community. But functions are hereditary. When a ruler or a head dies he will normally be succeeded by his eldest son, unless the latter is unfit for the function or is still a minor. A new ruler may therefore be a relatively young man. In some cases a woman may even become ruler. At the beginning of the present century Amfoan had a female ruler, as did Insana and Luca in the seventeenth century.[14] These are exceptions, however, and are only possible with regard to the ruler's function, probably because of its immobile, feminine nature.

4. The degree of relatedness to religion. As far as Timor is concerned, a special, well defined religious and ritual function is as a rule con-

---

[13] P. 316 above.
[14] Biermann, 1924, p. 39.

nected to every political function, although there is marked differentiation in the nature of the ritual and the degree to which a political function is connected with the ritual.

5. The degree of relatedness to (a.) associations and social groupings with political functions — in Timor this is nil;
(b.) to social status — it is not frequently the case either in Timor. At most it can be said that *mnasi* (elders), i.e. the heads of ordinary descent groups (*ume*), enjoy some social prestige by virtue of a knowledge of the *adat* and the ritual, and may thus gain influence as advisors in law cases. They may also be appointed as speaker (*mafefa*) to a head, so that they may exercise a certain influence at meetings of heads.
(c.) to economic position; in Timor economic inequality is to a large extent determined by political functions rather than the reverse being true.

6. It is furthermore of importance in making a typology to investigate the nature of the differentiation in respect of the number of political functions. It can be stated that as a general rule the number and the diversity of functions increase in proportion with the complexity of the political system. We even so came across a large number of political functions in Timor: all *amaf* are integrated into the political system as heads of their respective *ume,* while there are many different functionaries besides.

7. It is essential therefore to enquire also into the differentiation in respect of differences between functions and possible repetition of the same function at a higher level.

Now, this is very much the case in Timor. Here the function of the *amaf* of an *ume* is the lowest level; the elders (*mnasi*) of the village administration are the *amaf* of the *ume* or lineages inhabiting the village. The differentiation that occurs here is that one of the *amaf* is simultaneously village head while another is simultaneously custodian of the land (*tobe*). We have a repetition of this one step further up in the functions of the great fathers (*amaf naek*) and the clan heads of a subterritory. But here there is also some further differentiation: there are warriors (*meo*), tribute collectors, speakers (*mafefa*) and medicine-men (*mnane*), whose political functions particularly lie at this level Furthermore, there is the *usif* as representative of the centre, i.e. of the ruler and all the functionaries in and around the palace. So we see that there is repetition — and this is typical of segmentary political communities —

while at the same time there is a certain hierarchy, this being characteristic of the centralized political community.

The significance of this hierarchial order is more apparent in the political system, however. This brings us back to structure as the determinant of the nature of, and indispensable in giving an insight into, "the organisational ideas",[15] or as I would call them, the structural principles of the political community. It is all very well for Lloyd[16] to criticise Vansina[17] for omitting to take "policy-making" into account in his classification of "structural models" of the African kingdoms — which Lloyd ascribes to the fact that the researcher does not usually do his work in the capital — but he forgets, like so many social anthropologists, that in a colonial society political decisions are never taken independently; the entire hierarchy, from the local government official up to and including the home government of the colonial power are involved. It is virtually impossible to catch the complete process of decision-making "in the act" in a colonial situation.

The analysis of the differentiation of functions has succeeded in giving us a clear delimitation of the political community. This outline must be supplemented by a characterization of the system.

On the basis of the analysis of the structure of the political community in the Atoni area of Timor this can be best characterized as a political system which is based on ritual relationships which are laid down in rites and myths, consolidated by a network of affinal relationships, maintained by a system of tribute consisting of agricultural products, and both strengthened and weakened by repeated, almost regularly recurring wars. It is a political system. Even a ritual ruler is, as Sierksma[18] correctly observes, first and foremost a ruler and hence a political figure. We have made our acquaintance with the affinal relationships in the chapter on the kinship system, and with the economic foundation of the political community in the description of agriculture. It now remains for us to analyse separately the ritual relationships, which we have already observed in other connections.

We should not proceed without first asking ourselves whether this characterization will provide us with any clues as to the "origin of the state". Since the publication of Lowie's[19] book by this title it

[15] Cf. Geertz, 1964, p. 32, who speaks of "a set of characteristics, general principles of social organization".
[16] Lloyd, 1965, p. 72.
[17] Vansina, 1962.
[18] Sierksma, 1955, p. 210.
[19] Lowie, 1927, pp. 112 ff.

has been obvious that a state as a more complex political system can originate in more than one way and that, on the other hand, the "state" in the sense of a political community is a fundamental reality underlying every form of human society. To quote Eduard Meyer [20]:

"Die landläufige Anschauung, welche die Familie logisch und historisch dem Staate vorangehen lässt, ist falsch.... Eine solche Familie (aber) kann nur existieren, wenn sie nach aussen und innen anerkannt ist, wenn sie als geheiligte und unverletzliche Institution gilt und ein Element eines grösseren, sie respectierenden und schützenden Verbandes ist; sie setz also das Bestehen staatlicher Gemeinschaft voraus.... Jede Theorie über den Ursprung staatlicher Verhältnisse ist falsch, da wir einen Menschen ohne Staat nicht denken können."

(The widespread notion which pre-supposes the family as the logical historical antecedent of the state is an incorrect one.... A family as such (however) can only exist if it is recognized both from within and without; if it is recognized as a sacred, inviolable institution; if it is a component of a larger whole which may respect and protect it. Therefore the existence of a political community is a prerequisite condition for the existence of the family. Every theory about the origin of political relationships (in this comprehensive sense) is false, as man without the state is inconceivable.)

By demonstrating this Lowie laid the foundations for the science of political anthropology. Lowie poses that "what is required (for the origin of the state) is some centralizing authority powerful enough to counteract primitive separatism".[21] This is precisely what we find in Timor. The central, ritual ruler usually has so much authority as to be powerful enough to counteract scission. This authority is of a ritual, religious nature, and is supported by the physical power he can exercise through his masculine counterpart. Whether or not we call this kind of political system a state is completely irrelevant. Suffice it to say simply that it is a political system — and a fairly complex one at that.

There are no historical data available to allow speculations about the manner in which the political community in Timor originated. We lack the opportunity of observing the system in *statu nascendi* here, as Southall was able to do in the case of the Alur in East Africa.[22] There too, we have princes from abroad settling amongst segmentary tribes, exactly the same as is described in Timorese mythology. They are even requested to do so by the tribes themselves. Thus a client-patron relationship results. The majority, if not all of the East African states probably came about in this manner. Lucy Mair [23] cannot resist

---

[20] E. Meyer, 1884, I, pp. 2, 3.
[21] Lowie, 1927, p. 16.
[22] Southall, *Alur Society* (1953), pp. 181 ff.; especially p. 220.
[23] Lucy Mair, 1962, p. 166.

the temptation of supposing that "This relationship of clientage may well be the germ from which state power springs", although she restricts the implications of this statement by saying that this relationship is certainly of "prime importance" for the East African states. The origin of the state in this way is certainly not prevalent, but the hypothesis is important in that it does away once for all with Oppenheim's [24] theory (refuted by Lowie [25]) according to which conquest is the only origin of the state.

In Timor, too, the structure is such that conquest must definitely be ruled out as the primary factor responsible for the origin of the political system. The myth certainly contains a number of references to original inhabitants fading into the background, sometimes as a consequence of violence, but the rulers have hardly any part or no part at all in this. What is more important still — there is not a single tradition which makes mention of a conquest of the Atoni area by the realm of South Belu. The rulers and the *usif* came from South Belu to settle in the Atoni area, where they were acknowledged as rulers and *usif* by the local inhabitants. This is somewhat similar to the Alur pattern, with the exception that a client-patron relationship never existed in Timor; neither did the rigid caste-like distinction between autochthonous inhabitants and the more recent immigrants which is so typical of the East African states.

The myths, rites and the political system of Timor seem to indicate rather that the structural principle of a ritual centre with clans grouped around it in a fixed formation of double pairs is the unique cultural heritage of the Atoni. It is not a repetition of the South Belu system, as there five-fold division did not exist; but the ruler of South Belu was considered to have greater ritual power and the sacred objects guarded by him more potency. It is no longer possible to discover the why and wherefore of this, nor is it very important. The Atoni simply rated one particular centre as the most important and most powerful. It then follows that on the one hand this centre was desirous of exerting its power, and that on the other hand other communities (i.e. in this case the Atoni) were anxious to share in this power. The manner of realizing this ambition which fitted in best with the Atoni structures was to establish affinal relationships. This made recognition of the superiority of the centre possible at the same time — it was superior

---

[24] Oppenheim, 1907. Refuted by Lowie.
[25] Lowie, 1927, pp. 43 ff., 51 ff., 112.

also because it was the giver of brides, the source of life. This relationship at the same time expresses the necessity of such unity, the relationship being a *feto - mone* (= feminine - masculine) one and neither the feminine nor the masculine being able to exist the one without the other. If a princedom had close links with South Belu, as Insana did, only this *feto-mone* relationship is usually mentioned. If the distance was greater, as in the realm of Sonba'i, the relationship became an *olif-tataf* (= older brother - younger brother) one, implying a higher degree of rivalry and a greater distance. Similarly in Amabi, in western Timor, Abi is said to be Sonba'i's twin brother but the grandson of the first ruler of South Belu [26] — hence the distance between Amabi and South Belu was greater.

Hence we should posit with regard to the origin of this particular political system, though on the analogy of its typology, that the structurizing principle of one centre as ritually the strongest and therefore the most powerful has asserted itself and that the system as it has existed for the past 500 years has developed as a result of the recognition of this centre. Relations with this centre were symbolized in the first place by affinal relationships connected with gifts and followed by or coupled with the presentation of harvest gifts, which later assumed the form of tribute.

Here we seem to have, therefore, a unique type of ritual political system which has come about in an equally unique way in comparison with other culture provinces.

3. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AS APPROACHED IN TIMORESE THINKING

Our analysis in the foregoing section enabled us to define the Timorese political community as a political system which is based on ritual relationships, laid down in the rites and myths, consolidated by a network of affinal relationships, maintained by a system of tribute consisting of agricultural produce, and either strengthened or weakened by frequent wars. Hence the political system embraces all aspects of life and is the expression of the system of life, which becomes visible and assumes its form in this political system in a similar way as in the

---

[26] Middelkoop, 1952a, p. 202.

ancient Greek *polis,* or "*la cité antique*", as Fustel de Coulanges[27] calls it in the title of his famous work.

In Timor we find the unity of this "polis" in the sacral foundation of all relations. Not only are agriculture — including animal husbandry — the life of the genealogical group and the political life based on sacred myths and accompanied by fixed rites, but the myths and rites themselves point to a set cosmic order in which all aspects of life are embedded. Only in the light of this all-embracing aspect of the system of life can the position of the ritual centre be understood. This is the way the Atoni himself sees his world.

In our discussion of the various aspects of life, and especially in the analysis of the political system, we discovered that the Atoni fitted his outlook on the world in which he lives and the relations which are important in this world into set frameworks, or fixed categories within which he arranged his world and assigned everything its proper place. The Atoni, like all of us, classifies. Hence it is essential in the context of the analysis of the political system to direct our attention first to his classificatory system before we are able to see the political system as a "totalitarian" whole.

The fact that we are able to speak of a classificatory system is a consequence of the circumstance that the Atoni can see certain connections between the abovementioned frameworks, which he has expressed partially in a series of polar opposites, which are related in their diversity and diverse in their relatedness.[28]

Bipartition is the predominant principle. This is never indicated by the number two but always by the mention of two polar opposites in pairs. The most important of these are:

---

[27] Cf. also G. Glotz, *La cité Grecque*, 1953 (1928), especially "*La cité Homérique*" of which he says: "*Tous les chefs, ... portent le titre héréditaire de roi. C'est un roi aussi, ce propriétaire qui assiste à la récolte, debout sur un sillon, le sceptre en main, et fait préparer par ses hérauts le repas des moissonneurs. Du plus grand au plus petit, ces rois sont fils et nourrisons de Zeus* (p. 45)." (All the heads bear the hereditary title of king. A true king he is, this proprietor who attends the harvest standing on a ridge of soil with his sceptre in his hand, and who has his heralds prepare a meal for the harvesters. From great to small these kings are sons and nurslings of Zeus.)
The king of the *polis* represents the community. "*A vrai dire, la cité c'est lui*" (in fact, he and the state are one), or in the words of Aeschylus: "*su tois polis, su de to dèmion*" (you are the state, you are also the people). "*Il est avant tout le chef réligieux*" (p. 48) (he is above all the religious head). The culture we are dealing with displays considerable similarities with this, especially as regards the polity and everything connected with it.

[28] Cf. Onvlee, 1949, pp. 448, 449.

feminine	masculine	(*feto - mone*)
wife/sister	husband/brother	(*fe, fetof - mone, nauf*)
female ancestor	male ancestor	(*be'i - na'i*)
inside	outside	(*nanan - mone*)
silence	speech	
closed	open	
immobile	active	
west/north left	east/south right	
yellow/black? earth	red/white? heaven	
night	day	
death	life.	

All of these pairs of opposites fit into one scheme and combine to form one important dichotomy. All of the concepts listed in the left-hand column are mutually related by a process of mental associations, whilst the same is true of those in the right-hand column. The one is inconceivable without the other. Besides the above there are a number of dyadic opposites which do not quite fit, or do not fit at all, into this scheme, because it cannot be said that they can be associated with the other pairs. They are:

sun	and	moon	
gold	and	silver	
fertility power	and	enmity power	(*le'u nono - le'u musu*)

These almost fit into the general dichotomy, but here the Atoni seems to be grappling with his world order. In order to determine their appropriate place in spite of this, a reversal of the usual order is necessary.

Another very important opposition is that between *olif - tataf* (younger and elder brother). Good and bad, sacred and "profane" also belong to a different order.

a. *The Symbolism of Numbers*

The cosmic order is also frequently indicated by means of numbers, the meaning of which is not always clear, although we can say that in the dichotomy the number two is implied. This dichotomy usually provides the basis for further classification for the Atoni, resulting in four-fold and eight-fold division. The dyadic opposites of the dichotomy also belong together, and are together integrated into a larger whole. Two or four parts that make up a whole are expressed by the numbers three and five, which are used in many different ways. Three is the

number of the hearth inside the feminine part of the house, it consists of three stones with the fire burning in between them.[29] It may also consist of five stones, the fifth lying in the centre.

Similarly, three stones are used in the war ritual. Red spittle is spat onto these in order to ensure the succes of the headhunting raid.[30] There are three sacrificial poles: the Uis Neno Mnanu, the Uis Neno Pala and the Ni Ainaf. The sacrificial poles outside the house often have three ramifications and three altar stones at their foot.[31]

In the agricultural ritual three sacrificial baskets are placed before the seat of Pah Tuaf, three before that of the ancestors and three for the *le'u* of the ancestors.[32] So three here stands for the totality of the hidden forces.

In each political community there is invariably a centre which links the two halves of the princedom together. In the western Atoni area this centre in turn invariably consists of a ruler and his two *usif*; there, too, three is symbolic of a totality. Similarly Liurai has three figures at his side;[33] the passage in the Insana ritual according to which Liurai-Sonba'i have sprung from three stems and three roots will probably have to be interpreted in this light.[34] Liurai (together with Sonba'i in the Atoni area) is the corner-stone on which the entire political structure is founded. This is reflected by the Sonba'i myth which tells of the arrival of three brothers.[35] Furthermore, the first inhabitants of the Atoni area (Djabi and Besi [36]) make up a three together with Fai Kune. They are classified with the earth from which they have sprung. Whether the trident in the *meo's* crescent also belongs with the earth and is symbolic of its progenitive power is not clear.[37]

In the kinship system we also came across an example of tripartition in the triad formed by the ego-group, the bride-giving and the bride-receiving group.[38]

In the dichotomy the number two is never explicitly mentioned, but

---

29 See photograph
30 P. 334 above.
31 See photograph
32 P. 66 above.
33 P. 235 above.
34 P. 64 above.
35 P. 266 above.
36 P. 264 above. Admittedly Kisnai is also acknowledged as an "original"group, but it is not mentioned here, probably intentionally so to obtain a triad.
37 P. 340 above.
38 Pp. 130, 139 above.

the opposed concepts which belong together are always mentioned in pairs. Similarly, objects which are not opposed may be frequently mentioned in pairs, such as implements.[39] The number four, denoting two-fold bipartition, is always explicitly mentioned, on the other hand. Four villages combine to form one community,[40] four grains of corn are planted in one large hole.[41] A child is carried outside by its mother and its father's sister four days after birth. The agricultural crops sprouted forth from the body of Sonba'i's sister after four nights.[42] A *meo* has four silver discs attached to his belt.[43] The songs sung by the women in accompaniment of the dance around the enemy's skull are always repeated four times.[44] The heads taken in a headhunting raid used to be placed before the ruler, who kicked them four times, kicking them away the fourth time.[45] Four is the number which constantly recurs in the political system as a structural principle, both in the village[46] and in the political community as a whole. In Insana, the structure of which is the easiest to trace, the whole consisted of two dual parts. In the same way the number eight may be named as a double set of four: the first inhabitants constructed a house with eight instead of four pillars[47] — this connotes a certain intensity. Or it can be four pairs, as in the case of the agricultural crops, whereas four times four grains of corn and rice are planted around the Uis Pah, the altar stone in the garden plot,[48] and the vital force of the corn (*pen smanaf*) always consists of a number of cornstalks[49] which is a multiple of four, the number mentioned being either four, eight or sixteen. This does not necessarily mean that that is the number found in reality, but it is simply a way of arranging the actual multiplicity in some sort of order.

Although the number five is not frequently mentioned, the ruler and two times two quarters grouped around him always make up a five, the ruler himself in the centre being the fifth. Besides the number five the number nine should also be mentioned, because four double groups

---

39 P. 82 above.
40 P. 95 above.
41 P. 69 above.
42 P. 271 above.
43 Middelkoop, 1962, p. 197.
44 P. 349 above.
45 P. 350. Cf. p. 351.
46 P. 186 above.
47 P. 263 above.
48 P. 67 above.
49 P. 86 above.

with a centre make up a nine. The realm of Ambenu is divided into "the five tribes and the nine tribes".[50] Five is the symbol for the totality of the political community or for any totality in general.

The number seven must have the same symbolic meaning. According to a different myth from the one just quoted [51] the culture crops sprout forth from Sonba'i's sister's body at the end of seven days. The war leader of Amfoan had a crescent moon with seven prongs and he had seven of his upper and seven of his lower teeth covered with gold.[52]

In Insana, too, the number seven occurs in the agricultural ritual — seven pieces of silver and seven quids of betel are placed as offerings on the stone for Uis Pah.

The key numbers which recur again and again are: three as the symbol for a totality, four as the symbol of the constituent parts, and five, seven and nine or multiples of four as derivations from these numbers. So it is sufficiently clear from the above alone that there is a possibility of bridging the dichotomy of the numerous polar opposites.

b. *Feminine - Masculine (feto - mone)*

One of the most important divisions, by which both cosmic and social relationships are expressed, is that into *feto - mone*. This particular form of polar opposition may act as a frame of reference for the distinction between different kinds of relationships.

In the kinship system the *feto-mone* relationship is found to exist between two *ume* which are allied by affinal relationships. The *ume* with which the natal *ume* has affinal relationships via its daughters is called *feto* and the one with which it has such relationships via its sons is *mone*. Or in other words, the *ume* receiving a woman (who is the source of life) is inferior in respect of the one which is the giver of life and which is hence its superior. This relationship of subordination and superordination is expressed in terms of *feto-mone*. But at the same time the term *feto-mone* indicates that the one cannot exist without the other, as life is impossible without the unity of male and female. Thus *feto-mone* groups form each other's complements.

Another relationship of superordination and subordination is that existing between husband and wife (*mone - fe*) and that between brother

---

[50] P. 317 above.

[51] Cf. p. 271 above. Cf. Taitoh in Beboki, with four plus eight plus one groups, diagram no. 11, p. 247.

[52] Cf. p. 340 above.

and sister (*nauf-fetof*). A husband's superiority is limited, however, by his being the inferior of his wife's brother. The latter, in turn, is aware of the fact that he owes his social superiority to his sister's marriage. For this reason he will not regard her primarily as his inferior, but as the woman who merits his protection. This relationship has important bearings on the political system, as it determines the relationship between the *amaf naek* and the ruler on the one hand, and that between the ruler and rulers of other princedoms, especially Liurai-Sonba'i, on the other. The relationship between the two halves of the realm of Insana is also a *feto-mone* one, the half living in the eastern and southern part being *mone* and superior in respect of that living in the west and north, which is *feto*. The relationship between the *usif* is similarly expressed in terms of a *feto-mone* relationship. The relationship between Kono-Oematan (Sonba'i's *usif*), for instance, is a *feto-mone* one, Kono being *mone,* because when mentioning the names the more important is always mentioned first, while when speaking of the relationship itself the more important one is generally mentioned last.

c. *Inside - outside; closed - open; silence - speech; immobile - active*

The relationship between inside and outside (*nanan - mone*) runs parallel with that between *feto - mone,* with one important reservation, namely that the centre, i.e. the interior, is superior to the exterior. The order of the words denoting this relationship is *mone-nanan,* the second always indicating the superior of the two, as in *feto-mone, olif-tataf.* "Inside" is equivalent to "the centre in which the ruler lives"; he is the supreme being, and is *feto.* The centre links the parts together, and is symbolic of the totality which it itself effects. That is why the interior is superior to the exterior. It is inside that the most sacred ritual is performed. It is inside, in the feminine half of the house (the left-hand half), that the maternal pillar (*ni ainaf*) is found (in the *amaf*'s house the *sirih* purses of the ancestors are suspended from this pillar). It is here, furthermore, that the hearth with its three or five stones is located: hence here again it is the symbol for the superior total. The masculine post (*hau monef*) is the sacrificial post outside (*mone*) the house. It is inside, in the "navel" of the realm, that the chief altar (*tola naek*) is located, adajacent to the ruler's palace. Here is also the centre, the culminating point of the war ritual; it is here that the harvest gifts are presented to the ruler, who stands in relation to Sonba'i, who in turn is the *liurai* of the supreme ruler of South Belu, just as the rulers

of Insana and Beboki are the latter's *loro* or suns. Here the harvest gifts are sacrificed to Uis Neno, who has given man the fruits of the earth.

We see the same connection between feminine and inside, and between masculine and outside in the agricultural ritual.[53] Winnowing is done by the women of the lineage; it is done by daylight and in complete silence. The corn, on the other hand, is tied into bundles by the men — at night; whilst men from other lineages are also invited to take part in this. They are noisy and set each other *pantun* to complete.

Inside is feminine, but activities carried out inside may be orientated either towards the inside or the outside. Hence the division, inside Kono's *sonaf,* of the clan of Sonla'i into a masculine and a feminine half. Sonla'i *mone* welcomes and addresses guests, and has his place at the masculine door at the southern end, while Sonla'i *feto* carries the harvest gifts up to the *sonaf* attic and has his place at the feminine door on the northern side.[54] These door may also be set in the south and west walls respectively, as in the Neno Beboki,[55] for south and east belong together, as do north and west.

Similarly there are, in the centre of Insana and of Beboki, a feminine *sonaf* for the ruler on the western side, and a masculine *sonaf* for the *kolnel* or the executive authority on the eastern side.

Unless special attention is given to the nature of the relationship in question, the fact that in this relationship inside (*nanan*) is equivalent to *feto,* but is superior to outside (*mone*), whilst in the *feto-mone* affinal relationship *mone* is superior, may create an impression of contradictoriness.

The relationship between the ruler, the leader of the ritual, who is inside, and his *usif,* whose sphere lies outside in spite of the fact that they belong to the palace in the centre, is also referred to by the term *feto-mone* (inside - outside). Hence the *usif* are masculine, but *feto* is in this case superior. In his relationship in respect of the *amaf naek,* the groups from which he receives his brides he is also *feto,* but here *feto* is inferior.

In a part of the realm such as Bikomi,[56] which is inclined to act independently although it lacks a centre of its own, the *usif* are *feto-mone*

---

[53] P. 91 above.
[54] P. 284 above.
[55] P. 244 above.
[56] P. 292 above.

in respect of each other. Here the term refers to three different kinds of relationship: (1) the affinal relationship, where Lake is *feto* because he receives brides from Senak; (2) the mobile - immobile relationship, where Lake is *mone* in respect of Senak by virtue of his position as Senak's executive authority, whilst Senak is *atupas*; and (3) the inside-outside relationship, where Lake is *feto* because together with Senak he constitutes the interior of Bikomi.

An excellent example of seeming inconsistency is offered by the Neno Beboki, in which the sacred objects of Beboki are kept. Here there are two main pillars: the Ni Liurai, which is *feto* and is classified with the north, and the Ni Sonba'i, which is *mone* and belongs with the south, as the north is feminine and the south masculine. (Liurai is the supreme ritual ruler of the Atoni area and therefore *feto*.) In actual fact, however, the position of the pillars is different, the Ni Liurai being on the southern side near the superior or men's door, and the Ni Sonba'i on the northern side, near the women's door.[57]

An analogous example of contradictoriness is found in the meaning of *tasi feto* and *tasi mone*, the feminine and the masculine sea. In Amarasi *tasi feto* refers to that part of the sea which is close to the coast, while *tasi mone* is the sea further away from the coast. Here, then, it is the inside and the outside that are contrasted.[58] In Central Timor, still in the Tetun speaking area, *tasi feto* is always the sea to the north of Timor and *tasi mone* that to the south; hence the same terms here distinguish between north and south. Application of the same category here produces different results, and the Atoni himself will immediately concede that this is so.

The complementary opposition between *feto-mone, mone-nanan* also relates to immobile and active. The Atoni has no abstract words for these concepts, although he says that the ruler is *atupas* (= he who sleeps). In Ambenu the feminine ruler is called Bobo (= he who sleeps on his belly).[59] With reference to the ruler it is always said that he only eats, drinks and sleeps, i.e. that he must not be active. He is the pivot around which all else revolves but which is itself immobile. His *usif* are therefore active as his executive authorities. In their capacity as war leaders they are *monef atonif* (= masculine men). In the war dance the women stand still in the one spot beating gongs, whilst the men in their sword-dance continually jump up high in the air as they circle around them

[57] Cf. p. 242 above.
[58] Cf. Cunningham, 1964, p. 50.
[59] P. 317 above.

(this dance is called *foti* = to run). And in the mixed dance (*bonet*) performed by both men and women, both form a closed circle. They move slowly, as in the *bone nakaf,* the dance performed for the skull taken in a head-hunting raid.[60]

d. *West/north - east/south*
left - right
yellow/black? - red/white?

As we have seen above, the west and north are associated with the feminine, and east and south with the masculine. The correct order is that of the course of the sun: east - south - west - north. What strikes us here, however, is that Timor lies in the southern hemisphere, at a latitude of 9 degrees south, so that for most of the year the course of the sun is different, as in actual fact it is almost perpendicularly above Timor for a considerable portion of the year. It is indeed remarkable that the Timorese, in spite of the fact that they have been living in Timor for many centuries, have not adjusted themselves to their "natural environment" in this one respect.

Of the four cardinal points, east and west (*neon sa'et* and *neon tes* = "sunrise" and "sunset" respectively) are the most important ones. The palaces of the ruler and his masculine counterpart are due west and east of each other respectively, as are the two storage huts of the *tobe,* namely the *tola molo* and *tola metan.*

When orientating himself the Atoni stands facing the east, so that the south is to his right (*ne'u*) and the north to his left (*li'*). Apart from this, right and left play an insignificant part in the Atoni's classificatory system. The *usif* are sometimes called the ruler's right and left hands — Kono and Oematan are called this in respect of Sonba'i, for instance. They are located in the east and the west respectively, however. As far as I know the terms for right or left do not occur anywhere in the ritual, except in the ritual preparation for war in the Tetun area.

Certain colours are most likely associated with the cardinal points in a fixed order. White (*muti*) is probably associated with the east. It is generally stated that the colour white goes with sunrise and with heaven.

Yellow (*molo*) is associated with the west.[61] Kono lives in Miomafo, to the east of Sonba'i: *mio* means "morning" and *mafo* "shadow",

[60] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 193.

[61] The fact that Cunningham classifies the west with black and the north with yellow must be attributable to an error on his part. He classifies white with the east and red with the south, furthermore (1964, p. 36).

"twilight". Hence Kono lives in the land of the morning twilight, i.e. the dawn. Oematan lives to the west of Sonba'i, in Molo, which is both the name of a mountain and the word for the faded yellow of the evening sky. Are we to assume that "shadow" stands for "black", so that we have here a dyadic opposition of *molo - metan,* or does the expression refer to the light of the breaking day, i.e. white?

Black is a difficult colour to place. It is said to be associated with the north, but no-one is certain as to this, and there are no concrete examples of it to be found anywhere in the texts. It is certain that *molo* and *metan* (yellow and black) form a pair as do west and north. And, moreover, they are always mentioned in the same order. We have further indication for this in the circumstance that every *tobe* has two altars, each with its storage hut: a *tola molo* and a *tola metan*; this is where the fruits of the earth are stored. Now the *tola metan* is situated to the east of the *tola molo,* for if there are only two, they should be placed facing each other. Is this another indication that black may possibly be associated with the east? If so there is question here of internal contradictoriness, as the opposed colours black and white are then classed together, a reversal of the kind we have come across before, or in other words, a polarity within the system of symbols itself.

The fact that *metan* is also classified with the soil is evident from the distinction drawn in Amfoan between the Hau Muti (= the white wood, i.e. the people who came from abroad) and the Hau Metan (= the black wood, or the descendants of the original inhabitants, who sprang from the earth). Likewise the civet-cat is called *meo metan* and is said to have emerged from the earth. If the earth and the feminine are associated with one another — a tenable supposition — black is also associated with the feminine, and hence with the north, as yellow is definitely associated with the west.

The location of red (*mtasa*) is even more uncertain. Red is the colour of war, courage and victory. Warfare was pre-eminently a masculine pursuit. The jacket of the war chief of Amfoan [62] was red. Red was the colour of the *sirih* spittle spat onto the warriors selected during the ritual preceding a headhunting raid.[63] Red was the colour of the kerchief with which his face was covered [64] and red and black were the colours of the sacrifices offered prior to the raid.[65] Red was said to be the

[62] Cf. 340 above.
[63] P. 337 above.
[64] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 195.
[65] P. 336. above. Middelkoop, 1963, p. 155. A red fowl is sacrificed to the *nitu* before the headhunting raid.

colour for victory and for Uis Neno, and black the colour for the *nitu pah,* the earth spirits. White and black also featured in this ritual — the enmity *le'u* was addressed as *le'u muti, le'u metan.*[66]

Seeing that red is associated primarily with the masculine pursuit of headhunting, and white is most probably associated with the east, red may belong to the south. The Atoni is very uncertain about this. Perhaps there is no set connection between the cardinal points and certain colours after all — with the exception of *molo,* which definitely belongs with the west — but it is dependent on the context in which the colours are used.

Even though it is not possible to associate the colours with the cardinal points and hence place them in the general dichotomy, they nonetheless have much symbolic significance. Sacrifices of white animals are always offered to Uis Neno [67] or are a symbol of purification.[68] At the conclusion of peace a white buffalo was killed, it being said that white was the colour of the *usif,* the *amaf* and the *meo* — hence it was classified with masculine figures. The Meko clan has a *meko* (disc) for its totem, for example, there being two varieties of the latter: the *meko muti,* styled *meko mone,* and the *meko metan* or *meko feto.*[69] Hence white is clearly associated with the masculine and black with the feminine here.

On another occasion the sacrifice of a white buffalo bull confirmed a new alliance.[70] And it was said that a black sacrifice offered during a period of drought had to bring black clouds.[71]

The final act in the war ritual was flinging a black dog's head into the enemy's village. Is black the colour of the *nitu* here? The colour of death is definitely primarily yellow. When the dog's head was flung away, the words: "*hute molo*" (= displaying the yellow) were shouted. This is clearly an announcement of death, an association which the Atoni is able to discern himself. When the cause of death is investigated, a "yellow" pig is sacrificed.[72] *Molo* is the colour which is prominent in the mortuary ritual.[73]

The symbolism is sometimes most obscure. Why was a white dog's

---

66 Middelkoop, 1963, p. 161.
67 P. 54 above.
68 Pp. 74, 240 above.
69 Middelkoop, 1963, p. 390; *idem,* 1949, p. 49.
70 *Idem,* 1963, p. 225.
71 P. 71 above.
72 Middelkoop, 1938a, p. 480.
73 Middelkoop, 1963, p. 12.

head buried by the victorious side in order to defy the enemy to come back out of the forest in which he had sought refuge?[74] Why is the corn harvest always referred to with the saying: "the white corn, the yellow corn"?[75] Is it only because the early variety is ivory white in colour and the late variety is yellow? Why are black animals sacrificed at the corn harvest[76] — because black is classified with yellow?

Just as the language of the ritual is characterized by parallelism, both halves of the sentence being either synonymous, thus intensifying the meaning of the line, or each other's opposites, so colours may complement each other in the same way. This is the case when the two lineages of the Toto clan are referred to as *molo* and *metan*[77]; the same applies to the two lineages of the *usif* clan of Tunbaba.[78] Similarly the *meo* used to wear a red and white jacket.

Colours may also indicate opposition, however. Each *meo,* for instance, was given a tuft of black and red hair, with the red hair on top, to put on his silver leg ornaments after he had participated in taking a head. Red and black are the colours for victory and death in this case. The clan Nenobais consists of two sub-clans: Nenobais *molo,* which consists of *meo,* and Nenobais *muti,* the members of which do not participate in headhunting.[79] Black and white occur even more frequently in contrast with one another. The most important of these contrasts is probably that between *nis metan* and *nis muti*: the black-toothed people, i.e. those who have their teeth filed, and the white-toothed people, i.e. those who do not as a rule file their teeth. I do not know the exact nature of this dichotomy, but in any case it cuts right across the whole of Atoni society — not only the Belu or the Helon are *nis metan.*[80] In Molo the *nis metan* are styled *siu lulat* (= upper arm tattoo), and the *nis muti* are called *siu luman* (= empty upper arm). The *nis muti* were not allowed to wear *ikat* cloths, they did not favour filing of the teeth, and if they did, they did so together with their wife or her brother, and did not blacken the teeth that were filed as the *nis metan* did, from which practice they derive their name. Formerly there were no affinal relationships between the *nis metan* and

---

[74] *Op. cit.,* p. 251.
[75] P. 81 above.
[76] P. 86 above.
[77] P. 343 above.
[78] P. 288 above.
[79] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 12.
[80] According to Cunningham, 1962, the Atoni are *nis muti* and wear red kerchiefs with white bands.

the *nis muti* unless a person from the one entered the *nono* of the other.[81]

The distinction encountered by Locher is equally puzzling. He discovered that in Molo people had double names, having a *nitu* name besides their ordinary one; but they could not, or would not, give an explanation for this.[82]

The colours of the cloths worn in particular areas is no more a criterion by which a distinction can be drawn between the Belu and the Atoni than the colour of the teeth. Amarasi, Amfoan, Ambenu and Molo cloths are red with a white central band. In Miomafo they are a brownish red, without any white, and partly blue. Amanatun and Amanuban are different again, Amanuban being represented by dark blue and Amanatun, to the east of it, by red with a white stripe in the centre. Approximately the same difference exists between Insana and Beboki, where the colours are mainly blue and brown. The question as to whether there is an analogy here between the colours of the cloths on the one hand and filing of the teeth on the other, is an intriguing one, speculative though it may be until further research is conducted. We know for a fact that there is no geographical correspondence, though there may be a symbolical one.

The Toto clan, which is affiliated with Kune, the original inhabitant of Timor, is one of the *nis metan,* while a Mela was called *nis muti.*[83] It is tempting to suppose that the *nis metan* may have belonged to the groups which "came forth from the earth". Opposed to this, however, is the tradition according to which filing of the teeth is a practice imported from abroad. The Atoni knows nothing about this. The symbolism of colours is a real one for him, but he only partially fits it into his general cosmic dualism.

e. *Earth-heaven; night-day*

No matter how important these oppositions may be to the Atoni, they nonetheless also defy a straightforward classification in the general dichotomy. In Belu heaven is clearly masculine, because rain is compared to male sperm. I did not encounter this belief anywhere in the Atoni area, although in Beboki people sometimes talk about a marriage between heaven and earth.[83a] Nevertheless the deity of the earth is Uis Pah, the *Lord* of the Earth, i.e. a god and not a goddess — the Atoni is not familiar with this concept.

[81] Middelkoop, 1949, pp. 102 ff.
[82] Communication Locher.
[83] Middelkoop, 1963, p. 238. Mela is one of Sonba'i's *amaf naek.*
[83a] In 1970 I discovered the same conception in Bikomi. Cf. note II p. 153.

The colour associated with heaven is white and that with the earth black; these colours are associated with the masculine and feminine principles respectively. A logical conclusion would therefore be that the earth is feminine too. The Atoni himself does not explicitly say so, but we have strong indications in the use of the epithet *Bi* (= woman) before names of villages in *pantun* that it is considered feminine. Entire princedoms may also be referred to in this way, e.g. Bi Noni (instead of Amfoan) and Bi Molo.[84] An indication that heaven is associated with the masculine and earth with the feminine is found in the myth of Sonba'i in which the son of heaven (*neno ana*) slaughters his sister, and the culture crops sprout forth from her limbs.[85]

The same applies to the opposition between night and day. Although night and earth are classified together, it can no more be said that night is *feto* than that day and heaven are distinctly *mone*. As we have said above, the women winnow the rice in the day-light, while the men bundle the corn by night. In serious droughts sacrifices are offered by day and the myths of origin recited by night.[86] Hence masculine activities are carried out at night. The name of the first Kune, who belongs with the earth, is Fai, i.e. night, and the name of his *le'u* is Nai Masu, Lord Smoke,[87] but he is never referred to as being *feto,* and in the affinal relationship he is *mone* in respect of Sonba'i and Kono. Sonba'i is the son of heaven and his name is often Manas, i.e. sun.[88] He is associated with the day. But as the ritual centre he is *feto*. There are inconsistencies everywhere in the system, which is not a closed system, therefore. This may be a result of the Atoni's propensity for constantly devising new polar oppositions. Just as a certain tension is inherent in the structures themselves, and as there are mutually contradictory structural principles, there is likewise a certain polarity in the very system of symbols with which he orders his world, and, what is more, even a total reversal of that order.

In the context of the discussion of the opposition between heaven and earth it may be appropriate to put forward the view that the Atoni does not oppose heaven and the underworld to one another. The *nitu* do not live in the nether world but on the "opposite side, on the other side of the river". They remain on earth and later on move to the

---

[84] *Op. cit.,* p. 234.
[85] P. 271 above.
[86] P. 70 above.
[87] P. 283 above.
[88] P. 268 above.

Mutis. But the Atoni is vague as to their exact whereabouts. The only indication which may point to the existence of an underworld is found in the myths of the crocodile living in the depths of the sea.[89] But these are so vague that they do not justify the assumption of a nether world. In that case there would also have to be an intermediate world, as that encountered in Bali, for instance.[90] Besides the dichotomy of heaven and earth, which finds expression primarily in the polar opposition of Uis Neno and Uis Pah,[91] there is that of *pah - nifu* (= earth and lake), between the dry land (*pah meto*) and the springs, i.e. the water found in the earth. This is probably the same dualism as that expressed in the Indonesian national anthem: *tanah air kita* (= our land - water, i.e. our native land).

Above this dual unity of earth and water, heaven stretches its vault.[92] And so we have once again a two-fold as well as a three-fold division.

f. *Sun - moon; gold - silver*

The sun and gold are associated with the ritual, feminine ruler who is, as we know, *neno ana* = the son of heaven or of the sun. Silver is the distinguishing mark of the masculine *usif* and the war leader, and it is of silver that the *meo*'s crescent-shaped ornaments are fashioned. According to the myth, Kune, the oldest lord of the land (*pah tuaf*) has a silver chair, whilst the golden chair is for Sonba'i.[93] The sun is the "man of heaven", whilst the moon is the "woman of heaven". The moon is sometimes even called the wife of Uis Neno, Neno here clearly referring to the sun.[94] Here too, then, we have a kind of reversal, as with day and night. We should not endeavour to ignore the inconsistencies of the system by grouping everything in accordance with a fixed dichotomy. The Atoni himself certainly does not attempt to do so. There are clearly a number of categories which do not fit in at all with the existing dualism. The Atoni is aware of the possibility of reversal of the usual order, however.

---

89 P. 323 above.

90 Swellengrebel, 1960, p. 42.

91 Uis Pah is always the Lord of the Earth, never a king; the latter is called *pah tuaf* or *paha in tuan*. Cunningham (1964, p. 51) refers to Uis Pah as a ruler. Apparently this is sometimes done in Amarasi (Middelkoop, 1960, p. 24), but in that case it is a consequence of the circumstance that the traditional religion is disappearing.

92 Cunningham, 1964, p. 47, gives the same classification and adds a dichotomy of *pah meto* and *tasi* (sea). This latter dichotomy I encountered nowhere.

93 P. 263 above.

94 P. 142 above.

g. *Reversal of the usual order*

We have seen instances of such reversal in the discussion of the curious contrast between *meo mone* and *meo feto*.[95] The *meo* is a pre-eminently male figure and this is the conception that all Atoni have of him. But in the same way that woman, the earth and the buffalo are fertile, the *meo* similarly has to reap the fruits of war and introduce new *nitu* into the *nono* of his own community in order to increase the number of its "souls". Here we have the same unity as that between *nitu* and *smanaf* which is found in the harvest ritual where the *pena nakaf, ane nakaf* (the head of the corn, the head of the rice) are hauled in with a harvesting-hook (*kait*) as offerings to Uis Neno. This same harvesting-hook features in the mortuary ritual,[96] where Uis Neno gathers in the harvest of death with it.

The contrast is essentially only an apparent one, therefore, though opposition it is definitely felt to be a real one. It is for this reason that there are *meo feto* besides *meo mone,* the latter having a feminine name, viz. "Lord Source-bed" (Nai Oe Nono) for his *le'u.* That is why the *meo mone* goes headhunting by night and his colours are *molo* and *metan* — this expresses the feminine aspect of his work; he is the symbol of fertility. The *meo feto,* on the other hand, does not set out until day has broken, when the morning-star (the name of his enmity *le'u*) has appeared in the sky. Being a hero he attacks an entire band at once.

To some extent war in all its aspects is a reversal of the usual order. Or perhaps it is more correct to speak of a complementary order. When the *meo* prepares himself ritually for the headhunting raid, sexual intercourse is taboo. Woman is no longer the source of life, or of the *smanaf,* but the *meo* himself has to reap the harvest of death, namely the *nitu.* Only after the raid will he be led back to the sphere of coolness by a virgin. During war the *le'u nono* or fertility *le'u* is put out of action, and the *le'u musu* begins to operate in its place. After the raid it in turn is put out of action by means of the appropriate ritual, and is put away in the *le'u* house. Hence life and death are two complementary spheres.

We find a similar reversal of the usual order in the mortuary ritual,[97] of which the *atoni amaf* is the leader. The *ume* of the dead person and those of the affinal lineages are then in mourning. The primary objective of the mortuary ritual is to transfer the mourners, "the snivelling ones,

---

[95] P. 342 above.
[96] Middelkoop, 1949, p. 31; p. 352 above.
[97] Middelkoop, 1949, p. 44.

the tearful ones", from the sphere of mourning and death. In conclusion, in many cases years later, the "meal of separation" is prepared. Then the dead person's social ties with the *ume* of his affines are considered to be completely severed. And all the mourners then have "a bright countenance, bright eyes" (*hum miu, mat miu*) once more. Now, the mortuary feast is also attended by groups which belong neither to the *ume* of the deceased nor to that of his immediate affines. These come from "across the river". They do not mourn, and hence have "bright countenances - bright eyes", but belong to the sphere of death during the mortuary ritual. Toto, Middelkoop's informant, remarked in this context: "This is a reversal, for these *hum miu, mat miu* belong with the deceased across the river during the mortuary ritual". For the purpose of the ritual or the "table of separation" is, after all, to cause the deceased to fly "across the river". This is one of the reasons why the dead are associated with birds, the *finikliu* and the *nus*: the birds which are said to be the spirits of the deceased. It is essential, then, that there should be a group which may be placed on the side of death and thus represent the deceased so that the ritual may address the dead in concrete terms.

h. *Remaining Categories*

It is quite impossible to fit the categories of superordination and subordination, *olif-tataf,* younger and elder (brother), in with the general dichotomy in any way. This distinction determines the whole of the social and political life of the community and may be compared with the *feto-mone* one, although it has a different character, cutting right across the dichotomy of masculine and feminine because, unlike it, it lacks a complementary nature but rather gives expression to the principle of rivalry between persons and groups of persons who are nonetheless related.

There is further the distinction between father and child (*amaf - ana*). This refers to the order of precedence in respect of authority, in the first place inside the *ume,* between different generations, and secondly in the political life. In the village of Sipi-Sekon, for instance, Nai Bobe is the *amaf* and the various other clans settled there are his *ana.*[98] The heads of the sub-territories of the realm are called the great fathers; the ruler stands above them because he is *neno ana,* the child of heaven.

[98] P. 187 above.

The distinction between good and evil does not fit in any possible way into the existing, fixed frameworks either. The word for "good" is *leko,* for "evil" *kanleko* (= lit. "not good"). There are many kinds of evil: every kind of misfortune (e.g. failure of the crops, disease and death by accident or violence) is evil. Evil is manifested in the superior strength of the enemy and his success during a headhunting raid in the community. Any offence against the usual order, such as incest, murder or theft, is also evil. However, a headhunting raid is of course not the same as murder, while cattle raids in enemy territory are even "good". But what of a cattle raid which leads to war? The Atoni himself is aware of the fact that he lives on a razor-edge between good and evil.

Acting in accordance with the established order is good. The Indonesian word that would fit this concept is *adat. Adat* is usually defined as a system of legal rules, like *adat*-law. This is a rather limited view, however. Schärer's definition, in his work on the Ngadju Dajak, is a much better one:

> "Hadat rules the whole of life and thought, and all relations between man and the cosmos. It is the guide through life, and only if man constantly orients himself by it does he step surely and go through life as the true man who submits himself obediently to the godhead and carries out its will, and thus receive well-being for himself and for the entire cosmos." [99]

Adat is a system of life. The Atoni calls it *lais meto.*[100] *Lasi,* usually used in parallelism with *toni* in ritual texts, means "rite", "word", "issue", "matter", "case". The Atoni also uses the word in the sense of "to have words or a dispute with someone" — in that case *lasi* means "legal case" or "dispute". *Lais meto* is a contraction of *lais atoin Pah Meto,* i.e. the ritual of the Atoni, the people of the dry land; Pah Meto is the Atoni's name for his own country.[101] *Lais meto* refers to the rules of conduct, which have their roots in the cosmic order. This order must be preserved at all events, and it is dangerous to commit an offence against it — even to the extent of its being dangerous to use a wrong word in a ritual (*lasi*). An Atoni once said with reference to the mortuary ritual "I am not well acquainted with this ritual and therefore cannot recite it, for I shall surely die if I commit an error".[102] *Lais*

---

[99] Schärer, translation by Needham, 1963, p. 98.

[100] Cunningham, 1964, pp. 34, 63, uses *atulan.* This is not a Timorese word, but an Indonesian loan-word (*aturan*). His translation of *lasi* with enmity, legal dispute, fight, conflict, is too one-sided, and hence not quite correct.

[101] Timor, from *timur* - east, is a name by which Indonesian seafarers must have called the island.

[102] Middelkoop, 1949, p. 144.

meto is the strict order which prevails in the land and has its foundations in the rites and myths. It is often called: *lais Uis Neno, toin Uis Neno.* It is not only the divine order, but is also the course of events to which man is accustomed and in accordance with which he should act. For instance, when the Dutch arrived the *lais Kompani* (the rules of the Company) were introduced. It is "bad" to act agains the *lais meto,* as it amouns to acting against the norms and would bring down misfortune and disaster upon oneself or one's *ume,* or upon the crops or the cattle of the community.

The Atoni distinguishes the categories of good and evil by the very nature of his human condition. But these categories cannot be placed in the existing dualism. At most one can say that Uis Neno is the giver of all that is good and that the earth spirits are the agents of all evil. But this does not assign good and evil a place in the cosmic order, for while the fertility of the crops and the cattle and of woman is associated with the earth — the earth brings forth life, and life is good — the earth is also associated with the *nitu* or death. For this reason I have not included the opposition between life and death in the dichotomy. Of course this opposition exists, but it does not fit in with the cosmic dualism either.

The same can be said of the opposition between sacred and profane. Although death and life may be said to belong together and to be each other's complement in the Atoni's way of thinking, this cannot be said of the sacred and the secular. The sacred is *le'u, maputu, malala* — heat and flames. The opposite of *maputu* is *mainikin* (= coolness, well-being). *Maputu* means "dangerous"; here man communicates with the hidden forces. *Maputu* also describes the burning down of the garden plots before they can be planted. Before the trees are felled a sacrifice first has to be offered to the *nitu,* the *le'u* and the Lord of the earth.[103] And after burning, a lengthy ritual, the *sifo nopo* ritual, is required to make the earth *mainikin* again. The procedure observed in war is analogous to this. War is also described as *maputu.* Rites and sacrifices are required before the warriors set out, and after the raid the *meo* has to be made *mainikin* again. Both in agriculture and in war heat is necessary in order to be able to gather in the harvest. Hence *maputu* is sacred. But it cannot possibly be said that *mainikin* means "secular". *Mainikin* means "well-being", and is too closely associated with the *le'u nono,* the fertility *le'u,* to be said to mean "secular".

---

[103] P. 60 above.

"Sacred" is best rendered with *le'u*. The sacred is dangerous, and this danger may bring about evil. This is apparent from compounds formed with *le'u*: *amle'ut* is that which brings evil or misfortune; *namle'u* means: it is broken, spoilt; an *ume namle'u* is a house that has fallen into disrepair; *mo'et amle'ut* is to act incorrectly, to act against the *lais meto,* or against the established order or the norms (*mo'e* = to act, do).

Although the Atoni is aware of the contrast between sacred and profane he has no word to describe the latter — it is simply the direct opposite of *le'u*. *Mo'e meto* is the way we, the Atoni Pah Meto, behave in our day to day existence. The further removed from the ritual sphere, the more ordinary or "profane" man's activities tend to be. To name a few such activities: going to market, bartering with the Chinese, the women's household chores, their tending the pigs, the children's play. But even such ordinary activities are never far removed from the ritual sphere. Cooking may be an every-day activity, but the fire of the hearth is connected with certain rites. For months spinning is the ordinary, almost every-day work of the women, but there is a ritual aspect to weaving. The tapping of palm juice is on the face of it an ordinary activity, but the whole of agriculture is surrounded by rites. Our conclusion must therefore be that on the one hand the totality of life has its ordinary "secular, profane" pursuits, but that on the other it is as a whole surrounded by rites and rooted in the sacred sphere.

As far as the Atoni of Timor are concerned, it is clear that the polarity of the sacred and the profane does not fit in with the categories of the general dichotomy and therefore does not fit in either with any sort of classification of the political community. It is therefore incorrect, in my view, to speak of "secular lords" and "ritual lords" [104] as opposed to each other. This does not detract in any way from the great significance of the opposition. Particular objects are holy or sacred; others are made this through the ritual, in the same way that the ingredients of the *le'u musu* are made sacred. People may also be sacred; especially so the ruler, who is responsible for the ritual. Generally speaking people are not sacred, but may move in a sacred sphere when performing certain acts, that is, whenever they communicate with the hidden world during the performance of some ritual, or during warfare, at birth, circumcision, marriage, or anything connected with death and "the meal of separation", i.e. the mortuary ritual. Women and children never

---

[104] Cunningham, 1964, p. 60; 1965, p. 371.

perform a ritual but are not as a result profane; they may be closely involved in a ritual.

Even if one were to agree with the statement by Durkheim and Mauss according to which "things are above all sacred and profane, pure or impure, friends or enemies, favourable or unfavourable",[105] one could not base the classification of people and objects in the general dichotomy of male and female, outside and inside, right and left, heaven and earth, day and night, and whatever else it may include, on this distinction between the sacred and the profane. This is not what Durkheim and Mauss are actually saying either, although we find this thought expressed by their pupil Hertz.[106] He suggests that distinctions connected with space as well as those connected with the human body all have their origin in the contrast between the sacred and the profane. According to him the sacred is always associated with the right and the profane with the left. But if in the case of the Atoni the sacred and the profane were connected with this classification, he would tend to associate the sacred with the left-hand side, the left being associated with the feminine, and the sacred centre being feminine. The same would be true of the Meru, where the ritual Mugwe is associated with the left. Needham [107] opposes this to "the political power" of the elders, who are associated with the right; or as the French synopsis of his article states, the point in question is the opposition "*de l'autorité religieuse et profane*". Unquestionably the Mugwe is sacred, but I am not convinced that the elders are secular. They do not appear to be so from Bernardi's [108] publication. Here black is associated with the ritual, and the elders, like the Mugwe, wear black cloaks. Needham [109] himself finds these data difficult to reconcile. When looking for the distinction between the sacred and the profane we should always bear in mind Needham's citation of Leach: "We must take each case as it comes... Our concern is with what the significant social categories are; not with what they ought to be".[110]

---

105 Durkheim and Mauss. Translation by Needham, 1963, p. 85.
106 Hertz, translation by Needham, 1960, pp. 111, 110.
107 Needham, 1960, pp. 32, 22.
108 Bernardi, 1959.
109 Needham, 1960, p. 28.
110 Needham, 1963, XLI.

CHAPTER XIII

TOTALITY, UNITY AND ADAPTABILITY OF THE SYSTEM

A. TOTALITY

We have been able to discover the Atoni's classificatory system from data which have come to light in our analysis of agriculture and the social and political structures and their connected rites and myths. We have not devoted a separate chapter to it, but it emerged from data collected for other purposes. Now that we have become acquainted with the categories it is clear that the political community of the Atoni is indeed his "*polis*" or his world. It now becomes clear also what the frameworks are in which he sees his world, by means of which categories he arranges it and by means of what structural principles he gives it shape: we see how he accommodates everything in a "totalitarian" system. This system is not a closed one — just as the structural principles of the kinship system tend partly in different directions, this is also the case with the categories of his classificatory system. The Atoni is confronted daily with this all-embracing system of life (though not a closed one) in its most static form in the house in which he lives, and in the *lopo* in the centre of his village. He hears it anew each year in the rites of the agricultural cycle when he plants and harvests "Liurai-Sonba'i". He experiences it in a more dynamic way in his kinship relationships, which, though they may change, nonetheless follow a set course. Its centre and its culminating point he finds in the political system, however, where the ruler is the son of heaven.

Together with the *amaf naek* and the *usif*, "the lords of the land, the lords of the lake" he goes and brings his harvest gifts in order to "feed and provide for the son of the moon and the son of the sun, the son of the Koko and the son of Nai Bate", so that "Liurai-Sonba'i may eat without anxiety, drink without anxiety".

1. *The house*

The order as embodied in the Atoni house in Amarasi has been

admirably described by Cunningham. His conclusion is that the house represents the relationship between "the symbolic and social order", and he suggests quite justifiably that his analysis may contribute towards placing the Atoni house "within such great and ancient traditions as Hindu - Buddhist architecture and ancient Asian, Near Eastern, and Central and South American cities".[1]

The Atoni house is oval in shape. In Amarasi, where Cunningham spent the greater part of his time, it was formerly oval too, but now the square house hase become more common.[2] Cunningham demonstrates most convincingly that the structure of the house embodies the cosmic and social order. For the Atoni his house is indeed an open book in which the order of his world is clearly written. In my view Cunningham erred on one important point, however, and it is interesting to see how this is connected with his views in respect of the political structure.

In the ground-plan in diagram no. 19, k represents the *ni ainaf* or maternal pillar. If there are four pillars the one behind it is the *sulit*, and is its pendant; in that case the one in front is sometimes called *ni ainaf nakaf* (= main maternal pillar) and the one behind it simply *ni ainaf*. Now, the more traditional, oval house often has only two pillars. Cunningham also calls the front pillar in the right-hand half of the house (i.e. the side to one's right when one stands inside the house facing the door) *ni ainaf*. But in actual fact this pillar has no name, and the relationship of the *ni ainaf* to it is a *feto - mone* one.[3] Cunningham does mention the analogy between the feminine, left part of the interior of the house, with its bed, its hearth and its maternal pillar, and the *atupas*. But just as his views on the position of Uis Bala or the *kolnel* in his description of the political structure are, in my view, incorrect — he does not describe him as the *atupas'* antipole — he similarly has no attention for the *feto-mone* relationship between the two main pillars of the house.[4]

---

[1] Cunningham, 1964, pp. 34-68. It is so much the more difficult for archaeologists to discover the symbolic significance of the palaces which they excavate, however.

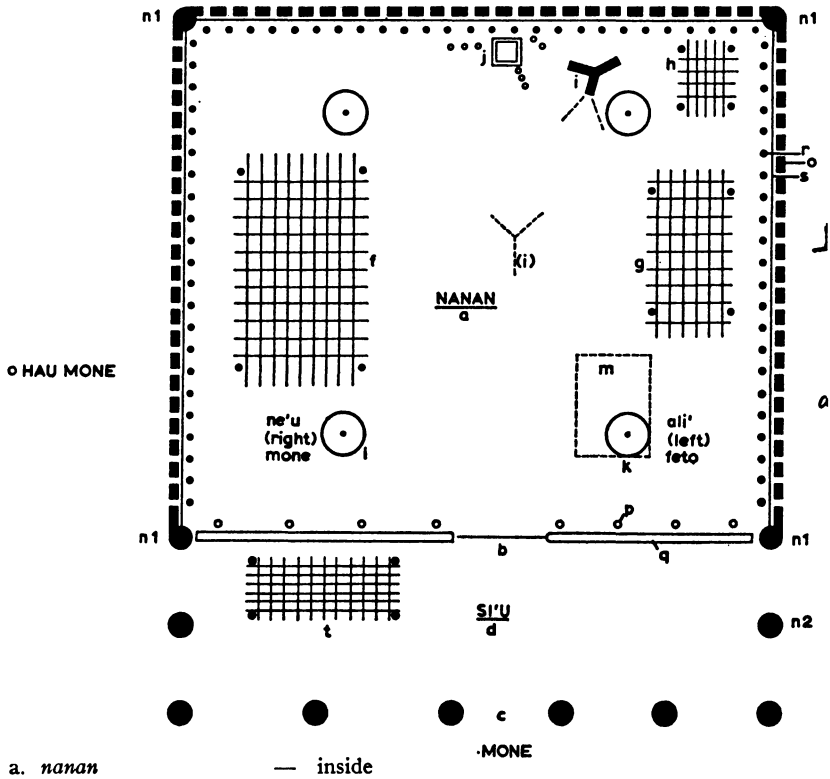
[2] In a report written as late as 1917 the houses are simply described as being round.

[3] In any case this is so in Beboki, Insana and Miomafo, and according to Middelkoop it is true for the whole of the area, including Amarasi.

[4] It is perhaps not quite as worth noting that in addition to the dichotomy of inside - outside (*nanan - mone*), he further distinguishes that of these two combined as against everything not included by these, calling the latter *kotin*. But the meaning of *kotin* is "rear" and it is generally opposed to *matan*, "front".

TOP VIEW

DIAGRAM No. 19



a. *nanan* — inside
b. *eno* — door
c. *toi* — entrance
d. *si'u* — periphery
e. *mone* — outside; *pan mone* — masculine pole, altar pole
f. *harak ko'u* — large bench or couch
g. *harak tupa* — sleeping-bench
h. *harak manba'at* — serving-bench
i. (*i*) *tunaf* — hearth, possibly in centre and made up of three or five stones
j. *nai oe teke* — fixed water-tank
k. *ni ainaf* — maternal pillar, which is *feto* (feminine)
l. right-hand pillar, which is *mone* (masculine)
m. *toi* — entrance to loft
n. 1 and n. 2 *ni manu* — chicken pillars
o. *haef* — 'foot', small exterior pillars supporting wall
p. *haef mese* — 'first foot'
q. *piku* — wall
r. *rusi* — small interior pillars supporting wall
s. *rupit* — ledge under the wall
t. *harak* — bench for guests to sit on

The distinction between these two complementary sides of the house is clearly apparent, the masculine, right-hand side with its large bench for sitting on and the pillar which is *mone* being opposed to the feminine, left-hand side with the *ni ainaf* and the three hearth stones with beside them the bench on which food is served and the bench for sleeping on. The water vat has its place either in the centre or in the left-hand part, but never in the right-hand side, as water is classified with the earth, which is associated with the feminine.

Both these parts combine to form a whole; together they make up the interior and as such are *feto* in respect of the exterior (*mone*) where the *hau monef*, the masculine sacrificial pole, which often ends in three prongs, is located.

Inside and outside are separated by the *si'u* or "rim", the front verandah with the seat for the guests. This constitutes the transition between the two, just as we found a "rim" or periphery between the palace and the quarters of the princedom of Insana. Nonetheless this "rim" is considered to be outside rather than inside. It is here that the guests from outside are welcomed. That is why its masculine nature is more prominent — on the analogy of the periphery of the palace of Insana, where the counsellors are called "the old men, the old women".[5]

The corner posts of the house are called the *ni manu* (= "chicken posts") as are the eight or four posts around the front verandah.[6] In view of the fact that the *ni ainaf* and its masculine counterpart form the centre, just as the ruler and his masculine counterpart are the centre of the realm, it is very striking that these posts should be called *ni manu*, as this is what the ruler calls his subjects, who are *in manu, in kolo* (= his fowls, his birds). There are four large pillars (besides a number of smaller ones) — just as there are four main clans, each headed by an *amaf naek*, in addition to a number of smaller clans. Just as a number of sub-sections are collectively referred to by the symbolic number eight, there are similarly eight small *ni manu*.[7]

In addition to his dwelling the Atoni has a *lopo*, which serves as

---

[5] P. 207 above.

[6] There are four in photograph 27. This is often the case with ordinary houses.

[7] The door faces the south, so that the masculine right-hand side is that on the western side, i.e. if one stands inside the house with one's face to the door; and the feminine left-hand side is the eastern side. Hence this does not correspond with the general classification, and is therefore never mentioned.

communal house and storage hut.[8] The *lopo* clearly symbolizes the four groups surrounding a fifth which is the feminine centre. For it has four pillars with in the centre the *ni ainaf*, which is not supported by the ground but rests on the floor of the loft, on the analogy of the feminine ruler raised above the four sub-sections of the princedom. So the house and the *lopo* are for the Atoni — lacking a script as he does — a book in which the order of his world is recorded. They are the reflection and embodiment of the categories of his thinking.

2. *Agriculture*

The manner in which agriculture is fitted into the total system of life has become sufficiently clear in the description of every phase of the cycle of agricultural activities in relation to the ritual. The cultural act to which the word "culture" owes its primary meaning, namely the tilling of the soil (*colere*), is inseparably linked with the other cultural act part excellence, namely the religious cult, in which man, who has learnt to master his natural environment, concedes that he is dependent on the forces of the hidden world to whose benevolence he submits himself, while at the same time he tries to influence them by means of a ritual that is pure.

This is universally true of all archaic agricultural societies, though the manner in which it finds expression here is typically Timorese; it is integrated into the system of life, or, in other words, the system of life determines the place of the actions relating to both *colere* and the religious cult. Certain structural principles found in the kinship system and the political system also obtain in the case of agriculture.

In the first place we have here the fundamental indissolubility of the ties between a particular group of kin and a particular territory. One *tobe* disposes over a particular, well defined territory on behalf of certain *ume* or lineages.

The second structural principle was the requirement to reinforce the vital force (*smanaf*) of the natal *ume*. In the case of agriculture this involves multiplying the *ane nakaf, pena nakaf* (= the head of the rice and the head of the corn). The same applies to animal husbandry, which is ritually connected with agriculture. The aim here is to increase the "number of souls".

The third structural principle, that of reciprocity, here finds expression in the exchange of gifts before marriage. If there already

[8] See photographs no 26, 32 and 33.

exists an affinal alliance between two *ume*, the bride-receiving group knows the approximate size of the bridewealth. This may be expressed in terms of buffalo which, however, usually are or have to be substituted by silver coins or jewellery and coral beads, and of cloths and pigs as counter-gifts.

These are the fundamental categories in which agriculture is placed within the totality of the system of life.

They are realized within the matrices of Timorese symbolism. Numbers, especially the number four, exercise a strong influence on social and political structures. The general symbolism of *feto-mone* is similarly encountered in the division of labour.[9] But this symbolism does not extend to the crops, although we do find the requirement of silent reserve during the women's work, which is performed strictly indoors, during the rice harvest, as opposed to the openness and boisterousness of the men's work during the corn harvest.

3. *The Kinship System*

The fact that the kinship system is closely interwoven with the total system of life and occupies a central position in it, is evident from the analysis of the kinship system.

Here we need only turn back to the question as to the possibility of double unilinearity as a structural principle. Van Wouden believed that this could be concluded on the basis of a unilineal form of descent and a connected system of cross-cousin marriage. Although we did find unilinearity of descent, it was not in a pure form, and although we encountered cross-cousin marriage as well, we found that such marriages are not the general practice. I have rejected the hypothesis of a double unilineal system, partly because it does not furnish the key, as a theoretical structural model, to the social reality of the kinship system of the Atoni.

We must now place these data on relationships in the kinship system side by side with the data derived from agriculture, the political system and the total system of life.

Four grains of corn are planted in one hole. Four residential units (*kuan*) belong together,[10] one *kuan* originally being inhabited by one *ume* or lineage, i.e. by the members of one clan (*kanaf*). If the supposition that therefore originally four such residential units must have

[9] P. 91 above.
[10] P. 95 above.

been inhabited by only four lineages is a plausible one, we may safely assume that the traditional community was made up of four lineages residing in one particular, well defined territory. The fact that the word "*kuan*" is applied both to a residential unit inhabited by various lineages and consisting of a number of hamlets, and to a residential unit inhabited by one lineage strengthens this supposition. We should bear in mind, however, that although the word *lopo* is used with reference to a hamlet as a constituent part of a *kuan* in part of the Atoni area, it is not found throughout the entire area, as in some parts the *lopo* as a community house is not known.

In the political community the key names are always those of the four most prominent "great fathers". Every political community is referred to by four names, as, for example, in the ritual following the death of the *atupas* in Insana [11] — there are similar examples everywhere, right down to the village level.[12]

Within the political community we further find a dichotomy dividing it into a masculine and a feminine half. In Insana and Ambenu [13] these clearly still are the two parts which are united through the centre; but the dichotomy into masculine and feminine groups is found everywhere, as, for example, in Molo.[14] In Bikomi, Taitoh and Manlea [15] we find the same dichotomy within relatively independent sub-sections of the political community. And similarly we find a division into a masculine and a feminine *ume* in two of the four groups which together constitute the villages of Sipi and Sekon.[16] In the myth, too, as well as in the ritual, four names, four groups, masculine and feminine, constantly recur. And the same is observable in the house.

If we add to this the almost universal dichotomy found in the total system of life and the symbolic significance of the numbers four and eight, a double unilinear system coupled with a circulating connubium is no longer inconceivable, though only as a likely theoretical possibility, as a purely theoretical model. Then almost anything will fit in with it, even though it is not (or no longer) fully realized and is a closed system only from a theoretical point of view. It is not altogether unreasonable to assume that it may at one time have actually conformed

---

[11] P. 199, C. 69-72, above.
[12] P. 187 above.
[13] Pp. 222, 317 above.
[14] P. 276 above.
[15] Pp. 292, 250, 251 above.
[16] P. 188 above.

to practical reality. If we make this assumption a historical interpretation becomes inevitable. It may have been the case, and there are some indications which may possibly be interpreted as pointing in that direction, but there is no conclusive proof. We should ask ourselves the question, moreover, as to what it is we are explaining with it — certainly not the kinship system as it functioned in the Atoni area in the pre-colonial period.

Furthermore, the assumption of a double unilineal system coupled with an asymmetric connubium here more or less implies that the indications which we found for this in the agricultural and political systems and in the total system of life, as well as in the rites and in the myths, are the consequence or reflection of relationships as found in the kinship system. This is what Durkheim [17] has suggested. A grand hypothesis, but definitely one-sided, as Needham [18] shows in the penetrating introduction to his translation of Durkheim's work. This is equally clear in respect of the Atoni area.

Why should the division into feminine and masculine, and the principles of bipartition and quadrupartition have derived from a pattern of social grouping or from a double unilineal system which simply does not exist? We have found a different solution, what is more, for the existence side by side of a matrilineal system in South Belu and a patrilineal system in the Atoni area, especially further to the west, by analysing the affinal relationships in the border area, particularly Beboki. There we found a frequent occurrence of permanent uxorilocality of marriage as a result of the custom of not paying a bridewealth, so that the children come to belong to the patrilineage of the wife's father. If marriage remains uxorilocal for many successive generations descent automatically becomes matrilineal.[18a] It is not necessary to use the model of a double unilineal system in this case. The essential point in question is more likely that man has to arrange his world in some sort of pattern so as not to lose his foothold in the surrounding chaos. We may logically assume that in so doing, man is automatically prompted by the elementary realities of his own existence to refer to these when creating order in his world. Man and woman live as husband and wife: life itself is dependent on this form of dual unity. Besides this, he can see the dualism of heaven and earth, day and night, sun and moon, east and west; when "orientating" himself he sees south and north as

[17] Durkheim. Transl. Needham, 1963, p. 82.
[18] Needham, 1963, XXXVII.
[18a] See p. 120 above.

right and left respectively. It is man's innate desire to create a certain order, and it is because of this propensity that he is the creator of culture. The next obvious step is to combine certain opposites in a series of pairs. This can assume such excessive proportions that everything is classified in one, all-encompassing dichotomy, as was done by the Chinese.[19] But it may also take place on a more modest scale, as is the case with the Atoni. Here any two things which are complementary or which combine to form a unity are accommodated in one classificatory scheme. In addition the Atoni has other principles by means of which he orders his world, similarly based on the fundamental realities of his existence. These are furnished not only by his historical mode of existence, but also by the manner in which he provides for himself, that is, agriculture and animal husbandry where the Atoni are concerned.

It is impossible to indicate the primacy of any particular aspect of human existence in a culture, the capacity to think (the human mind) not excluded.

But once the categories have been established, and the frameworks within which human life is lived have been recognized, when a certain order has been created, the words of the ritual (*toni ma lasi*) have been formulated, the *lais meto* (the ritual of the people of the dry land) emerges consciously, clear for everyone to see, with in the background the more or less unconscious classificatory principles which constitute the matrices of man's world. Everything is classified in fixed categories. It is difficult to say to what extent the Atoni is conscious of his system of life, of the order of his symbolism or of the functional relationship between the different aspects of his culture.[20] The analogy of a language which is spoken in accordance with fixed grammatical rules of which the speaker is unaware, is only valid in part. The Atoni are very much aware of what is unique and characteristic of their own culture. The South Belunese speak explicitly of the femininity and immobility of their ruler and of the matrilineal system which is found only there. Similarly they fully realize that further away to the north and west there is a shift away from this centre of matrilinearity towards an increasingly more distinctly patrilineal system of descent, coupled with a decrease of the ruler's immobility. The degree to which the Atoni is conscious of the categories and the basic structures of his

[19] Granet, 1934.
[20] Cf. Van Baal, 1966, p. 948.

system of life is very much dependent on the personality of the individual. In Beboki, for instance, I had many a long conversation about these matters with Sikone Alumas, an old man who had done a great deal of thinking about his own culture, whereas the average person knew much less about it. Knowledge of the *lais meto* is not strictly esoteric, but is nonetheless restricted to a number of people whose function makes such knowledge prerequisite. The general lack of such knowledge can perhaps be attributed to the great changes which are taking place: the old frameworks have to a large degree become devoid of their original meaning and significance, leaving man bewildered and confounded.

4. *The Political System*

We have found abundant evidence for the significance of classificatory thinking for the political system. The whole of the political life is ordered in accordance with the fixed matrix of the classificatory system. For instance, the seven or eight lineages which live in Sipi-Sekon, are reduced to four, with a fifth one making up the centre.[21] The same pattern is found in an even more pronounced form in the political system of Insana. The multiplicity of clans and names here is always arranged in sets of four. And so all of the categories of the system of life are brought to bear on the organization of the political life.

Now that we have acquainted ourselves with the system of life and come to see it as a totality, it remains for us to make one further observation concerning the position and function of the ruler in this totality. He constitutes the centre of the system of life. Here we should think in the first place of Liurai-Sonba'i as they are mentioned in the ritual of Insana.

This ruler — or possibly this pair of rulers — also forms the centre of agriculture. Sonba'i is the giver of the agricultural crops. Liurai-Sonba'i are alternative names for the two chief crops, corn and rice. The ruler is the lord of the rice and corn (*tuan pena ane*). That is why harvest gifts have to be presented to him — if this were omitted, the crop might fail. There is a close connection between the ruler (especially Sonba'i) — who is regarded as the son of heaven — and rain. When we recall the uncertainty and irregularity of the rainfall in Timor,[22] the significance of the ruler becomes even more obvious. We might

[21] P. 188 above.
[22] P. 30 above.

even ask whether there is perhaps some correspondence between the unpredictability of the weather and the capriciousness, arbitrariness and despotism of the ruler, particularly Sonba'i, and his subjects' acceptance of this. Heaven (*neno*) sends down floods and droughts in such an unpredictable, unreliable way that the harvest, and hence man's livelihood, are most precarious matters again and again. So the harvest gifts have to be presented to the ruler, as "if Liurai-Sonba'i should eat with anxiety, drink with anxiety, he would surely be angry with us and — furious with us".[22a] In the myths, too, he regularly recurs as a tyrannical and despotic ruler. And even as late as 1940 Timorese rulers could be capricious and much dreaded in the practical administration, as, for example, Pae Nope of Amanuban (see photograph).

Similarly the ruler is the social centre of the community. Liurai-Sonba'i is "the holy mother, the holy father" of his people.[23] He occupies an intermediate position between the living and the deceased. He is the central, connecting link between the community of the living and the world of the ancestors.

From a political viewpoint he is the centripetal force in the "navel of the realm". For this reason he is the lord of his realm (*paha in tuan*).

Religiously speaking he is the sacral centre. He is the custodian of the sacred objects of the realm, he is the son of heaven, or "the son of the moon, the son of the sun".[24] That is why he is *le'u* (sacred) and is referred to as the son of the Koko and Nai Bate, the mythical *le'u* animals which represent all that is sacred and dreaded in heaven and on earth. Liurai and Sonba'i are both associated with the python,[25] and the ruler of Kupang and Us Senak of Bikomi with the crocodile,[26] that is, with the earth and the night. But on the other hand, he is the son of the moon and the sun, and in Beboki, for instance, lives in the Neno Beboki (= heaven of Beboki). He is everywhere the son of heaven. Here we see the polarity of the two opposed concepts of heaven and earth united in the one person, such as we have already frequently encountered in the system of symbols of the classificatory system. The

---

[22a] See p. 195 above, B. 14 and 15.
[23] P. 198 above, C. 65.
[24] P. 191 above, A. 4.
[25] Grijzen, 1904, p. 21, communication Middelkoop, and communication Us Senak of Bikomi respectively.
[26] P. 294 and p. 322 above.

Sonba'i myth [27] concerning the man who, as a filthy Atoni, asked the daughters of Kune for water and became as radiant as light itself when he had poured water all over himself should be interpreted in this light. A similar myth was recorded by Cunningham in Insana.[28] According to it the daughter of the ruling Afen-pah refused to give the *atupas,* who had come from abroad unaccompanied, water. So then he picked a leaf off a plant and wiped away the charcoal, upon which his face became bright. This is the symbolism of the *atupas'* association with earth and heaven, night and day. He represents both as the cosmic dual unity. That is why he is called *aina-ama* (mother and father). This terms does not denote a bisexual nature, but is applied to him because he represents the two aspects of the community, namely the masculine and the feminine aspects. He is *feto* but does not lack a *mone* aspect. Towards the west his masculine aspect is the predominant one, coinciding with a decrease in the importance of the function of his masculine counterpart. But towards the east too, he has a *mone* side, because he constitutes the foundation for his masculine counterpart, the *kolnel,* who realizes that which is implicit in the *feto*-ness of the ruler. He represents the totality of heaven and earth, and likewise that of the ancestors, both female and male.[29] This combination of male and female aspects is further brought out by the myth in which Sonba'i's sister was slain and the culture crops sprouted forth from her limbs. And the motif of night and day, dark and light, further recurs in Sonba'i's relationship to his wives — they are "his darkness". They belong with the night and are therefore forbidden to leave the house by day.[30]

In the total system of life he is located not only in the "navel of the realm", but in the very centre of the world in which the Atoni lives. He is *le'u* by virtue of his position on the periphery between this visible world and the hidden world. He is the ritual mediator between his people and the forces of the hidden world. It is because of this that he disposes over the awe-inspiring power of imprecation — *sukat ma le'at,* both words of this expression meaning "curse". *Sukat* is always used only in this connection, while *le'at* may also be used in parallelism with *tunan,* in which case it then denotes a bond, an alliance

---

[27] P. 263 above.

[28] Cunningham, 1962, p. 78.

[29] When eventually the Dutch gained supremacy their Administration was also addressed as *aina ama Kompani.*

[30] Pp. 268, 269 above. Middelkoop, 1949.

with the ancestors entered into before undertaking a headhunting raid.[31]

One might be tempted to call this "religious power" as opposed to political power, as Needham [32] does in his excellent study of complementary dualism among the Meru in East Africa; or spiritual authority as opposed to temporal power, a distinction which Coomeraswamy [33] makes. As far as the Atoni are concerned, however, there is no point in making such a distinction — it lies beyond the horizons of his categories. The power of imprecation is such a palpable and immediately tangible reality for the Atoni, that he is unable to distinguish between it and political power.

For instance, one of the wives of Tua Sonba'i (who was still raja of Molo in 1947) once disobeyed the rule prohibiting women from going outside in broad daylight and went out to relieve herself. When Sonba'i saw her he called down a curse upon her so that she became ill. Some time later Sonba'i approached her house saying, "There is an odour of corpses here". She died shortly afterwards.[34]

It is this same power of imprecation which may bring about a victory in war. Victory over the enemy is not primarily the result of the use of arms, but also of the potency of the imprecation contained in the war formula. In addition to this potency, there is that of the *le'u musu* which is held in safekeeping by the ruler; his *le'u* is the strongest of all, and so is his *le'u nono* which confers fertility. As well as being *le'u*, in the sense of "holy", and *maputa* (hot), in the sense of dangerous, he brings about well-being and coolness (*mainikin*). A good harvest is to be expected through his mediation, and the welfare of the community is dependent on him.

As the ritual ruler he is the *ana' plenat* (= he in whom authority and power are vested); he is not only the centre, the pivot around which all else revolves and which is itself immobile, but also the mediator on whom the community is dependent for its weal and woe.

B. UNITY AND ADAPTABILITY

Now that we have come to see the political system as a "*polis*", or "*une cité antique*" — in the sense of an all-embracing system of life with which the Atoni is confronted daily as a tangible reality in the

---

[31] Middelkoop, 1960, p. 42.
[32] Needham, 1960, pp. 20-33.
[33] Coomeraswamy, 1942.
[34] Middelkoop, 1938, p. 405.

design of his house and his village *lopo*, and which finds expression in the agricultural and kinship systems as well as in the political system itself — the question must be asked to what extent and in what way this system is a unity which embraces all aspects of life and may therefore rightly be termed a system of life. The next question, namely that concerning the degree of flexibility of this system and its capacity for adapting itself to change, is closely bound up with the first.

The question as to the unity of the system may be approached in four different ways. In the first place we may inquire into the functional unity.

1. *Functional Unity*

This we find in every culture, though it is perhaps more easily discernible in archaic cultures.

The economic life, the kinship system, the political system and religion here are inextricable bound up with one another. This has become clear from the above. On the one hand, agriculture is the indispensable sub-stratum for the political system, as without an agricultural surplus the payment of tribute gifts would be impossible. That is not to say that the political system will collapse if for some years there is no surplus — on the contrary, in cases of crop failure the political centre is more indispensable than ever, because it is the religious, ritual centre as well. Agriculture, the kinship system and the political system are firmly rooted in the religion. On the other hand, agriculture and animal husbandry exercise a strong influence on the form of the religion and on that of the political system. Not only are the kinds of sacrifices determined by it, but they influence the Atoni's religion to such an extent that it can partially be termed an agricultural religion, in which heaven and earth are deified and offered sacrifices in order that the earth may be fertile. However, this is not so pronounced that there is question of an identification of the earth with a mother goddess. There is certainly a tendency towards this, but the conclusions of this have, as it were, not quite been drawn. Although the earth is regarded primarily as feminine, the notion of a sacred marriage between heaven and earth is definitely not a widespread one, and people always speak of the *Lord* of the earth.

The Atoni's religion is therefore more than a mere agricultural cult. Its central aim is the preservation of the established cosmic order and

the attainment of well-being or *mainikin.* The Atoni might well give a similar definition of it to that once given to Onvlee by a Sumbanese: "coolness" means "that the rice may wax and the corn may thrive (here too the agricultural crops take first place), that the hens may lay and the sow drop young, that there may be food in abundance and wealth beyond measure, that the cock's spurs may grow long and the pig's teeth grow crooked (this is a sign of advanced age), that my name may become famous and my fame may spread".[35]

The kinship system, too, is of fundamental importance for the political system. The political system is to a large degree a repetition of the kinship system. Political relations are for the greater part expressed in terms used primarily in the kinship system; people are aware of the distinction between the two kinds of relationships thereby referred to, however. Just as an *ume* has an *amaf* at its head, so a clan similarly has an *amaf,* though the latter has greater authority; and a sub-territory of the realm is headed by an *amaf naek.* The latter is the head of the most prominent clan in that sub-territory; he is at the same time *tobe naek,* and in this capacity district head. But this is as far as repetition of the pattern of the smallest kinship unit goes in large political units. For the unity of the total political community does not find expression in the person of an *amaf naek* placed at the head of the tribe as a whole, but in that of the "son of heaven".

Conversely, the political hierarchy determines all social stratification, all relationships of subordination and superordination, notwithstanding the fact that these again are expressed in kinship terms, namely "older brother" and "younger brother".

Hence the Atoni's economic, social and political life are closely interwoven and accompanied in every phase and situation by a religious ritual in which the myths also have their function.

2. *Unity of the Structural Principles*

The question as to the unity can be approached in the second place by taking the structural principles as our point of departure. The outcome of our investigation of these was that there was a large measure of unity in the principles which give shape to the Atoni's changing structures of life. Suffice it here to refer the reader to the formulation of these principles at the end of the chapter on the kinship system[36]

---

[35] Communication Onvlee.
[36] P. 140 above.

and in the summary of the political system.[37] I should like once more to stress, however, that we are dealing here with principles which are to some extent mutually contradictory and conflicting. This empirical fact is of the greatest significance for the possibilities of adaptability of the system.

We discovered furthermore that a large number of structures have their roots in the myths, using the word "myth" in its general sense as defined by Locher,[38] where he says that myths are "the representation by means of language of events which human beings consider as absolutely essential for their existence and as giving meaning simultaneously to the present, the past and the future". These myths, moreover, are inviolable and sacred.

Myths in this sense of the word form the basis for agriculture. Here the eight agricultural crops are said to have sprouted forth from the limbs of Sonba'i's sister, and the buffalo is believed to have been a present to mankind from the crocodile, the lord of the waters.

Similarly, each clan has its own myths of origin with which the myth of the origin of its totem animal or plant is connected. And each political community finds the basis for its existence in the myth of both its own origin and that of its ruling head.

The myths are therefore themselves among the most important structural principles by means of which the various aspects of the society as a whole combine to form a homogeneous religious unity, the ritual ruler as the son of heaven being the palpable symbol and the centre of this. They do not form a closed, integrated whole any more than the other structural principles. On the contrary, every princedom and every clan has its own myth of origin in which its rivalry with other princedoms and clans is expressed just as much as their mutual solidarity. Moreover, as we have seen, myths can be adapted to suit the requirements of a changing political situation.

3. *Classificatory Unity*

The third approach to the question of the extent to which we can speak of a unity, of an interconnectedness of all aspects of life, is that furnished by the Atoni's classificatory thinking.

The study of this has demonstrated clearly that here lies the key to an appreciation of the culture of the Atoni as a system of life in

---

[37] P. 392 above.
[38] Locher, 1956, p. 169. P. 298 above.

the way in which he himself views it. It provides him with the categories by means of which he orders his world.

The classificatory categories are difficult to distinguish from the structural principles. The distinction is this, that for the Atoni himself the structural principles are not quite as easily discernible as these categories. The structural principles are formulated by the scientific observer, who records the results of his structural analysis with the aid of these. These, of course, he derives — if he sets to work correctly — from his own observations and his personal perspective on the people of the culture he is studying. But the Atoni, although he is more or less conscious of these principles, does not express them explicitly in the same way that we as outside observers do this, but expresses them in terms of the categories of his own system of symbols. Where we would observe that there is a certain propensity for hierarchical classification, the Atoni will make us of his *olif-tataf* categories to express the same idea, and thereby indicate the fixed position of every person in the social and political hierarchy. Where we might state that there is a certain cohesive force which favours synthesis, the Atoni will resort to his symbolism of numbers, to express totality by talking of *four* groups (four representing totality) or about "the five tribes, the nine tribes", as in Ambenu;[39] or about "the ten lying-places, the ten roots", with a father and a mother, as in Beboki and Fialaran.[40] But the essential point in question is always that there is a third in the middle, which is equivalent to a fifth in the centre. This is the ruler, whose place is in the navel of the realm. The idea is similar to that expressed by Hegel. But whereas Hegel does so in terms of the categories of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, the Atoni uses the symbolism of numbers. His method is equally valid. It goes without saying that there is also a profound difference, for while the Atoni's conception of the synthesis which acts as a binding force in respect of the complementary poles is a static one — the centre being immobile — Hegel's synthesis is no more than a phase in an eschatological progression. This is his Judaic-Christian heritage.[41]

---

[39] P. 317 above.

[40] Pp. 248, 256 above.

[41] Cf. Löwitt, 1953, pp. 55 ff., who describes this process of finding a meaning in history in the reverse order, starting with Burckhardt, Marx and Hegel and going right back to their biblical sources. Original English edition: *Meaning in History,* 1949.

4. *The Structural Model*

Now, by recapitulating the functional unity, the unity of the structural principles and that of the classificatory system by means of which the Atoni himself orders his world, we may arrive at a structural model.

The fundamental principle of the classificatory system of the Atoni as apparent in the categories, or matrices of thought, was seen to be an all-pervasive dualistic principle, which exerted its influence in the cosmology, in the political and social relations, in the economic life and in the religion.

The all-important dualism in the cosmology is that of heaven and earth, of sunrise (associated with the masculine and with life) and sunset (associated with the feminine and death). Furthermore, the south is classified with the sunrise or the east, together forming two masculine parts; and the north is classified with the sunset or the west, thus combining to form two feminine parts.

The same double dichotomy is encountered in the political system, a princedom consisting of two double halves which not only are associated with the four cardinal points, but are in fact localized due east, south, west and north respectively of the centre. The two halves stand in the relationship of masculine and feminine to one another, or in other words, they are as two opposed poles which are nonetheless complementary, the one being unable to exist without the other.

This brings us to the structural principle of reciprocity, which is responsible for solidarity and integration. It is, however, two-sided, and can only realize itself in this polarity. It exercises its influence in every relationship, each half in turn consisting of a masculine and a feminine half, and the relationship between princedoms and between the parts of princedoms internally — namely the clans and the descent groups — always being one between a masculine, bride-giving group and a feminine, bride-receiving group. The latter in turn is masculine in respect of groups which receive brides from it. In accordance with this principle of reciprocity every marriage is accompanied by an elaborate exchange of gifts and counter-gifts, which is not restricted to the marriage ceremony, but goes on right up to the death of one of the two partners. Just as there is no life possible without the partnership of man and woman, the existence of the polity is impossible without the partnership of the two halves of the princedom.

Now, the masculine half is always superior, just as in marriage the husband is the superior of the two. But on the other hand, the wife is

the source of life, and without her there is no life possible. Similarly, although the tendency towards a hierarchial order is present in the political system, this is offset by the fact that the ruler is classified as feminine.

So we arrive at the conclusion that within this same general dualism there is the structural principle of reciprocity and that of rivalry and of hierarchy. For instance, the two halves of the princedom stand in the relationship of younger and elder brother to one another. The fact that there is no word for brother as such in the Timorese language brings out most aptly the strength of this tendency towards rivalry. The distinction between younger and elder indicates the relative difference in the order of precedence between the halves and the subterritories of the princedom, between the different clans, and between the descent groups, and even between princedoms mutually, in accordance with a fixed order which is laid down in the myths.

Here again we have a *two*-sided principle. This way an all-embracing hierarchical order results, and continuity is ensured. But at the same time there is the constant striving of the younger to assert himself as elder brother in respect of those who are in turn his juniors, without the slightest regard for his elder "brothers". This can only lead to scission, the "brothers", or in other words, the princedoms, subterritories of princedoms, clans or descent groups then coming into conflict with one another. Then the elder is no longer recognized as the superior party, and the younger seeks to become independent. This may lead to war, and such wars may shatter entire princedoms or even cause the total disappearance of whole clans.

The internal unity of both these principles of reciprocity and rivalry, each of which is itself in turn two-sided, finds expression in the head-hunting ritual, in which the "heat" of war (the word "heat" in Timorese indicating at the same time all that is dangerous and sacred), the culmination of rivalry, is necessary to make the land "cool", the latter word meaning "well-being", "shalom", which is the essence of reciprocity. This is a reversal of the usual order, an internal polarity which is symbolized by classifying the warriors or "masculine men" with the west, which is classified with femininity and death. So the attacking warriors are called "feminine" warriors. Furthermore, the skulls — the harvest of war and death — are gathered into the shrine for the Lord of Heaven with the aid of a harvesting-hook which is also used for harvesting rice and corn. And harvest is identical with life.

This brings us at the same time to dualism in the religion. Here the Lord of Heaven is the God of Life; he provides for rain and the growth of the crops. But at the same time, life springs from death. Similarly, the Lord of Heaven is opposed to the Lord of the Earth, which is the source of fertility, but also the domain of death. A large number of spirits emanate from the Lord of Heaven, while the Lord of the Earth is also himself a plurality of forces, being allocated a place on every plot of land brought under cultivation, hence a large number of times. The symbol is such a palpable one that there is question here of an identification of the altar stone installed for him with the Lord of the Earth himself. The prevailing multiplicity is reduced to a definite form in the polar dualism of the Lord of Heaven and the Lord of the Earth. This is only one step removed from the polarity between a masculine sky and a feminine earth, or a heavenly god united in marriage with an earth goddess, as found in Belu and Sumba.[41a]

So we see that the unity of the cosmos embraces all systems of life. However, it is not an absolute cosmic order or a perfectly integrated society. Besides the principle of reciprocity, which is the basis for the complementary unity in the magnetic field between the masculine and the feminine pole, and between the two poles of superordination and subordination, there is the principle of rivalry, which is the basis for the hierarchical order in the polar tension of conflicts which may bring about death and destruction.

This ever-present tendency to take as point of departure two halves, or two principles expressed in terms of the most elementary realities of human existence, namely those of heaven and earth, feminine and masculine, younger and older, implies that this dualism is nonetheless viewed as a dual unity — since two halves belong together. Three-fold division is a development which is implicit in this principle of dual divison. Lévi-Strauss has pointed to this in a comparative analysis of several cultures.[42] The dual unity can find expression in the figure of the ritual ruler, who lives in the centre. Hence the ruler is not only the synthesis or the unifying force of the political community, but also the immobile pivot around which the whole of life revolves. He is the cosmic centre.

5. *Adaptability of the System*

The principle of reciprocity was discovered and developed by Durk-

[41a] Cf. note II, p. 153 above.
[42] Lévi-Strauss, 1956.

heim, Mauss and Lévi-Strauss. It is taken by Lévi-Strauss as his point of departure in his great work *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté.* His conclusion is that "the theory of reciprocity . . . continues to stand, as soundly based as the gravity theory in astronomy".[43] Although this is true, it is only half a truth since, as we have discovered, the principle of rivalry is inextricably bound up with it. Reciprocity and rivalry are directed, as opposed principles, to equality, cooperation and harmony on the one hand, and inequality, competition and conflict on the other. They are the causative factors in the dynamism of a culture, or in the possibility of change.

In principle the Atoni sees his own culture as a static one. It was given to man in primeval times, and it is only fit and proper that it should remain constantly the same now and for ever, from primordial times until all ages to come.

The Atoni lacks historical perspective, i.e. past events by which changes can be discerned. For this reason it is impossible to write a history of the Atoni from his own perspective. All traditions are drawn into the one plane. Sonba'i's mythical ancestor, who came from the land of the rising sun, is in a sense one and the same person as the Sonba'i who in 1947 was raja of Molo, although a slight distinction is still made here. But in Timorese accounts of the battle between the younger and elder brother as a result of which Fatule'u probably came into being in approximately 1800 there is virtually no distinction at all. And Sonba'i's identification with his mythical ancestor is complete in stories of the exploits of Sonba'i. It is perhaps to be attributed to this that genealogical trees of the house of Sonba'i [44] have less depth than those of other heads, which go back seven to ten generations. Where clan heads are concerned the objective of the myth is to distinguish their lineage from other lineages of the same clan and to point out links in the genealogical tree which are of social relevance as regards side lineages. Where the ruler is concerned the objective is simply to demonstrate his legitimacy — it is proven if his father, grandfather and great-grandfather were rulers before him.

But as we saw above, change is possible on the basis of the mutually contradictory tendencies of the structural principles. On the one hand we found the aim to expand the natal community, an urge for expansion, with besides the principle of inequality, expressed in the terms "older

---

[43] *Op. cit.*, p. 162 of the English translation.

[44] Middelkoop, 1938a, p. 509, for example, furnishes a genealogy which goes back six generations. Report by Weidner, 1932.

brother" and "younger brother", and the superiority of the bride-giving *ume*. These principles can lead to scission. On the other hand there is the principle of reciprocity, the search for balance, which is also very strong. Hence there is also a tendency towards unity and connected with it a desire to establish and maintain affinal relations with as many groups as possible.

The ruler is the unifying force, but the urge for superiority on the part of the constituent sub-sections is sometimes so strong that unity breaks down. One of the decisive factors may be, in some cases, the personality and age of the ruler; a weak or very young ruler will hardly be able (or not be able at all) to maintain unity. Such changes do nothing to affect the system, however, this dynamism being inherent in the system itself, because the tendencies towards integration and disintegration are structurally inherent. Fusion may take place as well as scission, and a powerful, more mature ruler may be able to re-establish unity, for people realize the necessity for this. Amanuban offers the best example of this.[45]

There are, in addition, the processes of cultural change. They are closely bound up with the above, though easily distinguishable from them. The dynamism of change is the point in question here. What we should investigate in the first place in this respect is the degree to which the traditional system of life has sufficient flexibility to absorb changes by giving the new a place in the existing system.

6. *Synthesis of the Old and the New in Noimuti*

An excellent example of this capacity for incorporating the new into the existing structure and classifying it in the established order is furnished by Noimuti.

After the realm of Liurai-Sonba'i was destroyed in 1642 and Sonba'i fled, the Topasses settled in Noimuti, approximately 20 km. to the south of the centre of the realm of Sonba'i and at an equal distance from the border of Waiwiku-Wehale. Lifau, on the north coast of Ambenu, remained their port, but Noimuti became their inland stronghold and the centre of their dominion.

The Dominican missionaries had built a church here, as in most places in which a ruling prince had his residence. (After the downfall of Wehale they had 22 churches.[46]) It is evident from Van Pluskow's

---

[45] P. 309 above.

[46] Biermann, 1924, p. 39. *Documentos Sarzedas* no. 4 in De Castro, 1867, p. 186.

repeated attacks in 1760 that Noimuti must have been an important and well fortified town. His first attack failed, and although the second ended in defeat for the Topasses Noimuti did not yield. The power of the Topasses had been dealt its deathblow, however.[47] The Dominican Mission had also declined completely since the time of the uprisings of around 1720.[48] Towards the end of the century, though possibly long before that, there were no priests left in Noimuti.[49]

Now the myth of origin and the legends of Noimuti, recorded in 1946, show not only how these historical events had been assigned a place in the myth, but also how far-reaching changes in the rites and structure had been incorporated in the Timorese system of life.

The *gre* [50] or church, the sacred ritual centre, was in the navel of the realm. The harvest gifts (*maus sufa* [51]) were brought to the church each year by the four *tobe*: Tnone -Metkono, Bani-Laöt. Apart from these harvest gifts offered by the people of Noimuti, all rulers in the neighbouring districts regularly sent wax for candles for the church. This was still being done after the introduction of colonial rule this present century. Formerly they undoubtedly had to pay a great deal more tribute, especially sandalwood. The gifts of homage were accepted in the church by its four guardians: Meol-Laklus, Meol-Salem, corruptions of the Portuguese names Melo, Salem, La Cruz.

The ruler, Da Costa, occupied a place next to the church, analogous to that of the masculine counterpart of the ritual ruler in the other Timorese princedoms. He was represented internally in his realm by the heads of the two districts of Noinakan (= upper reaches of the river), governed by Kosat [52] — Anin, and Noilhain (= lower reaches of the river), governed by Salem.[53] The title of the district heads was *sersjintomor*.[54] Each district had nine village heads, each with the

---

[47] P. 182 above.

[48] P. 181 above.

[49] Cf. *Documentos Sarzedas* no. 8, in De Castro 1867, p. 188. Biermann, 1924, p. 41. There was only one cleric left in Portuguese Timor in 1811. According to Piscaty-Ribéra, 1963, p. 9, there were three.

[50] Port. *igreja,* Ind. *geredja.*

[51] *Maus sufa* - tame flower. For the meaning of *maus* see p. 190 above.

[52] Kosat - metathetical form of Costa. Kosat now is the name of some side-branches of the Da Costa lineage which settled in Noimuti as early as the 17th century. In the 19th century another Da Costa came from Oikusi to live in Noimuti, so that now both the names Kosat and Da Costa occur in Noimuti.

[53] The same line which supplied a guardian of the church.

[54] Port. *Sargento-mor.*

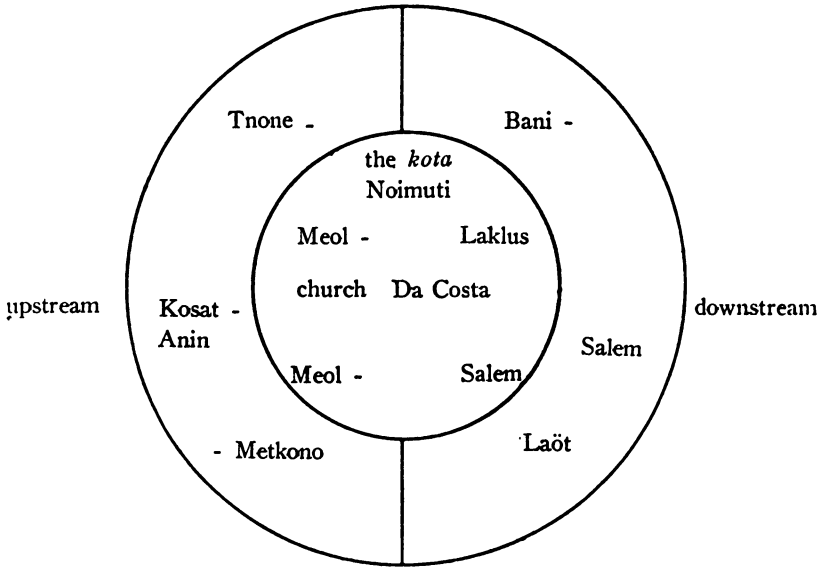
title of Mestre Campo or Mestre Posto. Each village was in turn divided into four wards with a *kabu* [55] at their head.

Considering that the settlement in question was established by the Topasses in an area which had never before been the centre of a Timorese political community, and that it was, therefore, a construction dating back to after 1642, it is surprising to see how faithfully the Timorese model was copied.

It is obvious from its position in the plain — where normally the Atoni was not accustomed to live — and its construction that Noimuti is the creation of the Topasses. It was a large *kota*, or fortified, walled town in which each lineage had its *ume mnasi* (= old house). The town Noimuti was a reflection of the territory of Noimuti as a whole, being divided into two halves, each with nine times four quarters partly made up of straight streets. Here all important events took place. This was where the church was located and where Da Costa lived. Here the people were able to withdraw in times of war.

DIAGRAM No. 20

The princedom of Noimuti



Everything is new: the political community itself, the religion and the ruler, but it has all been fitted into the existing categories of Timorese thinking. The most noteworthy point in this structure is

[55] Port. *cabo* - head, sergeant.

that the *atupas*, the ritual ruler, is replaced by the church, which was equated with the palace to which the tribute gifts were brought and with the *tola naek* or great altar at which rites were performed and sacrifices offered to Uis Neno (the missionaries had adopted this name with reference to God). The ritual was different — different words were used in a different language, namely the Latin of the church. The altar was situated in the church and on it burned candles made of wax brought in homage.

The powder-house was situated next to the church, in the same way that normally the *ume le'u* in which the *le'u musu* was kept was adjacent to the *sonaf*. A *le'u musu* was no longer used, but the practice of offering sacrifices before going to war was still upheld — this was now done in the church (*le'u naek*) — and the stakes with the enemy heads impaled on them were placed outside the powder-house. No-one was able to tell whether this was done during the time when Dominican Missionaries were still in Noimuti. But this is not unlikely, since even as late as 1730 the *Opperhoofd* of Kupang went to Sonba'i's palace, some miles outside the town, accompanied by the members of his Council, "to attend their feast in honour of the heads taken among the enemy in one year". They stayed there until 10 p.m.. The entry in the same journal for the next day is: "The church service was conducted on Sunday as usual."[56] The difference between the approach of the Dutch and that of the Dominicans is that the former used the categories of "Christians" and "heathens" with which to label their own culture and that of the Timorese respectively, whereas the Dominicans tried to Christianize the Timorese culture. It is not clear here to what degree they consciously made use of the categories of the Timorese culture, or to what extent they unconsciously allowed the Atoni to influence them with their culture. The traditional dual unity of the immobile, commanding authority and the active, executive authority developed into a clear-cut dichotomy. The guardians of the church belonged to the centre — they are equivalent to the "guardians of the realm" of Insana.[57] The religion is new, hence the names are Portuguese: Melo, Salem and La Cruz. There are only three names, but as in accordance with the Timorese pattern there should be four, one is repeated, as follows: Meol-Laklus, Meol-Salem. There are also *sersjintomor,* who were commanders-in-chief and district heads. They have replaced the

---

[56] MS. Visscher, 28th and 29th October, 1730.
[57] Pp. 209 ff. above.

usif. Only three were named, because there was no agreement as to who the fourth was. Sonba'i, like Amanuban, had two *usif*, while Insana and Beboki each had four. In all probability it was chiefly Ambenu which served as model here.[58] There, too, two-fold division is the more pronounced, with a clear-cut boundary running from north to south and an eastern half which is *tataf* (= elder). In Noimuti the categories "east" and "west" are not used, as the west is inhabited by the more important half. Different categories are used to denote the same thing, however, namely those of up-stream, which is superior, and down-stream. Where in Ambenu we find the area of the "five tribal lords" and of the "nine tribal lords", in Noimuti this number is twice nine. The number of *tobe*, too, is an artificial creation. There are in every case a large number of these, with four *tobe naek* at their head, these being at the same time *amaf naek*. Noimuti is a newly settled area with a population which consists mainly of immigrants. For this reason *tobe* had to be appointed. But their number is stated to be four, as this is the appropriate number. According to the myth they came from Malacca, except for Nai Laöt, who is said to have come from Amanuban. The name Metkono probably points to some relationship with Kono of Miomafo. And Bani is identical with Kisnai, the "original" inhabitant of the land. According to his myth of origin he was on the Mutis together with Kune during the deluge.[59] He gave Kune a bride, Aunono[60] Kisnai. After the deluge he resolved to go and live in the "navel" of the realm and hence went to Noimuti. There all the rulers from the land of the rising sun once came to visit him; these were Sonba'i, Kono-Oematan, Atok-Bana, Lake-Senak,[61] who were all assigned their places. Thereupon Kisnai sent a token of his presence to Sonba'i, who subsequently asked him whether he wanted any subjects. Kisnai's reply was in the affirmative, whereupon Tnone-Metkono, Bani-Laöt came.

As was pointed out above, Kisnai and Bani are identical, and Bani is sometimes referred to by Kisnai's second name, Ninu. Nai Ninu is therefore Pah Tuaf. He is the most prominent head after Salem. Da Costa has more or less faded into the background since Portugal ceded Noimuti to the Netherlands in 1916,[62] as his ties with Portugal

[58] P. 316 above.
[59] Cf. p. 262 above. There is probably some biblical influence here, therefore.
[60] Golden Body.
[61] The four *usif* of Bikomi, p. 292.
[62] Dutch East Indies Statute Book, 1917, No. 6, Heijman, 1895. *Sentence Arbitrale*, 1914.

were too strong. Nonetheless Da Costa's history has been integrated completely into the Atoni's mythical sphere, as is apparent from the following myth.

In primeval times there were four brothers, Kosat-Ornai,[63] Liurai-Sonba'i. They came from the land of the rising sun. After a journey which took them through a number of different places, Kosat-Ornai arrived in Lifao and became the rulers of the realm. They were followed by other groups. The four clans of Bikomi landed near Oinun [64] on the coast of Malacca and encountered Kosat-Ornai on their westward journey. These gave them land, and they settled in Bikomi. But Kosat-Ornai themselves settled in Noimuti. Later the Portuguese arrived. They too were welcomed by Kosat-Ornai, who entered into an alliance with the Portuguese, whom they called *kaes metan, soib metan* [65] (= the black strangers, the black hats). After them came the *kaes muti, soib muti* (= the white strangers, the white hats, i.e. the Dutch) with whom they lived on hostile terms.

There also was a war once against the Sultan of Ternate, who marched on the rulers of Timor with his people — Djabas-Bidjoki, Bugis-Makasal.[66] Where they came ashore is no longer known, but in any case they engaged in battle with Amanuban and Kono-Oematan. The latter asked Kosat-Ornai for help. Mateus da Costa marched against the enemy but was killed near Adjao Feti, not far from Tjamplong. Kono-Oematan once more asked for help. Now Gaspar da Costa marched into battle, but he too was killed, in Molo. The enemy was dangerously near now, and so Franciscus da Costa marched on him with all remaining able-bodied men. He drove the enemy away and defeated him in the neighbourhood of Kupang.

Now Kono-Oematan had to pay for the aid received. They had to pay compensation for the two *usif* killed in battle. Kono-Oematan offered two brides adorned with strings of coral beads and other ornaments. But Da Costa refused this offer — it was insufficient payment for two such great *usif*. Then Us Kono brought some soil to Oesono, i.e. where the *sonaf* was located in Lifao. This was accepted by Da Costa. Now that the soil had been accepted Franciscus da Costa gave Kalan Kono a sceptre named Fiardo [67] — hence Kono's name

---

[63] De Costa and De Hornay.
[64] The spot at which Liurai came ashore; cf. p. 64.
[65] *Kase* - strange, foreign; *sobe* - hat; *metan* - black; cf. p. 165, note 25, above.
[66] Java - ?, Buginese - Macassarese.
[67] Port. *fiar* - to entrust to, act as guarantor for, borrow from; *fiador* - guarantee.

from then on was Fiardo Kono. A spear and a rifle were presented to Oematan, furthermore. Thenceforth Kono-Oematan brought sandalwood to Noimuti every year.

This story, a mixture of myth and legend, is authentically Timorese. It tells of four original rulers who came from the east. Liurai-Sonba'i were among these, as in Ambenu and Amfoan, the only difference being that Kosat-Ornai here are the more important, as they are mentioned first, for after all they drove out Liurai-Sonba'i.

The De Hornay clan has died out. This rival of the Da Costas is not mentioned again in the rest of the story — but he is indispensable in the four-fold division. It is impossible to reconstruct the historical background of this story. The war against the Sultan of Ternate more than likely refers to the invasion of the Kraeng of Tolo in 1640.[68] This tradition is still alive in Amanatun as well, where mention is made of the *pen-pena Makasal, lub-luba Makasal* (= the flags and banners of Macassar).[69] The fact that Ternate is mentioned here may be explained by the extremely important position which the sultanate of Ternate occupied for many centuries in the East Indies.[70]

Why the Dutch were called white and the Portuguese black strangers can only be explained in the light of the Atoni's classificatory system. Da Costa called the Portuguese "the black strangers" and the Dutch "the white strangers", but the Atoni refers to the Portuguese as he became acquainted with them in the past with *kaes metan* — except for a handful of missionaries these were almost invariably Topasses, i.e. Portuguese of mixed descent. Their skin colour was generally lighter than that of the Atoni, but definitely darker than that of the Dutch. Among the latter there were relatively few persons of mixed blood, and even then their colouring was lighter because their parentage was Dutch with an admixture of Balinese or Javanese or some other light skinned Indonesian race. The Topasses, on the other hand, were the offspring of Portuguese who had inter-married with the darker skinned people of Solor, East Flores and Timor. It is not surprising that once he has established this difference in pigmentation the Atoni should classify the two groups in his categories of *muti-metan* (= white and black). The colouring of the Topasses may have undergone some slight influence from inter-marriage with negro slaves, moreover. This is probably negligible, as there was question of Portuguese dominion in

---

[68] P. 164 above.
[69] Communication Middelkoop.
[70] *E.N.I.* IV, p. 320.

western Timor for only a few decades, namely between 1702 and 1769, and even then they had no power or authority worth mentioning.[71] Nor is it likely that the Topasses themselves ever bought negro slaves, as it was much cheaper for them to capture Timorese slaves. The fact that De Hornay had two "blackamoors" (negroes from Mozambique) with him in the battle of Penfui[72] is given special mention in the journals, and this must have been a rarity, therefore. Portugal did not begin to govern Oikusi effectively until after 1911. It was only then that negro soldiers first came to the area. The Timorese distinction between *Aflika* (= African) and *kaes metan* probably dates back to this period.[73]

Both the structure and the myths furnish a splendid example of how the culture of the Atoni is capable of incorporating and absorbing foreign elements. Even the Christian liturgy which has replaced the ancient ritual has been assigned a place. That is not to say that Christianity here developed into heathenism. Christianity was accepted by the people, and when in 1910 Noimuti became Netherlands East Indies territory there were 110 adult Christians and 57 children who had been christened.[74] Even non-Christians were still in the habit of bringing their tribute to the church. Hence the people must have felt an affinity with this *gre*, the Christian ritual centre; an integration of the old and the new had taken place which had left remarkably much of the old intact.

The significance of this for the Roman Catholic Mission was that it met with a culture here which was prepared to listen to what the missionary had to say.

7. *Conflict and Disruption in Amanuban*

While it was possible for a new centre of Timorese culture to come

---

[71] P. 175 above.

[72] Heymering 1847, p. 152. He distinguishes between Black and White Portuguese, the latter being real Portuguese.

[73] Cf. Middelkoop 1968, pp. 99 ff. Middelkoop is also puzzled about the Black Portuguese. He tends to think of negro influence and also mentions that Forbes (1885, p. 418) saw some Africans in Dilly; but this doet not offer any explanation for the use of the term "Black Portuguese" in the 18th century There is no reason to suppose that De Hornay and Da Costa defeated the Macassarese with the aid of African soldiers. Against the background of Timorese symbolism the opposition in clear enough. In my opinion the *Kase Metan* are not Africans but the Topasses.

[74] They had been christened by the priest of Oikusi, who used to visit here occasionally.

into being in Noimuti after Wehale was conquered and Sonba'i fled, we have in Amanuban a classic example of the way in which a Colonial Government official was able to cause a complete break-down of the traditional structures as a result of understanding them only in part; the consequence of this was a suicidal rebellion on the part of the ruler simply because he and his people were not capable of thinking in terms of any other categories than those of their own culture.

After 1905 Dutch colonial rule was introduced into Timor by force of arms, in accordance with special instructions to the Resident from the Government in Buitenzorg.[75] In that same year Kauniki, Sonba'i's seat high up in the mountains, was conquered. The next year Amanuban followed, as well as the "large princedoms on the south coast never before visited by us", namely Amanatun, Anas and Wehale-Waiwiku.

The aged ruler of Amanuban, Hau Sufa Le'u [76] was resident in Niki-niki. He paid homage to the "Kompani" and was grateful to it for restoring his power.[77] He had once been a feared and respected ruler but his authority had weakened as a result of old age and illness. Now the heads were forced to acknowledge him once more. Out of gratitude he offered the services of his *mafefa* (mouthpiece) as interpreter on a military expedition against Amanatun, married off his brother's daughter to a sergeant and even had a house built for the latter in Niki-niki.

The ruler thereby established an affinal relationship with the foreign power and became superordinate in respect of its representatives by virtue of the fact that he was their bride-giver. The sergeant had not paid bridewealth and so it was normal for him to live uxorilocally. These were probably the ruler's considerations, which neither the sergeant nor his superiors understood.

Lieutenant C. G. Hoff was posted to Niki-niki as civil administrator. He spoke Timorese and by intuition understood the structure of a Timorese princedom well enough to be able to undermine it completely.

In the first place he dismissed about a hundred of the "courtiers",

---

[75] Memorandum De Rooy, Archives Netherlands Department of Internal Affairs.

[76] *Hau* - tree, wood; *sufa* - flower. These data derive from Gramberg's Report, 1913, Archives of the Department of Internal Affairs.

[77] Netherlands East Indies rule in Timor, outside of Kupang, was indirect. The self-ruling princedoms concluded treaties with the Netherlands East Indies Government, collectively termed the Short Declaration, in which the rulers pledged their submission to the rules of the Netherlands East Indies Government. Cf. Haar, 1939, p. 297.

including even the lineages with functions in the *sonaf*. Only a handful of people were left. He ended up by forbidding the *mafefa* to enter the *sonaf*.

Secondly, he himself married one of Niti Bani's daughters. The latter had since time immemorial been the only *amaf naek* from whom the ruler received brides, and hence was the ruler's *atoni amaf*.[78] In other words, he married a woman who was destined to be the ruler's bride. It implied, then, that Niti Bani saw a greater advantage in becoming the *atoni amaf* of a Dutch lieutenant than of the ruler.

Next he took three girls away from the *sonaf* who were similarly destined to be the ruler's brides as soon as they reached a marriageable age. One of these he took into his own house; she later married a Chinese. And, moreover, he dismissed the daughters of one of the ruler's brothers — the same brother whose daughter had been married to a sergeant — to their own homes. Hence he not only spurned the daughters of the royal lineage, but destroyed the ruler's opportunities for establishing affinal alliances.

He humiliated the ruler, furthermore, by spitting on the ground in his presence and he discriminated against the ruler in favour of his father-in-law. There is no more effective way than this of mortally wounding the pride of a Timorese ruler. As Hoff spoke Timorese well and there were hardly any interpreters, and as the people were probably too afraid to complain to the Government in Kupang, the latter had no inkling of what was going on, and the ensuing uprising therefore came as a complete surprise.

The humiliation had been too great for the ruler and he preferred to die. He felt "disgraced" (*ma'e*). The revolt was not directed primarily against the "Kompani" but rather against Hoff, although the crown-prince Koko Sufa Le'u[79] had appealed to Noimuti for aid. Da Costa refused this, however, for though nominally his territory belonged to Portugal, he was virtually independent and afraid of losing this independence by supporting an uprising against the Dutch. In the main the nature of the uprising resembled that of a mortuary feast in honour of Sufa Le'u, who was going to consecrate himself to death. His old slaves surrounded him as a mark of respect. An attack was made on the administrative quarters in which Hoff lived, the military barracks being left undisturbed. Subsequently a captain charged with adminis-

---

[78] See p. 311 above. The crown-prince was also married to a Niti Bani.
[79] A *koko* is a mythical animal; see p. 191, note 11.

trative affairs arrived with troops, but the ruler refused to surrender and met his death in his palace together with his people. No more was ever seen of Koko Sufa Le'u either.

It was because the Netherlands East Indies Government understood nothing of the structures of Timorese political communities that a local Government official was able to execute his poisonous and destructive schemes.[80] The deeper reasons why this was possible were that the Atoni thought exclusively in terms of his old categories. Whereas in Noimuti the changes were integrated into the traditional system of life, in Amanuban the political system utterly collapsed through the interference of a foreign power for the very reason that it was still functioning as of old.

Even so, in neither of these cases is there question yet of the enormous changes which were to undermine the system of life itself and which came about when Timor came to be part of the colonial empire and later on of the Indonesian nation. This brought with it a more intensive penetration in all kinds of ways of a multitude of strange influences in every sphere of life than ever before. The ancient structures collapsed beneath the superimposed structures of the colonial empire and the Indonesian state. As a result of this as well as education and missionary activities the structural principles and the categories of thinking eventually broke down, though not completely so. Rites and myths no longer function and have lost their meaningfulness.

The study of these processes in pre-eminently the responsibility of the cultural anthropologist.

---

[80] Hoff was transferred and promoted to the rank of captain.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PLACE OF THE CULTURE OF THE ATONI IN THE INDONESIAN CULTURE PROVINCE

The question which remains to be answered is where to place the culture of the Atoni as it has taken shape in his political system as a system of life. A system of life is a totality which has its own individuality, and as such is in a sense unique. We may compare it with a building. It is located in a particular environment in which its members have to provide for their livelihood; so it has an economic substratum. The structures of the kinship and political systems are as it were the materials, which are arranged in accordance with a number of structural principles. In addition the general categories which further shape man's thinking and activities are the determinants of the style of the house. However, this image falls short for our purposes, as it is too static. In reality the structural principles are to some extent mutually contradictory and the general categories do not cover one another, so that dynamism, tension and constant change are possible within a particular system of life. The house is constantly being rebuilt, for the greater part in the same style, but the result is always different.

Now the question is to what extent comparison with other cultures is possible. Up to this point we have compared the structures of West Timor, and particularly those within the Atoni area, with one another. This was worthwhile because we did so within a unity of structural principles and general categories, any differences which arose being differences in emphasis or in the use of the same materials in different ways.

A comparison of structures and functions becomes progressively more difficult in proportion with the increasing differences between structural principles, or the design, and between the general categories, or the style. The necessary pre-supposition underlying all comparison, namely the "all other things being equal", then becomes less tenable. When making comparisons we are always venturing into the magnetic field

between the universality of the frameworks in which alone human life appears to realize itself, and the uniqueness of a particular culture.

It is unrealistic to isolate particular elements of the different cultures and compare them with each other out of the context in which they function. This method is favoured only too much by the diffusionists. Although it may be relevant to establish that a house is constructed of brick, there is no point in comparing the individual bricks of the different houses, for this would convey nothing about the structural arrangement of these houses and even less about their styles. A comparison of functions and structures has more relevance, although a knowledge of the purposes which different rooms of the respective houses serve does not enable us to say anything much about any similarities or differences between the houses. Parrinder's [1] work on the religion of West Africa offers an eloquent example of this kind of error. Although he mentions the institutions of the various religions he fails to see the wide divergence between the structures in their totality of the religion of Dahomey and that of the Ashanti. This is even more true in respect of the differences between the societies as a whole, or the systems of life of these two areas. Yet comparison should be possible here because both areas are culturally closely related. The same applies to Timor. Here we have on the one hand a society in which we discovered a particular system of life — with dynamic, changing structures which are to some extent the result of mutually partially contradictory structural principles but with an obvious style of its own —, and on the other the possibility of affinity with surrounding cultures. We have based ourselves in our comparison on J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's definition of an ethnological field of study as a particular area "with a population whose culture appears to be sufficiently homogeneous and unique to form, in its totality, a separate object of ethnological study and which apparently reveals at the same time sufficient subtle local shades of difference to make internal comparative research worthwhile".[2]

P. E. de Josselin de Jong's definition is slightly less specific. It is as follows: "An ethnological field of study is an area which *prima facie* appears to have a certain unity from the points of view of language, history, and culture".[3] The point in question is not a comparison of

---

[1] Parrinder, 1961.
[2] J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, 1935, p. 5.
[3] P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1965, p. 290. I should prefer to say: "and other aspects of culture".

disconnected elements or of a few functions or structures isolated from a larger whole, but "a certain unity".

This, I feel, brings us in the first place to the general categories. The difficulty that faces us here is that these may be so general that we shall come upon most of them in the great majority of archaic cultures.

In the case of the Atoni we found a fundamental dichotomy which, however, is also found with striking similarities among the Meru,[4] the Nyakyusa [5] and the Shilluk.[6] Even before the publication of the studies of these J. F. Holleman [7] wrote an article about "*Die twee-eenheids-beginsel in die sociale en politieke samenlewing van die Zulu*" (The principle of dual unity in the social and political organization of the Zulu). It deals with the right-hand and the left-hand sides of the kraal, the former of which is superior.[8] This concerns dual unity in the sphere of heads and rulers. The confederacy of the Creek Indians also had a white, ritual half which was charged with the supervision of the centre and its communal house, and a red, military executive half.[9] And in the case of the Omaha the dichotomy of the tribe is associated with that between heaven and earth.

The symbolism of numbers is equally universal. Four is the most important number for the American Indians and the Australian aborigines, for instance; likewise in Indonesia. Bertling [10] lists many examples from the whole of Asia of the significance of the number four and of the cross, i.e. four plus a fifth as centre. The Javanese five-day week is connected with this.[11]

The symbolism of colour also displays similarities. Although admittedly we were unable to discover a fixed correspondence of the colours with east-south and west-north, we did find that there was a

---

[4] Needham, 1960a.

[5] Needham, 1960b, pp. 280, 272. Perhaps a comparable kind of dualism exists among what Prins calls "The Didemic Diarchic Boni". In any case the fact that he stresses the need for a comparative study of "dualities" is most significant. Sparta and Rome may be added to his examples. Prins, 1963, p. 174.

[6] Evans-Pritchard, 1962, pp. 66-86.

[7] J. F. Holleman, 1940, p. 32.

[8] This is in contrast with the system of the Thonga, Junod, I, p. 312. The right-hand side is associated with the gods of the paternal lineage, and the left-hand side with those of the maternal lineage (II, p. 396). This again corresponds with the dichotomy which we found in the case of the Atoni as well — feminine and left-hand side opposed to masculine and the right.

[9] Murdock, 1956, p. 137.

[10] Bertling, 1954.

[11] Pigeaud, 1929, p. 276.

tendency to associate certain colours with the cardinal points. Pigeaud[12] names these in respect of Java, though with some reservations as regards the association of red with the south. The same symbolism was also found in the Sivaite *mandalas* of Old Java and Bali. White, red, yellow and black were usually associated with east, south, west and north respectively, while multi-colouredness was associated with the centre.[13] Now it is very likely that Java was influenced by India in this respect, but Javanese influence in Timor is less likely, notwithstanding the fact that the Nāgarakrtāgama says in respect of Timor and Seran: "These make the first of the numerous islands that are mindful".[14] This "mindful" "refers to a relation of submissiveness".[15] But, says Pigeaud in his commentary, "it is very doubtful whether Majapahit authority has been of much consequence in these countries". The principal attraction was most probably the spice trade.[16] These contacts must have been very superficial, as there are no traces of Hinduism as in the rest of Indonesia, unless the name *usif* is related to the Balinese and Javanese *gusti,* as Middelkoop[17] and Adriani[18] suggest, although Onvlee[19] questions this. The title *datu* in Belu, furthermore, points to some affinity with other parts of Indonesia such as Celebes and Java, but it is in such widespread use throughout Indonesia that little can be inferred from it.[20] A title is one of the first things to be adopted, moreover, as we have seen in the case of Portuguese titles in Timor. Similarities in the symbolism of colours would therefore rather point to an ancient common heritage, as historical contacts between Java and Timor were infrequent. Goris[21] says with reference to Bali: "in my opinion the colour division, possibly even linked with a corresponding distribution over the directions, is older than Hinduism. The four-five system (four around the centre) is also pre-Hindu, in my opinion". It is impossible to gain absolute

---

12 Pigeaud, 1929, p. 277.

13 Communication Dr. T. Goudriaan. In *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, an Old Javanese Buddhist work, the cardinal points south and north change colours: south is associated with blue and north with red.

14 *Nāgarakrtāgama*, edited and translated by Pigeaud, III, 17, canto 14, stanza 5.

15 *Op. cit.*, IV, p. 34.

16 *Op. cit.*, IV, pp. 29 and 503.

17 Communication Middelkoop.

18 Adriani, in Kruyt, 1923, p. 354, note 1.

19 Personal communication.

20 South Celebes: *datu*; Sumba: *ratu*; Sikka in Flores: *rato*; Batak: *datu*; Indon.: *datuk*.

21 Goris, in Swellengrebel, 1960, p. 51.

certainty as to this, although Timor is almost proof of Goris' theory. The same applies to the remarkable similarity of the classification of the cardinal points, east and south being associated with masculinity and strength, west and north with femininity, night and death. In Old Java east and south used to be associated with masculine, strong and moral, and west and north with feminine, weak and sensuous.[22] Apart from the absence in Timor of a connection with a moral judgment of conduct this classification is the same in Java and Timor. It is the same also in respect of the order in which the cardinal points are enumerated and is connected with the course of the sun, although Java, too, lies only just in the southern hemisphere.

Hence this method does not help us in our attempt at defining the lines of demarcation. These general categories are probably universal and characteristic of all archaic structures even though they may not be used in the same manner everywhere. French scholars have described the symbolic systems of the Dogon[23] and the Fali,[24] in whose case two sets of altogether similar categories have resulted in different symbolic orders. This marks them clearly as two different "ethnological fields of study". We have seen in the case of the Atoni that not all of his polar oppositions run strictly parallel, some of them cutting right across the general dichotomy. We should inquire, therefore, into the effects of these categories on the structures of agriculture, the kinship system and the political community, as well as into the complex of myths, rites and structures in these aspects of culture.

P. E. de Josselin de Jong[25] has done this in respect of the complex of agricultural rites and myths of South-East Asia. Agriculture here is focused primarily on rice-growing, while buffaloes are the chief domestic animal. He has taken as his point of departure Condominas' data concerning the Mnong Gar, a so-called Proto-Indo-Chinese people of Vietnam. These he has placed against a background of material from various parts of Indonesia and Malaya. The result of such comparison and combination of data has brought to light a complex of rites and myths dealing with the regeneration of life from death. Rice and other agricultural crops are seen to grow from the body of a woman, and buffaloes to come from the underworld.

---

[22] Pigeaud, 1929, p. 282.
[23] Griaule, 1965, e.g. the village, p. 95.
[24] Lebeuf, 1965, pp. 328 ff.
[25] De Josselin de Jong, P. E., 1965, pp. 283 ff.

This we find in Timor also — the agricultural crops sprouted forth from the body of Sonba'i's sister, while the crocodile in the sea, in the waters of the earth, was the giver of the buffalo.[26] Although the Atoni is not familiar with the concept of an underworld, these myths seem to approach this idea. They fit in completely with the complex of South-East Asia.

Again the question that arises is where the boundaries lie. Mabuchi,[27] in an analysis of the myths of origin of grains, mentions the occurrence of the same myth in Japan — here rice, millet and other agricultural crops sprout forth from the body of a slain goddess. He classifies the above myths into three groups, viz. those concerning grains obtained from heaven or from overseas, those concerning grains obtained from the underworld, and those that have sprouted forth from the body of a woman in most cases. The danger that lurks in this method, one which Mabuchi has not altogether avoided, is that a classification of this sort leads to historical speculation. It is important to discover, however, that in Indonesia, too, there are correspondences with the general picture which emerges from the agricultural myths. The West Toraja also have myths in which rice comes from the moon or from heaven.[28]

At first glance there definitely appears to be a certain unity, although the boundaries cannot be indicated. We find the same crops, cultivated to the accompaniment of mutually related rites and connected with myths which to some extent also show considerable similarity. All this is placed against a cosmic background with fundamental similarities. This is perhaps brought out most clearly by a comparison of this complex of agricultural myths with that of the American continent,[29] as there we are in a totally different world. But upon examination of detailed descriptions of particular areas in Indonesia, such as that of the Toraja lands by Kruyt,[30] we can also discern marked differences within the area itself. This is what happens when we place Timor in this totality — although it fits in with it, there are definitely a number of differences as well.

The kinship structure reveals a similar picture. Here there are definite similarities with Sumba, East Flores, the Batak area, Minang-

---

26 P. 324 above.
27 Mabuchi, 1964, p. 3.
28 Mabuchi, 1964, pp. 39-43.
29 Lévi-Strauss, *Le Cru et le Cuit*, 1964.
30 Kruyt, 1938, 1950 and 1951.

kabau and Malaya. In all of these there are unilineal (either patri- or matrilineal) descent groups with a tendency towards an asymmetrical connubium. But the bilateral kinship system of Java presents a totally different picture, as does South Celebes. As opposed to this, there is a comparable system in the non-Austronesian language area of West Irian. Here we find patrilineages with open, asymmetrical affinal relationships and the same tendency to maintain a network of such relationships in different directions.[31]

I myself feel inclined to attribute similarities with other Indonesian ethnic groups to a historical relationship, and divergences such as that in Java to a difference in historical development. The similarity with Papua cultures is not surprising either, in view of Timor's marginal position with its strong Melanesian influences and even non-Austronesian languages. Kinship structures in the Papuan culture area are so varied, moreover,[32] that similarities with any particular Papua culture may of course be quite coincidental.

There is even less one can say about the political structures in the totality of the Indonesian field, as so far very little work has been done on them.

The Frenchman Pilon [33] pointed to the extraordinary dualism which existed between the immobile prince and his executive authority in the princedoms of Timor as early as 1778. He compared this to the situation among the Merovingians. The capable Resident Couvreur [34] referred to this dualism in terms of the Mikado-Shogun complex and pointed to its existence in Sumba and Bima, where a former title of the ruler was Dewa Sang Hien or Lord of the Spirits; the first rulers were immortal beings. However, by such comparison with Japan we are again crossing the boundaries of the Indonesian culture province, as in the case of agriculture.

We are of course moving even further away from our culture province, and indeed from the whole of the Asian culture area, when we compare the pattern to the *Athenaion politeia* as described by Aristotle.[35] The similarity is too striking for us not to do so, however, and would even tempt us to speculate about the existence of a universal basic pattern in archaic societies. In Athens there was a ritual *basileus* with at his

---

[31] Schoorl, 1957, pp. 33 ff.
[32] Held, 1947, pp. 16 ff.
[33] MS. Pilon, 1778, fol. 10.
[34] Report by Couvreur, 1924, and *id.* 1919.
[35] Aristotle, *The Athenian Constitution*, pp. 11 and 15.

side the *polemarchos* for warfare and an *archon* for adjudication. Together they formed the political and ritual centre of the four phyles or tribes.

Held [36] carried out his last field research in neighbouring Dompu. It was never completed, and I would stress in connection with questions regarding the political structure the desirability of working out the data collected by this perspicacious scholar. But other data show that there is a similar pattern here. There is an immobile ritual centre with beside it an executive authority, surrounded by four districts. According to the tradition the ruler is the descendant of a celestial being, while both in Bima and in Dompu the structure of the realm also includes two functionaries who bear the title *bumi* (= earth), one for the east and one in the west.[37]

In Minangkabau and the Malay Peninsula the same dualism is found. In Minangkabau there existed a double dichotomy with in the centre a ritual prince, the symbol of unity and the bearer of *daulat* (an Arabic word meaning "majesty", very aptly rendered with "mysterious power" by De Josselin de Jong). His rule was also said to be cruel and despotic. He was the *radjo alam,* or ruler of the world. He had at his side the *radjo adat*, also called Tuan Gadih (= Lord Virgin) and the *radjo ibadat,* the prince in charge of religion. Grouped around them were the four masculine executive authorities.[38] In Malaya, too, the sultan is "immobile", and his "immobility was a sign of divinity". He had an executive "prime minister" at his side.[39]

The dual monarchy of South Celebes had a similar structure. According to some chronicles the first, and according to others the fifth ruler was a celestial being, her name, Tumanurunga, meaning "she who has descended from heaven". She was the first and last female ruler. She married a prince, and after they ascended to heaven their son inherited the realm. He also disappeared, as did his son after him. The fifth ruler was the first mortal king of Goa. He left two sons, one of whom received Goa, the other Tallo.[40]

According to the tradition of Tallo that territory was ruled by four

---

36 Communication Onvlee.
37 Schulte Nordholt, *Sumbawa* (in the press).
38 P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1951, p. 108; cf. 13, 14.
39 Gullick, 1958, p. 45.
40 Erkelens, 1897, p. 81.

brothers. They invited the ruler of Goa, who had been banished because of a fraternal quarrel, to become their overlord. Later on the two realms formed a league, and the provision was made that from then on both peoples should be as one people under two rulers.[41]

The ruler of Goa bore the title Sombaja (*somba* = to worship, plus the article). This brings out the ritual nature of the ruler's function, therefore, while in the myth his association with heaven also becomes apparent. It is further interesting to note that the first ruler was a woman. The ruler had beside him the *pabitjara butta* or "speaker of the realm", who was the most important personage after the ruler. Originally, when Goa and Tallo were still one united people with two rulers, the eldest was supposedly always *pabitjara butta,* thus giving expression to the dual unity of the monarchy. After that came the two *tumailalang* (*tu* from *tau* = person, *i-lalang* = inside: hence "the person inside"), the highest palace dignitaries, the senior of whom transmitted the ruler's commands. Together with five *gallarrang* and four *karaeng* they formed the council of the realm (*hadat*). These nine heads were the *baté-salapang* (= nine standards) or nine district heads who at one time formed a federation of independent heads but accepted the celestial Tumanurunga as their queen.[42]

In West Ceram [43] we find a striking affinity of an entirely different nature, as here we have no political centre. Here there live two tribes, the Alune in the west and the Wemale to their east. They speak different languages, and marriage between the two tribes is strictly prohibited. Now, the Alune and the majority of the Wemale belong to the Pata siwa (= nine tribes), and the remainder of the Wemale and the more easterly groups belong to the Pata lima (= five tribes; *siwa* = nine, *lima* = five, *pata* = tribe).

Hence here we encounter among two peoples the same division into nine and five groups which we found in Ambenu [44] in one political community. Moreover, the two groups are masculine and feminine in respect of one another.[45] Another fact worth noting is that the Pata siwa are divided into two groups, namely the "black" and the "white" Pata siwa. The former of these reportedly derive their name from the

---

[41] Ligtvoet, 1872, pp. 43-45.
[42] Eerdmans, 1897, pp. 58-66.
[43] Duyvendak, 1926; Jensen, 1948; Röder, 1948.
[44] See p. 317 above.
[45] Jensen, 1948, p. 111.

fact that their members are tattooed on initiation into the secret Kakean society. As in Timor, these phenomena have not been sufficiently investigated and are perhaps at present difficult to trace. It is clear, however, that we have here a similarity of ancient basic patterns which, for the rest, is only to be expected on the basis of the linguistic affinity between West Ceram and the Atoni area.[46] Possibly the weaving-loom of West Ceram and that of the Atoni are exactly alike also, as the Atoni and Alune looms (the Wemale do not weave) both have a leather back-strap [47] in contrast with most other ethnic groups in Indonesia, which have a loom with a wooden back support.

So we see dualism in all of these political structures: dualism between two parts, or between a centre and a periphery, but especially dualism within the centre, where the ruler is the pivot which is itself immobile, the ritual centre of the political community and the link between heaven and earth; he has at his side an executive authority who together with him forms a dual unity of the fundamental principle of power and the realizational principle of that power, of commanding and executive power. In this case there is no question of dualism between religious and secular, or sacral and political power. But in addition to this kind we find another kind of dualism brought about by external influences, such as that encountered in Noimuti where the prince had been replaced by the *gre* or church with an executive authority as its counterpart. Here there is definitely question of dualism between religious and secular power, the secular power of the Topasses, or of Da Costa, being the political power, while the religious power rests with the church. In reality this led to a great deal of internal conflict and wrangling for political supremacy between the Dominican missionaries and the Topasses. A struggle which, after centuries of conflict between the pope and the emperor in Europe, could not seem strange to either party. The fact that a relatively high degree of unity was maintained in spite of this is conceivable and explicable in the light of the very nature of the Timorese political structure. It is probably partly as a result of this structure that the Dominicans took sides with the Topasses against the Portuguese.

The latter kind of dualism is found also in areas where Islam has

---

[46] See p. 25 above.

[47] There is a weaving-loom from West Ceram on display in the Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam, but unfortunately it lacks the main piece of evidence, namely the back-strap.

become the established religion. In Minangkabau [48] and in Sumbawa, as Needham points out,[49] this gave rise to tension between the *hukum* and the *adat,* between Islam and the ancient tradition. This dualism should not be confused with that of the traditional Indonesian system, however, for there is a difference in that in the traditional system there is question of a dual unity, whereas in the new system, which has come about under the influence of the new religion, it is a rather purer form of dualism. Formerly the sultan of Sumbawa was the ritual, immobile prince, whose title was Datu Mutar meaning "the all-embracing prince", or "the pivot around which all else revolves". Next to him he had the Datu Ranga and the Datu Dipati as his executive authorities.[50] At present the Sultan represents the secular power as opposed to the power of the leaders of Islam, even though he is still regarded as the defender of the faith. The fact that this dualism was accepted without too much difficulty was, as in Noimuti, clearly the result of the nature of the old structure.

Examining the system of life as a totality, in conclusion, we may perhaps suggest in the first place that there exist no monographs relating to the Indonesian culture province in which the culture is approached as a unity of myths, rites and structures, such as these give shape within the frameworks of a classificatory system to agriculture, the kinship system and the political system, in the same way in which the present book attempts to do so.

The fascinating studies by Hildred [51] and Clifford Geertz [52] deal with the "rites and myths" of Javanese religion as well as with the kinship system and the economic life. Hence they constitute an invaluable contribution to the existing literature. They contain by far the best description of life in contemporary Java since Snouck Hurgronje's[53] *De brieven van een Wedono-pensioen* (Letters from a retired Wedono). But they deal with these aspects in separate volumes, and although the interrelatedness of the different aspects of culture often finds expression in them, no attempt has been made to place them in the general frameworks of Javanese thinking. We may well ask, of course,

---

[48] Cf. Prins, 1954, esp. pp. 38 ff.
[49] Needham, 1962, pp. 660-662.
[50] Personal observation in 1936-1938. Cf. Couvreur, 1917, 1924.
[51] Hildred Geertz, 1961.
[52] Clifford Geertz, 1957, 1959, 1960. Modjokuto is a pseudonym for Pare.
[53] Snouck Hurgronje, 1891-1892, in *V.G.* IV, 1, pp. 111-248.

whether such general frameworks exist. If not, then Java would tend to display radical and even fundamental differences with Timor and many other parts of the Indonesian Archipelago.

Both Geertz [54] and Mrs. Geertz [55] categorically deny the existence of a fixed correlation between such a classificatory system and the social structures. These gifted sociologists must be correct at least in part when they say this, for they would almost certainly have come across it in their investigations in the small country-town of Modjokuto in East Central Java if it existed there. Their statement nonetheless lacks conviction as their research was restricted entirely to a synchronic approach and to life in a small provincial town. Not that I would presume to say that like Schärer they ought to have confined themselves to the most exalted expressions of that culture. But I cannot but agree completely with Schärer [56] when he says: "we must not only give a superficial view, but must seek the background of the appearances and the supporting and driving forces which inspire the empirical and which continually renew it. We have to penetrate through the surface to the centre from which everything receives its meaning".

This means that as far as the Javanese culture is concerned at least the Old Javanese epics, such as the Nāgarakrtāgama, and the works of the mystics should have been consulted in the study of Javanese religion. In his book on Javanese religion Geertz does not appear to have read these, and does not mention even one of the countless secondary sources on this topic. If he had done so he would have been able not only to discover perhaps a little more of "the background of the appearances and the supporting and driving forces" of Javanese culture, but would also have been able to give some historical perspective to his otherwise excellent study. He would undoubtedly have discovered at the same time that Old Javanese philosophy definitely did have something to say about a cosmic order and a classificatory system. We have already mentioned the symbolism of colour associated with the cardinal points, while quadrupartition with a fifth as centre is another key feature — here we should note especially that the ruler is in this case regarded as the fifth in the centre.[57] "When seated on his throne the ruler required that his officials group themselves around him in concentric circles, or as the case might be, semi-circles . . . when

---

[54] Clifford Geertz, 1961b.
[55] Hildred Geertz, 1965.
[56] Schärer, 1963, p. 7 (transl. Needham).
[57] Pigeaud, 1938, p. 378.

walking or riding on state occasions his retinue would walk in front and behind him in double file (Jav. *djadjaran*), namely 'right' and 'left'." In the centre are the prince and his executive authority, or *patih,* each surrounded by four *wedana* or functionaries.[58] Furthermore feminine and the west are associated with one another, while the men's residence is still situated in the eastern half of the Javanese *kraton.*[59] The classificatory system reveals the entire cosmic order, and therefore forms the basis for the system of divination.[60] Pigeaud[61] observes in this connection: "The closest links exist between everything that exists on earth, including man and life, and between this and all that surrounds it, both animate and inanimate, that is, the entire cosmos. All of this constitutes one unitary community." This is reflected in many different ways by the shadow theatre (*wajang*) in which "the interplay of philosophy and artistic expression... is typically Javanese".[62] In other words, it has its rightful place in the culture of Indonesia. The same is apparent in Javanese mysticism. The soul consists of five parts[63] and man has four desires.[64] It is interesting to note that in a 16th century Javanese *primbon* just rulers are the fifth category to enter paradise, "as just rulers are the shadows of Allah".[65] This links up perfectly well with earlier Javanese conceptions of the ruler as an incarnation of Shiva or Vishnu[66]: he is referred to as "shadow", "incarnation" and, in Timor, "son of heaven". In each of these cases the ruler features as the sacral centre which links heaven and earth together. Paku Alam, the title of an independent prince in Djokjakarta, means "pivot of the world".

In the political system there appears at one time to have existed some congruence between the system of symbols, the cosmic order and the political structures.

All this has become extinct in Java, but whether these ideas no longer constitute one of "the driving forces which inspire the empirical" remains to be seen. Viewed against this background it can hardly be

---

58 Van Ossenbruggen, 1918, p. 9.
59 Pigeaud, 1929, p. 283.
60 Van Ossenbruggen, 1918, p. 36.
61 Pigeaud, 1929, p. 275.
62 Pigeaud, 1938, p. 368. Geertz, too, has observed the general implications ot this, as his Essay of 1957 attests.
63 Kraemer, 1921, p. 95.
64 *Op. cit.*, p. 146, p. 116 n. 2, cf. Pigeaud 1938, p. 375.
65 Translation by Kraemer, 1921, p. 142. Shadows - *wawayangan.* Cf. Drewes, 1954, p. 18.
66 Cf. Heine-Geldern, 1963, p. 7.

considered a mere coincidence that the Indonesian people should endeavour in this age of revolutionary change to give shape to new ideas by means of the Pantja Sila (= the *five* principles) in accordance with which life must be ordered in the new state.[67]

A comparable situation prevails in Bali. Geertz [68] worked here for some time and here, too, failed to discover any correlation between the structures of social life and the pattern of cosmological ideas. He considers that the idea that there might be "an exact formal congruence between the structure of social life and the pattern of cosmological ideas, such that one can predict from the first what the second will be and deduce from the second what the first is, or — more commonly — was" is "the most pernicious axiom" of the Leiden School. Since Rassers, the Leiden school of anthropology has sunk "into a morass of unprofitable theorizing". Liefrinck and Van Eck, though "less reliable in detail" were not yet affected by this, but their successors are the victims of their prejudices.[69] "That is to say", says Hildred Geertz,[70] "the dyadic pairs and other 'patterns' employed by the members of this school did not emerge out of an empirical examination of the data, but rather were preselected by the ethnologists on theoretical grounds, and then held up against the cultural material to see if they fitted." These statements do not altogether add up with what Clifford Geertz says concerning the members of this so-called Leiden school in his review of a bundle of studies on Bali, viz.:

"The virtues of this school are the classical ones: thoroughness, accuracy, *concreteness,* pertinacity, modesty, caution, breadth of interest, and a simply amazing control of the historical, literary and linguistic tools of Indonesian scholarship. There is about all of these papers an air of total dedication to the principle that ethnography is to be done well or not at all. Phenomena are to be described *exactly,* not generally. A patient, *piece by piece review of evidence* is the only reliable road to knowledge... The result is that there is a solidity and *reliability* about this work which secures its permanence." [71]

---

[67] Cf. Sukarno, 1952.

[68] Geertz, 1964.

[69] Clifford Geertz, 1961, p. 501. As far as I know, no-one has ever spoken of "an exact formal congruence".

[70] Hildred Geertz, 1965, p. 296.

[71] My own italics. Although Geertz appears to favour the empirical method of research, he can hardly be said to be fulfilling the basic requirements of empirical research himself when in *The Religion of Java,* p. 14, he bases his explanation of the meaning of *slamatan* on the story of "an old brick-layer".

This statement suggests painstaking empirical work. If a certain degree of correlation between political and social structures and the patterns of cosmological ideas was found to exist thirty to forty years ago, when the great processes of change had only just set in, it is rather rash of Geertz to explain it all away by saying that this is attributable to Rassers' "speculative, unrealistic armchair approach". The fact that Korn also lists various examples of bipartition in his doctoral thesis, which is based primarily on the work of Liefrinck, Van Eck and Lekkerkerker, might have served him as a warning, as they were publishing long before Rassers developed his ideas. An important fact which emerges from their work is that each petty realm had a government of two — the prince with at his side a co-ruler or "younger prince" who ruled over a portion of the realm.[72] This is unquestionably an example of political dualism.

The fact that Geertz himself was unable to discover any trace of this in the village of Tihingan in 1957 is not surprising. It is a consequence of his approach, looking as he does only for patterns of behaviour at the moment of research. As a result his work constitutes a most welcome and absolutely indispensable supplement to the work carried out prior to this by philologists and government officials — not by anthropologists, as Geertz asserts. But his work supplements but does not supersede previous research, as he himself acknowledges. It is not to be expected that sociological research conducted over a relatively short period of time without an adequate literary and historical background and without a thorough knowledge of the language can undermine work of an entirely different nature which is based on many years' study.[73] It is possible, moreover, that the village of Tihingan, because of its situation in the plain of South Bali, not far from a port which handles a great deal of interinsular traffic, may by 1957 have undergone considerably more change than the Old Balinese village in the mountains studied by Grader in 1937. This would correspond with Cunningham's experience in Timor. The latter carried out research in the Amarasi village of Soba,[74] not far from the capital of Kupang, and found very little trace or none at all of the old patterns in the village structure. In Insana, 200 kilometres further inland, however, he found,

---

[72] Korn, 1924, pp. 178, 179.

[73] The linguist and historian Goris has published on Bali for well over 30 years. Cf. Swellengrebel, 1966.

[74] Cunningham, 1962, pp. 269-328. This chapter is also published in Koentjaraningrat ed., *Village Communities in Modern Indonesia.*

on the basis of my memorandum of 1947, that these were still clearly discernible.[75]

As far as Bali is concerned, Grader [76] arrived at the following conclusion:

"The only explanation of the basic characteristics of the structure of the Balinese village as a social and religious community can be that it is the product of a cosmogonical system of classification which found its fullest expression in the tangible reality of the Old Balinese village. The cosmic example of the dichotomy of the world of the gods gave rise to a system of classifications in which every phenomenon was characterized by opposition."

Thus he arrives at a double dichotomy. Grader [77] summarizes his conclusions in a memorandum of 1965, as follows:

"Symbolic dualism finds expression in the components of which sacrificial offerings are made up, the manner in which they are arranged and the place in which they are offered, in the decoration and lay-out of the temple and its compound, in the arrangement of the village and the town, and so on. It is possible to furnish any number of examples of the way in which the principle of dualism finds expression. Similarly the elaborate classificatory systems are based on this dualistic principle. These examples and these classificatory systems, however, are always restricted to the sphere of the 'symbolic order', or in other words, they always pertain to religion and the world view."

He suggests that this dualism is based on the distinction between heaven and earth.

"We know nothing of an indissoluble unity of myths, rites and social structures in the sense that there is also question of a social dichotomy in the form of a division of 'the tribe' into two moieties with a circulating connubium as its basis... But we do know for a fact that there is a sufficiently close connection between dualism and a social dichotomy for the descendants of the first cultivators and original founders of most archaic villages to be divided into two 'halves' (*sibak*) which

---

[75] Cunningham, 1962, pp. 54-201. Cf. his article of 1965.

[76] Grader, 1937, p. 17. Approximately 100 of the more than 1000 villages in Bali were still of this archaic type.

[77] Grader, 1965, *Dorpsstruktuur Bali*. I did not read this memorandum until I had written all of the present book but for this final chapter. The dichotomy is apparent even in the position of the banana-leaf mats on which the offerings are placed. Their position may be chthonic or uranic, according to whether they are placed in a "feminine position", i.e. with the light side of leaves — the abdomen — facing upward, or in a "masculine position", i.e. with their dark side facing upwards.

furnish the leaders of the ritual dedicated to the gods in heaven and the leaders of the rites conducted for the gods of the underworld respectively. This division is functionally connected with the dualistic nature of the state ritual, however. We know furthermore that in most villages of the district of Kintamani there is a main street which divides the village into two parts."

These conclusions reveal a remarkable degree of similarity with the results of our research in Timor. Here there is also an underlying dualism in the cosmic order, though I did not venture to draw the conclusion that the opposition of heaven and earth is predominant. I have classed it with other pairs of opposites, such as that of masculine and feminine, without presuming to assert the primacy of any of these. There are furthermore a number of pairs of opposites which do not fit in with this scheme at all.[78]

I further drew the conclusion that there is no dichotomy in the kinship system, but that there is clearly a territorial division of the political community into two parts.

So the conclusion that here we have a number of systems which display a high degree of similarity with one another is completely justified. This is true in spite of the wide difference as a result of strong Hindu influence in Bali.

There is probably an even closer affinity with the Dayak of Borneo. The type of society found there reveals a more marked similarity to that of Timor, and the similarities in the religion and the classificatory system are also considerable. Schärer [79] in his excellent book on the religion has omitted, regrettably so, to give attention to the repercussion of the ideas concerning the cosmic order in the empirical reality of the social and political life. He does not present the system of life in its totality.

As regards the Toraja, on the other hand, the thousands of pages which Kruyt and Adriani have devoted to them teach us a great deal concerning every aspect of the culture.[80] But here the system has not received any attention — not a word is mentioned about the system of either the social structure, the religion, the cosmic order or the classificatory categories. Judging from Kruyt's meticulous and detailed descriptions there seems to be a relatively high degree of similarity

---

[78] Pp. 408, 423 above.
[79] Schärer, 1946, Transl. Needham, 1963.
[80] See Kennedy's bibliography, 1962, pp. 113-116.

between the Toraja and the Atoni, however. Warfare — to mention only one important aspect of the culture — has almost the same place in the system of life as among the Atoni. Here, too, the headhunting raid possesses a ritual character, and has some associations with harvesting. War is a prerequisite condition for life, or for the welfare of the community and the success of the harvest.[81] The word for headhunting is *menga'e* and for harvesting *menggae*.[82] Among the Toraja as well, headhunting was connected with the initiation of youths. Religion and cosmological ideas, inasmuch as these have been described, similarly display a marked degree of similarity. Here there is no correlation between the cosmic dichotomy and the kinship system either.[83] The world of the Toraja is very similar to that of the Atoni.[84]

The same can be said of Sumba. I should begin by referring to Onvlee's [85] important article on the archaic irrigation system of Mangili in East Sumba. Although there are a number of patrilineal clans here, "the population as a whole may be designated by the names of the *kabisu* [86] *mangu tanangu* (= the occupants and owners of the land), viz. Maru, Watu Bulu, Matolangu, Wanggi Rara". Not only this princedom, but most others as well, are referred to by a set of four names.[87] Even though there may be more than four clans, it is always only four that are mentioned. The total population of Mangili is distinguished into a masculine and a feminine half, and this has important consequences for wet-rice farming. The leader of Watu Bulu is masculine and the leader of Maru feminine, and there is a masculine and a feminine aquaduct. This is connected with the unilateral affinal relationship existing between the *'uma'* (lineages) of the clans as well. The bride-receiver is responsible for the feminine aquaduct. This is coupled with a ritual that is a "shadow" of the marriage between this

---

[81] Kruyt, 1950, I, p. 246.

[82] Adriani, in Downs, 1955, p. 47. Cf. the headhunter's song: " 'T is a fruit which I have picked, and from its stem have ripped" (Adriani, 1932, II, p. 315).

[83] Downs, 1955, p. 51. He even goes as far as saying: Unfortunately the Toradja socio-political organization does not correspond to this mythical world...

[84] A systematization of Kruyt's work, coupled with supplementary research, would constitute a valuable contribution and would most certainly be appreciated by the Toradja themselves, especially if this were to be done in conjunction with research into the changes in and place of the Christian community.

[85] Onvlee, 1949.

[86] *Kabisu* clan, cf. Tim. *kanaf*.

[87] Letter by Umbu H. Kapita, 24.4.1965. There is a dichotomy in Kodi, and each part in turn is divided into three. Laura and Lolina consist of two parts of four groups each.

kabisu and the bride-giving one. The connection between the masculine and the feminine (*muni-kawini*) is a dominant feature of rice-growing here. Onvlee writes: "We may possibly even go one step further and suggest that this connection between the masculine and the feminine is also realized in the irrigation of the fields". There are masculine water conduits and feminine fields. "And when we further consider that an alternative name for rain, the annual water which falls from heaven and which occupies a central position in this ritual is 'heavenly sperm', the idea of cosmic forces surrounding this event and providing it with a background and a meaning is evoked".[88]

The similarity with Timor is almost complete in spite of the fact that the Atoni have no wet-rice cultivation. The unity of rites and social structures is similarly present in Sumba, while life here is also placed against the background of a distinction between the masculine and the feminine, a distinction which at the same time denotes unity. Furthermore, the dual unity of heaven and earth fits in with this dualism even more clearly than in Timor.

The symbolism of colour and the headhunting ritual reveal a similar degree of affinity. Among the Sumbanese the analogy between war and harvest[89] is also found, and it is quite likely that the kinship system of Timor is virtually the same as that in Sumba. There, too, there are *uma* or lineages of clans which show a marked preference for establishing asymmetrical affinal relationships extending in a large number of different directions. Although the political system of Sumba has not developed quite such extensive relationships, there may possibly be considerable similarity in the grouping and function of the four most prominent clans in the political community. Agriculture and its associated ritual are also closely related to those in Timor.[90] Most important of all, the system of life in Sumba is probably closely related to that in Timor as far as the internal structures are concerned.

Further comparison between Timor, Sumba, Central Celebes and Ceram, four areas located in different Indonesian language areas which were none of them influenced by either Hinduism or Islam, is important and may be fruitful.

So the question as to the place of Timor in the whole of the Indonesian culture province can only be answered in part. In the first place because

[88] Onvlee, 1949, p. 455.
[89] Letter Umbu H. Kapita.
[90] Nooteboom, 1939.

it is impossible to define the lines of demarcation, and in the second place because actually monographs on any of the areas in Indonesia which set out the system of life as a unity in its various aspects — a unity in spite of, or perhaps partially especially because of tension and constant change — do not exist. And it is doubtful whether there will be an opportunity for writing many such monographs in the future.

But the lack of adequate comparative material notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that there are obvious affinities with many parts of Indonesia, especially those areas in which the tribal religion has remained intact longest, though also with Bali and to a lesser extent Java.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

A	*Anthropos.*
A.A.	*American Anthropologist.*
Archives B.Z.	Archives Netherlands Department of Internal Affairs, The Hague.
B.K.I.	*Bijdragen Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (*Bijdragen* of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology).
B.S.C.B.	*Berichten uit Ned. Oost-Indië voor den leden van den Sint-Claver Bond* (Despatches from the Netherlands East Indies for members of the St. Claver Association).
B.S.G.A.E.	*Bull. Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Anthr. u. Ethn.* (Bulletin of the Swiss Society of Anthropology and Ethnology).
C.A.	*Current Anthropology.*
C.I.	*Cultureel Indonesië* (Cultural Aspects of Indonesia).
D.G.B.	*Deutsche Geographische Blätter* (German Geographical Papers).
E.N.I.	*Encyclopedie Nederlands-Indië* (Encyclopaedia of the Netherlands East Indies).
F.E.	*Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expedition,* 1937-38.
H.	*De Heerbaan* (The High Road — a bimonthly Mission Journal).
I.A.E.	*Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* (International Archives of Ethnography), Leiden.
I.G.	*De Indische Gids* (Dutch East Indies Journal).
I.T.-M.	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam, afd. Handschriften (Royal Institute for the Tropics, Amsterdam, Manuscript Department).
J.A.S.	*Journal of Asian Studies.*
K.I.T.L.V.	Kon. Inst. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology), Leiden.
K.I.-M.	Kon. Inst. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, Manuscript Section.
K.M.	*Katholieke Missie* (Roman Catholic Mission).
K.M.T.	*Koloniaal Missietijdschrift* (Colonial Mission Journal).
K.T.	*Koloniaal Tijdschrift* (Colonial Journal).

K.V.I.I.	Koninklijke Ver. Ind. Instituut (Royal Indonesia Institute Society).
M.	*Het Missiewerk* (Missionary Work), 's-Hertogenbosch.
Madjalah	See *T.B.G.*
M.N.Z.	*Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* (Reports by the Netherlands Mission Society).
M.T.Z.	*Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap* (Bulletin for Missionary Science).
N.B.G.K.W.	*Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Minutes of meetings of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences).
N.I.O.N.	*Nederlandsch-Indië, Oud en Nieuw* (Dutch East Indies, Old and New).
T.B.B.	*Tijdschrift van het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (Civil Service Journal).
T.B.G.	*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* van het Bataviaasch Genootschap (The Batavia Society Journal of Indonesian Linguistics and Anthropology), continued as *Madjalah untuk Ilmu Bahasa, Ilmu Bumi dan Kebudajaan.*
T.N.	*Tropisch Nederland* (Netherlands Territories in the Tropics).
T.N.A.G.	*Tijdschrift Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (Journal of the Netherlands Geographical Society).
T.N.I.	*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Journal for the Netherlands East Indies).
V.B.G.	*Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Transactions of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences).
V.K.I.	*Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Transactions of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology).
V.K.N.A.W.	*Verhandelingen Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie v. Wetenschappen* (Transactions of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences).
V.M.K.A.W.	*Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie v. Wetenschappen* (Reports and Communications of the Royal Academy of Sciences).
V.N.B.G.	*Verhandlungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft Basel* (Transactions of the Natural Science Society of Basle).
W.K.I.	Werken van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Publications of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology).
Z.M.	*Zeitschrift für Missions Wissenschaft* (Missionary Science Journal).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. TIMOR

a. *Unpublished Sources.* See also Ormeling, 1956, pp. 256-269.
The majority of the reports mentioned by him are not present in the Netherlands, and most of them are completely lost.

Agerbeek, J. H., 1912. *Nota over Belu* (Report on Belu), 33 pp., I.T.-M.

Anon. *Iets over het eiland Timor en Onderhoorigheden* (A few words about the Island of Timor and Dependencies) (shortly after 1819), K.I.-M.

Anon. 1912. *Nota over het eiland Timor* (Report on the Island of Timor), 158 pp., I.T.-M.

Anon. 1925. *Nota over Amarassi* (Report on Amarassi), Archives B.Z.

Anon. 1930. *Militaire Memorie van Timor* (Military Memorandum on Timor), 143 pp., I.T.-H.

Brouwer, A. G., *Geheime nota betreffende Timor en in 't bijzonder betreffende die landen, welke de Nederlandsche vlag voeren* (Confidential Report concerning Timor and in particular the princedoms which fly the Dutch flag), Kupang, 1849, K.I.-M.

Couvreur, A., Letter 20th Nov., 1923, with Report on Amfoan by A. R. van Lith, Archives B.Z.

— 1924. *Nota over organisatie van het zelfbestuur in Belu* (Report on the organization of the autonomous government of Belu).

— 1924. Memorie van overgave van den aftredenden resident van Timor en Onderhorigheden (Memorandum written on the termination of his duties by the retiring Resident of Timor and Dependencies), 142 pp. + appendix.

Cunningham, C. E., 1962. *People of the Dry Land. A study of the social organisation of an Indonesian People.* Thesis, Oxford.

Francillon, G., 1967. *Some Matriarchic Aspects of the Social Structure of the Southern Tetun of Middle Timor,* Doctoral Thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.

Francis, E., *Verslag van den Kommissaris voor Timor* (Report by the Governor of Timor), 1832, K.I.-M.

Franssen Herderschee, B. H., *Nota van Toelichting betreffende de zelfbesturende landschappen en rijken van Midden-Timor* (Explanatory Memorandum concerning the self-governing princedoms and realms of Central Timor), Kapan 1909, K.I.-M.

— *Bijdrage tot de kennis van Midden (Nederlandsch) Timor en de Bergtimoreezen* (Contribution to the knowledge of Central (Dutch) Timor and the Mountain Timorese), Kapan 1909, K.I.-M.

Grader, Ch. J., *Dorpsstruktuur Bali. Nota 8 september 1965* (Village Structure in Bali. Report 8th September, 1965). Owned by the writer.

Gramberg, 1913. *Nota over Amanoeban* (Report on Amanuban). Appendix to Memorandum by Resident Maier, Archives B.Z.

— 1917. *Algemene memorie over Noord- en Midden-Timor* (General Memorandum on North and Central Timor), 19 pp., I.T.-M.

Haan, H. C. de, 1947. *Nota over Beloe* (Report on Belu), 28 pp. with 24 appendices. Owned by the writer.

Kempen, C. J. van, 1917. *Nota over Zuid-Timor en eilanden* (Report on South Timor and islands), 148 pp., I.T.-M.

Koopmans, 1917. *Nota over West-Midden-Timor* (Report on West Central Timor), 195 pp., I.T.-M.

Koot, A. van, 1913. *Toembaba.*

Lith, P. C. A. van, 1921. *Nota over Zuid-Midden-Timor* (Report on South Central Timor), 90 pp., I.T.-M.

Overakker, 1926. *Nota over Beloe* (Report on Belu), 45 pp., I.T.-M.

Pelon or Pilon, J. B., *Description abregée de l'Ile de Timor et ses Environs.* Batavia, around 1778, K.I.-M.

Reijntjes, W. H. G., 1948. *Nota over Zuid-Midden-Timor* (Report on South Central Timor), 120 pp. + 20 appendices. Owned by the writer.

Rooy, de, 1908. *Memorie omtrent de toestand van het gewest Timor en Onderhoorigheden* (Memorandum on the conditions in the territory of Timor and Dependencies), 23 pp., Archives B.Z.

Ruychaver, 1918. *Nota over het landschap Koepang* (Report on the princedom of Kupang), 42 pp., I.T.-M.

Steinmetz, 1915. *Nota over Insana en Beboki, met proces-verbaal van vergadering van volkshoofden te Maubesi, 17 maart 1916, en te Wini, 30 augustus 1915* (Report on Insana and Beboki, with minutes of the meeting of chiefs in Maubesi, 17th March, 1916, and in Wini, 30th August, 1915). (Owned by the writer.)

— *Nota betreffende de Zelfbesturende Landschappen Miomaffo, Insana en Beboki gelegen in de onderafdeling Noord-Midden-Timor der Residentie Timor en Onderhorigheden* (Report concerning the self-governing princedoms of Miomaffo, Insana and Beboki in the district North Central Timor of the Residency of Timor and Dependencies). (Owned by the writer.)

Venema, 1916. *Nota over Zuid-Midden-Timor* (Report on South Central Timor), 208 pp., I.T.-M.

Visscher, G. B., *Daghregister der voornaamste voorvallen op het Eyland Timor, gehouden door den Onderkoopman en Opperhoofd dezes Comptoirs, G. B. Visscher, van 2 september 1730 tot 3 sept. 1731* (Journal of the most important events on the Island of Timor, kept by the *Onderkoopman* and *Opperhoofd* of this Factory, G. B. Visscher, from 2nd September, 1730, to 3rd September, 1731), 210 pp., Maritime Museum, Amsterdam.

— *idem,* from 20th August, 1734, to 19th August, 1735, 202 pp., K.I.-M.

Vroklage, B. A. G., Field Notes. Archives Mission House S.V.D., in Tetringen.

Weidner, C. H., 1932. *Nota van Zuid-Midden-Timor* (Report on South Central Timor), 26 pp., I.T.-M.

Wouden, F. A. W. van, 1949. *Enige aantekeningen bij de ethnografische literatuur betreffende Timor* (Some notes on the ethnographic literature on Timor), 5 pp. Owned by the writer.

b. *Published Sources.*

Anonymous, 1847. Offeranden op het eiland Samauw; ook van een klein kind.. (Offerings on the Island of Samau, also of a small child...), T.N.I. IX, deel 4, p. 146.

Anonymous, 1849. Bijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Timor en Onderhoorigheden (Contribution to the knowledge of the island of Timor and Dependencies), *T.N.I.* XI, pp. 307-324.

Anonymous, 1854. Moord. Volksbegrippen (Murder. Popular Beliefs), *Tijdschrift*

van het Recht (Law Journal), IX, pp. 784-786.

Anonymous, 1878. Ons prestige op Timor (Our prestige in Timor), *T.N.I.* XL, deel 1, pp. 202-204.

Anonymous, 1892. Het landschap Amarassi (The Princedom of Amarassi), *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (Civil Service Journal) VII, pp. 201-227

Alphen, R. van, 1933. Hongersnood (Famine), *M.T.Z.* LXXVII, pp. 116-130.

— 1950. Een le'oe onderzoek op Timor (A *le'u* investigation in Timor), *H.* III.

Asselbergs, A. J., 1902. Geschiedkundige bijzonderheden over den Solor- en Timorarchipel (Historical particulars on the Solor and Timor Archipelago), *B.S.C.B.*, Nijmegen, No. 3, pp. 53-73 and No. 4, pp. 51-67.

B..., D., 1852. Het eiland Timor (The Island of Timor), *T.N.I.* XIV, 1, pp. 199-224.

B..., J. P. de, 1909. Timor herinneringen (Reminiscences of Timor), *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift* (Dutch East Indies Military Journal), pp. 1205-1210.

Barge, J. A. J., 1942. Contributions to the anthropology of Timor and Flores after data collected by Dr. B. A. G. Vroklage, S.V.D. Pigmentation and hairgrowth in Beloe (Timor), *Acta Neerlandica morphologiae* IV, pp. 329-356.

Basilio de Sa, Arthur, 1955-1958. *Documentação para a Historia das Missôes do padroada Português do Oriente,* Lisbao 2-5 (1550-1605), (discontinued).

Bastian, A., 1885. Timor und umliegende Inseln. In: *Indonesien oder die Inseln des Malayischen Archipels,* Berlin, Lieferung 2, pp. 1-31.

Berthe, L., 1959. Sur quelques distigues Buna'. (Timor central), *B.K.I.* CXV, pp. 336-371.

Biermann, P. B., 1924. Die alte Dominikanermission auf den Solorinseln, *Z.M.* XIV, pp. 12-48.

Bijlmer, H. J. T., 1929. *Outlines of the Anthropology of the Timor Archipelago,* Weltevreden-Batavia.

Bik, J. Th., 1864. Reis naar Bima, Timor, enz. (Journey to Bima, Timor, etc.), *T.B.G.* XIV, pp. 125-183.

Bloembergen, S., 1940. Verslag van een exploratietocht naar de eilanden Timor en Wetar (Report of a Voyage of Exploration to the Islands of Timor and Wetar), *Tectona* XXXIII, pp. 101-196.

Bor., L., 1663. *Amboinse oorlogen door Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn* (Amboinese wars by Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn), Delft.

Bork-Feltkamp, A. J. van, 1951. *A contribution to the anthropology of Timor and Roti after data collected by Dr. W. L. Meyer,* Amsterdam.

Boxer, C. R., 1947. The Topasses of Timor, *Mededelingen* 73, Kon. Ver. Ind. Instituut te Amsterdam.

— 1948. *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770,* The Hague.

— 1949. Some Sources for the History of Timor. *Far Eastern Quarterly* IX, pp. 63-65.

— 1958. Portuguese and Dutch colonial rivalry, 1641-1661. *Studia,* Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos II, pp. 7-42.

— 1965. *The Dutch Seaborne Empire. 1600-1800.*

— 1967. Fransisco Vieira de Figueiredo: A Portuguese Merchant-Adventurer in South East Asia, 1624-1667, *V.K.I.* Vol. LII.

Bruynis, J. L., 1919. Twee landschappen op Timor (Amarassi en Zuid-Beloe), (Two Princedoms in Timor (Amarassi and South Belu)), *T.N.A.G.,* 2nd s., XXXVI, pp. 169-198.

Capell, A., 1943-45. Peoples and Languages of Timor, *Oceania,* Sydney, XIV, pp. 191-219; 311-337; XV, pp. 19-49.

— 1945. Review of A. B. Mendes Corrêa, Timor Português, *Oceania* XVI, pp. 177-178.

— 1962. Oceanic Linguistics Today, *C.A.* III, pp. 371-428.
Carthaus, E., 1910. Die Insel Timor, *Globus* XCVIII.
Castro, A. de, 1862. Résumé historique de l'établissement portugais à Timor, des usages et coutumes de ses habitants, *T.B.G.* XI, pp. 465-506.
— 1864. Une rebellion à Timor en 1861, *T.B.G.* XIII.
— 1867. *As Possessôes Portuguezas na Oceania. Timor.* Lisboa.
— 1872. Timor et les Timoriens. *Revue Maritime et Coloniale,* Paris.
Chau Ju-kua, 1912. His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï. Transl. and annot. F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, Saint Petersburg.
Chijs, J. A. van der, 1872. Koepang omstreeks 1750 (Kupang around the year 1750), *T.B.G.* XVIII, pp. 209-227.
— 1879. Het inlandsch onderwijs in de residentie Timor in 1871 (Native Education in the Residency of Timor in 1871), *T.B.G.* XXV, pp. 1-51.
— Geschiedenis van eenige gouvernementeele inlandsche scholen op Timor (History of a few government schools in Timor), *T.B.G.* XXV, pp. 52-71.
Cornelissen, P. F. J. J., 1928-1929. Totemisme op Flores en Timor (Totemism in Flores and Timor), *N.I.O.N.* XIII, pp. 331-344.
Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum, edited by J. E. Heeres, Vols. I-IV, and F. W. Stapel, Vols. V and VI, 1907-1955.
Couvreur, A. J. L., and B. M. Goslings, S.J., *De Timorgroep en de Zuid-Wester-Eilanden* (The Timor Archipelago and the South-Western islands), and *Weven en Ikatten* (Weaving and *Ikat* techniques), a guide book of the Ethnological Museum of Amsterdam, Vol. X, 1927-33.
Cowan, H. K. J., 1963. Le Buna' de Timor: une langue "Ouest-Papoue", *B.K.I.* CXIX, pp. 387-400.
Cunningham, C. E., 1964a. Order in the Atoni House, *B.K.I.* CXX, pp. 34-69.
— 1964b. Atoni Borrowing of Children; an Aspect of Mediation. In: *Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society,* Seattle, pp. 21-37.
— 1965. Order and Change in an Atoni Diarchy, *Southwest Journal of Anthropology* XXI, pp. 359-383.
— 1966. Categories of Descent Groups in a Timor village, *Oceania* XXXVII, pp. 13-21.
— 1967. a. Recruitment to Atoni Descent Groups, *Anthr. Quarterly* XL, pp. 1-12.
— 1967. b. Soba: An Atoni Village of West Timor. In: *Village in Indonesia,* ed. Koentjaraningrat. Cornell Univ. Press.
D. 1850. Reis naar het rijk van Amanoebang op Timor, in October 1850 (Journey to the realm of Amanubang in Timor in October, 1850), *T.N.I.* XIII, 2, pp. 153-179.
Daerah Timor dahulu sampai sekarang. In: *Handbook Republik Indonesia.* Volume entitled: Propinsi Sunda Ketjil. Djakarta, pp. 209-231. No date.
Daghregister (1896-1913) gehouden in 't casteel Batavia, anno 1624-1682 (Journal (1896-1913) kept in Fort Batavia, the years 1624-1682), 23 vols., Batavia.
Dam, Pieter van, 1931. *Beschrijvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Description of the Dutch East India Co.), ed. Dr. F. W. Stapel, The Hague.
Dijk, L. J. van, 1925-1934. De zelfbesturende landschappen in de Residentie Timor en Onderhoorigheden (The self-governing princedoms in the Residency of Timor and Dependencies), *I.G.* XLVII, 1, pp. 528-540; 2, pp. 618-623; LVI, pp. 708-712.
Donselaar, W. M., 1864. Het inlandsche christendom en schoolwezen op Timor in 1862 (Native Christianity and the school system in Timor in 1862), *M.N.Z.* VIII, pp. 24-60.

— 1882. De Christelijke zending in de Residentie Timor (The Protestant Mission in the Residency of Timor), *M.N.Z.* XXVI, pp. 269-289.

Doxie, J. K., 1927. Godsdienstig en zedelijk leven op Timor (Religious and moral life in Timor), *M.N.Z.* LXXI, pp. 236-249.

Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of* — (1518), London 1918-1921. M. L. Dames ed.

Dungen Gronovius, J. D. van den, 1849. Het Amanoebangsche Rijk op Timor (The Realm of Amanubang in Timor), *T.N.I.* XI, 2, pp. 62-65.

Eerde, J. C. van, 1928. De Oudste berichten omtrent den Indischen Archipel (The Earliest Information concerning the Indonesian Archipelago), *T.N.A.G.*, 2nd s., XLV, pp. 577-592.

Endert, F. H., 1946. Droogte resistente gewassen (Drought-resistant Crops), *Tectona* XXXVI, pp. 165-214.

Ezerman, H. E. K., 1917. Timor en onze politieke verhouding tot Portugal (Timor and our Political relationship with Portugal), *K.T.* VI, pp. 865-896; 1047-1078; 1209-1232.

Faria de Morias, A., 1934. *Subsidios para a história de Timor.* Bastora.

— 1943. *Solor e Timor.* Lisboa.

Felgas, H. A. Estevas, 1956. *Timor Português,* Lisboa.

Fiedler, H., 1929. *Die Insel Timor,* Friederichssegen-Lahn.

Fischer, H. Th., 1957. Some notes on kinship systems and relationship terms of Sumba, Manggarai and South Timor. *I.A.E.*, XLVIII, 1, pp. 1-32.

Fokkens, F., 1914. *De nieuwe regeling der grenzen tusschen Nederlandsch- en Portugeesch Timor* (The new border adjustment between Dutch and Portuguese Timor), The Hague.

Forbes, H. O., 1884. On some of the Tribes of the Island of Timor. *J. Royal Anthropological Society* XIII, pp. 402-429.

— 1885. *A naturalist's wandering in the Eastern Archipelago.* London.

Foy, W., and O. Richter, 1899. *Zur Timor Ornamentik.*

Francis, E. A., 1838. Timor in 1831, *T.N.I.* I, 1, pp. 353-369, 374-400, pp. 25-53.

Galestin, A. A., 1908. Huwelijksrecht en huwelijksgebruiken in den Timoreeschen Archipel (Marriage laws and marriage customs in the Timor Archipelago), *I.G.* XXX, 1, pp. 594-613.

Gebuis, L., 1939. Ontwikkeling van den Timor Archipel (Development of the Timor Archipelago), *Koloniale Studiën* (Colonial Studies), Weltevreden (Batavia), XXIII, pp. 264-278.

Geuns, S. J. van, 1927. Aard en wezen van het Inlandsch zelfbestuur in het landschap Miomaffo op Timor (Nature and essence of the autonomous government of the Princedom of Miomaffo in Timor), *K.T.* XVI, pp. 466-472.

Gramberg, J. S. G., 1872. Een maand in de binnenlanden van Timor (A month in the interior of Timor), *V.B.G.*, Batavia, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 161-217.

Grensaangelegenheden op Timor (Border Issues in Timor), 1911. Appendix *Koloniaal Verslag* (Colonial Report). With map.

Groeneveldt, W. P., 1880. Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources. *V.B.G.* Vol. XXXIX, 1, pp. 1-144.

Grijzen, H. J., 1904. Mededeelingen omtrent Beloe of Midden-Timor (Information on Belu or Central Timor), *V.B.G.* LIV.

— 1924. Herinneringen aan de grensmeting op Timor (Reminiscenes of the delimitation of the borders in Timor), 1898, *K.T.* XIII.

Haga, A., 1882a. De Mardijkers van Timor. Met bronnen en aantekeningen (The Mardekers of Timor. With sources and notes), *T.B.G.* XXVII, pp. 191-294.

— 1882b. De slag bij Penefoey en Vendrig Lip (The Battle of Penfui and *Vendrig* Lip), *T.B.G.* XXVII, pp. 389-408.

Hamy, E. T., 1875. Sur l'anthropologie de l'île de Timor. *Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris* X, 2nd s., pp. 224-227.

Hessing, J., 1921. De herkomst van het paard op Timor (The origin of the horse in Timor), *De Timorbode* VI, pp. 238-239.

Heijman, A., 1895. *De Timortraktaten in 1859 en 1893* (The Timor Treaties of 1859 and 1893), Doctoral Thesis, Leiden.

Heijman, A., 1914. *Sentence Arbitrale.*

Heijmering, G., 1845. Zeden en gewoonten op het eiland Timor (Ways, customs and traditions in the Island of Timor), *T.N.I.* VII, 3, pp. 121-146, 273-313.

— 1846. Een inlandsche oorlog op het eiland Timor (A native war in the Island of Timor), *T.N.I.* VIII, 3, pp. 204-222.

— 1847. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van Timor (Contributions to the History of Timor), *T.N.I.* IX, 3, pp. 1-62, 121-232.

Hiddema, W., 1949. De veehouderij op Timor (Cattle raising in Timor), *Hemera Zoa,* Bogor, LVI, pp. 334-363.

Hogendorp, W. van, 1779, 1780. Beschrijving van het eiland Timor (Description of the Island of Timor), *V.B.G.* I, pp. 273-306, II, pp. 63-83.

Hollander, J. J. de, 1895. Handleiding bij de beoefening der land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië (Geographical and Anthropological Handbook of the Dutch East Indies). 2 vols. Breda.

Huitema, H., 1950. Bestudering, betekenis en gebruik van grassen en met grassen begroeide gronden (The study, explanation and application of grasses and grasslands), *Hemera Zoa,* Bogor, LVII, pp. 199-213, 287-303, 364-378, 435-466, 502-514.

Jansen, H. A., 1895. Van Noord tot Zuid dwars door het land der Beloneesche koppensnellers (From north to south, right across the country of the Belunese headhunters), *B.S.C.B.,* Nijmegen.

— 1890. Atapoepoe op het eiland Timor (Atapupu in the Island of Timor), *B.S.C.B.,* pp. 31-52.

— 1891. Atapoepoe, *B.S.C.B.,* pp. 115-121.

— 1893. Atapoepoe: Eene belangrijke bekeering. Don Basiushi, de kleine koning van Naitimoe (Atapupu: an important conversion. Don Basiushi, the little king of Naitimu), *B.S.C.B.,* pp. 76-79.

— 1894. Algemeene beschouwingen over den werking der kath. missionarissen op het eiland Timor (General reflections on the influence of Roman Catholic Missionaries in the Island of Timor), *B.S.C.B.* 1, pp. 22-39.

Jonker, J. C. G., 1904. Eenige verhalen in talen, gesproken op Soembawa, Timor en omliggende eilanden (Some stories in languages spoken in Sumbawa, Timor and surrounding islands), *B.K.I.* LVI, pp. 245-289.

— 1914. Kan men bij de Talen van den Indischen Archipel eene oostelijke en eene westelijke afdeling onderscheiden? (Can the languages of the Indonesian Archipelago be distinguished into an eastern and a western group?), *V.M.K.A.W.,* Humanities Section, 4, XII.

— 1915. *Rottineesche Spraakkunst* (A Rotinese Grammar), Leiden.

Kate, H. F. C. ten, 1894. Verslag eener reis in de Timorgroep en Polynesië (Report of a journey in the Timor Archipelago and Polynesia), *T.N.A.G.* XI, 2e serie, pp. 333-390.

— 1895. Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Timor Gruppe. *I.A.E.* VII, pp. 242-249; VIII, pp. 1-15.

— 1915. Mélanges Anthropologiques III. Indigènes de l'Archipel Timorien. *L'Anthropologie* XXVI, pp. 519-561.

Keers, W., 1948. An Anthropological survey of the eastern little Sunda Islands.

Mededelingen No. 74, published by the Koninklijke Vereniging Indisch Instituut, Amsterdam.

Kemp, P. A. van der, 1917. Hazaart's ontslag en herstel als Resident op Timor. 1818-19 (The dismissal and reinstatement of Hazaart as Resident in Timor), *K.T.* VI, pp. 1-18, 181-198.

Kleian, E. F., 1893. Lijst van woorden in het Mal., Holl., Rottineesch en Timoreesch (List of Malay, Dutch, Rotinese and Timorese words), *T.B.G.* XXXVII, pp. 209-284.

Kniphorst, J. H. P. E., 1885. Terugblik op Timor en Onderh. (Looking back at Timor and Dependencies), *T.N.I.* XIV, 1, pp. 355-380, 401-483, XIV, 2, pp. 1-41, 81-142, 241-311 and 321-362.

Koppius, W. J., 1940. Timor's betekenis (The significance of Timor), *I.G.* LXII, pp. 420-440.

Kraijer van Aalst, H., 1920. Een paar volksverhalen van Timor (Some folk tales from Timor), *M.N.Z.* LXIV, pp. 257-259.

— 1921. a. Karakterschetsen uit Midden-Timor (Character Sketches from Central Timor), *M.N.Z.* LXV, pp. 113-130.

— 1921. b. Brieven uit Kapan (Letters from Kapan), (Concerning the first mortuary feast in Niki-Niki), *De Timorbode,* pp. 212-218.

— 1922. Uit Midden-Timor (From Central Timor), *M.N.Z.* LXVI, pp. 233-241.

— 1923. Van een koning en zijn koningsvrouwe (Of a king and his queen), *M.N.Z.* LXVII, pp. 97-107.

— 1924-25. Het dodenfeest te Niki-Niki in Mei 1922 (The mortuary feast in Niki-Niki in May, 1922), *De Timorbode,* Kupang, Nos. 104-107.

Kruseman, J. D., 1836. Beschrijving van Timor en eenige naburige Eilanden (Description of Timor and some neighbouring islands), *De Oosterling,* Kampen, II, pp. 1-41.

Kruyt, A. C., 1921. Reis naar Timor enz. (Journey to Timor etc.), *T.N.A.G.* XXXVIII, pp. 769-807.

— 1923. De Timoreezen (The Timorese), *B.K.I.* LXXIX, pp. 347-490.

Kunst, J., 1919. Nota over de Timorese sesando (Report on the Timorese *sesando*), *N.B.G.K.W.* LVII, pp. 186-190.

La Lau, H. L., 1912. Ons politiek en militair optreden op Timor (Our political and military conduct in Timor), *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift* (Dutch East Indies Military Journal), Batavia, XLIII, pp. 325-346.

— 1912. Toestanden in Portugeesch Timor (Conditions in Portuguese Timor), *id.*, pp. 649-664.

Lamberts, H., 1912. Een nota over de Portugeesche grensgewesten (A report on the Portuguese border areas), *Ind. Militair Tijdschrift,* No. 11.

Lammers, H. J., 1948. De Physische Anthropologie van de bevolking van Oost-Dawan (Noord-Midden-Timor) (A physical anthropology of the people of East Dawan (North Central Timor)), Doctoral Thesis, Leiden.

Lamping, E. A. E., 1952. Het proefbedrijf voor mechanische cultuur van droge rijst te Sekon (Timor) (The experimental farm for the mechanization of dry-rice cultivation in Sekon (Timor)). *Landbouw,* Djakarta, XXIV, pp. 139-176.

Leitâo, Humberto, 1948. *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor de 1515 a 1702,* Lisboa.

Leupe, P. A., 1877. Besognes der Hooge Regeering te Batavia, gehouden over de commissie van Paravicini naar Timor, 1756 (Deliberations of the Federal Government in Batavia in respect of Paravicini's commission to Timor, 1756), *B.K.I.* IV, pp. 421-494.

Lion, H. J., 1855. Timor. *T.N.I.* XVII, 2, pp. 185-204.

Locher, G. W., 1956. Myth in a Changing World. *B.K.I.* CXII, pp. 169-192.

Loebèr, J. A., 1903. a. *Timoreesch snijwerk en ornament* (Timorese wood-carving and ornamentation), The Hague.
— 1904. Verslag eener studiereis (Report of a study-tour), *B.K.I.* LVI, pp. 625-642.
— 1908. Het "Spinnenweb"-motief op Timor (The "Cobweb" motif in Timor), *B.K.I.* LX, pp. 93-96.
— 1908. Bamboe-snijwerk en weefsels op Timor (Bamboo-carving and textiles in Timor), *B.K.I.* LXI, pp. 339-349.
Magalhâes, A Leite de, 1920. Subsidios para o estudo etnológico de Timor. *Trabalhas de Soc. Port., de Antrop. e Etnol.* I, facs. II, Porto.
Martinho, José S., 1943. *Timor, Quarto séculos de calonizaçâo portuguesa,* Oporto.
Mathijsen, A., 1907. Tettum-Hollandsche woordenlijst met beknopte spraakkunst (Tetun-Dutch vocabulary with a brief grammar), *V.B.G.* LVI
— 1915. Eenige fabels en volkslegenden van de Onderafdeling Beloe (Some fables and popular legends from the sub-district of Belu), *V.B.G.* LXI, 2.
Mayr, E., 1944. The birds of Timor and Sumba. *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* LXXXIII, pp. 123-194.
Meyer Drees, E., 1950. List of Tree and Shrub names from Timor. *Ecological Series* no. 1, Report of the Forest Research Institute, Bogor.
Middelkoop, P., 1923-1926. Schetsen van Kapan (Sketches of Kapan), *Timorbode* 88-117.
— 1925. a. Reisverslag 20 Oct.—19Nov., 1924 (Account of a journey from 20th October—19th November, 1924), *Timorbode* 110.
— 1925. b. Reizen in de afdeling Kapan (Travels in the district of Kapan), *Timorbode* 114 and 115.
— 1925/1926. Reis door Amanatoen (Journey through Amanatun), *Timorbode* 116, 117, 118.
— 1929. a. Bonèt. *M.N.Z.* LXXIII, pp. 47-59.
— 1929. b. Over het adat-huwelijk op Timor (Concerning *adat* marriage in Timor), *M.N.Z.* LXXIII, pp. 127-146.
— 1931. Gegevens over het Timoreesche Adat-huwelijk (Data concerning *adat* marriage in Timor), *B.K.I.* LXXXVIII, pp. 239-286.
— 1933. Algemene inleiding omtrent het adat-huwelijk en de houding van de zending daartegenover (General introduction to *adat* marriage and the attitude of the Mission to this), *Opwekker* LXXVIII.
— 1936. De melaatsen-kampong te Kapan (The leper colony in Kapan), *M.N.Z.* LXXX.
— 1938. a. Iets over Sonba'i, het bekende vorstengeslacht in Timor (A few words about Sonba'i, the well known royal house of Timor), *T.B.G.* LXXVIII, pp. 392-509.
— 1938. b. Prediking in de landstaal op Timor (Native language preaching in Timor), *M.N.Z.* LXXXII, pp. 337-347.
— 1938. c. Psychologie? (Psychology?), *Opwekker* LXXXIII.
— 1939. a. Neno Anan, *M.N.Z.* LXXXIII, pp. 81-85.
— 1939. b. Amarassisch-Timoreesche teksten (Amarassi texts), *V.B.G.,* Vol. LXXIV, 2.
— 1941. Typische voorbeelden van Timorese denkstructuur (Some typical examples of the Timorese structure of thinking), *Opwekker* LXXXVI, pp. 176-181.
— 1948. a. Geloofsmoed (Religious courage), *H.* I, pp. 255-258.
— 1948. b. Het dodenritueel op Timor tegen de algemeen Indonesische achtergrond (The mortuary ritual in Timor against the general Indonesian background), *H.* I, pp. 340-342.
— 1949. Een studie van het Timoreesche Doodenritueel (A study of the Timorese mortuary ritual), *V.B.G.,* Vol. LXXVI.

— 1950. a. Proeve van een Timorese grammatica (A trial Timorese grammar), *B.K.I.* CVI, pp. 375-517.
— 1950. b. Het kosmische in de verkondiging van het Evangelie (The cosmic principle in the preaching of the Gospel), *H.* III, pp. 152-157.
— 1950. c. Een ernstig misverstand (A serious misunderstanding), *H.* III, pp. 266-271.
— 1951/2. De geestesbeweging in Nunkulo op Timor (The revivalist movement in Nunkulo in Timor), *H.* IV, V, pp. 244-252, 272-276, 301-306, 172-177, 320-324.
— 1952. a. Trektochten van Timorese groepen (Wanderings of Timorese groups), *T.B.G.* LXXXV, pp. 173-273.
Middelkoop, P., 1952. b. Enkele voorbeelden van vertaling van Bijbelse kernwoorden in het Timorees (A few examples of the translation into Timorese of key words in the Scriptures), *H.* V, pp. 241-254.
— 1954. Is het mogelijk de stijl van het dodenritueel op Timor dienstbaar te maken aan de prediking van het Evangelie op Timor? (Is it possible to use the style of the Timorese mortuary ritual in Gospel preaching in Timor?), *H.* VII, pp. 204-218.
— 1956. a. Roepen en oorsprong (Calling and origin), *H.* IX, pp. 188-194.
— 1956. b. About the translation of the word *Nachash* into Timorese. *The Bible Translator,* VII, No. 3.
— 1957. a. Het verhaal van de Kol-Koa (The story of the Kol-Koa), *H.* X, pp. 155-159.
— 1957. b. Psychologische Redenering? (Psychological Reasoning?), *H.* X, pp. 36-42.
— 1958. a. Four tales with mythical features. *B.K.I.* CXIV, pp. 384-405.
— 1958. b. Baumata. *Madjalah* LXXXVI, pp. 519-537.
— 1958. c. Adat-Marriage for Christians on the island of Timor. *Madjalah* LXXXVI, pp. 538-557.
— 1959. A Timorese myth and three fables. *B.K.I.,* CXV, pp. 157-175.
— 1960. *Curse - Retribution - Enmity.* Dissertation Utrecht. Amsterdam.
— 1963. Head Hunting in Timor and its Historical Implications. Timorese texts with translation. *Oceania Linguistic Monograph.*
— 1968. Migrations of Timorese Groups and the Question of *Kase Metan* or Overseas Black Foreigners. *I.A.E.,* Vol. LI, pp. 49-141.
— 1969. Tame and Wild Enmity. *Oceania* XL, No. 1, pp. 70-76.
Mohr, E. C. J., 1933. De bodem der Tropen in het algemeen, en die van Nederlandsch-Indië in het bijzonder (Tropical soils in general and those of the Dutch East Indies in particular), *Mededelingen* No. 31 of the K.V. Koloniaal Instituut, 2 vols.
Molengraaff, G. A. F., 1911-1912. De betekenis van Nederlandsch Timor als kolonie (The significance of Dutch Timor as a colony), *Indisch Genootschap,* pp. 201-215.
Müller, S., 1857. Reizen en onderzoekingen in den Indischen Archipel, gedaan op last der Nederlandsch-Indische Regeering, tusschen de jaren 1828 en 1836 (Journeys and researches in the Indonesian Archipelago undertaken at the instigation of the Dutch East Indies Government between the years 1828 and 1836), *W.K.I.* II. Also in C. J. Temminck, *Verhandelingen over de natuurlijke geschiedenis der Nederlandsche overzeesche bezittingen* (Essays on the natural history of the Dutch overseas territories), Leiden, pp. 29-320. 1839-'44.
Naerssen, F. H. van, 1953. Indonesia. In: *Approaches to Community Development,* Ph. Ruopp ed., The Hague, pp. 318-330.
Nieuwenkamp, W. O. J., 1920. Het kostuum van een Méo of koppensneller op

Timor (The costume of a *Meo* or headhunter in Timor), *T.N.A.G.*, 2nd series, XXXVII, pp. 249-252.
— 1922-1923. Bezoek aan Niki-Niki in het binnenland van Timor (Visit to Niki-Niki in the interior of Timor), *N.I.O.N.* VII, pp. 227-242.
— 1923-1924. Een voorraadschuur en een offerhuisje op Timor (A storage hut and a sacrificial shrine in Timor), *N.I.O.N.* VIII, pp. 197-203.
— 1924-1925. a. Van een zwerftocht door Timor en Onderhoorigheden (Of a wandering through Timor and Dependencies), *N.I.O.N.* IX, pp. 143-155, 175-191.
— 1924-1925. b. Kunst van Timor (The art of Timor), *N.I.O.N.* IX, pp. 363-392.
— 1925. *Zwerftocht door Timor en Onderhoorigheden* (A wandering through Timor and Dependencies), Amsterdam.
Noyen, P., 1913-1914. Dwars door Timor (From one end of Timor to the other), *K.M.* No. 39.
— 1916. Eene ontdekking in het eiland der heidenen. Het kruisbeeld in de grot van Bitaoni (A discovery on a pagan island. The crucifix in the cave of Bitaoni), *St. Michaels-almanak* vol. 27.
Nyèssen, D. J. H., 1944/5. Anthropology of Portuguese Timor. *B.S.G.A.E.* XXI, pp. 89-97.
Oliveira, Luna de, 1948-1952. *Timor na História de Portugal,* 3 vol.
Oostwoud-Wijdenes, M., 1934. Koepang (Timor). *T.N.* VI.
Ormeling, F. J., 1956. *The Timor Problem.* Doctoral Thesis, Djakarta, Groningen.
Overeenkomsten met de zelfbesturen in de residentie Timor (Treaties with the autonomous governments in the Residency of Timor), 1919, vol. III, Sumbawa, Solor, Timor.
Politiek Beleid en Bestuurszorg in de Buitenbezittingen (Government policy and administrative care in the outlying territories), Vol. IIA, Ch. III.
R., 1855. Nog iets over Timor (A few more remarks on Timor), *T.N.I.* XVII, 2, pp. 405-408.
Rahm, Th., 1925. Sandelhout op Timor (Sandalwood in Timor), *Tectona,* Buitenzorg, XVIII, pp. 499-545.
Realia, 1886. Register op de generale resolutiën van het kasteel Batavia (Register of the general resolutions of Fort Batavia), The Hague-Batavia, 3 vols. 1632-1805.
Reinwardt, C. G. C., 1858. *Reis naar het Oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen Archipel in het jaar 1821* (Journey to the eastern part of the Indonesian Archipelago in the year 1821), Amsterdam.
Résumé, 1877. Van het onderzoek naar de regten welke in de residentie Timor door de inlandsche bevolking op de onbebouwde grond wordt uitgeoefend (Of the investigation into the rights exercised by the native population of the Residency of Timor in respect of uncultivated land), Batavia.
Rhijn, L. J. van, 1851. *Reis door den Indischen Archipel in het belang der Evangelische zending* (Journey through the Indonesian Archipelago on behalf of the Evangelical Mission; Ch. on Timor, pp. 527-543.
Riedel, J. G. F., 1885. Timor en Onderhoorigheden in 1878 en later (Timor and Dependencies in 1878 and after), *I.G.* VII, pp. 1-12.
— 1887. Die Landschaft Dawan, oder West Timor. *D.G.B.* X, pp. 227-236, 278-287.
— 1907. Prohibitieve teekens en tatuage-vormen op het eiland Timor (Prohibitive signs and tattoo patterns in the Island of Timor), *T.B.G.* XLIX, pp. 181-202.
Rietschoten, C. H. van, 1914. Tocht over Timor (Journey across Timor), *Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor de bestuurszaken der Buitenbezittingen* (Communications of the Office of the administrative affairs of the outlying territories), edited by the Encyclopaedisch Bureau, Weltevreden, vol. 3, pp. 57-101.
Risseeuw, P., 1950. Sandelhout (Sandalwood). In: C. J. J. van Hall and C. van de

Koppel, *De landbouw in de Indische Archipel* (Agriculture in the Indonesian Archipelago), The Hague, vol. 3, pp. 686-705.

Roo van Alderwerelt, J. de, 1904. Aanteekeningen over Timor en Onderhoorigheden 1668 tot en met 1809 (Notes on Timor and Dependencies from 1668 up to and including 1809), *T.B.G.* XLVII, pp. 195-226.

Rouffaer, G. P., 1899. Waar kwamen de raadselachtige Moetisalah's (aggri - kralen) in de Timorgroep oorspronkelijk vandaan? (Whence did the enigmatic Mutisalahs (*aggri* beads) in the Timor Archipelago originally come?), *B.K.I.* L, pp. 409-675.

— 1910. Aanteekeningen bij de schetskaart van Port. Timor (Notes to the sketch-map of Portuguese Timor), *T.N.A.G.* XXVII, pp. 794-797.

Rouffaer, G. P., 1923-1924. Chronologie der Dominikaner-Missie op Solor en Flores, vooral Poeloe Ende ca. 1556-1638 (Chronology of the Dominican Mission in Solor and Flores, and especially Pulau Ende, from about 1556 to 1638), *N.I.O.N.* VIII, pp. 204-222, 256-260.

Roux, C. C. F. M. le, 1929. De Elcano's tocht door den Timor-archipel met Magelhães' schip "Victoria" (De Elcano's journey through the Timor Archipelago on Magellan's ship the *Victoria*), *Feestbundel Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap,* Weltevreden, Vol. II, pp. 1-100.

Sarasin, F., 1935-6. Beiträge zur Prähistorie der Inseln Timor und Roti, *V.N.B.G.,* XLVII, pp. 1-59.

— 1938. *Oudheidkundig verslag* (Archaeological Report).

St. Clair, S., 1943. Timor: a Key to the Indies, *Nat. Geogr. Mag.* LXXXIV.

Schoorl, P., 1954. Verslag van een dienstreis naar de Kleine Sunda Eilanden (Mei-Juni 1954) (Report of a tour of the Lesser Sunda Islands (May-June, 1954)), *Berita-berita dari lembaga Ilmu Makanan Ternak,* Bogor, II, pp. 88-93 and III, pp. 31-35.

Schijf, C. S. O., 1922. Besnijdenis in West-Midden-Timor (Circumcision in West Central Timor), *T.B.G.* LXI, pp. 43-44.

Sentence Arbitrale entre Les Pays-Bas et le Portugal au sujet de la délimitation d'une partie de leurs possessions dans l'ile de Timor. Neuchatel, 1914.

Silva, Manuel da, 1900. *Nocôes da Grammatica Galoli.* Macao.

Silva, S. M., 1889. *Diccionario de Portuguez - Tétum.* Macao.

Slavernij en slavenhandel op de Timoresche eilanden (Slavery and the slave trade in the Timorese Archipelago), 1872. *M.N.Z.* XVI, pp. 295-300.

Sluiter, D. Begrafenis-plegtigheden bij de Maleise vorsten op Timor (Funeral ceremonies observed for Malay princes in Timor), *Philopaedien* II, pp. 123-128.

Smit, P. J., 1929. Animisme of Geestengeloof op Timor (Animism or the Belief in Spirits in Timor), *K.M.,* LIV, pp. 197-198.

Steenis, C. G. G. J. van, 1939. The native country of sandalwood and teak. A plant geographical study. *Handelingen 8e Ned. Ind. Natuurwetenschappelijk Congres,* Soerabaja, pp. 408-18.

Swieten, S.J., Th. van, 1898. a. Zedekundige Schets (Ethical sketch), *B.S.C.B.,* pp. 64-74.

— 1898. b. Huiselijk leven der Timorese Christenen (The Domestic life of Timorese Christians), *B.S.C.B.,* pp. 68-76.

— 1899. a. Het toilet van den inlander op Timor (The attire of the native of Timor), *B.S.C.B.,* pp. 51 ff.

— 1899. b. Iets over het rechtswezen dezer gewesten (A few words about the legal system in these territories), *B.S.C.B.,* pp. 62-64.

— 1899. c. Heidendom op Midden-Timor (Paganism in Central Timor), *B.S.C.B.,* pp. 62-67.

Tahalele, E., 1950. De cassavevoeding en het eiwitvraagstuk (Cassava as a source of food and the protein problem), *Landbouw,* Bogor, XXII, pp. 495-522.

Taro, Obayashi, 1961. Chimōru no sho ōkoku (Kingdoms in Timor). *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō,* XXV, pp. 247-351.

Tichelman, G. L., 1940. Praehistorische vondsten op Timor (Prehistoric finds in Timor), *C.I.* II, p. 31.

Tiele, P. A., and J. E. Heeres, 1886-1895. Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel (Building materials for the history of the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago), 3 vols., The Hague.

Timor. 1911. O governo do general de brigada... José Celestino da Silva durante 14 annos Latricinios assassinatos e perseguições.

Portuguese Timor, 1920. Gr. Britain and Ireland. Foreign Office, Histor. Section. Handbook 80, 26 pp.

Timor. December, 1941—Dec., 1942. Het Koninklijk Indische leger in den strijd tegen Japan (The Royal Dutch East Indies Army in the war against Japan), pp. 54-78.

Timor. 1943. Allied Geographical Section Southwest Pacific Area. Terrain Study No. 70. Dutch Timor. Netherlands East Indies.

Timor. 1913. *Indische Gids* (Netherlands East Indies Journal) II, pp. 1523 ff.

Timor. 1951. *Cultureel Nieuws Indonesië* (Cultural News of Indonesia) XIII, pp. 9-12.

Valentijn, F, 1726. *Oud- en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Old and New East Indies), Dordrecht, Vol. 3.

Velden, A. v. d., 1900. Eene huwelijksplechtigheid te Atapoepoe (A wedding ceremony in Atapupu), *B.S.C.B.,* pp. 72-77.

Velden, S.J., J. H. van der, 1908. *De Roomsch-katholieke Missie in Ned. O. I. 1808-1908* (The Roman Catholic Mission in the Netherlands East Indies from 1808-1908), Nijmegen.

Verhoeven, Th., 1959. Die Klingenkultur der Insel Timor. *A.* LIV, pp. 970-972.

Versluys, J. D. N., 1949. Maatschappelijke vernieuwing op Timor? (Social renewal in Timor), *Indonesië* III, pp. 130-151 and 201-225.

— 1950. Kanttekeningen bij "Veehoudeij op Timor" (Marginal Notes to "Cattle Raising in Timor"), *Hemera Zoa* LVII, pp. 572-589.

Veth, P. J., 1855. Het eiland Timor (The Island of Timor). *De Gids* VIII, 1, pp. 545-611 and 695-737; 2, pp. 55-100.

Visser, M.S.C., B. J. J., 1925. *Onder Portugeesch-Spaansche vlag. De Katholieke Missie van Indonesië 1511-1605* (Under the joint flags of Spain and Portugal. The Catholic Mission in the Netherlands East Indies from 1511-1605), Amsterdam.

— 1934. *Onder de Compagnie, Gesch. der Kath. Missie in Ned. Indië 1606-1800* (Under the Dutch East India Company. History of the Catholic Mission in the Netherlands East Indies from 1606-1800), Batavia.

Voogd, C. N. A. de, and A. de Grijp, 1937. Iets over het sandelhoutbedrijf op Timor (A few words about the sandalwood industry in Timor). *Tectona* 30, pp. 202-215.

Voskuil, H. J., 1917-1918. Iets over de bewoners van Midden-Timor (Some notes on the inhabitants of Central Timor), *N.I.O.N.* II, pp. 343-349.

Vroklage, B. A. G., 1930. *Mgr. Petrus Noyen* - Uden.

— 1940. Religieuze beeldjes op den Solorarchipel, Flores en Timor (Religious statuettes in the Solor Archipelago, Flores and Timor), *K.M.T.,* XXIII, 6.

— 1940-1941. Resten van Portugeesche missioneering in Beloe en Noord-Midden-Timor (Vestiges of Portuguese Missionary activities in Belu and North Central Timor), *M.* XXI, pp. 223-235; XXII, pp. 34-44, 80-90.

— 1948. *Het zondebesef bij de Beloenezen van Centraal-Timor* (The consciousness of sin among the Belunese of Central Timor), Nijmegen.
— 1952. a. Die Grossfamiliale und Verwandtschaftsexogamie in Belu, Zentral-Timor. *I.A.E.* XLVI, pp. 163-181.
— 1953. *Ethnographie der Belu in Zentral-Timor,* 3 vols., Leiden.
Wanner, J., 1913. Ethnologische Notizen über die Inseln Timor und Misol. *Arch. für Anthropologie* XII, pp. 147-160.
Wessels, C., 1938. Portugeezen en Spanjaarden in den Indischen Archipel tot aan de komst van de Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1515-1605 (The Portuguese and Spanish in the Indonesian Archipelago up to the arrival of the Dutch East India Company, 1515-1605). In: F. W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië* (History of the Netherlands East Indies), vol. 2, pp. 153-221.
Wetering, F. H. van de, 1927. Huwelijksgebruiken van Timor-Koepang (Marriage Customs in Timor Kupang), *M.N.Z.* LXXI, pp. 341-370.
Weyerman, L. F., 1939. Het 30-jarig bestaan van het Garnizoens Battaljon van Timor en Onderhoorigheden (The thirtieth anniversary of the Garrison Battalion of Timor and Dependencies). *Orgaan der Nederlandsch-Indische Officiersvereniging* (Organ of the Dutch East Indies Officers' Club), Bandoeng, XXIV, pp. 85-90.
Wichmann, A., 1892. Bericht über eine Reise nach dem Indischen Archipel. Timor und Roti. *T.N.A.G.* IX, pp. 161-257.
Wiggers, H. D., 1893. Gewone eed der Timoreezen en Rottineezen (The ordinary oath among the Timorese and Rotinese), *T.B.G.* XXXVI, pp. 279-280.
Wilde, Ch. Th. G. H. de, 1916. Verslag omtrent een veeteeltkundig onderzoek van het eiland Timor (Report of a veterinary study of the Island of Timor). *Veeartsenijkundige bladen voor Ned. Indië* (Veterinary Science Journal for the Netherlands East Indies), Batavia, XXVIII, pp. 421-484.
Willems, A. W. M., 1940. In: *Oudheidkundig Verslag Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap* (Archaeological Report of the Royal Batavia Society), 1939.
Winstedt, R. O., 1944. A motif in Indonesian art. *J. Royal Asiatic Society,* Pts. 3 and 4.
Wortelboer, W., 1952. a. Het "zondebesef bij de Belunezen" (The "consciousness of sin among the Belunese"), *M.* XXXI, pp. 189-193.
— 1952. b. Monotheisme bij de Belu's op Timor? (Monotheism among the Belu of Timor?), *A.* XLVII, pp. 290-292.
— 1955. Zur sprache und Kultur der Belu (Timor). *A.* L., pp. 155-200.
Wouden, F. A. E. van, 1935. *Sociale Structuurtypen in de Groote Oost* (Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia), Leiden. English Transl. by R. Needham, The Hague, 1968.
Zondervan, H., 1888. Timor en de Timoreezen (Timor and the Timorese), *T.N.A.G.,* 2nd series V, pp. 30-140; 339-416.

2. GENERAL

Adriani, N., 1932. *Verzamelde Geschriften* (Miscellaneous Writings), Vol. II.
African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, 1962 (1950). A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, eds., London.
Arndt, S.V.D., P., 1936-1937. Dèva, das höchste Wesen des Ngadha. *A.* XXXI and XXXII.
Baal, J. van, 1966. *Dema, Description and analysis of Marind-Anim Culture,* The Hague.
Bastide, R. (ed.), 1962. Introduction à l'étude du mot "structure". In: *Sens et*

usages du terme Structure, dans les sciences Humaines et Sociales, The Hague.
Batakspiegel (Batak Mirror), 1910. Publication of the Batak Institute, No. 3, Leiden.
Beattie, J., 1964. *Other Cultures,* London.
Bertling, C. Tj., 1954. Vierzahl, Kreuz und Mandala in Asien, *B.K.I.* 110, pp. 93-115.
Bovill, E. W., 1958. *The Golden Trade of the Moors.* London.
Cassirer, E., 1956 (1944). *An Essay on Man,* New York.
Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1942. *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government.* Connecticut.
Coser, L., 1956. *The functions of social conflict.*
Couvreur, A., 1917. Aanteekeningen nopens de samenstelling van het Zelfbestuur van Bima (Notes on the composition of the autonomous government of Bima), *T.B.B.* LII, pp. 1-18.
Doorn, J. A. A. van, and C. J. Lammers, 1959. *Moderne Sociologie* (Modern Sociology), Utrecht.
Douwes Dekker, N. A., no date. *Tanah Air Kita,* The Hague-Bandung.
Downs, R. E., 1955. Head-hunting in Indonesia. *B.K.I.* CXI, pp. 40-71.
Drewes, G. W. J., 1954. *Een Javaanse Primbon uit de zestiende eeuw* (A Javanese *primbon* from the 16th century), Leiden.
Durkheim, E., and M. Mauss, 1963. *Primitive Classification,* transl. R. Needham. French edition: De quelques formes primitives de classification. 1901-02.
Duyvendak, J. P., 1926. *Het Kakean-genootschap van Seran* (The Kakean Society of Seran), Almelo.
Easton, D., 1953. *The political system, an inquiry into the state of political science.* New York.
Easton, D., 1959. Political Anthropology. In: *Biennial review of Anthr.,* Siegel, B. J. (ed.), pp. 210-262. Stanford.
Eerdmans, A. J. A. F., 1897. Het Landschap Gowa (The district of Gowa), *V.B.G.,* Vol. 50, pp. 1-77.
Eisenstadt, S. N., 1959. Primitive Political Systems. *A.A.* LXI, pp. 200-220.
Ekris, A. van, 1864. Woordenlijst van eenige dialecten der landtaal op de Ambonsche eilanden, nl. Kamarian op Ceram (Vocabulary of some dialects of the native language in the Amboina Archipelago, namely Kamarian in Ceram), *M.N.Z.* VIII, pp. 61-108; 301-336.
Eliade, M., 1949. *Traité d'Histoire des Religions.* Paris.
— 1957. *Das Heilige und das Profane.* Hamburg.
Erkelens, B., 1897. Geschiedenis van het Rijk Gowa (History of the Realm of Gowa), *V.B.G.,* Vol. 50, pp. 79-121.
Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 1963 (1940). *The Nuer.* Oxford.
— 1962 (1956). *Nuer Religion.* Oxford.
— 1962. *Essays in Social Anthropology.* London.
— 1965. *Theories of Primitive Religion.* Oxford.
Field, M. J., 1940. *Social Organization of the Ga People.* London.
Fortes, M., 1945. *The dynamics of clanship.*
— 1949. *The web of kinship among the Tallensi.* London.
Fustel de Coulanges, N. D., 1864. *La Cité Antique* (Engl. transl. *The Ancient City*).
Geertz, C., 1956. Religious Belief and Economic Behaviour in a Central Javanese Town.... In: *Econ. Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 4.
— 1957. a. Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example. *A.A.* LIX.
— 1957. b. Ethos, World-view and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols. *The Antioch Review* XVII, pp. 421-437.

— 1959. Form and Variation in Balinese village structure. *A.A.* LXI, pp. 991-1012.
— 1960. *The Religion of Java.* Glencoe.
— 1961. Review of: Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual. *B.K.I.* CXVII, pp. 498-502.
— 1963. *Peddlers and Princes.* Chicago.
— 1964. Tihingan: A Balinese Village. *B.K.I.* CXX, pp. 1-33.
Geertz, Hildred, 1961. *The Javanese Family: A Study of Kinship and Socialization.* New York.
— 1965. Comment on P. E. de Josselin de Jong, *J.A.S.* XXIV, pp. 294-297.
Glotz, G., 1953 (1928). *La Cité Grecque.*
Goddijn, H. P. M., 1963. *Het funktionalisme in de sociologie* (Functionalism in Sociology). Assen.
Goody, J., 1961. The classification of double descent systems, *C.A.* II, pp. 3-25.
Grader, C. J., 1937. Tweedeeling in het Oud-Balische dorp (Dualism in the Old Balinese village), *Mededeelingen Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk,* Vol. 5.
Granet, M., 1934. *La pensée chinoise.* Paris.
Griaule, M., 1965. *Conversations with Ogotemmêli,* London. English translation of Dieu d'Eau, Paris.
Gullick, J. M., 1958. *Indigenous political systems of Western Malaya,* London.
Haar, J. C. C., 1939. De Zelfbestuurspolitiek ten opzichte van de Korte Verklaring-landschappen in Nederlandsch-Indië (The self-government policy in respect of the Short Declaration districts of the Netherlands East Indies), *Utrechtse Bijdragen tot de Gesch., het Staatsrecht en de Economie van Ned.-Ind.* (Contributions by the University of Utrecht to the History, Constitutional Law and Economics of the Netherlands East Indies), Utrecht.
Halphen, L., 1947. *Charlemagne et l'Empire Carolingien,* Paris.
Heine-Geldern, R., 1956. Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia. *Data paper*: 18; Dept. Asian Studies, Cornell University, New York.
Held, G. J., 1951. *De Papoea-Cultuurimprovisator* (The Papuan culture improvisator).
Herskovits, M. J., 1938. *Dahomey, an ancient West African Kingdom,* (concerning the Fon), New York.
Hertz, R., 1960 (French edition 1907). *Death and the Righthand,* Transl. by R. and Claudia Needham, London.
Hobson-Jobson, 1903. *A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words.* New edition by Yule and Burnell.
Hoekstra, P., 1948. *Paardenteelt op het Eiland Soemba* (Horse-breeding on the Island of Sumba), Batavia.
— 1950. De economische betekenis van de karbouwenteelt voor het eiland Sumba (The economic importance of buffalo-raising for the Island of Sumba), *Hemera Zoa,* Bogor, LVII, pp. 154-166.
Hofstra, S., 1946. *Het functiebegrip in de sociologie* (The functional concept in sociology).
Holleman, J. F., 1940. Die Twee-eenheidsbeginsel in die Sociale en Politieke samelewing van die Zulu (The principle of dual unity in the social and political organization of the Zulu), *Bantu Studies* XIV, pp. 31-75.
Jager Gerlings, J. H., 1952. *Sprekende weefsels* (Talking textiles).
Jasper, J. E., and M. Pirngadih, 1912. *De inlandsche kunstnijverheid* (Native arts and crafts), Vol. II, De weefkunst (The art of weaving).
Jensen, A. E., 1948. *Die drei Ströme. Züge aus dem geistigen und religiösen Leben der Wemale. einem primitiv-Volk in den Molukken,* Leipzig.

Jonker, J. C. G., 1908. *Rottineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek* (Rotinese-Dutch Dictionary), Leiden.

Josselin de Jong, J. P. B. de, 1935. *De Maleische Archipel als ethnologisch studieveld* (The Malay Archipelago as an ethnological field of study), Leiden.

Josselin de Jong, P. E. de, 1951. *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan,* Leiden.

— 1956. De visie der participanten op hun cultuur (The participants' view of their culture), *B.K.I.* CXII, pp. 149-168.

— 1961. Comments on J. Goody: Double Descent. *C.A.* II, p. 14.

— 1965. An interpretation on Agricultural Rites in Southeast Asia. *J.A.S.* XXIV, 2, pp. 283-291.

Joustra, M., 1923. *Minangkabau, overzicht van Land, Geschiedenis en Volk* (Minangkabau — a survey of the country, the people and the history), 2nd impression, The Hague.

Junod, H. A., 1962 (1927). *The Life of a South African Tribe,* 2 vols., New York.

Juynboll, Th. W., 1930. *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet* (Guide to the study of Muslim law), 4th impression, Leiden.

Kennedy, R., 1962. *Bibliography of Indonesian peoples and cultures,* Connecticut.

Klinkert, H. C., 1926. *Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Malay-Dutch Dictionary), 3rd impression, Leiden.

König, R., 1958. Struktur. In: Soziologie, *Fischer Lexikon,* pp. 283-291.

Korn, V. E., 1924. *Het adatrecht van Bali* (Balinese customary law), The Hague.

Körner, T., 1936. *Totenkult und Lebensglaube bei den Völkern Ost-Indonesiens,* Leipzig.

Kraemer, H., 1921. *Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw* (A Javanese *Primbon* from the sixteenth century), Doctoral Thesis, Leiden.

Krom, N. J., 1938. Het Hindoe-tijdperk (the Hindu period), in: *Geschiedenis van* Nederlandsch-Indië (History of the Dutch East Indies), F. W. Stapel ed., Vol. I, pp. 119-298.

Kruyt, A. C., 1938. *De West-Toradja's op Midden-Celebes* (The Western Toraja of Central Celebes), 5 vols., Amsterdam.

Kruyt, A. C., and N. Adriani, 1950-1951. *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes* (The Bare'e-speaking Toraja of Central Celebes), 4 vols., Amsterdam.

Kuperus, G., 1937. *Het Cultuurlandschap van West-Soembawa* (The landscape of West Sumbawa), Groningen, Batavia.

Lebeuf, A., 1965. Le Système classificatoire des Fali (Nord-Cameroun). In: *African Systems of Thought,* pp. 328-341, London.

Lévi-Strauss, C., 1949. *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté,* Paris.

— 1953. La notion de structure et ethnologie. In: *Anthropologie Structurale,* Paris. English translation *Structural Anthropology,* New York, 1963.

— 1956. Les organisations dualistes existent-elles? *B.K.I.* CXII, pp. 99-128. Also in *Anthropologie Structurale* and *Structural Anthropology.*

— 1958. Histoire et ethnologie, *idem.*

— 1964. Le Cru et le Cuit, *Mythologiques,* Paris.

— 1965. Le triangle culinaire, *L'Arc.,* XXVI, pp. 19-29.

Lewis, I. M., 1961. *A Pastoral Democracy,* London.

Ligtvoet, A., 1872. Geschiedenis van de afdeeling Tallo (History of the district of Tallo), *T.B.G.* XVIII, pp. 39-66.

Lloyd, P. C., 1965. The Political Structure of African Kingdoms: an exploratory model. In: *Political Systems and the Distribution of Power,* pp. 63-113, London.

Locher, G. W., 1956. Myth in a Changing World. *B.K.I.* CXII, pp. 169-192.

Loebèr, J. A., 1921. Weven (Weaving), in *E.N.I.* IV, pp. 769-774.

Lowie, R. H., 1927. *The origin of the state,* New York.

Lowith, K., 1953 (1949). *Weltgeschichte und Heilsgeschehen,* Stuttgart. Originally published as: Meaning in History. Chicago.
Mabuchi, T., 1964. Tales concerning the origin of grains in the Insular Area of Eastern and Southeastern Asia. *Asian Folklore Studies* XXIII, 1, pp. 1-92.
Maine, H. Sumner, 1861. *Ancient Law: its connections with the early history of society, and its relations to modern ideas,* London.
— 1871. *Village-communities in the East and West,* London.
— 1875. *Lectures on the early history of institutions,* London.
Mair, L., 1962. *Primitive Government.* Penguin Books.
Mead, M., 1949. *Coming of age in Samoa.* Mentor-book. New York.
Merton, R. K., 1957 (1949). *Social theory and social structure,* Glencoe.
Meyer, Ed., 1884. *Geschichte des Altertums,* Vol. 1.
Murdock, G. P., 1956. Political Moieties. In: *The State of the Social Sciences,* Ed. L. D. White, pp. 133-147. Chicago.
Needham, R., 1958. The formal analysis of prescriptive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. *Southwestern Journal of Anthr.* XIV.
— 1960. a. The Lefthand of the Mugwe. *Africa* XXX.
— 1960. b. Review: Divine Kings and the "Breath of Men" by M. Wilson. Cambridge. *Notes and Queries* 7, pp. 280 and 272.
— 1962. a. *Structure and Sentiment,* Chicago.
— 1962. b. Review of P. R. Goethals, Aspects of Local Government in a Sumbawan village. *A.A.* LXIV, pp. 660-662.
— 1963. *Introduction to Durkheim and Mauss, Primitive Classification,* VII-XLVIII, Chicago.
Nooteboom, C., 1939. Aanteekeningen over het landbouwritueel in het rijk Rakawatoe op Midden-Soemba van B. Jaha (Notes on the agricultural ritual in the princedom of Rakawatu in Central Sumba by B. Jaha), *B.K.I.* XCVIII, pp. 225-246.
Onvlee, L., 1949. Naar aanleiding van de stuwdam in Mangili. (Opmerkingen over de sociale structuur van Oost-Soemba) (A few words with reference to the dam in Mangili. (Remarks on the social structure of East Sumba)), *B.K.I.* CV, pp. 445-461.
— 1954. De betekenis van vee en veebezit op Sumba (The importance of cattle and the ownership of cattle in Sumba), *H.,* pp. 49-66.
Ossenbruggen, F. D. E. van, 1918. De oorsprong van het Javaansche begrip Montja-pat in verband met primitieve classificaties (The origin of the Javanese concept of *Montja-pat* in connection with primitive classification), *V.M.K.A.W.* V, 3, pp. 6-44.
Parrinder, G., 1961. *West African Religion,* London.
Peursen, C. A. van, 1969. *Wetenschap en Werkelijkheid* (Science and Reality).
Piaget, J., 1968. *Le Structuralisme,* Paris.
Pigeaud, Th. G. Th., 1929. Javaansche wichelarij en klassificatie (Auguring and Classification in Java), *Feestbundel Bat. Genootschap,* Vol. II.
— 1938. *Javaanse volksvertoningen* (Popular theatre in Java), Batavia.
— 1963. *Java in the 14th Century.* The Nāgara-Kĕrtāgama, notes, translation, commentaries and a glossary by Th. G. Th. Pigeaud.
Pocock, D. F., 1961. *Social Anthropology,* London, New York.
Pouwer, J., 1955. *Enkele aspecten van de Mimika-cultuur* (Some aspects of the Mimika culture), The Hague.
— 1960. Loosely structured societies in Netherlands New Guinea. *B.K.I.* CXVI, pp. 109-118.
Prins, J., 1954. *Adat en Islamietische Plichtenleer in Indonesië* (Customary law and Muslim jurisprudence in Indonesia), The Hague, Bandung.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 1935. On the concept of function in social science. In: *Structure and Function in Primitive Society,* 1963 (1952).
— 1940. On Joking Relationships. In: *Structure and Function in Primitive Society,* London, 1963 (1952), pp. 90-105.
— 1962 (1950). *Introduction: African Systems of Kinship and Marriage,* pp. 1-85.
Rassers, W. H., 1959. *Pañji, The Culture Hero,* The Hague.
Rattay, R. S., 1932. *Ashanti,* Oxford.
— 1954 (1927). *Religion and art in Ashanti,* Oxford.
Röder, J., 1948. *Alahatala, die Religion der Inlandstämme Mittelcerams,* Leipzig.
Rouffaer, G. P., 1923. Chronologie der Dominikaner Missie op Solor en Flores, en Bibliografie over het Ende-fort (Chronology of the Dominican Mission in Solor and Flores, and Bibliography concerning Fort Ende), *N.I.O.N.* VIII, pp. 204-256.
Rümke, H. C., 1967. *Psychiatrie* (Psychiatry), Vol. 3, Amsterdam.
Salisbury, R. S., 1956. Asymmetrical marriage systems, *A.A.* CVIII.
Schapera, I., 1956. *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies,* London.
Schärer, H., 1963. *Ngaju Religion,* transl. by R. Needham, The Hague.
Schmidt, F. H., and J. H. A. Ferguson, 1952. Rainfall types based on wet and dry period ratios for Indonesia with Western New Guinea. *Djawatan Meteorologi dan Geofisik,* Djakarta, No. 42.
Schoorl, J. W., 1957. *Kultuur en Kultuurveranderingen in het Moejoe-gebied* (Culture and cultural change in the Muju area), Doctoral Thesis, Leiden.
Sierksma, F., 1955. Religie en politiek leiderschap in primitieve culturen (Religion and political leadership in primitive cultures), *Nederl. Theologisch Tijdschrift* X, pp. 209-236.
Smith, M. G., 1956. On segmentary lineage systems. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* LXXXVI, pp. 39-80.
— 1960. *Government in Zazzau,* London.
Snouck Hurgronje, C., 1893. *De Atjèhers* (The Achehnese), Vol. 1, Batavia-Leiden.
— 1892-1893. Brieven van een Wedono-pensioen (Letters from a retired Wedono), *Verspreide Geschriften* (Miscellaneous Writings) IV, 1, pp. 111-248.
Soekarno, 1952. *Het ontstaan van de "Pantjasila"* (The birth of the "Pantjasila"), An abridged translation of Soekarno's speech of 1st June, 1945. Information Service Indonesia, The Hague.
Southall, A. W., 1953. *Alur Society,* Cambridge.
Stapel, F. W., 1922. *Het Bongaaisch verdrag* (The Bongai treaty), Doctoral Thesis, Leiden.
Steenis, C. G. G. I. van, 1954. *Homo destruens,* Leiden.
Sumba, 1965. *Leven en dood op Sumba* (Life and death in Sumba), Catalogue of an Exhibition held by the Ethnological Museum, Rotterdam.
Swellengrebel, J. L., 1960. Introduction: *Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual,* The Hague and Bandung, pp. 1-76.
— 1966. In Memoriam Dr. Roelof Goris. *B.K.I.* CXXII, pp. 205-229.
Timasheff, N. S., 1957. *Social theory, its nature and growth.* New York.
Tobing, Ph. L., 1956. *The structure of the Toba-Batak belief in the High God.* Doctoral Thesis, Utrecht-Amsterdam.
Umar Junus, 1964. Some remarks on Minangkabau social structure, *B.K.I.* CXX, pp. 293-326.
Vansina, J. L., 1962. A comparison of African Kingdoms. *Africa* XXXII, pp. 324-335.
Vaux, O.P., R. de, 1961. *Hoe het oude Israël leefde* (The way of life of ancient Israel), I, Roermond-Maaseik.

Veen, H. van der, 1915. *De Noord-Halmahera'se taalgroep tegenover de Austronesische talen* (The North Halmahera language group as compared with the Austronesian languages), Leiden.

Vergouwen, J. C., 1933. *Het Rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks* (The legal system of the Toba Batak), The Hague.

Vollenhoven, C. van, 1918. *Het Adatrecht van Ned. Indië* (The customary law of the Netherlands East Indies), Vol. I, part 2.

Wertheim, W. F., 1964. Society as a composite of conflicting value systems. In: *East-West Parallels,* The Hague.

Westermann, D., 1935. *Die Glidyi-Ewe in Togo,* Berlin.

LIST OF TIMORESE WORDS

A'atan - helper, assistant.
Abeat - guard, warden.
Aem - tame.
Afatis - supporter, provider.
Afinit - highest, supreme.
Ahaut - provider.
Ahonit - progenitor, male parent.
Aina ama - mother - father.
Ainaf (generic form *aina*) - mother.
Aisaf - sheaf of corn-cobs.
A(d)jau - Indon. *tjemara,* Casuarina.
Alaut - witch.
Ali' - left-hand side.
Aluk - betel purse.
Amaf (generic form *ama*) - father, lineage head, clan head.
Amaf naek - head of sub-territory of princedom.
Amfini - plural form of *amaf.*
Amnasi, mnasi - elders.
Anah (generic form *ana*) - child, little.
Ana fetof - daughter.
Ana'-pah - guardian of the realm.
Ana'plenat - ruler, he who holds the reins of government.
Ana'uel - bearer of staff, ruler, envoy of ruler.
An monef - son.
Ane - rice.
Apinat - the radiant one, used with reference to Uis Neno and to the ruler.
Apuf - small basket used in harvesting.
Asak - heap, pile.
Asu - dog.
Ate - slave.
Atis - breast beam of weaving-loom.
Atiat le'u - guardian of sacred objects, ruler.
Atoni - human being, man.
Atoni amaf - *amaf* of bride-giving *ume,* mother's elder brother.
Atoni Pah Meto - the people of the dry land (cf. *toni*).
Atupas - "he who sleeps", the ruler.
Au - I, me, my.
Auk - (my) body, self.
Auni - lance.

Ba'at - root.
Babaf - mother's brother, father's sister's husband, masculine affine of preceding generation.
Bab honit - mother's brother.
Ba'ef - sister's husband, wife's brother, masculine affine of same generation.
Ba'ef monef - wife's brother.
Ba'ef fetof - sister's husband.
Bahan - wooden enclosing fence.
Baki - stone, stone fence.
Bak-bak - altar for Uis Pah in garden plots, itself also referred to as Uis Pah.
Be'if (generic form *be'i*) - grandmother, female ancestor.
Be'i-na'i - ancestors (female and male).
Belu - friend.
Benu - friend.
Benas - matchet.
Besi - crocodile, iron.
Bi - designation for women, e.g. Bi Tal (cf. Nai'), and for villages or districts, e.g. Bikomi.
Bian - companion (*au bian, au benu* - said with reference to totem and to a head taken in headhunting).
Bibi - goat.
Bidjael - buffalo.
Bifel - woman.
Bikasi - horse.
Bninis - cotton-mangle, small press used for seeding cotton.
Boas - ten.
Bone - round-dance.
Bone nakaf - dance performed for head taken in headhunting.
Bo'o - large basket (Ambenu).
Bunuk - curse, taboo sign.

Eka hoë - the filling in of the ditch.
Eno - door.
Etu - yard, garden laid out for a head.

Fafi - pig.
Fanu - war formula.
Fatu - rock, cliff.
Fatu le'u - sacred, awe-inspiring cliff.
Fe lalan - the woman (from *bifel*) of the (trodden) path.
Feto - feminine, sister.
Fetof-nauf - sister-brother.
Fetor, fettor - district head.
Fini - portion of harvest put aside for planting or for a mortuary feast.
Finiklios - soul-bird.
Funan - moon.

Ha - four.
Habu - mist, vapour.
Hakef - messenger.
Halak - bench.
Hau - tree, wood.
Hau monef - masculine pole, or altar-pole outside the house.
Hau tes - heartwood.
Hin - to know, comprehend.
Hoka - small weeding-hook.
Honu ane - ripping rice grains off stalk.
Honu suni - to draw a sword; in trial by ordeal: to run hand along sharp edge of sword.
Hulan - rain.

Ike - spindle used in spinning.
Ik - elo - "tail grass", *imperata cylindrica,* term used with reference to finest variety of rice.
Ikun - to follow.
Inu leko - fine coral beads.
Istana - ruler's garden-hut.

Kabesak - acacia.
Kabu - servant.
Kaidjulan - rain-tree.
Kait (-lolu) - hook, harvesting-hook.
Kanaf - name, clan, lineage.
Kapitan - from the Port. *capitâo,* title of *amaf naek.*
Kase - strange, foreign.
Kasu nono - to shed the *nono.*
Kasui - basket of *lontar* leaves.
Kato - wife, spouse.
Kelili - small oblong basket used in sacrificing and for serving important guests.
Kenat - rifle.
Kesel (keser) - from Dutch *keizer* (= emperor).
Ketemukungan - Indon. village.
Kiu - tamarind.
Kliuka - pulse-beat.
Kluni - lair, lying-place.
Kolnel - from Port. *coronel.*
Kolo - bird.
Kota - fortified place.
Kuan - community, residential unit, village, hamlet.

Lake - leech.
Laksae - transgress, overstep the bounds.
Lais Kompani - the rules or *adat* of the Dutch.
Lais meto - the laws or *adat* of the dry (land) = Timor.
Lasi - word, matter, ritual, *adat,* rules, tradition, case, issue, matter in dispute.
Leko - good; *kan leko* - not good, bad.
Le'u - sacred, holy, awe-inspiring, sacred object.
Le'u abanat - *le'u* used for taming buffaloes.
Le'u fenu - *le'u* used in childbirth and illness.
Le'u kinat - *le'u* for weaving.
Le'u musu - *le'u* used against enemy, enmity *le'u.*
Le'u nono - fertility power.
Amle'ut - broken, evil, bad.
Namle'u - it is broken.
Mo'et amle'u - to do wrong.
Li - left-hand side.
Lolu (kait) - harvesting-hook.
Lopo - community house, storehouse.

Mafefa - mouth, speaker of head.
Mainikin ma menas - coolness and heat, well-being and disease.
Mainikin ma oetene - coolness and cold, health and prosperity, well-being.
Maka' - cooked rice, food.
Malak - mark, from Port. *marca.*
Manas - sun.
Manus - betel.

Maputu - melala - fiery, burning and hot.
Mata - eye.
Matau - progenitive power.
Matsau - to marry.
Mate - unripe, green.
Maus - tame.
Melala - fiery.
Menas - heat, disease, evil.
Meo - cat, warrior, headhunter.
Meo metan - civet-cat.
Metan - black.
Nis metan - black teeth.
Nis muti - white teeth.
Meto - dry.
Miu - clear, bright.
Huin miu - bright face.
Mat miu - bright eye.
Mnane - medicine-man, authority on occult forces.
Mnanu - long, tall.
Mnasi - old.
Mo'e - to do, act.
Mone(f) - masculine, exterior.
Mone-fe - husband and wife.
Molo - yellow.
Mone fe'u - "new man", son-in-law, masculine affine of younger generation.
Mone lalan - man of the (trodden) path.
Monef atonif - masculine man, headhunter.
Mtasa - red.
Muni - young.
Musu - enemy.
Musu fui - wild enemy.
Musu aun - tame enemy.
Muti - white.
Mutonan - to notify, implying at the same time "to ask permission" or "to instruct".

Na'a - blood.
Naek - large.
Na'i - grandfather.
Nai - lord, when preceding a name it designates a man, e.g. Nai Tal.
Naidjan - lord.
Naidjuf - founder of tribe; great chief
Nakaf - head.
Namso - individual dance.
Nanan - interior.
Nanef - daughter-in-law, sister's daughter, wife's brother's daughter.
Nauf - brother (sister speaking).
Nekan - bamboo ware beam, used for tautening weaving-loom.
Neno - heaven.
Neno anan - divine child, the ruler.
Neon sa'et - sunrise.
Neon tes - sunset.
Nesu - door.
Neus atoni - masculine or men's door.
Neus bifel - feminine or women's door.
Ne'u - right-hand side.
Ni - pillar.
Ni ainaf - maternal pillar.
Ni monef - masculine pillar.
Ni manu - chicken pillar.
Nifu - lake, pond.
Nikis - pandanus.
Nitu - deceased, corpse; death spirit.
Niun - leather back-strap of weaving-loom.
Noil Noni - Gold-River.
Nono - liana, circle, fertility; cf. *le'u nono* and *kasu nono*.
Nuni - taboo, forbidden.
Nunuh - banyan.
Nus - parrot, Indon. *nuri*.

Oe - water, spring, source.
Okan - cucumber.
Oke - all.
Oko - large basket, *poni* (Beboki).
Olif - younger (brother).
Onen - invocation, prayer.
Ote - to chop.
Ote nakaf - headhunter.
Ote naus - augurer.

Pae - hero, brave.
Pah - land, ground, soil.
Paha tuakini - lords of the land.
Pah Meto - the dry land, the Atoni area.
Pah nitu - earth spirit.
Pah tuaf - lord of the earth, earth spirit.
Pah in tuan - lord of his land, territory.
Pane - coconut shell.
Pena - corn.
Pilu - kerchief.
Poni - large basket.
Poni pah - harvest gifts.
Puah-pinang - areca-nut.

Puah manus - *sirih-pinang* (betel-nut), part of bridewealth.
Puah manus luman or *mnuke* - first instalment of bridewealth.
Puah mnais-manus mnasi - definite instalments of bridewealth.

Sakan - cry of victory.
Sekì pena - corn harvest.
Sepe - split bamboo.
Setel - pile.
Sial - one of two laths used for making odd and even strands run cross-wise.
Sifo - implement for separating cotton from its seeds, a bamboo bow with taut string. The cotton is beaten with this.
Sifo nopo - the extinguishing of the bamboo.
Smanaf - vital force, soul.
Ane smanaf - *smanaf* of rice.
Pena smanaf - *smanaf* of corn.
Sonaf - palace.
Suni - sword.
Suti - plate on which yarn is spun.

Tah - we eat.
Tah feu - the eating of the first corn harvested.
Tani - liana, forest-creeper.
Nono - tani - fertility power.
Tanhai - transgress, overstep the bounds.
Tasi feto - feminine sea, sea in the north, or sea closer to shore.
Tasi mone - masculine sea, sea in the south, or sea further away from shore.
Tataf - elder (brother).
Tetus - straight, erect, righteous.
Timo - water-melon; name for rain brought by easterly monsoon.
Tiut - to watch, to guard.
Tobe - sacrificial basket; lid of sacrificial basket; custodian of the land; properly: ana' tobe - he who holds the sacrificial basket.
Tobe naek - major custodian of land.
Tofa - large weeding-hook.
Toi - entrance to loft.
Tola - altar pole.
Tolo ana - small altar poles of the *usif*, surrounding the *sonaf*.
Tola metan - black altar pole.
Tola naek - large altar pole near ruler's *sonaf*.
Tola molo - yellow altar pole.
Toko - to sit.
Toni - word, see *lasi*.
Tuaf - lord, pl. *tuafini*.
Tuak - palm-wine.
Tup - to sleep.
Tuthais - gift of homage, present.
Tunaf - hearth, fire-place.

Uf - stem, tribe.
Uis Neno - Lord of Heaven.
Uis Pah. - Lord of the Earth.
Ume - house, limited lineage, descent group.
Ume le'u - shrine with objects for war ritual.
Upu-mangga - designation for rains of westerly monsoon.
Unu - formerly.
Un unu - in primeval times.
Usapi - a tree (Schleichera Oleosa); Indon. *kusambi*.
Usif - lord, pl. *uisfini*.
Uisfinit - supreme lord.
Uta - roller (of weaving-loom).

INDEX OF NAMES

Abucar, 135 n65.
Adriani, 463, 476.
Alphen, van, 75 n94, 272.

Bastide, 10.
Beattie, 11.
Beltjens, 101.
Benardi, 427.
Berthe, 26.
Berthling, 462.
Biermann, 163 n17, 176 n74.
Bor, 36, 94, 168.
Bork-Feltkamp, 22, 26.
Bovill, 35 n50.
Boxer, 166, 173 n53, 174 n59, 175, 176.
Brouwer, 167.
Bylmer, 21.

Capell, 25, 26.
Cassirer, 17.
Castro, de, 161 n10, 223.
Coomeraswamy, 440.
Costa, da, 173.
Costa, Mateos da, 168.
Couvreur, 466.
Cowan, 26.
Cunningham, 2 n2, 94, 98, 105, 111, 113, 128, 136, 138, 185, 187, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 213, 214, 216, 218, 219, 327, 342, 429.
Cuylenburg, van, 173 n57.

Dam, Pieter van, 168 n38.
Drewes, 472 n65.
Duarte Barbosa, 40, 50 n20, 100 n14, 159.
Durkheim, 427, 435.

Easton, 399, 400.
Eisenstadt, 398.
Eliade, 145 n6.
Endert, 34 n46.
Evans-Pritchard, 16 n34, 46 n6, 146 n10, 397.
Ezerman, 37 n54.

Faria de Morais, 315 n27.
Felgas, 8 n17, 25 n17, 32 n40, 173.
Ferguson, 32, 33.
Fernandes, Francisco, 164.
Field, 124 n42.
Fischer, 111 n27.
Forbes, 68 n83, 233 n131.
Fortes, 135 n64, 397.
Francillon, 116, 122, 132.
Fustel de Coulanges, 407.

Geertz, Clifford, 470, 471, 473, 474.
Geertz, Hildred, 470, 471, 473.
Glotz, 407 n27.
Goody, 123 n39.
Goris, 463.
Goudriaan, 463 n13.
Grader, 475.
Gramberg, 332.
Groeneveldt, 50 n19, 100 n14, 159 n4.
Gryzen, 98 n12, 232, 233, 235, 238, 255. 363.

Haga, 170 n41, 177 n79, 179 n84, 181 n88 n89.
Hazaart, 346.
Heine-Geldern, 472 n66.
Hegel, 444.
Held, 466 n32, 467.
Hertz, 427 n106.
Hessing, 49.
Heymering, 125, 180 n85, 327, 328, 331, 335, 337, 338, 340, 354, 358.
Hoekstra, 49.
Hoff, 458.
Hogendorp, van, 322, 367.

Holleman, 462 n7.
Hornay, 168, 173.
Hornay, Jan de, 166.
Horst, Hendrik ter, 171.

Jonker, 25, 159, 321 n46.
Josselin de Jong, J. P. B. de, 92 n1, 461.
Josselin de Jong, P. E. de, 123, 124, 461, 464, 467.
Joustra, 136 n70.

König, 14.
Koopmans, 316.
Korn, 474.
Kraemer, 472 n63.
Kruyt, 83, 122, 262, 267, 268, 340, 465, 476.
Kuperus, 35.

Lalau, 95 n10.
Lammers, 23.
Leach, 427.
Leitâo, 163 n16, 176 n75.
Lévi-Strauss, 11, 107, 350 n82, 447 n42.
Lewis, 135.
Liefrinck,473.
Lip, 178, 180.
Lith, van, 309 n6.
Lloyd, 403.
Locher, 93, 148 n18, 301, 443.
Lowie, 403, 404, 405.
Löwitt, 444 n41.

Mabuchi, 465.
Maine, 134.
Mair, 404.
Martino, 26 n18.
Matthysen, 367.
Mauss, 427.
Mead, 102.
Meilink-Roelofs, 165 n24.
Mendes-Corrêa, 23.
Meyer-Drees, 34.
Meyer, Eduard, 404.
Middelkoop, 49, 86, 95, 111, 125, 142, 207, 210, 222, 262, 269, 275, 279, 313, 327, 330, 332, 336, 339, 340, 341, 342, 351, 463.
Mohr, 30, 31, 35.
Müller 125, 184, 217, 266, 275, 307, 315, 331.
Murdock, 462 n9.

Needham, 107, 427, 435, 440, 462 n4, n5, 470.
Nyèssen, 22, 26.
Onvlee, 9, 145 n8, 442, 477.
Oppenheim, 405.
Ormeling, 27, 30, 38 n58, 46 n5.
Ossenbruggen, van, 259, 472 n58, n60.

Paravicini, 182, 232, 279.
Parrinder, 461.
Piaget, 252.
Pigafetta, 48, 64 n56, 160, 232.
Pigeaud, 463, 471 n57, 472 n59, n61, n62.
Pilon, 322 n52, 325.
Pluskow, von, 182.
Pouwer, 124, 131.
Prins, J., 470 n48.

Radcliffe-Brown, 15, 62 n52.
Rangel, 36.
Rassers, 92 n1, 473.
Rattray, 124 n41.
Reyntjes, 264 n7, 273.
Rockhill, 165.
Roo van Alderwelt, de, 49, 177 n77, 280 n58, 292, n73.
Rouffaer, 47 n8.
Roux,le, 48, 64 n56, 232.

Salisbury, 129.
Sarzedas, 161, 235.
Schapera, 135 n62.
Schärer, 424, 471, 476.
Schmidt, 32, 33.
Scotte, Apollonius, 160.
Sierksma, 403.
Smith, 398.
Snouck Hurgronje, 124 n46, 470.
Southall, 404.
Steenis, van, 35.
Steinmetz, 37 n54, 83, 86, 203 n85, 217, 244.
Swellengrebel, 421 n90.

Tobing, 9 n19.
Umar Junus, 136.

Valentyn, 168.
Vansina, 403.
Vaux, de, 135 n68.
Veen, v. d., 26 n20.
Venema, 308, 365.
Vergouwen, 124 n44, 136 n69.
Versluys, 136.
Veth, 322.
Vieira, Francisco de Figueiredo, 173.
Visscher, 177 n76, n78, 325 n61.
Vlaming v. Oudshoorn, de, 36, 168, 169, 170.
Vollenhoven, van, 224.
Vroklage, 21, 124.
Vrye, de, 160.

Weidner, 275 n35, 276 n41.
Wertheim, 17 n35.
Wiggers, 365.
Wortelboer, 232, 293 n74.
Wouden, van, 18 n18, 92 n1, 123, 125, 128, 237, 238, 239, 255, 258, 268, 269, 270, 314, 433.

SUBJECT INDEX

Adaptability, 447-459.
Administration, 357-361.
Administration of justice, 361-367.
Affines, see relations.
Agnatic lineage, 53.
Agriculture, 52-91, 432.
Amabi, 320-321, 379.
Amaf, 78, 99.
Amaf naek, 110, 220, 376-380.
Amakono, see Miomafo.
Amanatun, 310-314, 378.
Amanuban, 118, 132, 307-310, 379, 456-459.
Amarasi, 36, 94, 181, 319.
Ambenu, 37, 116, 316-319.
Ambilineal, 131.
Ambilocal, 131.
Amfoan, 75, 117, 162.
Animal husbrandy, 46-49.
Atoni amaf, see kinship relationships.
Atupas, see ruler.

Bali, 421, 463, 474, 475.
Bali cow, *sapi,* 90.
Beboki, 1, 2, 22, 34, 114, 120, 185, 239-255.
Bikomi, 225, 226, 291-306.
Bima, 466.
Blood-relations, 99-105.
Bride service, see marriage.
Bridewealth, see marriage.
Buffalo, 46, 47.
Bunak, 234.

China, Chinese, 159, 161, 165, 233.
Circulating connubium, 112, 123-125.
Clan, *kanaf,* 92, 93 ff.
Classification, classificatory system, 18, 406-427, 462-464.
Climate, 29-33.
Colours, see symbolism of, —.
Coral beads, *ina,* 47.
Corn, 52, 67, 80, 86.
Counsellors, 207-209.
Crocodile, 322.
Crop failure, 70.
Culture Province, Indonesian, 18, 460-479.
Custodian of the land, *tobe,* payment of —, 55, 76, 96, 130, 224.

Dayak, 476.
Dogon, 464.
Diachronic, 16.
Dichotomy, 397, 407, 408.
— double, 139, 405.
— earth - sky, 419.
— night - day, 419.
— sun - moon, 421.
Division of labour, 90.
Dominicans, 166, 176, 180, 368, 449, 450, 469.
Drought, 30-32, 70.
Dualism, 469.
Dutch, see also Hollanders, Netherlands, 51, 165.
Dutch East India Co., 177.

Elder, *mnasi,* 133.
Evil, see good.
Exogamy, 108, 139.

Fatule'u, 272, 273.
Fauna, 38, 39.
Feto-mone, see also kinship relationships, 106, 187, 417, 420, 422.
Fialaran, 255-261.
Five-fold division, 98, 188, 189, 250, 259, 432, 462.
Flora, 33-38.
Four-fold division, 95, 96, 130, 186, 212, 234, 236, 249, 259, 292, 431, 462.
Fowl, 48.
Function, 10.

Genealogical, 132, 222.
God, Uis Neno, 142-146.
Good and evil, 425, 426.

Hamlet, see village.
Harvest, corn, 80, 86.
— rice, 83.
Harvest gifts, see tribute.
Headhunting, see warfare.
Hinduism, 20, 476.
History, normative past, 17.
Hollander, see also Dutch, Netherlands, 51, 165.
Horse, 48, 49.
House, 428-432.
Hunting, 49.

Implements, 83.
Insana, see also Mena, 1, 22, 51, 118. 186-231, 376.
— structure of, 200.
Islam, 20, 470.

Java, 20, 470-473.
Jokes, practical, 62, 113, 114.

Kanaf, see clan.
Kinship relationships,
father - son, 100.
father - daughter, 101.
brothers, *olif-tataf,* 102.
grandparents - grandchild, 104.
bride-giver, bride receiver, *feto-mone,* 106, 113.
father-in-law, *atoni amaf,* 107, 113, 114.
Kinship system, 92-140, 433-437.
Kolnel, 79.
Kuan, see village.
Kupang, 167-172.
— princedom of, 321-325.

Land tenure rights, 224.
Languages, 25.
— non-Austronesian, 466.
Lasi, 153, 333, 383, 424.
Le'u concept, 151, 283.
— *musu,* 333.
Life cycle, 141.
Lineage, *ume,* 97-100.
— locally determined, 130, 131, 132.
Liurai, 236, 386, 389.
Liurai-Sonba'i,
— the entire realm of, 236, 242, 386, 390, 391.
— as name for corn and rice, 55, 428.
— as appellation for ruler, 195.
Lopo, 96, 431, 432.
Loro, 236, 238.

Mafefa, 383.
Magic, 153.
Mainikin, 55 n34, 74, 337, 344, 425, 440, 442.
Majapahit, 49, 50, 463.
Major custodian of the land, see also *amaf naek,* 226.
Malaya, 467.
Man, origin or creation of —, 147, 148.
— conceptions about —, 147-151.
— relationship to hidden world, 151-153.
Manamas, 27, 29, 37.
Mardekers, 178.
Marriage
— asymmetrical connubium, 129, 138, 140.
— bride service, 114, 137.
— bridewealth, 112, 114, 115, 116, 137.
— cross-cousin, 109, 112.
— conclusion of marriage, 116.
— exchange of sisters, 109.
— within clan, 109, 139.
Matrilineal, 116, 117, 118, 120, 122.
Matrilocal, 122.
Melanesian, 21, 466.
Mena, 160.
Meromak O'an, see ruler.
Meru, 427.
Minangkabau, 467.
Miomafo, 1, 3, 37, 117, 184, 185, 225, 378, 379.
— structure of, 279-287.
Mnane, 383.
Molo, 1, 4, 117, 125, 274-277, 378.
Monef atonif, see warfare.
Mutis, 121, 275.
Myth of Bikomi, 293.
— unity of —, 448, 468.
— of Sonba'i, 262 ff.
— changing —, 298 ff.
— of South Belu, 234 ff.

Netherlands, Hollanders, 37, 166 ff.
Nobility, 382.
Noimuti, 22, 120, 303, 449-453, 469.
Nono, 116, 349.

Offering, 46.
Olif-tataf, see also kinship relationships, 102 187.

Patrilineal, 116-122.
Patrilocal, 116-122.
Penfui, battle of, 179, 181.
Physical anthropology, 21-27.
Physical environment, 27.
Pig, 47.
Polarity, 17.
Political community, unity of —, 384-391.
Political system, 368-391, 437-440.
— Insana, structure of —, 200.
— dualism in centre, 202.
— dualism centre and exterior, 212.
— historical background, 368.
— typology of —, 397.
— unity of —, 440-444.
— adaptability, 447-449.
Portugal, Portuguese, 19, 29, 158 ff. 455.
Portuguese, the, Timor, 94.
Portuguese, Black, see Topasses.
Prayer, invocation, 54.

Rainfall, 30-32.
Reciprocity, 136, 138.
Relations, affinal, 105-114.
babaf, — affines of preceding generation;
bab mone — mo.br.; fa.si.husb.;
bab feto - mo.br.wi.;
ba'ef — affines of same generation;
ba'e mone — fa.si.so., mo.br.so., si.husb.;
ba'e feto — fa.si.da., mo.br.da., br.wi.;
mone fe'u — da.husb., si.so., wi.br.so.;
nanef — so.wi., si.da., wi.br.dau.
Relations, blood-, 99-105.
na'if — grandfather, ancestor;
be'if — grandmother, female ancestor;
amaf — father, father's brother;
ainaf — mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife;
anak — child;
an mone — son, brother's son; wife's sister's son;
an feto — daughter, brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter;
upu — grandchild.
Reversal of usual order, 345, 422-423.
Rice, 52, 83.
Ritual, agricultural, 52-91.
— error in —, 71.
— knowledge of —, 100, 383.
Royal marriage, 93.
Ruler, 200, 357, 371-374.
— acceptance of tribute, 190.
— death of, 195.
— centre of realm, 200.
— *Meromak O'an,* 233-238.
— *atupas,* 200.
— custodian of *le'u,* 330.
— the curse of, 439.
— bringer of *mainikin,* 440.

Sacred, and profane, 152, 425-427.
Sandalwood, 50.
Soil, 17-29.
Soil erosion, 35.
Sonba'i, 4, 109, 149, 157, 159, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 215, 228, 235, 262-274, 357, 358, 368, 389, 439, 448.
— myths of —, 262 ff., 308, 312, 329.
— structure of realm of —, 273.
South Belu, 95, 109, 116, 122, 132, 157, 232-239, 368, 369, 390.
Spirits, 151.
Structural principle, 15, 16, 140, 392-397.
Structure, 10-15.
Sumba, 129, 442, 466, 477, 478.
Sumbawa, 470.
Superordination and subordination, 140, 380-384.
Symbolic order, see classificatory system.
Symbolism of numbers, 408-411, 462.
— of points of the compass, 415, 463.
— of colours, 415-419.
Synchronic, 16.
System, 15, 16.
System of life, 9.

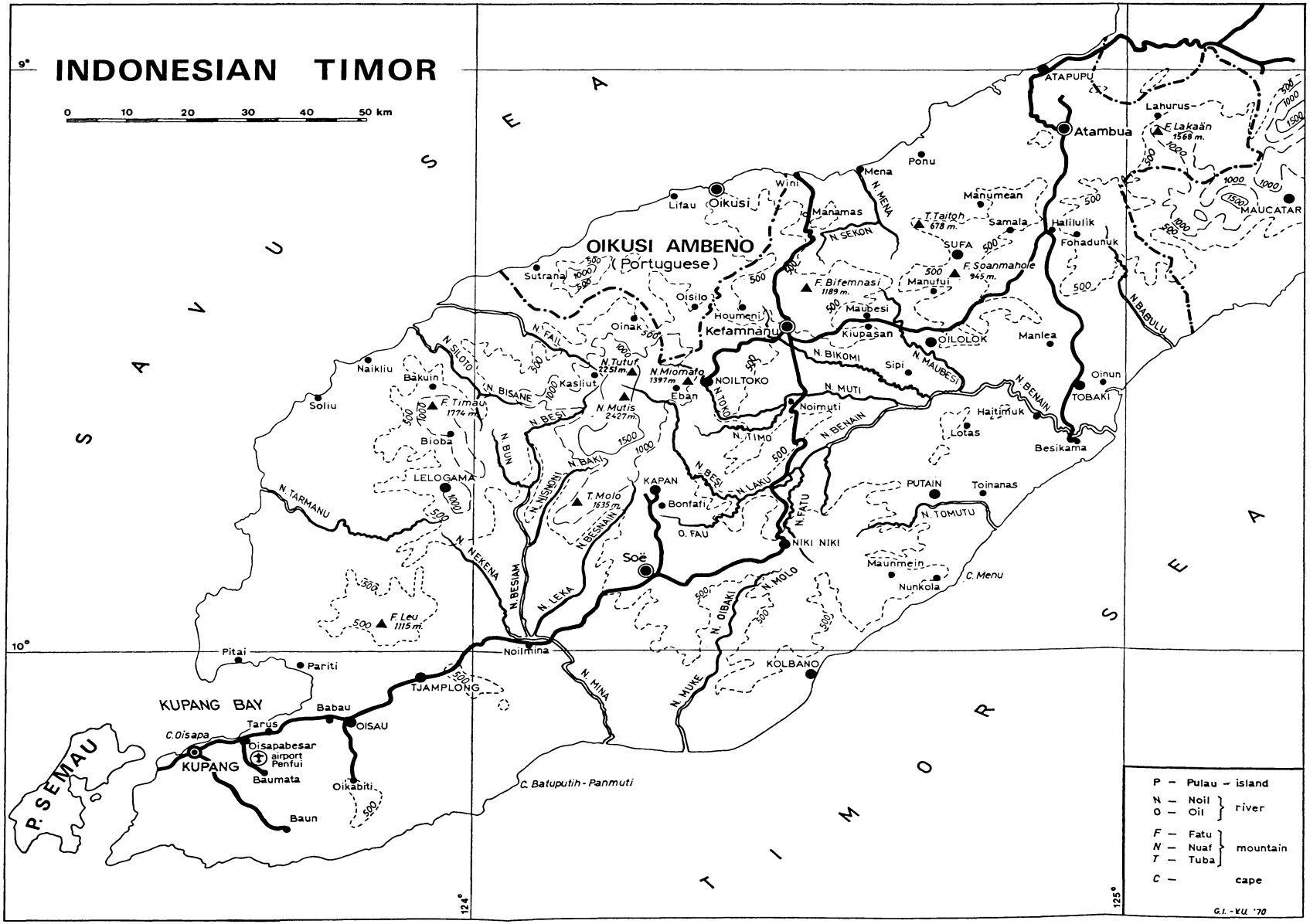
Taxation, see tribute.
Temperature, 30.
Territorial, territory, 130, 132, 133, 134-136.
Tetun, 19.
Timorese, pronunciation of, XIII.
Topasses, 51, 121, 165 ff., 279, 292, 318, 368, 449, 469.
Toraja, 465, 476-477.
Totem, 341, 342.
Trade, 50-51.

Traditional order, *adat, lasi,* 153, 424.
Triad, see tripartition.
Trials by ordeal, 365.
Tribute, 52, 190-195.
Tripartition, triad, 130, 139, 409.
Tunbaba, 38, 225, 283, 287-290.

Uis Neno, 54, 142-146, 425.
Ume, see lineage.
Ume le'u, 335, 336, 351.
Unilineal — double, 123.
Unity of the political system, 440-444.
Usif, 212-220, 228, 374-376.
Uxorilocal, 122, 131.

Village, *kuan,* 94 ff., 130, 132, 186-190, 433, 434.
Vital force, *smanaf,* 137.

Warfare, 152, 326-357.
— *monef atonif,* 217.
— causes of war, 327-333.
— war ritual, 333-338.
— the *meo,* 338-345.
—*meo mone, meo feto,* 342.
— the headhunting raid, 345-348.
— ritual following, 348-353.
— connection with harvest, 352, 353.
Wehale-Waiwiku, see South Belu.


INDONESIAN TIMOR
0 10 20 30 40 50 km
9°
10°
124°
125°
S A V U S E A
T I M O R S E A
OIKUSI AMBENO
(Portuguese)
Oikusi
Lifau
Wini
Mena
Ponu
Atambua
ATAPUPU
Lahurus
F. Lakaän 1568 m.
MAUCATAR
Manumean
Samala
T. Taitoh 678 m.
Halilulik
Fohadunuk
SUFA
F. Soanmahole 945 m.
Manufui
Manamas
N. SEKON
N. MENA
F. Bifemnasi 1189 m.
Maubesi
Kiupasan
OILOLOK
Manlea
N. BABULU
Sutrana
Oisilo
Houmeni
Kefamnanu
Oinak
N. FAIL
N. SILOTO
N. Tutuf 2251 m.
N. Miomafo 1397 m.
N. BIKOMI
N. MAUBESI
Sipi
Oinun
TOBAKI
Naikliu
Bakuin
Kasjiut
N. BISANE
N. BESI
N. Mutis 2427 m.
Eban
NOILTOKO
N. TOKO
N. MUTI
Noimuti
N. BENAIN
Haitimuk
Lotas
Besikama
Soliu
F. Timau 1774 m.
Bioba
N. BUN
N. TIMO
N. BAKI
N. NISNONI
N. BESIAN
LELOGAMA
T. Molo 1635 m.
KAPAN
Bonfafi
N. LAKU
N. FATU
PUTAIN
Toinanas
N. TOMUTU
N. TARMANU
O. FAU
NIKI NIKI
Maunmein
Nunkola
C. Menu
Soë
N. NEKENA
N. BESIAM
N. LEKA
N. OIBAKI
N. MOLO
F. Leu 1115 m.
Pitai
Pariti
Noilmina
TJAMPLONG
N. MINA
N. MUKE
KOLBANO
KUPANG BAY
Babau
Tarus
OISAU
C. Oisapa
Oisapabesar
airport Penfui
KUPANG
Baumata
Oikabiti
Baun
P. SEMAU
C. Batuputih - Panmuti
P — Pulau — island
N — Noil
O — Oil
river
F — Fatu
N — Nuaf
T — Tuba
mountain
C — cape
G.I. - K.U. '70