THE GRANDCHILDREN OF THE GA'É ANCESTORS:

THE HOGA SARA OF NGADA IN WEST-CENTRAL FLORES

Andrea Katalin Molnar

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University

December 1994
This work is the result of research carried out by the author, except as cited in the text.

Andrea Katalin Molnar
Department of Anthropology
Division of Society and Environment
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Dedicated to the next generation of Sara Sedu

Ebu po nusi péra
Kita bodha papa modhé
Né'ë hoga woé meku
Né'ë doa delu

PLATE 2. The next generation of Sara Sedu
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There were several parties and individuals without whose assistance the completion of this thesis would not have been possible to accomplish.

I wish to thank first of all the Australian National University for providing me with an ANU Scholarship which enabled me to undertake a PhD program as a foreign student. I am also indebted to my supervisory committee for their willingness to work with me and for their constructive criticism and comments on the various drafts of the thesis. I am grateful to Dr. J. Fox and Dr. P. Graham for their valuable time and stimulating ideas, and the patience they showed to an often impatient student. I also wish to thank Ria van der Zandt in the Department of Anthropology for all the help she has given me with that 'demonic' contraption called a computer.

The field research in Flores was sponsored by Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) and Universitas Nusa Cendana, and I gratefully acknowledge their assistance. While in the field there were numerous individuals as well who provided me with all sorts of help and moral support.

I am thoroughly indebted to the people of the village of Sara Sedu whose culture is the object of this thesis. I am very grateful to my main research assistant, Markus Bheto, and to the council of elders who were my mentors, friend, and 'parents': Bpk. Moses Lado, Belasius Laja, Petrus Labu, Yeremias Watu, Dorus Muga, Petrus Muga, Hedrikus Buku, Niko Nua, Yosep Bei. Dorus Foa, Kamilus Poso, Yosep Gabhe, Niko Ngabi, Ambros Mité, Kanis Mité, Paulus Mité, Alo Fono,
Ta'i, Yosefine Baka. All other friends and family in Sara Sedu, I thank you, and I do apologize for not listing individual names due to space limitations.

I also wish to thank my adoptive parents and their families in Bajawa, Boawae, and Mataloko who provided me with a safe haven and home away from home when the need arose. I am very grateful to the families of Bpk. Hubert Waso Nono, Bpk. Felix Djawaria, and Bpk. Emiel Waso Ea.

I also want to express my gratitude to Bpk. Yohanes Wawo of the Golewa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan for accompanying and teaching me during my initial visit of all villages of the district.

Many thanks to Bank Pembangunan Daerah in Bajawa, and to the store owner, Bpk. Wong, who never failed to loan me a typewriter for the preparation of the LIPI reports.

I am also grateful to the various minibuses, buses, oil-tanker trucks, and road construction trucks who never failed to give me a lift even when the only room was hanging space from the door or squatting on top of pigs, coconuts, and cement. With the poor public transportation available I would have been stranded many a time without their help.

I also thank the Roman Catholic S.V.D. seminary in Mataloko for the animated discussions on "inkulturasi" and the access I was so readily given to the library and old archives. The parish priest, Romo Lena, and also Pater John of the Social Studies class are also gratefully acknowledged for their views on local culture and the churches role in relation to it.

My stay in Indonesia was also made more enjoyable with the help of several other individuals. The families of Bpk. Jes Therik in Jakarta and Ibu Mince Medah-Therik in Kupang, Bpk. Amos Corputty in Ende welcomed me in their family as a member and assisted me in numerous and every possible way. My sincere thanks to the rest of the
Therik family in Kupang as well, and especially to Bpk. As Therik who helped me with
the facilitation of a number of official matters.

I also wish to thank Bpk. Ben Mbo'i in Kupang who graciously invited me to his
home and allowed me free access to his personal library collection on N.T.T.. I am also
grateful to Bappeda in Kupang for providing me with some maps and books on
development projects in the regency of Ngada.

Last but not least, I am grateful for the moral support of my dear friend Linda
Driedger and the long letters from Canada while in the field and while writing this thesis.
I also wish to thank my parents who frantically searched for me in the wake of the 1992
Flores earthquake and whose continuous letters helped me to "keep my head above the
water" throughout the struggles in completing this project.
ABSTRACT

The thesis is based on eighteen months of fieldwork in the regency of Ngada on the eastern Indonesian island of Flores. It examines the system of organizing principles and symbolism of Hoga Sara society as is expressed in its social organization and cosmology.

The people of the modern village and former village confederacy of the Sara Sedu, the Hoga Sara, are on a continuum with the Ngadha and Nagé-Kéo ethnic groups of the regency. They exhibit, however, their own unique cultural features as a group in their own right, and as a part of a larger grouping which encompasses the peoples of their neighbouring villages of Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa.

The introduction situates the Hoga Sara in their ethnographic region and provides a brief literature and historical review of the regency.

The first chapter of the thesis examines Hoga Sara identity in the context of contrasting themselves to the Ngadha on the one hand, and predicating commonality with the Hoga Taka, Aré, and Rowa on the basis of common derivation from an ancestral pair and their offspring, the Ga'ë siblings, on the other. Common ancestral derivation, ebũ mogo, is also a basis of defining the identity of the Hoga Sara as a group, although composed of authochthonous and immigrant clans. Other aspects of group definition are connected with shared agricultural calendar and other collective ritual activities.
The second chapter focuses on the individual traditional villages (nuu) which make up the territory of the former village confederacy of Sara Sedu. The composition of the nuu and spatial orientation within it are examined.

The third chapter deals with Hoga Sara organization of the individual clans (woé) that occupy the nuu. The woé is composed of a number of named and supporting unnamed houses. The two eldest houses, sa'o pu'u (source houses) -- sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo (trunk and tip rider houses) -- form the major dual division within the clan. All named houses relate to each other and to their unnamed houses as elder-younger, ka'ë-azi, based on the order of precedence of their establishment. The trunk and tip parts of the clan furthermore relate to each other as female and male. Structural differences between the clans of Sara and Sedu(Bodo) are also highlighted.

Chapter four looks at the house as the basic unit of social organization. The house is a collectivity of a group of related families. The principles of membership, who is an ana ebu of the house, as well as the process of derivation from one named house from another are examined. Membership is based on a range of principles: payment of bridewealth, fulfilment of ritual obligations, tracing derivation through the father's houses and the house of origin of the mother, and marriage. Access to ancestral land is ultimately dependent on membership (ana ebu status). The named house ties together wide ranging social relations and is thus the basic unit of social organization of the Hoga Sara.

The fifth chapter examines the significance of the named house (sa'o mézé) and other physical objects emblematic of house and clan organization with regard to Hoga Sara concepts of identity and continuity. Social use of space, various symbolic aspects, and cosmological significance of the sa'o are explored. The buffalo sacrifice post (madhu or péo), the ancestral mother house (bhaga) and megalithic stone platforms (nabé and turé) are also considered with respect to identity.
Chapter six continues to examine the significance of these physical structures of a clan in the context of Hoga Sara concepts of continuity. The cycle by which deceased members of a house become the specific protective ancestors of a clan and house are considered with a focus on the ancestral embodiment in the parts of the house, stone platforms, and sacrificial post. The ritual installation of these objects is thus essential in securing the continuity of a house or clan in the form of life-generative potential granted by the ancestors.

Chapter Seven looks at the relationship of the Hoga Sara with their ancestors. The nature of the ritual interaction between the living and the ancestors is examined. A specific example, the ritual installation of the buffalo sacrifice post (madhu or pëo) is considered in this regard.

The conclusion provides an overview of Hoga Sara society with reference to current approaches of comparative studies of Austronesian societies. The comparative remarks highlight the presence of several wide-spread organizing and symbolic principles which the Hoga Sara share with other Indonesian groups, yet in their own unique configuration which is the result of local historical process of development.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

**ABSTRACT**

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**LIST OF FIGURES**

**LIST OF TABLES**

**LIST OF MAPS**

**LIST OF PLATES**

**ORTHOGRAPHY**

**INTRODUCTION**

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC REGION

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE NGADHA

LITERATURE REVIEW

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

**CHAPTER ONE**

**CONSIDERATIONS OF IDENTITY**

INTRODUCTION

THE HOGA SARA IN REGIONAL CONTEXT:

THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC CATEGORY NGADHA

NEITHER NGADHA NOR NAGÉ:

FOUR RELATED VILLAGE CONFEDERACIES

NARRATIVES OF COMMON ANCESTRAL DERIVATION

SHARED STRUCTURES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

STRUCTURE AND RITES OF THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDARS

HOGA SARA IDENTITY AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

ANCESTRAL DERIVATION OF THE HOGA SARA CLANS

ORIGIN STRUCTURES:

CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLANS AND VILLAGES:

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE (NUA)
SUMMARY REMARKS ABOUT THE SA'O MÉZÉ | 224
MATERIAL SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY OF THE WOÉ | 227
   MADHU | 227
   BHAGA | 235
   BHAGA AND MADHU | 240
   PÉO | 241
   TURÉ AND NABÉ | 245
SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL SYMBOLS OF THE WOÉ IN SARA AND SEDU | 248
CONCLUDING REMARKS | 249

CHAPTER SIX:
THE ANCESTORS IN THE CONTINUITY OF A SA'O MÉZÉ
OR A WOÉ | 250
INTRODUCTION | 250
HOGA SARA COSMOLOGY | 251
THE ANCESTORS OF THE INSIDE: EBU NUSI (EBU KAJO) | 255
NITU: THE GENERALIZED ANCESTRAL SPIRITS OF THE OUTSIDE | 257
TRANSFORMING THE GENERALIZED ANCESTRAL SPIRITS (NITU) INTO THE SPECIFIC ANCESTORS (EBU NUSI/EBU KAJO) | 266
CONCLUDING REMARKS | 270

CHAPTER SEVEN
MAINTAINING CONTINUITY THROUGH RITUALS | 271
INTRODUCTION | 271
GENERAL FEATURES OF RITUAL | 271
   ANIMAL SACRIFICE AND THE RITUAL USE OF BLOOD | 272
   OFFERING TO THE ANCESTORS | 275
   CONCLUSION OF A RITUAL | 280
THE NATURE OF THE RITUALS | 281
THE RITUAL PROCESS OF INSTALLING OF A MADHU OR PÉO POST | 283
CONCLUDING REMARKS | 294

CONCLUSION | 295
ORIGIN STRUCTURES AND ORDERS OF PRECEDENCE OF THE HOGA SARA | 298
LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. Ebu Mogo 43

FIGURE 2. Ebu Mogo of the four related villages 49

FIGURE 3. Marriages among the four village confederacies of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa (from a Sara Sedu perspective) 53

FIGURE 4. Ebu Mogo derivation of the autochthonous clans of Sara Sedu 63

FIGURE 5. Ebu Mogo derivation of immigrant clan Moa Bela and autochthonous clans Tura and Bhoké Héké with special reference to the Ga'ë link 63

FIGURE 6a and b. Ebu Mogo links of later arriving immigrant clans with the autochthonous clans of Sara Sedu 65-66

FIGURE 7a and b. Process of development of the traditional villages and clans of the Hoga Sara 72-73

FIGURE 8a and b. Realignment of villages and clans after the entrance of the Dutch into the region 75

FIGURE 9. Orientation in Sara Sedu 91

FIGURE 10. Position of the nua in relation to the mountain 91

FIGURE 11. Zélé and Lau 92

FIGURE 12. Orientation Within The Village 93

FIGURE 13. Orientation of corpse in the grave 96

FIGURE 14a. Nua Wolo Rowa 99b
FIGURE 14 b. Nua Bodo

FIGURE 14 c. Cross-sectional view of the village

FIGURE 15 a. Functionary houses of the wôe and their village orientation in the context of their categorical associations

FIGURE 15 b. Elder-younger valuation of named houses in the context of village orientation

FIGURE 15 c. Male-female categorization within the village plan

FIGURE 16 a. The named houses of wôe Kaki

FIGURE 16 b. Wôe Kaki: named and unnamed houses

FIGURE 17. Differentiation of named houses within wôe Kaki

FIGURE 18. Ka'ë-azi relationship between the named houses of the trunk and tip halves of the wôe

FIGURE 19. Categorical male-female relations among the functionary houses of a wôe; for example in wôe Kaki

FIGURE 20. Mythical instance of inverting the general mode of succession in the trunk and tip rider houses

FIGURE 21. Summary of recent succession in wôe Moa Bela

FIGURE 22 a. Structure of wôe Benu-Nai: named and unnamed houses, and ritual functionary roles of the sa'o mézé

FIGURE 22 b. Structure of wôe Benu-Nai and the order of its sa'o mézé

FIGURE 23. Organization of wôe Bhoke Hêke with its sa'o mézé and their functionary roles

FIGURE 24. Relation between the functionary houses in wôe Bhokê Hêke and its component subclans
FIGURE 25. Elder-younger sibling relationships among the named houses in woé Bhoké Héké

FIGURE 26. Marriages between the clans of Sara Sedu

FIGURE 27 a. Ana weta-ana nara marriage before the presence of the Catholic Church

FIGURE 27 b. Classificatory ana weta-ana nara marriage after the Catholic Church's presence

FIGURE 28. Goi toi moté woé marriage

FIGURE 29. Various feature of Marriage in Sara clans

FIGURE 30. Ordering of wife-givers at the level of senior houses of the subclans in woé Bhoké Héké

FIGURE 31. Ordering of wife-givers at the level of senior and junior houses of the subclans in woé Bhoké Héké

FIGURE 32. The practice of logo marriage in Sedu and Bodo

FIGURE 33. Features of marriage in Sedu

FIGURE 34. The symmetric nature of marriage exchange between Sara and Sedu at the clan level

FIGURE 35 a. Sa'o mézé: a side view

FIGURE 35 b. Sa'o: top view

FIGURE 36. Orientation inside the house: inside-outside determining left and right sides

FIGURE 37. An example of the social use of space in the outer veranda

FIGURE 38. Significant parts of the oné

FIGURE 39. Male and Female categorization in the oné
FIGURE 40. Categorical associations within the sa’o mézé

FIGURE 41. Madhu post

FIGURE 42 a. Woé unity as expressed in the madhu

FIGURE 42 b. Differentiation in the woé as expressed in the madhu

FIGURE 43. A schematic diagram of the bhaga

FIGURE 44. A drawing of the péo post

FIGURE 45. Transformation of the generalized ancestral spirits of the outside into the specific ancestral spirits of the inside

FIGURE 46. Directions from which the ritual functionaries stab the hebu tree
LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1. Present villages and distribution of Hoga Sara clans 77
TABLE 2. Frequency of Hoga Sara marriages 153
TABLE 3. Marriages within Sara Sedu 154
TABLE 4. Marriages per clan in Sara Sedu 154
TABLE 5. Traditional Agricultural Calendar of the Hoga Sara 321
TABLE 6. Traditional Agricultural Calendar of the Hoga Taka 323
TABLE 7. Traditional Agricultural Calendar of the Hoga Are in Sanga Déto 325
TABLE 8. Traditional Agricultural Calendar of the Hoga Rowa 327
## List of Maps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Flores</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Regency (kabupaten) Ngada</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The village confederacy of Sara Sedu</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Regency Ngada: related village confederacies</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sara Sedu: distribution of clans</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF PLATES

PLATE 1. Bpk. Moses Lado: A Mosa Laki in Sara Sedu iii

PLATE 2. The next generation of Sara Sedu iv

PLATE 3. A view from the village of Wolo Rowa 99a

PLATE 4. A partial view of nua Watu Manu 99a

PLATE 5. Hearth (lapu) and hearth post (dhuké) 216

PLATE 6. Wéo and base of hearth post (pu’u dhuké) 216

PLATE 7. Outer ladder (tangi) with ata tangi on either side and nabé in front 217

PLATE 8. Part of the zegu raga with ritual paraphernalia 217

PLATE 9. Buffalo slaughter at the madhu post 229

PLATE 10. Some of the carved motifs of the madhu post (from top to bottom) loda, taka, béla, i’lé nagé 229

PLATE 11. The bhaga house 237

PLATE 12. Madhu post and Bhaga house 244

PLATE 13. The péo post 244

PLATE 14. Turé: nabé and watu léwa 246

PLATE 15. Ritual slaughter of pig (wela ngana) 278

PLATE 16. Sprinkling of blood on newly erected turé 278
ORTHOGRAPHY

The language spoken by the Hoga Sara in Sara Sedu village is a dialect of the Ngadha or Bajawa language described to date by Arndt (1961) and Djawanai (1980). These authors use differing orthographies in their works. The orthography I use throughout this thesis adopts most aspects of that provided by Djawanai, although, for certain sounds I employ different notations. Below I list the transcription of sounds I have adopted in my orthography, and point out where it differs from that used by Djawanai and Arndt.

VOWELS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>high front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>mid-front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>è</td>
<td>mid-central (schwa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>low central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>high front</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EXAMPLES:

- inu = to drink
- Déwa = Divinity
- ebu = ancestor
- ata = person
- ulu = head

The sounds are roughly comparable to the following English sounds:

- i as in the word 'drink'.
- é as in the word 'basic'.
- e as in the word 'mother'.
- a as in the word 'father'.
- u as in the word 'full'.

There are no diphthongs in the Bajawa language. Arndt indicated that two vowels together are not a diphthong by separating them with a "c". For example, he wrote the word for weeding as racu, which I will denote as rau. Words beginning
with a vowel but no glottal closure were indicated by Arndt also with the use of "c" preceding the vowel. The same word I write as ebu, 'ancestor', he denoted as cebu.

In the orthography of vowels, Djawanai differs from that I employ in the denotation of the vowels "e" and "e". Djawanai uses the denotation of "e" for both of these vowels. However, he differentiates the mid-central vowel, schwa, by doubling the consonant following the vowel. For example, he writes ebu as ebbu. I have found this doubling of consonants a bit confusing and therefore I departed from Djawanai's orthography.

CONSONANTS:

ng = velar nasal
bh = bilabial voiced implosive
dh = retroflex voiced implosive
gh = velar voiced fricative
j = alveo palatal voiced fricative
w = labio-dental voiced fricative
' = glottal stop
h = voiceless fricative

EXAMPLES:

ngaza = name
bha'i = no, not
dhèa = husked rice
négha = already
laja = sail
wado = to return (= English "v")
ja'o = I
haé = corn

Djawanai uses "v" where I denote the same sound by "w". My orthography for this sound retains that used by Arndt and that retained in the presently written place names in the regency of Ngada, as in the name of the regency capital, Bajawa. The sounds "gh", "h", "j", Arndt's orthography denoted as "y", "x", and "dz", respectively.

Throughout the thesis I indicate words of the Hoga Sara dialect of the Bajawa language in **bold** print. *Italicise* words from the Indonesian language. Plant names in their latin form are also italicised but in brackets, as in *(Cassia fistula)*. Other foreign words are written in underlined and italicised form, as in *onderafdeelingen*.

---

1 During note taking my informants would peer over my shoulder and if they would catch me using "v" they would very strongly object and insist that I write "w" for this particular sound.
INTRODUCTION

Before arriving on Flores, an island in eastern Indonesia, this island was only known to me from literary sources and from the works some of the anthropologists who have conducted their research there. The rich cultural diversity of Flores fascinated me and my interest was particularly fanned by the people inhabiting the regency (*kabupaten*) of Ngada. My eighteen month stay in this regency of Flores did not disappoint my initial expectations and was filled with a variety of great adventures (including a major earthquake in 1992) in the process of my quest for knowledge about one of the cultures in the regency of Ngada. I was presented with the opportunity to get to know various cultural regions within *kabupaten* Ngada and the privilege of being adopted by a great number of families. I was very fortunate to be able to share and learn about the life of the *Hoga* Sara in particular, a people inhabiting the administrative village (*desa*) of Sara Sedu in the district (*kecamatan*) of Golewa. These people, who provided me with an extended family spanning an entire administrative village, were the subjects of my research. The *Hoga* Sara were not only my family; they were also my teachers who patiently guided me through an extended and continuous 'lesson' about their cultural

---

1 Throughout this thesis I gloss Indonesian terms for administrative units as follows: *kabupaten* = 'regency', *kecamatan* = 'district', *desa* = 'administrative village'. In a number of the earlier Dutch sources the present regency and its people were referred to as Rokka. Later the German missionary, Paul Arndt, used the term Ngadha with variant spellings, such as Ngadha, Ngada, Ngad'a, and Nad'a, when referring to the regency and a particular cultural group within it. In Indonesia currently, Ngadha is used to describe the people who live in the south-western part of the regency, while Ngada (without the h) refers to the regency (*kabupaten*) as such.
traditions, values, and their way of life. Before I embark upon a discussion of this 'lesson', however, I must situate the Hoga Sara in the overall ethnographic region.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC REGION

The regency (kabupaten) Ngada is located in west-central Flores with the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (eastern Indonesia). This regency is situated between latitudes 8°-9° south and longitudes 120°45'-121°5' east (Ngada dalam angka 1991). Ngada extends over 3,037.88 km² and is a mountainous and hilly region with some flat plains on the north coast. On the south coast there is a steeply rising rugged mountainous terrain and towards the north coast gently rolling hills. Several mountain streams are found in the regency along with the largest rivers: river Moké (waé Moké) found on the western border, and the Aesesa river in the north-eastern plains. The regency also holds three volcanic mountains, two of them being the tallest on the island of Flores: Ebu Lobo 2,149 m and Iné Rié 2,200 m. The Iné Lika (1,159 m) and the Ebu Lobo are still active; the former having erupted in 1905 and the latter in 1924. Ngada is covered by vegetation which is mostly composed of tall grass, bamboo, and trees.

The regency borders on the north with the Flores Sea, on the east with the regency Ende, on the south with the Savu Sea, and on the west with regency Manggarai. Internally Ngada is divided into: a) eight districts (kecamatan): Aimere, Goléwa, Mauponggo, Nangaroro, Boawae, Bajawa, Riung, Aesesa; b) one government coordinating city called Bajawa [ibu kota kabupaten]; and c) two district representative areas: district Bajawa represented in Waé Bana (in So'a) [perwakilan kecamatan Bajawa di Waé Bana], and district Aesesa represented in Kabu Réa. The regency (kabupaten) of Ngada contains 129 administrative villages.
Map 3: Regency (Kabupaten) Ngada
Climate within Ngada is tropical, but weather is quite varied. There are essentially two seasons, the rainy or monsoon season and the dry season. The rainy season falls between the months of November and March. The highest rainfall occurs in the districts of Bajawa, Boawae, Golewa, and parts of Mauponggo.

The population of the Ngada regency earn their livelihood primarily from agriculture. Agriculture is based mainly on the cultivation of dry land, although some *sawah* is also present. *Sawah* land (terraced or with irrigation works) occupies just 8,150.17 HA, while dry land cultivated fields extend over 295,637.83 HA. The working of *sawah* is feasible only in certain regions due to availability of water and topographical factors.

The main agricultural crops include dry rice, wet rice, corn, various kinds of yam, beans, sorghum, millet, and peanuts. Coffee, vanilla, chocolate, and cloves are also grown in some of the climatically more suitable sites of the regency. The population of the regency traditionally raises livestock such as water-buffalos, horses, and pigs, chickens and, more recently, goats, sheep, cattle and ducks.

Economically speaking, the Ngada regency is below the average yearly income per capita of the province N.T.T. (*Nusa Tenggara Timur*) as well as that of the nation. In 1991 the average per capita income for Ngada was Rp 360,922, while the average per capita income for the province (N.T.T.) was Rp 384,925 and for the nation Rp 1,038,000.

The education level in the regency is also still quite low. By mid-1991, 13.34% of children aged 10 years and over had never entered school, 46.01% never finished elementary school, while only 34.51% completed elementary education and 6.4% graduated from junior high school.

For the Ngada regency, the majority of the population is Roman Catholic (92.84%) and the rest are reported to be Muslim (6.3%), Protestant (0.77%), and
Hindu Dharma (0.06%). Most Muslims are found in the capital of the regency, in Bajawa, and in the coastal areas.

The population of the Ngada regency was reported to be 198,367 in 1991. The local offices of the Department of Education and Culture (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan) divide the cultural groups of the regency into three broad categories and correlate them with specific districts (kecamatan). According to their classification the Ngadha group can be found in the districts of Aimere, Bajawa, Goléwa, and in the representative district of Bajawa in Waé Bana (in So'a). The Riung group is located in the district of Riung. The Nagé-Kéo group is found in the districts of Aesesa, Boawae, Mauponggo, and Nangaroro. This ethnic identification of groups with particular districts is however an over simplification of a more complex distribution of people.

In the district of Riung there are several groups of peoples, some of whom originate from Manggarai, while others claim origins from Ngadha, So'a, and southern Sulawesi (from the former Goa empire). The So'a group is distinct from the Ngadha. The peoples of Sanga Deto, Taka Tunga, and Sara Sedu of the district of Golewa also cannot be classified as Ngadha, but form a group of their own. There is also no Nagé-Kéo peoples, but Nagé and Kéo peoples. Furthermore, each can further be differentiated as northern Nagé and southern Nagé and western Kéo and eastern Kéo.

All the languages of the population of the Ngada regency belong to the Austronesian language family (Wurm & Hatturio 1981:40). Verheijen (1977:35) places the languages in the Ngada regency into the Bima-Sumba language group and, within this, into the Ngadha-Lio subgroup. Most languages spoken in the district of Riung belong to the Manggarai cluster of languages. The Bajawa language (or Ngadha language) and the Nagé-Kéo languages, although locally
distinguished as separate or distinct languages, appear to be a gradation of dialects on a continuum. There are several dialects present in the Ngadha and Nagé-Kéo regions but as of yet no study has been conducted on these languages.  

Within the regency of Ngada I chose the district of Goléwa as a general research area, as it appeared culturally less homogeneous than did the other districts classified as Ngadha (Aimere, Bajawa, and So'a).

The district (kecamatan) of Goléwa is located in the south-central part of the regency. Goléwa extends over 250.72 km², an area which is mostly composed of mountains and hills sprinkled with mountain springs. The district borders: a) on the south with the Savu Sea; b) on the south-west with the Aimere district; c) on the north and north-west with the Bajawa district; d) on the east with the Boawae district; e) and on the south-east with the Mauponggo district. On a west to east axis, Goléwa is dissected by the trans-Flores highway.

Goléwa contains nineteen administrative villages. From these nineteen administrative villages I worked most in Sara Sedu and spent time in other villages as well, especially in Taka Tunga and Sanga Deto. I also visited the administrative village of Rowa in the neighbouring district of Boawae.

The district of Goléwa has a population of 26,358 with a density of 105/km²; the third most populous district after Bajawa and Aesesa, and the second most densely populated region after Mauponggo. The administrative centre of Goléwa is the village of Mata Loko, which is also the site of the first Catholic seminary and missionary centre in Ngada.

---

2 Unless studies are carried out soon on the various dialects, there is a danger that we never will have a complete linguistic record of these dialects. Due to the more frequent use of the Indonesian language, especially by the younger generations, several of these dialects could rapidly disappear.
Within the district of Goléwa the administrative village (desa) of Sara Sedu was my main research location. The people of this desa appeared to me as being culturally transitional between Ngadha and Nagé-Kéo on a continuum. This in-between position and the fact that this region was never mentioned in the literature were the main attraction for me in the choice of this site.

Desa Sara Sedu is located in the eastern part of the district of Goléwa. This administrative village borders on the east with desa Rowa in the district of Boawae; on the west with desa Toda Belu; on the north with desa Sanga Déto; and on the south with desa Taka Tunga. The administrative centre of Sara Sedu is Wolo Rowa hamlet which is about 10 km distance to the east of Mata Loko, the district's administrative centre. The trans-Flores highway dissects Sara Sedu into northern and southern halves. There is an elementary school and a Catholic chapel in the desa.

Sara Sedu is divided into six traditional villages. The desa extends over 38.6877 km². The north-south axis of the village is about 26 km and its east-west axis is about 13 km. The village is mostly composed of smaller mountains and hills. Some valleys are also present especially towards the northern part of Sara Sedu. The hills are especially steep in the southern part of the village.

The population in January 1992 was reported to be 1,086 people with a male to female ratio of 538:548. The people of Sara Sedu speak dialects that form part of the continuum from the Bajawa language to the Nagé-Kéo languages, being

---

3 No accurate maps were available of the administrative village itself. Neither the district nor regency and provincial administrative levels could provide such a map. The map provided in the body of this thesis is a reproduction of a drawing of Sara Sedu which hangs on the wall of the administrative office of the desa. Unfortunately, this drawing did not provide a scale.
closer to the latter. The population is 100% Roman Catholic. With the exception of the six civil servants, most of whom are teachers, and two stall owners, the rest of the population are cultivators of dry fields. The main agricultural products are dry rice, corn, yams, beans, peanuts, gourds (pumpkins and squash) and cucumbers, ginger, onions, chilli pepper, tomato, cassava, banana, sirih-pinang, papaya, mango, coconut, and candle-nut. Coffee, kapok, vanilla, and cloves are also grown, however, the soil and climate are not always suitable and thus yields are not yet sufficient to make a real impact on the economic situation of most farmers in the desa. Arenga palm is utilized for palmwine distilling. Water-buffalos, horses, pigs, chickens, and dogs are also raised traditionally, and more recently cattle, goats, sheep and duck.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE NGADHA

In 1938 Kostner, the Dutch administrator, mentioned that 'Little is known about the history of the Ngada' (Kostner 1938:20). This was true then and it is true now. The literature provides a rather hazy picture about Ngadha history, particularly before Dutch control was inserted.

Van Staveren (1916:120) claims that the immigration of the Ngadha people took place +/- 250 years ago from the west to the east [from another island]. Similarly, Vatter (1931:348) mentions that the Ngadha immigrated to their present home some 200 - 300 years ago from 'the west'. Muda (1986:16) also proposes that formerly the Ngadha lived somewhere in the west of Flores and immigrated...

---

4 Although 100% is the official percentage of Catholics, in reality I did encounter individuals who have not yet been baptized by the Church and thus did not have an official standing in the Church.

5 I take these claims of origins for the Ngadha from a place west of Flores as nothing more than speculations without any tangible proof on the part of the claimants.
Map 4: The Village Confederacy of Sara Sedu
about 250 years ago to what is now their homeland, and gradually settled down around the Iné Rie volcano. Arndt (1954:272) suggests a similar time depth for Ngadha migration and furthermore suggests that some of the history of the settling may be extracted from the origin myths of the Ngadha clan.

None of these early works consider several migrations of peoples from outside and within Flores, nor the fact that there were indigenous populations pushed further inland from coastal areas. Perhaps, this lack of consideration is connected with the fact that besides Arndt's regionally over-generalized, though detailed accounts of the Ngadha, little else was known about the various groups that inhabited the onderafdeeling Ngada. Furthermore, for the historical considerations in these earlier works drew on the Ngadha clan itself, while all other clans were ignored.

During my visits to various regions which fall geographically into the area designated as the home of the Ngadha, I made some notes on local constructions of Ngadha pre-colonial history. Wherever I visited, people tried to impress upon me the notion that the regency is populated by several groups of people, some of whom are indigenous to this part of Flores and many others who have arrived from the outside via southern and northern coastal ports. The Ngadha people expressed their view that several migrations of people took place.

The most significant events of Ngadha pre-colonial history they summarized as follows:

There was an indigenous population which resided around the fertile feet of the Iné Rie volcano. This group was then pushed further inland as a wave of migrants arrived in the Aimere Bay on the south coast. This indigenous group is invariably singled out as the present So'a people. Another migration of people was also noted from the north coastal direction. This group, the Naru people, was forced inland by food shortage and their first contact was with the So'a people already occupying the inland.
Then with the expansion of the population several internal migrations and settlement of new regions followed within the area presently occupied by the Ngadha people.

The Ngadha as mountain people appear to have been rather isolated and this is cited as one of the reasons for very little being known about them prior to Dutch occupation. In the field I learned that most villages (fearing enemy attacks) were located on top of hills and mountains. Access to these villages was treacherous and they were more easily defensible. As a first line of defence, I was told, huge boulders would be rolled down on arriving parties as these were initially always considered as an enemy.

This unwelcoming disposition of the Ngadha to outsiders probably contributed to their being regarded as 'cannibals' in the earliest written mention of them. The traveller Freijss (1860:522-523), however, denies the validity of such claims on the basis of what the Rokka (Ngadha) themselves told him. In addition, he refers to them as bold, powerful, and industrious people (ibid).

Up to the late 19th century Dutch interests in and attitudes towards the Ngadha and other groups in Flores were best expressed by Ch. LeRoux (1920:445):

Our close acquaintance with the Florenese -- who are a particularly primitive people -- only dates from the year 1907. Previous to that year the tribes lived far away in their almost inaccessible, desolate and grim mountains.

According to the Dutch themselves they exercised no sovereignty over Ngadha land (Anon 1890a:1783). Actually not until 1871 did the Dutch become interested in the Ngadha on the basis of some rumours that the Rokka region had tin ore (Anon 1890a:1782-84). In 1872 the native chiefs would not comply with

---

6 This lack of prior interest stands in direct contrast to Dutch interest in eastern Flores (Tennien & Sato 1957:xix-xxiii).
Dutch demands for tin and even denied the presence of this ore in their region. The disposition of the natives at the same time was labelled as dangerous (ibid: 1782).

The Dutch however were not that easily deterred. In December 1889 they sent a mining expedition to the region, led by the mineral engineer, van Schelle (Anon 1890b:302, 135; de Klerck 1938:384; Anon 1890a:1782). The Ngadha, however, strongly resisted and forced the expedition to withdraw, even though they had no fire power (Anon 1890b:302). The following year (in 1890) the expedition was resumed, this time under military protection. Again they met with failure, as the natives continued their strong and hostile resistance (Anon 1907a:1412; de Klerck 1938:384-85).

Not until September 1907 did the Dutch finally gain control of the Ngadha area. After a second military campaign (since the first one failed)\(^7\), Captain Christoffel with several brigades conquered the Ngadha (Anon 1907b:1850). At this time the Ngadha were constituted an administrative district (onderafdeeling) under the auspices of Afdeeling Timor) together with Riung, Nagé and Kéo, with the capital in Bajawa. Each of these areas was self-governing under the rule of a raja (Militair Memorie 1920:20-21; van Dijk 1925:529-540, 619-623). Each rajadom was divided into districts governed by chiefs with the title of Kepala Mereh or Kapitan. The village heads were among these district chiefs (Militair Memorie 1920:20-21). The Administrative district of Ngada itself was under the rule of a Dutch controller along with some assistants. The rajas themselves were viewed as hardly more than helpers (ibid). The Memoirs of the controller F.

---

\(^7\) Actually a series of insurgencies were organized against Captain Christoffel's campaign which began on August 12, 1907. There were a number of villages involved, among these Rowa, Sara, Mangulewa, Rakalaba, and Langa (Sejarah Kebangkitan Nasional Daerah Nusatenggara Timur 1978/79:31).
Kostner (1938:1) list three other previous controllers in Ngadha, namely van Heuven in 1916, H.A.L. Hamilton in 1920, and J.P.M. van der Linden in 1934.

The names of the Ngada *rajas* are listed by van Dijk (1925:540): "Djawa Tai ...1918; Padjo Eso 1918; Peo Mole 1918...". This last *raja* appears to have been longest in power. In a Military Memoir from Ngadha (1929:21), Pea Mole is still mentioned as the *raja* of the Ngadha. Van Schie, S.V.D., in 1937 still names Pea Mole as the *raja* of Bajawa (Van Schie 1937:50). In 1950 Kennedy (1955:84,85) also refers to a "very fat Radja of Ngada" who has been in power for "thirty-one years and seven months", which would indicate Pea Mole. Kennedy (ibid) also provides an interesting character sketch of Pea Mole: 'He is not much interested in administration and rather spends time on hunting. He is a pagan with several wives but his children are Christian. Pea Mole is critical of the Dutch, particularly for their demand of forced labour. Furthermore, he refutes the German missionary, Paul Arndt's findings as being too influenced by Christian assistants who doctored up the information.' From Kennedy's account we glean how the *raja* himself viewed power relations with other neighbouring *rajas*: whereas he held the Ngada *rajaship* as the older sibling branch, while those of the Nagé and Manggarai are the younger sibling branch.\(^8\) I learned in the field that this *raja* was very much respected for his fairness. He was baptized on his death bed and, although not converting sooner, he was an ardent supporter of the Catholic Church. Many of his people converted to Catholicism upon his orders.

After the Dutch took control in 1907, not everything went peacefully. Between 1909 and 1917, a series of uprisings occurred against Dutch dominance. From *Sejarah Kebangkitan Nasional Daerah Nusatenggara Timur* (1978/79: 31) we learn that in 1909 the inhabitants of So'a rose up twice, but were defeated both... 

---

\(^8\) Elder sibling is senior and superior to younger sibling throughout Indonesia.
times. The peak of resistance was reached in 1910, but it also failed and resulted in
the imposition of heavy taxes by the Dutch. In Lejo another insurgency broke out,
under the leadership of Lewa Wula, which lasted until 1913. Between 1916 and
1917 yet another insurgency flared up in Watuapi. This rebellion was lead by Nipo
Do and was based on feelings of dissatisfaction with the ever increasing influence
of the Dutch, their taxes and forced labour. However, this insurgency was also put
down by the Dutch, after experiencing further such revolts in Nangapanda, Kota
Wake, Wagh'a, Teokodo and Keli Luja.

From 1912 the Roman Catholic priests of the Society of the Divine Word
(S.V.D.) began their mission work on Flores (Goris 1956:36; Tennien & Sato
1957:xxii). In 1920 mission stations and seminaries were set up in both Toda Belu
and Bajawa (Petu 1966:25). The first missionaries in Toda Belu were the fathers
Josef Ettel, and Herman de Lange and the brother Josef Segering (ibid:26). During
the First World War the German Divine Word Missionaries were also assigned to
Flores (Tennien & Sato 1957: xxiii). Among these the best known and most
respected was father Paul Arndt who arrived in the Ngadha region in 1924 ( Arndt
1954:5). The Catholic church missionaries not only converted virtually the entire
population to Christianity, but were also the primary suppliers of education, health
facilities, and after Independence of small economic developments (Tennien & Sato

In 1942 the Japanese invaded Flores and all foreign priests were interned. A
few priests from Japan were shipped in to look after the Christians (Tennien &
Sato 1957:xxiv-v). After Indonesian Independence in 1949 it became difficult to
get foreign missionaries into the country (ibid). During the Japanese occupation the
administrative structure did not change much, especially at the level of the regency
(Ngada). Japanese administrators replaced the Dutch. The Lesser Sundas came
under the Celebes, then the Ceram Administration (Government report on the Lesser Sunda Islands 1957: 43). Self-government was still recognized and in fact the heads of the self-governing areas had greater power than under the Dutch (ibid).

After Indonesian Independence was achieved the Lesser Sunda Islands were joined as a single province, Nusa Tenggara Timur (ibid:45). In 1957 the former rajadoms of Flores (Ende, Lio, Larantuka, Adonara, Sikka, Ngada, Riung, Nagé-Kéo, and Manggarai) were all joined in a federation (ibid:47). The Ngada rajadom, along with Riung and Nagé-Kéo, became part of Kabupaten Ngada (an administrative unit) in the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (ibid:56).

As an oral culture rather recently being turned into a writing culture, Ngada history of the pre-colonial era is rapidly disappearing due to a number of factors, one of which is the lack of interest of the younger generation (up to 50 years old) in their local past as opposed to national history. Perhaps only archaeologists and linguists will be able to solve the pre-Dutch historical puzzles in the Ngada regency in time.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a great compilation of written matter on the Ngada regency of Flores. Most of these sources are devoted to the Ngadha cultural group and very few of the writings deal with the Riung and Nagé-Kéo groups. Although the people of Sara Sedu are officially classified as Ngadha, they are not mentioned in the literature. Thus, here I briefly review the available literature on the Ngadha group. These written sources contain information that was collected mostly by untrained and non-anthropologically oriented individuals. Most of these early writers were largely unaware of the rich cultural diversity which existed and is still present in the regency of Ngada.
The sources are quite varied in nature (travellers' documents, colonial reports, HRAF files, missionary documents) in a number of different languages. The ethnographic information contained in these sources is rather fragmentated and it often has to be fitted together like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle.

The reports by travellers, expeditions and some scientists provide very little ethnographic information (see Anon 1848:174; Bickmore 1869:11; Jacobsen 1895:65; Weber 1890:15, 23, 29). This genre of writings deals with material culture or focuses on evaluative and judgmental statements about the character of the inhabitants.9

One of the earliest reports which provided some ethnographic information concerning the Ngadha (Rokka) can be found in the travel account of the trader, J.P. Freijss (1860:506-7, 521-25). He provides some description of the land, a list of villages and a note on the main crops grown in the Rokka area. J.G.F. Riedel (1886:66-71) provides a brief description of the Rokka in a similar manner.

Geographic descriptions of the Rokka (Ngadha) region are provided by P.J. Veth (1976:180-187) and van Lehman (1935:339-352). The latter author besides providing us with a detailed geographic description also includes a brief sketch of the livelihood, village lay-out, and cultural objects within it.

A short account of the megalithic culture of the Ngadha is presented by E. Vatter (1931). Maynard Owen Williams (1939: 313-52), a traveller, recounts his experience of five short days among the Ngadha in Bajawa. He gives a brief account of the carving and erection of a new sacrificial post which was accompanied by buffalo slaughter and major festivities. Wilcox (1951/52:562-73)

---

9 One of the very first references made to the Ngadha (or more often referred to as Rokka in the early literature) reports on 'cannibalism'. The Rokka were assumed to devour their conquered enemies and deceased parents. Rokka is an alternate name for the Iné Rie volcano, and thus for the people who lived at the foot of this volcano.
produced a very similar style of report on the "ritual hunt in So'a", a district of Ngada.

There are several written sources from the Dutch colonial era that directly refer to the Ngadha (or Rokka), although rarely providing extensive ethnographic details. Some of the earliest publications dealing with the Ngadha from this period appear in the journal, De Indische Gids. Usually no author is indicated, and all entries deal with the failed tin expedition in the region (1890:1782-84,1907:1253,1412-1413).

Van Staveren (1916), a colonial administrator, published a rather extensive and detailed report entitled "De Rokka's van Midden Flores". This source deals with a variety of topics, including: social organization, laws of marriage, inheritance and land ownership, religious life, feasts and sacrifice, housing and other items material culture. Van Staveren attempts to provide a complete ethnographic description of the Ngadha and his report is the most complete up to the emergence of missionary literature on this group.

Another colonial administrator, LeRoux (1920:445-451) in a few paragraphs attempts to sum up Ngadha culture, focusing on their appearance, objects of ancestor cult and their houses.

Memorie van Overgawe (1916, 1938, 1929), the memoirs of Dutch colonial officers in Ngadha, are official reports on the Ngadha that contain ethnographic information. Hens' (1916) report mostly deals with geographical and topographical matters. F. Kostner's account gives details on Ngadha social organization, marriage and bridewealth, laws, government and authority. However, there exists another memoir, this one by van Heuven (1916), which at the present is not available to me for consultation. Furthermore, there also exists a memoir of a Japanese soldier that refers to the Ngadha in passing, especially in the context of the Catholic Church (Tennien and Sato 1957).
it is not an extensive description of the kind put forth by van Staveren. A military memoir, for which no author is indicated, provides some information about the division of the administrative district of Ngada and about the internal divisions and power distribution between the rajas and the Dutch administrators.

The Catholic missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word (S.V.D.) produced several ethnographic works on the Ngadha. Their prolific publications are the best sources available on the Ngadha thus far. Although the tone of the information they present is very strongly influenced by their own position as priests, the description of Ngadha social life is quite detailed. The extent of the publications vary greatly from just a short article to major works of a monograph type. There were a number of short articles produced by different priests, all of which focused on Ngadha religious beliefs and ritual (see Beyer 1937:9-12, 129-134; Boer 1937:146-147; Bouma 1928/29: 109-114, 129-133, 15-154; Buis 1931:108-112, 151-52, 172-174, 1932:13; Koemeester 1935/36:153; Hermens 1937:206-207; Huytink 1935/36:187; van Schie 1935/36:25, 1937/38: 49-54, 74-75; Shooremmer 1926/27:1-10,70-73; Smit 1929/30:209-211, 229-230, 1931:33-36, 75-77, 96-98). All of these publications appeared in the S.V.D. journal, De Katholieke Missien\(^{11}\), and contained great photographic illustrations.

Piet Petu, S.V.D., wrote a history of the Catholic Church in NTT, which contains some references to the Ngadha mission, but no ethnographic information. Vroklage's (S.V.D.) article on the 'boat cultures' of Flores contains a few short paragraphs on the Ngadha (1940:269-70). His focus is aimed at any "remnants" in Ngadha culture that would indicate a seafaring people. Thus he reported on the

\(^{11}\text{Since this journal is not readily available in either North American or Australian libraries, I am grateful to M. Vischer (ANU, Canberra) for giving me access to his photo-copies of various articles from this journal. I have also acquired certain volumes of this journal in the field from the Mata Loko seminary in the district of Golewa in the regency of Ngada.}
names of parts of the house and village, and on the name of leaders that specifically refer to parts of a boat.

The single most important contribution to our knowledge about Ngadha ethnography was that of Father Paul Arndt, S.V.D. (1885-1962). He came to Flores in 1924 to start his work among the Ngadha (Arndt 1954:5, Bader 1964:639). His endeavours were interrupted during the Second World War when he was interned by the Japanese in Sumatra (Bader 1964:639-42). However, in 1948 he returned to continue his work among the Ngadha until his death at the age of 77.

Arndt provided numerous ethnographic descriptions of the various cultural and ethnic groups of Flores and of the societies of Solor, Adonara, and Sumbawa. A good third of his publications (if not more) are concerned with the Ngadha of west-central Flores.


Despite the voluminous nature of his descriptions, Arndt's analyses of the social systems of this region are rather scant by modern standards. His analytic framework can be traced back to his anthropological training in the tradition founded by Father Wilhelm Schmidt S.V.D. Arndt, in fact, was a student of W. Schmidt (Koentjaraningrat 1975:70; Goris 1956:37) and this is clearly reflected in
his numerous publications on the Ngadha. Indeed, all his works appear to have the stamp of the Viennese "Kulturkreis Schule" on them.

In his analysis of Ngadha society, Arndt placed the major emphasis on establishing the presence of a monotheistic God in the traditional belief system. Furthermore, his analysis of indigenous conceptions of the spirit world relied heavily upon an interpretation of different categories of spirits as personifications of the sun and moon. In a similar vein, his attempt to assert interpretations of representations of divinity similar to that of the Ngadha (Nitu Déva) among other Florenese groups may also be traced back the so-called "kulturkreis" school.\footnote{More specifically, he identifies dual expressions for divinity among the Lio and Nagé groups of Flores, Duò Nggœ and Gœt Déva respectively, with terms for unitary sky and earth deities (see Arndt 1933; Stöhr 1976:218). This identification has been demonstrated as being wrong by more recent studies carried out by anthropologists in these regions of Flores. More specifically, while the Lio Duò Nggœ is a dual expression for the all-encompassing divinity, Duò is not considered male or masculine, nor is Nggœ thought to be female or feminine (Prior 1988:63-64). In fact, Prior's informants laughed outright at even the suggestion of such a gender specification, particularly at the idea of a female deity (ibid). Furthermore, Duò in other contexts can mean 'old' or 'ancient', while Nggœ signifies 'honour' and 'glory' (ibid). In a similar vein, Gœt does not refer to a feminine earth deity among the Nagé, the eastern neighbors of the Ngadha. Instead Gœt Déva is a dual expression for the Creator, with the term gœt functioning mainly as an honorific, though it can also be understood as a reference to earth spirits (Forth 1989, pers. comm.)} Shortly after his ordination to the priesthood in 1931, Herman Bader S.V.D. (1903-1970), a contemporary of Arndt, also began his ethnographic studies of the Ngadha on Flores (Saake 1971:946-47). He produced a number of works concerning Flores. His 1951 Ph.D. thesis on Ngadha puberty rites, Die Reifeleier bei den Ngada (Mittelflores, Indonesia) was his major contribution to Ngadha ethnography. Besides this thesis, Bader has written two shorter articles that have direct bearing on Ngadha ethnography (1970:636-37; 1971:947-55).
Another S.V.D priest, Hubertus Muda, who is Ngadha, has recently written a thesis on the Ngadha notion of the Supreme Being (1986). The thesis includes an analysis of Ngadha cosmology, although it is still presented in the same framework as that favoured by P. Arndt. Indeed, the tone of Muda's work sounds like an exaltation of Arndt's earlier efforts and in effect is an attempt to take Arndt's analysis one step further.


Some studies on the Ngadha have been carried out by professional researchers. A couple of physical anthropologists, Bijlmer (1929) and Keers (1948), produced studies which deal with the biological/racial classification of the inhabitants of the lesser Sundas. The Ngadha, of course, are included in these studies and several photos depict the "typical" physique.

J. Kunst's research on Flores focused on the music of Flores. His ethnomusicological work has a section focusing on Ngadha instruments and music (1942:80-90). Another two researchers, who wrote works on the basis of their own observations, are R.J. Maxwell and H. Daeng. Maxwell (n.d.) produced a

---

13 H. Muda makes reference to two other individuals' works on the Ngadha, namely that of Hendrick Gzella (1979) and Manu Zantkuil (1974). The former work considers the notion of the "Supreme Being" and the latter deals with sacrifice and offering. Neither of these works are available to me at present.
short essay on Ngadha textiles (motifs, social use), while Daeng\textsuperscript{14} (1988:254-67) wrote an article dealing with the modern changes in ritual feasting and the utilization of water buffalo.

Further sources on the Ngadha derive from the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) and some historians and linguists. In the HRAF we find notes referring to the Ngadha from Wilken (1893:39), Alkema and Bezemer (1927:452-53, 464), and R. Kennedy (1955:82-87, 121-125, 129). An entry on the Ngadha by R.H. Barnes can also be found in LeBar's (1972a, 1972b) two volume collection on the Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia.

Wilken (1893:39) only mentions, in a short sentence, the reports about the cannibalistic nature of the Ngadha. Alkema and Bezemer (1927:452-3,464) do only a little better, describing briefly the Ngadha house, the sacrificial post, and the ancestral mother house in the centre of the village square.

Kennedy's (1955) account is based on first hand observation. It contains a brief description of the people, marriage practices, and the village of Bajawa. He also documents the attitudes of the Ngadha raja (Pea Mole) towards the Dutch and the Christian missionaries. In LeBar (1972a), R.H. Barnes provides a summary of the ethnography of the Ngadha based on the available literature. This summary includes notes on social, political, economic, and religious life.

There is very little information available on the Ngadha in the books of historians. Nevertheless, de Klerck (1938:471-2,384-5) mentions the failed mineral expedition of the Dutch in the Ngadha region; and the final victory of Captain H. Christoffel over the Ngada in 1907. The Indonesian Department of Education and

\textsuperscript{14} Daeng also wrote a Masters thesis on the Ngadha, however, at present this work is not available to me. His PhD thesis focused partially on the topic of "inkulturasi" in Ngadha, the attempts of the Catholic Church to integrate some customary practices within the body of mass, and also the reverse of this, the incorporation of some Catholic practices into the body of traditional rituals.
Culture prepared a project on the history of national insurgency in eastern Indonesia [Sejarah Kebangkitan Nasional Daerah Nusatenggara Timur] (1978/79). It describes the Dutch division of Ngada (onderafdeeling), documenting particularly the various revolts against Dutch rule (1978/79:31). Dietrich's (1989) work on Flores history only deals with the Nagé-Kéo area of the regency of Ngada in a summary fashion, focusing mostly on historical alliances between local groups. His data is based on Fontijn's (1954) unpublished manuscript on the same region.

A few linguistic sources are also available on the Ngadha language. The most detailed of these is S. Djawanai's (1980) PhD thesis. Djawanai's thesis contains details about the social use of language, more specifically, details about the role of myths, proverbs, and traditional sayings. However, to date no study has been carried out on the dialectical wealth and diversity present in the regency Ngada.

More recently there has been professional anthropological research carried out in the regency of Ngada by M. Dirkzwager (in the region of So'a), O. Smedal (in the Ngadha region of Jéré Bu'u), and G.L. Forth (in the region of Nagé-Kéo). As yet, the only published results of this research are those on the Nagé-Kéo region from Forth (see 1989a:490-519; 1989b:89-106; 1990:246-261; 1991a:257-66; 1991c:1-29; 1991d; 1992a:125-129; 1992b:423-41; 1993).

A review of the literature made it evident that further research was needed in the regency of Ngada, of a kind that was guided by modern anthropological methods and questions. During my first two weeks in the regency, I realized that much of the information provided in the early literary sources is unreliable at best, and that the cultural diversity is even greater than assumed in these writings.

---

\[15\] This work has been published since under the title Ngadha Text Tradition, The Collective Mind of the Ngadha People, Flores (1983).
THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The ethnographic data from Sara Sedu offers interesting material towards a comparative understanding of eastern Indonesian societies and may contribute to current anthropological analysis of issues relating to concepts of "house society", ideas of derivation expressed in "origin structures", notions of precedence and, finally, dual classification and the transformation of social forms. Therefore, a brief overview of these issues in eastern Indonesian ethnography is in order here.

The treatment of Indonesia as a 'Field of Ethnological (or Anthropological) Study' was proposed by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong in his 1935 inaugural address as Professor of Anthropology at the University of Leiden. In this address, he argued that within Indonesia there appears to be a certain cultural comparability and that the core of this structural homogeneity lies in particular principles (1977:167-168). His student, Van Wouden (1968), furthermore identified this "structural core" as consisting of a clan system, asymmetric connubium, and socio-cosmic dualism, from which he formulated a model for analyzing social structure in eastern Indonesia.

In recent anthropological analyses in Indonesia, however, there is a further development to this approach, since these studies move from models to metaphors to focus on the examination of "each society from within and in terms of its own social categories" (Fox 1980:330). Thus the comparative framework focuses on the consideration of a number of important social categories shared by various peoples of eastern Indonesia (ibid:10). These similar categories compose the "metaphors for living which are encoded primarily in a pervasive dyadic form" (ibid:333).

'House' has been identified by a number of researchers of Austronesian societies as one of these crucial categories that designates "a particular kind of social unit" (see for example Fox 1980a:11-12; 1993a).
The house, by its nature, implies some idea of localization (or origin) that is ultimately centered on a specific physical structure. The relational categories of elder/younger are commonly used to distinguish between lines within houses, among houses, or even more widely defined groups that claim a relationship to one another as houses would...the house, in its localized manifestations, tends to define the minimal exogamous group primarily, though not exclusively, involved in the actual arrangement of marriages (Fox 1980a:12).

Austronesian societies then may be referred to as "house societies", in the sense that the category of house defines a range of relationships in the social organization of these peoples. It was Lévi-Strauss (1982) who coined the term "house societies" in his discussion of societies where houses function as foci of kin organization. In his discussion of "The Social Organization of the Kwakiutl", Lévi-Strauss (1982:184) points out that:

"Patrilineal descent and matrilineal descent, filiation and residence, hypergamy and hypogamy, close marriage and distant marriage, heredity and election: all these notions, which usually allow anthropologists to distinguish the various known types of society, are reunited in the house..."

In a similar manner, Waterson (1989:138) argues that for Indonesian societies, "...more traditional anthropological ideas about descent; labels such as 'patrilineal', 'matrilineal', or 'double descent' have a disquieting tendency to come unstuck." In The Living House:.... Waterson suggests that "the kinship systems of the archipelago, in all their variety, can best be understood only when the house is taken as their main organizing principle" (ibid).

The material in this thesis certainly supports a view of the "house" as the basic unit of Sara Sedu social organization. The named house (sa'o mézé) of Sara Sedu collapses such traditional anthropological concepts as descent and marriage, inheritance and succession, group membership and residence. An analysis of the
In another attempt to move beyond "reliance on a notion of descent [that] does not provide an altogether satisfactory concept for general comparison", Fox (1988:7) suggested we consider,

whether there is something common to all Austronesian societies, which manifests itself in some societies as 'structures' which we label as 'descent', but in other societies manifests itself in structures that appear quite different (1988:7).

In this lecture, Fox pointed to the significance of the recurrent theme of 'source' and 'origin' in Indonesian, and especially in eastern Indonesian societies; this is a theme which has also been emphasized in several recent ethnographies (see, for example, Barnes 1974; Forth 1981; Traube 1986; Lewis 1988). Fox labelled the different configurations in which this preoccupation appears as 'origin structures'. While discussing the notion of descent among the Weyewa (Sumba), Atoni and Mambai (Timor), Rotinese (Roti), Bugis, Makassarese, and Toraja (Sulawesi), Fox stressed the point that the concept of descent in the traditional anthropological sense may not have so much importance in social organization, as the idea of common origin and derivation, which may find expression in the botanic idiom of a tree or in a localized place such as a house or an area of land. The emphasis appears to be on returning to or tracing back relations to the origin. Thus, Fox (1988:15) proposes that the study of 'origin structures' and of the systems of precedence they generate are more useful forms of comparison across Indonesian societies.

E.D. Lewis (1988), in a similar vein, focuses in his monograph, *People of the Source*, on the notion of 'source' as an organizing principle of the symbolic and social order of the Ata Tana 'Ai of central Flores, in eastern Indonesia. The Ata
Tana 'Ai are very much interested in 'origins', particularly on ceremonial occasions, since it is by 'origins' that rights to land, clan affiliation, and rights in the ceremonial system are determined (Lewis 1988:45). The clans of the Tana 'Ai domains are related by a network of rights and obligations pertaining to the performance of certain ceremonies by which the deity is invoked and the essential relations between human beings, the earth, spirits, and the deity are reaffirmed (ibid:32). The ceremonial system is organized around the **tana pu'an**, 'the Source of the Domain', in whom is vested authority over the earth and ritual and whose presence defines paradigms of cosmological relationships and the contemporary order of relations (ibid:87). "Returning to the source" is also an important metaphor with respect to affinal alliance in Tana 'Ai (ibid:301-302, 309-310).

Like other Austronesian (Indonesian) peoples, the **Hoga Sara** (people of Sara Sedu) are also concerned with 'origins'. Derivation can be traced from common founding ancestors **(ebu mogo)**, from a named house **(sa'o mézé)**, a clan **(woé)** and a village **(nuá)**. The clan is divided into 'trunk' **(pú'u)** and 'tip' **(lobo)** halves, and thus the main structural division of a clan is expressed in terms of a botanic idiom. The spatial distribution of the component named houses of a clan follows this 'trunk' and 'tip' division within a village. The named house is an important 'origin structure'. The order of precedence of named houses charts the structure of the clan. The ordering of named houses within a clan is usually expressed in terms of the idiom 'elder-younger' **(ka'é-azi)**. The process by which named houses emerge is closely linked with marriage between two named houses. With respect to affinal relations between named houses, which is talked about in terms of 'derivation from' **(dhoro pu'u)**, a different order of precedence is present.

Anthropological research in eastern Indonesia has a long interest in the importance of dual classification in the socio-cosmic order as a window on society.
Some earlier works tended to treat this dual classification in the framework of Needham's (1973) complementary opposition where opposing pairs of categories are homologous, thus forming a system of binary classification where the polarity itself makes up the whole.

However, as Fox (1989) argues, complementary categories have an asymmetrical nature and in certain contexts one component of the complementary pair can stand for the whole. The asymmetry also allows for categorical inversion where in certain contexts the polarity of a complementary pair is reversed. Fox (1989:45) calls this complementarity, recursive complementarity, where

...what is significant is the recursion of ... categories -- the way in which they may be applied successively in various contexts and at many levels of signification.

In certain respects, this is reminiscent of Dumont's (1970, 1986) framework of hierarchical opposition in his study of Indian caste systems. He defined hierarchical opposition as “the principle by which the elements of a whole are ranked in relation to the whole” (1970:66). A hierarchical relation involves the encompassing of the contrary, an opposition between a set and an element of this set (1986:227). In a pair of opposing elements, one element is superordinate while the other is subordinate. On the one hand the superordinate element is identical to the set, yet on the other hand there is a contrariety (1986:227).

For the Indian case Dumont describes hierarchy as a single principle identified with a specific opposition, pure and impure, which defines "an order of precedence" (1970:75). In the eastern Indonesian case the idea of a single principle is not applicable, as Fox (1989:51-52) argues that,
...there are a variety of contending positions that are of considerable importance to the definition of hierarchy and it is not one opposition but the interplay among various oppositions that gives rank to elements of a whole in relation to the whole. ...for eastern Indonesia we may consider hierarchy as consisting of various orders of precedence.

Thus, as Fox (1989:53) points out, in order to better understand forms of classification in eastern Indonesian societies, careful attention should be paid to the use of dualism in its various levels.

Within this framework, the research of other anthropologists in western areas of Flores is particularly relevant in contextualizing this study in a comparative field. 16 Beyond the findings of other researchers on Ngada societies, M. Erb's research in eastern Manggarai has been of particular interest to me, since the ethnographic region of study (Rajong, Rembong, and Biting) appears to be a culturally transitional region. The subjects of this thesis, the society of the people of Sara Sedu, are also situated in a culturally transitional region.

There are a wide variety of types of patterns of social organization in Indonesia. The possible evolution of these systems has been a concern to anthropologists for some time. In particular, Needham (1966, 1968, 1970, 1980a, 1980b) has examined in a number of eastern Indonesian societies the relationship between classification (as expressed in kin terminology) and social action of marriage alliance. Needham was particularly concerned with transformation between symmetric and asymmetric systems. The social forms of various societies examined by Needham were considered as "constituting instances in a general process of structural change" (1980b:46).

16 Such ethnographic studies include those done in Manggarai of western Flores by M. Erb, J. Gordon, and M. van Kester, and those concerning societies in Ngada of west-central Flores by M. Dirkzwager, G. Forth, and O. Smedal.
Whether these instants are to be arranged in a linear series of successive transformations, or whether they should be conceived of instead as products of separate lines of evolution, is a problem to which ... there is no decisive answer, either formal or empirical (ibid).

The society of the people of Sara Sedu possess both a symmetric and an asymmetric system of marriage with a mainly symmetric kin terminology. Thus the Sara Sedu material seems to provide a 'freeze frame' of a transformation of social forms; a transformation within a society, however, and not that between societies. The consideration of local historical factors and diachronic processes is essential to an understanding of the means by which such a dual system of marriage may have evolved.

The following chapters draw out the relevance of Sara Sedu material with respect to the various theoretical issues raised here. This study also aims to situate the Hoga Sara (the people of Sara Sedu) of the Ngada regency in the context of Florenese and eastern Indonesian ethnography. In placing the Hoga Sara within the framework of this 'Field of Anthropological Study', I also wish to provide further comparative data for future researchers working within Flores and especially those documenting the diversity and complexity of social forms in the regency of Ngada.
CHAPTER ONE

CONSIDERATIONS OF IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

In order to situate the subjects of my research, the Hoga Sara or the people of the modern administrative village (desa) and former village confederacy Sara Sedu, in local context, I consider their identity in relation to the population referred to as Ngadha, the neighbouring Nagé, and the people of three other Desa (Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa) with which Sara Sedu shares an affinity. 1 Being located in a border region, flanked on the west by the Ngadha people and on the east by the Nagé, the people of the village confederacy of Sara Sedu often contrast themselves culturally and linguistically to these peoples. Since the Hoga Sara are administratively categorized as Ngadha, they tend to stress more their differences from this neighbouring group. At the same time, they define themselves as a part of a group of four village confederacies, which includes Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto,

---

1 The modern administrative village (desa) corresponds to the former village confederacy. Village confederacy refers to the unity of two or more traditional villages, nua. There is no term in the local language designating village confederacy except its name itself. For example, Sara Sedu is the name of a village confederacy which contains several related nua, one of which formerly was called Sara. In formal language the village confederacy would be referred to by the name of its 'head and tail', that is, the extent of its territory. The various nua contained within a village confederacy correspond to the kampung from the Dutch period. In the rest of this work when I use the term village, it is to be understood to mean the traditional village (nua). Generally, I will apply the term village confederacy to the former unity of a group of nua, currently the modern Indonesian administrative unit desa.
and Rowa as well, on the basis of cultural similarities. However, the internal structural features of the village confederacy of Sara Sedu and aspects of social organization give the Hoga Sara their own identity which is distinct from that of these other three related groups.

THE HOGA SARA IN REGIONAL CONTEXT: THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC CATEGORY NGADHA

When the German missionary Arndt (1929) adopted the term Ngadha, it was already present in some of the Dutch colonial writings (e.g. Hens 1916). By Ngadha Arndt refers to the language and population then established in the southwestern part of the regency Ngada. Writing of these people as if they were culturally homogeneous, he nevertheless pointed out regional variations.

Application of the term Ngadha to this population stems from a particular clan known by that name, whose founding ancestress was also called Ngadha. Within the regency, there is also a mountain and a spring called Ngadha, while a former village bore this name as well. All these are place names in the territory occupied by the Ngadha clan. With a community of several thousand people, this clan was the largest of all clans occupying the southwestern region of the present Ngada regency when in 1907 the Dutch finally entered this part of Flores. As one of the largest clans in the area, the Ngadha clan was chosen by the Dutch as the group from which to appoint one of the three regional Raja, Djawa Ta’i, to assist in the administration of the onderafdeeling that received the name Ngada. Thus the name Ngada was extended to the onderafdeeling and to the various village confederacies that resembled the Ngadha clan in language and certain superficial

---

2 See in Arndt 1954:205.

3 In the onderafdeeling Ngada a Raja was appointed in each of the regions of Nagé-Kéro, Riung, and Ngadha. Originally Nagé and Kéro each had its own Raja; however, the two regions were later amalgamated under the leadership of one Raja.
cultural aspects. Therefore, as long as a village confederacy spoke a dialect of the Bajawa language and had certain cultural objects in the courtyards of its villages, a sacrifice post and miniature house, they were designated as belonging to the Ngadha group. In this sense Ngadha is often contrasted to the culturally and linguistically different Nagé keo to the east.

In my experience it is not a simple matter to delineate who are or are not Ngadha using the criterion previously applied by the Dutch administration and the Catholic missionaries, and mostly recently by the Kabupaten (regency) government. The presence of such objects as a set of the domed sacrificial posts and an ancestral house, which are viewed as typically Ngadha, is not sufficient to define a group. In the village confederacies of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, and Sanga Đeto, for example, these objects take on a different significance from that generally found in Ngadha, and this difference is closely connected to a different social organization from that of the other Ngadha. In addition in these village confederacies we often find additional objects which are not considered as Ngadha but as typically Nagé. Taking language as an indicator of whether a village is Ngadha or not is also difficult, due to the great dialectical diversity present in the region, where often it is difficult to discern where one dialect ends and another begins. No linguistic studies have been completed to date on the number and variety of dialects present in either the Ngadha or the Nagé languages.

---

4 As it shall become clearer from discussions in the next chapter, these two objects are very important in serving as material symbols of clan organization. The ngadhu or madhu post is used for tying water-buffalo for sacrifice, while the little house, bhaga, commemorating the ancestral mother, is used for distribution of food in a variety of ritual feasts.

5 Interestingly the present regency government also uses these same demarcating characteristics for drawing a distinction between other groups within its territory and the "Ngadha".

6 Such a study is very much needed as some of the dialects are disappearing due to various factors.
Although the people occupying much of the region now designated as Ngadha did not have a collective name for themselves, the various clans had extensive networks of marriage and war alliances amongst themselves. They also share a number of common cultural features. Some of these major features include:

a) a claim of derivation from outside of Flores; b) a claim of derivation from Ngadha and her six sisters or from an offspring of theirs; c) a tendency to matriliney and matrilocal residence; d) a ranking system of nobles, commoners, and slaves; e) rank as one of the most important factors in the arrangement of marriage; f) the presence of a clan known as mori tana that founded a village composed of a number of unrelated clans; g) a structure in which each clan is divided into a trunk and tip house with no further differentiation; h) the rule that once a branch of a clan is differentiated as a clan in its own right, it is completely independent and autonomous from the parent clan and usually occupies another village; i) a Reba ceremony as the most important ritual in the ritual calendar; j) textile production.

Unlike their Nagé and Kéo neighbours, however, who identified themselves inclusively as either the Nagé or the Kéo even in pre-colonial times, the people designated as Ngadha did not describe themselves as a collective group nor did they have a name for themselves as a whole. Rather a number of separate village confederacies each furnished their populations with a self-referential identity, as for example, Hoga Manguléwa, Hoga Langa, Hoga Wéré, Hoga Wogo, (hoga = 'member of / people of'). The term hoga refers to an inclusive group and the members thereof. Hoga affiliation is dependent on residence and land-holding in the territory of a particular village. Hoga is often used in the sense 'us', while ata, person, is used in contrast to refer to an outsider.

7 Nowadays the people described as Ngadha by earlier writers refer to themselves and are referred to by the neighbouring Nagé-Kéo and Riung groups when speaking Indonesian as orang Bajawa, Bajawa people; their language is described as bahasa Bajawa.
The coastal dwellers of the regency of Ngada usually refer to other inland groups and thus those living in the hills and mountains as ata du'a, 'mountain people'. Among the inland groups themselves, ata du'a is used to refer to a group of people living at a higher elevation, thus still using the expression in its literal sense. However, if in the past there has been some animosity between two inland groups an underlying derogatory meaning is present as well. In certain respects the use of ata du'a is curious since most peoples of the regency are known to have lived in isolated enclaves on the tops of hills and mountains for security.

Often the term ata du'a, meaning 'mountain people' or 'hill-billies', is applied to the Bajawa people (Ngadha) by their Nagé neighbours in a derogatory sense, suggesting an unrefined, uncivilized nature. The Nagé apply a variant term langé du'a, 'border hill-billies', upon encountering impolite behaviour according to their own standards, among people who occupy a border region between themselves and the ata du'a, such as among the Hoga Sara.

Since the name Ngadha is well established in the literature and in present day usage, I do not think it can be easily disregarded, nor am I suggesting that it should be. It does have its applicability over a large geographical area of the modern regency of Ngada. The former village confederacies located in the present districts of Bajawa, Aimeré, and most of Goléwa are relatively homogeneous in their ethnographic characteristics with certain non-significant variations in rituals and dialects. Thus for these districts I would not hesitate to retain the label Ngadha, and shall refer to them as such in the rest of this work. However, for the villages of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Détó, all in the district of Goléwa I would be very hesitant to use the name Ngadha, since it could give rise to misunderstandings and
would be misleading. In the course of this work I will be dealing specifically with the village confederacy of Sara Sedu, and I will refer to the people inhabiting it as Hoga Sara, as indeed they refer to themselves. In the same vein, I shall use Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, Hoga Rowa, when referring to the people of the village confederacies of Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa, respectively.

NEITHER NGADHA NOR NAGÉ FOUR RELATED VILLAGE CONFEDERACIES

Although present local governments align the people of the village confederacies of Sanga Deto, Taka Tunga, and Sara Sedu with the Ngadha, and that of Rowa with the Nagé, in reality these groups do not fit well within either region. Indeed, they are culturally and dialectically different from both Ngadha and Nagé-Kéo. Despite recognizing a common history and derivation, however, these village confederacies do not have a self-referential collective name. Rather, they refer to themselves separately as Hoga Aré, Hoga Taka, Hoga Sara, and Hoga Rowa. They view themselves as distinct from either the Ngadha or the Nagé, to whom they refer as 'the hill-billies' (ata du'a) and 'the Nagé from the east' (Nagé pu'u zili) respectively. These four village confederacies constitute a culturally transitional region between the Ngadha and Nagé, and in several respects belong on a continuum with both of them.

8 In the same vein, I would hesitate to use the official classification of Nagé for the Desa Rowa in the district of Boa Wac.
Map 5: Regency Ngada: related village confederacies
The people of the village confederacies of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa, insist on their indigenous status, usually in contrast to the origins of other groups in the regency of Ngada who claim to have come from the outside of Flores. The Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa also view themselves as the source of certain things, such as buffalo, which have dispersed to other regions from them. They would also insist on an early stone tool technology, lack of knowledge of weaving and the wearing of tree bark cloth, as well as previous ignorance of rice cultivation. Certain ancestral myths recur among them concerning the super-human feats of a giant ancestor or of the intermarriage of this giant ancestor with a small hairy forest human creature.

These peoples also insist that their ancestors engaged in foraging or at most in horticultural and yam cultivation in ancient times. Even at present, the agricultural calendar rites concerning the productivity of the dry rice (kosu danga) gardens place an overwhelming emphasis on and make ritual use of earlier foods such as types of millet, weté and ghédho, Job's tears, ké'o, sorghum, haé léwa, and yam, uwi. The ritual centre of the rice garden (uma nitu, 'the garden of nitu') has to have an uwi bush. The introduction of rice to these regions is usually

---

9 A couple of myths concerning the origin of wild rice and buffalo also suggests this.

10 Elders still tell of a time when no metal was available for the making of the spear points and how these were fashioned out of stone, as well as the use of pyretic stones for the making of fire. The old traditional village site, nua Sedu, is particularly reputed for still holding such spear heads buried in the ground, but also often to be found on the surface. I was shown such a stone spear head by one of the elders of Sedu whose family had the reputation in the region of the four villages for making fine weapons and tools.

11 Dhaké and Kedho are often named as these unusual ancestors. Oba and Nanga are held to be the brother and sister of Kedho. However, they are not small and hairy but of normal human size and appearance. Although Kedho is associated with the forest, she belongs to a named house and holds the status of a founding ancestress.

12 Although sorghum is considered an earlier staple food, its introduction to the region is relatively recent.
accounted for by myths in which wild rice is accidentally found. These myths contrast with those in the other Ngadha regions, where the derivation of rice is ascribed to the planting of dismembered human body parts or human blood. In these other Ngadha regions, rituals in the agricultural calendar concerning the productivity of the rice gardens do not involve the use of weté, ghédho, ké'o, or haé léwa. The presence of the yam bush in the ritual centre of the garden is also usually absent.  

Although the people of the four village confederacies (Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa) do not possess a common name for themselves and are not united by common land (each holding autonomous rights over its own territory), they view themselves as related by language and origin. They speak closely related dialects, which are distinct from those of their immediate western and eastern neighbours. Their dialects are often grouped together by other Ngadha groups as 'the language in the east', referring to the eastern extremity of the Ngadha language. The four village confederacies claim common derivation from ancestral siblings, who are believed to be the progeny of a marriage between the Naru and So'a peoples. The present territories of the four villages are said to have been divided among the ancestral siblings. In the four former village confederacies the descendants of these ancestors contracted and maintained extensive marriage networks to reaffirm their original ties. Besides occasionally renewing the ties to both Naru and So'a, they rarely had connections of any kind.

13 In other Ngadha regions however the annual yam feast, Reba, holds central importance in the ritual calendar.

14 The Naru people resemble the Ngadha culturally and linguistically, although their clan composition is more similar to that found in the four related village confederacies. The So'a people form a group onto themselves both culturally and linguistically. Their ritual calendar and patterns of marriage practices, however, resemble those of the four related village confederacies. According to the views of the four confederacies, they have more things in common with So'a than with Naru.
with other people in the region whom they view as outsiders. The four village confederacies were, however, involved in a common defence alliance.

The Hoga Sara, Hoga Aré, Hoga Taka, and Hoga Rowa share similar social organization with respect to the structure of the village and clan, the regulation of marriage, and a partially common ritual calendar. Here I discuss in turn these notions of common ancestry, marriage networks and defence alliance, similar social organization and the shared ritual calendar as the cultural features which tie the four village confederacies together.

NARRATIVES OF COMMON ANCESTRAL DERIVATION

The conception of a territory composed of these four village confederacies is based on the notion of common ancestral derivation, ebu mogo, [ebu = grandparent, ancestor; mogo = in common], which is also expressed in shared myths. Ebu mogo in its strictest sense refers to the sharing of the same grandparents. A further meaning of the expression is derivation from the same founding ancestor, as in the context of a clan, woé, or a named house, sa'o mézé. (These two related meanings of ebu mogo can be found generally among the Ngadha as well.)

Among the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa, the attribution of ebu mogo as founding ancestor(s) is extended beyond the founders of a clan or a house. Ebu mogo includes the ancestral couple who gave birth to several children, who in turn became the founders of several groups of people and their clans, including those of the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa. Therefore, the recognition of common grandparents by the four village confederacies forms the basis of relating to each other as siblings.
In Sara Sedu the notion of **ebu mogo** is also closely linked with the expression **tuka ghi**,\(^{15}\) common womb \[tuka = \text{womb}; \ ghi = \text{common, same}\], which refers to derivation from a common ancestral woman. Although the other three villages do not often use this expression the concept is present. This notion specifically relates to the idea of tracing ties to and derivation from a particular named house from which a founding ancestral mother originated.

Among the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa there is a preference for marriage between partners that share an **ebu mogo**, as Figure 1. illustrates. Descending generation levels three and four would be ideal marriage partners as long as they are children of a sister and a brother from an earlier generation, that is, **ana weta** and **ana nara**, ZC and BC. Therefore, the notion of **ebu mogo** provides the basis for the extensive marriage networks among the four village confederacies. The concept of **ebu mogo** governs relations within each of the four individual village confederacies and their clans and named houses.

\(^{15}\) Although the meaning of ghi ('same' and 'common') is similar to that of mogo, mogo also has the meaning of 'completeness' and 'wholeness'. Among the Ngadha, tuka ghi however refers to people of the same rank.
Ebu mogo of the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Are, and Hoga Rowa are referred to in certain myths about the Ga'ë siblings and their parents. Therefore I will briefly examine the significance of these mythical ancestors with respect to these peoples' identity. The ebu mogo of the ancestral myths is strongly emphasized by the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Are, and Hoga Rowa as an important factor which binds together the four former village confederacies.

Much of the early history has to be pieced together from clan myths which delineate and affirm rights to certain territory and relations of kinship among the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Are, and Hoga Rowa, and the place of origin of the founding ancestors of these places, in the former village confederacies of So'a and Naru. According to these myths a So'anese man married a Narunese woman. They had several children, the Ga'ë siblings, to whom were allotted the territories of present Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa. Thus, the present land holding occupants are considered as the descendants of the Ga'ë siblings.\(^{16}\)

The following version of the myth exemplifies the nature of these ancestral Ga'ë tales\(^ {17}\)

In the beginning grandfather/ancestor was from So'a. His wife, a Narunese girl. They had seven sons and seven daughters: Géra Ga'ë, Robé Ga'ë, Kea Ga'ë, Lapé Ga'ë, Gaja Ga'ë, Gega Ga'ë, Bha'i Ga'ë, Penu Ga'ë...
[I forget.]
From Gaja, Gega, and Lapé derive the Taka people.
The Rowa people derive from Kea and Robé.
The Aré people derive from Géra.
Nanga is Géra's sister.
Oba is Géra's brother.

\(^{16}\) I would note that in many places in the regency of Ngada there is reference to derivation from one of the Ga'ë siblings or from one of their children. Thus in the districts of Mauponggo and Aesesa in certain villages we also find groups that claim such derivation. Furthermore, among the present occupants of the four villages, there are certain immigrant clans, of which there is at least one (woë Belu) which cannot claim derivation from these Ga'ë ancestors or from their parents.

\(^{17}\) The full text in the local dialect is given in Appendix 1.
The Bolo clan derives from Nanga and Oba.
From Robé derive the Sara people.
Robé's child married Soge.
Soge is ancestor of the Sara and Sedu people.
Kedho the long breast is Robé's sister.
Kedho derives from the House of Nanga Mézé from Sanga Déto.
Kedho is Oba's sister.
Kedho's husband is Dhaké.
From Kedho and Dhaké derive the Sedu people.
From Bha'i derive the Solo people.

The village of Robé Ga'é was in Tadi Bheto. The village
was surrounded by bheto bamboo forest up-slope at Lebi Ngina. Here war was being waged. In the evening he said
to his wife Ga'é:
"Ga'é, tomorrow take rice, five or six containers and dry
it."
"Ha, Robé, I will dry the rice."
"Slaughter a pig, dry and cook the rice. At noon I will
come."
"You come. Taking along what?"
Robé answered: "You sift the rice, slaughter a pig and a
large pig I will take with me. Cook and roast. I want to go
already."

He went to Kedho the long breast in Sedu.
"Hey, brother [Good] morning to you."
"Morning."
"You have come very early."
"Yes."
She chased the chickens, did not get any.
"Oh, my brother came for the first time."
Then she went to get a piglet.
"Do not [kill and cook it] my sister, I will just take it
with me."
"Oh, you are right."
She quickly got nine chicken eggs and gave them to
him.

As he went under his arms he carried [the pig], carried
the seeds of wild yam under the arm. At Ki Mézé it [pig]
became large [transformed into a large pig]. Became so big
that he had to drop it. Arriving in Bo Talo, the pig could
not walk any more. Pulled and pulled, would not go, its
tusk already closing its eyes. Robé hung up his shoulder
bag and went to get the people from the village [for help].

---

18 The Solo people presently live in Desa Solo to the east of Desa Rowa. Culturally
they appear to be closer to the Nagé as opposed to the people of Rowa, Sanga Déto, Taka Tunga,
and Sara Sedu. The Nagé also claim the Solo people as one of them.
Carrying it from Bo Talo to Singa Leza was quite easy. At Ledu [they] could not go on. They had to stop. Pulled and pulled, could not. The pig remained immobile.

"Hey, to get rice and vegetables, the gourd and plaited palm leaf plates, and bring them here." [They had a] meal at Ledu. After the meal was finished, they spotted pinang still enclosed [in its skin]. The men went to climb the rock.

"Hah, Robé! How are we supposed to climb to get the pinang share?"

"You! Don’t you open [the shell of the pinang], follow my orders!"

Doing that, right away he broke the shell of the pinang and divided it for every single man but it would not run out. A fingernail size remaining, dividing and dividing, giving/distributing to the people, but the pinang pieces would only increase. Could not.

The meal over, they saw the pig turned completely red and white up to its ears.

"Hey you! To get the spears and the bamboo canons."

The pig started to walk again. They followed from the back. At Dobé Rako the pig threw itself against the [village] fencing. The fence was trampled, [they] stepped over it. With the bamboo canon they conquered several houses. They ransacked the houses. Down at Bo’a Mengé, the pig threw itself against [the village fencing] again. They rampaged again and stormed [the houses]. The people of Dobé Rako ran on to Wolo Muzé. The Mengé people fled to the village of Mengé. By the afternoon up to the village of Lo’a. They fled to So’a. The pig set down right in the middle of the village. Then rain came down right on top of it [the pig] started rolling around, creating a wallow.

They could hear cracking noise. After that they went on. To Naru, they went on to Naru. After that they went home. They were going for a long time. The pig was victorious over seven traditional villages.

The pig went home to Loka Mezé, turning right was blocked. The Solo Ana Uza people were in the village of the hill-billies [Ngadha]. They went on to the village of Hobo Solo.

[These] people cut the tall grass every day in the morning, returning from bartering/trading for long knives which they did not get. Like that every morning. Later they went to Robé Ga’e.

"Father, we are making a village, clearing it well. I cut the grass daily but it continuously returns [to grow]."

"Hah! I will not go there. I already have a house here, only the roofing remains to be finished. Hey, you just go on ahead. Yeah, when I come clear the grass so that the pig [plaited palm leaf] matt may come out [to be placed on the cleared area] and I may stand upon it. You raise me above on it.
The big nabé stone is called Penga Jawa. They cleared the grass with the ancestral sword called Gala Solo. Then they built the house. The pig was called Megu Lé'u. Women carry on the top of their heads. Men carry things on the shoulder [construction material for the house]. Putting it together/assembling it in a line reaching from the left towards the tail of the village down-slope, did not fit. Assembling it in the middle of the village, finally fit. Their house is called Tubo Kisa Solo Ngina. The pig was killed then distributed among the people [for the new house feast]. The pig's meat kept increasing during its distribution.

Although the tale presented above is complete, with the exception of a couple of story tellers, most elders in the four villages would be able to tell the beginning of the tale only, the part that is concerned with the listing of the Ga'é siblings and the groups of people to whom they gave rise.

When recounted, the tales usually start with the listing of names of the Ga'é ancestors along with the names of the groups of people they produced, then proceed with the adventure of one of the Ga'é siblings. The best known of these myths in the four villages are those concerning Robé, Lapé, Gaja and Pénu Ga'é. Most people in the four villages would no longer know or would know only a summary version in a few sentences of the main tale, and could only list the names and places founded by the Ga'é siblings.

Their adventures, when still recalled, concern moral lessons to be learned in connection with issues like being physically disabled, poor, displaying un-called for anger, incest or false accusation of incest, and so on. At the same time they also describe everyday activities, such as planting, harvesting, tapping, trading and bartering, building a village or a house, interacting with relatives, war, as well as supernatural events usually associated with ancestors. The Ga'é myths are less a proclamation of origins than an example of correct behaviour and ways of doing things set down by the ancestors for their descendants and exemplified by their adventures.
In the listing of names that thus establish derivation from the founding ancestors and the Ga'ë siblings, there is some variation among the four villages. The names given for the ultimate ancestral father and mother, the Naru woman and the So'a man, vary. According to some people they were Rege De and Nenu Ngogho, and to some others the couple is known by the names of Vijo and Vajo, or Teru and Téna, or Kumi Toro and Ga'ë; and still others can no longer give a name to this ancestral couple, as the previous example of the Ga'ë myth illustrates. Even those who can name the couple do so with difficulty and imply that these names are less important than those of the places of their origin and of their progeny.

However, some of the names of their offspring also vary from place to place, and the number of children of the ancestral couple is often inflated by adding to it some of the original Ga'ë children's own progeny. What is emphasized is the name of a particular Ga'ë from the set of siblings and the place or the particular group of people whose founder s/he is. It is also often mentioned that certain of the Ga'ë men had several wives, usually in different places. Lapé, Gaja, Kéa, and Géga Ga'ë are particularly reputed for this.

Based on the myths about the Ga'ë siblings, the ebu mogo shared by the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa can be represented as follows in Figure 2.
Thus, Figure 2. illustrates, which Ga'ë¹⁹ is thought to have founded which group of people.

In Sanga Déto, Rowa, and in certain instances in Sara Sedu, ancestral figures like Oba, Nanga, and Kedho long breasts (susu léwa), are also spoken of as siblings of the Ga'ë set; however, they are not designated by the signifier of Ga'ë in their names, as can be seen in Figure 2. Oba and Nanga are said to have founded the Bolo clan of the Hoga Are of Sanga Déto. Kedho susu léwa is claimed as the founding mother of the Sedu group of the Hoga Sara. Her Ga'ë status is further indicated by the name of one of her children Tora Ga'ë.

¹⁹ There are several Ga'ë mentioned in other places as either part of the original sibling set or as their progeny, as founders of certain clans in the Keo, Nagé, and Ngadha regions; i.e. Dëru clan of Jëre Bu'u in Ngadha; here I am more concerned with those Ga'ë who have connections with the villages of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa.
Each of the four former village confederacies (now desa) of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa are made up of a number of traditional villages (nua). Through the influences of history and population expansion the number and place of traditional villages have changed in all the four desa, however, the structure of a nua and its composition has changed very little.

In each of the village confederacies one or two original villages (nua) were formerly located on top of a particular hill or small mountain. As the population grew new nua were established on top of other nearby hills or on their slopes. At present traditional villages are located on the slopes of hills. Each of the hills (woło) and nua located on them are named.

The village (nua) is rectangular in shape. The layout of the longer sides is along the up-slope (zélé) and down-slope (lau) axis and that of the two shorter sides along the right/sunrise (zalé) and left/sunset (mena) axis. The open village courtyard is surrounded on all four sides by the component houses of the nua. The traditional village itself is surrounded by forest. The middle of the village courtyard is the site for significant cultural objects with cosmological and sociological significance.

Such a (nua) usually contains the houses of just one major clan (woe), but, sometimes those of a subclan or immigrant clan as well. The latter situation especially applies for some of the nua found in the former village confederacies of Taka Tunga, Sara Sedu, and Sanga Déto. In the village confederacy of Rowa the immigrant clans have set up their own nua. The houses surrounding the village courtyard of a nua are the named houses which compose the residing major clan.

---

20 Nua is a derivative of the PAN*ban[v]a, meaning 'land' and 'settlement' (Wurm & Wilson 1975:117,183).
and/or subclan (woé). A named house from another, but related, woé may also be present.

The autochthonous woé present in the four former village confederacies derive from one of the Ga’ė siblings or from one of their descendants. Each of the four confederacies further possesses some immigrant clans. However, there are two kinds of immigrant clans. The first type of immigrant woé originates from one of three other related village confederacies and claims derivation from a Ga’ė. These immigrants were usually absorbed as a named house of the autochthonous clan which had previous close ties with the parent clan of the immigrant group. At least in one instance such an absorbed immigrant woé developed into a subclan of the host clan. The other kind of immigrant clan which is present in the four village confederacies are those which have come from the outside. Most of these clans came from the place of origin of the parents of the Ga’ė siblings -- from Naru or So’a. Sara Sedu and Taka Tunga has taken immigrant clans from Naru, while Rowa and Sanga Déto received clans from So’a. In addition, Sara Sedu also took in a clan from the Ngadha region, and Rowa took in a couple of immigrant clans from the Nagé region. In this latter case the immigrant clans came from the former village confederacies bordering directly with Rowa on the east, and with Sara Sedu from the west.

In Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa the structure of the residing woé are made up of named houses. Each clan (woé) has two halves with a number of named houses (sa’o mèzé) that relate to each other as elder and younger (ka’ė-azi) in order of precedence. The structure of the clans found in desa Rowa, Sanga Déto, parts of Sara Sedu (Sedu and Bodo), and parts of Taka Tunga (Taka) are the same. There is some slight variation in clan structure found in the woé that were exposed to the Naru immigrants, and are located in Sara Sedu (Sara) and
Taka Tunga (Tunga). However, the broad framework of clan organization is common to all the clans within the four former village confederacies.

Another structural feature shared by the four former village confederacies is the lack of ranking of the community into nobles, commoners and slaves. The lack of ranking needs some qualification however. War captives and those who defaulted on debts formerly had a slave status. Furthermore, immigrant clans with a derivation from Naru have retained their ranking system along with a couple of clan rituals while adopting in all other respects the formal features of their new home.

The Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa also share common marriage practices. Marriages are contracted between named houses. There is a preference for marriage between descendants from a common ancestor (ebu mogo) and thus for the category of sister's child and brother's child (ana weta and ana nara). Marriage with bridewealth is the most common. Parts of the bridewealth are very similar in kind and in their names among the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa. Although the contraction of marriages in an asymmetric fashion is most common among these four groups, for some clans in Sara Sedu and Taka Tunga the rules of marriage are symmetric.

The Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa share extensive marriage networks among themselves. Their preference for marriage partners is inward looking in the sense that they rarely contract marriages with people who fall outside the circumference of the four village confederacies, with the exception of some cases of renewal of ties with the ancestral Naru and So'a groups. The marriage networks of the four groups has evolved on the premise of common ancestral derivation (ebu mogo), and thus on relations of elder-younger (ka'ë-azi) siblingship. Figure 3. shows the marriages recorded between Sara Sedu and the
Note: arrows represent the direction in which women were exchanged and the numbers indicate the number of marriages [based on the genealogies collected in Sara Sedu].

FIGURE 3. Marriages among the four village confederacies of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa (from a Sara Sedu perspective)
three other village confederacies, based on the information recorded in Sara Sedu genealogies.

As ka'è-azi, the four former village confederacies of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Aré (Sanga Deto), and Rowa were formerly all united for mutual defense in case of war which usually involved a dispute over land and boundaries. Generally the threat came from the Nagé group and never from the Ngadha.\(^2\) A land border dispute between a couple of the four villages on the other hand could precipitate the choosing of sides or the assumption of a mediating role in the dispute, depending on the degree of relatedness. Who was perceived an ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’ focused more on kin ties. Thus everyone else outside the four village confederacies [Ngadha and Nagé] were considered as outsiders.

The Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa also attend each others' major rituals and celebrations, and each others' major communal work events, based on the family obligations of ka'è-azi, elder-younger sibling relations. The rituals of the traditional agricultural calendar being very similar among the four groups is also a contributing factor to the mutual attendance of major rites.

**STRUCTURE AND RITES OF THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDARS**

The rituals of the traditional agricultural calendar are very similar in the four related former village confederacies as well. However, there are certain rituals which are unique to each of them.\(^2\)

The traditional calendar of the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa is not only different in the names of the months but also in the types of

\(^{21}\) This claim was made in all of the four village confederacies including the explanation as to whom was considered as an ‘outsider’ — Ngadha and Nagé.

\(^{22}\) The traditional calendar of the Hoga Sara, Hoga Aré, Hoga Taka, and Hoga Rowa are presented in the Appendix.
rituals connected with these months, from that of the Ngadha group. The ritual calendars of the Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, Hoga Sara, and Hoga Rowa are very similar to each other, however, names for month and rituals associated with them would vary, the difference being due to the dialectical variation between the four villages. Each of the four groups possess rituals in their agricultural calendar which are not shared with the other groups. There are also certain months in the calendars that are not associated with a ritual but with mundane activities.

The planting and first weeding rites, the harvesting rite, rite of thanksgiving for the harvest, the Peté Wolé rite, the three phased ritual of Noé Lako, and Sudu rites are common in the traditional calendar of the Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, Hoga Sara, and Hoga Rowa. The planting, first weeding, and harvest rites are performed in the field of the eldest house of each clan. Presently this field is a rice field. The field of the eldest house of a clan is the first to be worked and its success is believed to ensure the success of all other fields regardless whether these are planted with rice, corn, millet, sorghum, Job's tears, or vegetables. The centre of the first field, where the various rites are performed, is composed of a yam bush (uwi) and a flat stone (nabé), forming an altar for offerings. Since the yam is an earlier food crop, it is believed that without its presence in the centre of the first field all crops planted would fail. The first weeding and thanksgiving rites of the first field generally involve the commemoration and the ritual consumption of Job's tears (ké'o) and sometimes also that of yam (uwi), millet (weté and ghédho) and sorghum (haé/ho/ho/lewa), all of which are earlier food items. The water in

---

23 I have collected information from the Ngadha group in a number of places on their traditional calendar. Although, Arndt’s numerous writings include several ritual descriptions, he has not provided a ritual calendar for the Ngadha (Arndt 1929a, 1931, 1954). Djawanai (1980:374-77) provided calendars (although not all complete) from four villages of the Ngadha.

24 Haé, holo, and ho are dialectical variations meaning corn.
which the ke’o (or millet or sorghum) was cooked is used in the first weeding rite to sprinkle the perimeter of the first field in order to set up a boundary and thus protect its crops (and the crops of all other fields) from any malevolent forces.

The Peté Wolé rite is believed to foretell the results of the coming year's harvest. It is performed in the centre of the village in connection with the sacrificial post (madhu or péo).

The annual ritual hunt (Noé Lako) is a hunt for wild pigs. At the same time the hunt reduces the number of the major pest of the fields for the coming year, and also ensures the success of the gardens. It is believed that the crops will fail for any house that is not successful in killing a pig or does not receive a share of a killed pig.

The Sudu rite is a traditional boxing rite which is believed to ensure plentiful of rain and fertility for the gardens. It is also a friendly competition between the young men of the host village confederacy and guest competitors from other village confederacies. The guest competitors usually derive from a village confederacy with which the hosts for the ritual boxing have a previous relationship.

The Noé Lako ritual hunt, however, is also practiced in Naru where it is known as Para witu. The rites of Peté wolé, Noé Lako, and Sudu are also common with the So’a region and the Nagé-Kéo regions. The annual hunt is referred to as Toa lako in the Nagé region, while the traditional boxing rite, Sudu, is known as Sagi in So’a, and as Etu in the Nagé-Kéo region. The Noé Lako rite, the ritual hunt, is based on an elaborate myth, which among other things also
describes how the village confederacies which to this day possess the rite, were
united to wage war on the wild pigs of the forests. 25

The names of the months and the types of rituals associated with them are
not the only thing similar in the traditional calendars of the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka,
Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa. The structure of the calendar and of the rituals are
also very comparable.

The agricultural calendar is cyclical in nature. It is predicated on the phases
and cycles of the moon, and thus is a lunar calendar. Formerly it was quite an
elaborate system with each clan possessing an elder who had the responsibility of
keeping count of the moon cycles. The cycles, thus months, were counted down by
various means, such as breaking off the teeth of a bamboo comb, or counting stone
pebbles or maize kernels. At the present such traditional knowledge is rapidly
disappearing, in the sense that precision in the counting of the phases is often no
longer present. However, the precision varies from clan to clan among the Hoga
Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa. 26

Nowadays, it is more common however to estimate the time for a ritual
within the lunar cycle of a month. The time is usually decided upon by consensus
of the council of elders of a clan, mosa laki, often taking into account economic

---

25 The other regions that I have visited outside of Sara Sedu in the regency of Ngada
that possess the ritual hunt, all had some link to a mythical ancestral figure such as a Ga’el or
Dhaké, Oba, Nanga, or Kedho susu lewa, and so on. A version of the Noel lakó myth is given in
the Appendix. I have first-hand knowledge about the mentioned rites in the So’a and Nagé-Kéo
regions. I have collected agricultural calendars and descriptions of rites and also have attended
such rites in these regions. I have also received explanations (and have seen slides) about the
annual ritual hunt and traditional boxing from the Nagé region from Gregory Forth in 1989 as
his MA student.

26 I do not possess a complete description for the phases of the moon in the three desa
of Taka Tunga, Sanga Deto, and Rowa. In Appendix three the list of the moon phases is provided
for Sara Sedu, where I acquired a more detailed list.
pressures and weather conditions. Depending on the circumstances, the agricultural ritual is usually performed at any time during the waning moon or postponed if necessary until the next cycle, throwing off the calendar by a month.

The traditional calendar of the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa may be roughly divided into four major phases: 1. preparation of the gardens for planting, 2. planting, 3. plant growth, and 4. harvest.

The first phase includes: a) the rites of foretelling the results of the coming year's harvest (Peté wolè); b) in Taka Tunga also the traditional boxing rite (rebé eké watu) which ensures fertility for the gardens and plentiful rain for the new agricultural year; and c) the annual ritual hunt (Noé Lako), which reduces the numbers of wild pigs, the major pest of the gardens.

The second phase involves the ritual planting of the first rice field (kewé or zoa). Only after the performance of this rite can all rice and other gardens be planted, although often the planting of corn precedes this rite. The planting ritual always takes place at the ritual centre of the first field (uma nitu = field of the nitu) in front of the yam bush (uwi).

The third phase of the calendar includes: a) the first weeding of the first rice field, which also involves the ritual demarcation of the field's boundaries, thus barring all malevolent forces, and usually the ritual consumption of a previous food item, Job's tears (ké'o); b) in Taka Tunga, Sara Sedu, and Rowa the rite of consuming new vegetable products; and c) a ritual which is believed to ensure plenty of rain (and thus fertility) for the growing gardens -- traditional boxing (sudu) in Rowa, Sanga Déto, and Sara Sedu, and also Bété tuné in Sara Sedu.

---

27 Whether a chicken or pig required for the ritual sacrifice can be afforded at that time or not could be a basis for the delay of the ritual.

28 Kewé and zoa both mean planting and is a dialectical variation. While zoa comes from the Bajawa language, kewé is used in the Nagé language.
The end of the third phase of the calendar also includes the mundane activities of plaiting mats and large baskets for the coming harvest.

The fourth, harvest, phase of the calendar involves the harvest ritual (keti) of the first rice field planted. It incorporates a number of smaller rites, including that of the ritual first eating of new rice (Dhami/Dhéma/Sélé/Geki) by the eldest woman of the house. Only after keti of the first field has been performed may all other fields be harvested. New rice may be consumed by the rest of the community only after the ritual first eating of new rice. The last phase of this cycle also involves some sort of thanksgiving rite and / or ritual consumption of an earlier food such as millet (weté/ghédho), sorghum (haé/hoło/ho léwa), and especially Job's tears (ké′o).

The primary focus of the rituals of the traditional calendar is the securing of fertility from the ancestors for the gardens and secondarily also for the human community. The structure of all calendrical rituals is made up of the following parts: animal sacrifice (and smearing of objects with blood), prayer chant, offering of cooked food to the ancestors, and a shared cooked meal among the participants. Thus, the rituals are a means of communicating with the ancestors.

The Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa do not possess a single word which can be translated as ritual. Rituals pertaining to the agricultural calendar each possess a name which depicts the activity performed; i.e.

---

*29 These are the different terms applied to the same rite in the four desa (Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Rowa, and Sanga Deto).

*30 I have to note however that in two instances I came across the expression buku gua, which roughly translates as a large feast involving the consumption of huge meals. Buku was translated as 'feast' while gua means 'traditional' or 'customary'. I have only heard this expression from an elder in Taka Tunga when he referred to the various rituals of the agricultural calendar; and from an elder in Sara Sedu at the end of the myth recounting the reasons for conducting the annual ritual hunt (see Appendix for Chapter one /2/). Although on questioning, some people attempted to translate the expression, usually referring to a large feast, buku gua is not widely used.*
Sepa Uta, 'to eat vegetables' [sepa = to eat vegetables, uta = vegetables].

Kewé, 'to plant'. This is also true for non-calendrical rituals, such as erecting a named house, Tau Sa'o, 'making a house'.

The animals slaughtered for a ritual are usually a chicken or a pig, and the terms for the mode of their slaughter is distinct from that applied in non-ritual settings. The chicken is killed by halving its beak to the throat (sako), or smashing it (leba) against the place of offering, usually a flat stone called nabé. In contrast the ordinary way of disposing of a chicken would be to slit its throat and burn off its feathers (ngae). A pig is slaughtered by vertical splitting of the head with a parang, welia, in a ritual context, as opposed to simply slitting the throat or beating it to death (bhobha).

The blood of the sacrificial animal has to be smeared on the place of the offering, accompanied by a chant which calls on the ancestors, outlining the purpose of the ritual communication. The cooked meat of the animals along with rice and palm wine is also offered to the ancestors, again accompanied by a chant which asks for the fertility of the fields and for the human descendants. However, the most essential feature is that all participants in the ritual take part in the consumption of the cooked meal.

Through the agricultural rituals the connection with the clan ancestors is renewed and maintained, not only securing their life-generative power in the form of fertility for the gardens and the community, but also following the traditions set down by the ancestors. The maintenance of the agricultural calendar is a part of the continuity between the living and the deceased ancestors. The securing of productivity for the fields and also reproductivity for the living is dependant on the

31 Ka is the word used for eating most things, however, eating vegetables and corn are marked by the terms sepa and kege respectively. Therefore, ka uwi = eating yam; sepa uta = eating vegetables; kege hae = eating corn.
ancestors in the sense that the lack of performance of the rituals of the calendar would invite supernatural sanctions from them.

There are a number of cultural features that distinguish the four former village confederacies of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa as not belonging to the Ngadha group. These people view themselves as being related to each other and thus forming a group. They share a range of structural features which define their identity as being distinct from either the western Ngadha or eastern Nagé groups. Yet, each of the four peoples possesses cultural traditions which are unique to one group alone, and thus these traditions give the individual group its own identity. The identity of the people of Sara Sedu is tied to that of the other three village confederacies. It also possesses its own uniqueness. Thus, as the subject of my more intensive research, I now turn to a consideration of the Hoga Sara identity.

**HOGA SARA IDENTITY AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS**

Hoga Sara identity is very much predicated on common derivation whether in the context of the four village confederacies or in that of Sara Sedu alone. *Ebu mogo* derivation delineates the Sara people on the one hand in opposition to the Ngadha and on the other in contrast to the other three related groups of Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa. Relations based on the sharing of *ebu mogo* also govern the organization of the former village confederacy of Sara Sedu. Thus, the notion of common ancestral derivation is one of the most important factors in the relationships between the traditional villages (*nuu*), between the resident clans (*woé*), and between the named houses (*sa'o mézé*) of the clans of the Hoga Sara. The internal marriage networks of Sara Sedu, that developed on the basis of
marriages between houses that share a common founding ancestor (*ebu mogo*), is a further factor of their unity and identity.

Although the former village confederacy (now *desa*) has a mixed composition of authochthonous and immigrant clans, the villages (*nua*) and clans (*woé*) of the Hoga Sara share structural features. The kinds of immigrant clans that were absorbed into the community of the Hoga Sara, and the process of their absorption also provides for an identity which is different from that of the other three related and neighbouring groups. Issues particularly relevant to the self-definition of the Hoga Sara, therefore, include the conception of derivation from a common ancestor (*ebu mogo*), as well as the structure and development of their territorial and social organization. Here, I discuss these factors in turn.

**ANCESTRAL DERIVATION OF THE HOGA SARA CLANS**

The origins of clans in Sara Sedu are varied but with the exception of one of the immigrant clans, *woé* Belu, they all ultimately anchor themselves in mythical connections to the Ga’è siblings and Naru as the place of origin of the siblings’ mother. Figure 4. summarizes the connection of the three authochthonous clans -- *woé* Bhoké Héké, *woé* Tura, and *woé* Kaki -- to the ancestral couple and their Ga’è offspring.

In Sara Sedu most of the immigrant clans have a legitimate link to the Ga’è siblings and/or to their Naru mother. The Moa Bela clan claims derivation from the same house as the Naru mother of the Ga’è siblings. Thus the founding ancestress of this clan is a classificatory sibling to the Ga’è siblings. Figure 5. shows the *ebu mogo* links between the immigrant clan of Moa Bela and the authochthonous clans of Tura and Bhoké Héké.
Note: dashed arrows indicate derivation of subclans of woé Bhoké Héké.

**FIGURE 4. EBU MOGO** derivation of the autochthonous clans of Sara Sedu

Note: ? means name unknown; | —— — | = classified as sisters on the basis of derivation from the same named house

**FIGURE 5. EBU MOGO** derivation of immigrant clan Moa Bela and autochthonous clans Tura and Bhoké Héké with special reference to the Ga’e link
As Figures 4 and 5 indicate during the mythical time of the Ga'ë ancestors of the Hoga Sara, marriages between siblings' children are said to have taken place, thus facilitating the consolidation of ties between the component clans of the territory. It is important to note, however, that several of these marriages confound the present guide-lines for choosing a marriage partner since marriage between the children of same sex siblings, ana doa, as well as between sister's daughter and brother's son are forbidden, piré.

The history of derivation from the Ga'ë ebu mogo of the other immigrant clans of the Hoga Sara is not as detailed as that for woë Moa Bela, however, their shared ancestral links with the authochthonous clans of Kaki and Tura are emphasized. Unlike woë Moa Bela, however, these immigrant clans were incorporated into the clan structure of Sara Sedu authochthonous clans usually as a named house or a subclan. Figure 6 a) and 6 b) illustrate the common putative ebu mogo derivations of these immigrant groups.

Figure 6 b) also shows two marriages between woë Kaki and woë Rawé before the entire Rawé clan moved from Naru to Sara Sedu. Thus these two previous marriages provide the ebu mogo for the two clans and served as the basis for the incorporation of woë Rawé as a subclan into the Kaki clan and not into another authochthonous clan of Sara Sedu. Furthermore, Naru is the place of origin for the ancestral mother of the Ga'ë siblings as well as for the Rawé clan.
NOTES: Name of village confederacy in bold print; dashed arrow indicates direction of migration and incorporation at destination.
NOTE: plain line arrows with circle and triangle indicated instances of previous marriage ties between the Kaki and Rawë clans prior to migration of the Rawë clan. These previous marriages established links of ebu mogo. Dashed arrow indicates migration of the Rawë clan from Naru to Sara Sedu and their incorporation into the Kaki clan.

FIGURE 6 a) and b). EBU MOGO links of later arriving immigrant clans with the autochthonous clans of Sara Sedu
One more immigrant clan in Sara Sedu is the Belu clan. This woe is in certain respects marginal to the cohesiveness of the former village confederacy. In fact the Belu clan upon its arrival did not share any common ancestors (ebu mogo) with the others occupying Sara Sedu. Belu is a splinter from the Belu clan of the village confederacy of Toda Belu, to the west of Sara Sedu. The only thing this clan had in common with Sara was a shared land border and the need for a peaceful coexistence. The splinter clan Belu arrived in Sara territory seeking refuge after a dispute in its home village. Woe Belu received some land from the Kaki clan of Sara in the region bordering on their former home of Toda Belu. The Belu clan has ownership of and thus full authority over this land which the Kaki clan ceded to it. The acceptance of the Belu clan into the community of Sara was thus not based on common derivation (ebu mogo) but on considerations of keeping peace with a neighbouring village confederacy (Toda Belu). Since most wars and feuds result from land border disputes, in this way the splinter Belu clan could serve as a buffer between Sara Sedu and Toda Belu.

ORIGIN STRUCTURES CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLANS AND VILLAGES.

The Hoga Sara express their conceptions about the past, including those concerning the development of clans and villages, by various means. Myths are one medium in which the development of clans is expressed. The relationships between the clans and their component named houses emerge in discussions concerning land inheritance and marriage, often with reference to the process of emergence and formation of a clan and/or subclan. The Hoga Sara relate information about the development of villages in the context of a myth or of remembering a particularly
important event associated with a village. Important historical events, such as the arrival of the Dutch and then of the Catholic Church are also connected by the people of Sara Sedu with the process of development of villages.

The development of clans (woé) and traditional villages (nu) in Sara Sedu is discussed locally as if it occurred in four or five phases. The first phase is characterized as the period of the mythical founding ancestors. During this phase Dhaké, living on the hill of Sedu (Wolo Sedu) married Kedho susu léwa from the village (ola) Bolo on Wolo Bolo in the place that became the former village confederacy of Sanga Deto. With this marriage and the resulting progeny the houses of the Bhoke Héké clan (woé) were founded and nu Sedu was established on top of Wolo Sedu.

During this same period also the ancestor Robé Ga'é arrived from So'a and claimed his share from the land which was divided among the Ga'é siblings by their So'a father. This chunk of land was located in the vicinity of Wolo Sara. He and Kedho of Sedu were brother and sister. After his marriage he established nu Tura on the slope of Wolo Sara. His house and that of his progeny thus founded the Tura clan (woé). During the first phase of Sara Sedu history, two different settlements (nu) are said to have been founded [nu Sedu and nu Tura] on two separate hills [Wolo Sedu and Wolo Sara] and two of the authochthonous clans (woé) came into being [woé Bhoké Héké and woé Tura].

The second phase of clan and traditional village development belonged to the time of the children of the mythical ancestors of phase one. This was the period of

---

32 A village fire or a large ritual involving the slaughter of several buffalos with attendance of guests from far and wide in the Ngada regency are just a couple of examples for an important event which may be linked with a particular village.

33 Ola is a dialectical variation meaning traditional village. In the village confederacy of Sanga Deto it is used interchangeably with the word nu.
consolidation of relations between Sara and Sedu and the birth of the later village confederacy of Sara Sedu. In this second phase the children of the first ancestors married and set up their own houses.

One of the children of Dhaké and Kedho, Kaki Rato, married his mother's brother's daughter [the daughter of Robé Ga'ë]. He claimed land in the vicinity of Wolo Sara and built his house on top of this hill thus establishing the village (nua) Sara. In so doing, he claimed a new piece of land which was neither the property of his parents [of woe Bhoké Héké], nor that of his wife's parents [of woe Tura]. The house of Kaki Rato and his children gave rise to the Kaki clan (woé).

The first migrants also arrived during this time. A mother's sister's daughter of both Robé Ga'ë and Kedho, Naki, arrived with some of her children from Naru in the Ngadha region. She was given ownership of some land by Robé [woé Tura] in the vicinity of Wolo Sara. She also established her house in nua Tura. Naki's children set up their own houses and thus the Moa Bela clan (woé) established itself in its new home. The ties between Naki and her mother's sister's son (Robé) and her mother's sister's daughter (Kedho) were reaffirmed by marriages of two of her daughters to a son of Robé and Kedho respectively. Therefore, woé Moa Bela joined in the beginnings of a marriage network with woé Tura and woé Bhoké Héké. Thus, during the second phase of clan and village development a new autochthonous clan (woé Kaki) was born and a new village (nua Sara) was established, and the first immigrant clan woé Moa Bela arrived.

The next period in the history of the development of clans and traditional villages of Sara Sedu is considerably less detailed with respect to specific ancestors. This third phase is characterized by differentiation within the component clans of Sara Sedu as well as by the arrival of several immigrant clans from Naru and the neighbouring village confederacies of Taka Tunga, Rowa, and Toda Belu.
The marriage networks became extended and complex during this period among the authochthonous clans, between the immigrant and authochthonous clans, and between the clans of the village confederacy of Sara Sedu and those of Sanga Détó, Taka Tunga, and Rowa. These marriage networks furthered the differentiation occurring in the clans (woé) and the consolidation of Sara Sedu as a village confederacy.

During this third phase, in nua Sedu on Wolo Sedu the Bhoké Héké clan (woé) was rapidly differentiating into the subclans (woé) of Keli, Fua, Bega, Jara, and Bozo. The houses established by the children of the first ancestors achieved named house (sa'o mézeté) status. Each experienced further branching and the emergence of new houses with the same status, thus forming a subgroup within the clan. Thus the subclans emerged along the lines of the first named houses of the children of the founding ancestor.

In nua Tura and nua Sara on Wolo Sara a similar population expansion was occurring along with the resultant differentiation within the clans. However, the nature of the differentiation took a slightly different route from that of woé Bhoké Héké of nua Sedu, due to their absorption of arriving migrants into their clan structure. In nua Sara and nua Tura within woé Kaki and woé Tura along with woé Moa Bela respectively, there occurred an emergence of houses that acquired the status of a named house (sa'o mézeté), however, no subclans emerged.

From the bordering Ngadha village confederacy of Toda Belu, the splinter clan Belu arrived. Woé Belu was allowed to settle in nua Sara on Wolo Sara and was granted some land by woé Kaki of nua Sara in the region bordering on the former home of the Belu clan. In this process woé Kaki held no continuing claims on the land it released to woé Belu. Woé Belu had full ownership of this land.
Next, an influx of clans occurred from Naru, Rowa and Taka Tunga. These clans were involved in a marriage network with woé Kaki of nua Sara and woé Tura of nua Tura. They became absorbed into the structure of these same host clans. They were not granted ownership of the pieces of land that they were allotted by the host clans. The order of arrival of these immigrant clans is no longer clear, however.

Woé Rawé from Naru, woé Nai from Rowa, woé Nusa from Taka Tunga were absorbed as component named houses (sa’o mézé) within the structure of woé Kaki of nua Sara. Thus they settled in nua Sara as branches within the Kaki clan. Although in reality they no longer existed as clans but only as houses of the host clan, they were still referred to as woé Kaki-Rawé, woé Kaki-Nusa, and woé Benu-Nai. Of these immigrants, woé Rawé and woé Nai were greater in the number of their members than woé Nusa.

Woé Tura of nua Tura in the same manner absorbed the migrant clans from Taka Tunga -- woé Para, woé Nila and woé Balé. These immigrants settled in nua Tura as named house components of the Tura clan, although they were referred to as woé Tura-Para, woé Tura-Nila, and woé Tura-Balé. All these absorbed immigrants had a small number of members.

The fourth phase in the history of development of traditional villages and clans was the result of population expansion and further refining of differentiation within the structure of the clans of Sara Sedu. During this period new traditional villages were established and two new subclans came into being.

Two of the subclans of woé Bhoké Héké of nua Sedu founded two subsidiary villages on the tops of two adjacent hills. Houses from subclan (woé) Keli were built in nua Keli on the top of Wolo Keli. The subclan Bozo founded nua Bozo on top of Wolo Bozo. However, these latter settlements only contained
ordinary houses, while all major named houses of these subclans and ritually significant clan objects remained in nua Sedu.

In a similar manner the two villages of Wolo Sara also founded subsidiary settlements. The named houses within woé Kaki which derived from the previously absorbed Nai clan developed a subclan status and became woé Benu-Nai. This subclan of woé Kaki founded a new traditional village, nua Bodo, on the slope of Wolo Ruto Usu. Yet another subclan emerged from woé Kaki, again from an absorbed immigrant clan, from woé Rawé. The new subclan Kaki-Rawé founded the village (nua) of Ruto Usu, on top of Wolo Ruto Usu.

In nua Ruto Usu woé Kaki-Rawé was joined by some of the named houses of woé Tura from nua Tura on Wolo Sara. The houses of woé Tura that moved to the new village on Wolo Ruto Usu were the ones that derived from the previously absorbed Para, Nila, and Balé immigrant clans.

A new nua was also established by woé Moa Bela of nua Tura on Wolo Sara. This new village was built on top of Wolo Lea, and was named nua Lea. In this instance however only ordinary houses were located in the new subsidiary village, while all named houses and significant material symbols of woé Moa Bela remained in nua Tura.

In the fourth phase of the development of clans and villages of the Hoga Sara, the final form and organization of the village confederacy of Sara Sedu was established.

7 a) Sedu

Mountain

Wolo Sedu

Village

Nua Sedu

Clan

Woé Bhöké Héké

Keli Bozo Fua Bega Jara

Woé Keli Woé Bozo

Wolo Keli Wolo Bozo Nua Keli Nua Bozo
FIGURE 7 a) and b). Process of development of the traditional villages and clans of the Hoga Sara
The development of clans (woe) and traditional villages (nua) within the village confederacy of Sara Sedu is summarized in Figure 7 a. and b.

For the first ten years that the Dutch were in the region, the form of the village confederacy remained unchanged. Then, following Dutch demands the traditional villages were moved either to a lower plateau or to the slopes of other hills. The new traditional villages were always established on the land of a particular clan. This relocation of villages may be described as the fifth phase in the development of traditional villages.

All subclans of woe Bhoké Héké moved from nua Sedu [on Wolo Sedu], nua Keli [on Wolo Keli], and nua Bozo [on Wolo Bozo] to a new traditional village. This new village was called nua Watu Manu and was located on a lower plateau on Wolo Sedu.

Wolo Sara was finally abandoned during the Dutch period. Woe Kaki of nua Sara and woe Tura of nua Tura established a new village, nua Pogo, on the slope of Wolo Pogo. They were joined by the subclan Kaki-Rawe, and the named houses of woe Tura representing the former immigrant clans of Nila and Balé from nua Ruto Usu on Wolo Ruto Usu.

Wolo Ruto Usu and the village of Bodo remained the home to the Benu-Nai subclan of woe Kaki from Sara. They were joined however by the named house of woe Tura which derived from the immigrant clan of Para. On Wolo Lea two new traditional villages were established. Woe Moa Bela has abandoned nua Lea on top of Wolo Lea and moved to the slopes of this hill. There woe Moa Bela built a new village, which was called nua Hobo Sara. Woe Belu also moved away from nua Sara on Wolo Sara to a new village which the clan built on the slope of Wolo Lea. Its new village, nua Lodo, was only separated by a narrow path from nua Hobo Sara.
FIGURE 8. a) and b). Realignment of villages and clans after the entrance of the Dutch into the region.
The establishment of new nua and the component resident clans during the Dutch period is illustrated in Figure 8 a. and b.

In the past fifty years there occurred yet a further realignment of traditional villages and clans occupying them. This last phase in the development of traditional villages and clans occupying them reflects the current situation in the present-day administrative village (desa) of Sara Sedu.

Woé Bhoké Héké of Sedu remained in nua Watu Manu on Wolo Sedu. Similarly one of the original Sara clans, woé Moa Bela stayed in nua Hobo Sara on the slope of Wolo Lea. The village of Lodo was moved further up-slope on Wolo Lea by woé Belu. The new village was also named nua Lodo. In a similar fashion the residents of nua Bodo on Wolo Ruto Usu moved further down-slope on the same hill and built a new village, retaining the name of the old nua, Bodo. In the new nua Bodo the composition of houses and clans remained the same as in the old village.

Nua Pogo on Wolo Pogo also became abandoned and two new villages were created. Woé Kaki moved into nua Wolo Rowa, on the hill (wolo) of Rowa. The subclan of woé Kaki, woé Kaki-Rawe, along with woé Tura established a new traditional village, nua Féo, on the slope of Wolo Féo.

The present distribution of the clans of the Hoga Sara in their traditional villages within Desa Sara Sedu is summarized in Table 1.
### TABLE 1. PRESENT VILLAGES AND DISTRIBUTION OF HOGA SARA CLANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village / Nua</th>
<th>Major Clan / Woe</th>
<th>Other Clans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watu Manu</td>
<td>Bhoke Heke</td>
<td>Subclans: Keli, Bozo, Fua, Bega, Jara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobo Sara</td>
<td>Moa Bela</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodo</td>
<td>Belu</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodo</td>
<td>Kaki (Benu-Nai subclan)</td>
<td>Tura-Para (a house of Tura clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolo Rowa</td>
<td>Kaki</td>
<td>A house of subclan Kaki-Rawe, and a house of the Belu clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feo</td>
<td>Tura</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaki (Kaki-Rawe subclan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout the process of differentiation of the traditional villages of the Hoga Sara, some nua were occupied by the houses of more than one clan (woe). The mixed composition of a nua reflected not only the people's conception of relatedness through common derivation (ebu mogo) but also the very complex marriage networks present among the occupant clans of a village. Map 6. shows the former village confederacy and present day administrative village (desa) of Sara Sedu marking the land holdings of major clans and the various hills (wolo) and villages (nua) in the history of habitation of the region.
Map 6: Sara Sedu: distribution of Clans
THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE (NUA)

The traditional village (nuß) of the Hoga Sara reflects the composition of the clan (woé) occupying it, creating an image of clan structure and of the relationships within the woé. The nua is rectangular in shape with a village courtyard encircled by the major named houses of the resident clan(s). In the centre of the courtyard stand the most important material symbols of clan identity which also hold cosmological significance.

The traditional villages are rectangular. A nua is laid out length wise on an up-slope - down-slope axis (zélé-lau). The width of a nua follows the right / sunrise to left / sunset (zalé-mena) axis. The location of certain named houses along these axis is in accord with their special significance in the structure of the clan and their ritual functions.

The villages are occupied by one major clan while other clans may be represented by a named house only. As Table 1. illustrates most villages will follow this pattern. Which clans are represented together in which particular village is dependant on the degree of closeness of their relatedness to each other. Thus, often the relation between particular houses of clans is the important factor in determining their location in a particular nua. The nature of relations is predicated on the concept of ebü mogo and on marriage networks.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE CLAN (WOÉ) AMONG THE HOGA SARA

The structure of the Hoga Sara clans (woé) is also a feature emphasized as an identity marker in contrast to Ngadha clan organization. Whereas the Ngadha
clans possess only two major divisions, the Sara clans contain several
components. 34

The woé of the Hoga Sara are composed of named or 'great' houses, sa'o
ngaza or sa'o mézé, and groups of unnamed, ordinary houses, sa'o dhoro. The
two eldest houses of the clan are not only sa'o mézé but also sa'o pu'u, 'source
houses'. These were established by the children of the founding ancestral couple of
the clan. Of these two sa'o pu'u the elder is sa'o saka pu'u, trunk rider house, and
the younger is sa'o saka lobo, tip rider house. Their designation as trunk and tip
rider derives from their ritual function in the erection of the major material symbols
of the clan. These eldest houses form the two major branches of the woé. Each in
turn is further differentiated into several named houses.

The process of clan differentiation involves the development of unnamed
houses into named ones and the incorporation of houses of arriving migrant clans
as named houses into a clan's structure. An unnamed house (sa'o dhoro) of a
named house (sa'o mézé) in time can gain the status of a named house. Thus it
becomes a younger sa'o mézé to the one from which it derived. As this new named
house grows and sprouts several unnamed houses, in time one of its sa'o dhoro
may be raised to the standing of a new sa'o mézé. Such differentiation can occur in
each of the two major branches of a clan. Within this progressive development of
named houses, a newly arrived clan can be incorporated as a named house. The
most senior house of the immigrant clan becomes the next sa'o mézé within the
clan structure of the host clan while all other houses of the newcomer becomes its
sa'o dhoro. Whether an immigrant group becomes incorporated as a named house

34 A clear image about Ngadha clan organization only emerged in the field in the
process of obtaining initial and comparative data. Arndt's (1954) writing about Ngadha social
organization is riddled with inaccuracies although some hints (no matter how fuzzy) are present
concerning the dual division of the clan.
within the trunk or tip half of a host clan depends on previous relations in the context of marriage networks with houses in either half of the host clan.

The trunk and tip branches of a woé are related to each other as elder-younger sibling (ka'é-azi). Within each of the respective branches all sa'o mézé are also ka'é-azi based on their order of establishment. Furthermore, all unnamed houses of a named house are considered as azi to their named house. The sa'o dhoro of a sa'o mézé are also ordered along the line of ka'é-azi depending on the order of their emergence.

The elder of a series of named houses within the respective trunk or tip house branches of a clan also possesses a special designated ritual function. Such ritual function is bestowed on a named house whether it has a local derivation or a derivation from an incorporated immigrant group. (Thus certain of the named houses of a clan are designated as sa'o rada riwu, sa'o lado bépi, sa'o wua baé, and so on.)

Although the overall structure of clans in Sara Sedu are similar, there are certain differences which need to be mentioned here. The subclans which developed from the incorporation of two immigrant clans (Nai and Rawé) by the authochthonous clan Kaki of Sara are structured as clans in their own right. More precisely, they are each divided into a trunk rider half and a tip rider half. Both halves of the subclan also possess a number of named and unnamed houses. The subclans Kaki-Rawé and Benu-Nai each have their own material symbols of clan identity. In contrast, in Sedu the subclans of woé Bhoké Héké do not possess such a degree of differentiation in structure. The internal organization of the subclans of Keli, Bozo, Fua, Bega, and Jara do not reproduce that of the clan as a

---

35 Woé Kaki-Rawé possesses a sacrificial post in the Ngadha style (madhu), while woé Benu-Nai has a sacrificial post in the Nage style (péo). Woé Bhoké Héké possesses a sacrificial post in the Nage style (péo).
whole. Although each of the subclans are differentiated into a number of named houses which are related to each other as ka'è-azi, they are not divided into trunk and tip halves. In woé Bhoké Héké the division into trunk and tip rider halves remains at the clan level. Furthermore, the ritual functions assigned to certain named houses also are at this level. Thus, only the most senior house from each one of the subclans respectively possesses a ritual function. The subclans individually do not possess a material symbol of identity, but the entire woé Bhoké Héké has a single material symbol of identity which also represents the five subclans.

The differentiation into several named houses and the various ritual functionary roles associated with some of these and the capacity to incorporate immigrant clans are often cited as contrasting features to Ngadha clan organization. Indeed even the symbols of clan identity, which in form are identical to those of either the Ngadha or the Nagé, they take on a different meaning for the Hoga Sara from that found in Ngadha or Nagé. 36

Membership in a particular woé and rights to land are concepts closely bound together for the Hoga Sara. There are five major clans which are considered as mori tana, 'the lord or owner of the land'. The five major woé with the status of mori tana are woé Bhoké Héké, woé Tura, woé Kaki, woé Moa Bela, and woé Belu.

---

36 These contrasts with the Ngadha and Nagé are based on informants accounts in the four village confederacies and on data I have collected concerning the Ngadha and to a limited extent on the Nagé. Further information concerning Nagé social organization and symbols of group identity may be found in Forth 1989a.
All five mori tana clans have an equal status, that is, each land owning clan has authority over only the territory of its own clan.\footnote{37} Woé Bhoké Héké, woé Kaki and woé Tura are authochthonous clans, while woé Moa Bela and Belu are immigrant clans who received their land from woé Kaki and woé Tura. Woé Kaki and woé Tura do not possess a primary mori tana status over the two immigrants, woé Moa Bela and woé Belu.

The land of each of the five major clans is distributed among their perspective named houses and/or subclans. The named houses or subclans of a land owning clan hold only a subsidiary status.\footnote{38} Thus, the immigrant clans of Para, Nila, Balé, Nusa, Nai, and Rawé, that were incorporated into the authochthonous clans of Kaki and Tura as named houses, hold land only as subsidiary mori tana, just like any other named house of the host clan.

Ritual authority over land is under the distinct jurisdiction of each of the land owning clans, and thus belongs to the two eldest named houses of a particular primary mori tana clan. The named houses within each of these clans have authority only over the land allotted to them by the mori tana. Ritual authority over land however needs to be qualified in the case of two subclans -- woé Kaki and woé Benu-Nai -- of woé Kaki. Ritual authority over the land of these two subclans does not lie with the eldest houses of the Kaki clan, but is the distinct responsibility of the most senior houses (trunk and tip houses) of woé Kaki-Rawé and woé Benu-Nai, respectively. While woé Kaki-Rawé and woé Benu-Nai are

\footnote{37} The two eldest named houses of a mori tana clan have the final authority over the mediation of all land disputes among the various named houses of the clan or within its subclan(s).

\footnote{38} The head of a named house (sa'o mézi) who possesses subsidiary status has the prerogative to mediate disputes arising over land inheritance and land borders among the unnamed house (sa'o dhoro) members of the sa'o mézi. Furthermore, a subsidiary mori tana coordinates the collection of contributions from the member sa'o dhoro towards the rituals of the clan.
secondary mori tana as far as authority over inheritance and disposition of land is concerned, they are, however, different from the other secondary mori tana with respect to ritual authority.

The status of the five primary mori tana within the former village confederacy of Sara Sedu is sometimes pointed out as a distinguishing feature with respect to Hoga Sara identity. The primary mori tana status is contrasted to that of the ata du'a [Ngadha] where authority over land belongs to the founding clan of the village while all other clans are secondary mori tana. However, the Hoga Sara also point out that among the ata du'a the various clans of a village or village confederacy are usually not related to each other through links of ebu mogo, and thus as siblings.

THE NAMED HOUSE (sa'ô MÉZÉ) WITHIN THE CLAN (WOË)

The definition of clan membership is a complex issue which is tied up with and mediated by membership in a named house. A named house is composed of several related family groups. Membership in a named house (sa'ô mézé) and the right to inherit land are minimally defined in terms of the payment of bridewealth by the father for his wife. The concept of dhoro [lit. 'to descend from the raised house by way of the ladder'] is focal in defining house membership -- ana ebu status (ana ebu = grandchild) in a sa'ô mézé. One particular sense of dhoro is derivation from a common founding ancestor (ebu mogo) of the named house through a line of men. This particular feature of house membership is often held up by the Hoga Sara as a signifier of identity, again in contrast to the Ngadha who tend to marry without bridewealth and whose group membership is defined by the mother's line.

Among the Hoga Sara, however, house membership, ana ebu status, is also dependant on such other factors such as the fulfilment of ritual obligations, and
whether one is a first born child, ana tengé or ana logo. First born children have dual house membership. They are considered as ana ebu in both the father's and the mother's named houses irrespective of the payment of bridewealth. Although the Hoga Sara do not single out these particular factors of house and clan membership as a feature of their identity, nevertheless they mark important contrasts to the Ngadha and the Nagé groups of the regency.

RANKING AND AFFINAL RELATIONS

There are other aspects of marriage besides the payment of bridewealth that distinguish the Hoga Sara from the Ngadha. One of the most important aspects of marriage among the Ngadha is the requirement that marriage be between persons of the same rank. Since ranking is generally absent in Sara Sedu, this rule does not have a primary role in the regulation of marriage. This, however, needs to be further qualified.

Two of the immigrant clans from Naru (woe Moa Bela and woe Rawé) and the one from Toda Belu (woe Belu) maintain ranking. More specifically the people of these clans having derived from places in the Ngadha region were ranked as ga' e ratu ka' e, nobles, ga' e kisa, commoners, and ho'o, slaves. Inter-marriage between the ranks was met with sanctions, in the sense that higher ranking women could not marry below their rank or else they fell to the rank of the husband. Rank could only be inherited from the mother. Formerly if a higher ranking woman married a slave, both were executed.

Most groups with ranking tend to view those without it as outsiders and equivalent to a slave rank. In the case of Sara Sedu, however, this does not happen, since the original clans before the arrival of the immigrant clans only married within their own groups or with groups who were similarly descendants of the founding Ga' e ancestral sibling. These founding ancestors were considered of
the highest rank by the immigrant clans. The Ga’e siblings were considered nobles on the basis of their actions and behaviour in the myths, and more importantly by their name. The term ga’e generally refers to nobles. Thus the immigrant clans with ranking could readily accept marriage with clans of Sara Sedu without much difficulty.

Ranking is not a major issue for Hoga Sara solidarity, but simply represents the retention of a cultural feature from the place of origin of three immigrant clans. These immigrant clans still maintain however their system of ranking internally, and thus sometimes ranking is a factor in contracting marriages between named houses within the clan. This ranking system does not effect their overall relations with the other clans of the Hoga Sara, nor their functioning as part of the Hoga Sara. The lack of rank differentiation among the authochthonous clans, however, is an important factor in the definition of Hoga Sara identity.

Another aspect of marriage which distinguishes the Hoga Sara from their Ngadha and Nagé neighbours, and indeed from the Hoga Rowa and Hoga Aré as well, is the presence of a dual system of marriage which is shared with the Hoga Taka. Ideally, Ngadha marriages are contracted in a uniformly symmetrical manner, while Nagé marriages follow an asymmetric pattern. The Hoga Rowa and Hoga Aré contract marriages in an asymmetric fashion. The Hoga Sara however possess

---

39 Note that the expression for commoners, ga’e kisa, literally translates as 'middle noble'.

40 At present the three immigrant clans often disregard ranking as far as marriage is concerned without any particular sanctions if the rules are broken. The only evidence remaining of a consciousness of rank is behavioural in nature. In these clans those lower than noble rank cannot occupy the inner house or the centre of the village courtyard during major clan rituals.

41 Although Arndt (1954) discussed Ngadha marriage practices, a clearer picture of these issues only emerged during my own data collection in the field. Forth (1992d, 1993c) discusses Nagé marriage. Informants also explained about Nagé marriage practices in the field when I visited in the Nagé region.
both the symmetric and asymmetric modes of contracting marriages. Of the Hoga Sara clans, woé Bhoké Héké in Watu Manu village (of former Sedu) and woé Benu-Nai, which is the subclan of woé Kaki (of former Sara), in Bodo village contract marriages in an asymmetric manner. A house which has taken a wife from another house may not return a woman as wife to this same house. A feature of the asymmetric marriage contraction is the logo marriage, which requires the taking of a wife from the same named house from which three to four generations ago a wife was acquired, thus repeating the marriage. In this marriage network houses are categorized as wife-giving (mori ga'ê) and wife-taking (ana weta) houses.

All other clans of the Hoga Sara, a number which includes most clans of the former Sara settlements -- woé Kaki, woé Tura, woé Moa Bela, and woé Belu, contract marriages symmetrically. In this pattern a house which has given a wife to another house at a later time may receive a wife from the same house. Indeed sister exchange (goi toi moté woé) is a feature of the system, as is the practice of ‘returning the head of the yam’ (ala wado ulu uwi). Ala wado ulu uwi marriages involve the returning of a wife to a house from which a wife was taken four generations ago. Although sister exchange occurs widely in the entire Ngadha region as well, the practice of ala wado ulu uwi is rare. Unlike their Ngadha neighbours, however, the clans of the former settlements of Sara categorize two houses contracting a marriage as wife-giver (mori ga'ê) and wife-taker (ana weta) in the context of an individual marriage. Due to the symmetrical system of marriage contraction however these categories are continually reversed.

---

42 In fact among the Ngadha villages this practice can only be found among the clans which are located at present in the district (kecamatan) of Goléwa. This claim was not only made by people in the various villages of Goléwa but I did not find any evidence of this practice in other regions visited in the Ngada regency.
In contrast to the Ngadha, the Hoga Sara also trace links of derivation through houses from which women were acquired in marriage. Although this practice defines relations between houses through marriage, the tracing of derivation through houses of women is included in the extended sense of the concept of *dhoro/dhodho* and has implications for the definition of *ana ebu* status. This practice primarily affects an individual's rights to inheritance of land owned by a particular named house. Furthermore, in the extended sense of *ana ebu* status, 'member of a house', anyone able to trace derivation to a *sa'o mézé* through women who married out, is still considered as an *ana ebu* of that house. However, the rights and obligations of such a member of a house are more restricted than those of an *ana ebu* who was born to that house.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Hoga Sara identity is defined on three levels: 1\ on the opposition of the four former village confederacies of Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Deto, and Rowa to the Ngadha (and sometimes Nagé groups), 2\ on the level of the wider more inclusive territorial and cultural position among the related Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa, based on common derivation from *ebu mogo* and structural features shared in social and territorial organization as well as in the structure of a shared traditional agricultural calendar and its associated rituals; and 3\ on the level of Hoga Sara territorial organization and features and components of social organization.

The remainder of this work will focus on the exposition of the structural features of Hoga Sara social organization. Each of the building blocks -- the traditional village (*nua*), the clan (*woe*), and the named house (*sa'o mézé*) -- will be considered in turn, thus endeavouring to elucidate the principles and practices that bind together these elements of social organization into a coherent whole.
Special attention will be paid to cosmological ideas and traditional beliefs of the Hoga Sara in order to define the relationship between the living and their ultimate source of derivation, the ancestors. To this end I shall also consider some of the rituals of the Hoga Sara that provide for continued interaction with the ancestors, and thus for the continuity of the Hoga Sara community.
CHAPTER TWO

NUA, THE TRADITIONAL VILLAGE

INTRODUCTION

In Sara Sedu, one of my more philosophically-inclined mentors, Bapak Moses Lado, suggested that the lay-out of the village perhaps served as a mnemonic device for people who could not write. He described the Hoga Sara as people with an oral culture who 'wrote' their most important ideas and relations in the physical structures found within the village and in the village plan itself. In this chapter, therefore, I consider the traditional village, nua, and its spatial orientation, paying particular attention to the ordering of clan houses and material symbols within the village lay-out.

SPATIAL ORIENTATION OF THE VILLAGE

A village's orientation depends on its location in relation to a hill or mountain. Indeed all orientation terminology in Sara Sedu can be defined only in relation to the particular hill on which the speaker is positioned. Figure 9 summarizes orientation terminology in relation to a particular hill, while Figure 10 shows the orientation of the village in the same context.

žéta refers to above. The sky can be referred to as žéta and the top of the mountain from a lower elevation would be žéta.
FIGURE 9. Orientation in Sara Sedu

FIGURE 10. Position of the *nua* in relation to the mountain
**Zéta** could also indicate a place on another hill or mountain that is at a higher elevation than the one on which the speaker stands. **Zalé**, below, often indicates a place located at a lower elevation from the hill where the speaker stands. Going around the mountain, or referring to a place on the other side of a mountain or hill is indicated by the term **zili**. **Zélé**, up-slope, and **lau**, down slope can refer to any sloping path the speaker is travelling on and orienting to, that is, not just a vertical slope but also a horizontal slope as shown in Figure 11.

Therefore, the directional or orientation terminology found in Sara Sedu never can be used in the same fixed and rigid sense as our cardinal directions of north, south, east, west. Sara orientation terms are defined in relation to a referent hill: the referred place's relation to this referent hill with respect to its elevation on another hill; the referred place's position on the slope of the referent mountain, both vertically and horizontally; and the place's position on the referent hill in relation to the position of the speaker.

---

1 Although some people of Sara Sedu attempt to translate the local terminology into Indonesian language cardinal directions. Initially this can create a lot of confusion in trying to understand the local orientation terms.
SPATIAL ORIENTATION WITHIN THE NUA

The traditional village, nua, is rectangular in shape. The houses enclose a rectangular courtyard with all houses facing inward to this village square. The space at the back of houses is taken up by the granaries and sometimes the pigsties. In the middle of the village courtyard stand the most significant material symbols of clan unity: in the case of the villages deriving from the former Sara territory, the inadhu and bhaga, while in the case of the nua deriving from the former Sedu, the péo.

In the rectangle of the village the two shorter sides face each other on an up-slope - down-slope axis, zélé — lau axis. The gate of or entrance to the village is located on the lau side. The two longer sides oppose each other on the sunrise - sunset axis. While we are facing towards the down-slope (lau) direction, the left side of the village (mena) corresponds to the sunset pole of the axis, while the right side (zalé) [also meaning below] of the village lines up with sunrise.

Therefore, the orientation of the village, nua, may be diagramed as in Figure 12 keeping in mind that one is here facing towards the lau direction and thus towards the entrance from inside the village.2

---

FIGURE 12. Orientation Within The Village

---

2 Internal orientation of the village parallels that of the house, in that in both cases the directions of right and left are determined when facing the entrance from the inside.
Although the zélé, up-slope direction of the village always faces roughly to our cardinal South, and the lau, down-slope, corresponds to the cardinal North, such cardinal points have no significance to the Hoga Sara. In orienting the nua, the most important rule is that longitudinally it should be along the axis towards the top of the mountain or hill and towards the foot of the mountain or hill. Unlike their Nagé neighbours whose villages should face zélé towards the volcanic Ebu Lobo, the Hoga Sara do not favour any single mountain or hill in the same way (Forth 1990). Similarly, while for the Nagé Ebu Lobo holds cosmological significance, no such value is attached to any of the hills and mountains in Sara Sedu and thus no single hill is important in the formation of a rule of orientation for the Hoga Sara. Therefore, in the traditional villages of Sara Sedu what is important is that the zélé - lau axis be observed, regardless of the mountain slope on which the village is located.

The traditional village, and indeed any territory, is talked about in terms of a head and tail, ulu éko. Ulu, head, corresponds to the zélé end of the village, while éko to its lau end. Therefore, the top of the hill or mountain is viewed as the head of the hill / mountain, while the foot of the mountain is thought of as its tail. The limit of all land holdings of a village are also considered ulu éko, expressed by stating the limit of ulu and of éko. For example: ulu Bhoké héké zélé, éko Pogo Atu lau. In this expression the present Wolo Rowa village is defined as having a territory with a 'head' bordering with the Bhoké héké clan up-slope and a tail bordering with the Pogo Atu clan of the Aré people down-slope.

This correlation of the head with up-slope, and tail with down-slope may seem logical and in a sense might indicate an anthropomorphized conception of the village and other bounded territory. However, the village is never talked about as having arms, feet, or navel. The navel in humans is pusé, while the centre of the
village court-yard is referred to by the expression **kisa nata**.\(^3\) Although head (ulu) and up-slope (zélé) may appear superior to the tail (éko) and down-slope (lau), the key in village orientation lies with the éko / lau end. The left and right sides of the village are determined while facing towards the lau/éko direction of the nua and important cult objects such as madhu, péo, bhaga also face towards this direction.\(^4\)

While for the living the vertical axis of zélé -- lau is more focal, in death the horizontal axis of mena -- zalé is emphasized. In earlier times graves were located inside the village in front of the houses in the courtyard. The graves themselves were in no particular orientation in relation to each other or to the village plan. However, the corpses were laid into the grave along the village's mena and zalé axis with head on the left/sunset (mena) side and feet towards the right/sunrise (zalé) side, as Figure 13 illustrates. The corpse was thus facing to the zalé direction since it was usually, though not always, placed in the grave in a squatting position.\(^5\)

---

\(^3\) **Nata** is possibly derived from the MP\(^*\)natar, meaning courtyard.

\(^4\) Formerly the gate (bata) of a village (nua) was located at the lau end. People still talk of this end of the village as its entrance although no physical gate is present. Orientation by facing the entrance in determining the right and left sides of the village, and thus in turn male and female sides, is reminiscent of orientation within the inner part of a house. In both instances one is considered to be inside. Indeed, going to the village (and thus inside it) or going inside the house are indicated with the word for inside (onè); see pg.274 and 207.

\(^5\) Given that zalé also means below and the land of the dead and ancestors' is often talked about as being below or beneath the earth, perhaps this meaning of zalé is more applicable to this particular context. While several elders would readily accept this suggestion, informants could no longer explain exactly why the corpse must be oriented in the grave with the head towards the mena side of the village.
Although in the context of orientation mena is the left and sunset, in terms of where the land of the dead or realm of the ancestors is thought to be located there is no connection with sunset or the left. The only places the Hoga Sara associate with the realm of the deceased and the ancestors are primarily beneath the earth and in the ponds and other water sources, and secondarily in the uninhabited wilderness of the forests. Thus the domain of the ancestors is not expressed in directional but rather in locational terms.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE ESTABLISHMENT AND COMPOSITION OF A NUA

The people of Sara Sedu often related some version of a tale concerning how in the earliest of times they did not possess a formal village, but were living in the fields and sleeping in burrows dug out of the earth. Then one day some ancestral hero went on a trip to see the world and through his adventures he encountered an older woman who instructed him how houses should be built and that he should also erect a madhu/péo sacrificial post and/or bhaga (small scale ancestral house) and thus establish a village. The old woman in these narratives is usually attributed spirit qualities, in other tales she is referred to as an ancestor. In some of the

---

6 Nitu-like characteristics. Nitu among the Hoga Sara refers to general ancestors and sometimes to earth and water spirits. Nitu is a spirit category found widely among the Austronesian speaking peoples (see Molnar 1990). I will say more about nitu in a later chapter.
stories she later appears in a dream to instruct the hero further. Even before the houses were built in these tales the hero is referred to as deriving from a particular named house.

In the founding of a nua, village, great care is taken over the selection of a site. Initial determination is done through bamboo divination (tibo). Then in the centre of the selected site a bamboo filled with water is buried. If after three days none of the water has evaporated from the container then it is taken as a sign of the ancestors' approval of the site. If some of the water has evaporated, the search continues for a new site.

After the site is agreed upon, clearing of the vegetation from the square for the village progresses with some minor chicken sacrifice to the nitu spirits if any large trees need to be cut down. Next the wooden houses raised on posts, as well as the bhaga and madhu or the péo post respectively, are erected. This takes place over an extended period of time, since as all of these require extensive ritual activity with the sacrifice of small and large animals, the costs are considerable. After all houses and cult objects are in place, one final rite, wura nua, [wura = to cut off, eruption; thus the cutting off of the village] is said to ensure the welfare and prosperity of the new village. In this rite a buffalo is let loose in the village court-yard, fenced off for this occasion, while young men wound it so that its blood drips all over the village square, before it is finally slaughtered. This rite is done, as some elders explained, so that the spirits inhabiting the place and vegetation before the site became a village would not bother the people by inflicting illness. The blood is supposed to 'cool' the site from the dangerous influence of outside spirits living in uninhabited places.

The order in which the building of the various parts of a village progresses is closely linked with the structure of the clan occupying it. Therefore the village plan
reflects the composition of a clan, woé. The material symbols of clan unity, the 
madhu post and bhaga, or the péo post, stand in the centre of the village 
courtyard, which is itself surrounded by the component houses of the clan. Figures 
14 a, b, and c illustrate this village plan in both Sara and Sedu.

The only variation between the village plan of Sara and Sedu can be 
observed in different material symbols of clan unity occupying the centre of the 
courtyard -- in most villages deriving from Sara the madhu and bhaga, while in 
the village deriving from Sedu the péo.

The clan composition of named and unnamed houses is clearly reflected in 
the position these houses occupy in the village. Those which encircle the courtyard 
are not ordinary houses but named houses of the clan or clans inhabiting the 
village. The unnamed, ordinary houses, in former times formed the outer circle of 
houses, and at present are scattered along the main Flores highway running 
through the administrative village of Sara Sedu. The named houses are more 
"centrally" located within the village plan since they represent the founding 
ancestral houses from which the rest of the houses derived. Certain related houses 
of a clan may be grouped together, standing adjacent to each other, thus forming a 
boa, a hamlet or section of the nua. All the named houses can be distinguished 
from ordinary houses not just in their more central positioning within the village 
plan, but also in a number of different physical features. From the outside the most 
noticeable feature, and indeed the one my hosts called to my attention, is a raised 
roof ridge called pusé kéra [pusé = navel, kéra = knot; type of tree; big turtle
PLATE 3. A view from the village of Wolo Rowa

PLATE 4. A partial view of nua Watu Manu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legend</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Bhaga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Madhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Turé (stone platform)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Rulo tree (type of banyan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Water pipe/public bath</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Bo (granary)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Pigsty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Woé Kaki**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Functionary role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sa'o Benu Wali</td>
<td>Saka pu'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sa'o Tiwu Wali</td>
<td>Lado bépi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sa'o Milo Wali</td>
<td>Waa baé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sa'o Gili Wali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sa'o Mai Wali (Kaki-Nusa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sa'o Laja Meze</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sa'o dhoro (unnamed house) of Sa'o Benu Wali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sa'o Tere Molo</td>
<td>Saka lobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sa'o Gili Beña</td>
<td>Tugu tugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sa'o Balé</td>
<td>Rada riwu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subclan Kaki-Rawe**

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. Sa'o Milo Lina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sa'o dhoro (unnamed house) of Sa'o Milo Lina (marriage ties with Sa'o Tere Molo and Sa'o Gili Beña)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Woé Belu**

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. Sa'o Rajo Ringa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continuing marriage ties with Sa'o Benu Wali of woé Kaki)

**Figure 14a.** Nua Wolo Rowa
LEGEND:
A. Pêo post
B. Ture
C. water pipe and cement basin
D. pigsty
E. granary

Woê Benu-Nai (subclan of woê Kaki)

1. Sa'o Moku Molo saka pu'u elder
2. Sa'o Rada Doza lado bêpi
3. Sa'o Tiwu Wali wua bêl
4. Sa'o Kodu Molo ragha ragha
5. sa'o dhoro (unnamed house) of Sa'o Moku Molo younger
6. Sa'o Gili Bêla saka lobo elder
7. Sa'o Naru Wali tugug tugu
8. Sa'o Inê Huma rada riwu
9. sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Gili Bêla younger
10. sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Gili Bêla

Woê Tura
11. Sa'o Poso Dêta (Tura-Para)
   (marriage ties with Sa'o Moku Molo and Sa'o Kodu Molo of Woê Benu-Nai)

Woê Pogo Atu (of village confederacy Sanga Dêco)
12. / 12a. sa'o dhoro (unnamed house) of Sa'o Lipi Watu
    (marriage ties with Sa'o Moku Molo of woê Benu-Nai)

NOTE: Nua Watu Manu which derived from the former Sedu has the same lay-out with a pêo post as Nua Bodo. For simplicity and visual clarity, I have chosen to illustrate Nua Bodo instead of Watu Manu, since the latter is very large with several named and unnamed houses.

FIGURE 14.b. Nua Bodo
Note: A = village square, B = madhu (or péo), C = named house, D = granary

FIGURE 14 c. Cross-sectional view of the village (Arndt 1961:240). At both left and right end tips of the pusé kéra, swords and spear fashioned out of aur [guru] bamboo, are inserted, to guard the members of the house from negative influences. Another distinctive feature is the flat stone, nabé placed in front of the ladder leading up to the house.

Some of the named houses have special positioning within the village. These houses possess the status of ritual functionaries and their designation incorporates the name for their role as such: sa'o saka pu'u, sa'o saka lobo, sa'o rada riwu, sa'o lado bépi, sa'o wua baé, and sa'o tugu tugu. The names for their ritual function is very closely linked with their duties during the erection of the sacrificial post madhu or péo.

Sa'o saka pu'u literally means the 'house of the trunk rider' and an elder from this house rides the trunk end of the sacrificial post during its ceremonial erection [sa'o = house; saka = rider, to ride; pu'u = trunk, beginning, source, derivation]. This house is located on the mena edge of the village. Sa'o saka lobo refers to the 'house of the tip rider', since its functionary rides the tip end of the
The zalé edge of the village is occupied by this house, facing the trunk rider house but slightly more up-slope.

Sa'o rada riwu is the 'house of the sign of the masses' [rada = sign, jewel; riwu = mass of people, thousand]. An elder from this house guards the madhu or péo post. This house is located on the zalé edge of the village. Sa'o lado bépi refers to the 'house of the calm male' [lado = upright-standing feather head dress signifying a rooster, bépi = calm], and the functionary also performs a duty of guarding the post during its erection. The lau edge of the village is the location for this house. Sa'o wua baé is the 'house of the hanging baby sling' [wua = baby sling, baé = to hang from across the shoulder], with a similar duty to those of the aforementioned functionaries. The house is located on the mena edge of the village right next to the 'house of the trunk rider'. Sa'o tugu tugu is the 'house of the flag bearer' [tugu tugu = red textile or banner carried by a person as a signal of the approach of a procession]. The zalé edge of the village is the position for this house, although towards the lau end. The position of these special named houses is indicated in Figure 14 a. and b.

The named houses with a functionary role that were erected in the past thirty to forty years in two of the villages of the present administrative village of Sara Sedu have not followed the former spatial orientation within the nua plan. Although elders of the clans in these nua insisted that they are still aware of the positioning to be followed for these houses, they pointed out that their villages were built in a hurry and on orders from the local government to relocate close to the main road.

CLAN STRUCTURE AND ORIENTATION IN THE VILLAGE

Each traditional village (nua) is occupied by a dominant clan, a woé which owns the land on which the village was constructed. All the named houses of this
clan along with the significant material symbols of a madhu/péo and/or bhaga are located in the village. Other clans might be represented by a single named house only, the location of which within the village plan is not specified in a strict orientational context. More specifically such a house could be located at either mena, zélé, zale, or lau sides of the nua. However, often that side of the village is preferred where a house of the dominant clan with which there are marriage links is located.

A notable exception to a nua being occupied primarily by a single dominant clan is the traditional village of Féo which is shared between the authochthonous clan (woé) Tura and the subclan Kaki-Rawé. Kaki-Rawé is the immigrant clan Rawé from Naru which was incorporated by and became a subclan of the authochthonous clan Kaki, thus its joint clan name Kaki-Rawé. This sharing of the same nua however does not effect the spatial orientation of the functionary houses in the village nor the position of the madhu and bhaga.

The spatial orientation within the village of the functionary houses of a clan reflects clan structure and the relationships between the houses. These relationships are expressed in the categorical associations of trunk and tip, elder and younger, male and female. The woé is primarily divided into two branches represented by the sa'o saka pu'u and the sa'o saka lobo. These two houses form the trunk and tip halves of the clan. The 'trunk rider house' is the eldest house of the clan, while the 'tip rider house' is the first branch house of the clan. The two are related to each other as elder and younger siblings. The younger house, the 'house of the tip rider', faces the elder house, the 'house of the trunk rider'. Furthermore, the eldest house is thought of as female, while the earliest branch house is considered male. As in so many other Indonesian societies, among the Hoga Sara the right side is associated with male and the left side with the female. In concordance with this the
categorically female eldest house stands on the left (mena) side of the village, while the categorically male and first branch house stands on the right (zalé) side.\footnote{Refer to Footnote 4. with regard to orientation in determining left and right sides, and thus female and male sides.} Indeed the named houses that derive from each of these ‘trunk’ and ‘tip’ houses, respectively, do occupy the mena or zalé side of the village depending on whether they are a branch of the sa’o saka pu’u or the sa’o saka lobo. Thus, the named houses of the ‘trunk’ half of the clan remain on the ‘trunk’ side of the village, while the named house of the ‘tip’ half of the clan are positioned on the ‘tip’ side of the village.

The orientation of the functionary houses of the rada riwu, lado bépi, wua baé, and tugu tugu are directly related to their differentiation and order of derivation from the houses of the trunk and tip rider. The houses of the lado bépi and wua baé are derived from the sa’o saka pu’u. On a vertical axis of the village both houses are located on the left side (mena), thus signifying their standing as part of the trunk branch of the clan. Sa’o lado bépi is the earliest named house branch of the ‘trunk rider house’ (after the sa’o saka lobo), while sa’o wua baé is the subsequent house. On the horizontal axis of the village the house of the lado bépi is located on the down-slope (lau) side and the sa’o wua baé is positioned right next to the ‘trunk rider house’, which is more up-slope. Thus, as the house of wua baé is younger than the house of the lado bépi, it is appropriate that it should have a more up-slope position.

These two houses also have a male and female valuation closely linked with the ritual function they fulfill during the ceremonial erection of the sacrificial post, and with the clothing the representative of each of these houses has to wear. The house of the lado bépi is considered as masculine. Its maleness is indicated by the
functionary role of guardian of the madhu or péo post during its erection. During this ceremony the lado bépi has to wear a feather head-dress, which stands up and is supposed to represent a rooster's crest. Furthermore, as the representative of the oldest, source section of the clan and thereby representing the clan as a whole, it is associated with the direction of the gate of the village, the first line of defence against enemies, as a warrior protecting all its younger tip members.

Sa'o wua baë, on the other hand, is considered as female. This house represents the nurturing motherly aspect of the trunk house, the carrier of children of the clan. This is clearly indicated in the ritual dress of the elder who fulfils this role during the ceremonial erection of the sacrificial post, wearing a red baby sling across his shoulder. This house stands right next to the sa'o saka pu'u, the house which, as the eldest of all houses, is the ultimate source of all children of the clan.

The other functionary houses of rada riwu and tugu tugu derive from the sa'o saka lobo, and thus are representatives of the tip end of the clan (woë). Both houses are positioned on the right side on the vertical axis of the village. On the horizontal axis sa'o rada riwu is on the up-slope (zélé) side and edge, while sa'o tugu tugu is on the down-slope side (lau), but on the zalé edge of the village. This positioning is consistent with the fact that the house of the rada riwu is younger than that of the tugu tugu and is thus stationed more up-slope. Sa'o tugu tugu is the earliest named house to branch from the sa'o saka lobo; it is positioned on the same edge of the nua as its house of derivation.

There is a male and female valuation associated as well with these two functionary houses. The tugu tugu is deemed as masculine by its role as a bearer of a banner made of red material, marching in the front during the ceremonial installation of the sacrificial post and, the Hoga Sara claimed, during war.8 The

---

8 I suspect, however, that the idea of a flag bearer in case of war is a recent one.
tugu tugu is opposingly associated with the feminine wua baé who carries the red baby sling. The location of sa'o tugu tugu towards the lau position, and thus close to the gate of the village, is consistent with male warriors standing in the first line of defence against an invading enemy.

The gender association of sa'o rada riwu is primarily feminine on the other hand. The elder from this house who fulfils this role during the erection of the madhu or péo post wears a feather head dress, but one that hangs down and represents a hen in contrast to the head dress of the lado bépi. The feminine valuation of the rada riwu is also indicated by the house's distance from the entrance of the village. Sa'o rada riwu is on the zélé side which is directly opposite to the down-slope (lau) side, the location of the village gate. As female it is positioned in a higher elevation which is defended by the male (lado bépi) down-slope. However, the up-slope (zélé) location also provides the rada riwu with the position to keep a look out and thus warn the village of approaching enemy. As a representative of the 'tip' part of the clan it is also fitting that this house be linked with the 'up' direction, just as the tip points upward.

The functionary houses of the woé, clan, in the context of their spatial orientation within the village with respect to their relationship to each other and their valuation can be represented as follows in Figure 15 a, b, and c.
Categorical Relations Between Sa'o Saka Pu'u and Sa'o Saka Lobo With Respect To Their Functionary Named Branch Houses

Sa'o Saka Pu'u	Sa'o Saka Lobo

lado bépi/wua baé
tugu tugu/rada riwu
ELDER/YOUNGER
MALE/FEMALE
LAU/MENA
ELDER/YOUNGER
MALE/FEMALE
ZALE/ZELE

Further Categorical Associations Between The Functionary Houses

lado bépi	rada riwu
MALE
wua baé	tugu tugu
FEMALE

FIGURE 15 a. Functionary houses of the woé and their village orientation in the context of their categorical associations
NOTE: E and Y = elder and younger in the context of the trunk and tip halves of the clan.
e and y = elder and younger in the context of named house branches of either the trunk or tip half of the clan.

FIGURE 15 b. Elder-younger valuation of named houses in the context of village orientation
Note: M = male, F = female (with respect to the division of trunk and tip halves of the clan)
m = male, f = female (with respect to the location of categorically male or female functionary houses within each of the trunk and tip halves of the clan)

FIGURE 15 c. Male-female categorization within the village plan
The houses of trunk branch of the clan being elder and of the tip branch being younger, these are positioned within the division of the *mena* and *zalé* halves of the village, that is, along the *zélé-lau* axis. Other named houses which have differentiated from either of these branches are positioned towards the *zélé* and *lau* sides depending on whether they are considered younger or elder respectively in their order of precedence. Thus, in this context the division is along the *mena-zalé* axis. Therefore, in the categorisation of the functionary houses as elder and younger, the *mena* side can encompass the *lau* side, while the *zalé* side can subsume the *zélé* side.

Although the trunk and tip branches of the clan, valued as feminine and masculine respectively, divide along the *zélé* and *lau* axis, and thus compose the *mena* and *zalé* halves of the village, each contains within itself a feminine and masculine aspect, which compose the *zélé* and *lau* halves of the village.

**MADHU, BHAGA, AND PÉO SPATIAL ORIENTATION IN THE VILLAGE**

In the traditional villages derived from both former Sara and Sedu settlements the centre of the village courtyard, *kisa nata* [*kisa* = middle; *nata* = *sirih*] is the place for material symbols of clan unity. Although these symbols of

---

9 Similarly, in the inside or *oné* section of the house, the major division along the left-right, female-male lines can be found. However, there is a difference between the village and the *oné* with regard to encompassment of feminine and masculine aspects within each major halves (see pg. 216). While at the village level such encompassment is dependant on the location of the categorically male or female functionary houses within each of the trunk and tip halves of the clan, and thus related to clan segmentation, at the level of the house, encompassment is related to cosmological concepts and ritual use of space.

10 *Nata* can refer to the entire 'sirih' plant [*Piper betel*], but also just to its fruit, or more commonly, just to its leaf. *Sirih* leaf is wrapped around areca nut (*pinang*) and is chewed with lime on all social occasions and interactions. Metaphorically, the *sirih* is often likened to the penis, while the *areca* to the vagina. **Hoga** Sara folk etymology makes use of the sense of *nata* as 'sirih' leaf to refer to the open space of the village courtyard.
unity differ between the villages of Sara and that of Sedu, they all possess a similarity not just in their location in the village plan, but also in their orientation.

The location in the centre of the village is more or less where the water filled bamboo was buried in the process of site selection approved by the ancestors. Since these objects represent the founding ancestors of the clan, their central location is quite appropriate.

The Hoga Sara gave a rather practical explanation as to why these objects have to face down-slope (lau). They stated that these central clan objects, like the founding ancestor(s) they represent, are the guardians of the village, protecting the descendants from the approach of the enemy. No enemy would be expected from the up-slope (zélé) direction due to the steepness of the mountain's other side, while the lau direction would be more easily accessible for an enemy through the gently rolling hills. There were some elders who also ventured to say that lau should be faced since that is the direction from which the founding ancestors arrived, from Naru and So'a. The first explanation, however, was the most commonly accepted one.

Originally neither bhaga, madhu, nor péo were erected until all functionary positions were filled by the named house branches within the clan. Indeed, these latter objects are not erected until the differentiation in a clan reaches the stage where precisely these named houses and some ordinary houses are established. Thus as symbols of clan unity these objects are closely linked with clan structure and its complexity.

With the exception of nua Bodo, all traditional villages that derive from the former Sara settlement possess a madhu post and a bhaga in the centre of the village. On the other hand, the village of Bodo along with nua Watu Manu, which
is derived from the former Sedu village, both possess a péo post in the kisana. In the villages of Wolo Rowa, Féo, Hobo Sara, and Lodo, after all the named houses have been built, the bhaga is erected. This is a small scale version of the named house minus a hearth and the two levels of veranda. It symbolizes the founding ancestral mother of the clan, and as such is closely linked with the sa'o saka pu'u, 'trunk rider house', which is the eldest house of the clan. The bhaga stands just a few meters more up-slope (zelé) than does the madhu. The single door of the bhaga faces in the lau direction. The bhaga is considered as the wife of the madhu.

The building of the bhaga is followed by the erection of the madhu post. This is a forked post with a conical roof giving an overall impression of a warrior - hands stuck into the roof structure holding weapons and the tip is fashioned into a male head with the red head-cloth. The forks of the madhu are blunt and support the roof structure.

As a warrior the madhu faces toward the down-slope direction (lau) ready for the enemy. The madhu represents the founding ancestor of the clan and the husband of the bhaga. As the positioning of the madhu post and bhaga house suggest, the male warrior [madhu] at a more accessible lau position should receive and fight the enemy while protecting the woman [bhaga] who assumes a more zelé position, which is less accessible to the enemy due to elevation and warrior's protection. The madhu and bhaga are not separately erected at the two

Due to the fact that the oldest péo present in Sara Sedu actually belongs to an autochthonous clan of the former Sara settlement, now located in Bodó, and that people still tell stories of another péo possessed by the autochthonous clans of Sara, which now has disappeared but up to 1939 was still present, I would speculate that in Sara the introduction of the madhu post and the bhaga coincides with or was effected by the arrival of the immigrant clans from the villages of Naru and Toda Belu. The presence of madhu and bhaga is consistent with the culture of both of these latter villages.
polar edges of the village, lau and zélé, but are grouped together at the centre of the village, separated by a few meters only.

The madhu post is closely associated with the sa'o saka lobo, 'tip rider house'. It represents the differentiation in the clan and thus all the 'tips' that sprouted from the trunk. Furthermore, it also shows the most important division in the clan, the two forks representing the sa'o saka pu'u, 'the trunk rider house', and the sa'o saka lobo, 'the tip rider house'. As a whole, however, the madhu stands for clan unity.

The village of Bodo and the former Sedu settlement's Watu Manu village do not possess either madhu or bhaga. In the village centre stands the lone péo post. It is a forked post, without a conical roof, and the forks are sharply pointed. The péo is also thought of as a warrior that stands in readiness to protect the village. It also faces to the lau direction, expecting the enemy from there.

The péo is said to represent the founding ancestor of the clan. It is associated with both the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo. It is both the symbol of clan unity and differentiation. The two forks, like that for the madhu post, represent the two main branches of the clan, the houses of the trunk rider and the tip rider and thus differentiation. The post as a whole symbolizes clan unity. It is thought of as masculine in opposition to the feminine eldest houses of the clan, the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo.

In nua Watu Manu, which is composed of the same population that inhabited the former Sedu, there is a slight variation with respect to the significance of the péo post in the context of clan structure. Although woé Bhoké Héké of this village still possess only one péo, this clan has differentiated into five smaller subclans. These subclans do not have their separate péo posts. For the péo of woé Bhoké Héké, the trunk riding house and subclan is the descendant of a sister of set of
siblings born of the clan's founding ancestor. The tip rider house and subclan is the
descendant of a brother of the ancestral sibling set. The other functionary houses
within the clan also derive from one of the set of siblings. On most occasions theive subclans still act as one clan, and thus insist on having just one pēo to express
this unity.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The traditional village (nua) does appear to serve as a map of Sara Sedu
social relations with respect to clan organization as represented on the physical
plane. Indeed as far as the village's component houses are concerned, the map
extends to other social relations as well. As I learned more about the significant
material symbols of Sara Sedu society [sa'o, bhaga and madhu or pēo]12 from
people with more specialized knowledge, it became clear that they are part of a
larger 'chart' than just that of the physical living space of the village, extending not
only to the social but also to the cosmological and ideological spheres as well.

12 It is notable that when a stranger expresses any interest in culture, the very first
thing that a local person would point out are the traditional houses along with the madhu, bhaga,
and pēo, as if these objects define their entire culture. Indeed nowadays the degree to which a
certain group retains its traditions, adat, is measured by the presence of these objects. Thus a
named house built from brick would not be considered traditional and the group that owns it
would be viewed as having lost its traditions. In my experience, however, some of the most
distinctive features of a traditional named house are retained even in the brick houses. Also in
such villages where most of the named houses would be stone structures, discussions with the
general populous and with elders would suggest that their adat is very much intact, sometimes
even more so than in villages that do retain the traditional architecture.
CHAPTER THREE

WOÉ. A MINIMAL DEFINITION

INTRODUCTION

Hoga Sara clan organization is an important aspect of their social structure. This chapter, therefore, explores what the Hoga Sara refer to as woé before subsequent chapters provide a fuller analysis of the houses that comprise these clans.

The term woé has various meanings, including 'friend', 'companion', 'together', 'bound together', 'bound up', 'bundled together/up', 'band', 'group', 'herd', 'flock', 'family', and 'clan' (see also Arndt 1961:579). Most commonly, however, the Hoga Sara use the term woé to refer to a group of related families who trace their derivation from a common founding ancestor.

This group usually holds land in common. Land owned by a woé is ancestral land which is inalienable, that is, it cannot be sold, bartered, or given away to a someone who is not a member of the clan. Rights to clan land are inherited and are closely bound up with clan membership. Ritual authority over clan land belongs to the eldest house of the woé, which also has the ultimate authority in matters of border disputes, distribution and inheritance. Secondary authority over land belongs to the sub-sections or named houses of the woé, and they control their portion of clan land more or less autonomously. Thus, land ownership within the clan reflects the internal structure of the woé.
Clans are named. The name of a woé is derived from that of the founding ancestor (either male or female) or of their first or second generation progeny, or from the features of an event involving one of these ancestral figures. For example, woé Kaki is named after the eldest son of the founding ancestors Dhaké and Kedho, while woé Tura is named after an event involving the son of the founding ancestor, Robé Ga'é, who established peace after a land border quarrel. Tura Jaji is the name of the ceremony performed after such a border dispute; thus the Tura clan's name commemorates this ceremony. The unity and identity of a woé is also materially represented in the form of a named sacrificial post (madhu or péo), ancestral mother house (bhaga), and stone platforms (turé and nabé).

STRUCTURE OF THE WOÉ

A woé is a group of named houses (sa'o ngaza), also referred to as Great houses (sa'o meze), that claim derivation from a common ancestor. The woé is composed of two major halves: the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo, the houses of the trunk rider and the tip rider. Both these are sa'o ngaza, named houses, each bearing the name of the house's founding ancestor.

The sa'o saka pu'u [trunk rider house] is the eldest of all houses. It is believed to have been established by the founding ancestor of the woé and has been carried on by one of his children (or grandchildren). The house founded by a younger child (or younger grandchild) of the ancestral couple is the first branch in the woé. This house is the sa'o saka lobo, the tip rider house. Each of these houses owns land independently of each other, that is, land of the sa'o saka pu'u cannot be inherited by a member of the sa'o saka lobo and vice versa.

The two main halves of the clan are the trunk and the tip branches represented by the two eldest houses of the woé. In this context the clan structure is expressed in the botanic idiom of a tree. Since the sa'o saka pu'u and the sa'o
saka lobo are the eldest houses of the clan, from which all other named and
unnamed houses derive, they are also referred to collectively as sa'o pu'u, source
houses [pu'u = trunk, source, origin, beginning, from].

The sa'o saka pu'u develops further branches, each a named house, through
population expansion, as does the sa'o saka lobo. The process of the development
of named houses, sa'o ngaza within each half of the woe should be briefly
considered. At the start both the sa'o saka pu'u and the sa'o saka lobo expand to
include several ordinary family houses which do not possess a name. These
unnamed houses are referred to as sa'o dhoro [sa'o = house; dhoro = to descend],
'descent house' or 'house of descent', and are the houses of the children and
grandchildren of the trunk or tip rider house founders, respectively. Each of these
sa'o dhoro receives, or rather inherits, its land from its respective parent house.

After a particular sa'o dhoro has distinguished itself by various means, it is
recognized by its house of derivation [either the trunk or tip rider house] and is
elevated to the status of a named house. The way in which a sa'o dhoro may gain
recognition is by proving its fertility and productivity. Therefore, if a sa'o dhoro
produces many descendants who in turn set up their own sa'o dhoro and also
work diligently in the gardens, thus producing a surplus which then can be traded
for prestige items [i.e. gold], the requirements are thereby fulfilled for promotion to
the status of a named house. The sa'o dhoro with the greatest generative potential
becomes a sa'o mézé from among the other unnamed houses of the founding trunk
and tip rider halves of the woe. The name of the house is derived either from that
of the founder of the house or from some attribute of the family grouping
belonging to the newly established named house.

After the first named house of the trunk or tip rider house has emerged, this
house in turn will be in a position to elevate one of its own sa'o dhoro to the status
of sa'o mézé. The cycle continues with each of the named houses. Rights to land also follow the line of the named house to its unnamed, family houses.

All named houses, including the houses of the trunk and tip rider are great houses (sa'o mézé); however, only the sa'o saya pu'u and sa'o saja lobo are referred to as sa'o pu'u, source houses, which is consistent with the fact that their founders are siblings born from the founding ancestral couple. Nevertheless, the subsequent named houses serve as secondary source houses for their unnamed, ordinary houses (sa'o dhoro).

Some of the great houses (sa'o mézé) that have segmented from the trunk and tip rider halves of the woé have special status based on their ritual functionary roles. The subsequent two named houses to branch from the sa'o saja pu'u are known as the sa'o lado bépi (house of the calm male) and sa'o wua baé (house of the hanging baby sling), respectively. The next two named houses that segment from the sa'o saja lobo are the sa'o tugu tugu (house of the flag bearer) followed by the sa'o rada riwu (house of the sign of the masses). These houses are also recognized by the name of the ritual function they fulfil, especially with regards to the ceremony of erecting the madhu or péo sacrificial post.

The sa'o saja pu'u and sa'o saja lobo are equally important in the rituals of the agricultural calendar. Together as sa'o pu'u, 'source houses', their ritual duties are performed for the benefit of all the other houses (sa'o mézé and sa'o dhoro) of the clan.

Succession in a named house (sa'o mézé) of a clan usually follows the male line. The sa'o mézé is carried on by the eldest son, or in lieu of this by an ana tengé (a first born son of either a male or female house member). However, it is neither unheard of nor forbidden, for a female member to succeed in the named house, especially when no rightful male heirs exist. In such a case, the female
member is not allowed to marry out and bridewealth will not be accepted for her. Unnamed houses (sa'o dhoro) follow a similar pattern of succession.

STRUCTURE OF THE WOE AS EXEMPLIFIED BY WOE KAKI IN NUA WOLO ROWA

The clan Kaki, formerly of nua Sara, is located in the traditional village (nua) of Wolo Rowa. Nine named houses (sa'o mézé) and twenty-five unnamed houses (sa'o dhoro) make up woé Kaki. While all the sa'o mézé are located in Wolo Rowa, almost all the sa'o dhoro are spread along the Flores highway, outside of the traditional village. The structure of the named houses that comprise woé Kaki is summarized as in Figure 16 a.

ELDER -------------------------------------------------------► YOUNGER

TRUNK RIDER HALF
Sa'o Benu Wali
Sa'o Tiwu Wali
Sa'o Milo Wali
Sa'o Gili Wali
Sa'o Mai Wali
Sa'o Laja Meze

TIP RIDER HALF
Sa'o Tere Molo
Sa'o Gili Béla
Sa'o Balé

YOUNGER

FIGURE 16 a. The named houses of woé Kaki

Another way of representing the structure of the Kaki clan is illustrated in Figure 16 b, taking into account the number of sa'o dhoro belonging to each of the sa'o mézé, and the ritual functionary role of certain of the named houses.

1 In this discussion I ignore the subclans Kaki-Rawé and Benu-Nai. Both of these were formed by the incorporation of an immigrant clan into a branch of the autochthonous woé Kaki and are located in a different nua. They possess their own madhu or péo, respectively.
FIGURE 16 b. Woé Kaki: named and unnamed houses

According to the narrative traditions of the Kaki clan, it was founded by the ancestor Kaki Rato. The house he founded is the first and eldest house of the clan, and was carried on by his son, Rato Galu. This house is Sa'o Benu Wali, the sa'o saka pu'u. The first segmentation in the clan occurred with the children of Rato Galu, one of whom established Sa'o Tere Molo, which became the sa'o saka lobo. The eldest son of Rato Galu, Kaki Raja, however, did not carry on the line of Sa'o Benu Wali, but his younger sister Ine Mego did.²

The eldest of the children of both Mégo and Kaki, carried on Sa'o Benu Wali and Sa'o Téré Molo, respectively. Each of the other children set up their own regular family dwelling. Thus the first of the sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Benu Wali and Sa'o Téré Molo came into being. One of the children of Mégo was Tiwu. Tiwu's house was successful in productivity and reproductivity; thus during Tiwu's grandson's life, Sa'o Benu Wali gave the permission to this sa'o dhoro to establish the named house, Sa'o Tiwu Wali. With its status thus raised to a sa'o mézé, Sa'o Tiwu Wali, possessed as its sa'o dhoro the regular family dwellings of Tiwu's

² This case shall be discussed further on pages 119-120.
children and grandchildren. Sa'o Milo Wali came into existence by the same process, and was elevated to named house status as from among the sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Tiwu Wali. Sa'o Milo Wali elevated one of its own unnamed houses to become Sa'o Gili Wali. Sa'o Gili Wali did the same, and thus Sa'o Mai Wali came into existence.

Sa'o Laja Mézé is a recently established named house. Only fifteen years ago this unnamed house of Sa'o Benu Wali (saka pu'u) gained the right to a named house status. The accumulation of prestige gold items over the generations and productivity of the gardens of this house won this right for Sa'o Laja Mézé.

The same process of differentiation took place in the tip rider half of ωε Kaki, with Sa'o Téré Molo elevating one of its sa'o dhoro to the status of a named house. This became Sa'o Gili Béla. Sa'o Gili Béla gave rise to Sa'o Balé.

The segmentation of named houses within the trunk rider and tip rider halves of the Kaki clan are schematically illustrated in Figure 17.
FIGURE 17. Differentiation of named houses within woé Kaki

Note:  = *sa'o dhoro* (unnamed houses); *sa'o mëzë* or *sa'o ngaza* (great or named houses) are indicated by written names.
CATEGORICAL RELATIONS AMONG THE HOUSES OF THE WOE:

The sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo are also related to each other as ka'é-azi, elder-younger sibling. Each trunk and tip rider house is also related to its respective named branch houses as ka'é-azi. The branch houses of either the trunk or tip half of the woe, themselves are related to each other as ka'é-azi, depending on the order of precedence of their establishment. For example, if the sa'o saka pu'u has the named branch houses X, Y, Z, and n, in which Y has branched out from X, and Z has branched out of Y, and n has branched from Z, then the order of precedence in the ka'é-azi relationship is as follows [ka'é > azi]: sa'o saka pu'u > sa'o X > sa'o Y > sa'o Z > sa'o n.

Taking the earlier example of woe Kaki, the ka'é-azi relationship between the named houses of the clan can be illustrated as in Figure 18.

AZI / YOUNGER

KAÉ / ELDER  -------------------------► AZI / YOUNGER

FIGURE 18. Ka'é-azi relationship between the named houses of the trunk and tip halves of the woe

With respect to land, named houses hold autonomous rights over the land allotted to them. Only if a house completely dies out does its land-holding pass back to the next ka'é, house. If, however, it is one of the sa'o pu'u that dies out,
its land is distributed among the families of its next in line branch house. For example, if the sa'o saka lobo dies out, its land passes to its azi house (the next most senior named house within the tip rider half of the clan), rather than passing to the sa'o saka pu'u which would be the next order ka'ê house. If the sa'o saka pu'u dies out, logically its land should go to the other source house, however, this is not the case. The land of the sa'o saka pu'u is then inherited by its next azi house (the most senior within the trunk rider half of the clan). In either case, redistribution follows the rights of precedence in the ka'ê-azi relationship between the branch houses.3

From the foregoing it would seem that the most significant relationship between houses within the woe is that of ka'ê-azi, elder-younger siblingship. With regard to source houses (sa'o pu'u) and the other functionary houses another relationship must be noted, that of female and male [finé ga'ê and ana haki]. In Sara Sedu the sa'o saka pu'u, the trunk rider house, is often talked about as female. It is usually founded by a female ancestor and the categorically female bhaga is closely associated with it and is sometimes said to be owned by it. By contrast, the tip rider house (sa'o saka lobo) is viewed as male. It usually claims derivation from the brother of the trunk rider house's founder and the categorically male madhu is thought to be 'owned' by the tip rider house. These two houses, although standing opposite each other in the village, never directly face each other as that would be inappropriate for sister and brother. As some informants said, to face each other would be almost incestuous, la'a sala [la'a = go, sala = wrong]

3 The collection of modern land taxes also follows the principle of ka'ê-azi organization. Each of the named houses (sa'o mézé) collect the tax from their respective sa'o dhoro, unnamed houses. Then, each respective named house passes on the tax to the next higher ka'ê house. Finally, the sa'o saka lobo passes on the collection from its half of the woe, clan, to the sa'o saka pu'u, which in turn hands in all taxes on the clan's land to the modern village administrative office.
In the context of woé organization the trunk house's association with female value is important. That it is related to the tip house as ka'è, elder, is a given, since the trunk precedes the tip. The trunk is more closely associated with the roots and thus the generative, growth and life potential of the tree in relation to its tip. It is appropriate that as the life conferring part, the trunk should be given a feminine association. As far as the generative potential is concerned, the trunk encompasses the tip. These associations are quite clearly revealed in agricultural rites, life cycle rites and in the symbolism of the madhu or peo posts.

Within the categorically female sa'o saka pu'u branch of the clan, the functionary houses of sa'o lado bépi and sa'o wua baé are related to each other as male and female. In the same vein, within the categorically male 'tip' half of the woé (sa'o saka lobo), the sa'o tugu tugu and sa'o rada riwu are also related to each other as male and female. Thus, the two halves of the clan, consisting of the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo encompass all their respective named younger houses, and are related to each other as female and male respectively; each half including within itself both a male and female half.

The categorical male-female relationship between the functionary houses of the clan are illustrated in Figure 19. The Figure shows the same relationship among the functionary houses of woé Kaki.

FIGURE 19. Categorical male-female relations among the functionary houses of a woé; for example in woé Kaki
MEMBERSHIP RULES

Minimally, clan membership is acquired by birth. The Hoga Sara insist that membership in a woé depends on the payment of bridewealth by the father to the mother's family and on whether the parents are of the same or of different clans. In the case where they are of different clans, if the father of an individual has fulfilled his bridewealth obligations for the mother, then the child will assume the father's clan affiliation. In the case of marriage without bridewealth, the child remains a member of the mother's woé. When both the father and mother belong to the same clan, the fulfilment of bridewealth obligations only affects the child's named house membership within the clan.

However, the insistence of the Hoga Sara that the child belongs to the group of the father after bridewealth has been paid, cannot be accepted without some qualification. Qualifications to the general rule are linked to the definition of membership in a named house of the clan. For example, irrespective of payment of bridewealth, a first-born child (ana tengé/logo) has dual house membership. The child is a full member of both the father's and the mother's house, and if the parents are from different clans, than the child also holds dual clan membership. Thus, factors which define membership in a named house may affect membership in a clan.

Clan membership is defined in terms of rights and obligations or duties. Members of a woé by birth have the right to inherit land from the holdings of the clan. However, rights are forfeited if duties -- participation in all clan rituals -- are not fulfilled.

INVERSION IN THE GENERAL PRACTICE OF SUCCESSION IN THE MYTHICAL PAST

According to the usual mode of succession, in a named house the eldest son is to carry on the line. In the mythical past, however, an instance of inversion of this practice is claimed to have occurred in the succession of the sa'o saka pu'u
and sa'o saka lobo. This event is recorded in a myth and still has ramifications today in certain interactions between the trunk and tip rider houses of a clan. Versions of this myth are known to the three autochthonous clans of Sara Sedu (woé Kaki, woé Tura and woé Bhoké Héke) and also to the immigrant clan Moa Bela. The immigrant clan Belu, who does not share common ancestral derivation with the other Sara Sedu clans, does not possess this myth. The myth is also of no importance to the subclans of woé Kaki (woé Kaki-Rawé and woé Benu-Nai) whose differentiation from their parent clan is believed to have occurred some generations after the mythical inversion of succession.

According to Hoga Sara constructions of clan history, the founding ancestor established the first house which is the sa'o saka pu'u. Later his eldest son succeeded in this house while his younger child, usually a daughter, founded the line of sa'o saka lobo. The myth, which is usually set in the time when clan segmentation was in its earliest stages, recounts an inversion in this line of succession. The main characters are the children (or grandchildren) of the founding ancestor of a particular clan. In the myth the reason for the inversion of succession is connected with working the fields. As the result of her skills and speed in the fields the younger daughter has to move to the sa'o saka pu'u and carry on its line of instead of her elder brother, who becomes relegated to carry on the line of sa'o saka lobo. A couple of examples of this myth are:

1. Kaki and Mégo (the brother and sister)

   The sister and brother were weeding the garden. [The sister] was clever, she chose to work with a sharp knife. She started clearing the garden with the knife after she had burnt the vegetation. After that waiting for the rain so she could plant, all the while cutting down the vegetation. After that the brother exclaimed: "You have planted (finished planting) before me, here is the bhogi juju (an heirloom of the sa'o saka pu'u which stores the grains ritually planted in the ritual

4 The local text for these myths is presented in the appendix.
centre of the garden). You are the sister! Ele (word of exclamation) I do not have the right to it (bhogi juju) now, now you are the elder."

And the sister finished planting. When she finished she exclaimed: "I am a Benu (referring to the name of her father's house) woman". Then the brother immediately exclaimed: "Then you take the bhogi juju. You are the elder, I am the younger." Both sides, the sister and the brother were (competing in) clearing the garden, but really the brother of the sister was the elder.

The brother here was the elder, although not any more the elder. Then the brother threw the bhogi juju [to her], and began building a boundary of stone pile. "[Even when] clearing the village courtyard do not step over to the left, do not step over to the right of your border, of my border here. Inside the house do not climb up (enter), inside the house on the left do not enter, unless it is a younger named house or an unnamed family house. You may take only from the sa'o dhoro. (No marriage can take place between the sa'o saka lobo and sa'o saka pu'u unless it is with a younger house of either of these.) House to house cannot take [exchange], hey, not even fire can be reciprocally borrowed."

It was said: "Hey! do not even scratch each others' back." The brother said: "We do not scratch each others' back" (meaning, do not climb into each others' houses). The bhogi juju was handed over, the belly/womb of the brother (the brother's descendants) never to inherit it, the bhogi juju.

2. Planting

In the beginning Dhaké went away to distribute land. It was already the season to plant the gardens when Dhaké went to distribute land. So all the [other] people went to the gardens and [promptly] started planting. [Our family] The members of our house [must wait for] awaited the return of Dhaké. And then the sister, Keli already finished planting. Then the brother just waited. Dhaké has not yet returned, the brother waited. The season for planting already arrived [and] the sister did not wait for [the return of] Dhaké. Keli planted [earlier] first.

Then Dhaké came home. [When] the brother told [him]: "Sister [already planted earlier] has already planted before I did." Then Dhaké said: "Good. Then Keli should plant first during the planting season. [When] The sister finished planting, then the brother finishes planting. Keli is the elder you are the younger."

So the brother is the elder and the sister the younger, [but] the brother is no longer the elder. So the trunk rider house is Sa'o Keli and [in contrast to] the tip rider house is Sa'o Mopa Milo.

In the first version of the myth (from woé Kaki) the sister uses a different, faster, and more efficient technique for clearing the gardens and thus plants first. A rather angry and embarrassed elder brother renounces his rights with an oath as trunk rider and transfers these rights along with the sacred heirloom bhogi juju to
the younger sister and her house. In the other myth the younger sister does not wait for the return of her father who is late coming home, and she plants the gardens since its season has arrived. Upon his return, seeing the daughter's sense at not waiting and risking a failed harvest and hunger for the coming year, thus ensuring the welfare of all, he gives her the trunk rider status and relegates his elder son's status to tip rider.

This myth evidently emphasizes that the fields [garden] of the sa'o saka pu'u has to be successful. Indeed all the rituals of the calendrical cycle focus on the success of the field of the sa'o saka pu'u in order to guarantee the success of the fields of all the other houses of the clan. In these rituals, the saka pu'u has a foremost role. Since all livelihood for the majority of Hoga Sara depends on their gardens, the prosperity of the fields is essential and the ritual role of the saka pu'u is considered indispensable. Therefore, the person succeeding in the sa'o saka pu'u has a great responsibility toward the clan.

Viewed in this light then, the myth is not just about an inversion in the general practice of succession, as most Hoga Sara would emphasize. The myth also stresses the special role of the sa'o saka pu'u and that the person who succeeds in the line of saka pu'u should not only do so because of birth status but also because of skills and abilities that benefit and secure the welfare of the entire clan.

The inversion of succession between the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo is illustrated in Figure 20.

\[\text{\footnotesize 5 The female value attached to the trunk rider house correlates with its life conferring or generating power in respect of the gardens. This power is also attested in the case of a childless couple who are believed to be able to conceive after a blessing rite from the eldest member of the sa'o saka pu'u.}\]
When tensions in the political relations between two sa'o pu'u arise, the mythical relegation of an elder brother to a more subordinate status, in carrying on the line of a younger house instead of that of his birth-right, is usually cited to explain the reason for the tense relations. When the sa'o saka lobo acts on its own without the consultation and consensus from the sa'o saka pu'u on matters which concern the entire clan, this house usually refers back to such a myth in order to justify its actions. The following summarized notes on a specific case is an example of just such a situation. It serves to illustrate the kind of tension present between the two sa'o pu'u on account of this mythical displacement.

'More than forty years ago there occurred a split between the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo halves of woé Moa Bela and a reunification occurred only during my stay in Sara Sedu.

The head of the sa'o saka lobo was the elder brother by blood of the head of the sa'o saka pu'u. There should not be marriage directly between the two sa'o pu'u and this situation came about for reasons of childlessness and the successors in these houses being first-born children (ana tengé). The present trunk and tip riders had a FMB who was the head of the sa'o saka pu'u of woé Moa Bela. He had a sister who married into Sa'o Kaju Léwa of subclan Bozo in woé Bhoké Héké. Her eldest son thus belonged to woé Bhoké Héké. He married the sister of the head of the sa'o saka lobo of woé Moa Bela, and had two sons. When the saka pu'u of woé Moa Bela died he had no successors of his own, but only his sister's son from woé Bhoké Héké. As first-born child (ana tengé) he was to carry on the line of the trunk rider house. Of his own two sons in the mode of succession his elder son was supposed to take over. However, it was his younger son who succeeded him since the elder son was an ana tengé to the saka lobo who had no other heirs. Thus it came about that the heads of the trunk and tip rider houses of woé Moa Bela were brothers by blood. Figure 21 summarizes these recent successions in woé Moa Bela.
According to clan myths of woé Moa Bela, the sa'o saka pu'u traces derivation from a younger daughter of the clan founding ancestress Naki. The sa'o saka lobo claims the elder son of Naki as its founder.

Over forty years ago the head of the tip rider house had a debt to pay off to an individual from another village on behalf of a member of the sa'o saka lobo. He tried to do so with a plot of ancestral land. Now this is where the problem started. The land he tried to use for this purpose is non-alienable land as ancestral land, and, if ever, it can only pass outside the clan with the permission gained from the council of elders (mosa laki), but especially from both the trunk and tip rider houses. Furthermore, the plot of land the head of the tip rider house wanted to pay off the debt with belonged to the trunk rider half of the clan. The tip rider half has no rights to the land holdings of the trunk rider half of the clan.

Nevertheless the head of the sa'o saka lobo using the argument that his house was derived from an elder brother, and that he as an individual (and not as the head of tip rider half of the clan) had rights to land from the trunk rider half (inherited from his father who was the trunk rider), tried to pay the debt without ever consulting the head of the sa'o saka pu'u or anyone else.

Once found out, the land was not allowed to be used as payment to another clan in another village and great animosity was generated between the trunk and tip rider halves of the clan. For a while the arguments went back and forth, the head of the tip rider house justifying his actions with the argument that after all his house was founded by the elder brother of the sister who established the trunk rider house. Thus as a younger brother the decision of the sa'o saka lobo should not be questioned, nor was there any need to ask the trunk rider house's (a younger sister's) permission.

The arguments eventually escalated into several fist fights between the two halves. The most severe of these fights took place between the head of the sa'o saka lobo and sa'o saka pu'u who tried to kill each other. The head of the tip rider house became severely wounded by a parang, and the authorities were also involved in the matter.

After this incident the sa'o saka lobo declared that from then on they were a separate clan onto themselves and would have nothing to do with the sa'o saka pu'u. Thus, the tip rider half never participated in the clan rituals, especially those of the agricultural calendar, of woé Moa Bela. Instead this house performed these rites on its own. All other matters of the tip rider house were also dealt with independently. Things went so far that although the tip rider half never erected its own madhu and bhaga, it has declared names for them, and appointed
some of its named houses to functionary roles for the eventual erection of the post and the ancestral house.

Although the rest of the Hoga Sara clans still viewed them as one clan, woe Moa Bela, they themselves, the trunk and tip rider halves, considered themselves as separate clans. However, this feud ended during my stay in Sara Sedu and woe Moa Bela once again was reconciled as one clan and all ritual undertakings and decision making were carried out as a united clan. The two brothers, the head of the sa'o saka pu'u and that of the sa'o saka lobo were also emotionally reconciled.

As this incident shows, it may happen that in clan matters which require discussion and decision within a council of elders, including participation of both trunk and tip houses, the sa'o saka pu'u half of the woe may not be consulted at all, but the sa'o saka lobo take it upon itself to make all decisions and carry them out. This would create a feud and bad feelings between the two halves of the woe and could gave rise to the potential splitting of a clan.

In such circumstances the sa'o saka lobo usually justifies its actions by an apparent denial of the facts of the myth in which the inversion of the succession between the two sa'o pu'u took place. The tip rider house uses the argument for its neglect of the trunk rider house, that it had the right to act on its own since it can claim derivation from an ancestor who was the older brother and that the elder brother's voice should have the ultimate bearing on things as opposed to a younger sister's. This kind of argument for a more superior status of an elder brother may be accepted in the daily interaction within a particular family and in the context of the general mode of succession by an elder son. In the framework of clan (woe) organization, however, the trunk rider house always has a superior status over the tip rider house regardless of the relative age of the early ancestors who succeeded in the two sa'o pu'u. The trunk is always older than its tip and the establishment of the trunk rider house preceded that of the tip rider house. Thus, the precedence of the trunk rider house in all clan affairs cannot be ignored or subverted simply on the basis of the relative age of the successors in the two sa'o pu'u.
DIFFERENCES IN CLAN STRUCTURE OF SOME CLANS OF THE HOGA SARA

The Hoga Sara stress the overall similarities among all their clans. Indeed there are no differences between the clans with respect to the process of differentiation and proliferation of named houses and with regard to the divisions of the clan into a trunk rider and a tip rider halves. Nevertheless some differences do exist in clan structure. Whereas the autochthonous clans of Sara incorporated several local migrant clans into their clan structure as named houses or subclans, woé Bhoké Héké of Sedu never did so. The process of development of subclans in woé Kaki of Sara and woé Bhoké Héké of Sedu respectively, is also unlike due to this differential absorption of migrant. While in woé Kaki it was the absorbed migrant clans of Rawé and Benu-Nai that have gained subclan status, in Sedu the subclans developed along the lines of segmentation of most senior houses within the autochthonous Bhoké Héké clan. The two subclans of woé Kaki -- woé Kaki-Rawé and woé Benu-Nai -- also enjoy a more independent status in contrast to the subclans in woé Bhoké Héké. This semi-independence is indicated by the location of these subclans in different villages (in nua Féo and nua Bodo respectively) from their parent clan (in nua Wolo Rowa) and by the presence of their own separate sacrificial posts that signify their separate identity. In fact, these subclans function as clans in their own right in most respects, but are dependant on woé Kaki with respect to matters of alienation and inheritance of land. In contrast, the subclans of woé Bhoké Héké not only occupy the same village (nuu Watu Manu) but also do not function as independent units nor do they each possess a separate sacrificial post as symbols of identity.

A further distinction is present with respect to clan organization and in the material symbols of identity (madhu or péo post and bhaga house) between most Sara clans and woé Bhoké Héké along with woé Benu-Nai, the subclan of woé Kaki. Woé Benu-Nai is considered as part of the former nua Sara population...
which set up a subsidiary village and still lives in nua Bodo. Woé Bhoké Héké on the other hand, represents the former Sedu group, now localized to nua Watu Manu. The clan structure of both clans differs from that of other Sara clans in that they both possess one more functionary house with a ritual role (sa'o ragha ragha) and a péo post as their symbol of clan identity, instead of a madhu post.  

Both clans also lack a bhaga. Despite the Hoga Sara not attaching much importance to the differences of these two groups in contrast to other Sara clans, they need to be considered here, and I therefore discuss the organization of these two clans in turn.

THE STRUCTURE OF woé Benu-Nai, A SUBCLAN OF woé Kaki

Woé Benu-Nai emerged as a subclan of woé Kaki at an early stage of the development of the Kaki clan. Its emergence pre-dates extensive segmentation in the development of woé Kaki in nua Sara and is believed to have occurred before the erection of a madhu and bhaga. In order to understand the structure of subclan Benu-Nai we need to consider its development in the context of the order of precedence of the establishment of its various named houses.

By the time Sa'o Gili Béla gained named house status from Sa'o Téré Molo, the tip rider house (sa'o saka lobo) of woé Kaki in Sara, there occurred a quarrel over the allocation of land to one of the sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Gili Béla. The owner of this unnamed house, Moku Molo, decided to resolve the dispute by moving from nua Sara and founding his own village, nua Bodo. He was accompanied to this new site by the members of the Nai clan who had immigrated from the

---

6 Woé Benu-Nai and woé Bhoké Héké also differ from the Sara clans in their system of marriage. As I will show in the next chapter, while woé Benu-Nai and woé Bhoké Héké contract marriage in an asymmetric fashion, the Sara clans possess a symmetric system of marriage.
neighbouring village confederacy of Rowa\textsuperscript{7} and were incorporated into the Kaki clan, specifically into Sa'o Benu Wali, the sa'o saka pu'u of woé Kaki. Moku Molo was followed by this Nai group because he was married to a woman from this group and also because this group had a chance to gain more land and re-establish itself as a semi-independent group instead of being a sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Benu Wali. This way the Nai group did not have to wait until they were elevated to the status of sa'o mézé.

Thus, the new subclan Benu-Nai, founder of the village of Bodo, was composed of sa'o dhoro, unnamed family houses, from both the trunk and tip rider houses of woé Kaki. The name of this woé is a composite derived from the name of the trunk rider house of the Kaki clan (Benu Wali) and from the name of the immigrant clan (Nai) which was absorbed by this house. Their derivation is acknowledged in the names of their sa'o mézé as well. Sa'o Moku Molo, the first named house, was of course named after the discontented man of woé Kaki who moved away from Sara and founded nua Bodo. This house, Sa'o Moku Molo became the sa'o saka pu'u for woé Benu-Nai. The next named house originated from yet another sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Gili Béla of the Kaki clan in Sara, namely the house of Moku Molo's younger brother. In acknowledgment of both Moku Molo's and his brother's derivation, this house was called Sa'o Gili Béla, and became sa'o saka lobo for woé Benu-Nai in nua Bodo. The unnamed family houses of both the trunk and tip rider houses were those of their wives and the wives' family, namely the Nai group.

The process of the emergence of the other sa'o mézé in woé Benu-Nai was the same as seen in the Kaki clan. The next named house that came into existence from the trunk rider half of woé Benu-Nai was Sa'o Rada Doza, a former sa'o

\textsuperscript{7} The village confederacy of Rowa is one of the four related village confederacies (Taka Tunga, Sara Sedu, Sanga Dëto, Rowa) that claim common ancestral derivation.
dhoro of Sa'o Moku Molo. Sa'o Rada Doza gave rise to Sa'o Tiwu Wali. The last named house to emerge from the sa'o saka pu'u half of the clan was Sa'o Kodu Molo, a former sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Moku Molo. In the sa'o saka lobo half of the clan, Sa'o Gili Béla elevated one of its unnamed houses to become Sa'o Naru Wali. In turn, Sa'o Naru Wali recognized one of its sa'o dhoro as Sa'o Iné Huma.

Once the segmentation of woé Benu-Nai was well advanced, the clan erected a buffalo sacrifice post, péo, to symbolize its unity and identity. The absence of a madhu and bhaga for this clan is significant, since it is a splinter group from a clan that possesses madhu and bhaga as symbols of clan unity. The name given to the péo, however, does commemorate the derivation of woé Benu-Nai from woé Kaki, bearing the name of Galu Molo, a grandson of Kaki Rato, the founding ancestor of woé Kaki. Elders of woé Benu-Nai claim that this clan in nua Bodo erected a péo post as its clan's material symbol even before woé Kaki in nua Sara erected a madhu post and bhaga house. Thus, they claim the péo post pre-dates the madhu post as a symbol of clan identity. In connection with the péo post there is also an additional functionary house, the ragha-ragha. During carrying this post from the forest, this functionary has to shake a bamboo rattle to keep malevolent spirits from following.

The structure of woé Benu-Nai is represented in Figures 22 a. and b.

---

8 The sa'o ragha ragha is also located on the left side of the village as a part of the trunk rider half of the clan. However, its positioning within this half is not specific, as opposed to that of the sa'o lado bëpi and sa'o wua hæ, nor is there a specific categorical masculine or feminine association with it.
In the Sedu part of Sara Sedu represented by woe Bheké Héké now located in nua Watu Manu certain differences in clan structure are also present. Most aspects of clan organization are similar to woe Benu-Nai of nua Bodo and the differences are rooted in the history of segmentation within woe Bhoké Héké. The material symbol of clan unity for woe Bhoké Héké is also the péo post with no madhu and bhaga.

The Sedu population, tends to view itself and presents itself publicly as one clan, woe Bhoké Héké. However, upon closer examination, the Sedu people also talk of woe Fua, Keli, Bozo, and Bega, and Jara as if these units were individual clans or rather subclans of woe Bhoké Héké.
Woé Fua, Keli, Bozo, Bega, and Jara all claim derivation from Dhaké, the common founding ancestor of woé Bhoké Héké. More specifically, each of the subclans recognizes derivation from one of the children of this founding ancestor, Dhaké (and his wife, Kedho), who are named Keli, Tora Ga'ê, Fua, Bozo, and Elu Waé. Keli was the only female in the sibling set, while Bozo, Fua, Tora Ga'ê and Elu Waé were brothers. Keli, Bozo, and Fua are claimed as founders of the subclans bearing their names. Tora Ga'ê and Elu Waé are claimed as the founding ancestors of the subclans Jara and Bega respectively.

These five siblings founded named houses. Initially however, Keli and Bozo occupied the same named house, as did Tora Ga'ê and Elu Waé. Tora Ga'ê and Keli were the two elder siblings and they carried on the lines sa'o saka lobo and sa'o saka pu'u respectively. The trunk rider house was founded by Dhaké. According to the clan myth, although Keli was younger than Tora Ga'ê, she succeeded in the sa'o saka pu'u while Tora Ga'ê carried on the line of the sa'o saka lobo. The grandchildren of Bozo and Elu Waé later established their own named houses. Each of these named houses then further expanded in time with several named branch houses. The named houses that derive from the five siblings gradually developed into individual subclans.

The composition of woé Bhoké Héké with respect to named houses, some of which hold a functionary role, is represented in Figure 23.

The eldest house of each of the subclans fulfill a functionary role usually correlated with the birth order of the ancestors that founded the subclans. Thus the trunk half of woé Bhoké Héké includes the sa'o wua baé and sa'o lado bépi, which are the two earliest houses of the subclan Bozo. The sa'o tugu tugu is the second named house of the subclan Jara, while the sa'o rada riwu is the earliest

---

9 With regard to this inversion in succession refer to the myth "2. Planting" on page 121.
house of subclan Fua in the tip half of woé Bhoké Héké. The sa'o ragha ragha is the eldest house of the Bega subclan.

The relations between the functionary houses of woé Bhoké Héké are described in Figure 24.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBCLAN</th>
<th>SA'O MÉZÉ</th>
<th>FUNCTIONARY ROLE OF SA'O MÉZÉ</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SA'O DHORO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keli</td>
<td>Sa'o Keli</td>
<td>sa'o saka pu'u</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Papé Wali</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bozo</td>
<td>Sa'o Kaju Léwa</td>
<td>sa'o lado bépi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Loda Léwa</td>
<td>sa'o wua baé</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Lagho Léwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Nago Wali</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Mo'i Milo</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TRUNK RIDER</td>
<td>HALF OF THE CLAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jara</td>
<td>Sa'o Mopa Milo</td>
<td>sa'o saka lobo</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Tena Zia</td>
<td>sa'o tugu tugu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fua</td>
<td>Sa'o Kéo Wula</td>
<td>sa'o rada riwu</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Sedu Wali</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Mawo Sedu</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bega</td>
<td>Sa'o Manu Bhar</td>
<td>sa'o ragha ragha</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Manu Pada</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa'o Milo Wali</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TIP RIDER</td>
<td>HALF OF THE CLAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 23.** Organization of woé Bhoké Héké with its sa'o mézé and their functionary roles

- sa'o saka pu'u
  - (F)
  - KELI
  - Sa'o Keli

- sa'o lado bépi
  - (F)
  - BOZO
  - Sa'o Kaju Léwa

- sa'o wua baé
  - (F)
  - BOZO
  - Sa'o Loda Léwa

- sa'o rada riwu
  - (M)
  - JARA
  - Sa'o Mopa Milo

- sa'o tugu tugu
  - (M)
  - JARA
  - Sa'o Kéo Wula

- sa'o ragha ragha
  - (M/F)
  - FUA
  - Sa'o Manu Bhar

**NOTE:** Name of subclans are capitalized

**FIGURE 24.** Relation between the functionary houses in woé Bhoké Héké and the component subclans
Relationships of trunk and tip, ka'ë-azi, and male-female categorical associations among the named houses and thus subclans, however, works by the same principle as it does in most clans of Sara. The male-female categorical association between the functionary houses needs to be qualified in as far as the sa'o ragha ragha does not possess such categorical value as opposed to the sa'o tugu tugu (male) and sa'o rada riwu (female) within the tip rider half of the clan. Land distribution also follows the same rules of order of precedence as in Sara. In relations with groups outside Sara Sedu and in most major ritual undertakings the five subclans act together as one, as woë Bhoké Héké.

The structure of woë Bhoké Héké is represented in Figure 25 from the perspective of the ka'ë-azi relationship between the component sa'o mézé.

FIGURE 25. Elder-younger sibling relationships among the named houses in woë Bhoké Héké
CONCLUDING REMARKS

In general the Hoga Sara do not perceive a difference in the clan structure between the former Sara and Sedu, and readily equate the madhu post with the pêo post. When pressed on the issue, however, some elders suggested that the differences could be attributed to the fact that Sara absorbed most of the immigrants from regions that culturally belong to the Ngadha group.

Although the Ngadha do possess the madhu post and bhaga ancestral mother house as symbols of clan identity and a section of the clan which splinters from the mother clan does erect such symbols to signify their new identity, their clan structure is different from that found in most of the Sara clans that possess these symbols. In contrast to most clans of the Hoga Sara, the Ngadha clans only possess two named houses, the trunk and tip rider houses (sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo), while all other houses constitute their supporting unnamed houses (sa'o dhoro). Furthermore, when a section of a Ngadha clan breaks off, it does not become a subclan, as in the case of woé Benu-Nai, (which is still only semi-autonomous and with regards to land ownership is a dependant of the parent clan), but becomes an independent clan usually moving to another village confederacy.\(^{10}\)

When we consider that woé Bhoké Héké of former Sedu has never absorbed any of the immigrant clans, and that woé Benu-Nai emerged as a subclan from woé Kaki of former Sara before its segmentation became advanced and before it has absorbed most of the immigrant clans, then perhaps we can speculate that the structure of the autochthonous clans of Sara Sedu were once more homogeneous than at present. With regard to the material symbols of identity, according to some claims the pêo post pre-dates the madhu post as well, although there are those who suggest that such symbols are a later introduction and not native to Sara

---

\(^{10}\) The comparative data on Ngadha social organization was obtained in the field from villages belonging to the Ngadha group occupying the districts of Bajawa and Golêwa.
Sedu. Furthermore, in the history of clan and village development, during the phase when woé Tura, woé Kaki, and its subclan woé Kaki-Rawé moved to nua Pogo from nua Sara, these clans did not erect their individual madhu and bhaga, but instead raised a single péo post (named Galu Wali). The Tura clan's eldest house was the trunk rider for this péo post, while the most senior house of the Kaki clan (including its subclan) fulfilled the tip rider function. The presence of the péo post in nua Pogo was explained as symbolizing the unity of the two autochthonous clans that then shared a village; a unity which the informants attributed to links through shared ancestral derivation between these two clans.\(^{11}\)

The similarity between the clan structure of most Sara clans to that of the woé Bhoké Héké of former Sedu and woé Benu-Nai of Bodo is much greater than to that of the Ngadha clans. The original clan structure of the autochthonous clans (Bhoké Héké, Kaki, and Tura) of Sara Sedu might have mirrored that of the present woé Bhoké Héké and Benu-Nai, however, woé Kaki and woé Tura through their incorporation of certain immigrant clans might have experienced some structural adaptations, although not an outright change over, to the influences from the Ngadha culture. In accordance with these adaptations, the choice of a material symbol of group identity in the form of sacrificial post may also have been affected.

Furthermore, in the wider context of the three other related and neighbouring former village confederacies of Sanga Déto, Rowa, and Taka Tunga, we might arrive at a similar speculation. The clan structure found in Sanga Déto, Rowa, and the Taka part of Taka Tunga are the same as found in woé Bhoké Héké and Benu-Nai in Sara Sedu. Their material symbol of clan identity is also the péo post. The

\(^{11}\) With respect to this claim of common ancestral derivation we need to recall that Robé Gaé, the founder of the Tura clan, and the mother of Kaki Rato, the founder of the Kaki clan, were siblings. Furthermore, Kaki Rato married one of the daughters of Robé Gaé, and thus founded the Kaki clan.
clans of the Tunga part of Taka Tunga who underwent similar patterns of incorporating immigrant clans from Naru to the autochthonous clans of Sara, show the same clan structure as their Sara counterparts with a madhu post and bhaga.
CHAPTER FOUR

HOUSE AS BASIC UNIT OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION
The house, more specifically the named house, has thus far been discussed as a component of the clan (woè). It would be misleading, however, to consider the sa’o mézé as just a lineage in the clan in the traditional anthropological sense. The sa’o in Sara Sedu ties together a range of kin and affinal relations. The pivotal role of the sa’o mézé in Hoga Sara social organization is rooted in the concept of dhoro (dhodho)\(^1\), ‘derivation’ [lit. ‘to descend from the house’]. First, I define what constitutes membership in a named house and who is regarded as an ana ebu of a sa’o mézé. Next, I discuss the Hoga Sara concept of derivation (dhoro or dhodho) in its different meanings. After considering how membership in a named house is conditioned by aspects of marriage, I go on to analyse affinal relations within and between clans (subclans) and the houses they comprise, contrasting developments in most Sara clans with practices in Sedu and Bodo. Finally, I

---

\(^1\) These two terms, dhodho and dhoro, are often used interchangeably in Sara Sedu and are dialectical variations of the same word. Dhoro is a word from the Bajawa language, while dhodho is from the Nagè language. These variants exemplify the fact that the Sara Sedu dialect is transitional between the eastern Ngadha dialect and the neighbouring Nagè language.
provide comparative data on kin and affines terms to conclude this discussion of the pivotal position of the concept of the house in the social organization of Sara Sedu.

MEMBERSHIP IN A NAMED HOUSE (SA'O MÉZÉ)

When we ask a person of Sara Sedu, who is a member of a sa'o mézé, the first answer is always, that who ever was born to the house if the father has fulfilled his bridewealth obligations, then that individual is an ana ebu [lit. grandchild] of the house. However, a more careful examination of the sa'o mézé reveals a more complex picture about house membership.

In a narrow sense, a member (ana ebu) of the sa'o mézé is an individual born into the family of the sa'o mézé or into the family of one of the sa'o dhoro of the named house. The father of this individual has to have discharged all or at least the first two parts of the bridewealth obligations towards his wife's family. Also any woman from another named house marrying into the particular sa'o mézé with bridewealth paid for her, automatically becomes a member of her husband's house. Thus, through these two forms of membership the 'grandchildren' (ana ebu) of a house are minimally defined.

---

2 Initially most Hoga Sara would talk about unilineal descent only though the father. Amazingly on occasion they even use the term patrilini. I say 'amazingly' since this foreign term is encountered in a largely illiterate community. The term 'patrilini' actually entered into Sara Sedu vocabulary through certain officials of the local cultural department visiting and evaluating the culture of the village. These officials are literate and would also be familiar with the writings of the missionary, Paul Arndt. The term patrilini was quickly adopted since it contrasts to Ngadha matrilini. In fact the local departments of education and culture categorize the Ngadha as matrilineal since by and large marriages are contracted without bridewealth and a child's group membership follows that of its mother. Matrilini is rather a tendency in the Ngadha group and in historical perspective is by no means a generally accurate appraisal. The Hoga Sara also distinguish themselves from the ata de'a, 'hill-billies', [Ngadha], by what is to them an important fact, namely that they usually marry with the payment of bridewealth and that this is a factor in group membership and in rights to land. Therefore, in the sense of 'ethnic identity' they would be quick to contrast themselves as having patrilini, while the Ngadha have matrilini.
In a wider sense, however, ana ebu of the sa'o mézé also include all those individuals who can trace their ancestry through a woman who married out from the sa'o mézé into another named house. Thus, descendants from an affinal house are also categorized as grandchildren of the maternal named house. In any ritual or other undertaking, the attendance of all ana ebu is required, however, only those ana ebu who trace their ties to the named house through maternal ancestry will be punished by a fine for lack of attendance and participation. This sense of ana ebu of a sa'o mézé is tied up with Sara Sedu notions of dhoro (dhodho) [lit. 'to descend from the house'], derivation.

Another way in which the Hoga Sara define membership in a named house is in terms of rights and obligations. The rights refer to the right to inherit, primarily ancestral land, but also house and family goods. The duties include attendance, active participation, and material and labour contributions to any ritual and political undertaking of the house. If any of these duties is neglected, rights are forsaken, and so is membership. Therefore, the birth of a male member for whose mother bridewealth was paid does not automatically guarantee rights and membership in the sa'o mézé. For example, an individual who never participates in any of his natal house's rituals and other common undertakings, forfeits his birth rights and house membership.

In the context of defining house membership in terms of rights of inheritance and obligations, an in-married woman could be viewed as a borderline member. So far as rights are concerned, she can only inherit land from her husband on behalf of her children. Any land she inherits can never become her personal possession or that of her natal house. On the other hand, she has the full obligations to participate in the affairs of her new house.
Although membership in a house and rights to inherit land are very closely associated in the minds of the Hoga Sara, the rights to inheritance and membership in the house are not always the same thing. Upon her marriage, when she switches membership to her husband's house, a woman will usually receive a piece of land, ngia ngora, ancestral land, from her parents. This land does not become the property of her husband's house when she becomes a member of that house. Her land however can be inherited by her children and their descendants. If no more descendants exist in her line, her piece of land returns to the holding of her original house. Therefore, although the woman's house membership changes upon her marriage, she still has the right to inheritance of land from her natal house.

NAMED HOUSE CONTINUITY AND THE ROLE OF THE 'FIRST-BORN CHILD' (ANA TENGÉ OR ANA LOGO)\(^3\)

The membership of a first-born child in a sa'o mézé presents a special case. Some of the Hoga Sara claim dual house membership. In some cases women may even claim to be members of three houses. These individuals point out that they can claim ana ebu status in more than one house since they are ana tengé, 'first-born children'. (Due to dialectical variation, this is sometimes also referred to as ana tangi ['child of the stairs' and in Sedu and Bodo as ana logo ['the child of the back'].\(^4\)

First-born children claim to be members of both their father's and mother's houses, irrespective of whether bridewealth was paid for their mother. First-born

---

\(^3\) Ana tengé and ana logo are dialectical variations and refer to a first-born child.

\(^4\) The terms ana tengé [ana = child, tengé = property, true or real] and ana tangi [tangi = stairs, ladder]. I was told, can be used inter-changeably. The 'child of the stairs', ana tangi expression recalls the fact that a woman literally descends the stairs of her natal house as she goes on to her husband's house. Thus, her first-born child would be the child of the stairs of her natal house, and as such, the child would have access to the mother's house, as the stairs give access to the house.
females also claim as their third house that of their husband's. The claim for dual membership is again expressed in terms of rights of inheritance and duties. Ana tengé or ana logo individuals claim to have the right to inherit land from both their father's and mother's houses and to have to fulfill the same duties towards both sa'o mézé. From the mother's house, a first-born would inherit an equal share with the children of the mother's brother, and in cases where the MB lacks any offspring, everything including the house as well. In case there are several mother's brothers an ana tengé does inherit from all of them. As far as inheritance is concerned there is no differentiation between male or female first-born individuals. The fulfilment of duties is emphasized in order to confirm rights claimable through birth.5

In the context of land inheritance a further related point needs to be considered in the special case where an ana tengé is requested to carry on the line of his mother's named house. The land of the maternal named house, whose line the ana tengé will carry on, can not become the property of his paternal house. His sister's children will only be able to inherit from the land that the ana tengé owns from his own father's house, but under no circumstance inherit from the land he acquired by being transformed into the main genitor of the line of his mother's named house.

5 Therefore, we can see that house membership is not a category of lineal descent through the male line. The concept of lineality does not help much in explaining house membership, ana ebu status, or the local concept of derivation as explicated in the various meanings of dhoro/dhodho (lit. 'to descend'). Dhoro can refer to either derivation traced through the named house of the father, or ties traced through the house of the mother. One could argue that perhaps then we best talk of ambilineality, where descent can be traced through either parent's line. However, this line of argument is not very useful, with perhaps the exception of the case of ana tengé, as far as rights and duties are concerned, the terms in which membership is often defined. Instead, I would rather argue that we dispense this the concept of lineality in the sense of descent, as it does not help us understand the various aspects of group membership and of social organization in Sara Sedu; if anything, it confuses a wide range of social relationships. The question who is ana ebu highlights the fact that the named house, sa'o mézé ties together the traditional anthropological concepts of descent and affinity and territoriality in an almost inseparable fashion.
According to the rules of succession, the line of a named house is usually carried on by the eldest son of the senior family occupying the sa'o mézé. If this family has no sons, then a male next in line from among the sa'o dhoro of this house will succeed. However, if there are no more male descendants within the families of a sa'o mézé there are two options for ensuring the continuity of a named house.

The first and most preferred option involves the recalling of a most senior male ana tengé or ana logo of the named house to carry on the line and inherit land and property. In the context of succession in a named house, an ana tengé is a first-born son of a woman who married out from the sa'o mézé. Once an ana tengé (logo) takes over the line of a sa'o mézé, he would automatically be more strongly affiliated with the mother's named house, even though his father paid bridewealth for his mother, and his children would be considered members of this house. As a first born male he would already be a member of this house with duties and rights to inherit from his mother's as well as from his father's house.

If he had not been required to carry on his mother's house, his sons would have carried on the line of his father's house. More specifically, an ana tengé or ana logo although he is considered as a member of both his father's and mother's house in duties and rights of inheritance, after his marriage, having paid bridewealth, his children, especially his sons would have carried on the line of his father's house. Thus by fulfilling ana tengé (logo) obligation, the house membership of his children is affected.

Sometimes, a man who is an ana tengé or ana logo will marry a woman of the maternal house whose line he has been requested to carry on; however, this does not happen often. Although it is allowed since as an ana tengé, he would be marrying a classificatory MBD, an ana nara, it is preferred that he does not do so
within the senior named house, but perhaps with one of its younger named branch houses. This latter case would be especially approved of in Sedu. Although an ana tengé or ana logo might be taken into the maternal house as a child, often he is already an adult when the childless maternal sa'o mézé demands that he carry on the line.

The second option open to a sa'o mézé without any male descendants to continue its line is to entrust this role to a daughter of the house. This option is only resorted to if the sa'o mézé also lacks any male ana tengé. In such a case the woman is not allowed to marry out of the house. No bridewealth will be accepted for her in order to ensure that all her children will belong to her named house.

Although informants insisted that it has never happened in the history of the named houses present in Sara Sedu, I was told that as a last resort in providing for the continuity of a sa'o mézé a female ana tengé may be requested to carry on the line. This could only happen if the named house was down to its very last member (for example, if an epidemic has decimated all members of a named house).

HOUSE MEMBERSHIP AS EFFECTED BY ASPECTS OF MARRIAGE

In the following section, I want to discuss aspects of marriage in Sara Sedu in order to make the intricacies of the concept of house membership clearer. There are certain structural differences in marriage practices between most clans of former Sara and the clan of former Sedu. The subclan Benu-Nai (of former Sara) in the village of Bodo possesses the same features and system of marriage as Sedu. Therefore, I shall consider differences between the systems of marriage in a) Sara and b) Sedu along with Bodo separately.
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SARA SEDU MARRIAGES

Marriages are contracted between the houses either within a clan or in different clans. The preference is to marry within a close circle of houses, that is, within Sara, a marriage between the houses of a particular clan or houses of various clans; and within Sedu, between the houses of the five parts of the Bhoké héké clan. Second order of preference is for marriage between houses of Sara and Sedu. The third order of preference is with houses of clans in the related villages of Taka Tunga, Sanga Deto, and Rowa, who are considered historically as descendants of the same sibling set of ancestors as in Sara Sedu. Therefore, marriage ties are inward looking and to various degrees locally endogamous. There are also some modern instances of marriage with a partner from the 'outside' of the four villages, but by far the majority of marriages occur within Sara Sedu.

Within Sara Sedu, the preference is to marry with a house with whom there is a ka'ë-azi relationship, that is, a house that claims derivation from a common founding ancestor (ebu mogo). Such ebu mogo relations can be found at the level of the various autochthonous clans, and at the level of houses within a particular clan. In Sara Sedu the marital union may be considered exogamous since most women marry out of their natal house. Although at the larger inclusive levels endogamy seems to prevail, at the level of the house, the basic unit that contracts marriage, exogamy is required.

These general features of marriage contraction in Sara Sedu are shown in detail in Table 2. The matrix of the table shows the number of marriages per named house that occurred in Sara Sedu over time. The table is based on marriages recorded in the genealogies I have collected. The genealogies were of varying depth, depending on the informants' recall.

The table shows a total of 1,605 marriages. From the total number of marriages 1,293, about 80.56%, were contracted within the village confederacy of
Based on the figures from Table 2, Table 3 summarizes the breakdown of marriages between Sara, Sedu, and Bodo within Sara Sedu.\(^6\)

The marriages between the clans of Sara, Bodo, and Sedu are illustrated in Figure 26. The frequency and direction of marriages among the various clans of Sara Sedu is shown in Table 4 which is based on the figures presented in Table 2. By far the greatest number of marriages contracted occurred within the clan. Thus, the most common marriage relations in Sara Sedu is between members of the houses of a particular clan. In the clans of Sara the next most frequent marriage relations are with another clan within Sara and only thirdly with clans of Sedu and Bodo.

The subclan Benu-Nai of Bodo first intermarry among themselves, then with woé Bhoké Héké of Sedu and thirdly with other clans of Sara. For woé Bhoké Héké of Sedu the next most frequent marriage contraction is with the clans of Sara, and lastly with woé Benu-Nai of Bodo.

Another general feature of marriages between the named house in Sara Sedu is the payment of bridewealth, which affects the membership in a house. After the second portion of the bridewealth has been paid, the mother's share and the father's share \([\text{lawo iné}, \text{lúé ema}]\)\(^8\), the bride officially moves to the husband's house and automatically becomes a member of that house. In Sedu and in Bodo the second

---

\(^6\) The table also shows that when marriages occurred with groups outside of Sara Sedu most often the preference was for marriage with one of the three other related village confederacies of Taka Tunga, Sanga Deto, and Rowa. 216 marriages were contracted with these village confederacies, thus about 13.46% of the total marriages. This figure contrasts with the relatively low frequency of marriages (only 4.86%) with groups outside the realm of Sara Sedu and the three other related village confederacies.

\(^7\) The number of marriages indicated in Table 3 is affected by the different size of these three groups.

\(^8\) Certain parts of the bridewealth are referred to in the idiom of textiles -- \text{lawo iné} mother's dress, and \text{lúé ema}, father's \text{sarong} -- in a community that traditionally does not weave.
TABLE 3. MARRIAGES WITHIN SARA SEDU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># Marriages</th>
<th>% Marriages within Sara Sedu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Within Sara:</td>
<td>762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Sedu:</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Bodo:</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Sedu and Bodo:</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Sara and Sedu:</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Sara and Bodo:</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>1,293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4. Marriages per clan in Sara Sedu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clans in Sara Sedu</th>
<th>Wife-Givers</th>
<th>Total in the clan</th>
<th>Within with Sara clans</th>
<th>Within with Benu-Nai clan of Bodo</th>
<th>Within with Bhoké Héké clan of Sedu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wife-Takers</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaki</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>57.62</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>27.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tura</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>49.46</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>48.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaki-Rawé</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34.96</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>61.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moa Bela</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41.49</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belu</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49.56</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BODO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benu-Nai</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37.96</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEDU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhoké Héké</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>56.01</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>33.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,293</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTE: Arrows indicate direction in which women were given in marriage. Numbers indicate the number of marriages

FIGURE 26. Marriages between the clans of Sara Sedu
part of the bridewealth also fixes the house membership of all children. In Sara, however, it only fixes the rights of the first child. If further parts of the ngawu, bridewealth, are not been delivered at all for more than two years, the house membership of the other children may be negotiated. For instance such membership negotiations would arise if a family of the mother's natal house is lacking in descendants to carry on the line. If it is the named house of the mother that is facing discontinuity, there is no need for such negotiations since the ana tengé would have the automatic duty to take over. A marriage with bridewealth is referred to as pasa ['moving over'].

If no bridewealth is to be paid the woman does not change house membership and the children follow her in gaining rights and thus inheritance. A marriage without bridewealth is referred to as di'i sa'o ['staying in the house']. However, marriages without bridewealth are rather uncommon and are not desired. Bridewealth is usually not paid fully at the time of finalizing marriage between the houses of the bride and groom. After the wife has moved to the husband's house, the remaining parts of the bridewealth may be paid on later ritual occasions of either houses, especially during funeral feasts and major calendrical rites. It is not very common, however, that parts of a bridewealth payment would be carried over generations; at most, a son may finish paying the last part(s) of his mother's bridewealth. The payment of bridewealth thus has a strong bearing on house membership.

**NGAWU**

The bridewealth (ngawu) is made up of three major parts: lué ema [father's sarong], lawo iné [mother's dress], and ngia nara or ka tara [face of the brother/to eat the branch]. These are the named shares for the father, the mother and the brothers, including the mother's brother, respectively. These payments are in fact
distributed to all those family members, whose houses contributed to the bridewealth of a male member of the house. Thus, bridewealth is collected by the families of a named house primarily, and secondarily may be contributed by the younger named branches of the house. Bridewealth received from a bride-taking family, and often demanded when collecting bridewealth for a male member of the house is converted to ngawu to be paid. A mother's brother is also a large contributor to his sister's son's bridewealth and also thus receives a share of the ngawu for his sister's daughter.

For each part of the ngawu received, the bride's house reciprocates with a counter-gift. Unlike for the parts of the bridewealth, there is no local term for the counter-gift. Only the individual items of the gift are listed. The expression for the exchange of bridewealth and counter-gift is papa sēbha [papa = side; sēbha = a part of something, to hang over the shoulders]. The parts of the bridewealth and counter-gift are outlined below separately for Sara and Sedu along with Bodo in order to indicate certain differences.

NGAWU AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN THE CLANS OF SARA

Ngawu paid by groom's house:

1.) Lué ema, the father's share, is composed of four parts:
   i. jara [lit. 'horse']: a water buffalo -- the horns' length spans from the finger tips to just above the elbow
   ii. dhepo [lit. 'to follow']: two young water buffalos -- the horns' length spans from the finger tips to just above the wrist.
   OR
   omé wutu tebo tai, 'four pieces of gold, the body's food substance' [omé = gold; wutu = four; tebo = body; tai = excrement, food substance], was the former name of this part and was literally four of gold items.
   iii. mosa [lit. 'adult male animal']: a large adult water buffalo -- the horns' length span from the fingertips to the shoulder or
above the shoulder.

iv. dhépo wéa ka' é wéa azi ['follows the gold of the elder, the gold of the younger']: a water buffalo.

2.) Lawo iné is composed of the same parts and same number and kind of items as the lué ema.

3.) Ngia nara: its component parts do not have a separate name. This part is made up of a water buffalo and a horse.

Counter-gift returned by bride's house:

1.) Gift returned for lué ema:
   i. punga boro ['to boil the mouth']: a small pig
      -- measuring width of the pig from mid-back to mid front, span from fingertip to just above the wrist (gasa zua = two finger width); wela [lit. 'to split with a bushknife' -- the mode of killing a pig]: an average sized pig -- span from the fingertip to middle of lower arm (gasa wutu = four finger width); pau: a large pig -- measurement span from the finger tip to shoulder (sa'a wae / puri kete = water up to the shoulder/bordering at the armpit).
   ii. wela and pau: an average and a large pig
   iii. pau: a large pig
   iv. punga boro: a small pig.

2.) Gift returned for lawo iné: same parts and kinds as for lué ema

3.) punga boro and wela: a small and an average pig.

There are three more occasions for the exchange of items between the wife-taking and wife-giving houses, which however are not counted as bridewealth and counter-gift items by the Sara clans themselves. Nevertheless these exchanges do resemble those in the context of a marriage.

The first of these occasions is called tu wua nio. It takes place after there has been an agreement between the two houses that a marriage will take place. The purpose of tu wua nio is to confirm the commitment of the wife-taking house to the marriage and to confirm that bridewealth will follow. On the occasion of tu wua nio a buffalo and horse (wai fai = the foot of the wife) are delivered by the
wife-taking house. The wife-giving house reciprocates with a small pig (punga boro).

Another occasion of exchanges between the wife-taking and wife-giving houses is on the occasion of accompanying the bride to her husband's house. The wife-taking house gives three horses (sébha lébha = 'to hang over the shoulders fully'). The wife-giving house reciprocates with rati jara ('the fence of the horse'), three textiles (either from the Ngadha region or from the Nagé region).

Lastly, on all occasions of death in the house of the wife-giver, the wife-taking house gives a water buffalo and a horse. The wife-giving house reciprocate with an average-sized pig (wela) and a textile (either a man's or a woman's textile).

Bridewealth and Countergift in Woe Bhoké Héké of Sedu and Woe Benu-Nai of Bodo

Bridewealth (ngawu):

1. ) Lué ema consists of four parts:
   i. jara: a buffalo with horn length spanning from fingertips to just below the elbow.
   ii. dhepo: a horse.
   iii. mosa: a large male buffalo with horn length, span from fingertips to the shoulder.
   iv. wéa sa liwa jara wai ['a bundle of four gold pieces, the horse of the feet']: a stallion and four pieces of gold. The gold may be substituted with a large buffalo (mosa).
2. ) Lawo iné consists of the same kinds and numbers of items as the lué ema.
3. ) Ka tara: a young water buffalo and a horse.

Counter-gifts of the wife-giver house:

1. ) Gifts as reciprocation for lué ema:
   i. pau: a large pig.
   ii. wela and gebha: an averaged sized pig and two

---

9 Formerly this took place after the payment of the lawo iné part of the ngawu. Nowadays however this is done after the Catholic marriage which may coincide with the payment of lawo iné.
palm-leaf mats.

iii. **pau** and **kula**: a large pig and traditional plates of gourd shell.

iv. **punga boro**, 2 **luka Mbai**, and 2 **ura poté**: a small pig, 2 men's textiles from the Mbai region (Nagé), and 2 women's textiles from the Nagé region.

2.) Gifts returned for the **lawo iné** part of the **ngawu** are the same in kind and numbers of items as for the **lué ema**.

3.) **punga boro**, **luka Mbai**, **hoba Nagé**, 2 **gebha**, **kula** a small pig, a men's textile, a woman's textile, two sleeping mats, and gourd shell plates.

Among the Sedu people (**woé Bhoké Héké**) and the subclan of Benu-Nai in **nuá Bodo**, as among the Sara clans, other exchanges take place between the wife-giving and wife-taking houses which resemble bridewealth exchanges. However, these people also insist that these are not bridewealth exchanges.

In order to confirm that bridewealth will follow and that wife-taking house is committed to the marriage, a buffalo and horse (**wai fai**) is delivered to the wife-giving house on the occasion of **topo bhuja tudhi** ['ancestral sword and spear, and working knife']. The wife-giving house reciprocates with two textiles (**hoba seda** and **hoba gebha**).

After the **lawo iné** part of the bridewealth has been paid, when the wife is accompanied to her husband's house, the wife-taking house gives **bhada kawi wea kawi**, gold earrings and a gold chain, to the bride herself. In return her house reciprocates with a large pig (**pau**), two men's textiles (**luka Mbai**) and a woman's shirt (**kodo weki**).

On the occasion of death in the wife-giving house, a horse or buffalo are delivered by the wife-taking house. In return they receive a pig (**wela**) and a textile. When attending each others' rituals, the wife-taking house usually contributes palmwine (** tua**), coconuts (**nio**), and a sacrificial animal (pig or chicken) [thus meat] while the wife-giving house supplies the rice and vegetables.
The items exchanged between the wife-taking and wife-giving houses are different in kind in both Sara and Sedu (and Bodo), although there are small differences with respect to the particular items of bridewealth exchanged. Categorically male goods, livestock and gold items, are given by the categorically female wife-taking house. Pigs and textiles, (plates, and sleeping mats), all categorically female goods, are returned by the categorically male wife-giving house.

The people of Sara Sedu still maintain the exchanges of these items. The contents of bridewealth and counter gifts are usually not negotiated (or substituted with other items) than those described above. Textiles are specially ordered from other regions that specialize in the production of good quality cloths. The Hoga Sara assert that even in the past when they themselves were non-weavers, they traded for textiles with other regions. Gold items are scarce nowadays, although in the past they were highly valued heirlooms. With the introduction of a cash economy many of these items were sold, and the few that remain are jealously guarded by individual families. Although some of the gold items still circulate in the Sara Sedu community as items of bridewealth, often the water buffalos (dhépo or mosa) are rather paid than omé wutu tebo tai or wéa sa liwu. Even with the presence of cash economy, most livestock raised by the Hoga Sara are still used in one of their traditional roles, as bridewealth exchange items.\(^{10}\)

\(^{10}\) The other traditional role that livestock (buffalo and pigs but not horses) serve as items of ritual sacrifice. The horse still serves as a mode of transportation and formerly was ridden in the annual ritual hunt. Horses and buffalo are still used as well in the traditional “banking” system. A horse or buffalo may be used as security for a loan from a member of the community. If the borrowed item is not returned within the specified time to the lender, the borrower loses his livestock regardless of whether there is an equivalence between the value of the item borrowed and the livestock given as a bond. Whereas, in the past an individual might borrow a pig, or chickens, or seeds to plant, nowadays it is cash that is being borrowed against a waterbuffalo or horse; often the amount of cash borrowed is less than the actual value of the livestock. With the present economic conditions, horses and buffalo might also be sold for cash in order to pay for the schooling of a child or to pay off a debt.
According to my own observations and to the statements of informants, the Hoga Sara attempt to maintain a continuity with the adherence to these 'rules' of bridewealth exchanges. Most informants would stress the uniformity and conformity of their bridewealth exchange practices, and in most cases I would agree with their view, however, in my experience certain instances of Hoga Sara bridewealth exchanges suggest that there is at least some room for minor negotiation.

Only in one instance of the five bridewealth negotiations (and marriages) that took place during my stay was there a substitution made for a buffalo. In this instance the wife-taking family (Sa'o Kaju Léwa of subclan Bozo in woé Bhoké Héké) could not obtain the second mosa (a buffalo with a horn length span of fingertips to above the shoulder) in order to complete the second part of the bridewealth payment (lawo inté). Since the wife-taking family had all the other parts of the first two portions of the bridewealth, and did not want to delay the process until such time that they could obtain a buffalo with the specified horn length, through a very brief negotiation (a matter of minutes), the wife-giving family (Sa'o Bha Hoga the saka lobo of woé Tura) proposed to accept the cash value for it. The urgency to settle the payment of the second part of the bridewealth was due to the fact that the bride was already pregnant with the second child, and the wife-taking house wanted to secure the unborn child as a member of their house.11

I have also witnessed a substitution in an exchange, which the Hoga Sara themselves do not consider as bridewealth exchange, on the occasion of a funeral when the wife-taking house (Sa'o Gili Béla in woé Kaki) substituted the obligatory

---

11 The Church wedding took place a week after this negotiation (November 1992), and the second child of the couple was born four months later.
horizontally, horse with its cash value but delivered the obligatory item, the buffalo, to its wife-giving house (Sa'o Tëré Molo in wë Kaki).

Other than these two instances I have not witnessed any other negotiations with respect to the content of bridewealth. I was also told however about an instance of such a negotiation which took place some forty years ago at the marriage of the informant's daughter. In this case the wife-giving house (Sa'o Tiwu Gusi in wë Kaki-Rawë) accepted a calf instead of the adult waterbuffalo (the brother's share [ngia nara]). Thus the horn length was negotiated. The wife-taking house (Sa'o Lina Gusi in wë Kaki-Rawë) negotiated for the acceptance of a buffalo with a shorter horn length on the basis of former bridewealth exchanges. Apparently, on that former occasion Sa'o Tiwu Gusi had taken a wife from Sa'o Tawa Masa of wë Tura. Sa'o Lina Gusi, which is a younger house in relation to Sa'o Tiwu Gusi in the order of precedence of named houses within wë Kaki-Rawë, had contributed a rare gold item (which was acquired by trade from the Nagé region) towards the bridewealth payment of its elder house. Since Sa'o Lina Gusi had parted with such a valuable heirloom item in order to help Sa'o Tiwu Gusi, this was taken into account when marriage was contracted between these two houses, and thus, Sa'o Tiwu Gusi accepted a buffalo with a shorter horn length than required.12

With the ever increasing importance of cash economy, it seems inevitable that in the near future substitutions of bridewealth items with their equivalent cash value will occur more often. To what degree these substitutions will be carried out is dependent on a number of factors, not least of which is the Hoga Sara

12 This apparent negotiation of the content of bridewealth was related to me in the context of discussions about gold heirlooms. I feel it might not have been recalled at all with respect to bridewealth, were it not for the high value placed on gold heirlooms.
persistence to adhere to certain traditional values and rules, often in the context of maintaining their identity in the framework of a culturally rather diverse regency.\textsuperscript{13}

The path the \textit{Hoga} Sara will choose in the near future with respect to the payment of bridewealth could of course effect their reckoning of house and clan membership. However, the payment of bridewealth is not the only feature of marriage which affects \textit{ana ebu} status in a \textit{sa'o mëzë}. Thus, now I shall turn to the discussion of these other features of the marriage system. Since most clans of Sara have a different marriage system from that of the clans of Sedu and Bodo, I will discuss them separately.

FEATURES OF THE MARRIAGE SYSTEM IN SARA

Among most clans of the former Sara settlement\textsuperscript{14} the preferred marriage is stated to be between the categories of \textit{ana weta} (ZC) and \textit{ana nara} (BC). However, the ideal marriage is between a sister's son and a brother's daughter while the reverse marriage between a brother's son and a sister's daughter is not allowed except under special circumstances. The category of \textit{ana weta} and \textit{ana nara} includes real and classificatory ZC and BC. Classificatory sisters' children and brothers' children are usually children of cousins, [both patrilateral and matrilateral] or third generation 'children' of true BC and ZC. Cousins are also called brother and sister. A marriage between third generation sister's son and brother's daughter,

\textsuperscript{13} I do not believe the \textit{Hoga} Sara would go as far as to substitute cash for all items of bridewealth. In fact this topic was discussed with a number of informants and they expressed great distaste for the notion. As most of them remarked 'it would be like selling our daughter'. They quickly connected this notion of 'selling the daughter' to the practice of some noble families of the \textit{ata du'a} (Ngadha) who take bridewealth but do not reciprocate with counter-gifts; thus the Sara Sedu informants viewed this practice as if some of the Ngadha were selling their daughters to gain access to material wealth.

\textsuperscript{14} In \textit{Woé} Benu-Nai, a subclan of \textit{woé} Kaki (one of the autochthonous clans of Sara) the system of marriage is identical to that of the Sedu people, and thus will be discussed under the heading concerning the Sedu part of Sara Sedu.
as is shown in Figure 27 b, is also a classificatory **ana weta - ana nara** marriage, which is more common nowadays.

Marriage between children of same sex siblings (**ana doa**) is also forbidden (**piré**). Thus a man may not marry a woman in the category of MZD or FBD.  

Once marriages occurred between the sister's son (**ana weta**) and brother's daughter (**ana nara**). Such marriages still took place up to the Dutch period (1907-1941) in Sara Sedu, as evidenced in the genealogies of informants over sixty years of age. If not they themselves, then their parents, often married their true **ana weta** or **ana nara**. In several cases, the **ana weta** (**ZS**) was also the **ana tengé**, the first-born son of the sister.

With the expansion of the community of houses of Sara and Sedu and much later with the interference of the Catholic Church there were more marriages between classificatory **ana weta** and **ana nara**. The Church especially forbade first cousin marriages and the kind of marriage shown in figure 27 b became more common. Schematically, we may illustrate **ana weta** and **ana nara** marriages as follows in Figure 27 a and b.

In Sara marriage is conducted in a symmetrical fashion. More precisely, if house A gives a woman as bride to house B, at a later time, usually in the next generation, house B may give a woman to house A. Therefore, there is a more or less direct exchange between the named houses, A <- -> B.

---

15 A marriage between **ana doa** would be considered **la'a sala**, 'going wrong'. **La'a sala** is used to refer to incestuous relationships between parent-child, and parents' siblings and children. A ritual with buffalo sacrifice would be required to rectify the situation which usually manifests itself by signs of drought or flooding. However, even at the completion of the **zio weki**, 'to wash the body', ritual, the persons who committed **la'a sala** would not be able to stay in the inner part of the house, **oné**, and in all rituals of the **sa'o méné** would be required to perform servant duties.
Figure 27 a. Ana weta -- ana nara marriage before the presence of the Catholic Church

True ana weta - ana nara marriage

Classificatory ana weta - ana nara marriage

Note: dashed lines indicate the marriages possible for ego (black triangle); cousins are also classified as brother and sister, and thus their children are classified as brother's child and sister's child.

Figure 27 b. Classificatory ana weta -- ana nara marriage after the Catholic Church's presence

Generation level:
- +3
- +2
- +1
- 0

Classificatory ana weta -- ana nara marriage

Note: Since the gender of the intervening generations +2 and +1 are not important I have indicated them with a square. For this type of classificatory BD and ZS marriage the brother and sister pair are reckoned at the level of +3 generation.

Figure 28. Goi toi moté woé marriage
Although in Sara the system of marriage is symmetric, the terms *mori ga'è* and *ana weta* distinguish the house of the wife-giver and wife-taker. *Mori ga'è* literally means 'noble lord' while *ana weta* simply refers to sister's child. As the name would indicate the wife-giver group (*mori ga'è*) has a higher or superordinate standing over its wife-receiving house (*ana weta*). These terms are only used in the context of an individual marriage and the status can be reversed due to the symmetrical nature of marital unions. More specifically when House A gives a bride to House B, House A is *mori ga'è* to House B, which is *ana weta*. However, when House B returns a woman to House A at a later time, house A becomes *ana weta* to house B and thus the superordinated valuation is reversed.

Among the clans of Sara there also occur special instances of marriage. One of these is 'sister exchange' which was often practised in the past. *Goi toi moté woe* is the expression used for such a marriage and literally means 'to exchange women's hair buns between clans'. A set of brother/sister siblings from two houses would marry each other, as is illustrated in Figure 28. In such marriages however the partners were not *ana weta* and *ana nara*. Houses from different clans of Sara may be involved in such an exchange. In such a union no bridewealth is paid and the children have rights in their mother's house. The practice of *goi toi moté woe* accords well with the symmetric nature of marriages in Sara.

*Goi toi moté woe* allows for the establishment of new ties not just between two house but two clans. Since bridewealth exchange is not desired when 'sister exchange' takes place, each clan / house can retain its material wealth. Both houses attend each others' ritual and other undertakings and contribute to them. However the goods contributed do not have a differential value and both houses contribute more or less the same kind of items.
In Sara we also find a practice called *ala wado ulu uwi*, 'to return the head of the yam'. The head of the yam here is an idiom which refers to women. Yam, one of the original staple foods of Hoga Sara, was a main source of nourishment and as a tuber could always be counted upon for its continuing supply. In any ritual which uses *uwi*, the 'head' or source part is always reburied in the earth to ensure next season's supply. The practice of *ala wado ulu uwi* similarly returns a woman to her source house, giving a chance for the house to regenerate and ensure a further supply of a woman to the house returning it. In 'returning the head of the yam', house B that has taken a woman from house A returns a woman to house A in the third (or subsequent) descendant generation. This exchange takes place at the level of the original exchanging houses.

However, this is not just any woman taken and returned. In this practice the essential factor is the *ana weta* and *ana nara* marriage. Ordinarily *ana weta* and *ana nara* marriage refers to a ZS and BD union. In *ala wado ulu uwi*, the gender of the pairing is reversed and what is important is that the marriage be between a classificatory ZD and BS.

The *ala wado ulu uwi* practice in Sara may be considered as returning the life which was given so that the supply of life generative potential of the house may sprout again and be called upon if needed in the future. Thus the woman is returned to her source house as the head of the yam is returned in the soil, for future nourishment and continuity of the community. The house of the mother's brother is therefore a source of continuity for another house, of spiritual, life-conferring potential, and of material benefits as well for a first-born sister's child.

Figure 29 illustrates the various features of marriages between houses and clans. The Figure is based on an excerpt from the genealogies of Ngabi Du'a (age 71 years, Sa'o Benu Wali, *woé* Kaki) and Ngaji Bhoko (age 93 years, Sa'o Bha
FIGURE 29. Various Features of Marriage in Sara Clans.
Hoga, woe Tura). The Figure shows the symmetry in marriage contraction between the houses and the continuity of these affinal relations. The preference for marriage in the category of ana weta (ZC) and ana nara (BC) follows through the generations.

However, in at least one instance, indicated by number 6, a marriage occurred between a category of marriage partners (BS and ZD) which usually is considered forbidden (pirè), unless it takes place as an ala wado ulu uwi marriage.

Figure 29 also shows that not all instances of marriage between a set of brother-sister sibling pair can be considered as goi toi moté woe. Marriages indicated by the numbers 6 and 7 involved the payment of bridewealth, and thus, although occurring between sets of brother and sister, are not considered as 'sister exchange'.

Some instances of marriage without bridewealth (di'i sa'o) are also illustrated. In these cases a woman does not marry out from her house but carries on her particular line. However, the women involved in the di'i sa'o marriages did not continue their line due to a lack of a male heir or of an ana tengé. Both informants attributed the instances of di'i sa'o in this particular genealogy to the inability of the groom's house to raise the required bridewealth.

The ala wado ulu uwi marriage is marked by number 3 in the Figure and the lines of the brother and sister for the reckoning of the 'returning of the head of the yam' marriage are indicated throughout the generations and houses. It is the children of the first ZS and BD union who are reckoned as the brother and sister.

---

16 I was unable to obtain further elaboration on this marriage. Ngaji Bhoko, the resulting offspring of this pirè marriage, and other informants of his generation (appearing in the genealogy) claim no longer to remember the details about this marriage. Since all of these informants are in their mid-eighties to mid-nineties, such memory lapse is understandable. Ngaji Bhoko was quick to point out, however, that he himself has married his 'real' ana nara (BD).
pair for the tracing of relations of ZD and BS. Due to the symmetry and continuity of marriages between the houses, the reckoning of the brother's and sister's line permeate all four houses by the third generation. There is also an instance of marriage (marked by number 8) between the brother's and sister's line in generation two which produces a merged line. However, only a marriage between the distinct lines of the brother and sister present in Sa'o Bha Hoga and Sa'o Benu Wali will constitute an *ala wado ulu uwi* marriage in the fourth generation, at least in the generational scope of this particular genealogy.

**MARRIAGE IN SEDU AND BODO**

In *woé* Bhoké Héké of Sedu and in *woé* Benu-Nai of Bodo, marriage is contracted according to identical principles, despite the fact that *woé* Benu-Nai is a subclan of *woé* Kaki, which is an autochthonous clan of Sara. In these clans, marriage is contracted between houses in an asymmetric fashion in contrast to Sara arrangements. More specifically, if house A gives a woman in marriage to house B, house B under no condition nor at any time may give a bride to house A. Therefore, the only possibility of marital union between houses recognized in Sedu and Bodo is A->B->C->n->, and not A<->B.

In Sedu and Bodo direct exchange is referred to as *redho kodo manu*, 'rattling the chicken cage', and is *piré*, forbidden. Furthermore, in Sedu the asymmetry is not only observed between named houses but also often at the level of the five smaller subclans which developed within *woé* Bhoké héké.

---

17 The founding ancestor of *woé* Bhoké Héké (Sedu), Dhaké, was also the father of the founder of *woé* Kaki (Sara) — both autochthonous clans in Sara Sedu. Thus, the fact that a subclan of Kaki would possess the same system as the Sedu clan might suggest that originally this system prevailed also in the Sara until it was transformed by the accommodation and sometimes incorporation of immigrant clans from Naru. The Naru marriage system is symmetric and is a variant of the marriage system found among the Ngadha.
In Sedu and Bodo, from the perspective of marriage the named houses are classified as *mori ga’ê* and *ana weta*, wife-giver and wife-taker houses. Under no circumstance does a *mori ga’ê* reverse roles with its particular *ana weta*. A wife-giving house as the 'noble lord' (*mori ga’ê*) has an elevated status in relation to its wife-taking house. Thus, the terminology used to distinguish the two houses accords with the asymmetric system of marriage.

On the basis of marriage and the categorization of houses into wife-giver and wife-taker, there exists an ordering within woé Bhoké Héké of Sedu at the subclan level. This ordering however only affects the senior houses of the subclans. Figure 30. illustrates this ordering.

**FIGURE 30. Ordering of Wife-givers at the level of senior houses of the subclans in Woé Bhoké Héké**

The senior houses of the subclans Keli and Bozo of the trunk rider half of woé Bhoké Héké are a wife-givers to the senior houses of the subclans Jara, Bega, and Fua of the tip rider half. The precedence of subclan Keli with respect to marriage parallels its precedence in the context of the order of emergence of subclans in the process of clan segmentation. Thus, the order of trunk to tip, and
thus elder to younger, corresponds to the order of wife-giver to wife-taker. However, in the internal ordering at the level of the trunk rider half and tip rider half, the elder-younger ordering does not correspond to the ordering of wife-giver to wife-taker. In the trunk rider half, subclan Bozo, although younger than subclan Keli, has a superordinate standing over subclan Keli as its wife-giver. In a similar manner, in the tip rider half, the youngest subclan, Fua, supplies wives to the two elder subclans of Bega and Jara. Subclan Bega is the wife-giver to subclan Jara which has the tip rider house as its eldest house. Thus, whereas in the context of clan segmentation the younger subclans in both the trunk and tip rider halves of the clan have a subordinate status as younger, in the framework of marriage these subclans have a superordinate status as wife-giver to the more senior subclan. Therefore, in woé Bhoké Héké two different orders of precedence operate. There is one order of precedence in the segmentation of the clan, and thus in its internal structure, and another order of precedence at the level of affinal relations between the components of the clan.

At the level of junior houses of the five subclans, however, the ordering of wife-givers and wife-takers in certain instances does not always follow this pattern as Figure 31 illustrates.

Note: Bold dashed arrows indicate order of precedence in the segmentation of the clan; solid arrows indicate the order of precedence based on wife-giver -> wife-taker relations at the subclan level; thin dashed arrows refer to wife-giver -> wife-taker relations at the junior house level of certain subclans.

FIGURE 31. Ordering of Wife-givers at the level of senior and junior houses of the subclans in Woé Bhoké Héké
Whereas at the senior house level subclan Keli and Bozo in the trunk rider half are wife-givers to subclan Jara in the tip rider half, at the junior house level they become wife-takers to the junior house of Jara. Thus, the junior house of subclan Jara will be wife-giver to a junior house in subclan Keli and to a younger house of subclan Bozo. In the internal ordering of the tip rider half of woé Bhoké Héké the same pattern emerges at the level of marriage exchanges between junior house. A junior house of Jara is a wife-giver to a junior house in Bega, although at the senior house level Bega is the wife-giver to Jara. Similarly, whereas subclan Fua is considered as a wife-giver to subclan Bega at the senior house level, this ordering is reversed at the junior house level. A junior house of Bega is the wife-giver to a junior house of Fua. Figure 31. illustrates the ordering of wife-givers and wife-takers at both the senior and junior house levels of the five subclans.

Although at the senior house level marriage exchanges follow a strictly asymmetric pattern, at level of marriage exchanges between both senior and junior houses there is a tendency towards a symmetric exchange.

The preferred marriage in Sedu and Bodo is with the category of ana weta (ZC) and ana nara (BC). Although the preference of ana weta and ana nara marriage might indicate symmetry, this is not so. More specifically the sister's son and brother's daughter are the ideal marriage partners, while the reverse, marriage between sister's daughter and brother's son is under no circumstances allowed.

The reference to a wife-taking house as ana weta is in direct relation to the preference of marriage between ana weta (ZS) and ana nara (BD). Thus the one receiving the wife is the ana weta. The house of the ana nara, BD, is called by the elevated term of 'noble lord' (mori ga'è), which is consistent with the superordinate status of a house that gives life and continuity to the sister's house.
Thus, the life-generating potential of the house of the mother's brother is acknowledged in the terminology in the context of marriage.

In Sedu and Bodo, ties between the houses of mori ga'ë and ana weta may be strengthened and re-confirmed by the practice of logo [lit. the 'back' of a person]. Logo is the practice of going back to the same house to take a wife in the second and subsequent generations after the original marriage. If house B has taken a bride from house A, then this marriage may be repeated in subsequent generations, by taking a woman again from house A. The practice is consistent with the asymmetry of marriage in Sedu, and thus no reversals take place, as occurs in the Sara practice of ala wado ulu uwi. The practice of logo in Sedu is schematically represented in Figure 32.

**FIGURE 32.** The practice of logo marriage in Sedu and Bodo

Logo confirms the continuity of ties between two houses, some of which have continued since the foundation of particular houses. In a logo marriage it is usually the fourth generation first born classificatory sister's son, ana logo, who repeats the original marriage.
Legend: (1) = logo marriage

- = asymmetric direction of women  Sa'o Keli, woé Keli of woé Bhoké Héké

= Sa'o Mopa Milo, woé Jara of woé Bhoké Héké  Sa'o Milo Wali, woé Bega of woé Bhoké Héké

= Sa'o Kéo Wula, woé Fua of woé Bhoké Héké  Sa'o Téda, woé Moa Bela (SARA)

= Sa'o Sedu Wali, woé Fua of woé Bhoké Héké  Du'é Bhoko

FIGURE 33. Features of marriage in Sedu
The asymmetric nature of marriages and the practice of *logo* is illustrated by a section of the genealogy of Du'ë Bhoko in Figure 33.

Figure 33 illustrates marriage exchanges between four houses of three subclans of *woë* Bhokë Hëkë. Sa'o Keli of subclan Keli is a wife-giver to Sa'o Këo Wula and Sa'o Sedu Wali of subclan Fua. Both of these houses of subclan Fua serve as wife-giver to Sa'o Mopa Milo of subclan Jara.

The Figure also illustrates instances of marriage with women from the outside of Sara Sedu, namely, with women from Solo in the Nagë region and with a woman from So'a (place of origin of the father of the Gaëé siblings). *Woë* Moa Bela of Sara is one of the wife-givers to subclan Keli of *woë* Bhokë Hëkë of Sedu. In Figure 33, Sa'o Tëda and Sa'o Dhëwa Tëa of *woë* Moa Bela are represented as wife-givers to Sa'o Keli.

**MARİ İE BETWEEN CLANS OF SARA AND CLANS OF SEDU/BODO**

There is a symmetry when marriage is contracted by houses of Sara clans with houses of either Sedu or Bodo clans. As in the case of marriages between the houses of the subclans of Sedu, the symmetry is the result of the pattern of marriages between senior and junior houses of two clans.

Let us take a specific example of marriage exchanges between the named houses of subclan Bozo of *woë* Bhokë Hëkë (Sedu) and the houses of *woë* Moa Bela (Sara). Whereas the senior named houses, Sa'o Kaju Lëwa and Sa'o Loda Lëwa in subclan Bozo of *woë* Bhokë Hëkë (Sedu) are regular wife-takers of the senior houses Sa'o Dhëwa Tëa and Sa'o Tëda in *woë* Moa Bela (Sara), junior houses (sa'o azi) of Sa'o Kaju Lëwa of Sedu (namely, Sa'o Lagho Lëwa, Sa'o Nago Wali, and Sa'o Mo'i Wali) are wife-givers to the Sa'o Dhëwa Tëa in *woë* Moa Bela of Sara. Thus in the sense of senior house encompassing its junior house
and at the level of the clan and subclan, there is often a symmetry in marriages between Sedu and Sara as Figure 34 demonstrates.

Note: Solid arrows indicate the direction of women exchanged; while the numbers refer to the number of marriages that have occurred. Elder -> younger refers to order of precedence of these houses within their own clans.

**FIGURE 34.** The symmetric nature of marriage exchanges between Sara and Sedu at the clan level

A further point with regard to marriage between Sara and Sedu/Bodo needs to be considered concerning the special case of an *ana tengé* (or *ana logo*) who is required to carry on the line of his mother's named house. When an *ana tengé* is the child of a marriage between Sara and Sedu/Bodo houses, the *ana tengé* from Sara who replaces the line of a named house in Sedu or Bodo, will have to respect Sedu's or Bodo's asymmetric rules of marriage. Therefore, a house with which his father's house exchanged women symmetrically, will have to be considered as either a *mori ga'ë* (wife-giver) or *ana weta* (wife-taker) house. Also if a Sedu or Bodo man is required to carry on the line of his Sara mother's named house, he will have to follow the symmetric rules of Sara in his new house. It could happen that a house considered by his paternal house as only *ana weta* now may become a *mori ga'ë* house for him.

**KIN TERMINOLOGY**

Kin terminology is mostly symmetric in both Sara and Sedu. There are similarities between the Sara and Sedu terms. However, in Sedu certain features
clearly show the asymmetry of marital relations between houses. The list of standard kin terms for Sara and Sedu are presented below.\footnote{Two Sedu elders provided a list of kin terms which differ from that of the standard terms. This list is presented in the Appendix.}

**LIST OF STANDARD SARA KINTERMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>péra</td>
<td>PPPPPP, CCCCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangé</td>
<td>PPPPPP, CCCCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kajo</td>
<td>PPPP, CCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nusi</td>
<td>PPP, CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebu</td>
<td>PP, CC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iné</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ema</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piné</td>
<td>FZ, MB, FBW, MBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamé</td>
<td>FB, MB, FZH, MZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mamé]</td>
<td>[MBW, FBW, MB, FZ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doa [ka'é-azi]</td>
<td>B[FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS], BWB, DHF, SWF(m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weta</td>
<td>Z[FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD], BWZ, DHM, SWM(f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nara</td>
<td>B[FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS], BWB, DHF, SWF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fai</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haki</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana haki</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana fine ga'e</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana doa</td>
<td>BC<a href="m.s.">FBSC, FZSC, MBSC, MZSC</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana weta</td>
<td>ZC<a href="f.s.">FBDC, FZDC, MBDC, MZDC</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana nara</td>
<td>BC[BS, BD], FBSC, FZSC, MBSC, MZSC(f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ana mamé]</td>
<td>[MBD]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana tu'a</td>
<td>SW, DH, CSW, CDH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dué</td>
<td>WH[polygamy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>BW, BWZ, FBSW, MBSW, FZSW, MZSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBS, WZ(m.s.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éja</td>
<td>ZH, ZHB, BWB, WB, FZDH, MZDH, FBDH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDBH(f.s.),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weta kapí</td>
<td>ZHZ(m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doa kapí</td>
<td>ZHZ(f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipa kapí</td>
<td>ZHBW, BWBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éja kapí</td>
<td>BWZH, ZHZ(f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu'a</td>
<td>ZHP, BWP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WP, BWC, WZC(m.s.), HP, HBC, HZC(f.s.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tu'a ebu  | CSWP(CSWF,CSWM),CDHP(CDHF,CDHM)  
ebu finé ga'é  | FBSWM,FBDHM,MBSWM,MBDHM,FZSWM,FDHM,MZSWM,MZDHM  
bu ana haki  | FBSWF,FBDHF,MBSWF,MBDHF,FZSWF,FDHF,MZSWF,MZDHF  

Note: kap means 'relative' and also 'two things that are held together by one fastener'. Mamé and ana mamé are only used in certain special ritual circumstances.

**LIST OF STANDARD SEDU/BODO KINTERMS**

| péra  | PPPPPP,CCCCCCC  
nangé | PPPPP,CCCCCCC  
nusi | PPPP,CCCCC  
kafo | PPP,CCC  
ëbu  | PP,CC  
imé | M  
ema | F  
piñé | FZ,MZ,FBW,MBW  
pamé | FB,MB,FZH,MZH  
[ma'mé] | [MBW]  
doa [ka'-azi] | B[FBS,FZS,MBS,MZS](m.s.)Z[FBD,FZD,MBD,MZD](f.s.)  
weta | Z[FBD,FZD,MBD,MZD](m.s.)  
nara | B[FBS,FZS,MBS,MZS](f.s.)  
fai | W  
haki | H  
ana | C  
an haki | S  
ané finé ga'ê | D  
ané doa | BC [BS,BD][FBSC,FZSC,MBSC,MZSC](m.s)  
ané doa | ZC[ZS,SD][FBDC,FZDC,MBDC,MZDC](f.s.)  
ané weta | ZC[ZS,SD],FBDC,FZDC,MBDC,MZDC(m.s.)  
ané nara | BC[BS,BD],FBSC,FZSC,MBSC,MZSC(f.s.)  
ané mamé | MB  
ané tu'a | SW,DF,CSW,CDH  
dhué | WZH(m.s.)  
dué | HBW(f.s.)  
dué dolé | HW(polygamy)(f.s.)  
ipa | BW,ZHZ,ZHBW,BBW,BWZ,BWB,WBSW,FZSW,MBSW,MZSW,DHM,SWM,ZH,ZHB,ZHZH,BWZH,FBSW,FBDH,FZSW,FZDH,MBSW,MBDH,MZDH,MZD,HB,HZH,HZ,DHF,SWF(f.s.)WZ, WBW(m.s.)  
éta | ZH,ZHZH,ZHB,BWZH,BBW,FBDH,FZDH,MBDH(m.s.)MZDH, WB,DHF,SWF,ZHZH(m.s.)  
tu'a | HP[HF,HM],WP[WF,WM],ZHP,BWP,FBCEP,FZCEP,MBCEP,MZCEP  

Note: E stands for spouse. Mamé and ana mamé are used in the context of certain rituals.
In both Sara and Sedu/Bodo terminologies, there are no lineal distinction at the first ascending generations: thus MB=FB (pamé) and MZ=FZ (piné). The differences between the two terminologies can be found primarily in the application of the terms kajo, nusi, doa, weta, nara, éja and ipa. Whereas in Sara, kajo designates the fourth ascending and descending generations, in Sedu the same term refers to the third ascending and descending generations. A similar inversion of terms between Sara and Sedu is found in the use of the term nusi. In Sara nusi designates the third ascending and descending generations, while in Sedu it indicates the fourth ascending and descending generations.

The classification of BWB as éja in Sedu, thus with a clearly affinal term, while in Sara the same relative is grouped as doa (brother) indicates the asymmetric nature of marital unions in Sedu. The same applies to the categorisation of BWZ in Sedu as ipa [in-law term] but in Sara as doa (sister). Whereas in Sara, symmetry is shown by categorizing children’s spouse’s parents as brother and sister, in Sedu a clear distinction is drawn by grouping these relatives with the affines (ipa and éja). In both Sara and Sedu however, WZH is distinguished by the term dhué and is not classified as a sibling (doa) or as éja, the usual term used for a male in-law of the same generation level.

While in Sedu ZHZ is categorized as a female in-law of the same generation level (ipa), in Sara a sibling term is used for the same relative (weta kapi or doa kapi), although some distinction of distance is made by the marking of kapi.19

In a polygamous marriage a co-wife is designated by the term due in Sara, but in Sedu by due dolé [dolé= 'exchange', 'substitute']. In Sedu, due alone refers to HBW.

---

19 The term kapi ['relative', 'two things held together by one'] is used in a similar way to mark the distance of the affinal link [siblings’ spouse’s sibling’s spouse (ipa kapi and éja kapi)] and thus distinguish from other closer in-laws designated by the terms ipa and éja.
The term *tu'a* is used similarly in both Sara and Sedu, referring to spouse's parent's (whether one's own spouse's parents or sibling's spouse's parents). However, whereas in Sedu this term would also include all cousin's spouse's parents (= sibling's spouse's parents), in Sara there is a further distinction for this category of relatives by the use of the term *ebu finé ga'é* and *ebu ana haki*. In Sara this group of relatives is not referred to by an in-law term, but with a term that would suggest members of one's own group [*ebu* = grandparent; *finé ga'é* = female; *ana haki* = male]. It is unusual however that for relatives in the same generation as one's parents, the term for grandparent (*ebu*) would be used. The designation of this category of relatives as members of one's own group accords with the symmetric nature of the marriage system of Sara.

In both Sara and Sedu one often encounters the terms *mamé* and *ana mamé* in the context of certain ritual activities, where unusual, joking, teasing action takes place between certain kinds of relatives. However, the same expression is used with a slightly different reference in Sara and in Sedu.

In Sara *mamé* is used to refer to the same category of relatives who are usually subsumed under the term *piné*. Their daughters are referred to as *ana mamé*. The *ana mamé* includes all female cousins. However, in the context of those rituals where the designation of *ana mamé* would be used, it only applies to those women categorized as MBD, therefore, those that are marriageable.

In Sedu *mamé* refers to the MBW only, who is usually categorized as *piné*. Her daughter would be designated as *ana mamé*, the marriageable cousin. The *ana mamé* is subject to the same kind of mischief as in Sara, involving the 'sexual teasing' of a possible wife. The activity of *kusé* [lit. soot], dirtying, is accompanied

---

20 In other Florenese societies, such as in the south-eastern neighbours of the Hoga Sara, in the Kéo group, *mamé* is the term used for the MB. *Mamé* also designates MB in a number of other Austronesian speaking societies.
by especially suggestive and rude exchanges between the ana mamé and their male counterparts. In certain rites, first born males (ana tengé or ana logo) are especially expected to participate in the activity of 'dirtying' (kusé) their ana mamé.

THE HOGA SARA CONCEPT OF DERIVATION MEANINGS OF DHORO

Thus far I have only considered the means by which the Hoga Sara define membership in and thus assert derivation from a particular sa'o mézé. Further consideration of the concept of derivation, and thus the various meanings of the term dhoro, is necessary, however, in order to fully understand why the house is the basic unit of social organization in Sara Sedu.

The term dhoro has several meanings. The literal meaning refers to 'descending' the stairs of a raised house; thus, it has the sense of coming out or climbing down.21

The further meaning of dhoro (dhodho) is 'derivation'. In this sense the term is generally used in combination with the word pu'u ['source', 'origin', 'beginning', 'trunk', 'base', 'root', 'tree']. Thus the phrasing is: the subject, then dhoro (dhodho) followed by pu'u, then the source of derivation, as in: Ja'o dhoro pu'u Sa'o Benu Wali, 'I derive from the house of Benu Wali'; or alternatively, pu'u, then the source of derivation followed by dhoro (dhodho) and the subject of derivation, for example: Pu'u Dhaké dhodho Hoga Sedu, 'From the ancestor Dhaké derive the Sedu people'.

Hoga Sara notions of dhoro encompass derivation not only from a founding ancestor but also from a named house and from a named clan. Founding ancestors

---

21 Nowadays, the word is also used when getting off a vehicle. However, to descend from a mountain is indicated by a different term, roru, 'to descend / climb down from a mountain or hill'.
include those that may be claimed by all the clans of the Hoga Sara, as well as those of individual clans and those of the named houses which comprise a clan. The ways of reckoning derivation from a particular named house and clan define the nature of one's group and its membership, which in turn effects access to and inheritance of ancestral land and heirlooms.

For the Hoga Sara one sense of derivation (dhoro) refers to one's membership in a house by birth, tracing derivation through the male line, that is, from the father's house. Thus, an individual might claim, "Ja'o dhoro pu'u Sa'o Téré Molo, 'I derive from the house of Téré Molo', where Sa'o Téré Molo is the named house of the person's father. With regard to an individual's house membership, in the first instance most informants would apply this sense of dhoro, and only subsequently would they elaborate on the other means of tracing derivation.

The usage of dhoro with respect to one's house of birth alludes to the more literal meaning of dhoro. In this literal sense, dhoro refers to the former practice of female relatives coming down from the house, carrying the fallen umbilical cord of the child four days after birth in the ritual called sé'a puse, signifying to all that the birth has been successful and the infant having lived through four days is viable. Since the house is considered as 'female', this former practice may also be interpreted as if a new member of the house came from the womb of the house.

A further meaning of dhoro (dhodho) refers to tracing derivation of an individual through the female line. People might state their derivation from a

---

22 The mother also descends from the house after four days to take her first bath after birth.

23 Indeed the very inner part of the house (one) is likened to the womb by the Hoga Sara. All houses are considered female in relation to the masculine sacrificial post standing in the center of the village. Further considerations of the house follow in the next chapter.
named house, which is not that of their father's. This other house is identified as the natal named house of the mother, where 'grandchild' of the house (ana ebu) status is claimed and confirmed by duties fulfilled. Other times, the house of the father's mother or even mother's mother can be claimed in a similar manner.

In this respect, it was also pointed out to me by some elders that a woman leaving her house of birth to go to her new husband's house, literally has to 'descend', dhodho, by the stairs of her natal house. It is in this sense of dhoro (dhodho) the Hoga Sara trace the 'derivation' of their named houses through the female line along the path of marriage, the path of the water-buffalo and the path of gold (zala kaba, zala wéa). Therefore, dhoro, in this sense, actually refers to marriage and affinal ties.

Indeed, a particular named house will claim that another sa'o mézé, often a house in another clan (woé), derives (dhoro) from it. The claim is based on the fact that sa'o X has given a woman in marriage to house Y, and through the couple and their resulting family, a new named house Z was founded. Thus, sa'o X claims that sa'o Z derives from it (sa'o z dhoro pu'u sa'o x).

Although it is possible linguistically, it is not usual to express the derivation of a named house from another named house within the same clan (woé) by using the expression dhoro (dhodho) [i.e. Pu'u Sa'o Téré Molo dhoro Sa'o Gili Béla, 'Sa'o Gili Béla derives from Sa'o Téré Molo']. The more common means of expressing the relationship between named houses within a clan is by use of the idiom of ka'é-azi. Here emphasis is on the relationship of elder-younger siblingship between the named houses of a woé. Thus derivation of one sa'o mézé from another of the same clan is usually phrased as in the examples: Sa'o Gili Béla sa'o azi Sa'o Téré Molo or Sa'o Téré Molo sa'o ka'é Sa'o Gili Béla, 'Sa'o of Gili...
Béla is the younger house of Sa'o Téré Molo' or Sa'o Téré Molo is the elder house of Sa'o Gili Béla'.

In the context the woé internal organization, dhodho is used when expressing the derivation of an unnamed house from a particular named house (sa'o mëzé). However, in this case dhoro (dhodho) is not used as a verb, as in dhoro pu'u, 'to derive from', but as an adverb, sa'o dhoro, 'descent house'.

The Hoga Sara concept of dhoro (dhodho) therefore refers 1) to the derivation of an individual from a named house, 2) to the derivation through an affinal link of one named house from another, and 3) to the derivation of an unnamed house (sa'o dhoro) from a named house. The second and third senses are connected with the order of precedence of houses within a clan and between different clans. The first sense of dhoro is connected with the reckoning of an individual's named house membership and thereby also his/her clan membership.

Thus far I have only considered the first sense of dhoro with regard to the means by which the Hoga Sara define membership in and reckon derivation from a particular sa'o mëzé. I also want to consider next the way houses are derived from each other.

THE PROCESS OF DERIVATION OF NAMED HOUSES (SA'O MÉZÉ)

The Hoga Sara recognize two forms of derivation of their named house. The first one reckons derivation of a named house from another named house within the same clan (subclan). The other form of derivation recognizes the natal named house of the woman who married into another sa'o mëzé (which may be in another clan) and produced the offspring that ensure the continuity of her husband's house. However, both forms of derivation may be expressed by the same idiom. A named house which has derived from another sa'o mëzé, is referred to as the sa'o azi of the house from which it reckons its origins. The expression of derivation from
another sa'o mézé through in-married women, however, may be distinguished when desired by using the phrase dhoro (dhodho) pu'u -- i.e. Sa'o Moku Molo dhodho pu'u Sa'o Kéo Wula, 'Sa'o Moku Molo derives from Sa'o Kéo Wula.

In this section I consider how a house becomes a named house, thus separating from its original sa'o mézé within the same clan, and the way a sa'o mézé in one clan may be derived from a named house of another clan. In the following discussion I use as examples the derivation of woé Kaki.

In woé Kaki the first house established was Sa'o Benu Wali, the sa'o saka pu'u. It was founded by the ancestor Kaki Rato in nua Sara. This was the first sa'o mézé and eldest house of woé Kaki. Kaki Rato's son, Rato Galu carried on this house with his family. The second house of woé Kaki was established by the eldest son of Rato Galu, by Kaki Raja, while his youngest daughter, Iné Mégo, carried on the line of Sa'o Benu Wali. This subsequent house was Sa'o Téré Molo which became the sa'o saka lobo (tip rider house) of woé Kaki. Sa'o Téré Molo is thus considered as the younger house of Sa'o Benu Wali (Sa'o Téré Molo sa'o azi Sa'o Benu Wali). The regular, unnamed, family houses (sa'o dhoro) of Sa'o Téré Molo were established by the children and grandchildren of Kaki Raja.

One of these grandchildren was Gili Béla. His unnamed house distinguished itself by its reproductive success and material productivity. Thus, during the lifetime of one of Gili Béla's grandchildren, this sa'o dhoro was given sa'o mézé status by Sa'o Téré Molo, and came to be called Sa'o Gili Béla. Sa'o Gili Béla became the younger house of Sa'o Téré Molo (Sa'o Gili Béla sa'o azi Sa'o Téré Molo). The unnamed family houses of Gili Béla's children and grandchildren became the sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Gili Béla.

Sa'o Gili Béla is also claimed as sa'o azi by Sa'o Nagu Ropa (woé Nusa) in the neighbouring village confederacy of Taka Tunga. The claim is based on the fact
that Gili Béla married a woman from this house who thus provided for the continuity of the *sa'o dhoro* which later became elevated to the status of *sa'o mézé*. Therefore, Sa'o Nagu Ropa in Taka Tunga views Sa'o Gili Béla as having derived from it, 'Sa'o Gili Béla derives from Sa'o Nagu Ropa (*Sa'o Gili Béla dhoro pu'u Sa'o Nagu Ropa*). Sa'o Nagu Ropa could claim to having given rise to Sa'o Gili Béla only after it has achieved *sa'o mézé* status and not while it was still a *sa'o dhoro*.

Sa'o Gili Béla elevated one of its most productive and populous *sa'o dhoro* to the status of *sa'o mézé*. This house came to be called Sa'o Balé. Sa'o Balé is claimed as *sa'o azi* not only by Sa'o Gili Béla but also by Sa'o Téré Molo, the tip rider house of wóé Kaki. However, this claim of *Sa'o Balé sa'o azi Sa'o Téré Molo* has two meanings. Not only is Sa'o Balé the youngest house of the tip rider branch of the clan, and thus 'younger' in relation to Sa'o Téré Molo in the order of precedence in clan segmentation, but also the line of the *sa'o dhoro* which became *Sa'o Balé* was secured by a marriage with a woman of Sa'o Téré Molo. This is the reason provided for the claim of *Sa'o Balé derives from Sa'o Téré Molo* (*Sa'o Balé dhoro pu'u Sa'o Téré Molo*).

In the trunk rider half of wóé Kaki, the process of emergence of the various *sa'o mézé* is similar. One of the *sa'o dhoro* of Sa'o Benu Wali (*sa'o saka pu'u*) was founded by Mégo's son Tiwu. Tiwu's marriage to a woman from Sa'o Mai Wali (*woé Pogo Atu*) of Sanga Déto produced a very successful line. Due to its prosperity this *sa'o dhoro* of Sa'o Benu Wali was elevated to a named house, Sa'o Tiwu Wali, during the life time of Tiwu's grandson. Sa'o Tiwu Wali is considered a younger house (*sa'o azi*) to both Sa'o Benu Wali and Sa'o Mai Wali of Sanga Déto.
The next sa'o mèzé to emerge in the trunk rider half of woé Kaki was Sa'o Milo Wali, the most prosperous sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Tiwu Wali. Sa'o Tiwu Wali is also claimed to have derived from Sa'o Benu Wali (Sa'o Tiwu Wali dhoro pu'u Sa'o Benu Wali), since the founder of the sa'o dhoro married a woman of Sa'o Benu Wali. Thus Sa'o Tiwu Wali is considered to be sa'o azi to Sa'o Benu Wali in the order of precedence in clan segmentation as well as in affinal ties which provide for the continuity of a house through women.

Sa'o Milo Wali elevated one of its unnamed houses to that of a house named Sa'o Gili Wali. Sa'o Gili Wali is also considered as sa'o azi to Sa'o Gili Béla (in the tip rider half of the clan), due to the marriage of founder of the sa'o dhoro that was elevated to the status of this sa'o mèzé, with a woman from Sa'o Gili Béla. Thus Sa'o Gili Béla is claimed to have derived from both Sa'o Milo Wali in the trunk rider half and Sa'o Gili Béla in the tip rider half. This is expressed as: Sa'o Gili Wali sa'o azi Sa'o Milo Wali ne'e Sa'o Gili Béla, or Sa'o Gili Wali sa'o azi Sa'o Milo Wali and Sa'o Gili Wali dhoro pu'u Sa'o Gili Béla.

The next named house to emerge in the trunk rider half of woé Kaki was Sa'o Mai Wali. Sa'o Mai Wali was a sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Gili Wali that was granted the right to the status of sa'o mèzé. Thus Sa'o Mai Wali is claimed as the sa'o azi of Sa'o Gili Wali. However, Sa'o Mai Wali is also considered to have derived from Sa'o Molo Ma'i of woé Kaki-Rawe (a subclan of woé Kaki), again through the marriage of a woman from this house.

The last named house to emerge in woé Kaki is Sa'o Laja Mézé. This house was a sa'o dhoro of Sa'o Benu Wali (the sa'o saka pu'u) which was elevated to the status of a sa'o mèzé about fifteen years ago. Sa'o Laja Mézé is claimed as sa'o azi by Sa'o Benu Wali and by the house which provided the wife for the founder of
this house, namely Sa'o Nanga Mézé (woé Bolo) of the neighbouring village confederacy of Sanga Déto.

These examples of the process of emergence of named houses in the Kaki clan illustrates several points with regard to the notion of derivation (dhoro). The pivotal role played by women in the differentiation of a clan and in the interconnection of named houses within and between clans is also highlighted.

Marriage can take place only between different named houses (sa'o mézé), and thus unnamed houses belonging to the same named house may not intermarry. Therefore, the named house is the unit for marriage contraction. The emergence of a new sa'o mézé is based on a marriage which establishes a new unnamed house (sa'o dhoro) of a particular named house. The success of such a new sa'o dhoro in the proliferation of its members and material productivity provides the potential for being elevated to the status of a sa'o mézé by the named house of which it is a member. Thus, the named house, which provided a woman and thereby enabled the establishment and the proliferation of the sa'o dhoro of another named house, is the source of continuity for the new sa'o dhoro, and once elevated, for the new sa'o mézé. Thus, an affinal named house cannot claim to have given rise to another house while it is still a sa'o dhoro, but only after it has become a sa'o mézé. Therefore, the derivation of houses from one another progresses through out-marrying women.

In this regard the use of the term dhoro is quite instructive. It is precisely the derivation of a house from another house through the marriage of women which is signified by the use of the term dhoro. The term is not used in describing the derivation of one named house from another in the process of segmentation in a particular clan. The notion of this kind of derivation is expressed by the employment of the idiom of sa'o azi, 'younger house of', thus stressing a
siblingship between the houses. The term *dhoro* is used however in describing an unnamed house and the relationship of a named house to another named house from which the 'female' founder derives.

Thus, the unnamed house is called 'descent house' (*sa'o dhoro*). The use of *dhoro* in the terminology for an unnamed house indicates not only that this house could not have come into being without the marriage of a member of the named house, but also the lineal ties to the named house from which it emerged. Once a *sa'o dhoro* has been elevated to the status of *sa'o mézé* its relationship with the named house of the 'female' founder's derivation is described by the expression 'derive from' (*dhoro pu'u*). Thus the term *dhoro* is applied when stressing links through women, and thus affinal links, in the derivation of houses.

**CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Discussion of the local concept of derivation [*dhoro/dhodho*] and of marriage in its various aspects presents a complex picture of social relations in Sara Sedu. Yet all these elements are tied together by the *sa'o mézé*. The *sa'o* binds various levels of kin relations — the clan (*woè*), village (*nua*), and the wider territory of the four related villages — into an extensive network.

There are several criteria for being a member of a named house (*ana ebu* of a *sa'o mézé*). Membership, as *ana ebu*, may be claimed by:

1. birth; along the male line with the disposal of bridewealth obligations towards the affinal house;
2. birth right being confirmed by observing duties of a house member, especially ritual duties.
3. marriage of a woman into her husband's house after bridewealth is paid for her.
4. birth as first born (*ana tengé* or *ana logo*), thus tracing derivation from both the father's and the mother's house.
tracing derivation along the female line to the houses from which women married into one's house of birth.

Since membership in the house can be traced through the male and female lines, a person can be an ana ebu in a number of houses. Obviously no individual can meet all duties and obligations toward all the possible houses to which an ana ebu status can be traced; hence the ties to certain houses will be emphasized at particular times over others, especially in the context of land inheritance. The emphasis on land inheritance is quite understandable given the mainly agricultural livelihood of the Hoga Sara.

Most Hoga Sara maintain their ana ebu status with the houses of their father, their mother, and the natal house of the father's mother. A first-born, in addition may foster links to the house of the mother's mother as well. A person will inherit land from his/her father and mother primarily. In order to ensure the continuity of rights to the land through the father's line, one has to maintain ties

Numbers one, two, and three might indicate that the Hoga Sara can be classified along the traditional lines as "unilinear". Points four and five, in contrast, might suggest a traditional "bilateral" classification. However, as I have shown throughout this chapter, the Hoga Sara defy classification both as "unilinear" and as "bilateral". It is difficult to classify this system as simply "unilinear", since the first-born is member of both the father's and mother's house with full rights and obligations despite of all bridewealth obligations having been completed by the father. However, all subsequent children are considered to derive primarily from the father's house with regard to house and clan membership and rights of land inheritance. This primary group membership can be publicly proclaimed in the sa ngaza chant which I discuss below. The classification of "bilateral" is also difficult to apply to the Hoga Sara since derivation with full rights and duties are not traced through both father and mother. "Bilateral" classification may be applied only to the way the first-born traces his/her derivation. The tracing of derivation through females, or more specifically, to their houses, only provides for some rights to inherit land from such houses and only with the attendance of their rituals. Furthermore, ties to only certain houses will be emphasized through the female line at particular times (such as when derivation of houses and affinal ties are traced or there is some land to be inherited). The use of the concept of "house society" is more applicable to the Hoga Sara as I have shown throughout this chapter. What constitutes membership in a house (or the status of ana ebu) cross-cuts the traditional concepts of "unilinear" and "bilateral" organization. The concept of the house accounts for the two different ways the Hoga Sara trace derivation (dhoro/dhodho): derivation of the individual and derivation of a named house. In connection with the notion of derivation, the house is also focal in the allocation of rights and obligations, especially with regard to rights of land inheritance. The house is the basic unit in the contraction of marriage and thus in the establishment of affinal relations. Thus the concept of the house cross-cuts the traditional categories of descent and affinity.
with the father's house and also the father's mother's house. Inheritance of land through the mother requires maintaining ties with the mother's birth house and with that of the mother's mother's house. Although, publicly, most people will stress links to the father's house and thus in naming their house membership, in practice and in context of land inheritance, the link through the mother is equally emphasized. The land a woman inherits from her father's house, she passes on to her children and they to their children. Membership in a particular house is the main instrument of land-ownership in Sara Sedu.

Indeed, the declaration and legitimation of a person's house and clan membership publicly only arises in two possible contexts. Firstly, if there is a dispute over the rights of a person to inherit a particular piece of land, the issue of the plaintiff's house (and/or clan) membership is considered by the council of elders (mosa laki) and this consideration is open to public debate.

Secondly, the house and clan membership of an individual, who is representing his named house, is publicly declared on the occasion of large scale buffalo sacrifice in the context of the ritual installation of a material symbol of a clan (such as a madhu or péo post). The declaration of such an individual's group membership is done in the form of a chant -- 'calling of the name' (sa ngaza). Since in this chant the individual has to list the names not only of his house and clan, but also the names of the important material representations of his clan's identity, his knowledge of these significant names and the public declaration of these legitimates his membership.

The sa ngaza chant and the objects it names, however, have further significance in relation to the identity of a house or clan and of its individual members. The objects, which I call the symbols of clan (or house) identity, hold a
central role in the way the Hoga Sara conceptualize the continuity of their named houses and clans.

In the next chapters I consider the issues of identity and continuity with special reference to these symbols of identity. These objects are important in relation to the continuity of a sa'o mézi and a woé. For the Hoga Sara the continuity of a group is not simply a matter of propagating their members through marriage, but also an issue of fulfilling ritual obligations toward the ancestors who are viewed as the ultimate source of continuity. It is precisely towards those ancestral spirits who reside in the various objects of group identity that ritual obligations have to be fulfilled. An important instance for carrying out ritual obligations is the installation of one of the symbols of identity (such as the madhu or péo post).
CHAPTER FIVE

MATERIAL SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

An individual's social identity is embedded in the ability to claim membership in a particular house and clan. House and clan membership can be publicly declared on the ritual occasions of installing or building a material representation of group identity: a madhu or péo post, bhaga, nabé, turé, and sa'o mézé. The declaration of one's group membership is done through the recitation of the 'calling of the name' (sa ngaza) which is usually followed by the slaughter of a buffalo. The sa ngaza is composed of a list of names: the names of a person's clan, house, and of the significant structures of the sacrificial post, ancestral mother house, and stone platforms. Thus, an individual's social identity in the sa ngaza is expressed in terms of the objects which symbolize the identity (and sometimes the structure) of a clan or a named house.

Therefore, the physical structures of the sa'o mézé, péo or madhu, bhaga, nabé and turé, are significant at several levels. They are important at the levels of clan and house identity and of an individual's social identity. These objects are also significant in the context of continuity in a house or in a clan. Continuity with reference to these objects is secured by confirmation of membership and rights when performing and participating in those rituals in which these objects are
installed. Furthermore, continually renewed relations with the ancestors by way of these rituals and thus the securing of the ancestors’ life generating potential for the house and the clan also provides for continuity.¹ The material symbols of identity also form the physical structure of a village -- the sa'o mézé (with their nabé stone) that surround the village courtyard and the péo post or madhu and bhaga (with its turé stone platform) that are centrally located in the courtyard.

In this chapter, therefore, I will discuss the material symbols of the clan and the named house with respect to their central role in signifying identity for these social units and for individual members thereof. Since the sa ngaza chant unites these various aspects and levels of identity connected with the various objects, I shall consider it first. Then I proceed with the examination of the individual material symbols.

**CALLING THE NAME SA NGAZA**

The material symbols of the clan and its component parts are important markers of identity and their listing comprises the ‘calling of the name’ (sa ngaza), which is performed on the occasion of renewing or newly installing any of these objects. In this sa ngaza chant [sa = calling word, ngaza = name] the names of various objects are listed along with one's wőe and sa'o affiliations. Sometimes the sa ngaza begins with the identification of one's group membership in a particular village confederacy. Often the chant ends by defining the extent of the territory of the individual's group. Such ‘calling the name’ chants are performed in order to identify the speaker, both to the ancestors and human participants, in large scale rituals of buffalo slaughter, house building, and especially in the ritual of installing

¹ The issue of continuity in relation to these material symbols of identity, especially with regard to the central role played by the ancestors in continuity of a house or a clan in connection with these objects, will be topic of discussion for the two subsequent chapters.
the madhu or pêo posts. Some examples of the sa ngaza chant follow as illustrations of its component parts:

O, Ja'o hoga Sara, ja'o hoga Kaki
Sa'o nga'o Benu Wali
Madhu ja'o Rato Galu né'c bhaga nga'o Roja Naru
O, nga'o hoga Kaki
Nabé ja'o Fa Masa né'c turé nga'o Liko Roga
O ja'o hoga Kaki
Go ulu Fa Masa né'c go éko Rada Mudé

O, I am of the Sara people, of the Kaki clan
My house is Benu Wali
My madhu is Rato Galu with my bhaga Roja Naru
O, I am of the Kaki clan
My nabé is Fa Masa with my turé Liko Roga
O, I am of the Kaki clan
Head at Fa Masa with tail at Rada Mudé.

O riwu, e-e-e
Nga'o hoga Bhoké Héké
Bhoké Héké woga Keli,
Fua lalu wolo,
Légu mézé Bozo,
Napí Ropa, Tora Gâ'ê,
Kaki Rato, Elu Waé,
Pêo nga'o Rada Sedu
Nabé nga'o Lina Wali
Turé nga'o Tiwu Riwu
Ulu Bu'e Riti né'c éko Tiwu Lina,
O, nga'o hoga Bhoké Héké.

O you masses [everybody], e-e-e-[attention calling word],
I am of the Bhoké Héké clan
Bhoké Héké that is composed of [sticks together of] Keli,
Fua the tall mountain
The big sprout of Bozo
Napí Ropa, Tora Gâ'ê,
Kaki Rato, Elu Waé [names of founding ancestors],
My pêo is Rada Sedu
My nabé is Lina Wali
My turé is Tiwu Riwu
The head at Bu'e Riti with the tail at Tiwu Lina,
O, I am of the Bhoké Héké clan.
O nga'o hoga Tura, nga'o hoga Sa'o Bha Hoga
Madhu ja'o Jawa Moni ne'ē bhaga nga'o Teda Jawa
Nabé nga'o Fa Masa, turé nga'o go Kadha
O ja'o hoga Tura

O ja'o hoga Sara, hoga Moa Bela,  
Sa'o ja'o Dhewa Tēa,  
Bhaga nga'o Bhako Jawa ne'ē madhu ja'o Lalu Bila,  
Nabé ja'o Raro Molo,  
Ulu peka Tura, ēko Api Leza
O nga'o hoga Moa Bela

The sa ngaza chant is performed by an individual representing a named house (or an entire clan). The chant serves several purposes. Since this chant is usually performed in the context of a large scale ritual buffalo slaughter on the occasion of establishing a named house, bhaga, madhu or péo, it publicly identifies the individual whose buffalo will be sacrificed. This individual may be a member of the clan which is installing the new clan object or a guest whose own group has an elder-younger (ka'ē-azi) relationship with the host clan. Through the sa ngaza chant, group membership is publicly declared and affirmed by the recitation of the names of the most important symbols of clan identity. The chant also serves as a public record of legitimating the status and rights of the individual who is ‘calling the name’ in his sa'o mézé and wōé. Thus the act of the buffalo slaughter together with the sa ngaza also publicly confirm his membership through
the fulfilment of this ritual obligation. In the case of an individual from another clan, he will publicly reaffirm his group's ties with the clan hosting the ritual through the act of buffalo slaughter. The recitation of his sa ngaza identifies not only him but his group. The re-affirmation of his groups' relations with the host clan are thereby noted and recorded by all participants.

Names are important means by which social identity is constructed among the Hoga Sara. Social identity is defined in terms of being a member of an extended family group whether it is the named house, clan, village, or village confederacy. Therefore, naming these social units and the material objects which signify them gives an identity not only to a particular social grouping, but also to an individual member of it.

Names of significant objects of the clan and named house usually derive from those of the ancestors, especially from the names of the various levels of founding ancestor. Identity is bestowed by naming something. By using the name of an ancestor ties are maintained with the past and thus continuity is secured. Not only are the publicly visible objects [house, sacrifice post, stone platforms] named, but also such ancestral paraphernalia of the trunk rider house as the ritual spear (bhuja kawa) and sword (laja sué or topo) that are stored in the innermost part of the house and are on display only on certain ritual occasions. The names of the ceremonial spear and sword usually depict a characterization of the ancestor and thereby of the clan, alluding to strength and reproductive success. The names of a clan's founding ancestor's horse and dog also have to be retained and are given to at least one of the many horses and dogs in each generation. Names of people also derive from the names of ancestors from either the father's or the mother's side.

2 Although all named houses possess such ceremonial spears and swords, usually only those of the trunk rider house are named, since these are believed to originate from the founding ancestor of the entire clan.
The sa ngaza chant identifies the names of several significant material symbols. These objects not only serve as physical markers of identity, but also represent many Hoga Sara concepts about relations with both their living and deceased family members. These material symbols are the major components of the village plan, as if charting the various levels of relationships in the physical plane.

The named houses (sa'o mëzé) and their positioning within the village show the structure of the clan residing in a nua. Each of the sa'o mëzé in turn represent a number of families that comprise it. The examination of the structure of a named house reveals further sociological and cosmological significance encoded in it for its member families.

In the village courtyard the buffalo sacrifice post (madhu or pëo) and bhaga are given a central place. These objects not only signify clan identity, but also symbolize clan unity, hence their central location. Furthermore, the sacrifice post holds an important cosmological significance for the clan in that it is believed to be the conductor between the realms of Divinity, the members of the clan, and their ancestors.

Below I consider each of these named material symbols of identity -- sa'o mëzé, madhu or pëo, bhaga, (and turé and nabé) and examine the various meanings encoded in them in turn.

MATERIAL SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY SA'O MÉZÉ

The sa'o mëzé, the Hoga Sara great or named house made up of several related families, is not only a component of a clan. It is also a physical structure (a real house) which represents the unity of all the family groups that trace their derivation from the founding ancestor of that sa'o mëzé. The sa'o mëzé unifies not only all social relations, but also cosmological relations. The named house in its physical structure expresses a number of concepts about Hoga Sara cosmology. It
is the location for certain rituals that maintain relations with Divinity and the
deceased members of the sa'o mézé, the ancestors. The Hoga Sara believe that
without the maintenance of relations with their ancestor all member families of the
sa'o mézé would die out. In other words, the continuity of the sa'o mézé can only
be ensured by the ritual interaction with the ancestors of the house through which
the ancestors' life generative potential is secured for the member families.

In this section I examine the sa'o mézé, the building itself, for its
cosmological significance and as a material representation of social organization. I
pay particular attention to the social and some ritual uses of space within the sa'o
mézé. A consideration of the inner house (oné), a spiritually imbued place, will
highlight a number of the cosmological ideas of the Hoga Sara.

A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE STRUCTURE

There are certain principles applied in the construction of the house that are
also observed in every day life, whether building a house or fence, placing wood
into the fire, or even simply distributing food. Thus proceeding from 'trunk' to 'tip'
(pu'u to lobo) and in a circular fashion known as kago wana must be maintained.

The order in which the posts of the house are planted is in a counter­
clockwise direction (kago wana) 'turning to the right'. This principle applies not
only to the posts, but also to all other parts of the house during the building
process. Furthermore, every piece of wood and bamboo in the construction can
only be joined to another trunk to tip end and the posts should be laid with tip end
pointing upward. More precisely, no trunk-trunk nor tip-tip ends of wood can be

I first stumbled on these rules when once I incorrectly peeled a mango, from tip to
trunk, and after being reprimanded I was shown how to do it properly. The same thing happened
when distributing cigarettes and sirih-pinang to a group of people in a clockwise direction. After
these incidents a couple of elders took great pains to explain that had my actions not been
corrected my life span would have been shortened.
joined together. Breaking from either the rule of pu'u-lobo joining or that of movement to the right, kago wana, is believed to result in illness or even in death not just for the household of the named house, but also for all family groups who are members of the sa'o mézé.

The house in Sara Sedu, as in most parts of Southeast Asia, stands on tall posts. In overall structure it is made up of the inner house, or house proper, oné [inside], and the veranda, téda. The sa'o of the Hoga Sara usually contains an outer and inner veranda, the téda au and téda oné, respectively. The house gives the impression of being rectangular in shape with the front and back being narrower than the right and left sides. The house proper, oné, however, is square with the additional inner and outer verandas making the right and left sides look wider. The roof structure above the oné is tall and thatched with alang-alang grass, forming a raised roof ridge that is called pusé kéra 'navel of the knot' [pusé = navel, kéra = knot].4 The roofing above the veranda, téda, however is made of longitudinally halved bamboos fitted together as tiles. In the process of building the house, first the posts are laid -- for the inner house, then the veranda respectively -- then the walls and the roof structure are raised, again progressing from the oné to the téda.

The named house is built to specifications which are not required in ordinary houses.5 The sa'o mézé has various distinguishing features. A flat stone (nabé)

---

4 Although most people could not translate the term kéra on its own but only as the compound with pusé referring to the roof ridge, the few who did translate it thought it referred to a knot. Thus, the raised roof ridge (pusé kéra) is the centre or navel of the knot that bounds together all the families that derive from the named house, like an umbilical cord.

5 I want to point out that in earlier times ordinary houses had a similar appearance to that of the named houses. However, nowadays, ordinary houses being located mostly outside the traditional village and close to the road, do not stand on posts but directly on the ground. They are of rectangular shape usually with a tin roof or the traditional bamboo tiling. In fact ordinary houses at the present look more like garden huts (këka).
must be laid in front of the house entrance, at the base of the ladder. One of the five main posts supporting the inner house (oné) must be of hebu (Cassia fistula) wood. The number of boards used in building the walls (ubé) for the oné has to be twenty-seven, with an additional very thin board called mata paté. Outer and inner stair people (ata tangi) must be present and made of hebu wood. Certain parts of the house's walls have to be carved with specific motifs. These carved boards include the upper and lower wall moulding/framing boards (dawu), the step (tolo péna) leading into the oné, and the second wall board from the door on both left and right sides, ubé manu. The sa'o mészé must also have a raised roof (pusé kéra).

On the vertical plane the house can be divided into three parts: 1) the area beneath the tall house posts; 2) the actual living space in the house; and 3) the attic and the raised roof structure. On the horizontal plane the living area within the sa'o mészé is divided into two major sections: 1) the veranda (tédá) which itself is divided into a) the outer veranda (tédá au) and b) the inner veranda (tédá oné); and 2) the inner house (oné) or house proper. Figures 35a and b illustrate the various divisions in and features of the sa'o mészé.

---

6 In other villages where the traditional wooden structure of the named house no longer exists but has been replaced by stone and brick houses, most of the distinguishing parts of a named house are still present with the exception of the 27 boards that make up the walls and the mata paté.

7 The architecture of the house is composed of many more parts than these diagrams indicate. Due to limitations of space and the focus of this work, I shall discuss only the main aspects of the house which are absolutely essential for understanding those major concepts of Sara Sede thought about social and cosmological relationships that are expressed in the house. The features selected are the ones emphasized by the Hoga Sara themselves.
FIGURE 35 a. Sa’o mézé: a side view
FIGURE 35 b. Sa'o: top view

LEGEND:
1. tubo ata misé
2. tubo ogi
3. tubo papa bhoko
4. tubo papa léwa
5. tubo roro

main posts
support posts
THE HOUSE FROM THE OUTSIDE

All houses face towards the inside of the village square with their backs towards the surrounding forest. The house is not oriented along any specific axis [zélé - lau or mena - zálé] of the village. The only thing important in orienting the house is that it faces inward to the courtyard which holds the madhu and the bhaga, or the péo.

NABÉ AND ATA TANGI

Standing outside and facing a sa'o mézé, the first things that attract one's attention are the flat stone (nabé) at the base of the ladder (tangi) leading up to the house and the two minimally carved posts, ata tangi [ata = person, people], which stand on either sides of it.

The flat nabé stone is always viewed as female. The nabé in front of the house was explained to me as a reminder of the woman, who was the wife of the founding ancestor of the house. Furthermore, it was stressed that the nabé is the first thing to be passed when entering the house and this should be done in a respectful manner, as one respects a woman and mother. The nabé representing the ancestral mother serves as the first guardian (and boundary marker) against malevolent spirits, especially witches, polo, who might enter the house.

The ata tangi, made of special hebu wood, represent all the male and female ancestors of the members of the house, and thus serve the same protective and border function. Ata tangi are present not only at the outside entrance of the house, but also inside the house, at the door which leads into the inner house (oné). These inside ata tangi are the last line of guardians against the entrance of malevolent spirits into the house proper (oné).

At the outside entrance the two posts are about one metre tall and are minimally carved. The ata tangi by the entrance to the oné are short in comparison
(about 40 cm) and their carving is a little more elaborate than those of the outside ata tangi.

Usually the male or female post at the outer entrance to the house can only be distinguished in terms of the side of the ladder on which it stands. From the outside, the female ata tangi stands on the left side, while the male is on the right side. Sometimes the gender difference for the outside ata tangi may be indicated by the head of one being carved with a woman's hair knot (moté) and the other with a man's head-cloth (boku). In the case of the inside ata tangi, in addition to the heads being carved differently to indicate gender, the female post also has breasts carved on it.

In the process of house building the nabé and ata tangi are sprinkled with pig's blood. According to the Hoga Sara, by doing this the ancestors are sealed into the posts and their protective power is secured. Furthermore, the ata tangi have to be smeared, and thus "fed" with the grease of buffalo and pig, ngelu kaba wawi, from any ritual sacrifice to ensure that they do not desert their descendants. The grease was also said to have a practical purpose, namely that the coating would strengthen the posts and thus extend their durability.

Although the ata tangi do not bear the names of any specific ancestors, the nabé is usually named. The name of the nabé is generally not the name of the founding ancestral mother of the house, but rather some term for an attribute of hers, such as Fa Masa [fa = cool and fresh, masa = whole, all].

---

8 I interpret the sprinkling and smearing with blood of stones such as the nabé and of objects of hebu wood as the conversion of outside general ancestral spirits (who could be potentially harmful to humans) to specific inside ancestral spirits (who are generally beneficial to humans). In the next chapter I discuss this issue in detail.

9 Interestingly, this is the only situation in which the grease and not the blood or meat of a sacrificial animal is used as offerings to ancestors.
**PUSÉ KÉRA**

The raised ridge of the roof structure (pusé kéra) is another distinguishing feature of the sa'o mézé, which is noticeable from the outside. On the right and left side edges of the pusé kéra, there are three symbolic swords or spears protruding skyward. These "weapons" are made of plaited palm leaves. They function to ward off and prevent the entrance of polo into the house. Although the entire pusé kéra is believed to house protective ancestral spirits who are supposed to perform the same guardian function, these two points of the structure are especially vulnerable and thus equipped with these symbolic "weapons". The pusé kéra is also viewed by the Hoga Sara as a conduit by which the Divinity (Déwa) descends from the sky in order to enter the house and take part in ritual offerings.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POSTS SUPPORTING THE ONÉ**

The oné stands on ten posts, five of which are supporting posts and five of which are the main posts. The five main posts are the ones discussed and elaborated upon in any talk of the house and its construction. Of these five posts, four support the corners of the house with an additional post just underneath the right door frame. When referring to it in Indonesian, interestingly several informants called this latter post the 'central post' (tiang pusat). Since this post has nothing to do with the centre of the inner house (oné), its designation in Indonesian may seem odd. The name by which it is known in the local language is tubo ata mité. Tubo ata mité means 'the post of the black person'. This post has to be planted into the ground first. It is contributed by the members of the house. It is of hebu wood, which always has a spiritual association. Thus, by its precedence in the construction and its use of special hebu wood, its importance is emphasized. However, its name remains a mystery, since nobody can explain it any longer,
although some unusual speculation was put forward by one of my informants.\(^{10}\) This post does not have any significance, however, in the rituals performed inside the house.

The other four posts are planted right after the tubo ata mité, at the four corners in the order of 'moving or turning to the right', kago wana, in a counterclockwise direction, from the right front corner to the left front corner of the house. These posts in consecutive order are called, tubo ogi, tubo papa bhoko, tubo papa léwa, and tubo roro. The names refer to the names of the corners of the house being supported. Tubo means post.

These posts are of the dolu tree to which no special significance is attached, unlike the hebu tree which is a red, strong, durable wood, always used in construction that is thought to represent guardian ancestors or to provide a home for the ancestors, such as in the case of madbu, péo, posts of the bhaga, and the ata tangi.

The four posts must be contributed by four other houses or clans with whom the named house has a ka'cé-azi relationship. In this context, the ka'cé-azi relationship is the relationship with a house or clan that has given a woman in marriage to the family grouping of the House under construction. Although a named house may have several such relationships, the four posts are contributed by the first four groups that became engaged with the sa'o mézé in such a ka'cé-azi relationship and are still maintaining the relationship. The order in which the four tubo are planted also follows that of the establishment of the affinal ties. Thus, the posts may be viewed as supporting the house, as do the groups that contributed

---

\(^{10}\) He suggested that the original inhabitants of Sara Sedu were a lot darker in complexion than today. Since the first post not only represents the house that is being built but also its ancestors, as indicated by the use of the hebu wood, the name ata mité just commemorates the very first ancestors of the Hoga Sara.
women support the house's continuity. The four posts are also usually referred to by the name of the clan or house that contributed it: for example tubo Tura, the post of the Tura clan.

One of the authochthonous clans in Sara is the Kaki clan. In the eldest and thus trunk rider house of Kaki, the five main posts of the inner house appear to map out the Kaki clan's wider affinal and territorial relations within Sara and Sedu. The first post of Sa'o Benu Wali, tubo ata mité, represents the Kaki clan itself. The second post is that of the authochthonous wó Bhoké héké of the Sedu. The third post is contributed by the Tura clan, another authochthonous clan of Sara. The fourth post represents the Moa Bela clan, the first immigrants from Naru, and the fifth post stands for the Belu clan, a later immigrant to Sara from Toda Belu. For the Kaki clan the order of the posts represents their early affinal history.\(^\text{11}\)

**THE INSIDE OF THE HOUSE**

While we are outside (on the veranda), orientation is facing towards the back of the house (thus facing towards the inside). However, once inside the one, the orientation is reversed and is determined by facing towards the front of the house (thus facing towards the outside). The reckoning of the right and left sides of the house is therefore dependant on the orientation within a particular section of the house. The process of fixing orientation within the inner house (one) is similar to that of fixing lateral orientation within the village. Inside the nua the right and left

---

\(^{11}\) However, some people suggested that the posts actually indicate the mòri tana clans of Sara Sedu, and others would go as far as stating that the posts at the four corners and at the door actually indicated the directions in which the land of the respective clans is located. However, elders with more specialized knowledge insisted that only the order of marriage ties interpretation is the valid one. They also point out that posts of the trunk rider house of the Kaki clan contributed by the four other clans just happen to coincide with the mòri tana clans. In all other traditional named houses in Sara Sedu in the representation of the posts the affinal connections are emphasized, the order of laying posts having nothing to do with the direction of land of the house or clan that has given a wife, but with the order in which relations were established.
sides is also reckoned by facing to the gate, and thus to the outside of the village. Figure 36. illustrates orientation within the house.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right</th>
<th>Left</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INSIDE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OUTSIDE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tedá (right)</td>
<td>Tedá (left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tedá au (right)</td>
<td>Tedá au (left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tedá au</td>
<td>Tedá au</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 36.** Orientation inside the house: inside--outside determining left and right sides

**THE INSIDE THAT IS STILL OUTSIDE TÉDA**

Ascending the stairs, the first part of the house most people will have access to is the tedá au, outer veranda. The tedá au is usually more open than any other part of the house, the only closure to it being the full wall which separates it from the inner veranda, tedá oné. In some houses the left and right sides of the outer veranda may be closed off at least partially by a short, mid-height wall, thus creating a window effect. However, the front is always open. The outer veranda is not designed for privacy. In fact, this is the place for any visitors to be received, for neighbours to visit, chew betel-nut and gossip, and for general house work. The kind of topics and issues discussed on the tedá au are those that can be known by anyone and everyone in the village. It is the place where general socializing between neighbours in the village takes place. In former times, war-captured or debt slaves, ho'o, of the house could only sit or sleep on the tedá au. If there are a lot of people in the house for a ritual gathering, some men may also spend the night on the outer veranda.

---

12 General house work includes plaiting of mats and baskets, vegetable cleaning, rice winnowing, preparing and repairing spears and parang, and so on.
The téda au is used on the occasion of bridewealth negotiations that are public, when issues may be heard and witnessed by all. On such an occasion the women of the named house are usually busy inside, in the oné part of the house, preparing the meal to be served after the negotiations are concluded. The inner veranda is used by other family members not involved in the negotiations. The téda au, however, is filled by the male members of the named house with their chosen mediator and spokesman (mosa laki) from the village and the male members of the prospective groom's house with their own mosa laki. On the left and female side of the téda au sit the groom's representatives [the wife-taking group] and on the right half of the veranda, the male side, sit the members of the house whose woman is desired in marriage [the wife-giving group]. The mosa laki of the groom's house will sit at the front and thus outer end of the téda au, while those for the owners of the house hosting the negotiation, the wife-giving house, will sit against the back and inner part of the outer veranda, as is shown in Figure 37.

FIGURE 37. An example of the social use of space in the outer veranda
The seating arrangement and thus the social use of space in the outer veranda on the occasion of bridewealth negotiation, highlights certain classificatory categories. Facing inward, the right and left sides are opposed. As in so many other contexts, the right is constantly associated with male and the left with female valuation. The seating of the members of the wife-giving house, thus the owners of the place of negotiation, on the right side, may suggest a categorisation as male, while the groom's house's representatives sitting on the left side could be viewed as female.

Inside and outside in the context of the house are also important and are highlighted in the spatial use of the tëda au as well. In the bridewealth negotiation the mediators of the house's owners, mosa laki, occupy the inside position while those of another house sit in the outside position. Thus, the male valued group's representative takes up an inner place, while that of the female valued group occupies an outer seat, thereby inverting the usual valuation of inside as female and of outside as male.

From the tëda au through a doorway, though not a proper door, one enters the tëda oné, the inner veranda. This is the place where family members and trusted neighbours may be invited to be entertained. Issues discussed are more confidential and are not for the consumption of the entire village, but only for the families belonging to the named house or to its younger or elder named house branches. The inner veranda is enclosed by walls on all four sides with door openings towards the front, leading to the tëda au, and towards the back, leading to the oné. The latter door is always closed.

General household items, such as regular spears, food storage baskets and bamboo tubes may be stored here, but never any ritual objects or heirloom goods. Boys from about the age of seven sleep here, as would other male family members.
In larger gatherings of families belonging to the named house, the têda oné is a place for a mixed group of men and women. In seating, rarely are the right and left sides reserved specifically as places for men or women. The only situation in which left and right sides (and thus female and male sides) are distinguished within the têda oné is in the context of a girl's tooth filing ceremony which marks her passage to adulthood. In this rite the left section of the inner veranda is partitioned off for the operation. However, in this instance, the right and left sides are distinguished not by facing inside the house but by facing to the outside, the same orientation which is used when in the oné of the house.

In certain respects the têda oné is a transitional space between the outside and the inside, the innermost part of the house. With respect to the inner house, oné, it is still outside, but in the context of the veranda it is inside. The têda oné is also used by the family groupings in respect of 'inside' matters of the named house. In the context of the rite which transforms girls into women, the inner veranda is treated as inside with respect to determining right and left sides. At other times, it is still outside in the sense that this is the sleeping place for males guarding the females who sleep inside.

On the occasion of discussing an important matter, the speaker, usually an elder member of the house should sit on the step, tolo péna, leading to the door of the inner house. Therefore, he will occupy the innermost and central part of the têda oné. The tolo péna is considered the seat of honour within the inner veranda and it is the last boundary to the innermost part of the house. It is flanked on both left and right sides by stair people (ata tangi) that guard the entrance into the inner sanctum of the oné. The tolo péna is also carved with a buffalo horn [zegu kaba] and gold earring [béla] motifs, the items of bridewealth paid for the woman who was part of the founder couple of the house and for all women who came from
another house. These motives also represent the material wealth and prosperity of all families born of the founding ancestors of the house.

The inner wall of the têda oné is also the outer front wall of the oné, the house proper. On the second wall plank, on both right and left sides of the door, a square is carved with the same hen and rooster motifs as on the bhaga. In fact these planks are called ubé manu, the chicken wall [ubé = wall, manu = chicken]. Although by their shape one cannot distinguish which is the hen and which is the rooster, informants insist that the hen is on the left and the rooster on the right. However, the orientation is by facing to the inside, as in the case of the têda au.

THE INNER HOUSE (ONÉ)

The house proper (oné) is usually a dark and dimly lit place, lacking windows, usually lit from the hearth only. As Figure 38. illustrates, the oné has several significant parts. Plates 5, 6, and 8 also show some of these.

FIGURE 38. Significant parts of the oné
PLATE 5. Hearth (lapu) and hearth post (dhuké)

PLATE 6. Wēo and base of the hearth post (pu'u dhuké)
PLATE 7. Outer ladder (tangi) with ata tangi on either side and nábé in front

PLATE 8. Part of the zégu raga with ritual paraphernalia
The most obvious feature is the hearth (lapu) right beside the door as one enters the oné. The lapu is quite big and takes up a large part of the papa bhoko side of the house. Papa bhoko means the short side. It runs along the line of the hearth to the back wall. This side is considered as the left side. The other side is the papa léwa, the 'long side' which is the right side. The back wall is designated as the head of the inner house, or the head wall (ulu ubé). The door on the opposing outer side is called the tail of the house, or the tail door (eko péna). Heirlooms, such as gold items, old ritual textiles and ivory bracelets are stored in the partial ceiling above the papa léwa side, made of bamboo. The shelf formed by the top of the back wall (tolo) serves to store items used in rituals, such as gongs and drums, gourds and plaited plates, coconut shell drinking cups. On the back wall (ulu ubé) a wooden double hook, each with three prongs is fastened. On this zegu raga [zegu = horn, raga = hook] the heirloom ancestral sword (laja sue) and spear (bhuja kawa) are stored along with the men's war necklace (wuli) made of large sea shells. The wall plank that holds the zegu raga is the widest of all wall boards in the inner house, and thus the most prominent. It is also in the central position of the back wall.

In the front right corner (roro) usually the water tube of bamboo is stored. The left front corner formed by part of the hearth (lapu) is called ogi.

The hearth (lapu) has a strong post, made from hebu wood, in its inner back right corner. At the base of the dhuké (pu'u dhuké) the wood of the hearth's ridge is extended and a hole or depression is bored into it. This part is called we'o and is the place for placing offerings for the ancestors. Although the dhuké is still on the

---

13 The extent of any space occupied by humans is expressed by the terms head and tail (ulu éko), whether this space is the village confederacy, the land holdings of a clan, the village, the garden, or the house. Thus, as indicated in earlier chapters the extent of the village confederacy, the territory of a clan, the village were also expressed in terms of ulu éko.
left side of the oné, the we'o extends into the right side, the papa léwa. The lapu contains three hearth stones (lika), the one closest to the left side wall is the source stone (lika pu'u) and the other two, towards the papa léwa side of the oné, are both referred to as the 'stones of the door opening' (lika wesa). This circle of stones along with the roof ridge are also believed to house certain guardian ancestral spirits, referred to as pusé kéra, ringa lika.

The inner house is used by women and small children for sleeping, as well as by the couple who own the house. Only the most intimate matters concerning the household -- issues that are for nobody else's ears -- are discussed here. These discussions should not go any further than the 'head wall' and 'tail door' (ulu ubé éko péna).

Although most members of a named house are born in one of its sa'o dhoro (unless born to the senior family that occupies the named house itself), in death all members are laid out in the oné of the sa'o mézé and carried from here to the grave. The birth of the children of the senior family of the named house, however, do take place in the oné of the sa'o mézé.

Rituals that effect the welfare of all family groupings belonging to the sa'o mézé are usually conducted in the oné. These ritual undertakings include some of the calendrical rituals, part of the funerary ritual, part of the marriage rite, and some healing rites. In these rituals, that part especially which concerns the offering to the ancestors must be performed in the oné. On such a ritual occasion, the oné is occupied by the eldest members of the house, and the eldest male presides over

\[14\] With regard to birth taking place inside the house, I should point out that it is no longer a usual occurrence, since nowadays births take place at a local clinic or hospital. Although birth inside the house still occurs occasionally, as I was told, during my stay in Sara Sedu all births occurred in the hospital in Bajawa.
the rite. In this context, the oné becomes a space of ritual interaction with the ancestors, spatially bounded by the closed door.

The **papa bhoko** including the lapu is the side for the women and the **papa léwa** is the male side. When both men and women are gathered in the oné the seating order will usually follow these two sides. Women of course, also do the cooking at the hearth on the **papa bhoko** side. Formerly, births also took place in the small space between the hearth and the back wall of this left side.

On the **papa léwa** side there is a special place of honour. This is the place occupied when sitting, resting one's back against the back wall, directly beneath the zegu *raga*. This space, called the 'eye of the hook' (**mata raga**) may be occupied not just by a man but also by an elder or distinguished woman, or by a well respected member of the council of elders (**mosa laki**). This is also the place where the eldest male of the named house begins any ritual to be held within the sa'o. On the occasion of the final rite before a woman of the house will be sent off to her new husband's house, a ritual meal and blessing takes place in the oné and the bride and groom are seated in the honoured place of the **mata raga** flanked by their parents. Upon her arrival at her husband's house, she and her husband are also seated beneath the zegu *raga* for the blessing and reception meal.

The zegu *raga* is also the place for a small rite, blessing by spittle (**ti'i rura**), performed by a MB or by a senior male of the named house in the case a sister's child's marriage is infertile. This 'blessing' performed in the inner sanctum of the sa'o *mèzé* is believed to bring about conception.

---

15 Since the **papa bhoko** is the left and female side while the **papa léwa** is the right and male side of the house when facing the door of the oné, orientation within the inner house replicates that of the village (**nua**), where as well the left and right, female and male sides are determined by facing the gate of the village in the **lau** (down-slope) direction.
THE ONÉ IN THE CONTEXT OF CERTAIN COSMOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

The mata raga is closely associated with the ancestors. Usually an elder person would occupy the mata raga, which is the most inner part of the house. Any aged person is deemed to be closer to the ancestors and often is described as nitu, a term used for generalized ancestors.

The person performing a ritual in the oné, likewise the newly-weds in the case of the marital blessing, sits on the floor space designated as the mata raga beneath the zegu raga. The ancestors are believed to be present in the zegu raga and thus to witness and bless the particular event. Furthermore, the most significant ancestral heirlooms, the ancestral spear (bhuja kawa) and sword (laja sué) are stored on the zegu raga. These weapons are also thought to be places for the constant presence of ancestors guarding the house.

A corpse would be laid out with the head laying on the mata raga space, thus beneath the zegu raga, and the soul of the deceased (maé) is believed to leave the house by swinging aside the mata paté [mata = dead person, paté = tapping knife], the thin board in the back wall of the house, just to the right of the largest wall plank that holds the zegu raga. This gives a spiritual association to the back wall, and especially to its most central part, the ulu ubé with its hook of heirlooms, and the space below it, the mata raga.

In the oné there is yet another spiritually imbued place. This is the place where offerings are placed for the ancestors and Divinity, in the we’o, at the base of the hearth post (pu’u dhuké). Although the hearth post is still on the left, female side, the we’o extends into the right, male side. The dhuké is of hebu wood, a wood which is always associated with the presence of ancestors. Indeed, once an offering of morsels of meat and rice and a sprinkle of palm wine are placed into the we’o, the ancestors are invited ‘to ascend from below’ and the Creator (Divinity) ‘to descend from above’ with the aid of the dhuké to share the meal. The
Madhu or peo posts are used also in the same manner by ancestors and Divinity. Thus the hearth post (dhuké) inside the house functions as a 'sky post' (tubo lizu), as does the madhu/peo in the context of the village. The dhuké highlights a certain aspect of the house — the house as microcosm.

Hoga Sara conceptualize the cosmos as divided into the realms of the Creator, of the ancestors, and of humanity. Like the liana vine (léké) that connected the sky and earth in primaeval times, so does the dhuké join together the three realms. In this sense, the roof of the house, especially the raised roof ridge (pusé kéra) is comparable to the sky, the domain of the Creator. Everything beneath the floor is equivalent to the realm beneath the earth, the domain of the ancestors. While the actual living space in the house is the abode of humanity as is the earth.

The Creator is always thought of as masculine while the ancestors are feminine. They are addressed in prayer as Iné ema, Nitu zalé, Déwa zéta, 'Mother and Father, Nitu (ancestors) below, and Déwa (Divinity) above'. Therefore it is appropriate that they would come together to share the offering meal inside the house with the aid of the dhuké at the particular place that is a boundary point between the male and female sides of the one.

Although the inner house is divided into the female and male halves, overall it is thought of as feminine. Women always have to sleep inside the one part of the house and during large gatherings of the family group members of the named house, the one is occupied mostly by the women. Some elders also emphasized that the one is the most secret and private part of the house, sheltering and

---

16 The overall feminine association must be understood in two contexts: the differentiation of inside and outside and the various social uses of space within the entire house including both the verandahs and the one. The inner part of the house, the one, is classified as feminine as opposed to the outside part of the house that is categorized as masculine.
protecting from the harshness of the outside like the womb shelters a baby. This parallel was also brought up when referring to the oné of a sa'ô mézé being the womb from which all its unnamed sa'ô dhoro and its younger named houses originated. Thus the expression 'common womb' (tuka ghi) refers to families that are members of the same named house. An elder also drew a parallel with the womb when talking about burial practices, where the corpse is removed from the inner house (oné) feet first, in contrast with the way a baby exits from the womb head first. The oné is the innermost, feminine place of the house. The most important events of the life-cycle -- birth, marriage, death -- are witnessed inside the inner part of the oné, towards its back wall.

However, this feminine place encompasses a masculine half as well. In turn, the categorically male half contains within it feminine spaces, feminine by virtue of association with the ancestors. These encompassments are illustrated in Figure 39 below.17

![Diagram of Male and Female categorization in the oné](image)

**FIGURE 39.** Male and Female categorization in the oné

17 Although the male and female categorization of the sides of the inner house mostly mirror that of the village (nua), at the level of encompassments there is a difference. In the case of the inner house (oné) only the male (right) side also contains femininely classified space, whereas in the village both the male (right) and female (left) sides each entail both masculine and feminine spaces. The male and female categorization, including the mentioned encompassments, is based on the ritual and social use of space in the inner house. In the case of the village, however, such categorizations are linked with the order of segmentation within both halves of the clan and on the classification of functionary houses as male or female and their location within the village with reference to their proximity to the village entrance (i.e. closer to the gate is categorized as male).
I have marked the floor space mata raga, and the back wall space occupied by the zegu raga as categorically female in Figure 39 since they are associated with the ancestors. Although there are both male and female ancestors, ancestors as a conceptual group, are viewed as feminine by the Hoga Sara in contrast to the masculine Divinity.

SUMMARY REMARKS ABOUT THE SA'O MÉZÉ

All the sa'ó mézé of a woé (the trunk rider and tip rider houses along with their named younger houses) are also significant material symbols of clan composition. The various sa'ó mézé chart the structure of the clan in the layout of a village (nuá). The process of establishing a lateral orientation with regard to left and right sides are very similar between the village and the oné of each sa'ó mézé. Furthermore, certain cosmological concepts are also similarly expressed in both the nuá and sa'ó, especially as regards interpretations of the sacrifice post in the centre of the village and the hearth post (dhuké) in the oné part of the sa'ó mézé. Both posts are regarded as facilitators of Divinity's descent from above (from the sky) and of the ancestors' ascent from below (below the earth) when invited to share a ritual offering.

The examination of the named house and the symbolic associations of its various parts also highlights classificatory principles of Sara Sedu culture. In the context of the house plan the categories of inside:outside, male:female, and right:left are primarily stressed.

The inside:outside contrast is amply expressed in the social use of space from outer veranda (téda au), inner veranda (téda oné), to the inner house proper (oné). From the outside to the inside, there is an increasing degree of relatedness among occupants in the house and greater specificity of matters dealt with in the affairs of the members of the sa'ó mézé. Also the more inside one moves, the more
The mundaneness of issues dealt with (on the inner and outer verandas) disappears and the spiritual weight of the inner space of the one comes to the foreground.

The inside and outside can also be defined in terms of male and female, where the one, the inside, is female, while the tèda au and tèda one, the outside, are male. Similarly, the reckoning of right and left sides of the house along the longitudinal axis are expressed as categorically masculine and feminine, respectively. However, the orientation in the reckoning of sides is reversed in the one from that of the tèda.18

Figure 40. illustrates the categorical association within the sa'o mézé.

Yet, the house as a whole, tèda and one, is considered as inside in opposition to the open village square. The sa'o is also viewed as feminine in contrast to the masculine central madhu or péo post of the village square. The house's female valuation is also connected with the local notion of considering houses to 'descend' (dhoro) along a female line, in the sense that a woman coming from another house in marriage founds the line of the new named house. Thus, the new named house she founded is said to have 'descended' (dhoro) from her natal named house.

18 Therefore, the different orientations of left and right in different parts of the house depend on whether the space can be classified as inside or outside. Spaces classified as inside are divided into right and left sides by facing the entrance and thus the front of the house from the inside. The outer most part of the house is the outer verandah (tèda au) which is classified as outside. Here the right and left sides are determined by facing the door of the house from the outside, thus facing towards the back of the house.
FIGURE 40. Categorical associations within the sa’o mézé
MATERIAL SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY OF THE WOE

The madhu or pêo and bhaga are not only important as material symbols of clan identity but also serve to symbolise the organization of the woé. Woé membership is often defined in terms of rights and obligations: the right to inherit land and heirlooms correlate with the obligation to care for, re-build and erect the madhu or pêo, bhaga and sa'o mézé and also to participate in other ritual undertakings. In this section, I want to examine these and other objects that constitute material symbols of the clan.

MADHU

The following is a stanza from the soka19 song which refers to the madhu post.

Pogo néné madhu ngaza
Tau tubo lizu
Kabu wi rolé nitu,
Lobo wi soi déwa.

Cut down [tree] for the named madhu
Make the sky post
Roots to wind around the nitu
Tip to reach to déwa.

The madhu is a wooden post to which water buffalo are tethered for sacrifice at various major ritual undertakings. It is a forked post, with the forks being short and blunted to accommodate a conical roof structure. For the overall look of the madhu refer to Plate 9 and Figure 41 below.

19 The soka song and the accompanying dance is performed in connection with the erection or renewal of the material representations of group identity. The song is performed during the process of introducing the significant posts of hebu wood or large stones from the forest into the village. The soka song identifies the objects for which these trees or stones shall be used (hebu for the madhu or pêo, the bhaga, and sa'o mézé, and the stones for a nahe or ture). Furthermore, the soka song describes cosmological relationships between these objects, what they represent, the spirits inhabiting them, and humans. In the next chapter, I will show how the generalized ancestral spirits that inhabit these trees and stones are converted into specific ancestral spirits as the trees and stones are transformed into the material representations of group identity.
peg for inserting cross beam of roof structure

depression for rope for buffalo tethering

fork / tip

eyes

ears

loda, gold chain motif

ìe nagé motif

béla, earring motif

trunk

ground

roots

taka, axe pendant motif

split bamboo of roof structure

later covered with alang-alang thatching

alang-alang grass thatching

cross reinforcement also bamboo

cross beams of roof

holes for pegs from main post

hole for part of the bamboo of roof

FIGURE 41. Madhu post
PLATE 9. Buffalo slaughter at the madhu post

PLATE 10. Some of the carved motifs of the madhu post: (from top to bottom) loda, taka, bela, f’e nage
The post has to be of special wood, hebu (*Cassia fistula*), a very durable and strong reddish wood. If this kind of wood is not available on the land of the woé that is erecting the madhu it may be obtained from the land of another woé. The hebu tree is then traded. The clan requiring the tree pays a horse and in return the mori tana, land-owning clan, gives a textile. In fact, the exchange is more reminiscent of bridewealth exchanges in human marriages than of an outright purchase.

The post has to be cleared of all living/sprouting vegetation and roots, with the exception of the three main roots from which all sprouting roots are burned off. The three roots are buried into the ground upon the erection of the post. In a niche at each root a live animal is buried. The animals are young but more importantly must be of red colour. In the down-slope direction (*lau*), the direction in which the post faces, a red puppy is buried. In the sunrise (*zalé*) and sunset directions (*mena*) respectively, a red, usually male chick, and a red, female piglet are buried. The dog supposedly protects and forewarns the members of the clan and village of the arrival of an enemy or of malevolent spirits, witches (*polo*). The male chick is explained as standing for a hardworking people, who have to get up early and start the day's work with the feeding of the chickens, while the pig on the other hand has to be fed in the evening at the close of the day's work. The zalé side of the three roots (right side of the village) points at the sa'o saka lobo which is viewed as male and thus a rooster buried in its direction is appropriate. The pig, valued as female in most contexts, is buried to the mena side of the three roots (left side of the village) facing the sa'o saka pu'u which itself is viewed as female.

---

20 Refer to chapter six for an explanation of this practice.

21 Red is an important colour in ritual offerings; for example, red rice, red coconut, and red animals.
The trunk or the main post of the madhu is carved. On both sides below the forking of the post, human ears are shaped out of the wood. To create the eyes, sea shells are inserted into carved depressions. Nowadays these sea shells have all fallen out of old madhu posts and it is difficult to obtain replacements. An oversimplified mouth and nostrils are also carved on the upper end of the post. Other motifs carved on the trunk include a golden chain (loda), gold earrings (bêla), a gold pendant (taka) shaped like an axe, a combination of the axe and earring (taka-bêla), fruits of the tamarind tree (ié nágé), and a man's belt made of gold (keru heza doka). Plate 10 illustrates some of these motifs. With the exception of the fruits of the tamarind tree, all motifs are items of wealth from the family heirlooms of the named houses and symbolize the material prosperity of the wóé. The S-shaped motif of fruits of the tamarind tree (ié nágé) on the other hand was explained to me as standing for the many descendants and families of the wóé, thus for the clan's reproductive prosperity.22

The roof structure is fashioned into a warrior by some additions. The tip is wrapped with red cloth, representing the red headcloth of men. Nowadays eyes and sharp grimacing teeth, also of wood, are fastened to the roof's tip. On the left and right sides of the umbrella part of the roof structure, wooden hands are inserted in the thatching. These hands hold a sword and a spear. This part of the madhu gives the impression of a warrior in readiness to defend his clan and village. At first glance, this roof structure stands out with only a small portion of the trunk visible.

Although any post or living tree could serve the purpose of tethering buffalo for slaughter, the madhu post which is quite elaborate in its structure and

---

22 People could no longer explain the reason for choosing the fruits of the tamarind tree and not another fruit to illustrate this idea.
decoration is required to fulfil this function. However, it is precisely because the madhu post is not a simple sacrificial post that such detail in shape and carving is observed. The madhu post is interpreted by ordinary Sara people as standing for the founding ancestor and indeed the name given to the post is often that of the founding ancestor of the woé. It is described as the husband of the miniature house (bhaga). The post is also considered a representation of the woé in terms of the division between sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo.

From discussions with elders of the named houses, more levels of interpretation emerge. They point out that the madhu is composed of three parts: the roots, the post, and the roof, each of which in turn has three parts.

Let me start with the roots. For this part of the madhu post I was given a couple of explanations, but these were never connected by my informants. One interpretation put forth the idea that the roots provide stability to the post, so it would not fall over and thus may stand for a long time. This is a physical and rather practical account of the function of the three roots. Another exegesis suggested that the roots refer to sexual union between male and female, producing offspring. Thus, the three roots can be viewed as the wife, husband and resulting child, or wife and husband coming together to become one. Procreation is done out of sight at night, like the roots in darkness beneath the earth. It was also pointed out that the roots are invisible just below the lower end of the trunk, which is carved with the belt motif, thus below the belt.

---

23 In some cases, however, the name of the madhu is that of the founding ancestor's first born son [e.g. the madhu post of woé Kaki is called Rato Galu, the son of Kaki Rato, the founding ancestor].

24 I would note that number three is an important number in various contexts of Sara Sedu culture.
As yet another explanation, a couplet from the *soka* song performed upon the erection of the *madhu* was recited for me: *kabu wi rolé nitu, lobo wi soi déwa*. *Kabu wi rolé nitu* means 'the roots to wind around the nitu'. *Lobo wi soi déwa* means 'the tips to reach Divinity'. It was explained to me that here *nitu* refers to the ancestors and their realm is that beneath the earth. Thus, it would appear that the descendants of the *woé* can find their anchor in their ancestors, like the tree/post finds its stability in the roots. The roots are thus the founding ancestral father and mother from whose union the trunk of the *madhu*, thus the *woé*, came to grow and prosper. The earth itself provides a fertile place for growth and proliferation for plants and human reproductive prosperity is often likened to that of plants.

The part of the *madhu* post that is above the ground and covered by the roof structure is also composed of three parts: the trunk and the two forks. Most of my informants with special knowledge stated that this post shows the unity of the clan. The trunk may represent the unity of the clan, the *woé* before its differentiation into its many named houses. The forking would stand for the differentiation within the *woé*. During the process of erection of the *madhu* post, the trunk rider is from the eldest house of the clan and the tip rider — precisely the one riding on the forked end — is from the very first branch house of the clan. Yet the *woé* has many branches, the many named younger houses, thus the tip rider and the forked tip itself seem to stand for all the segmentation within the *woé*. As some elders also explained the two forks represent the trunk and tip rider houses respectively. The trunk in one sense encompasses the tip. The trunk continues on while a branch sprouts off and thus the forking occurs. Therefore, the post itself represents the unity of the clan which entails its eventual differentiation. Figures 42
a and b illustrate the unity and differentiation of the woé as is expressed in the madhu post.

FIGURE 42. a) Woé unity as expressed in the madhu
b) Differentiation in the woé as expressed in the madhu

That part of the madhu post which stands above the ground therefore represents living humanity, the descendants of the dead ancestors who are signified by the roots of the madhu.

The roof itself is made up of three parts: the head, body and arms. Again I was offered two explanations for the roof. One stated that as the male ancestral father, this part of the madhu stands guard over the entire clan and protects all with the weapons of the warriors. The other exegesis drew on the second part of the couplet quoted earlier, lobo wi soi déwa, 'the tip reaching to déwa'. Déwa refers to the Creator God among all ethnic groups living in the regency (kabupaten) Ngada. The phrase quoted relates specifically to the roof structure of the madhu post and would suggest a striving of humanity to reach or understand God. At the same time, the conical roof which half covers and shelters the post parallels with God protecting and sheltering His creations, as does the dome of the sky which is thought to be the abode of Déwa.
The madhu is also referred to as tubo lizu, the post of the sky, connecting earth and sky as the mythical liana vine did before their separation. If in rituals offering is made at the madhu post, the ancestors are invited to ascend from below with the aid of the madhu post and Déwa is invited to descend from above in the same way. Therefore, the madhu has a cosmological significance, connecting the realm of the ancestors below the earth, the domain of humans on the earth, and the abode of God in the sky. Furthermore, it also reproduces symbolically the ancient liana (azé léké) vine that kept earth and sky together in primordial times. The madhu represents a cosmological unity between humans and the spiritual realm of ancestors and God, while at the same time expressing differentiation in the human realm. A couple of my informants provided a folk etymology for the word madhu, braking it down as ma = to extend and dhu = as far as; and indeed the madhu 'extending as far as the above and below' ties together a vast cosmological space.

BHAGA

The bhaga is a small-scale house standing adjacent to the madhu. It is used in various large scale rituals for making an offering to the ancestors and for the representative elders from all named houses who share in this offering meal. The offering is made inside the bhaga and the meat and rice for ceremonial meals is collected in huge containers that are divided among the named houses.

On the stone platform in front of the door of the bhaga, earlier distinguished elders (mosa laki) used to be buried. This stone platform is a named turé. The bhaga is also the gathering place for representative elders of the sa’o mézé before going to war or before going out to get the hebu wood for the madhu. In these latter two cases, the physical well being of the woé in the undertaking is supposed to insure protection from lurking dangers.
In its physical appearance the bhaga replicates the innermost section of a named house (sa'o ngaza). It is a scaled-down version of this house minus the hearth and double veranda. Although the veranda is absent the illusion of it being present is there, created by the two front bamboo posts that keep up the front thatching of the roof and the stone platform (turé) beneath this place on the ground. The bhaga is square in shape, although the roofing gives it a rectangular look. Plate 11 and Figure 43 illustrate the bhaga.

The roof ridge is raised with the pusé kéra structure and the three symbolic swords stuck at the left and right ends are the same as in a named house. The house structure stands on wooden posts that rest on stones above the ground. The posts are very short compared to those of a real house and are not buried into the earth as is the case with a sa'o mezé. The walls are made of 27 larger wooden planks, with the lower boards carved. The door frame is carved with an x-motif. The second plank from either the left or right sides of the door contains a square shaped carved piece. On these boards a hen and rooster are carved facing each other, the rooster on the right side and the hen on the left side, and the rest of the square is filled in with items of gold wealth (bêla and taka) and the iê nagé motif. The hen and rooster (manu moka and manu lalu) were explained as being the sacrificial animals in many rites. However they also represent the reproductive and material prosperity of the clan, just as chickens lay many eggs relatively rapidly so should the number of clan members increase along with material wealth.

The carving on the lower boards is the iê nagé motif, but also the horse motif inserted in the middle of the plank. Horse (jara) is yet another item of traditional wealth and is used in bridewealth payments. The stair people (ata tangi) stand on either side of the stairs and are distinguished as male and female, the male on the right side and the female on the left side. These short posts are not
PLATE 11. The bhaga house
FIGURE 43. A schematic diagram of the bhaga
elaborately carved and often male and female posts are distinguished by carving the
head of the male as if wearing a head cloth and that of the female wearing a hair
knot. In a couple of cases, I did encounter breasts carved on the female. The ata
tangi are said to represent the founding ancestral couple who guard the bhaga
from the entrance of malevolent spirits that could harm the members of the woe.

On the inside along the four walls are top framing boards, carved with the
motif of buffalo horns -- the most precious wealth and sacrificial victim and items
of bridewealth. On the middle of the back wall, three-pronged hooks (zegu raga)
are located on which the half-coconut shell drinking cup and the gourd plate used
in offerings are hung, along with a spear and a sword fashioned out of bamboo.
The bamboo sword and spear replicate the real ones that are ancestral heirlooms
stored in each of the named houses.

The bhaga was explained by ordinary Sara people as the wife of the madhu,
representing the wife of the founding ancestor of the clan and thus the ancestral
mother. Often it bears the name of the ancestress or of the place from where she
originated.

Elders provided the following additional information in the form of folk
etymology, which they felt was self-explanatory. I was told that the word bhaga
can be broken down into bha = a calling word to attract attention, and ga =
'remember, be reminded of'. Thus the ancestral mother should always be
remembered, as should connections through her. The following stanza from the
soka dance and song performed during the building process of the bhaga was also
recited for me as an explanation of the significance of the bhaga.

Zala kaba, zala wéa
Padha mézé, azé léwa
Susu léu, palé wana
Dhadhi woso, mesa kapa
The road of the buffalo, the road of gold
The great bridge, the long rope
Left breast, opposing the right
Gave birth to many, sprang forth numerous

The first line probably refers to the bridewealth paid for the ancestral mother and thus to the road that all women of the woé must travel. The second line I was told has a double meaning. The ancestral mother is like a bridge connecting the woé with another one from another place, her birth place. She is also connected to her children by the long rope of the umbilical cord (aza pusé). The last two lines refer to her nurturing nature as mother, feeding and nourishing with the mother's milk, so does she nurture and protect her descendants. Furthermore, as the founding mother she gave birth to all the family groups and houses of the clan. One of my main informants compared the bhaga to the womb of the ancestral mother from whence all members of the woé were born.

Therefore, the bhaga may be viewed as standing for the woé as a whole, for both its trunk and tip half, the undifferentiated whole. The bhaga also serves as a reminder of the place of origin of the founding mother, the first of the marriage ties/connections of the woé with another group, and therefore the place to which derivation can be traced through the mother.

BHAGA AND MADHU

The bhaga and madhu form a unity as husband and wife, the founders of the woé. Whereas the madhu emphasizes relations within the clan and derivation traced through the father, the bhaga signifies or reminds of the relation of the woé to another group and derivation traced through the mother to her house of origin. The madhu signifies the differentiation found in the unity of the clan, while the bhaga stands for the wholeness of the clan. The precedence of wholeness before differentiation is also expressed in the rule that the bhaga has to be built before the
**madhu** is erected. Plate 12 illustrates the **madhu** post and **bhaga** standing together.

**PEO**

In **nua** Watu Manu, in the Sedu part of Sara Sedu and in **nua** Bodo, which contains a group of the former Sara population, there are neither **madhu** nor **bhaga**. Instead in the centre of each of these villages (**nua**) stands a **péo** post. A sharply pointed forked wooden post, the **péo** is used for tethering water buffalo for sacrifice just like the **madhu**. In fact, in most respects except in shape, the **péo** is the same as the **madhu**. This similarity applies to the process of erection, including the orientation of the three roots and the animals buried along with them. The view of the **péo** serving as a cosmological link, connecting God, humans and ancestors is also the same, including the text of the **soka** song, **kabu rolé nitu**, **lobo soi déwa**. The **péo** representing the founding ancestral father is also the same as for the **madhu** post.

For **woé** Bhoké héké and the subclan Benu-Nai the **péo**, like the **madhu**, stands both for their unity and differentiation. However, where in the **madhu** differentiation in the clan is stressed, in the **péo**, although this differentiation is acknowledged, its unifying character is stressed. Indeed, the **péo** is often talked about as the symbol of the unity of the differentiated clans of Fua, Keli, Bozo, Bega, and Jara which collectively are referred to as **woé** Bhoké héké. In the Sedu part of Sara Sedu the **péo** stands to remind all that the subclans are still just one clan from a common ancestor, and therefore should act as one and as brothers and sisters. The Sedu clans and their named houses are not only related to each other

---

25 In respect of meanings attached to it the **péo** found in Sara Sedu is different from the **péo** in the Nagé region. Thus, the similarities of **péo** to **madhu** is only applicable in Sara Sedu and related village confederacies [Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowaj]. Forth (1989a) explains about the meaning of the **péo** post among the Nagé.
as elder and younger but as brother and sister as well, keeping in mind that they trace their derivation to a sibling set of a sister and four brothers. In the case of the Benu-Nai subclan in the village of Bodo (a member of the former Sara part of Sara Sedu) the emphasis is on the unity of the named houses of this subclan of the Kaki clan, which incorporated within itself the immigrant clan Nai. The péo post for wóe Benu-Nai also serves as the symbol of its identity as a subclan and thus represents its independence from the parent clan (woé Kaki) in nua Wolo Rowa.

On specific ritual occasions26 there is also a different way of slaughtering buffalo at the péo from that which is usual at either péo or madhu post. On these occasions the rope tied to the buffalo is actually loosened and the buffalo is allowed to run around the péo while people wound it to bloody the village square and only then kill it with one slash to the throat. In contrast, in the case of the madhu and other occasions of buffalo slaughter at the péo, the buffalo is tied so that its neck is immobilized and the killing is done with one slash to the throat.

The péo has a different shape from the madhu, as is illustrated in Plate 13 and Figure 44 below.

---

26 These occasions are the wura nua and sésé. Wura nua is the ritual performed after the establishment of a village, usually a year after the péo post has been erected. Sésé is held every five years thereafter. No sésé has been held in Sara Sedu since the 1940s. The purposes of the sésé ritual are no longer clear. Elders could only offer the explanation that it is held as a demonstration of the prosperity of the clan and thus a form of thanksgiving, as well as an opportunity to reaffirm ties with all ka'č-azi groups (groups that were wife-giver and wife-taker to the clan or groups with which there was a friendly or sibling-like relationship). Since every named house that participates in the sésé sacrifices a buffalo, the expenditure is high and therefore this ritual can no longer be performed under the present economic conditions.
FIGURE 44. A drawing of the pêo post.
PLATE 12. Madhu post and Bhaga house

PLATE 13. The péo post
PLATE 14. Turé: nabé and watu léwa
The installation of these stone structures are accompanied by a rite and involve the slaughter of pigs or chickens. The blood of the animals is smeared on these stones as a ture or nabé is given a name.

The ture is composed of a flat stone nabé and three upright standing stones (watu léwa [tall stone]) and smaller filler stones. The nabé and watu léwa are related to each other as female to male and no stone platform (ture) is complete without both of them. Plate 14 illustrates a ture.

A ture inside the village is usually the grave of an important elder (mosa laki), whose name is often no longer remembered. Offerings may be placed on such ture requesting ancestral blessing and protection. There is also a ture. There is also a ture in front of the door of the bhaga, as well as in front of the trunk rider house in the villages of Bodo and Watu Manu (former Sedu).

At the base of the peo post although one flat stone and other upright standing stones are present, they are not called ture as a stone platform, but are referred to as nabé and watu léwa separately. Only the nabé is named. A named nabé stone is also present in front of every named house at the base of the entrance ladder throughout Sara Sedu.

A ture outside the village is either a grave for those who died an unnatural (or 'bad') death, golo, or is a monument to commemorate oaths taken after a land border quarrel was resolved. A nabé outside the village is usually found at the ritual centre of gardens, especially of the garden of the sa'o saka pu'u. This nabé is the site for ancestral offering during a number of agricultural rituals, especially during the planting and harvest rituals.
SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL SYMBOLS OF THE WOÉ IN SARA AND SEDU

In Sedu we find similar patterns as in Sara, but slightly differently expressed in the material symbols of the woé. Among the Sedu clans, no péo was actually erected until the differentiation into the various subclans was well advanced. In the original settlement of Sedu there was never any péo and only upon the relocation to Watu Manu village was a péo erected. Indeed, the first péo that was installed in Sara Sedu was that of woé Benu-Nai in the traditional village of Bodo.

Some discussions with the elders of the Sara clans suggested that the erection of madhu and bhaga also originated from the time when immigrant clans started arriving in Sara from Naru and Toda Belu, bringing with them and introducing these cultural artifacts. These hints together with the fact that the significance given to the péo, madhu and bhaga, is rather different from that given to them among the neighbouring Nagé [péo] and Ngadha [madhu, bhaga] makes me suspect that the people of Sara Sedu, the Hoga Sara, originally may not have had such objects. The regional variations in the significance given to these objects is directly related to differences in Sara Sedu woë structure and development vis-a-vis those of the Nagé and Ngadha. The material symbols were perhaps adopted as appropriate to signify concepts of unity and differentiation in the woë, yet the meaning of these objects in their place of origin was altered to suit Sara Sedu conditions. However, whether these material symbols are original to Sara Sedu or not, is not my main concern here. The fact is that they exist in Sara Sedu at the present and they hold important significance for the people now.

28 While collecting data on social organization of the Ngadha group, I have necessarily recorded these different meanings assigned to the madhu and bhaga among these peoples. Thus comparisons made in this section are based on my field data. With regard to the péo post among the Nagé, see Footnote 25.
Indeed, some of my main informants, who speculated on the original lack of these objects, also stressed that in those days the houses within the clan were nevertheless thought of as elder and younger and trunk and tip since the woé is really like a tree: ever growing and sprouting branches, but well anchored by its roots and trunk.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The various material symbols of a clan or named house are not only important in signifying identity of a social unit and serving as the means of expressing the social identity of an individual member thereof (as in the sa ngaza chant). These objects also have a central role in the relationship between the ancestors of a woé and sa’o mézé and their living descendants. It is precisely through the building and installation of these objects that the potentially life-negating power of the generalized ancestors is transformed into the life-generating potential of specific tutelary ancestors; and thereby the continuity of a sa’o mézé or woé secured. Thus, in the next chapter, I turn to a consideration of this particular aspect of the material objects of identity.
CHAPTER SIX

THE ANCESTORS IN THE CONTINUITY OF A SA’O MÉZÉ OR A WOÉ

INTRODUCTION

In Hoga Sara representations, the physical objects sa'o, madhu or pëo, bhaga, nabé and turé, are not only considered emblematic of identity but are also regarded as material embodiments of the ancestors and as such crucial to the continuity of a named house (sa'o mëzé) and a clan (woé). For the Hoga Sara this continuity very much depends on the ancestors for without the 'blessing' of its ancestral members, a sa'o mëzé or a woé may die out. This ancestral 'blessing', which might be described as the granting of life generative potential, depends on proper installation and renewal of there material embodiments of the ancestors. Furthermore any neglect in performing the rites of the annual agricultural calendar, the reversal of certain orders (e.g. reversal of proceeding trunk to tip in building) or the mixing of categories (e.g. incest) are all assumed to result in the withdrawal of ancestral 'blessing'. Ancestors therefore are an integral, albeit invisible, part of the lives of the Hoga Sara and the relationship between ancestors and descendants in a house or clan is understood to be an important factor in its continuity. Thus, this chapter begins with Hoga Sara conceptions of cosmology, then focuses on the ritual conversion of generalized ancestral spirits into specific and often named ancestors crucial to the identity and continuity of houses and clans.
HOGA SARA COSMOLOGY

The Hoga Sara divide their cosmos into three parts: the sky, the physical plane of human habitation, and the invisible realm of the ancestors. The sky is considered to be the abode of the masculine Divinity (déwa), the Creator. The realm of humanity is on the physically perceptible plane, located especially in the inhabited places of the village and the transitional area of the agricultural fields. The domain of the ancestors (nitu and ebu nusi/kajo), is on the invisible plane juxtaposed to the physical plane of humans. The ancestors are considered to be feminine in contrast to Divinity. Ancestors are believed to inhabit certain objects within the village and named house, as well as the ritual altar in the agricultural field. Other ancestral abodes include those outside of human habitation, such as large trees of the forest, large rocks, water sources, and areas beneath the earth.

According to elders, before the introduction of Christianity, the Hoga Sara had a distant relationship with Divinity and a closer and more intimate one with the ancestors. Although many of the elders claim they cannot recall much about pre-Christian concepts of Divinity (déwa), they do assert that any contact sought with Divinity was done in a reverent and fearful manner. Compared with the ancestors, Déwa in his distant domain in the sky was thought to be less approachable and direct contact was understood to be fraught with danger. Therefore, Divinity was

---

1 Nitu is an Austronesian term (PAN-*anitu), cognates of which are widely spread among Austronesian-speakers in a broad geographic region. For a discussion of the various conceptual associations of this term (nitu) among some Austronesian-speaking peoples see Molnar 1990.

2 The traditional expression for divinity is Déwa zéta, 'god above' which is always paired with Nitu zalé, 'nitu below', which refers to the ancestors in general. Whereas the Church retained the term Déwa for God, all other spirits of traditional cosmology, including nitu were relegated to and came to be translated as Satan. However, with the Church's 'inkulturasi' efforts, nitu is being re-evaluated in its classification as Satan.

3 Christianization is rather recent in the Ngada regency, and it did not begin until 1912. The mission stations were set up in 1920.
rarely addressed directly and only called upon as a witness in the taking of oaths. When addressed at all, Divinity would be invited to share a commensal meal with humans and their ancestors in the context of rituals performed at the sacrificial post (madhu or péo) of a clan or at the base of the hearth post (pu'u dhuké) inside a sa'o mézé. With the exception of the extreme case of major natural disasters, such as drought, Divinity would not be asked for anything. Yet, Divinity as the Creator of all was considered the ultimate source of both ancestors and humanity, thus His connection to humanity is a continuous one through the ancestors.

Hoga Sara relations with their ancestors stands in sharp contrast to that with Divinity. Interaction with the ancestors is more direct; they are considered more approachable, given that their realm is closer to and invisibly co-extensive with that of humans. Ancestors of a house or a clan are addressed directly in all ritual circumstances and their protection and 'blessing' is constantly sought for the community through prayer (ngedé). Thus, humans may ask the ancestors for well-being and fertility both for themselves and for their fields and livestock.

The introduction of Christianity did not fundamentally change the concepts of the Hoga Sara concerning their cosmos. Indeed, the people of Sara Sedu adapted the principles of the Catholic faith to suit their own cosmological views. What has altered is the adoption of Christian concepts about Divinity, and therefore, the way in which the Hoga Sara relate to Divinity through Catholic prayer. Divinity can now be directly addressed and his benevolence sought without fear.

---

4 This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the process of adaptation of cosmological views and ritual practices that occurred with the recent introduction of Catholicism and mechanisms and strategies involved in this process. This topic in itself deserves separate treatment.
Their relationship, however, with the ancestors and the form it takes has not altered. The ancestors are still viewed as the ultimate source of continuity. Prayer to Divinity alone is not considered sufficient to ensure continued well-being nor the fertility and proliferation of the members of a house or a clan. Hoga Sara still maintain that without the performance of the rituals of the annual agricultural calendar and those relating to the objects embodying ancestral presence in their villages, in other words without maintaining relations with the ancestors, their communities would eventually die out. However, for safe measure nowadays, as some elders suggested, a Catholic prayer either addressed to Divinity or the Virgin Mary is included at the beginning and end of any ritual interaction with the ancestors.

For Hoga Sara, the ancestors are an important and integral part of the life of their community. Any discussion of the ancestors will also touch on Hoga Sara conceptions of the soul which they call *maé*. The Hoga Sara believe that each individual possesses a *maé* which is roughly equivalent to a soul or animating force. Nowadays the origins of the *maé* are rather blurry and most people's uncertainty is connected with the fact that they do not wish to sin against the Catholic Church by proposing any other origin than that demanded by Catholic doctrine. Therefore, most people will automatically claim that the *maé* originates from Divinity (*dèwa*). The Church's translation of God in the local dialect is meant. Some people hesitantly will add that they heard from their parents or grandparents that before the church's presence the 'soul' was believed to originate from the ancestors and the Divinity. Some elders with more specialised knowledge on traditional beliefs explained that the *maé* originates from *Déwa* but certain features of it will come from the ancestors, more specifically, from the ancestor whose
name a new-born infant receives. Throughout life the child is believed to exhibit certain characteristics of the ancestor whose name it bears.

During an individual's life if unconsciousness sets in due to fainting, it is believed that the mae has left the body, thus the body is lifeless without its animating force. While a person sleeps, the mae is believed to travel, leaving its physical shell through the fontanelle. Neither conditions of fainting nor long sleep, as in the case of an illness, are desirable since they may result in death, if the mae does not return. This is usually ascribed to the fact that while the mae is away from the body, it is susceptible to harm from witches (polo) or can be held back by the ancestors if it visits their village.

Furthermore, the ancestors may punish a transgressing descendant by holding his soul in their village, a situation which is believed to be manifest in the illness of the offender. Such transgressions include: going against the pu'u - lobo [trunk to tip] and kago wana [counter-clockwise] order, in the context of construction and distribution of things, also if calendrical and clan rituals are not performed or are performed incorrectly, thus forgetting these ancestors, and if oaths are broken. The ill human can only have his mae returned by the performance of a healing rite. This rite involves animal sacrifice. The forehead, chest, and stomach are smeared with betel nut spittle, ra'a bheli,[ra'a = blood] by an elder of the offender's named house (sa'o meze). 5

The ancestors of the Hoga Sara can be classified into two general categories: first, specific tutelary ancestors (ebu nusi or ebu kajo) associated with the inside of inhabited places and second, generalized ancestors (nitu) usually connected with places outside of human habitation. The two categories are closely connected not

5 Rarely, but sometimes the blood of the animal sacrificed would be smeared on parts of the body in returning the ill person's mae.
just by their general characteristics, but also through the cycle by which the outside
generalized ancestors are converted or reclaimed as specific inside ancestors.
Before I discuss the connection between the two categories of ancestors I want to
consider each category on its own, especially with regard to particular features of
each type of ancestral spirit and in the context of the relationship with the human
descendants.

THE ANCESTORS OF THE INSIDE EBU NUSI (EBU KAJO)\(^1\)

The ancestral spirits (ebu nusi/kajo) who are associated with the inside of
inhabited places include the following:

1) those that are believed to reside inside the house (sa'o mézé)
   i. in the roof-ridge (pusé kéra)
   ii. in the circle of hearth stones (ringa lika)
   iii. in the double fork on the back wall (zegu raga)
   iv. in the hearth post (dhuké)
   v. in the stair people (ata tangi), both inside and outside the house,
   vi. in the main house post (tubo ata mité)
2) in the nabé stone of the house
3) in the madhu or péo post in the centre of the nua.
4) in the bhaga in the centre of the nua
4) in the turé platform

The objects inside the human settlement that are believed to be inhabited by the
ebu nusi are precisely those items which are considered to be the representations
of identity of a named house or a clan. The connection of specific ancestral spirits
of the inside with the sa'o mézé, nabé, madhu (or péo), bhaga, and turé is also
indicated by identifying these objects with names of particular ancestors.

These ancestral spirits are believed to be able to assume a human form which
may only be detected by certain individuals at night, usually by an elder of a named

\(^6\) The term Ebu nusi and ebu kajo are interchanged, although ebu nusi is used more
by clans of former Sara, while ebu kajo is preferred by the people of Bodo and Sedu.
house. The village guardian (ngebu nua), however, usually takes the form of a snake and is said to reside in the stone platform (turé) which is part of the bhaga structure.

The ancestral spirits (ebu nusi/kajo) associated with the inside of human settlements are primarily attributed with a benevolent and protective nature. They are believed to protect the village (nuu), clan (woé) and houses (sa'o mézé) from harm that could be inflicted by a witch (polo) or an enemy. The ebu nusi are thought to be the source of fertility and well-being (thus life-generating potential) for the members of a particular house and clan and for their fields and livestock, thus, the source of continuity of the community.

The life-generating potential of the ebu nusi is only withdrawn if their descendants forget about them by not renewing named houses (sa'o mézé), madhu/péo post, bhaga, that have fallen into disrepair, and the cracked nabé and turé; as well as by not celebrating calendrical and other prescribed rituals. The same punishment is meted out from the ebu nusi in the case of incest (la'a sala) or for breaking the order of movement to the right or trunk to tip procession. The withdrawal of the life-generating potential of the ancestors is manifest in drought, or unseasonal rain storms which affect the productivity of the gardens, or in infertility of members of a house or of their livestock, or in serial illness and death in a house. Thus, the withdrawal of the ancestors' life-generating potential results in death and discontinuity. The favours of the ebu nusi/kajo can only be regained by correcting things that have been done wrong and by performing propitiating rites.

Both male and female ancestors of the inside (ebu nusi) are given equal importance. Certain spiritually significant objects inhabited by the ebu nusi in the village are paired as male and female: the stair people (ata tangi) of the house; the
masculine *madhu/péo* post paired with the feminine *bhaga* or *sa'o mézé*; in the *turé* platform the feminine *nabé* [flat stone] is paired with the masculine *watu léwa* [erect stone].

In offering chants to these ancestors, they are usually addressed as *iné ema*, mother and father. The equal emphasis placed on male and female ancestors is consistent with the tracing of ties both through the father and mother in the context of group membership. However, sometimes it seems that priority is given to the female ancestor, as is exemplified by erecting structures that are associated with female ancestors, prior to those connected with the male ancestors -- named houses and *bhaga* precede a *madhu/péo*; a *nabé* stone is placed before a *watu léwa*. This apparent precedence is connected with the life-generative power associated most closely with females and the womb from which new life comes forth.

**NITU THE GENERALIZED ANCESTRAL SPIRITS OF THE OUTSIDE**

The generalized ancestors are believed to inhabit places outside human settlement. This category of ancestors, generally referred to as *nitu*, are thought to reside in water sources (springs and ponds), beneath the earth, and in large stones and trees (usually a type of banyan). The *nitu* are further categorized according to

---

7 Even in the carving motif inside the house, the *ábé manu* is decorated with the pair of hen and rooster.

8 Even in language male and female terms are usually paired with that for the female preceding. For example, *iné ema*, mother father, *weta nara*, sister brother, *piné pamé*, aunt uncle. In prayers where ancestors and Divinity are addressed together, the feminine ancestors precede the masculine Divinity: *nitu zale*, *déwa zéta*, 'nitu below and *déwa* above.

9 The physical problem ascribed to infertility is always that of a poorly formed womb. The womb is considered essential for conception. Although the *Hoga Sora* have no concept that specific bodily substances come from one parent or the other parent, for a new life to be created the womb takes priority. The womb collects the blood from both father and mother to form an individual. Without the womb this is not possible and there is no life.
the specific place they are believed to inhabit. Thus, those nitu that reside in ponds and springs are classified as nitu leko [leko = pond bed, river or spring bed], while those that are thought to make their abode in large trees and rocks are called ngebu (or nitu kaju mézé and nitu watu mézé).

Nitu leko are believed to occupy the bed of water-sources where they have their village. Near these places their humanly observable forms would take the form of fish, shrimp, and especially snakes. The nitu of springs are also thought to take the form of the rainbow, nitu niba\(^\text{11}\) which is really a multi-coloured snake with its head at the source of the spring while its tail is at the mouth of the spring.\(^\text{12}\)

At noon they are believed to shed this appearance and to become transformed into a human shape and enjoy a swim. Any human to intrude on them is punished by subsequent illness. If while swimming, their clothes, usually described as suta nitu,\(^\text{13}\) are taken by a human who happens upon them, that individual will be infertile. Life-generating potential is withdrawn since the human took a thing of the outside ancestral spirits.

---

\(^{10}\) Nitu kaju mézé means nitu of the big/large tree [kaju = wood, tree; mézé = big, large, great]; and nitu watu mézé means nitu of the large stone [watu = stone].

\(^{11}\) The word niba is possibly related to nipa which means snake. Niba actually means half ripe or half mature. A couple of people have suggested that it is a half-mature nitu, the ancestral spirit of one who died as a child, or mata ngeta [died green, raw].

\(^{12}\) The head may indicate the place of buried gold treasure. Thus, the head is the source of life nurturing water for the community and of material wealth for the fortunate individual who finds it.

\(^{13}\) Suta refers to silk but also to any fine red material with bold patterns. From my inquiries about this word I got the impression that any thin textile with bright red colour is referred to as suta. Thus it is the bright red colour which qualifies a piece of cloth as suta. Suta is highly valued by the people of Sara Sedu. It used to be the heirloom material in a named house, however, nowadays only fragments of such textiles exist. As I later learned, any fragment of a suta cloth, and indeed the entire cloth itself has spiritual associations, and is attributed with powers of protection. A red patterned cotton scarf that I used for tying my hair back was referred to as suta. Thus, I had several requests for my scarf upon my departure.
Furthermore, if an individual is unaware of the mid-day swim of the nitu and also goes for a swim, the punishment may vary. The usual case is that the offending human will become ill with shivers, sometimes accompanied by immobility. These conditions are referred to as di'i nitu [set on by nitu], or as nitu pojo [nitu tied (him) up]. In both cases it is believed that the soul of the offender is affected and if the nitu are not propitiated at the site of the offence, his soul will not be released from the village of the ancestors (nua nitu).

Another form of punishment for the same offence would be that the nitu leko would manifest itself as either a relative known to the offender, or as a very beautiful or handsome human and would then copulate ('marry') with the offender. Only the female version of this nitu is linguistically distinguished, referred to as bu'ê nitu.14 The human form of the spirit is usually described as radiant or white and very seductive. The sexual union if with a female offender would result in the birth of offspring in the form of snake (nipa) or frogs (paké), the alternate physical manifestations of nitu. The human offender whether male or female would die after a short illness. After the copulation the human community would also be afflicted by unusual storms with heavy rainfall, destroying the crops. The effect on the larger community is countermanded by returning the snake offspring to the river and a rite of offering is performed at the water source.

The punishment meted out by the nitu leko may be interpreted as being the result of a living descendant mixing with the dead generalised ancestors, thus his life potential is withdrawn by the nitu and the offender joins the dead (the nitu population).

14 Beautiful women with long dark hair and lighter skin would be referred to in everyday situation as bu'ê nitu as well. Ironically since many people refer to a European woman in such terms, on various occasions it provided me with the opportunity to seize upon the topic and ask about nitu and its meaning from people who referred to me by this idiom.
In order to counter-act the effects of the punishment of the nitu and thus to restore the flow of life-generating potential either to the offending individual or to his wider community (house and clan) a ritual has to be performed along with an offering by the named house of the offender at the water source (in order to reacquire the mae of the ill offender from the nitu or to restore normal conditions for the community). During such a rite the following chant is recited:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kau ka da mami kena} & \quad \text{You eat the cooked there} \\
\text{Kami ngede gau ti'i wado} & \quad \text{We ask(pray) you give return} \\
\text{Ana Ebu kau kena} & \quad \text{Your grandchild there} \\
\text{Pai dia gami} & \quad \text{[Let] him go with us.}
\end{align*}
\]

Thus the offender is specified as a descendant, a grandchild of the ancestor (nitu).

However, the nitu leko can be potentially beneficial to their human descendants as well. In case of drought, a ritual is usually performed at the pond or spring known to be their abode. Animal sacrifice and offering of cooked food to the nitu accompanied by a prayer that asks for rain is believed to bring about rain in all cases. Thus, by the gift of rain the generalised ancestors 'bless' the fields and promote the growth of life; thus they sustain food crops and guarantee a supply of water for their human descendants. In this case, a life-generative potential is provided by the nitu.

Another way the nitu leko may be helpful to certain individuals is recounted in several myths.\(^{15}\) In these, usually a poor, disadvantaged or orphaned person who falls asleep near a water-source is noticed by a nitu, and is helped. Shortly after the encounter the hero finds him/herself with the gain of quick material wealth -- good crop yields, gold items, livestock -- originating from the nitu benefactor. The human beneficiary's life and status in the community improves tremendously. Sometimes this is accompanied by a miraculous transformation of the nitu into a

\(^{15}\) These narratives describe a 'rags to riches' adventure of a disadvantaged individual, which is a common Austronesian folktale theme.
human and marriage between it and the beneficiary. The mythical re-birth of the ancestor as human is usually finalised by the burning of its snake or fish skin and its ashes being rubbed on the forehead, chest, and stomach. Often human individuals who experienced such a 'rags to riches' encounter with the nitu are also recipients of special spiritual features, and become traditional healers in the community. Thus, the community also benefits by the powers of the healer which ultimately originates from the nitu.

The nitu whose abode is believed to be beneath the earth, in large stones or large trees is generally referred to as ngebu. However, within the category of ngebu the Hoga Sara make further distinctions directly related to their realms. Those ngebu who live beneath the earth are usually specified as ngebu nua and ngebu uma [nua = village, uma = gardens], respectively. These kinds of nitu are generally beneficial and serve as guardians of wellbeing for the village and gardens. The protective nature of ngebu nua and the growth generative power (for the crops) of the ngebu uma are secured by the rituals which are performed when the sites for a village or garden are cleared, and they are offered the sprinkling of blood on the ground from sacrifice. Thus they are actually converted from potentially harmful ancestral spirits of the outside to that of guardians of the inside.

The nitu that take up their domain in large trees are known as nitu kaju mézé or ngebu kaju. The trees they inhabit are specific and include the hebu (Cassia fistula, Verheijen 1990: 24), ruto (Ficus with hanging roots, Verheijen 1990:33), reké (type of Ficus, Verheijen 1990:37), and na (Cordia, Verheijen 1990:38) trees.

---

16 Ngebu is probably related to the word ebu, grandparents and ancestors in general.

17 It is important to note that the hebu tree is used in the construction of various parts of the sa'o mézé, bhaga, and the madhu and pêo posts are of this wood.
The *ngebu kaju* are believed to be able to take the form of wild pigs and damage the growing crops in the gardens of their descendants by feeding on them. Therefore, such large trees are usually cut down if near the place where a garden, *uma*, is cleared. However, only with the sacrifice of a chicken before cutting down the tree is it ensured that the *ngebu kaju* will flee and move residence into another tree further in the forest. The attack of the *ngebu kaju* on the gardens is out of resentment for the intrusion on its abode, the wild forest which was infringed upon by a human garden — human domain pushed into the territory of the *ngebu*.

The *ngebu kaju* living in a large tree near the *uma* can be heard at night by humans guarding their gardens to give out a 'po' sound, usually associated with owls and witches, *polo*. If at night the tree is approached, the human may catch the *ngebu kaju* speaking out in a human speech and when falling silent its breathing resembling that of a water buffalo. If such a tree is chopped down without any rites, it is said to ooze human tears and the next day in its fallen trunk can be found human bones and a woman's hair.

The *ngebu kaju* may be prevented from harming the gardens by simply chopping some of its roots above the surface, thus wounding the 'feet' of the *ngebu* so it cannot go into the gardens. Human speech is usually associated with such *ngebu* who express their pain.

The *Hoga* Sara believe that wild pigs are the property of or the physical transformations of *nitu*. The *ngebu* spirits of trees can transform themselves into pigs and buffalos, especially in association with the *hebu* tree. The buffalo may transform itself into a human, and a human, or rather his soul, may be transformed into buffalo. A human *maé* captured by the *ngebu kaju* for invading its territory may be slaughtered at the feast of the *nitu* in the form of a buffalo, bringing about the death of the offending human.
The ngebu kaju of a madhu or péo post may the night before inauguration of the post assume the form of a human, of either post riders, and harm their wives by copulating with them, and causing their eventual death. The ngebu kaju of hebu tree is potentially dangerous to humans before its transformation in the village setting. By copulating with the wife of the saka pu'u or saka lobo, it 'marries' with the maé of the wife, thus dragging it into the spirit realm of the generalised ancestors and causing her death in the human realm. Due to this belief women and especially the wives of the post riders have to stay far away from the hebu post before its erection and stay in seclusion. Other precautions include tying bamboo 'bells' to the hebu post as warning if it changes into human form and starts walking.

Therefore the ngebu kaju removed from its environment and introduced into a strictly human domain, the village, is potentially harmful to humans. Again the mixing of the two realms of humans and generalised ancestors results in death for humans, the withdrawal of life-generating potential. 18

The ngebu kaju of the hebu tree are also believed to bother new-born infants. If a new baby cries all the time it is thought that it can see a ngebu, the generalised ancestral spirit of the hebu tree. The ngebu come to keep company with the new-born, or rather with its maé, and to coax it to come with it -- like a grandparent who is lonely and wants a grandchild. The ancestor is assured that the child is not lonely and will be well loved by the parent's exclamation ordering him not to bother the child, 'Ngebu kaju ma'ë ngango ana' ['Ngebu spirit of the tree do not bother the child'], and thus is willing to leave. In some cases to insure that

---

18 However, once the post has been consecrated with the blood of the sacrificial buffalo and has been named the ngebu kaju is believed to have been transformed into an ebu nusi. As an ebu nusi, this ancestral spirit is benevolent towards the inhabitants of the village; guarding them from all harm and providing fertility and well-being for all.
ngebu kaju will not come near the house of a new born infant, leaves of the hebu tree are hung above the door of the inner house, oné. Thus the ancestor is lead to believe that the infant is already kept company by a ngebu. The ngebu kaju of hebu or ruto trees are also believed to predetermine the life-span of a new-born. This belief is also expressed in various versions of a myth. In this myth the father is away from the house at the time of birth of his daughter. He falls asleep beneath a ruto tree and in the middle of the night is awakened by the chatter of the ngebu who are debating when the girl should die. The ngebu decide that she should die when she reaches the age when she can fetch water. The father never lets the daughter fetch water nor out of the house until she reaches a mature age. He thus prevents the untimely death of his child.

Large stones, including those used as nabé and in a turé structure, are thought to be inhabited by nitu watu mézé or ngebu watu mézé. These spirits are thought to have the same characteristics as the ngebu kaju, especially with reference to the various physical manifestations they can take and the harm that they can cause. Similarly when taken inside the village their nature can be transformed into that of a beneficial and protective kind. However, while in the forest and uninhabited regions, the large stones may be a site for rain ritual. A rite at a large boulder involving sacrifice, offering, prayer, and turning the stone over, so its under-side can also get some sun light, is believed to ensure the blessing of the ngebu watu in the form of rain to nourish the crops.

The generalised ancestral spirits (nitu) are usually considered as potentially harmful and thus as sources of life-negation and discontinuity. However, their life-negating nature is only activated if their abode is infringed upon by humans, and thereby a non-sanctioned contact is made with the nitu. Such a contact creates a mixing of the living and the dead ancestors. The generalised ancestors can however
be sources of life-generating potential for their descendants when approached in
the context of a ritual, thus through a sanctioned contact.

The potential harm that the generalised ancestral spirits (nitu) may inflict in
the form of illness, infertility, and unseasonal weather which destroys the fields is
essentially the same as that caused by the inside ancestral spirits (ebu nusi). However, when the nitu mete out their punishment there is a tendency to affect an
individual in the first place, and only secondarily to effect the wider community of
the named house or clan. In contrast, when the ebu nusi withdraw their life-
generating potential, the effects are always felt by the entire community of their
descendants -- by all members of an entire named house or even the whole clan.

The space occupied by the ancestors in the physical realm of the living is
important, especially in relation to the nature of relations between the ancestors
and their human descendants. The inside entails humanly occupied places, primarily
the village (nua) and secondarily the gardens (uma). However, this latter place in
some contexts is transitional. In the nua all houses face to the security of the inside
of the village courtyard, with the backs to the mostly dangerous forests, which
surround the nua. The outside thus is all uninhabited places. The gardens (uma)
may be considered outside in the sense that it is mostly uninhabited and its centre,
where the ritual nabé stone and yam bush (uwi) stand, is considered the domain of
nitu and is called uma nitu. The uma is also not safe from ngebu spirits of the
outside wandering usually at night. However, when the garden is worked by
humans and is turned into a place of growing nourishment for the living, the uma
becomes an inside space. The uma, then is best considered as a transitional space
between the INSIDE and the OUTSIDE. Therefore, as the OUTSIDE surrounds
the INSIDE, so do the generalised ancestors enclose the specific and often named ancestors.

**TRANSFORMING THE GENERALIZED ANCESTRAL SPIRITS (NITU) INTO THE SPECIFIC ANCESTORS (EBU NUSI / EBU KAJO)**

There is a direct relationship between the specific and tutelary ancestors of human settlements and the generalized ancestors of the outside. This connection between the two kinds of ancestral spirits is related to Hoga Sara concepts about the afterlife and to the materials used in the construction of the important symbols of identity.

The discussion about the ancestors has made reference to Hoga Sara conceptions of the soul (maé). When a person's last breath has been exhaled, it is deemed that the maé has finally left the body with no chance of return. The soul leaving the body on the occasion of death is understood to stay in the vicinity of the house until the burial. At this stage the maé could cause harm to the living relatives by holding on to their soul, especially to those of the closest relations -- wife, husband, child, mother, father -- in order that they accompany the maé of the deceased (maé ata mata) [ata mata = the deceased] to the afterlife. This would especially be the case if proper preparations for the burial are not met and the deceased does not wish to be separated from his/her loved ones and sometimes from favourite gold objects. After the burial the soul of the deceased is chased away, through the rite of rega maé [rega = to close off, to keep away, to ban], from the house and from the village to the gardens. From the gardens it is banned into the surrounding forests, thus to regions uninhabited by humans. The banning of the deceased's maé is done by the rattling of a bamboo instrument while in a chant, the maé is instructed first to leave the house, then by circling the village

---

*19 The term for corpse is maté.*
square three times and continuing the chanting and rattling, it is told to leave the village. By the same means a procession goes from the village to the deceased's garden and there circles it three times, thus banishing the soul into the wilderness.

The rega mae rite would suggest that the home of the dead, and thus of the generalised ancestors is in the wilderness. According to Hoga Sara pre-Christian beliefs the home and realm of the deceased and the general ancestors is located beneath the earth, extending to water sources, large trees (usually a type of banyan) and large boulders, all parts of the earth. All of these places are typically part of the wilderness of forests surrounding the inhabited places of the village and garden regions.

The Sara people describe the abode of the ancestors as the village of nitu (nua nitu) where all new souls of the deceased (mae ata mata) are received by other ancestral relatives. The gate to the nua nitu is called the roots of the tamarind tree (kabu nagé). Since this village replicates the structure of the villages of the living, the ancestors are said to occupy and affiliate with the same named houses as they did in life. The ancestors lead the same kind of life as when alive, tending to their gardens and animals, and celebrating ritual feasts. Wild species, from the perspective of the living, such as ke'o nitu [Job's tears of the nitu] or manu nitu [chicken of the nitu, actually frogs] or wawi witu [pigs of the nitu, actually wild pigs] are believed to be the crops and domestic animals of the

---

20 I would recall that the carved motif on most important material objects of the clan, called ié nagé, fruits of the tamarind tree, are to represent the numerous descendants of a house and clan. Thus, the living would be symbolised by the fruits while the ancestors by the roots of the nagé tree.

21 There are specific ponds and large stones in the forests of Sara Sedu, that are reputed to be the sources of feasting noises -- gongs, drums, the cries of sacrificial animals, people laughing and singing -- heard by a person passing by at noon or after sunset. People usually avoid these places, except in the context of a specific rain or healing ritual.
ancestors. Besides the inversion whereby the domestic species of the nitu are wild species to the living, the ancestors cannot have offspring.

Thus the souls of the deceased, after being chased out from the village and fields, first become generalized ancestral spirits (nitu) that inhabit invisible villages (nuu nitu) located beneath the earth and water sources, and inside large rocks and trees, outside of humanly inhabited areas. These generalized ancestors are however periodically reclaimed from the outside and reintroduced into the humanly inhabited area of the village through the building and erection and renewal of the material representations of identity of a house and clan. These very objects embody the ancestors. Thus the generalized ancestors (nitu) are, in a manner of speaking, converted into specific, guardian ancestors (ebu nusi / kajo) of the named houses and clan occupying a village.

The large rocks and trees (especially the hebu tree) that are believed to be inhabited by generalized ancestral spirits (nitu) are taken from the forest into the village in the process of building a sa'o mézé and bhaga, or erecting a madhu/péo post, a turé or nabé. The Hoga Sara believe that the nitu inhabiting these objects remain in them as they are introduced into the village. Through ritual the generalized ancestors of these objects are transformed into ebu nusi of a named house or a clan.

The ritual transformation is achieved in three simultaneous stages: a) sacrificing a red pig, chicken, or buffalo (in case of madhu or péo post); b) calling out to the ngëbu (or nitu kaju / watu) to come and live inside the object (just in case it has strayed in the vicinity); and c) giving the name of an ancestor to the object and spirit therein while smearing it with the blood of the sacrificial animal.

---

22 However, offspring in snake form, a physical shape that nitu may take, is possible from human-spirit marriage, usually the result of a punishment for inappropriate behaviour in the abode of the nitu.
With the blood the ancestral spirit is said to be sealed into the object and transformed into *ebu nusi*. The final stating of the specific name of the *ngebu* is also a contributing part of the transformation. Therefore from a generalised ancestor there is a change into a specific one.

Through this ritual the nature of the ancestral spirit is also transformed. Contact with a generalized ancestor of the outside is potentially harmful and life negating, thus its introduction into the village is dangerous for humans. However, through the ritual process of becoming sealed into the object and being named with the name of a specific ancestor, the predisposition of the ancestral spirit towards the residents of the village is also transformed. Thus, through the ritual installation of a particular material symbol of house or clan identity the life-generating, nurturing and protective nature of an *ebu nusi* is also secured.

The transformation of generalized ancestors of the outside into the specific ancestors of a house or clan of the inside is illustrated by Figure 45.

---

*FIGURE 45. Transformation of the generalized ancestral spirits of the outside into the specific ancestral spirits of the inside*
As the figure shows the generalized ancestors of trees and stones (ngebu/nitu kaju and ngebu/nitu watu) are transformed into the ebu nusi that inhabit the physical structures in the village. While those nitu that are believed to reside beneath the ground (nitu leko) are changed into the guardian spirits of the village (ngebu nua) and the fields (ngebu uma). Although these guardian spirits are not named, the ritual process of securing their life-generating potential is similar to that of the ebu nusi of the village. The blood of a sacrificial animal is sprinkled on the ground along with an offering when the site of a field or village is cleared for human occupation.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The sa'o mézé, bhaga, madhu or péo post, nábé and turé are not only central in serving as markers of identity for the members of a named house, or the named houses of clan, but also vital in symbolizing the continuity of a particular group. Participation in the rituals of installation and renewal of these objects is a condition of one's house and clan membership and confirms an individual's rights to inherit (especially agricultural land) within a house and a clan. Furthermore, performance of the rituals of building, erecting, and renewal of the material symbols of identity is an important condition of securing life-generating potential from the ancestors (ebu nusi). For the Hoga Sara there is no continuity for the sa'o mézé or woé without ancestral blessings of well-being and fertility for humans, their fields and livestock. The life-generating potential of the ebu nusi can only be obtained through the continued performance of rituals concerning the material representations of the house and clan, and of rituals of the agricultural calendar. Thus, a continuous direct interaction with the ancestors is required; and continued relations with the dead members of the extended family of the house and
CHAPTER SEVEN

MAINTAINING CONTINUITY THROUGH RITUALS

INTRODUCTION
Given the ancestors' importance in the cosmology of the Hoga Sara, maintaining relations with them is considered essential for the community of a sa'o and woé. These relations are primarily maintained through ritual. Indeed, most Hoga Sara rituals are directed toward the ancestors to whom gratitude is expressed, ties are acknowledged and re-confirmed, and from whom further life-generating potential is requested to ensure continuity.

In this chapter I first outline the nature and features of Hoga Sara ritual interaction with their ancestors. Then I discuss the ritual process surrounding installation of one of the material objects of clan identity, the sacrificial post (madhu or péo), as a significant ritual requiring the participation of an entire clan (woé).

GENERAL FEATURES OF RITUAL
Rituals are composed of three major segments: animal sacrifice, offering chant/prayer; and a sacrificial meal offered to the ancestors, which is then shared by all participating descendants (ana ebu). Only in this way is communication and direct interaction with the ancestors achieved.
ANIMAL SACRIFICE AND THE RITUAL USE OF BLOOD

The animals sacrificed by the Hoga Sara are chicken, pig, and buffalo. Buffalo are only killed in rituals for erecting important material symbols of group identity (madhu/péó, bhaga, turé, sa'o mézé), for war ritual and in expiation for incest or for accidental or 'bad' death (golo). In all other rituals, pigs and/or chicken are used. In sacrificial ritual these animals must be killed in a specific manner that is different from ordinary, every day slaughter.

Unlike the everyday practice in which a chicken has its neck slit and is then burned (ngaé), in ritual usually its beak is slit (sako), or in the case of a turé or post erection, the chicken is bashed against the object (leba). A pig ordinarily would be bashed over the head, but in ritual sacrifice the pig's head is split with a sword vertically from the top with one blow (wela ngana) [ngana = pig]. In the ritual killing of a buffalo, the head with the horns are pulled tense so the neck is clearly exposed. Then the buffalo must be killed by one, and only one, swift stroke delivered to the throat (wéla or toa kaba) [kaba = buffalo]. The neck may not be severed and the blood should not spurt on the sacrificer on pain of his life-span being cut short. This misfortune is said to afflict a sacrificer who makes a mistake in the slaughter is connected with the notion that the sacrificial blood is intended for the ancestors. By spurtining on the sacrificer, it marks him as one of the (non-living) ancestors and thus he will soon lose his life. A severed buffalo head may be identified with his head thereby also signifying his imminent death, since the buffalo is considered as a substitute for human beings.¹

When sacrificing an animal the ancestors are first addressed, calling their attention to the fact that a creature is about to be sacrificed and giving the reasons

¹ The buffalo's head is a substitute for taking a human head as a war trophy or for the burying of a slave in a high status elder's grave.
for the occasion. Thus, the ancestors are called to gather around. The beginning of such a chant is exemplified in the following invocation (ngedé):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maté ura manu</th>
<th>To kill the chicken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kami da dhu dhégha né‘é</td>
<td>We came to be together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Dhika Ngina né‘é Woga Kéo</td>
<td>[List of specific ancestors]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenu Moa né‘é Réo Géga</td>
<td>We came to be with you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kami da mai wi dhégha né‘é miu</td>
<td>O you grandparents, ancestors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O miu ebu nusi, nitu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the ancestors' attention is attracted, the animal is sacrificed.

For chickens and pigs it is usually required that they be red (toro) in colour. The colour red, Hoga Sara associate with those things that have a connection with the spiritual realm. Thus, other parts of the offering -- rice and coconut -- are also red. Although most people could only explain that red is important since it was prescribed by the ancestors, three elder saka pu‘u suggested that items in ritual offerings have to be red since it simulates blood.

The use of the blood of a sacrificial victim is a very significant part of any rite. Blood is usually smeared (basa) or dripped on objects that are believed to be the home of an ancestor -- posts, stones, water source, trees, and so on -- depending on specific ritual contexts. As to why the blood has to be smeared, the Hoga Sara explain that it serves as proof of the intention to offer the cooked meal that follows, and as a means of signifying the communication of requests and the

---

2 For any invocation, chant, or offering prayer the word ngedé is used.

3 Nowadays in recently renewed named houses, certain parts of the house and bhaga that are directly associated with ancestors, are often partly painted red. This use of paint is a recent development.

4 Basa means 'to make wet'. When basa is followed by an object, the meaning is always 'to make wet with blood'.

reasons for the sacrifice. Some elders suggested that the blood also serves to "feed" the ancestors, giving them further strength to protect the living. Informants also emphasized that direct interaction or communication with the ancestors would not be safe without animal sacrifice and the smeared blood. Seeking or accidentally getting involved in direct interaction without an animal sacrifice would only incur death, illness, and infertility for humans.

Given that the prayer (ngedé) accompanying the sacrifice identifies the sacrificers as asking for protection and long life and that the objects are smeared or sprinkled in the same fashion as when sealing ancestral spirits into stones and posts, it seems that in rituals the transformation of nitu to ebu nusi in their disposition towards human beings is re-enacted. Thus the ancestral spirits are resealed in the objects (or the seal is reinforced), ensuring that their life-generative and protective powers can be tapped by the living. When a rite is done in the wilderness, outside of human habitation, the smearing/dripping of blood on certain stones, trees, or water sources, temporarily ensures the beneficial nature of the nitu and holds their potential life-negating character at bay. through The prayer also reminds these outside spirits that it is their descendants who wish to communicate with them and so should not be harmed.

Direct communication between humans and the (dead) ancestors is potentially dangerous. The safety of humans is only ensured through proper ritual action, the commencement of which requires sacrifice of an animal and the smearing of blood on the object which embodies the ancestors. Thus, I interpret the use of the blood of sacrificial animals as serving to draw a boundary between humans and ancestors in their interaction, ensuring the safety of humans. At the same time blood converts and transforms the inherent, potentially harmful
disposition of the generalised ancestral spirits (nitu) into the generally benevolent disposition of the inside ebu nusi.

Only after smearing the objects which embody the ancestors with the blood of a sacrificial animal are humans safe from the potential of life-negation (death, illness, infertility). Introducing the physical embodiments of the ancestors into human habitation is fraught with danger which only becomes neutralized after these objects have been smeared with blood. Interaction with the generalized ancestors in uninhabited places can only be made safe by the application of blood on the stones, trees, earth, and water, that constitute the abodes of the ancestors. The application of the blood of sacrificed animals opens the door for communication with the ancestors, and humans can ask for the life-generating potential of the ancestors through prayer. In a direct interaction with the ancestors, blood marks the boundary between continuity and discontinuity of life. The shedding of sacrificial animal blood ensures the flow of life potential from the ancestors and thereby renews human society.

OFFERING TO THE ANCESTORS

Following the smearing of blood comes the offering with a cooked meal of morsels of red rice, meat of the sacrificed animal (especially the liver) and a sprinkling of palm wine. The offering is referred to as puju pia, which literally means 'to pinch and place', to pinch the morsel of offering and place it on the object which is believed to be the focus of the gathering of the ancestors. Puju pia is accompanied by a prayer chant, called ngédé, which literally means 'to ask for'.

5 In the case of a chicken or pig sacrifice, not only the liver, which is the most favoured delicacy, but also the head of the animal is offered. In the context of the offering, rice is valued by the Hoga Sara as female and meat as male. Therefore, for any ritual an elder house has to provide the rice while the younger house supplies the sacrificial animal. This is especially evident in rituals involving the entire clan, where the sa'o saka pu'u provides the rice and the sa'o saka lobe gives the animal meat.
Ngedé is never performed on its own, but only with puju pia (or with basa). The content of a typical ngedé can be illustrated as follows:

Ndu miu bu nusu
Miu da olo mata
Mai si ka maki dia
Pesa hui dia,
Inu si tua dia
Kami ti'i miu da mami
Miu ti'i gami da ngeta woso-woso
Sa ki'u wi benu iru
Sa fo'o nga benu bo
Raba lo kami molo
Weki kami wi pawé
Sa ngai kobé kami nga nadé
Nipi wi si'a
Nadé wi pawé
Polo nga gogo roa,
Kau ba la'a nama wolo,
Ti'i gami ka wi polu bangä
Bhila bangä hasa
Bo moë tewu taba
Bhuka moë muku waë
Ka maki dia
Pesa hui dia
Inu tua dia.

O all you ancestors
You already dead
Come and eat the rice here
Take the meat here
Drink the palm-wine here,
We give you what is cooked
You give us what is raw, lots and lots
A piece, so that the attic is full
A storage basket, so that the granary is full
So that our body is well
So that our body is healthy
While we are asleep at night
So we dream well
Dream restfully
If a polo comes to disturb [us]
You banish it to the mountains,
Give us food for taking care of the children
[Strong] Like the fence be the children
To grow like sugar cane
To increase like banana
Eat the rice here
Take the meat here
Drink the palm-wine here.

Thus, in the offering part of the ritual the ancestors are asked to share in a meal with their descendants and various things are requested from them in return: material wealth (lines 7-8), success for the fields so the granary may become full (line 9), health (lines 10-11), protection from the malevolent polo (lines 12-16), and continuity and reproduction of the community (lines 17-20). In other words, the flow of life-generative potential is to be continued and ensured by the ancestors. Furthermore, all this is requested for morsels of offerings, which are really a huge feast in the ancestral realm.

The idioms used for the offering and the life potential requested are those of cooked and raw. This is the only context in which the Hoga Sara use these idioms. The cooked has no further potential for the living. It nourishes for the moment but has no further use. Whereas the raw is full of potential, potential for continuity of life. The inversion of what is little in the human realm into a lot in the ancestral realm also suggests that what is cooked and thus of no further use to the living, is raw in the ancestral realm, nurturing them. Inversely, what is cooked in the ancestral realm would be raw in the human realm. Thus, life-generative potential which would be no use to the dead ancestors themselves and would be considered as cooked, is raw and the very essence for continuity in the community of the living.

The person who performs the offering to the ancestors on his group's behalf has to consume a small portion of the offered morsels. He therefore represents the ancestors in the offering part of the ritual. However, at the same time, he receives the blessing of the ancestors through the same food intended for them, and through him the life potential is transferred to his house or clan. The offered morsels of food are in a state of transformation between cooked and raw. Similarly an elder,
PLATE 15. Ritual slaughter of pig (wela ngana)

PLATE 16. Sprinkling of blood on newly erected turé
after eating, would give his leftovers to a younger relative, usually a child or grandchild, who would be obliged to eat them, because it is believed that by such means long life and success is transferred from the elder to a descendant. This belief is connected with the notion that the food was touched by the saliva of the elder, and it is through the saliva (rura) that the essence of continuity and life potential is passed on. Grandparents and parents often give such blessing to their progeny when the children undertake a new stage in their life, or embark on a new undertaking.

In this connection I should be point out that an essential part of the offering is the sharing of a meal (of which a morsel was given to the ancestors) among the participants in the ritual — a meal shared between the descendants (ana ebu) and the ancestors (ebu nusi). Thus, the most social act provides for the continuity of relationship between the descendants and ancestors.

The ritual sacrifice and offering along with the prayer chant is not performed by a priest or an individual who has the particular specialisation of dealing with the spirit realm. Priests do not exist in traditional Hoga Sara culture and ritual specialists like tora mali or lima meku, are restricted mostly to the domain of healing and dealing with polo, thus specialising in certain situational and individualised rites.

Therefore, most ritual interaction with the ancestors is led and performed by the eldest male member(s) of a named house (sa'o mézé) or of the clan (woé), respectively, depending on the nature of the ritual and thus the extent of the family grouping for whom the flow of life-generative potential is to be secured. In all rituals which involve the entire woé, the primary ritual role is fulfilled by the elder(s) from the trunk and tip rider houses, the sa'o pu'u for all other sa'o mézé. As source house representatives, they are supposed to ensure the potentiality for
life from the source (from the ancestors) on behalf of all their sa'o azi, younger houses. However, the participation and attendance of all sa'o azi is required or, in the case of rituals pertaining to a particular sa'o mézé, the participation of all its sa'o dhoro is needed.

CONCLUSION OF A RITUAL

Upon the completion of a ritual a red coconut is usually split in half (wela nio) and its milk is sprinkled on the object formerly smeared with ritual blood and on all participants in the ritual while the offerer himself drinks a sip of it. No chant accompanies the sprinkling of the coconut milk. This act was explained to me as na'a wi ja, 'cooling down', 'cooling one's self. Since in no other context do the Hoga Sara explicitly describe things, places, people as being hot or cool, as is found in so many other eastern Indonesian societies, this at first puzzled me.

However, given the nature of the ancestors and in the context of concepts of hot and cool related to the spiritual realm in other eastern Indonesian societies, we may safely speculate that cooling is needed to remove the potential heat of danger in so close an association with the ancestors and thus the realm of the dead. The coconut milk seals off the boundary between the living and the ancestors, preventing any of the life-negating aspects of the ancestors from imposing on the living community. It also closes the channel of direct communication and interaction which the sacrificial animal blood has opened.

Another aspect of coconut milk is that it can represent mother's milk in certain life-cycle rituals, such as those following birth and a girl's tooth-filing rites. The mother's milk nurtures and secures the life of the infant and is an aspect of fertility. Viewed in this context, then, the coconut milk sprinkled at the end of a ritual may also be considered to represent the blessing and life-generative potency
of the ancestors being transferred to participants in the ritual, as the mother transfers life to her infant through her milk.

THE NATURE OF THE RITUALS

Rituals have a definite performative nature for the Hoga Sara. For most people, importance is placed on the actual 'doing' of the ritual and doing it properly. Although a mistake in the ritual prayer is inconsequential, if any other mistake is made while performing a ritual, then the very thing that is sought through ritual -- life-generative potential -- will not be obtained and just the very opposite will result: discontinuity, and thus, death. Such mistakes must be corrected by an additional sacrifice and a request for forgiveness from the ancestors. If it is recognized that a mistake has been made while a particular ritual is still in progress, the corrective measures are implemented right away. Thus an additional sacrifice may be imposed before the rest of the ritual can proceed. However, often such mistakes are not realised until after the fact. In many cases illness, death, infertility of humans and their fields and livestock occurs without any apparent explanation. Usually a bamboo divination (tibo) points to a mistake done in a particular ritual. The corrective measures are the same as when a mistake is detected during a ritual.

A mistake in a ritual involves that committed in the performance either in the order of things done; in the way an animal was sacrificed; in the proper person who performs the rite; or in who contributes the rice and animals for it. Some examples of possible mistakes in ritual performances that are believed to have grave consequences are as follows:

a) In the offering to the ancestors, meat is placed on the place of the offering before rice, or if the ritual meal is distributed among the participants kago léu (moving to the left) instead of kago wana (moving to the right).
b) A chicken is killed by slashing its throat directly instead of slitting its beak.

c) Although several elders are present the ritual sacrifice, offering, and prayer are performed by a younger adult of the named house; or if the elder who was pin-pointed by the bamboo (tibo) divination does not perform the ritual, and someone else does it in his stead.

d) A younger named house (a sa'o mézé which branched out subsequently from the one performing the ritual) contributes the sacrificial animal (meat) instead of the rice used in the ritual meal, or if an ana weta (wife-taking) house supplies rice instead of palmwine and chickens or a pig.

Through ritual the community, whether the named house or the clan, renews and reaffirms its ties with the ancestors who are the family grouping's ultimate origins and the source of the continued flow of life-generative potential. Therefore, by means of performance of prescribed rituals the living community regenerates itself. At the same time continuity is preserved between the human and spiritual realms and the cosmos thus kept stable. Any transgression against the ancestors upsets the stability and results in discontinuity in the human realm. Continuity is, however, secured by following ancestral rules of social behaviour and through continued remembrance of the ancestors by way of renewal of important material symbols of group identity and by the performance of the annual rituals of the agricultural calendar. Thus responsibility towards all kin, the living and the deceased, are important aspects of continuity. The fulfilment of one's duty towards one's relatives is important, since by participation in ritual directed toward them the deceased kin bestow life potential for the living.

---

6 Rituals are performed by an elder of a sa'o mézé who is usually the eldest male of the house. In case of buffalo or pig sacrifice, it is the eldest male who performs the symbolic strike to the animal, while the person who actually performs the killing is preselected by tibo divination from all the possible elders of a sa'o mézé. Tibo divination is also used to select the proper person to perform the ritual that affects the well-being of several houses.
THE RITUAL PROCESS OF INSTALLING OF A MADHU OR PÉO POST

The installation and subsequent renewal of a madhu or péo, the sacrificial post where buffalo is slaughtered, is a significant ritual in which all the named houses (sa’o mézé) of a clan (woé) participate. In addition, all houses from other clans that stand in affinal relation to the houses of the post-erecting clan have to attend. I chose this ritual to discuss as an example of Hoga Sara rituals, since it serves to illustrate several sociological and cosmological issues already highlighted.

After a meeting attended by all adult male members of the component sa’o mézé of the clan about where best to locate the prescribed hebu tree for the post, a member from the sa’o pu’u goes in search of the tree. Once the tree is located, he throws a chicken egg at it and cuts off a branch. By so doing he marks the tree and immobilizes the ngebu spirit therein, ensuring that it will not "walk away" and that the tree will still be there when the work team comes to cut it down. The egg in this case substitutes for a chicken sacrifice and the blood that would temporarily seal in the ngebu.

The sa’o pu’u representative then returns to the village displaying the branch, saé tara [saé = to break, tara = branch]. All members of the woé jubilantly dance (soka) around the village courtyard, led by the saé tara person while singing:

---

7 Since I did not witness the erection of either a madhu or péo post, the following description of the ritual process is largely based on descriptions provided by the ritual functionaries for every madhu and péo posts present in Sara Sedu. This information was also collaborated by the council of elders (mosa laki) from each clan. Niko Ngabi, Niko Du’a, Moses Lado, Dorus Muga, Peter Muga, Peter Labu, and Méo Laja were particularly helpful in this regard, especially with their impromptu re-enactments, demonstrations, and drawings.

8 There is not much difference between the ritual process of erecting a madhu or péo post, and I shall indicate the existing differences.
Ngebu zi lema mai lölé dia oné
sawa lau bata mai lölé dia oné
e ma’u, e ma’u

Ngebu from the deep enter inside [the village]
Sawa down-slope from the gate enter inside
E be tamed, e be tamed

In the song accompanying the soka dance the ngebu is often coupled with sawa in referring to the same thing, the generalized ancestral spirit inhabiting the hebu tree. Sawá is a white snake manifestation of the ngebu, possessing a chicken’s head.

For four nights the branch of the hebu tree is guarded, so it does not return to the tree, while a representative from each named house stays awake sitting with the tara at the sa’o saka pu’u. This is pai tara, ‘the wake over the branch’. The morning after the fourth night all men of the woe proceed to the location of the hebu tree. That day the hebu tree is cut down, and this is referred to as pogo madhu [pogo = to cut].

On this occasion, an elder from each of the named houses is decked out in ritual finery, including the warrior sea-shell necklace (wuli). In addition, the functionaries wear particular items that indicate their role in the ritual, thereby also signifying their named houses and the order of precedence of each functionary house (in the framework of ka’é azi) in the structure of the clan. The additional item worn by the trunk and tip riders (saka pu’u and saka lobo) is a full feather head dress in which the feathers stand erect (lado). The lado bépi and rada riwu also wear a head dress. However, while the feather stands up in the head dress of the lado bépi, it hangs down in the head dress of the rada riwu. They are thus contrasted as male and female. The wua bae wears a red baby sling across the shoulder, while the tugu tugu carries a red banner. Each of the functionaries also

Ma’u was translated in Indonesian as ‘jinakkam’, to be tamed or domesticated.
carries the ceremonial ancestral spear and sword (bhujakawa and laja sué) of his named house.

Upon arriving at the site where the hebu tree is locate, the person with the function of tugu-tugu, 'flag bearer', from the senior branch house of the sa'o saka lobo, again throws an egg at the hebu tree. Immediately the saka pu'u, saka lobo, and the other functionaries -- rada riwu, lado bépi, and wua baé -- stab their own ceremonial ancestral lances (bhujakawa) into the trunk of the tree. This is done to give the tree support, while the rest of the work crew digs the hebu out by its roots. At the same time this action is also believed to immobilize the ngebu spirit residing in the tree and prevent it from fleeing. The ngebu is thereby prevented from changing into one of its alternative manifestations (buffalo or wild boar) and in that form inflicting harm on the working members of the woe.

There is a directional association with the functionaries who encircle and stab the hebu tree. They all stab the tree from the direction which is associated with their respective houses within the village (nua) orientation. Thus, the saka pu'u stabs from the left/sunset side (mena), while the saka lobo from the right/sunrise direction (zalé). The tugu tugu stabs the trunk from the zalé direction as well, just below the spear of the tip rider. The representative of the next branch house of the tip rider, the rada riwu, stabs the hebu tree from the up-slope direction (zalé). The lado bépi, who is representing the senior named house of the sa'o saka pu'u, stabs the trunk from the down-slope/seawards direction (lau). The wua baé, from another senior branch house of the trunk rider house, stabs the hebu also on the mena side, right below the spear of the trunk rider.
FIGURE 46. Directions from which the ritual functionaries stab the *hebu* tree

The *hebu* tree, after it has been dug out, has to fall over in the *zélé* direction as the functionaries pull out their spears from the trunk. All people shout out "*kabé wolo!*", 'embrace the mountain!'. If it falls in another direction, the whole process of locating and felling the new *hebu* tree has to be repeated. The tip of the *hebu* tree has to fall in the up-slope direction while its trunk and roots are to face down-slope (*lau*). Any other orientation of a fallen tree would upset the rule of trunk pointing downwards and tip upwards. The result would be illness and death for the *woé*, were they to use the *hebu* tree for a *madhu* post.

After the tree has fallen all its foliage and branches, except its two main branches, and also all its roots, except its three primary ones, are cleared away and any living vegetative matter burnt off. The two branches are also shaped. All sprouting roots from the three main ones have to be burnt off. It was explained, that if any LIVING portions of the tree were to survive, whether on the post itself or in the forest around the site where all foliage and roots have been cleaned away, the same life-negating effects would be experienced by the *ana ebu* of the *woé*. Therefore, while any of the *ngebu* spirit's physical abode is left 'living' and thus remains associated with the 'outside', even after the post has been moved inside the
village, the potentially harmful influence of the generalized ancestral spirit remains active.

After the hebu tree has been thus fashioned into a post, a meal is prepared for the workers. For this meal, the saka pu'u and saka lobo supply one pig each. The workers are thus prepared for the exertion of energy in the carrying of the post into the village. The meal is followed by the preparation of a stretcher made of strong bamboo on which the post is to be carried. Once the post is hoisted on top of the stretcher, it is carried back to the village in a procession.

The stretcher is carried by several people, usually in multiples of four [8, 16, 32, 64], representing all houses of a woé, with half of the man carrying the right side and the other half the left side of the stretcher.

The post is carried with its trunk end towards the village. On top of the post ride the trunk and tip riders, both standing. However, in the procession accompanying the post, the other functionaries are specially positioned as well and they fulfill particular roles.

The tugu-tugu walks at the very front and ahead of the procession. He carries a red textile 'flag' which signals to everybody that the madhu procession is underway and everybody else not involved in the procession should stay away. Upon reaching the village gate, the 'flag' also indicates to the awaiting villagers that water should be readied and all women, especially the wives of the riders, should hide themselves.

\[^{10}\text{Unfortunately, nobody could enlighten me why the number of stretcher bearers has to be a multiple of four, since in most other contexts of counting a multiple of three is more significant. Therefore I can only offer the speculation expressed by one of the elder trunk riders of Sara Sedu. He suggested that for each rider on the post, trunk and tip rider, there are two carriers each or a multiple thereof; one or a pairing representing the house of the respective rider and the other(s) stand for the younger branch houses of that rider's house.}\]
Thus the function of the tugu tugu is to give warning of potential danger. The colour red of the textile also signifies that there is danger. The potential danger is associated with the entrance of the ngebu spirit of the outside, who resides in the hebu, into the domain of humans; thus proper precaution is required.

Next in the line of the procession are the roa dhéa, rice scatterers. These are two women, one each from the trunk and tip rider houses respectively. They scatter red, uncooked rice (dhéa toro) in all directions, including that of the stretcher bearers. According to the elders, the rice is left behind as food and serves as a distraction for all other spirits of the outside, ngebu, inhabiting the forest, so they do not follow the procession into the village and so that the burden on the stretcher does not feel heavy from some other ngebu sitting on it and thus 'hitching a ride' to the village. Since this is not a proper offering, nor is it intended as an interaction with the other ngebu, it is not cooked rice but raw rice that is scattered. It is women from the two source houses, sa'o pu'u, who perform this function, thus like a mother guarding and protecting the rest of the younger houses of the clan.

The wua baé, a man with a baby sling over his shoulder, then follows in the procession. He represents the trunk house and with his baby sling, all the descendant houses and members who were 'born' of that house, thus the entire wóé. The wua baé guards the madhu post from the front, that is, from the post's source end.

The post and its bearers come next in the procession, flanked on either side by the lado bépi and rada riwu. Their respective source house, the trunk and tip houses, are related to each other as categorically female and male and are associated with the left and right. Thus the lado bépi walks on the left side of the post and the rada riwu on the right side of it. Left and right sides are determined
relative to the post's trunk-to-tip orientation. The lado bépi and rada riwu guard the hebu post from both sides. The guardian role of the wua baé, lado bépi, and rada riwu and their special attire, signals to the ngebu housed in the hebu post that they are its descendants and represent the wider family group of ana ebu, who should not be harmed.

The rest of the procession is taken up by men in the role of nobé wako. With reeds, wako (Themeda villosa, Verheijen 1990:43), that represent spears, they stab at the air in all directions to keep any other ngebu spirits from the outside from following the procession into the village. This function is usually assigned to men representing a house(s) from another clan that has affinal relations with the sa'o saka pu'u of the woé erecting the post.

The intended madhu post is carried into the village with its trunk end first. In this, the hebu post is likened to a human. When a corpse is carried out from the house, it is with his feet first. Therefore, the hebu wood through its transformation into a madhu post, so to speak 'dies' and ceases to be a tree, and thus is carried from its former abode into human settlement with 'feet' (trunk end) first.

Upon entering the village, the procession goes around the village courtyard in a circular, counter-clockwise direction (kago wana). Then near the centre of the courtyard the stretcher is put down momentarily. All functionaries, stretcher bearers, and work crew must splash or smear some water onto their foreheads. Ordinary people of Sara Sedu explain this as an act to refresh oneself from earlier heavy activity. However, elders explain that this is another instance of na'a wi ja, cooling one's self. This is quite consistent with the fact that the activity of acquiring the post is imbued with the 'heat' of danger from direct contact with the domain of generalized ancestral spirits who are potentially life negating and the bringing of such an outside spirit into human habitation.
The people of Sara Sedu, however, do not directly express the notion that something is hot or cool. In fact the notion of cooling (na'a wi ja) is only encountered in the context of: bringing a hebu wood from the forest into the village; the final ritual for establishing a village (wura nua); and performing the funerary rite for a golo, a person who died an unnatural or accidental death. While the notion of cooling is expressed, its opposite, heat, remains implicit.  

After the participants 'cool' themselves, bearers again lift the stretcher with the post and its riders and carry the post around the village courtyard, proceeding kago wana, while gongs and drums are sounded and each functionary performs the soka dance in front of his named house. The dance is accompanied by song in which the functionary identifies his house and woé and again calls on the ngebu to come inside. The text of the song is thus almost the same as when its branch was first brought into the village. Following is an example of this song performed by a wua baé:

Ja’o Hoga Kaki, Sa’o nga’o Milo Wali,  
Ngebu zi lema mai lolé dia oné,  
Sawa lau bata mai lolé dia oné,  
E ma’u, e ma’u.

I am of the Kaki clan, my house is Milo Wali,  
Ngebu from the deep enter inside [the village],  
Sawa down-slope from the gate enter inside,  
E be tamed, e be tamed.

The performance of the soka dance and the song accompanying it in front of each senior named house (functionary house) is therefore part of the process of introducing the generalized ancestor into the village and 're-acquainting' the ancestor with his descendants whom he will be required to guard and protect. The

---

11 Bana is the word for hot. However, only the temperature of things, such as of food, drink, sun, water, and air, are described as bana.
soka dance is followed by general festivity with several pigs slaughtered for the feast.

For the next six nights the members of the woé must keep wake, to ensure that the hebu tree, or rather its ngebu spirit, does not change into a human or buffalo form and run away. Sleep is only allowed during the day. From the time the hebu tree was brought into the village and during the following six nights all women of child-bearing years and especially the wives of the trunk and tip riders have to remain inside the house and have no contact with the post. It was explained that if the women were to transgress this rule, they would be in danger from the ngebu spirit. The ngebu could assume the appearance of a relative, particularly that of the trunk or tip rider, and copulate with such a woman. Having thus "married" the ngebu spirit, the woman would die, her maé leaving her body to follow her ngebu husband.

During the last three nights the post is carved with motifs, and the thatched conical roof of the madhu is readied. The feasting also continues for which several pigs are slaughtered every day.

After the six nights, the following day the hole and the three niches within it are dug in preparation for the post’s erection. Three animals are placed in the niches -- a red piglet by a person from the sa’o saka pu’u, a red rooster chick from the house of the sa’o saka lobo, and a red puppy from the house of the lado bépi - in the left (mena), right (zalé), and down-slope (lau) directions respectively. Then the post is erected, and for a madhu post, its roof is installed. Then saka pu’u of the post immediately slaughters a buffalo (toa or wéla kaba) and generously smears its blood (woé hoza) [hoza = long duration] all over the trunk.

12 The preparation of the conical roof is of course absent for a pêo post.
At the same time as he performs woé hoza he is also calling out the name of his clan and house, followed by the name of the new madhu (péo) post. The name of the post is that of a founding ancestor of the woé. The stomach of the buffalo, a delicacy, is placed in the fork of the post as an offering to the ancestor. The ngébu is thereby transformed from a generalized ancestor into a specific ancestor (ebu nusi) with a name and sealed into the post.

The buffalo slaughter and smearing of the post with blood is repeated by every functionary and named house of the clan in the order of their foundation, that is, in order from ka'éd to azi. The sa'o saka pu'u will begin this process. Thus, the saka pu'u sacrifices yet another buffalo. In the order of sacrifice, he is followed by the saka lobo. Then all named houses in the trunk rider half of the clan kill a buffalo each, followed by all sa'o mézé in the tip rider half of the clan. Then the houses from other clans with whom there are relations of marriage (both wife-giving and wife-taking houses) also sacrifice a buffalo. The order of these houses in performing the buffalo slaughter is complicated. The first four of these to perform toa kaba are the (wife-giving) houses from clans with which the trunk rider house of the clan erecting the post has first established affinal ties; and in the order of establishing these ties. Subsequently, the first four affinal houses (wife-giving houses) of each of the other named houses of the host clan (woé) toa kaba in the order of ka'éd-azi within the clan. The order in which other affinal houses and guests from outside of Sara Sedu sacrifice a buffalo is not fixed.

Before the representative of each of the named houses sacrifices a buffalo, whether from a named house of the host clan or from an affinal house or guest clan, he does sa ngaza, performs the 'calling of the name'. Thereby the sacrificer not only declares his identity to the attending public, but also identifies himself to the ancestor in the new sacrifice post and in this way secures the flow of generative
potential from this ancestor for the benefit of the members of his named house.
Through the sa ngaza and buffalo slaughter the sacrificer publicly confirms his
ritual obligations and reaffirms the social ties of his house.

The toa kaba stage of the ritual process of erecting a madhu (or péo) post
may take several days due to the large number of buffalos sacrificed. The
processing of buffalo meat for the feasts at the end of every day is also time
consuming. During the merriment of the feasting the soka dance is performed.
The text of song accompanying the dance is as follows:

Pogo néné madhu ngaza
Tau tubo lizu
Kabu wi rolé nitu,
Lobo wi soi déwa.

Cut down [tree] for the named madhu
Make the sky post
Roots to wind around the nitu
Tip to reach to déwa.

If it is a péo post that is being installed then in the text of the song, instead of
madhu, péo appears (e.g. Pogo néné péo ngaza).

In the case of a péo post, on the day it is erected only one buffalo is
slaughtered (toa kaba), which is supplied by the sa'o saka pu'u. However, one
year after its erection, a rite called séné is held in which buffalos are sacrificed by
the named houses of the clan in the order of trunk and tip rider, followed by the
other functionary and named houses. The order is the same as in the process of toa
kaba for a madhu post. Affinal houses and guests also slaughter a buffalo. The
mode of killing the buffalo, however, is different from that of toa kaba. Death is
not the result of a single blow to the throat; instead the buffalo is tied to the péo
with a long rope and is wounded several times as it is chased around the péo, then

13 It does happen that meat has to be thrown away since it goes bad in the heat, or gets
infested with maggots.
its hind-quarters are cut. Only after this, is the single blow delivered to the throat of the buffalo. In this way the village square is covered with the buffalo's blood.

After the toa kaba stage of the installation of a madhu or pêo post a final feast follows (ka madhu / pêo), 'eating the madhu/pêo', in which the trunk rider provides yet another buffalo while the other functionaries supply a pig each. Before starting the meal, however, there is an offering made to the ancestors. The merriment continues and the same soka dance and the song accompanying it is repeated as on the nights of the toa kaba stage.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This summary of the process of madhu or pêo post erection illustrates a number of features of Sara Sedu culture. A large scale ritual, such as this, not only charts various social relationships in the process of the ritual performance, but also depicts those with the dead ancestors. The erection of the sacrifice post provides for and confirms continuity of a clan in two contexts simultaneously: in the context of relations with the ancestors and in the framework of existing relations with other clans and their named house.
CONCLUSION

To conclude this account, I discuss Hoga Sara society with reference to current theoretical issues in comparative studies of eastern Indonesia, and indeed, Austronesian societies. In so doing, I situate the people of Sara Sedu in a wider 'field of anthropological study'. At the same time I consider the way in which Hoga Sara society articulates with other peoples of the Ngada regency, of Flores, and of eastern Indonesia respectively.

Van Wouden (1935, 1968) identified the "structural core" shared by eastern Indonesian societies as consisting of socio-cosmic dualism, a clan system, and asymmetric connubium. Taking this "structural core" as providing for a certain cultural comparability within present-day Indonesia, J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong (1935, 1977:166-181) proposed the 'field of ethnological study' approach to Indonesian societies.

Recent studies of Indonesian societies, although still mindful of the 'field of ethnological study' approach, have focused more on the expression of the "structural core" of a particular society and thus examined each society in terms of its internal ordering. Thus, "similar metaphors for living" have become the index of comparison in the 'field of ethnological study' instead of van Wouden's model of forms of organizational structures (Fox 1980:333). This development in the comparative approach to Indonesian societies, especially with regard to eastern Indonesia, is amply illustrated in the collection of essays in a volume which reconsidered the 'field of ethnological study' approach (Fox 1980).
A more recent anthropological framework broadens the field of comparative study by extending it to the wider region of Austronesian societies (see Fox 1993d). This approach proposes that, "the study of 'origin structures' and of the systems of precedence that they generate should constitute a basic focus for the comparative study of the Austronesians" (Fox 1988:15). This shift in focus in comparative approach stems from the observation that in Austronesian societies there is an overwhelming preoccupation with 'origins'. Fox's gloss of 'origin structures' encompasses a broad range of ideas about 'origins', whether it is tracing origins with a focus on genealogical ancestor or on particular places, such as villages, or on houses (ibid:16). Origin structures are widely expressed through botanic metaphors in the languages of Austronesian groups (ibid:14).

In indigenous conceptualizations of society and cosmos the tracing of origins and their order of priority implies forms of precedence manifested at various levels of the local systems -- whether at the level of classification and categories or at the level of relations and interactions between the component units of a group or at the level of ritual and myth. There may be different orders of precedence articulated depending on the conceptual domain of the ordering (see Fox 1989, 1990, 1993d).

While 'origin structures' and the various orders of precedence they generate may be similar in different Austronesian societies and thus may serve as a focus of comparison between groups, it is the particular form of the conceptual construction of 'origins' and the dynamics in the orders of precedence in their local context that provide for the distinctive configuration of the system of socio-cosmic organization of each group. The historical processes of a local system's development have a direct bearing on the form and mode of operation of its orders of precedence. Thus, a diachronic approach is required in the analysis of eastern Indonesian and indeed Austronesian societies (see Traube 1989:324-325).
Looking at Sara Sedu social organization from the perspective of alliance theory and attempting to fit the data into a particular model of marriage alliance, poses problems. On the one hand, there is repetition of intermarriage between larger and smaller groups with a preference for marriage between the category of sister's child and brother's child (ana weta [ZS] and ana nara [BD]), but, on the other hand, there is a dual system of marriage with both symmetric and asymmetric practice that intertwines at some level. The structuring of Hoga Sara alliance is based on factors that include not just preference for cross-cousin marriage, but also a preference for marriage between partners who have a common derivation from shared grandparents or ancestors (ebu mogo). Common putative derivation from the Ga'ë ancestors and/or their parents is a particular basis for alliance between the various clans of the Hoga Sara, binding together the clans of Sara with their symmetric system of marriage and the clans of Sedu and Bodo with their asymmetric form of marriage.

Named houses (and clans) are not only bound together by the repetition of marriages but also by the first-born descendants (ana tengë/logo) of each marriage who are members in both their mother's house and their father's house. Thus, using a descent model for the analysis of Sara Sedu social order would meet great difficulties in reconciling the dual group membership of a first-born (ana tengë/logo) and with respect to succession, the flexibility by which a first-born male's group membership may shift in order to carry on the line of the maternal house. Similarly, what constitutes house (and clan) membership (ana ebu status), the rights and duties this entails, as well as the local concept of derivation applying to an individual and a named house (dhoro/dhodho) would be difficult to fit into a descent theory framework.

The analytical and conceptual framework in which the Sara Sedu material makes the most sense is that of a “house society”, where the named house is the
basic unit of social organization tying together categories of derivation, group membership, marriage alliance, inheritance and succession. Relations between houses, one of the Hoga Sara 'origin structures', can then be seen to be governed by an order of precedence.

**ORIGIN STRUCTURES AND ORDERS OF PRECEDENCE OF THE HOGA SARA**

An analysis of the cultural system of the Hoga Sara from a comparative perspective focusing on 'origin structures' and precedence provides a case study which highlights the analytical value of this approach in showing not only structural similarities shared by this society with other eastern Indonesian [and Austronesian] groups, but also the differences that are a product of local developmental processes. Although the people of Sara Sedu trace their derivation (or 'origin') in a number of different ways -- with a focus on a particular ancestor, house, clan, and village -- nevertheless, the named house (sa'o mézé) is the most central of their 'origin structures'.

It is the named house components of a clan (woé) that are ordered in ranked relation to each other based on the sequencing of their foundation. This order of precedence is expressed in terms of two related idioms: elder-younger (ka'é-azi), and trunk-tip (pu'u-lobo). The botanic idiom of trunk and tip is applied not only with reference to the two earliest named houses of the clan, but also with reference to the two main parts of the clan established by these houses.

The relationship between named houses is also ordered with reference to affinal relations, since it is the sa'o mézé which is the basic unit of marriage contraction. Among the houses of the clans in Sedu and Bodo that contract marriage in an asymmetric mode, the sa'o mézé are ranked as wife-giver and wife-taker (mori ga'é and ana weta), where the wife-giver house has a superior standing over its wife-taker house. The named houses of most Sara clans, although
contracting marriage in a symmetric way, are also situationally classified as *mori ga'ë* and *ana weta* with respect to individual marriages and the same asymmetric valuation of the two affinal houses is generated. However, by the nature of their symmetric marriage system this ordering is reversible. The order of precedence with respect to affinal relations between named houses is not only expressed in terms of the idiom of *ka'ë-azi*, where the wife-giver house is considered the elder (*ka'ë*) to its wife-taker house which is classified as younger (*azi*), but also in terms of derivation (*dhoro pu'u*). *Dhoro* literally means 'to descend from' or 'to climb down from' the house, and *pu'u* has a range of meanings ['trunk', 'source', 'origin', 'tree', 'beginning', derivation'] that refer to the notion of 'origin'. A wife-giving *sa'o mézé* becomes the source of derivation for another named house by giving a woman in marriage. The unnamed house (*sa'o dhoro*) thus founded, after its elevation to named house status, is considered to have its origin in the house that supplied the woman.

Women provide the vital link in the dynamics of the different orders of precedence in **Hoga Sara** social organization. It is through women that new houses are founded and propagated, securing the continuity not only of the house but of the clan. Thus they are instrumental in the process of clan segmentation. At the same time women provide the connecting bridge between the named houses of different clans of the **Hoga** Sara. By tracing the 'road of the water-buffalo, the road of the gold' (*zala kaba zala wea*) and thus the houses of derivation of women, the web of affinal relations between the *sa'o mézé* (and *woë*) emerge.

The desired continuity of a *sa'o mézé* and of affinal relations is secured through repeated marriages. Among the house of the clans of Sedu and Bodo the practice of *logo* marriage, which repeats the marriage between two named houses three (or more) generations after the establishment of original affinal ties, reconfirms and reinforces the order of precedence between wife-giving and wife-
taking house. The *sa'o mézé* of Sara clans also repeat marriages through
generations. Women that 'go out' of the house in marriage are returned to that
same house after three (or more) generations through the practice of *ala wado ulu*
*uwi*. In 'returning the head of the yam' marriage is repeated between two houses
that contracted the original affinal relation. Houses, in accordance with the
symmetric nature of Sara marriages, the *sa'o mézé* which gave a woman before
now receives one. Whereas in the original marriage between the two houses a ZS
(*ana weta*) marries a BD (*ana nara*), in the subsequent marriage of *ala wado ulu*
*uwi* it is a ZD who marries a BS. Thus, the gender of the category of preferred
marriage partners (*ana weta* and *ana nara*) is reversed.

A woman secures the continuity of named houses in two ways: by producing
heirs to succeed in the house of her husband; and perhaps also to succeed in her
natal house, since her first born son (*ana tengé* or *ana logo*) may be called upon to
carry on the line of her natal named house. *Ana tengé* may be the only source of
continuity for a wife-giving house if it lacks male offspring. Therefore, not only
women, but also their first-born sons are instrumental in the continuity of named
houses and of relations between affinally-linked houses. Furthermore, first-born
children, whether male or female, enjoy dual membership, as an *ana ebu* in both
their father's and mother's houses, with full rights and duties in both. The *ana
tengé* have an important role in the dynamics of the system of interlinking relations
between named houses and/or clans.

Precedence is manifest not only in the social organization of the *Hoga* Sara
but in all other aspects of Sara life. It is present in the ordering of the physical
living space (village and house), in rituals and in the categories of classification.
Within the village plan the location of the house is in concordance with whether
that house derived from the trunk (rider) or the tip (rider) house. The position of
those houses with a ritual function is also specific with respect to their order of
derivation from the trunk and tip (rider) houses, and connected with this, with respect to their male or female categorization. Thus, these house, at an exclusive level, are located on the left/male or right/female side of the nua, depending on their derivation from the trunk and tip (rider) houses, respectively. Furthermore, within each of the left and right sides of the traditional village, the houses with a ritual function are categorized as female and male depending on whether they are located up-slope or down-slope, and thus farther from the village's entrance or closer to it and more vulnerable to enemy attacks.

The named house as a physical structure is an ordered space. The use of social space reflects a number of ideals and values associated with different kinds of social relationships. In this regard the houses of the Hoga Sara share much in common with the dwellings of other Austronesian peoples (see for example collection of essays in Fox 1993a). Specific parts of the physical structure represent social and cosmological orders of the Hoga Sara. The five main houseposts, for example, not only signify the social group that is represented by the house, but also their first four affinal houses. The order in which the posts are laid represents the order of contracting these affinal relations. Cosmological order is also represented in the house, where the roof structure, the space below the house, and the actual living space parallel the domains of Divinity, ancestors, and humanity respectively. The hearth post (dhuké) is considered as a conduit which connects all three domains.

The prevalent categories of classification of the Hoga Sara are also expressed in their house, not only with respect to the ordering of social space but also in the sequence and ordering of the house construction. The dual categories trunk>tip, right>left, male>female, inside>outside, are important in the ordering of social space (whether in the house or in the village). In the house construction process the posts have to be planted and all materials have to be joined following
the order of trunk to tip (pu’u-lobo). The assembling of the house also has to proceed in a counter-clockwise (kago wana) order. These two orders are indeed prevalent in the carrying out of any action.

The house, more specifically the inner sanctum (one) which is the ritually ordered space of the house, is the repository of ancestral objects (laja sué and bhuja kawa). These objects not only represent the presence of the ancestors, and thus continuity with the past, but they are also believed to embody the ancestors. It is the life-generative potential secured from these ancestors that ensures the continuity of the group. Similarly, specific parts of the house (nabé, ata tangi, dhuké, tubo ata mité) not only form part of its physical structure; they also represent and embody the ancestors. The stair people, hearth and main posts of the house have to be of a special wood (hebu) and the nabé has to be a large flat stone. The specification of materials used for these house parts, and also for the sacrificial post (madhu or péo) and ancestral mother house (bhaga) of a clan, is an integral part of Hoga Sara conceptions about the order of the process by which the soul of a deceased member of the house (or clan) becomes a specific protective ancestor.

The ancestors are considered as the ultimate source of continuity of Hoga Sara society. Yet the soul of a deceased member is chased out of the village and then out of the fields into the forests where, the soul joins the generalized ancestors, who inhabit large stones, hebu and other types of Ficus, the earth and water sources. As generalized ancestors they are potentially dangerous and life-negating. By using specific trees and stones that are ancestral abodes in the forests as parts of the named house and as the physical representations of clan structure (madhu/péo), the ancestors are brought back into the village and ritually converted into specific protective ancestors. The renewal of the named house,
sacrificial post, ancestral mother house and stone platforms return the ancestors to the human community.

Ritual interaction with the ancestors in rites of the agricultural calendar, life-cycle rites and other situational rituals is also a requirement for the bestowal of their life-generative potential on the living. Essential parts of the rituals are animal sacrifice and the offering of cooked meat and rice. An offering is not only a form of communication with the ancestors but also a form of exchange. In the chant accompanying the offering it is made explicit that the living expect things "raw" from the ancestors in exchange for things "cooked" (i.e. rice and meat). Things that are "raw" refer to fertility and well-being, the potential for life and continuity.1

Rituals follow an ordered sequence and have a performative nature. Animal sacrifice has to precede an offering and an offering is only complete when accompanied by a chant. Rice always has to be offered before meat and palmwine, thus categorically female goods have to precede those categorized as male. Whereas a mistake made in ritual language is inconsequential, a mistake made in the order of the performance of the ritual is worse than not having performed the ritual at all, since it is believed to result in the withdrawal of the life-generating potential of the ancestors.

The order of precedence of Hoga Sara social organization is also expressed in the performance of their rituals. In rituals that concern all the houses of the clan the trunk and tip (rider) houses, thus the most senior houses, have a primary role. The representative from each of these houses takes precedence in the performance of the ritual. In the ritual of large scale buffalo slaughter the order in which the animals are sacrificed and the order of the sacrificers themselves is in accord with

---

1 The exchange may be compared to the exchange of differential goods (bridewealth and counter-gift) that takes place between wife-giving and wife-taking houses on the occasion of marriage. Through this exchange a woman is secured who provides the flow of life and thus the continuity of the group.
the order of precedence of named houses within the clan and with the order of precedence of affinal relations of these house.

SOME COMPARATIVE CONSIDERATIONS

In spite of various similarities in their origin structures and orders of precedence, the clans of Sara and Sedu (Bodo) exhibit certain structural differences. These I have attributed to historical factors generating differential processes of clan development.

Indeed, the differences between the four village confederacies (Sara Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, Rowa) that claim to be related follow the same lines as those between Sara and Sedu (Bodo). Although, these four village confederacies claim derivation from common ancestors and share 'origin structures' in their focus on the named house, clan, and village, as well as the same cosmological concepts, there are certain differences in their social organization. Whereas the social organization and dynamics of the system of the Taka Tunga people is very similar to that of Sara Sedu as a whole, the social order of the Sanga Déto and Rowa people is comparable to that of the Sedu (Bodo) part of Sara Sedu. It is quite significant that among the clans of these four village confederacies only those of Sara in Sara Sedu and those of Tunga of Taka Tunga are distinct in their system of marriage (and their physical representations through the madhu post and bhaga).

It is precisely these clans in those village confederacies that have incorporated immigrant clans and maintained close affinal relations with clans that stem from the Ngadha peoples, most of them originating from Naru, the place of origin of the founding ancestral mother of the peoples of the four village confederacies. The Sara and Tunga clans appear to have incorporated into their system elements from Ngadha culture, particularly with respect to their symmetric marriage system and to their choice of representation of clan structure (the madhu post instead of the [missing text]).
péo post). However, this should not be understood as a complete transformation of the system of the Sara and Tunga clans to that found among the Ngadha people. The Ngadha people possess 'origin structures', orders of precedence, and agricultural rituals that differ from those of the people of the four related village confederacies.

Why the clans of Sara and Tunga were more open to relations with, and incorporation of, immigrant Ngadha clans compared to other clans in the four village confederacies requires further study of local history with perhaps a closer examination of the places of origin of the founding ancestors in Naru and So'a. Furthermore, research in other border regions between two cultures might also extend our understanding of the diachronic processes involved in the transformations of cultural systems.

The people of Sara Sedu, who occupy a border region between the Ngadha and Nagé-Kéo people, appear to be on a continuum with both. Although we find certain structures and principles of their systems superficially resembling each other and linguistically expressed by the same terms and phrases, the way in which they are ordered and the dynamics of the ordering provide for an unique configuration for each of these societies. For example, let us consider what constitutes the trunk and tip rider houses ('origin structures'), which among all three of these peoples are referred to as *sa'o saka pu'u* and *sa'o saka lobo*.

Among the Ngadha, *sa'o saka pu'u* is the first named house of a clan. After this house differentiates into many unnamed houses (*sa'o dhoro*), it elevates one of its *sa'o dhoro*, not necessarily the most senior one but the most successful and productive one, to the status of *sa'o saka lobo*. Thus the second named house comes into being. Once this house differentiates into many *sa'o dhoro*, both the

---

2 Both these places have been described by different peoples of the Ngada regency as the place where the earth and sky were joined together in primordial times by a liana (léké) vine.
main branches of a clan are established. As further differentiation takes place, parts of the clan may break away and found a new clan along similar lines in another village.

Among the Hoga Sara, the sa'o saka pu'u is also the first named house established by the founder of the clan. Here, however, the sa'o saka lobo, although being the second named house, is never a sa'o dhoro. Rather, it differentiates very early from the trunk rider house and is founded either by the child or grandchild of the clan's founding ancestor. As both the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo differentiate into unnamed houses (sa'o dhoro), they each elevate one of their unnamed houses to the status of named houses. Each of the new named houses replicate the same process. Through this process of segmentation, the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo halves of the clan are further differentiated into several named and unnamed houses that are ranked in the order of priority of their founding (ka'ê-azi). The most senior of the named houses possesses certain ritual functions, especially with regard to the installation of the sacrificial post.

Among the Nagé the trunk and tip rider houses are not connected with clan structure, but with the structure of the village. Villages are often composed of a number of different clans that are ordered in the sequence of their arrival. From which clan the houses of the trunk and tip riders originate is connected with a clan's order of precedence in the village. Thus the most senior house from each of the first two clans to found and occupy the village are the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo.3

In all three societies the trunk and tip rider houses are associated with their ritual functions of riding on top of the sacrificial post (madhu or péo) on the

---

3 In some villages, however, the sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo may be the two eldest houses of the village founder clan; these two houses claiming derivation from an elder and younger brother. For further details of Nagé social organization, see Forth 1989.
occasion of its installation. The sa'o saka pu'u and sa'o saka lobo are 'origin structures' in each of the three groups; however, these houses have different structural significance in the social organization of each of the societies.

In the wider context of Flores and eastern Indonesia as a whole, in certain respects the Hoga Sara are distinct with regard to features of their social organization. Among the Hoga Sara dual authority is lacking, as is any order of precedence in the organization of a territory or domain, based on the sequence of the arrival of its various groups. Although experiencing an influx of immigrant clans, Sara Sedu does not follow the wide-spread pattern whereby immigrants usurp the power of the indigenes allowing indigenous groups power over the land and rituals pertaining to it, whereas later-arriving groups control all secular and political matters. None of the indigenous clans have emerged as 'lord of the land', superior to all other clans in ritual matters, and none of the later-arriving clans gained the role of political leadership in the territorial context of Sara Sedu (see Fox 1994).

All separate clans (that is, those not incorporated as named houses in an indigenous clan) in Sara Sedu are independently responsible for their ritual cycles and their land. In political matters pertaining to the territory, all the clans act and make decisions in consensus as equal partners through a 'council of elders' (mosa laki) composed of representatives from each of the clans and their named houses. The fact that most clans of Sara Sedu, whether immigrant or not, claim to share common origins and are thus related is probably the reason for the lack of ranked relations with respect to territorial organization. The local historical process of clan and village development in Sara Sedu is also a factor.

The existence of two different systems of marriage in a society which claims to be one group is also noteworthy. The Sara Sedu material provides an interesting case study of a people whose marriages are contracted both symmetrically and
asymmetrically evincing the dynamics by which the two systems of marriage coexist and interlink the clans and named houses. To my knowledge, in Flores, such a dual system of marriage has so far been reported only among the people of Sara Sedu and their southern neighbours, the people of Taka Tunga. It would be too simplistic to assume that the people of Sara Sedu and Taka Tunga possess a dual system of marriage just because they are situated in a geographically and culturally intermediate region between the Ngadha people whose system of marriage is symmetric and the Nagé-Kéo people whose system of marriage is asymmetric. If this were the only reason then we might expect that the people of the related village confederacies of Sanga Deto and Rowa would possess the same dual system, which is not the case. In these village confederacies, as in the Sedu part of Sara Sedu and in the Taka part of Taka Tunga, marriage is asymmetric. With regard to the Sara Sedu and Taka Tunga materials, an examination of the process of development of their clans and thus local historical factors may provide an explanation for the resultant dual system of marriage. The Sara Sedu and Taka Tunga cases highlight the importance of a diachronic analysis of the system, considering not just the present ethnographic situation but also the processes that formed it.

Elsewhere in this thesis I speculated that the system of marriage in the Sara part of Sara Sedu may have resembled that of Sedu at one time. The basis for this speculation was informants' opinions on the issue, including local interpretations of and justifications for difference and separation in the system of marriage, as well as the fact that most other parts of the four related village confederacies in this culturally transitional region\(^4\) possess the same marriage system, an asymmetric marriage system. Thus an argument was made for the transformation of an

\(^4\) Transitional region is meant in the sense of being intermediate between two well-defined points (Ngadha and Nagé) on a cultural continuum.
asymmetric system to a symmetric one in the Sara part of Sara Sedu. However, the opposite scenario may be just as logically valid; that is, the transformation of an asymmetric system of marriage to a partially asymmetric one in the Sedu part of Sara Sedu.

Asymmetry to Symmetry in Sara:

In Sara Sedu, although the clans of Sedu and Bodo contract marriage asymmetrically between named houses, at a more inclusive level of grouping there is a symmetric cast to their marriages. By more inclusive level of grouping, I mean the principle by which a more senior named house encompasses its junior houses as happens in respect of the trunk and tip rider halves of clan division. When considering the contraction of marriages at the level of senior houses that in a way represent their own subclan in Sedu, marriages follow an asymmetric pattern. However, as was shown earlier, if a senior house of subclan A has given a woman to a senior house of subclan B, that senior house of subclan B may return a woman to a junior house in subclan A. A schematic illustration of this situation is as follows:

Marriages between clans of Sedu/Bodo and Sara also show a similar pattern, where at the level of the senior houses involved marriage follows an asymmetric
pattern, but at the level of a senior house encompassing its junior houses a symmetric pattern can be detected.

![Diagram](image)

If we assume that the system of marriage for the Sara clans once resembled that of present-day Sedu and Bodo, with some symmetry already present in the broader pattern, then perhaps the transformation to a symmetric system for the Sara clans consequent on their incorporation of immigrant clans from the Ngadha group was not a big step. Furthermore, the Sara clans only follow a symmetric pattern of marriage when houses of Sara clans intermarry, whereas when marrying with clans of either Sedu or Bodo they conform to the asymmetric system of these clans.

An analysis of the classification of kin in Sara Sedu shows that the kin terminology is mostly symmetric in both Sara and Sedu/Bodo, although certain terms in Sedu/Bodo do have an asymmetrical cast. Given a mostly symmetric kin terminology and broader symmetric features of marriage practice in the asymmetric system of Sedu/Bodo, one may speculate that the situation in Sedu/Bodo represents an instance of a process of evolution from a symmetric system to an asymmetric system. If the autochthonous clans of Sara possessed the same system as the present Sedu/Bodo, then the process of incorporation of and contact with the immigrant clans and their symmetric system may have resulted in a transformation of the Sara clans to a symmetric system from the already formed asymmetric one.
Another factor to consider is the fact that the contact with and the process of incorporation of immigrant Ngadha clans by the Sara clans is claimed to have occurred at the early stages of clan formation and differentiation. If the immigrant clans have arrived at a later stage of Sara clan formation and differentiation, the kind and degree of transformation that has occurred in the system of Sara clans may not have been possible.

In this regard it is instructive to look at one of the subclans of the autochthonous clan Kaki of Sara. The subclan Benu-Nai occupying Bodo differentiated out and split off from the Kaki clan at an early stage of this clan's development. This subclan set up its own village on another hill and thus spatially at least acquired semi-autonomy. The Benu-Nai subclan did not have extensive contact with the Ngadha immigrant clans like its parent clan. This subclan possesses an asymmetric system of marriage, like that present in Sedu. Thus, the case of this subclan may serve as a 'mechanism' to justify difference and separation in the system of marriage present in Sara Sedu before the influence of the immigrant clans on the Sara half of Sara Sedu. The relatively early separation of the Benu-Nai subclan from its parent clan Kaki is the reason for its remaining unaffected by the system of the immigrant clans, unlike its parent clan.

Symmetry to Asymmetry in Sedu/Bodo:

The same evidence that argues for a symmetric transformation to an asymmetric one in Sara, but without the consideration of local exegises, may just as readily be utilized for supporting a reversal of this argument. Thus, there is a possibility that originally all clans, including those of Sedu and Bodo, possessed a symmetric system and that eventually the system of marriage of the clans of Sedu and Bodo were transformed to an asymmetric one. There are at least two possible explanations for such a transformation. Both Sedu and Bodo clans were founded
by a marriage between a male ancestor of Sara Sedu and a woman from a clan in
the village confederacy of Sanga Déto or in the village confederacy of Rowa, both
places which possess an asymmetric marriage system. Both these affinal village
confederacies have a closer geographical proximity to the old nua Sedu and Bodo
than to nua Sara, thus it may be speculated that they had greater frequency of
interaction with and influence on Sedu and Bodo.

Therefore, the fact that at a more inclusive level of grouping there is a
symmetric cast to marriages in Bodo and Sedu might be taken as an indicator that
they originally possessed a symmetric system of marriage. Furthermore, the kin
terminology of both Sedu and Bodo is still mostly symmetric, although certain
terms do show an asymmetric character.

The mediating factor in the complexity of Hoga Sara social organization and
the interaction between asymmetric and symmetric systems seems to hinge on the
status and role of the first born child (ana tengé or ana logo). Regardless of
certain differences in clan structure and systems of marriage amongst clans of Sara
and Sedu/Bodo, the status and role of an ana tengé/logo is common to them all.
Having been born as eldest child, an ana tengé/logo is a member in both the
father's and mother's named house, regardless of the payment of bridewealth which
determines group membership for the other children. Such dual membership is
more characteristic of a symmetric system, thus this may further the the argument
that the system of marriage in Sedu/Bodo may have been transformed from a
symmetric to an asymmetric system.

Either transformation is plausible -- asymmetry to symmetry in Sara (which
is favoured in the local exegises) or symmetry to asymmetry in Sedu/Bodo.
However, it is difficult to state with any degree of certainty which of these two
alternative forms of transformation in the marriage system of the Hoga Sara
actually occurred without the aid of a 'time-machine'.

In the present system of the Hoga Sara, the institution of **ana tengé** seems to provide for flexibility and continuity in a complex system of social organization. Sara and Sedu/Bodo are tied together not just as a result of affinal relations created through marriages between Sara and Sedu/Bodo clans, but also through the **ana tengé** produced by these marriages who are members of both Sara and Sedu/Bodo clans.

Although hypothetically with the completion of bridewealth payments the obligation to maintain ties between affinal houses may be broken (in either the symmetric system of Sara or in the asymmetric system of Sedu/Bodo), such links between houses in Sara Sedu cannot disappear due to the institution of dual membership of a first-born child. The **ana tengé** not only provides for continuity of affinal ties, but if male, the first-born also has an important role in succession. Under ordinary circumstances a male **ana tengé** succeeds in the house of his father. If however there are no male descendants in the house of his mother, he has an obligation to carry on the line of this maternal house, while another sibling succeeds in his father's house. Thus the membership affiliation of an **ana tengé** may be quite fluid and may change with the particular circumstance.

The position of a first-born is of particular interest when the **ana tengé** is the product of a marriage between a Sedu/Bodo clan and a Sara clan. Being a member in both clans, with regard to rules of marriage, an **ana tengé** has to observe both the rules of Sara and of Sedu/Bodo. With respect to such a first-born individual's marriage, the Sedu/Bodo parent's house's wife-giver and wife-taker relations must be taken into account and maintained. If an **ana tengé** from a marriage between a clan of Sedu/Bodo and of Sara is to succeed in his maternal natal house, his entire social world is reoriented with regard to classification of wife-taker and wife-giver houses.
The place of the *ana tengé*/*logo* and claims of common derivation from shared Ga'é ancestors (*ebu mogo, ebu Ga'é*), along with a common cosmology in both Sara and Sedu/Bodo clans, seems to be the adhesive that binds together Sara and Sedu/Bodo into a single society. The importance and strength of these cohesive factors once, prior to the differentiation in marriage practices, is probably responsible for the fact that although a dual system of marriage evolved in Sara Sedu, Sara and Sedu/Bodo did not separate into two distinct groups. A transformation occurred within some of the clans of the society.

There appear, therefore, to be a number of factors in the development of the complexity of Sara Sedu social organization, especially with regard to the dual system of marriage. These factors are both historical and geographical, and may be summarized as follows:

1. The society of the people of Sara Sedu is located in a culturally intermediate region between the Ngadha and Nagé-Keo groups.

2. Immigrant clans from the Ngadha region were incorporated into the system of Sara Sedu by the autochthonous clans of the Sara half. The clans of Sara that incorporated these immigrants were geographically closer to and bordering on the Ngadha region.

3. Incorporation of immigrant clans from the Ngadha region occurred in the early formative stages of development of the Sara clans.

4. The clans of Sara and Sedu respectively did not separate and emerge as two distinct groups (as people of Sara and people of Sedu) due to their strong perception of being one people based on common derivation from shared Ga'é ancestors, common cosmology, and the institution of *ana tengé*/*logo*. The position of the first-born child (*ana tengé*) provides flexibility and fluidity in the complexity of social organization in Sara Sedu.

It is difficult to speculate with regard to possible future transformations in the social organization of the Hoga Sara. One possibility is an increase in the frequency of marriages with outsiders, that is, with people who fall outside the realm of Sara Sedu and its three related village confederacies (Taka Tunga, Sanga Déto, and Rowa). With the modernization occurring in Flores, this scenario is
bound to happen sooner or later. It is interesting to note that although the trans-Flores highway has been running through Sara Sedu ever since 1911, this has not brought about an openness to outsiders. Although recently more marriages have occurred with outsiders than in the past, the concentration of these marriages is still within the boundaries of the related village confederacies and those groups in the Nagé-Kéo region that claim derivation from the Ga'ë ancestors. Thus these outside marriages (both by Sara and Sedu/Bodo people) tend to be with peoples having asymmetric marriage patterns. Taking into account that marriage and group membership are inseparably linked with access to agricultural land and that land is still owned by the Sara Sedu clans and their named houses (and not privately), an alteration in marriage patterns would require not just more openness to outsiders but also a change in the ownership of land.

There still remains a lot of research that needs to be done in the Ngada regency. For a better understanding of groups in such culturally complex regions and the processes that form them, we need to know more about the historical processes that brought about the cultural diversity present in the regency and about the way in which the various groups relate to each other, their exchanges, migrations, and various other contacts. There are still many areas of the regency that remain undocumented (e.g. Riung, Mbay, eastern Kéo, and the coastal regions).

An investigation of the rites of the agricultural cycle, especially in a comparative framework, would further highlight the existing cultural complexities and lead to a better understanding of historical relations and the nature of these relations among the groups of the regency. One particular avenue of investigation could look comparatively at the ritual importance of yams (uwi). Preliminary data seems to indicate that very similar rituals (only varying in extent) are present among most groups within the regency and beyond that show a preoccupation with
this early food crop. Information on the annual ritual hunt (para witu, noé lako, toa lako) also appears to hint at certain historical relations and alliances between different groups of the regency, thus a closer examination of this major annual ritual may provide a better understanding.

Further research in the Ngada regency with a focus on 'origin structures', orders of precedence, ceremonial systems, and the local processes that formed them would further our knowledge about the different societies present in the regency and how these articulate the cultural continuum of the regency. Such studies should also provide further comparative data on Florenese and eastern Indonesian societies. This study of the society of the Hoga Sara, I hope, makes a small contribution towards these ends.

In closing, I want to suggest that this thesis may also be considered as a challenge to the common anthropological assumption implicit in Durkheim's writings that social solidarity in a society with little differentiation requires a high degree of homogeneity in its units, units that are all of one kind and are ordered in the same way or operate in the same way. These same homogeneous units -- equivalent 'segments' [clans] that are supposed to be held together by 'mechanical solidarity' -- formed the core of subsequent models for social systems.

This Durkheimian assumption was therefore propagated through both descent and alliance theories, and thus, through the works from Evans-Pritchard and Radcliffe-Brown to Lévi-Strauss, Leach, and Needham. Whereas descent theorists advocated that social organization was based on units of uniform unilineal forms of clan organization that ordered distribution of rights and duties and were the means of transmitting social status, the alliance theorists utilized these same unilineal corporate descent groups as the units of exchange (of women) in their models of social systems.
In the society of the **Hoga** Sara the units of Sara and Sedu and Bodo are not homogeneous nor are they ordered or operate in the same way in respect to their system of marriage and clan organization. Yet, there is a strong solidarity between the social units of Sara Sedu predicated on common origins and cosmology. For the **Hoga** Sara both descent and alliance are so intertwined that descent and alliance models in themselves are too simplistic (and even rigid) to provide an useful understanding of this system.

The descent model alone cannot account for the ordering of rights and duties and the transmission of social status in the clans of Sara Sedu. The alliance model, in turn, cannot explain the presence of a dual system of marriage (symmetric for Sara, and asymmetric for Sedu and Bodo) in one society. Furthermore, the intellectual endeavour of speculating in an alliance theory mode on a society's stage of transformation from a symmetric system of exchange of women to an asymmetric one (or vice versa) based on the analysis of kin terminologies and actual practices (see Needham 1966, 1968, 1970) is also not very useful in trying to understand the processes that formed the Sara Sedu system.

The evidence provided by the complexities of **Hoga** Sara social reality thus challenges some well established anthropological assumptions and paradigms, challenging models that were subsequently relied upon by various schools of thought in anthropology.
APPENDIX

CHAPTER ONE:

1.) The local text of the myth of common ancestral derivation from the Ga'ë siblings and their parents of the Hoga Sara, Hoga Aré, Hoga Taka and Hoga Rowa is as follows:

Da wunga wunga ebu ngata pu'u So'a.
Fai ngata bu'e Naru.
Hoga ana haki mori lima zu'a né'é ana finé ga'ë mori
lima zu'a: Géra Ga'ë, Robé Ga'ë, Kéa Ga'ë, Lapé Ga'ë,
Gaja Ga'ë, Géga Ga'ë, Bha'i Ga'ë, Pénu Ga'ë,...
[J'a'o rébho.]
Pu'u Gaja né'é Géga né'é Lapé dhoro Hoga Taka.
Pu'u Kéa né'é Robé dhodho Hoga Rowa.
Hoga Aré dhodho pu'u Géra Ga'ë.
Nanga weta go Géra.
Oba doa go Géra.
Pu'u Nanga né'é Oba dhodho woé Bolo.
Pu'u Robé dhoro Hoga Sara.
Ana Robé tau fai Sogé.
Sogé da ebu Hoga Sara Hoga Sedu.
Kedho susu léwa weta go Robé.
Kedho dhoro pu'u Sa'o Nanga Mézé pu'u lau Sanga
Déto.
Kedho weta go Oba.
Dhake haksi go Kedho.
Pu'u Kedho pu'u Dhake dhoro Hoga Sedu.
Hoga Solo dhodho pu'u Bha'i.

Nua Robé Gaé zélé Tadi Bheto. Nua dhe liko bheto,
zélé Lebi Ngina. Dia dhe musu péra. Ola kobé siba
punu fai ngata Ga'ë:
"Ga'ë wasa poa ala ngagha, bélé lima lema esa
wari."
"Wa robé, nga'o wari kosu."
"Wela n'é ha'é, paka ana wari, bhua siba pedhé. Ngaza leza toké todo ja'o s'é'a"
"Sé'a kau edhi go'o apa?"
Robé punu:
"Kau pedhé, wela n'é pau zili mai. Nasu ngaé nga'o neng la'a."
La'a pai zélé n'é Kedho susu léwa zélé Sedu.
"Dhe nara, poa gau."
"Poa."
"Kau mai pu'u poa."
"E'é."
Imu ghubi-ghubi manu, bha'i raka.
"Dhe. Nara, nga'o mai wo'é esa." Négha la'a gao wai ana ngana.
"Ma'é weta, nga'o kélé no'é we nga'o." "Kau mai molo wa."
Siba ala wai telo manu esa terasa, t'i imu.


Nalo zélé Ledu. Nalo gho négha, t'é hëu dhesa kopa. Watu da hoga laki la'a nai.
"Bha, Robé! Kami moé dë la'a nai toto kopa?"
"Miu bha'i bhiki napu nga'o."
Nalo gho négha, t'é pau n'é péka lela. Toro-toro, bhara-bhara náma hinga.
"É, miu! La'a ala bhujá bedí zélé."

Ha'é siba nuka-nuka pai zé Loka Mézé, kili pai mena ghasi. Solo Ana Uza siba mena bo'a du'a. Siba la'a pai zélé Hobo Solo.
Ata kot ge leza to’o poa witu léwa wado teka sodi bha’i. Ge poa ge poa. Négha siba la’a pai zalé Robé Ga’é.

"Amé, kita tau nua mena mai hedha modhé. Nga’o kota ge leza waké wado wado."

"Bha! Ja’o bha’i go la’a le. Nga’o dia négha ně’č sa’o nga’o medi koē le sewi. É, kau madu to’o koē. Hé’č ja’o ngaza la’a kota nga’o dugé di tê’č mézé zaé mai sě’á. Su’u néa nga’o pai zéta."


2) The traditional agricultural calendars of the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Aré, and Hoga Rowa:
TABLE 5. TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF THE HOGA SARA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROMAN CALENDAR MONTH</th>
<th>TRADITIONAL CALENDAR MONTH</th>
<th>RITUAL AND / OR ACTIVITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. early August</td>
<td>Pari pa’a</td>
<td>Pete wole ritual -- foretells the outcome of next year’s harvest and rain fall; after harvest, directly preceding annual ritual hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. mid-August to mid-September</td>
<td>Noe lako ka’e, Noe lako azi, Noe lako leze</td>
<td>Noe lako ritual is the annual ritual hunt of the wild pigs; it is conducted in three phases in preparation for planting the fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mid-September to late September</td>
<td>Langa</td>
<td>no ritual; zego ghu or wugu ghu refers to the activity of preparing the fields for planting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. early to mid-October</td>
<td>Dodhi</td>
<td>no ritual; corn is planted (kewa/zoa hae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. mid-October to mid-November</td>
<td>Zoa/Kewe</td>
<td>Zoa/Kewe ritual, which is the ritual of planting the first field; all fields are planted during this month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. December</td>
<td>Rau mare/Rau nitu</td>
<td>Rau mare (or Rau nitu) ritual: the first weeding of the first field, ritual boundary established around the field, and the commemoration of the early food, ke’o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. early January</td>
<td>Bete Tune</td>
<td>Bete tune ritual to bring about rain; Sudu ritual (traditional boxing) of the Benu-Nai subclan of woe Kaki;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late January</td>
<td>Reba</td>
<td>Reba ritual (yam feast) only for immigrant clans deriving from Naru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. mid-January</td>
<td>Ka Ngawo</td>
<td>Ka ngawo rite -- the eating of the left over old rice from the planting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. late January</td>
<td>Sepa Uta</td>
<td>Sepa Uta or Sepa Kobo rite -- the eating of newly available vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. February</td>
<td>Logo Nguza</td>
<td>only woe Bhoke Heke of Sedu has Ka uwi (eating yam) ritual; time for harvesting new corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. late February to mid-April</td>
<td>Logo Waja</td>
<td>no rituals; fields are harvested of all corn and the making of palm leaf mats is started</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. mid-April to mid-June</td>
<td>Keti pu'i</td>
<td>Keti pu'i (rice harvest) ritual including rites of papi, dhami, and sele; all fields must be harvested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. July</td>
<td>Dhutu Futa</td>
<td>Dhutu Futa rite: a form of thanksgiving and a request for a successful new year; commemorates uwi, ke'o, and hae lewa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table 6. Traditional Agricultural Calendar of the Hoga Taka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman Calendar Month</th>
<th>Traditional Calendar Month</th>
<th>Ritual and/or Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. July</td>
<td>Reba (L)Eke Watu</td>
<td>Pete wole ritual to foretell outcome of next year’s harvest; then Reba (L)Eke Watu ritual (traditional boxing); both rituals are in preparation for the new planting season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. August to mid-September</td>
<td>Noe (L)Ako ka’e, Noe (L)Ako azi, Noe (L)Ako leze</td>
<td>three phases of the annual ritual hunt (Noe lako); for wild pigs in preparation for the planting season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mid-September</td>
<td>Bato</td>
<td>Bato ritual--predicts rainfall for next year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. late September</td>
<td>Nei Kaju</td>
<td>no rituals, fields are prepared for planting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. early October</td>
<td>Bo Kewe</td>
<td>Bo Kewe ritual -- ritual planting of first rice (ngagha/kosu) field; general planting activities of all fields commence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. early to mid-November</td>
<td>(L)Anga Ria</td>
<td>no rituals; planting activity continues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. mid-November to mid-December</td>
<td>(L)Anga Re’e</td>
<td>no rituals; planting activity continues but it is too late to start planting a new rice field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Phase</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. late December</td>
<td>Hede</td>
<td>no rituals; all seven crops (rice <em>ngagha/kosu</em>), corn (ho), sorghum (ho lewa), Job's tears (ke'o), millet (wete and gheda) and all sorts of beans (hobho) should have been planted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. early to mid-January</td>
<td>Sawi</td>
<td>Sawi ritual -- first weeding of the first rice field; then <em>Reba gua du'a</em> ('Reba custom of the hillbillies' or the Ngadha') ritual (yam feast) by immigrant clans derived from Naru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. late January to early February</td>
<td>(L)Oge Ngura</td>
<td><em>Puge Uta</em> and <em>Ria kobho</em> rituals -- first eating of leaves of beans, then the eating of new beans; general activity of harvesting new corn and vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. mid-February to mid-March</td>
<td>(L)Oge Wafa</td>
<td>no rituals; all corn is harvested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. late March to early May</td>
<td>Ketu Kua</td>
<td><em>Keti kua</em> rite of rice harvest including the dheme rite; harvest activities begin in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. May to early June</td>
<td>Ketu Kai</td>
<td>all harvest activities finished; <em>Tabha Ke'o</em> rite is performed (giving thanks for the harvest and eating of Job's tears)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROMAN CALENDAR MONTH</td>
<td>TRADITIONAL CALENDAR MONTH</td>
<td>RITUAL AND/OR ACTIVITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. mid-July</td>
<td>Pete wole</td>
<td>Pete wole ritual -- foretells results of next year's harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. early August</td>
<td>Pepu Bagu</td>
<td>Pepu rite in preparation for the annual ritual hunt, practicing aim, anointing jaws of wild pigs from last year's hunt with chicken blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mid-August to mid-September</td>
<td>Noe lako ka'e, Noe lako azi, Noe lako leze</td>
<td>three phases of the (Noe lako) annual ritual hunt of wild pigs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. September</td>
<td>Bato</td>
<td>Bato rite -- foretelling next year's rain fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. mid-September to early October</td>
<td>Pega</td>
<td>no rituals; preparation of fields for planting, and then corn is planted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. late October to end of November</td>
<td>Kewe</td>
<td>Kewe ritual -- first rice (pare/kosu) field is ritually planted; general planting activities start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. mid-December</td>
<td>Ngao nitu</td>
<td>Ngao nitu ritual entailing the rites of di'i dhiri and pako ke'o -- first weeding and ritual marking off the boundaries of the rice field; yam (uwu) and Job's tears (ke'o) are consumed in ritual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 7. TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF THE HOGA ARE IN SANGA DETO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. late December to early January</td>
<td>Moku Ae Uza</td>
<td>no rituals; food is short and only banana is available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. early January</td>
<td>Sudu</td>
<td>Sudu (traditional boxing ritual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. February to mid-April</td>
<td>Boga</td>
<td>no rituals; weeding and tending the fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. late April</td>
<td>Pau Bulo/Poka Bulo</td>
<td>Pau bulo and Poka bulo rites of readying the tube of bamboo and water for the cooking of new rice for the Geki rite; general preparations for the up-coming harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. late April to mid-June</td>
<td>Keti</td>
<td>Keti (harvest)rite with the Geki rite; all fields are harvested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. late June</td>
<td>Dhoku Bupu</td>
<td>Dhoku bupu rite -- gives thanks for the harvest and is a preparation for the burning of the fields in preparation for the new year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROMAN CALENDAR MONTH</td>
<td>TRADITIONAL CALENDAR MONTH</td>
<td>RITUAL AND / OR ACTIVITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. late July</td>
<td>Pete Wole</td>
<td>Pete wole rite -- foretells next year's harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. August</td>
<td>Noe lako ka'e, Noe lako azi</td>
<td>first two phases of the annual ritual hunt (Noe lako)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. early to mid-September</td>
<td>Noe lako leze</td>
<td>third phase of the ritual hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. mid- to late September</td>
<td>Bato</td>
<td>Bato rite -- foretells rain fall for next year; fields are prepared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. early October</td>
<td>Kewe</td>
<td>Kewe rite -- ritual eating of nearly raw rice from banana leaf at the uma nitu, ritual centre of the first rice field; the general planting of corn begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. mid-October to late November</td>
<td>Zoa</td>
<td>Zoa planting rite of first rice (ngagha/kosu) field; general planting of all crops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. late November to mid-December</td>
<td>Rau rego</td>
<td>Rau rego rite -- first ritual weeding of the rice field (involve the sprinkling of millet [wete and ghadho])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. mid-January</td>
<td>Hisa</td>
<td>Hisa rite -- eating of yam (uwi) and banana (moku) calling the disappeared water buffalos back; a preparation for the up-coming boxing rite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. late January</td>
<td>Sudu</td>
<td>Sudu ritual -- traditional boxing; beginning harvest of new corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. February to March</td>
<td>Sobhe kubu</td>
<td>Sobhe kubu rite -- eating first new vegetables and corn; the rest of the corn is harvested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. April to mid-May</td>
<td>Keti</td>
<td>Keti (harvest) rite of rice; all fields are harvested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. mid-May to late May</td>
<td>Mozo Ngora</td>
<td>harvesting of Job's tears (ke'o); ka ke'o ritual [thanksgiving for harvest]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. June</td>
<td>Teke Kono</td>
<td>harvesting of millet (wete); Solo clan holds Ladu wete ritual [thanksgiving for harvest]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3) A version of the myth on which the annual ritual hunt (Noé lako) is based.


Mother Wio is from Poré. One day she went to the gardens. The brother stayed in the village. She was tending her many chickens. As evening fell she started returning to the village. But half way home she remembered that she left the chickens (free, in the open) in the garden. Mother Wio then returned to the garden.

As she arrived in the garden, it was full with wild pigs. She right away went inside the garden hut. But the pigs were poking around very near the hut. Mother Wio then climbed up inside the pago (storage platform raised on tall
posts in front of the hut). Up inside the pago she then gathered together the gourds and Job's tears. The wild pigs then went inside the garden hut. They ate up the corn and rice shortly. Finished eating, they then went for the pago. Mother Wio threw them some Job's tears. After they finished that, she then threw them the gourds. After they ate all the gourds they started to chew away at the posts of the pago. Mother Wio fell with the pago, (the pigs) then ate Mother Wio. Only her hair and dake (spiral copper arm-band) remained. The dake snaged on the post of the hut.

The next morning Reku and Rédé were looking for her. Reku and Rédé were the brothers of Mother Wio. They looked and looked and looked for Mother Wio but only found the hair and armband. He then said: "Her hair is here. But where is Mother Wio? Perhaps she is dead already."

He went to search for the wild pigs. Searched and searched and searched but did not find. Then searched til Rogé One. They found inside the cave of Roga all the wild pigs gathered together. The brother then called on the people of Sara Sedu, Rowa, Taka Tunga, Aré, So'a, Nágé and Toda Belu to sharpen (tips of spears) and to decorate (the shafts of the spears with) horse hair for killing all the wild pigs. They could not enter the Roga Hill, in a short time it became dark.

During the day they found a monkey in the large pulu bamboo tree. They shot it with the blowpipe, but it did not die. The tip of arrow got stuck up there. They then cut down the pulu tree. The pulu tree fell and the wild pigs all came out (from the whole in the ground for the roots), thousands were hacked up, many were killed. Only two were left, a female and a male. They addressed: "Don't! Wait for the right moon, you ready the the spears by the wide teeth of the comb (i.e. the used for counting the moons). Prepare the zaké (equipment for horse) and the rice pack, exchange (barter) with sugarcane. You will do a traditional feast".
4) An example of the phases of the moon as recounted in Sara Sedu.

PHASES OF THE MOON IN A LUNAR MONTH IN SARA SEDU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WULA POTA</th>
<th>-no moon is visible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WULA BE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAXING MOON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Dara roka</td>
<td>-no moon but slight brightness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pe'i sua</td>
<td>-small sickle moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Se Be</td>
<td>-explained as the positions of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the moon in the sky as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>observed by tilting one's head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>backwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Be zua</td>
<td>-the last phase (zetu) requiring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Be Telu</td>
<td>the head to be fully tilted back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Zetu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| WULA GILI  | -a small, almost full moon, |
|            | visible at the lower end of the |
|            | sky                          |
|            | -full moon                   |
| 7. Pepi I'e|                     |
| 8. Gili Mobho|                     |

| WULA REPA  | - first night after full moon |
|            | -second night after full moon |
|            | -third night after full moon  |
|            | -fourth night after full moon |
| WANING MOON|                     |
| 9. Se Peze |                     |
| 10. Repa Zua|                     |
| 11. Repa Telu|                     |
| 12. Repa Lema|                     |

NOTE: Most agricultural rituals would begin on the third night of the waning moon, Repa Telu, or the morning after Repa Telu. Lema means 'shaded', 'partially hidden'.

CHAPTER THREE:

The texts of two versions of a myth concerning first planting and the sa'o saka pu'u:

1. Kaki né'é Mégo

toto zoa. Négha kena nara ngata siba punu ngaza: "Kau olo zoa
bhoji juju dia. Gau da weta. Ele! Ja'o ma'ë [hak] mu dia gau da
ka'ë.'"

Négha kena da weta gha nga zoa. Négha, siba punu: "Ja'o
bu'ë Benu benu." Négha kena da nara siba punu: "Kena ala si
gau bhogi juju. Kau ka'ë ja'o azi." Papa weta në'ë nara da rau
uma kena nara dia da weta da ka'ë.

Da nara dia da ka'ë, mesi bha'i zaë da ka'ë. Négha kena da
nara gha nenga né go bhogi juju ngata siba mula në'ë [batas]:
Watu në'ë da pau dhapi dhu në'ë da rau nua. Ma'ë laga pai mena,
ma'ë laga pai zaë kau meta kena, ja'o meta dia. Dhu onë méma
tolo sa'o, moë dia në'ë zaë bha'i ngé papa dheké. Ngaza moë dia
gha tolo sa'o dia bha'i ngé dheké mena, pu'u zélé tolo sa'o
[kekual] sa'o dhoró. Sa'o dhoró nge ala ngaza pu'u mema ze sa'o.
Dia go sa'o ze go sa'o bha'i ngé ala, ele, api bha'i ngé papa kabhé.

Ngata siba punu: "Ele! logo ma'ë papa sasi." Da nara punu:
logo kita ma'ë papa sasi," (moede, ma'ë gha papa dheké.) Bhogi
juju kena dhano tuka da nara bha'i gho ngé téi bhogi juju.

2. Kewé

Da wunga-wunga Dhaké la'a pai zili bhagi tana. Wengi
Dhaké la'a bhagi tana dia ola kewé gha rémo. Négha kena toto
masi woë la'a lau uma në'ë siba toto kewé. Hoga sa'o kita bodha
kézé wi Dhaké wado pu'u zili. Hoga sa'o dhano kézé. Négha kena
da weta si Keli gha nga kewé. Négha kena da nara dhano kézé.
Dhaké wo'é bha'i wado, da nara kézé. Ola kewé gha rémo da weta
bha'i kézé Dhaké wado da Keli olo kewé.

Négha kena Dhaké wado pu'u zili. Wengi da nara ngata siba
Kena Keli mesi ngé olo rémo kewé. Da weta gha nga kewé në'ë

Négha kena da nara dia da ka'ë da weta da azi, kena da nara
bha'i da ka'ë. Kena gha sa'o saka pu'u ngaza ngata Sa'o Keli go'o
sa'o saka lobo ngaza ngata da Sa'o Mopa Milo.
CHAPTER FOUR:

**AN ALTERNATIVE LIST OF SEDU KINTERMS**

(as listed by two Sedu elders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>péra</td>
<td>PPPPPP,CCCCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangé</td>
<td>PPPP,CCCCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nusi</td>
<td>PPPP,CCCCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kajo</td>
<td>PPP,CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebu</td>
<td>PP,CC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iné</td>
<td>M,FZ,FBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ema</td>
<td>F,FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piné</td>
<td>MZ,MBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamé</td>
<td>MB,FZH,MZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamé</td>
<td>[MBW]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doa [ka‘é-azi]</td>
<td>B<a href="m.s.">FBS,FZS,MBS,MZS</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weta</td>
<td>Z(m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nara</td>
<td>B(f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weta (m.s.)</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nara (f.s.)</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iné weta (m.s.)</td>
<td>FBD,FZD,MBD,MZD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ema nara (f.s.)</td>
<td>FBS,FZS,MBS,MZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fai</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haki</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana ana haki</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana finé ga‘é</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana doa</td>
<td>BC [BS,BD]<a href="m.s.">FBDC,FZDC,MBDC,MZDC</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana weta</td>
<td>ZC[ZS,ZD]<a href="f.s.">FBSC,FZSC,MBSC,MZSC</a>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana nara</td>
<td>ZC[ZS,ZD],FBDC,FZDC,MBDC,MZDC(m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana mamé</td>
<td>MBD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhué</td>
<td>WZH(m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dué</td>
<td>HBW(f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dué dolé</td>
<td>HW<a href="f.s.">polygamy</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>BW,ZHZ,ZHBW,BWBW,DHM,SWM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éja</td>
<td>ZHZ,ZHZH,BWZ,HB,HZH,HZ,DHF,SWF(f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipa weki</td>
<td>WZ,WBH(m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éja kéra</td>
<td>ZHZ,HZH,BWZ,BWB,BWB,BWF,DHF(m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu‘a</td>
<td>HP[HF,HM], WP[WF,WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana tu‘a</td>
<td>DH,SW,CSW,CDH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana ipa</td>
<td>HZC,HBC,WZC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana éja</td>
<td>WBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu‘a ga’é</td>
<td>WPQ,WBDH,WBSW,HPG,HBDH,HBSW,BSW,ZSW ZDH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From some additional terms and sometimes different categorisation of relatives by a couple of elders in Sedu, further contrasts with Sara kin classification emerge and again point to the asymmetry of marriage in Sedu.\(^1\) In the account of the elders FZ and FBW were NOT grouped with aunt (pinē), (FZ,FBW=|=MZ,MBW =|= 'not equal to'). FZ and FBW were equated with mother (inē), (M = FZ,FBW). In a similar manner, FB was categorized as father (ema) and not as uncle (pamē); F=FB and FB=|=MB,FZH,MZH . In this manner the two elders, thus made a distinction between the father's and mother's side. In the classification of the elders, these categorisation seems to indicate their stress on the differentiation between 'us' and 'those we marry', and thus again the asymmetry in Sedu is highlighted. However, no separate term indicates MB.

Whereas the standard kinterms classified the children of parents' siblings as brother and sister, the Sedu elders distinguished this group of kin from siblings by the terms inē weta ['mother sister'] and ema nara ['father brother']. In the alternate list of kinterms, other deviations from the standard list concern a more refined categorization of in-laws. There were several additional terms supplied in this regard, such as ipa weki [weki=body], ēja kêra [ kêra=raised roofridge], ana ipa, ana ēja, and tu'a ga'ē. Also a wider range of in-laws were listed.

The categories of ipa weki and ēja kêra included the spouses of the parents' siblings' children. Thus the spouses of cousins were separated from one's own and siblings' spouses by a marked term in contrast to the classification in the standard list where these kin were grouped together as ipa and ēja. Ipa weki and ēja kêra also distinguish the brother's spouse's siblings from the sister's spouse's siblings.

\(^1\) The two elders who gave a slightly varied version of the kin terminologies were both in their 90s, while all other informants providing Sedu terminology were 60 plus years of age. It is interesting to note that while collecting kin terminology in Sara there was no discrepancy of terms among informants whether an ordinary person or individual with specialized knowledge, nor was age a factor among adults.
This distinction appears to accord with the asymmetric system of Sedu, in which the brother's spouse's siblings would have a different house affiliation from that of the sister's spouse's siblings. In the standard list these categories of relatives are also subsumed under ipa and éja; terms which are symmetric in nature.

Ana ipa and ana éja described the spouse's sibling's children; these categories are relatives are usually not included in the standard list [some informants simply refer to these relatives as ana=child]. The category of tu'a ga'é accounts for the spouses of siblings' children and for the spouses of the children of spouse's siblings. Some informants would include these categories of relatives under ana tu'a, however this was not done so consistently to be included in the standard list. The term tu'a ga'é appears to distinguish the spouses of children in the descending line from that in the lateral lines.

Many of the other kinterms appearing on the alternate list are identical to that of the standard list, most of which are symmetric nature.
REFERENCES


Anon 1890 "De oorlog op Flores". *De Indische Gids*. 12:1782-84.


Anon 1907 "Het eiland Flores". *De Indische Gids*. 29/2:1253.


Anon 1930 *Memorie van Overgave: Militaire Memorie van West Flores.* (de patrouille gebieden van de detachementen Badjawa en onderafdelingen Ngada en Manggarai).


------- 1932 "Die Megalithenkultur der Nad'a (Flores)". *Anthropos.* p.11-63.


------- 1936 "Déva, das Höchste Wesen der Ngadha". *Anthropos.* 31:894-909.


------- 1940 "Bij de Ngada’s". *De Katholieke Missien.* LXV. no.8:265-69.


Arndt, P. 1959a "Tod und Jenseitsvorstellungen bei den Ngadha auf Flores". Anthropos. 54:370-76.

------- 1959b "Totenfeiern und Bräuche der Ngadha". Anthropos. 54:68-98.


------- 1979 "Lord, Ancestor, and Affine: An Austronesian Relationship Name". Badan Penelenggara Seri NUSA. Jakarta.

------- 1938 "Het Kind in Ngada". De Katholieke Missien. p.129-34.


Clamagirand, B. 1975 "La Maison End (Timor Portugais)". Asie du Sud-est Monde Insulindien. 6:35-60.


Cunningham, C. 1964 "Order in the Atoni House". Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde. 120:34-68.


Dietrich, S. 1989 *Kolonialismus und Mission auf Flores (ca.1900-1942).* Hohenschöflarn: Klaus Renner Verlag.


-------- 1989a "The Pa Sese Festival of the Nage of Bo'a Wae (Central Flores)". *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde.* 145:490-519.


------- 1992d "Descent, Derivation and Hierarchy in Central Flores, or 'Down and out in Nage and Keo". Seminar paper read at Australian National University.


Hamerster, M. 1927 "Flores from East to West". *Interocean*. 8:417-23.


ten Kate, H. 1894 "Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Timor Gruppe". International Archiv für Ethnographie. 7:242-72.

------- 1895 "Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Timor Gruppe". International Archiv für Ethnographie. 8:1-16.


de Klerck, E.S. 1938 History of the Netherlands East Indies. v.II. p. 471-2, 384. Rotterdam: W.L. & Brusse N.L.


Koster, F. 1938 Memorie van Overgave: Memorie van Overgave den afredend Controleur Ngada.


Needham, R. 1966 "Terminology and alliance, I: Garo, Manggarai". Sociologus. 16:141-157


Prior, J.M. 1988 *Church and Marriage in an Indonesian Village: A Study of Customary and Church Marriage among the Ata Lio of Central Flores, Indonesia, as a Paradigm of the Ecclesial Interrelationship between Village and Institutional Catholicism*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang.


------- 1938 "Redding". *De Katholike Missien*. p.74-5.

Schoorlemmer, G. 1926 "Rond mijn Statie". *De Katholike Missien*. p.70-73.


--------- 1931 "De Goei van een Missiostatie". *De Katholieke Missien*. p.33-36, 75-76, 96-98.


--------- 1990 *Dictionary of Plant Names in the Lesser Sunda Islands*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.


------- 1890b "Ethnographische Notizen über Flores und Celebes". International Archiv für Ethnographie. Supplement to vol.III.


Wurm, S.A. & Wilson, B. 1975 *English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages (post Brandstetter)*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.

Comparison of the Hoga Sara culture and that of the three related village
confederacies of Taka Tunga, Rowa, and Sanga Déto with the Ngadha and Nagé are
based primarily on comparative data collected during my field research from these
two neighbouring groups. Although published data is available on the Ngadha social
organization and religious life in the writings of Paul Arndt (1929a, 1931, 1936, 1937,
1954), there are many the cultural elements that are either not discussed or are
inaccurate in his various publications. Comparisons made between the Hoga Sara and
the Nagé is based, in the first instance, on comparative data I have collected in Nagé
and on publications by Forth (1989a, 1992d, 1993c), and in the second instance, on
personal communications (mostly of a verbal nature) with Forth during a period of
five years (1989 to 1994).

The distinction between the cultures of the Hoga Sara and the Ngadha and
Nagé was necessary on comparative grounds. Furthermore, the explicit cultural
contrasts drawn by the subjects of this work themselves (and by the three related
village confederacies) to their eastern and western neighbours, in order to define their
own identity, also required some of the comparisons discussed throughout the
dissertation and especially in Chapter One.

While lacking a collective self-referential name for themselves, the four village
confederacies in this way define not only their identity in contrast to the Ngadha and
Nagé, but also their “cultural boundary” between themselves and these two other
peoples. The four related peoples thus attempt to “bound” themselves. Furthermore, by explicitly contrasting various key elements of their culture to those of their neighbours in carving out an identity, they represent themselves as transitional between the two.

The four village confederacies especially contrast those elements in which their neighbours clearly differ (i.e. extra-Flores derivation, weaving and well-developed rice cultivation in the past, a system of ranking), and cultural elements that on the surface might appear to be the same but take on a different expression from those of either Ngadha or Nagé in form and meaning within their own cultural systems. These latter distinction explicitly refer to the structure of annual ritual calendar, to social organization with regard to clan composition, clan and village formation, symbols of identity (such as the madhu and pêu), system of marriage, and system of land ownership among other things.

Indeed, the four groups are on a continuum between both the Ngadha and Nagé with respect to shared cultural elements that are exhibited in different configurations among the Hoga Sara, Hoga Taka, Hoga Rowa, and Hoga Aré. If the Ngadha and Nagé are taken as two well-defined poles on this continuum, then the four village confederacies may be considered as intermediate between these two. As the discussion of Hoga Sara system of marriage and kin classification shows these peoples maybe regarded as transitional between the Ngadha and Nagé. As evidenced from Arndt’s writings system (1954:167-169) and data I have collected in various Ngadha villages, the Ngadha system of kinship is clearly a symmetric one. Forth (1993c:119) describes the Nagé system as combining features of both the systems of Ngadha and Ende, which is asymmetrical and prescriptive, and thus falling between the two. On a smaller scale of comparison the Hoga Sara system possesses features of both the Ngadha and Nagé systems of classification and in a similar vein can be
considered as intermediary or transitional between the two. Such intermediary position between Ngadha and Nagé also characterizes other aspects Hoga Sara culture, as have been shown in this work, and particularly drawn attention to in the explicit contrasts drawn with these two neighbours of the people of Sara Sedu (see chapters one, three, five, and conclusion).