TANA WAI BRAMA

A Study of the Social Organization of an Eastern Florenese Domain

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Except where cited in the text, this work is the result of research carried out by the author.

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Errata

page vii, line 15. Mr Oscar → Mr Oscar Pareira
page viii, line 8. His → his
page 1, line 13. 1950) are → 1950), are
page 10, line 10. ethnography → ethnography
page 25, line 24. déun imun → imun déun
page 87, line 14. counterpresentations → counterprestations
page 87, line 20. Ata Ai → Ata Tana Ai
page 118, line 5. would been → would have been
page 124, last line. performance → performance
page 159, line 1. clans in sukun → clans is sukun
page 163, line 12. granery → granary
page 164, line 9. Pigs are → Domestic pigs are
page 167, line 25. people → people
page 184, line 25. members → members
page 191, line 11. waelth → wealth
page 191, line 15. accountrements → accoutrements
page 219, line 16. fluidity → fluidity
page 279, line 29. performance → performance
page 298, line 11. just → must
page 315, last line. mother's brother's → mother's sister's
page 319, line 29. provocative → provocative
page 375, line 9. gradens → gardens
page 432, line 9. hawaon? → hawon?
page 439, line 1. buwu → wulu
page 448, last line. might → mighty
page 466, line 17. prescriptive → prescriptive
page 481, line 23. guord → gourd
page 494, line 48. Kawong → Hawong
page 495, line 83. unen → umen
page 495, line 83. mapan → napan
page 498, line 161. epan → hepang
page 499, line 215. tubu → tuba
page 552, note 5. kidup → hidup
page 554, note 19. lewis → Lewis
Abstract

Tana Ai is the mountainous border region between the culture areas of Sikka and East Flores in the eastern part of Flores, one of the Lesser Sunda Islands of Indonesia. The Ata Tana Ai, "People of the Forest Land", speak a dialect of the Sikkanese language but possess forms of social organization, economy and religion that set them apart from the peoples of central Sikka.

Tana Ai is divided into seven ceremonial domains, each with a "source of the domain" in whom is vested ritual authority over the earth. Tana Wai Brama is the largest of these domains. The people of Tana Wai Brama are divided into one "source" and four "core" clans. Clans are composed of "houses" (maternal descent groups). Houses are exogamous and are the units of the alliance systems of the domain.

It is argued that the society of Tana Wai Brama is characterized by two complementary systems of alliance. The first is the system of ceremonial relations of the clans that comprise the domain. The ceremonial system is founded in myths of the origins of the clans with respect to the ancestral founders of the domain. The ceremonial system is enacted in rituals of the domain which are the responsibility of male ritual specialists and provide an arena for political discourse within the domain. The second system of alliance is found in the affinal relationships that bind together the houses of
the domain. Houses consist of consanguineally related women and their brothers. Jural authority within the houses and clans of the domain is vested in headwomen who decide matters pertaining to land and gardens, the principal economic resources of the Ata Tana Ai. The description of the arrangements by which ritual authority and jural authority are apportioned between men and women of the community informs the argument of the thesis. The ideological foundations of the social order are sought in the analysis of classifications expressed in myth and ritual. The ideology of the Ata Tana Ai is found both to account for the origins of the system of dual classifications that are expressed in ritual and social relations and to provide a means for reducing the divisions of the culture to a monadic unity. The Ata Tana Ai express this reduction in social transactions and in metaphor as the "return to the source" by which things and persons separated in accordance with social classifications are reunited.
Acknowledgements

The research reported here had its inception in a seminar presented by Dr James J. Fox at Brown University in the autumn of 1973. I wish to thank Profs Philip E. Leis and Robert R. Jay for enabling me to spend the spring of 1975 commuting to Cambridge in order to read eastern Indonesian ethnology with Dr Fox.

Fieldwork and writing were carried out with the support of a Research Scholarship in the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University. Mrs Henny Fokker-Bakker, Mrs Ita Pead and Mrs Ria Van de Zandt have contributed in divers ways to making my stay in the Research School of Pacific Studies enjoyable and productive. I wish to thank Mrs Ann Buller, the secretary of the Department of Anthropology, for her time and patience in the face of demands made by me both while in the field and while in residence in Canberra.

Field research on Flores was conducted with the sponsorship of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (National Center for Language Development) and under the auspices of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Indonesian Institute of Sciences). To Dr Amran Halim of the PPPB and the staff of LIPI I wish to express my appreciation of their support.

The advice, criticism, encouragement and tuition
of many people have contributed to my research on Sikka and to this thesis. Profs J.D. Freeman and R.M. Keesing have provided both intellectual stimulation and moral support during the past five years. Dr Kirk M. Endicott and Dr Michael W. Young read and commented on parts of the early draft. Mr Greg Acciaioli read an early draft of sections on alliance and made both cogent and helpful suggestions. Mr Timothy Asch and Mrs Patricia Asch read the draft and shared with me five months of hard work in Tana Ai. Their contributions to the ethnography of the Ata Tana Ai will be clear when our films on the ceremonies of 1980 are released.

The assistance of many people on Flores made fieldwork there not only possible, but enjoyable. Among them are Drs Daniel W. Palle and Mr Oscar Mandalangi, B.A., of the regency government in Maumere. Both my wife and I wish to express our gratitude to Father Otto Bauer S.V.D. for his manifold assistances: nora tabé aming, epang gawang golo.

In Sikka Natar, Mo'at Mikael Manda da Cunha, Du'a Epifania Pareira-da Cunha and their children accepted us and our cat into their household and family. Mo'at Mikael and Mo'at Edmundus Pareira, who taught me Sara Sikka, were indefatigable and enthusiastic guides to their community.

In Tana Wai Brama, Mo'an Robertus Rapa Ipir Wai Brama, whom I called mamé, is remembered with respect
and affection. Mo'an Sina Ipir Wai Brama, the late Mo'an Rēnu Tapo, the late Mo'an Suban Ipir Wai Brama and Mo'an Sera Magé were my patient tutors. Mo'an Hédung Iri, and his stallion which in our service proved its reputation, befriended and defended us. Mo'an Sésu Liwu Pigan Bitak sheltered us while we were arranging our own house.

To Mo'an Koa Tapo, His wife Du'a Peni Liwu Pigan Bitak and her clan sisters, whose garden we ate, we owe special debts.

I wish to thank Larry G. Cromwell, fellow anthropologist, writer and friend, and Cherie Cromwell for many hours of companionship and good talk during the past three years.

The hand and inspiration of a very special teacher can be discerned between the lines of every page of this work. My professor for five years has been Dr James J. Fox. It was he who suggested in 1974, while I was still in the jungles of Trengganu, West Malaysia, that it was in eastern Indonesia that I really wanted to work. Dr Fox's enthusiasm for eastern Indonesia, his scholarship and devotion to his pupil are only palely reflected here.

Despite her distaste for "edges", my wife, Marian J. Obenchain, enthusiastically shared with me fieldwork and the tribulations of writing, and made Flores home for both of us. This work has benefited
inestimably from her keen perception, levelheadedness, patience and careful proofreading.

If a thesis may be allowed a dedication, this one belongs to

Mo'an Robertus Rapa Ipir Wai Brama (? - August, 1979),

TANA PUAN of Tana Wai Brama:

QUI TRANSTULIT SUSTINET.
Contents

Abstract iv

Acknowledgements vi

A Note on Language and Orthography xviii

Chapter One: Introduction
  1.1 Prefatory Remarks 1
  1.2 Flores and Nusa Tenggara Timur 14
  1.3 Sikka and Tana Ai 18

Chapter Two: Tana - The Ceremonial Domains of Tana Ai
  2.1 Introduction 36
  2.2 Tana Wai Brama 41
  2.3 Topography, Physical Features and Climate of the Tana Ai Valley 41
  2.4 The Garden Cycle 53

Chapter Three: The Origins of the World of the Ata Tana Ai
  3.1 Introduction 64
  3.2 The Myths of Creation and Separation 65
  3.3 The Myth of the Founding of the Domain 74

Chapter Four: The Source of the Domain
  4.1 Introduction 96
  4.2 The Metaphors of the Pregnant Boundary 98
  4.3 The Source of the Domain 105
  4.4 Oda and Hura: Sequence and Pattern in the Ceremonial Order of the Domain 113
Chapter Five: The Rituals of the Domain and the Ceremonial Order of Tana Wai Brama

5.1 Introduction 120
5.2 The Rituals of the Seasons 125
5.3 The *Gren*: Celebrations of the Domain 129
5.4 The *Wu'a Mahé* 140

Chapter Six: Clanship in Tana Wai Brama

6.1 Introduction 152
6.2 The *Sukun* 156
6.3 Food Taboos 162
6.4 The Pairing of Clans in Ritual Language 166
6.5 The Pairing of Clans in Mortuary Service 174
6.6 Clan Branches 180
6.7 Secular and Ritual Authority within the Clan 188
6.8 Dividing the Basket: *Sopé* and *Welut* as Idioms of Clanship 205

Chapter Seven: House and Garden

7.1 Introduction 214
7.2 Household Composition and Residence Patterns 216
7.3 The House as a Physical and Social Entity 233
7.4 The Ritual and Symbolic Order of the Garden 251

Chapter Eight: Houses and the Rituals of the Domain

8.1 Introduction 265
8.2 The Ritual Houses of the *Gren Mahé* 268
8.3 Preparations for the Gren Mahé of 1980 271
8.4 Sequence in the Organization of Gren Mahé 279

Chapter Nine: The Ideology and Idiom of Blood
9.1 Introduction 289
9.2 The Calculation of Blood 291
9.3 Lu'ur-Dolor Relationships 296
9.4 The Classification of Kin 301

Chapter Ten: The Economy of Blood
10.1 Introduction 310
10.2 Marriage and the Exchange of Father's Forelock 316
10.3 Mula Puda - The Return of the "Planted Mother" 334
10.4 The Language of Tana Ai Alliance 342

Chapter Eleven: Marriage, Alliance and the Precedence of Houses within Clans
11.1 Introduction 350
11.2 Marriage and Alliance 352
11.3 Oda: The Ordering of Houses within Clans 366

Chapter Twelve: The Ceremonial Expression of Alliance
12.1 Introduction 385
12.2 Apu Tudi Nadar Manu: The Child Exchange Ceremony 385
12.3 Wawi Arun: The Gift of the Pig's Jaw 391

Chapter Thirteen: The Clan as Ancestor Cult
13.1 Introduction 400
13.2 The Life Cycle and the Soul 402
13.3 Death and the Soul 411
13.4 Spirits 423
13.5 The Social Organization of the Death Cycle Rituals 432
  13.5.1 Burial 433
  13.5.2 Likon 441
  13.5.3 'Lo'é Unur 454

Chapter Fourteen - Concluding Remarks: Social Reproduction in an Idiom of Alliance 459

Appendix A: The Ceremonial Domains of Tana Ai 474
Appendix B: Cultigens of Watuwolon 480
Appendix C: The Language of Orientation and Time 482
Appendix D: Tota Nian Paga Tana, The Myth of the Creation of the World 490
Appendix E: Metaphorical Movement in the Myth of the Separation 501
Appendix F: Sequence of Events of and Leading to the Gren Mahé, July-November, 1980 508

Footnotes 518
Bibliography 567
Figures

2.1 The Agricultural and Annual Ceremonial Cycle 46

3.1 The Journey of the Ancestors as Recounted in the Ngeng Ngerang Sukun Ipir 86

4.1 The Morphology of the Bamboo 101

5.1 The Delegation and Diffusion of Ritual Authority in Gren Mahé 135

6.1 An Example of Hiti Karé Service 177

6.2 Lepo, Du'a Luka and Ritual Specialists of Sukun Ipir Wai Brama 206

6.3 The Branching of Sukun Liwu 209

6.4 The Succession of Residence in Lepo Liwu Pigan Bitak, Watuwolon 211

7.1 Relationships of Residents at Watuwolon (1979) 224

7.2 Membership and Residential Households of Sukun Liwu Pigan Bitak, Watuwolon 227

7.3 View of a Lepo from Wali (Left Side) 236

7.4 View of a Lepo from réta (Up-slope Side) 236

7.5 View of a Botek from Rëta (Up-slope Side) 237

7.6 View of a Mobo 237

7.7 Floor Plan of a Lepo 239 - 240

7.8 Floor Plan of a Mobo 240 - 241

7.9 Ritual Movement "To the Right" 244

7.10 The Life Cycle of the Garden 253

7.11 The Ai Pua Ceremony 257

7.12 The Plan of the Garden 259

7.13 The Boundaries and Foods of the Garden 262

8.1 The Dialectic of Ritual Performance 284
9.1 The Layered Social World of the Ata Tana Ai 289
9.2 Lu'ur-Dolor Relationships 298
9.3 Affines as Lu'ur Kin 299
10.1 Blood and the Calculation of Marriageability 315
10.2 The Return of Blood by the Marriage of MBD and FZS 322
10.3 The Inefficacy of FZD and MBS Marriage as a Means of the Return of Blood 322
10.4 An Ama 'Lo'en Transaction Involving more than Two Houses 332
10.5 The Exchange of Ama 'Lo'en and Nula Puda 337
11.1 Cases of Direct Exchange Recorded at Watuwolon 354
11.2 Relations of Alliance between Three Houses of Two Clans 368
11.3 The Organization of Houses within the Clan 370
11.4 The Precedence of Houses (Oda) of Sukun Mau 376
11.5 The Precedence of Houses (Oda) of Sukun Ipir Wai Brama 378
12.1 The Exchange of Wawi Arun 394
12.2 An Example of the Calculation of the "Mother and Father Who Take the Pig's Jaw" 396
13.1 Likon Peformed at Lepo Tana, Watuwolon, 1979 443
13.2 Likon Performed at Lepo Wélut, Sukun Ipir Wai Brama, Munéwolon, 1980 445
Maps

I. The Eastern Lesser Sunda Islands ........................................ 15
II. Kabupaten Sikka ................................................................... 22
III. The Tana Ai Region of Eastern Flores ................................. 40
IV. The Site of the Mahe of Tana Wai Brama ............................ 148
V. Kloang Watuwolon and Environs ......................................... 220 - 221
VI. The Hila-Watuwolon Region of Tana Wai Brama (July, 1979) Pocket, inside back cover

Tables

6.1 Pairing of the Clans in Ritual Language .............................. 173
6.2 Clans and Clan Branches of Tana Wai Brama ....................... 182
6.3 The Distribution of Ritual and Secular Authority in Seven Houses of Sukun Ipir Wai Brama .................................................. 207
7.1 Key to Map V, Houses and Gardens of Kloang Watuwolon and Environs ................................................................. 222
8.1 Principal Lepo of the Gren Mahe of Tana Wai Brama, November, 1980 ................................................................. 288
11.1 Summary of Genealogies from Watuwolon .......................... 357
11.2 Clan Endogamy, Exogamy and Marriages of Women as Ama 'Lo'en and Mula Puda .......................................................... 358
11.3 Affinal Relations between Houses in the Watuwolon Area .......... 360
11.4 Completed Minimal Alliance Cycles among Houses of the Watuwolon Region, Tana Wai Brama ................................. 364
Plates

Mo'an Robertus Rapa Ipir Wai Brama, *TANA PUAN* of Tana Wai Brama (1979) 110 f.

Four Ritual Leaders of Tana Wai Brama 139 f.

Women awaiting the division of rice at likon, *Lepo Tana*, Watuwolon, 1979 441 f.

The division of pigs' jaws at the likon of 1979, *Lepo Tana*, Watuwolon 441 f.
A Note on Language and Orthography

Sara Tana Ai, the language of the Ata Tana Ai, is a dialect of Sara Sikka, the Sikkanese language. Sara Tana Ai differs from central Sikkanese and the language of the village of Sikka on the south coast of Flores both in lexicon and phonology.

The phonemes of Sara Tana Ai and the orthography employed in this thesis are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ] : e</td>
<td>[æ] : ao</td>
<td>[g] : g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ou] : ou</td>
<td>[m] : m</td>
<td>[n] : n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[s] : s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[t] : t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[w] : w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ŋ] : ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔ] : '</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Glottal stops are more weakly articulated in Sara Tana Ai than in the dialects of central Sikkanese. While I have endeavored to transcribe Sara Tana Ai as accurately as possible with respect to glottal stops, readers interested in the comparative linguistics and dialectology of eastern Indonesian languages should be warned that the transcriptions included in this thesis are not definitive. In all cases intervocalic glottal stops are more strongly articulated than initial and terminal stops.

The nasal velar [ŋ] and nasal alveolar [n] are distinguishable phonemes in both the dialects of central and coastal Sikkanese and Sara Tana Ai. However, in Tana Ai, terminal [n] and [ŋ] occur in free variation and are allophones of a single phoneme. In transcribing central Sikkanese I have used -ng for [ŋ], while I have, with exceptions, generally used -n for the nasal alveolar that characterizes the nominalizing suffix in Sara Tana Ai. Thus the forms puan ([pua]+[n]) and ngeng ngerang are both found in the transcriptions of Tana Ai words.

The Sikkanese language was first given written form by missionaries of the Catholic Church who have published Church liturgy, prayer books, hymnals and occasional periodicals in Sikkanese. The orthography adopted here is generally in accord with that used by Percetakan Arnoldus, the Church publishing house at Ende (see as an example Lalang Seu. Surat Ngadji Sara Sikka 1964). However, the Church orthography is inadequate
for Sara Tana Ai in some respects. It does not distinguish the phonemes [ɛ] and [e]. And it employs two symbols, ['] and ["] for the glottal stop. I have indicated all stops by ['], but have not distinguished [ɛ] and [e] graphemically.

The reader will encounter in the text verb forms that are identical except for initial morphemes. Verbs in Sara Tana Ai are of two forms, regular and irregular. Irregular verbs are few in number. Types of regular verbs are distinguished by various patterns of alteration of initial phonemes in accordance with person. Shifts that are encountered in the texts of Sara Tana Ai in this thesis include:

[b-] ↔ [p-]
[b-] ↔ ['w-', [w-]
[d-] ↔ [t-]
[g-] ↔ [g-]
[l-] ↔ [l-]
[m-] ↔ [ø-], [n-], [t-], [r-]
[r-] ↔ ['r-]

Italicized words in the text are of Sara Tana Ai or Sara Sikka, except where they occur in direct quotation. Words from Bahasa Indonesia, Malay and other languages are underlined except where they occur in direct quotations.
Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Prefatory Remarks

The following pages offer an account of the social organization of the people of Tana Wai Brama, one of the seven ceremonial domains that make up the region of eastern Flores known as Tana Ai.

The research on which this thesis is based began in November, 1977 in Sikka Natar (the village of Sikka) on the south coast of Flores in the regency of Sikka. The original intention of conducting an ethnographic investigation of Sikka was not formed by a specific protocol of research. To begin with, there are few published sources devoted specifically to the region of Sikka, and none of them, except for a brief survey of the Nita area (ten Dam 1950) are based on research carried out since the end of the Dutch era in Indonesia. Of the reports available, those of Arndt (1932 and 1933) are the most informative, but are not based on systematic research. They are instead the results of notes made by the author in many places and at different times over many years. While these sources provided only fragmentary information on the people of the region they nonetheless indicated that in their form the societies of Sikka are a significant
variant of patterns common to other societies of Nusa Tenggara Timur. The evidence for asymmetric exchange and the history of the rajadom of Sikka indicated that the village of Sikka would be a good starting point for anthropological research in the region. Evidence from the published accounts of the area suggested that the Sikkanese had maintained essential elements of their cultural traditions of interest to the expanding field of anthropological work in eastern Indonesia, while adapting to the changes in their social environment brought about first by the Portuguese and then by the Dutch presence in the Lesser Sunda archipelago.

Given the paucity of information on the district it seemed reasonable to eschew commitment to a particular line of research, but to allow the data to suggest, as they were recorded, specific analytical problems which might pertain to a comparative study of eastern Indonesian societies. Nonetheless I began work in Sikka with an interest in alliance, social exchange and religion. I viewed Sikka as a possible site for a productive study of religious syncretism, in which elements of an indigenous religious tradition might be found incorporated into a distinctive Christian community, and the formation of a petty state.

Accordingly, my wife and I settled in the home of a noble family in Sikka Natar within a few days of our arrival in Flores. My intention was to spend the first
few months of fieldwork learning the Sikkanese language. Soon after this work was started I began hearing stories about a mountain people, the Ata TanaAi, who inhabited the border region between Sikka and Larantuka to the east. The Ata Tana Ai, "People of the Forest Land", were described by the Sikkanese who had had contact with them as "fierce", "wild", "traditional" and "pagan". The Sikkanese themselves seemed fascinated by the stories brought back from the mountains by those of their community who had traded along the south coast of Tana Ai or who had spent time in the interior as teachers and government officials. These stories related secondhand accounts of large scale and complex festivals conducted by the Ata Tana Ai. The Sikkanese were most fascinated by tales of mass circumcisions and orgiastic rituals – the gren mahé – in which thousands of pigs are killed and their meat "left to rot in the forest". These stories I dutifully recorded in my notes as indicating a distinctively Sikkanese view of another and alien domain. But I discounted them as exaggerated. Certainly there was nothing in the published record to indicate the customs recounted by these travellers to Tana Ai.

In the literature on Flores the Tana Ai region is mentioned hardly at all. Arndt's descriptions of the area were in no way remarkable, perhaps because they were based on secondhand accounts of the region, and in any case, it seems that Arndt never visited the mountains himself. He
never suggested in his books that Tana Ai is in any way fundamentally different from central Sikka, and in his treatment of ritual in Tana Ai he implied that much of what he was writing about no longer existed. In other accounts of the region Tana Ai is mentioned only as one among many administrative districts of the region of Sikka, one in which the Sikkanese seem to have had few direct dealings. In preparing for field work I had come across a brief, undated typescript account of "Agama Kapir di Flores Sikka Maumere" ("Pagan Religion in Flores Sikka Maumere") written by a Sikkanese noble in the service of the last raja (Kondi n.d.a.). 2 A larger, untitled work by the same author on the history of the rajadom of Sikka (Kondi n.d.b.), while useful in some of its details, was largely biased in favor of the Sikkanese, uncritical and generally lacking in information of the sort from which a social anthropologist might construct a clear picture of the peoples of the region and variations between their communities. I had thus discounted the short article on religion in Tana Ai as a speculative reconstruction of a religious system that had ceased to exist in the face of Catholic missionary activity. The short work, had I taken it more seriously, and a more careful reading of Arndt might better have prepared me to expect greater diversity within the region. But my sights were set on Sikka.

By December, 1977 I had established that the Sikkanese are largely patrilineal and it was with considerable
interest that I heard my language teacher tell me that the Ata Tana Ai recognize "hak ibu", "the rights of the mother", and are "matriarkal" in their reckoning of descent. With that bit of information, and knowing that the Ata Tana Ai spoke a variant of the Sikkanese language, I determined to visit the mountains as soon as possible.

An opportunity to visit the village of Pruda on the south coast of Tana Ai occurred in late January, 1978. Although January and February are the height of the rainy season on Flores, and the season of storms, the man with whom we were living was determined to inspect his coconut plantations at Pruda, and I decided to accompany him on his trip. At that season the road connecting Maumere and Larantuka is usually severed at several places along the north coast by rain swollen rivers, and the prevailing westerly winds and storms make travel by sampan along the south coast impracticable. To get to Pruda we took a truck as far as Waigeté on the north coast, where a bridge had collapsed, and then walked across the island to Rung on the south coast. From Rung we walked to Pauklor in the mountains above Pruda, and then to Pruda itself. It rained during the whole of this journey and storms kept me in Pruda for two weeks. I was able, however, to speak with Ata Tana Ai at Pruda and learned enough to determine that their language was a dialect of the Sikkanese language and to confirm many of the stories about Tana Ai that I had heard in Sikka. On the walk from Pruda across the island
and down the Tana Ai valley I visited several clan and ceremonial houses of the traditional design which no longer exists anywhere in central Sikka and became convinced that the Ata Tana Ai maintained both their traditional clan organization and religion. With this evidence it seemed imperative that I spend at least some time in Tana Ai.

Accordingly, I made a second trip to Tana Ai in April, 1978, intending to visit all the desa (municipalities) in Kecamatan Talibura, the administrative district that includes all of Tana Ai. I had planned to spend two or three weeks visiting the villages of Uru, Werang, Wolometan, Pruda and Natarmagé (see Map III). Upon arriving in Desa Werang I immediately began to gather very interesting information from several older men who expressed an interest in my work when its purpose was explained to them. I thus spent several days in the village of Hila and the surrounding area, and determined before returning directly to Sikka, that it had promise as a field site.

My wife and I arrived in Hila in May and set up housekeeping in an abandoned structure designed as a meeting place for the desa. Here we spent two dry seasons (May through December, 1978 and April through August, 1979), returning to Sikka to continue work there during the rainy season of 1978-1979. I thus ended my first field work on Flores having spent nine months in Sikka and thirteen months in Tana Ai. An additional five months of field work in
Tana Ai in 1980 was devoted to filming the *gren mahé* and other rituals and to supplementing data on social organization from the first trip. Except for very brief visits to other parts of the valley the whole of my field research has been conducted in the area around the triangle formed by Hila Natar, Watuwolon and Watulaban in Tana Wai Brama. The limited geographical range of the research was the result of several characteristics of the Ata Tana Ai themselves. Principally, while they are hospitable, the Ata Tana Ai of my acquaintance are reserved with strangers, especially regarding matters of *hadat* (custom, traditions) and their rituals. We were told by the people of Watuwolon that never before had Europeans come to live in their valley, and certainly we were the first ever to visit the clan and ritual houses of Tana Wai Brama. Being uncertain of our intentions in coming to Tana Wai Brama, they demanded of us clear evidence that I was neither a priest nor a government official before I was allowed to inquire into matters which they largely consider to be of no concern to the outside world.

In addition, the locality to which work was restricted encompassed the *mahé*, the central *kloang* (hamlet of ritual and clan houses) of the domain, and the homes of the principal chanters and ritual specialists of Tana Wai Brama. Most importantly, the area was the home of the *tana puan* ("source of the domain") of Tana Wai Brama who became one of my principal informants and close friend. It was through the *tana puan*, for whom
I came to be a means for recording the history of his domain, that I was introduced to the leaders of the community, and without his patronage my access to the expressive cultural life of the Ata Tana Ai would have been considerably circumscribed.

Thus my data on Tana Ai lacks breadth in certain areas which I consider crucial to a broad understanding of the organization of the domain. For example, I have to date been unable to conduct a first-hand survey of all the clan and ritual houses of the domain, nor have I had the opportunity to meet ritual leaders from other parts of the valley on their home ground. While I have met most of them, it has only been on occasions when they were at Watuwolon to arrange or conduct rituals or were preoccupied with political matters. Given the exigencies of the matters that brought them to Watuwolon, I have been largely denied the opportunity to put to them questions I have regarding their roles in the tana and to get to know them better. On the other hand, by working exclusively in one locality, I was able to begin learning ritual language and, in the end, was able to attend most of the rituals that occurred in our community during the second and third seasons of field work. I thus have had more direct access to the essential themes of Tana Ai culture than would have resulted from a more peripatetic style of field work. All field work is perhaps based on such compromises. The justification for my choice is that three of my mentors
in the "histories" of the domain have died since 1979, while I can still return to Tana Ai to survey ritual houses.

Research in Tana Wai Brama was carried out both in Malay and Sara Tana Ai, the Tana Ai dialect of Sikkanese. Most of the men of Tana Wai Brama speak Malay, though older men and most women have at best a passive understanding of that language. As a result, I was forced to master Sara Tana Ai. The people of the area found my lowland Sikkanese quite humorous, and it was not until the second season in the mountains that I developed fluency in the Tana Ai dialect (after which it was the people of Sikka Natar who found my Sikkanese amusing). With three informants in particular I was able to use Malay in interviews. With them I found that the use of Malay enabled them to speak more objectively about their lives and community. Some of my very best material is the result of conversations with these men conducted in Malay on the subject of Sara Tana Ai.

Upon returning to Canberra in 1979 I set out to write a comparative study of these two very different peoples, the Ata Tana Ai and the Ata Sikka, who share a language and many culture traits. This project was set aside when I decided that the ethnography of Sikka Natar must take into account its remarkable history, about which I have too little information. Furthermore, the Ata Tana Ai, despite the close relationship of their language to that of Sikka,
have proved to be sufficiently distinctive on ecological, historical and social grounds to merit ethnographic treatment separate from the central Sikkanese. Thus I here present an account of the Ata Tana Ai alone, with the intention of describing the southern and central Sikkanese in the future.

My subject in this initial ethnographic account of Tana Ai is the social organization of Tana Wai Brama, the largest and most important of the seven ceremonial domains of Tana Ai. I intend not a total ethnography, but to provide a framework by which work that will follow can be organized. My approach is structuralist, by necessity I believe, and presented in this form with the conviction that structural analysis is a legitimate and useful means to a more comprehensive end: an ethnography in which, ultimately, the Ata Tana Ai may speak for themselves. Topics and features of Tana Ai culture addressed here are those which are clearest in my notes and to which I can assign the greatest certainty. Thus I treat kinship, alliance and the hierarchical order of Tana Ai society, but have not attempted a systematic description of Tana Ai religion, which is of considerable interest, because too much of the fundamental nature of the religion remains unclear to me and will require more investigation.

Anthropological research in Nusa Tenggara Timur has, since 1935, contributed much to our understanding of
alliance and exchange systems. In particular, the theoretical literature on problems of asymmetric alliance, prescription and dual organization has been enriched by the ethnography of Nusa Tenggara Timur, especially in the past twenty years. While I was steeped in that literature before going to Flores, I tried as much as possible while in the field to bracket the details of scientific debates which have centered on the common features of eastern Indonesian societies. To the extent that any student who has received formal training in anthropological theory and research methods can disregard his education, I attempted from the beginning to inquire into matters that presented themselves in the course of daily life in Tana Ai, and not to seek information bearing directly on the sometimes limited issues characteristic of the literature of the region. That I am able in this work to use the terms "alliance", "dualism" and the like is because these words are reasonable translations for categories which I found to characterize the thought and language of the Ata Tana Ai themselves, and is a reflection both of the perspicacity of early writers on eastern Indonesia who too often worked with very little hard information, and to the quality of the scholarship of those field workers who have conducted detailed ethnographic studies in the region in the past few years. While I have not treated theoretical issues directly, the influence of discussions based on information from other societies of Nusa Tenggara Timur is clear
throughout, as I hope will be the implications of the Tana Ai material for theory. My aim has been to describe faithfully and without a priori references to theory the social system of the Ata Tana Ai, and the ideology in which it is grounded, in an idiom that will facilitate both the "mutually interpretive" ethnographic comparisons which have contributed to our knowledge of eastern Indonesia, and to the refinement of alliance and exchange theory.

As Burling (1963:6) has observed, an ethnography of the social groups of a community, their composition, internal and external relations, can proceed either from the larger, more inclusive groups to the smaller, more exclusive groups, or from the smaller to the larger. The first strategy has been employed in the organization of this thesis, for two reasons. First, the basic themes of Tana Ai culture which I seek to identify are discernible mutatis mutandis at every level of organization, as are the basic principles of the organization of the domain of Tana Wai Brama. Essential cultural themes such as male-female classifications, sequence, precedence and the mediation of centers and peripheries can be identified "on the ground" in the physical arrangements of gardens and houses or in the relationships, enacted in ritual, between descent groups. But it is at the level of the organization of the domain that these principles can best be treated as a system of ideas, that is, as an ideology.
Second, it is in terms of their ideology that the Ata Tana Ai are most strikingly distinctive, but it is also at this level that their society is most easily compared to other neighboring societies of eastern Flores and most easily placeable within the "field of ethnological study" that comprises the societies of Nusa Tenggara Timur.

This approach is fully justifiable in terms of the ethnographic data themselves. In Tana Ai the complementarity of sacred, ritual authority and secular, jural authority is not only found at given levels of organization, but is also manifested hierarchically between levels. Consanguineally related women comprise the corporate cores of descent groups — "houses" — which hold rights to land and house wealth, while men, in their capacity as ritual leaders, cross-cut boundaries between houses, both because the regulation of marriage requires them to marry out of their natal "houses", and by virtue of their service to the rituals of the domain. Clans, then, are jurally autonomous groups organized around women but are bound ceremonially into a loose confederation ruled by ritual and the men who perform it.

The disjunction between the ceremonially governed domain and its constituent clans, which is at once the most striking and most difficult to understand feature of Tana Ai social organization is most clearly identifiable by the approach taken here.
1.2 Flores and Nusa Tenggara Timur

In 1935, drawing on ethnological information from reports by officials of the Dutch East Indies government and missionaries, F.A.E. van Wouden published a thesis entitled *Sociale Structuurtypen in de Groote Oost*. Without the benefit of detailed ethnographic accounts of the societies of eastern Indonesia he postulated for the region what his thesis supervisor, J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong (1935, 1977; and P.E. de Josselin de Jong 1980) came to call a "field of ethnological study" in which van Wouden perceived a cultural core common to all societies of the southeastern Indonesian archipelago. This core consists of clan systems organized by principles of "circulating connubium" ("cross-cousin marriage in its restricted form" [van Wouden 1968:1]) which articulate corresponding systems of social classification. Here society serves as a model for "all-embracing classification" by which "cosmos and human society are organized in the same way" (ibid.:2). Van Wouden then analyzed the information available to him to argue that throughout the region, and in contradistinction to the societies of the western archipelago which lack clan systems and are ordered by cognatic or bilateral systems of kinship classification, its people all share asymmetric connubium, bipartite divisions of authority into realms of the sacred and the secular, and systems of myth and ritual which bind society and cosmos into a "totality of culture".
In the past twenty-five years the societies of what the Dutch called the Groote Oost and to which van Wouden devoted his thesis, the Lesser Sunda Islands and the Timor archipelago which together make up the modern administrative province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, have been the subjects of at least two dozen ethnographic studies. All of them have taken into account van Wouden's thesis and have had as a principal aim the description of particular systems of affinal alliance, social classification, mythology and ritual (see Fox [ed.] 1980, especially the author's "Introduction" and concluding essay). While the modern research has provided a large corpus of mutually interpretive ethnography (see P.E. de Josselin de Jong 1980:319), it has also revealed considerable and essential variation in the structures and cultures of eastern Indonesian societies.

As a result we find that clanship and alliance systems are not uniformly developed in the region and that social systems founded on a general principle of marital exchange vary widely in their structure, form and function. Thus van Wouden's thesis that every society in eastern Indonesia is structured by relationships of alliance among exogamous social groups has been confirmed, but we now know that these groups themselves can be of fundamentally different types — in some cases they are households, in others they are lineages, clans or territorial units — and that the significance and functions of alliance vary from one society to another. Formal structural similarities remain, but
they are manifested more in the realm of cultural expression, in myth, metaphors, cosmology and systems of thought, than at the level of social structure.

This is certainly true of the societies of Flores, which are centrally located within the field of ethnological study first delineated by van Wouden. The one million inhabitants of the island comprise six major ethnolinguistic regions: (from west to east) Manggarai, Ngada, Ende, Lio, Sikka and Larantuka. While showing many cultural similarities, the rugged and mountainous topography of the island and the effects of different historical influences have perpetuated and in some areas further divided an already differentiated population. In each of the six regions can be distinguished coastal populations and mountain groups. Coastal populations came under the rule of different local rajadoms which have had varying and independent relations with the outside world. Thus Manggarai and Ngada in pre-Dutch times came under the influence, if not the rule, of the Islamic sultanates of Bima (Sumbawa) and Goa (south Sulawesi). Ende was the site of an independent Muslim raja allied with Bima, while the mountain Lionese were divided among many local political domains. By the sixteenth century Larantuka and the peoples of the Solor archipelago to the east were ruled by a number of local rajas, with the raja of Larantuka gaining importance through contact and trade with the Portuguese. From Larantuka Catholicism and trade extended westward along the south coast as far
as the region of Lio, while interior groups of eastern Florenese were neither converted to Christianity nor fully incorporated into larger polities until the twentieth century. Today almost the whole of the island is nominally Catholic, and local kingdoms were dissolved within a few years after the formation of the independent Republic of Indonesia. Nevertheless the peoples of the island retain their individual languages and cultures.

1.3 Sikka and Tana Ai

The Ata Tana Ai are a branch of the Sikkanese peoples of eastern Flores. Tana Ai is the region of mountains and high valleys in the eastern part of the administrative regency of Sikka and lies at the border between Sikka and the regency of Flores Timur (East Flores) to the east. The modern regency (Kabupaten) of Sikka includes the traditional territories of peoples of three Florenese cultures, but the majority of the population is Sikkanese and is distinguishable culturally and linguistically from both the people of Larantuka to the east and the Lionese population to the west. A small enclave of speakers of the Lamaholot (Solorese) language of Larantuka and East Flores, who are called Muhang by the Sikkanese, is found along the northern coast of the Tana Ai region of Sikka. The western part of the regency is inhabited by Lionese who constitute the largest ethnic group in the neighboring Regency of Ende.
The national census of 1980 put the total population of the regency at 219,650 (Biro Pusat Statistik 1981). This number includes approximately 160,000 Sikkanese. The Sikkanese inhabit the whole of the region, including both north and south coasts, the central hills and eastern mountains, from the river Nanga Bloh in the western part of the regency to the Ili Wukoh range of mountains which forms the eastern boundary of Sikka and Flores Timur.

The Sikkanese people speak a common language, Sara\textsuperscript{3} Sikka, which Esser (1938), drawing on Jonker (1915:XI-XII), classified as one among the Ambon-Timor group of Malayo-Polynesian languages and which Dyen (1965) includes within his Moluccan Linkage of the Austronesian languages.

Three principal regions of Sikka may be distinguished on cultural, linguistic and historical grounds. The central Sikkanese who inhabit the central hills of the region include the largest portion of the population and are sometimes referred to by other people of the district as the Ata Krowé, or by the people of the village of Sikka as Ata Iwang ("hill people"). Sikkanese settlement on the north coast is relatively recent, and many communities there are of mixed population. Of the long established communities of the south coast (Lélà, Sikka and Bola), the people of the village of Sikka, from which the name of the regency is taken and to which I will refer as Sikka Natar, should be distinguished. Sikka Natar was the home of the rajas and noble families who ruled the district until 1954. They
were the first of the district to convert to Catholicism and consider themselves (and are recognized by others) to be a separate community in the district. The language of Sikka Natar is sufficiently distinctive to merit recognition as a dialect of Sara Sikka, the Sikkanese language.

The Ata Tana Ai are the third group of Sikkanese and the subject of this thesis. They are called the Ata Tana Ai ("People of the Forest Land") by the central and coastal Sikkanese, to whom the Ata Tana Ai refer inclusively as Ata Krowé, because the mountain slopes and valleys which they inhabit are more heavily forested than the lands of central Sikka which have suffered extensive deforestation.

The central and coastal Sikkanese are organized into localized descent groups of various sizes and complexity. Both men and women belong to the descent groups of their fathers and the groups are generally exogamous and exchange bridewealth on the occasions of marriages of their members. The people of Sikka Natar maintain a complex system of exchanges of ceremonial goods both among themselves and with people of other villages in the district with whom they have contracted marriages. The central Sikkanese are farmers and planters of coconut, by which they participate in the monetary economy of the island. Many central Sikkanese are traders and people of coastal villages engage in fishing. They are generally supporters of the ideology of development which has been since the beginning of this
century purveyed by the Dutch colonial government, the Catholic missionaries and more recently and effectively by the Indonesian government. The peoples of central Sikka, as well as the Muhang and Lionese populations of the regency, are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Indeed the traditions of the people of Sikka Natar recount the conversion of the first raja of Sikka to Catholicism by the Portuguese in 1552. Catholic teachers from Sikka Natar, and later European missionaries, then spread the new religion along with the Sikkanese political hegemony to the remainder of the district.

In contrast the Ata Tana Ai are organized into many small descent groups which are ordered by principles of precedence into larger, non-localized clans. Clans are ordered by relations determined by their "histories", the oral tradition in which the hadat (customs, law, traditions) are encoded and expressed in rituals which make up, along with the mutual obligations of the various clans in their performance, the ceremonial system of the Ata Tana Ai. Participation in this system and being placed in it by hadat determines the boundaries of Tana Ai society, boundaries which serve to exclude people who are not members of Tana Ai clans. Along with the exclusive organization of the Tana Ai clans, and the ceremonial system which it articulates, the Ata Tana Ai have maintained their traditional and indigenous religion despite the efforts of the government.
and the Church in the past half century to convert them to Christianity and modernization.

Also in contrast to the central Sikkanese, the Ata Tana Ai are subsistence agriculturalists, hunters and gatherers who exploit what, when compared to much of central Sikka, is a richly forested and well watered montane environment. The Tana Ai economy is based on the shifting cultivation of rice and maize with small-scale and occasional trading of copra and coffee in the weekly market at Talibura on the north coast providing some cash income.

The central Sikkanese are village dwellers who identify themselves by village residence and whose dense settlements are constructed along the sharp ridges which cut across the region of the central hills of the regency. By contrast, the Ata Tana Ai live in their gardens in single family households dispersed throughout their territory. The difference in settlement patterns between the two regions results in strikingly different senses of community.

The entire region of Tana Ai lies today within the administrative district (kecamatan) of Talibura. At Talibura are located the office of the district officer (camat) and branches of various government departments. Near Talibura at Watubaing is the church of the parish of Watubaing which includes most of the region encompassed by this study. The Ata Tana Ai, who have never settled on either the north or south coasts of their territory, have only infrequent and formal contacts with officers of the district government.
Direct contact with Europeans came much later to the Ata Tana Ai than elsewhere in Sikka. By 1879 the Dutch had established a controleur or posthouder at Maumere, with a small garrison of police, in order to govern the port there. The dagboek of the controleur for the years 1879-1907 rarely mentions the Tana Ai region and it appears that the Dutch only in the 1930s began making irregular patrols in the mountains. In 1920 the first school in the present day district of Talibura was established by the Church at Boganatar on the road which links Maumere and Larantuka. This development did not much affect life in Tana Wai Brana, however. In 1923 a teacher from Sikka Natar established a school at Pruda on the south coast, primarily intended for the children of a few Sikkanese planters who began planting coconut there early in the 1900s. The coastal region around Pruda was not at that time inhabited by Ata Tana Ai. Then in 1925 a mission station and coconut plantation was established by the Church at Nangalah. The plantation required labor and some Ata Tana Ai from lower parts of the valley settled on the coast to work the plantations, along with people from other parts of the regency. Following independence, the Indonesian government established a district office at Talibura around which has grown a village of Ata Tana Ai and migrants from other parts of Sikka.

A Catholic primary school, operated jointly by the department of education in Maumere and the Catholic mission,
was established at Hila Natar, near the border of Tana Wérang and Tana Wai Brama in 1953. Staffed by teachers from central Sikka, this school and its teachers provided the people of Watuwolon with their first continuous and most direct contacts with the outside world.

Finally, in the late 1960s, a Swiss missionary of the S.V.D. established a new parish at Watubaing, between Talibura and Nangahale, to serve the Talibura community. By 1974 this priest had established kapela (chapels) at Uru, Natarmagé, Pruda, Wolometan and Hila Natar and was making regular "patrols" of the mountains and Tana Wai Brama three or four times each year.

The Ata Tana Ai are not so isolated that their only contacts with outsiders have been with missionaries and government officials. Many young Tana Ai men travel throughout the eastern end of Flores before returning to Tana Ai to marry. These journeys produce friendships with people in other parts of the island which, later, grow into regular trading relationships. Goods traded include rice, pigs, coffee, copra and timber from Tana Ai, for which Tana Ai men obtain tuak (gin made from the juice of the Borassus palm), ikat textiles, horses and machetes. The relationships between trading partners are long-standing, personal and are spoken of as déun imun, relations of friendship. These relationships provide the Ata Tana Ai with important alliances all over Sikka and western Larantuka, and some older Tana Ai men have trading partners as distant as Lio in Kabupaten
Ende and the island of Lembata. The relationships may be inherited by the sons or sisters' sons of the men who initiate them. They are often invoked for the pleasure which travel affords, but occasionally have a more serious consequence as, for example, in 1979 when the rice crop failed in Watuwolon, many families were able to obtain seed rice for the next year's planting from trading partners in Larantuka.

Central Sikkanese informants and acquaintances, upon learning that research was being carried out in Tana Ai, often pointed out that the people of the mountains were the "most traditional" of Kabupaten Sikka and that, because of its physical isolation and inaccessibility, Tana Ai has benefited little from "progress", "development" and "religion" (i.e., Catholicism).

While it is true that the Tana Ai region is relatively inaccessible, it should be noted that the Ata Tana Ai regularly walk from the south coast to Talibura on the north coast in less than a day. People from Watuwolon are able to walk to market and return the same day. Although travel in Tana Ai is difficult, distances are not great and the remarkable integrity and exclusiveness of Tana Ai society cannot wholly be explained by its physical isolation.

Common to the societies of Nusa Tenggara Timur are systems of social and political organization,
sometimes referred to as "diarchy" or "dual sovereignty", in which secular authority is separate from but complemented by sacred or ritual authority. This was certainly true of central Sikka where the *ratu* (raja) and noble families of Sikka Natar comprised a semi-autonomous government under the Dutch, while local *tana puang*, "sources of the earth" or "sources of the domain" in whom were vested ritual responsibilities for the land within local ritual domains, retained ceremonial and traditional rights. In Sikka Natar itself the *tana puang*, who, it is said, originally sanctioned the first *ratu* Sikka, is still today considered to be the ultimate authority on matters of *hadat*.

The Sikkanese of Sikka Natar, under their rajas, came to rule over all of what is today Kabupaten Sikka and large areas of Lio to the west, an arrangement which was sanctioned by the Dutch under the policy of *zelfbestuur*, "self rule". Nonetheless the Dutch also found it an advantage to dilute somewhat the power of the rajas of Sikka by recognizing in the late nineteenth century two subaltern rajadoms, and later a third. These were the rajadoms of Nita (which was headed by a branch of the royal da Silva family of Sikka Natar), the Lionese rajadom of Paga, and Kangae in the north central region of Sikka. Relations between these local rajas and the rajas of Sikka Natar were not always amicable, nor were those between *ratu* Sikka and the neighboring major rajadoms of Larantuka and Ende. Despite frequent hostilities and disputes (or perhaps because of them) the royal genealogy
of Sikka, of which there are several versions extant, documents regularly renewed and long-standing affinal alliances between the Sikkanese royal house and noble lineages and the subaltern rajas of Paga and Nita, as well as between the rajas of Sikka and Larantuka and between children of the rajas of Sikka and the Lionese rajadom of Wolowaru.

One point of continual dispute between Larantuka and Sikka until the Dutch confirmed the present boundary in 1904, was sovereignty over Tana Ai. Before settlement of the boundary issue by the Dutch, Tana Ai was nominally part of the rajadom of Larantuka and there are myths and stories in Tana Ai that recount events during that period by reference to "ratu Lewotobi", the "raja of Lewotobi, as the raja of Larantuka is still called today. The mountains, differences in language and custom and distance from the town of Larantuka meant, however, that the affiliation of Tana Ai with Larantuka was unsubstantial and challengeable by the Sikkanese. In any event, the raja of Larantuka never established a political presence in Tana Ai.

At the same time that the boundary between Larantuka and Sikka was redrawn to put Tana Ai within the domain of the raja of Sikka, the Dutch, in order to solve the problem posed by a rebellious district of north central Sikka, created the rajadom of Kangae. The domain of Kangae was drawn to include sovereignty over Tana Ai. The new raja
was carefully controlled by the Sikkanese and the Dutch and, given his many other concerns, paid no attention to matters beyond the confines of his immediate realm.

While the rajadom did not survive its first raja, Kangae served as a buffer between the Ata Tana Ai and direct rule by the Sikkanese raja during the first quarter of the twentieth century. During this period Tana Ai was not subject to the taxation policies on copra instituted by the Dutch and administered by the government of the Sikkanese raja. Tana Ai was also spared involvement in the series of rebellions against the taxation policy which convulsed central Sikka in the early twentieth century. The Ata Tana Ai were spared rule by a foreign regime until the 1930s when the last raja of Sikka, Ratu Don Moang Bako Thomas Ximines da Silva, managed to abolish the rajadoms of Nita and Kangae and to bring the whole of the regency under direct Sikkanese rule. Under the revised plan of government, the rajadom was divided into twelve districts, each of which was administered by a kapitan appointed from the noble lineages of Sikka Natar. Tana Ai was designated a kapitan-schap but the second world war began before substantial government was created in the mountains. An interregnum followed the war and it was not until the middle 1950s that the government of the newly independent Republic of Indonesia asserted its authority in Tana Ai. From the late 1940s to 1960 the Church was the primary outside influence in Tana Ai.
Throughout its history, and quite independently of the political realities, the Ata Tana Ai acknowledged the idea and principle that Tana Ai was ruled by a raja, but with a vacuum in place of real political authority the Tana Ai region was essentially independent during most of its past. The recognition of rajadom, that is, secular political authority invested in one institution and person, in the abstract is expressed in the Tana Ai histories by many references in ritual language to "ina Sikka, ama Jawa", "mother Sikka, father Larantuka". But the reality is better expressed by the balé ratu kedo ukun "the pavilion for the raja should he return", which is constructed for the gren mahé, the major ceremonies of the Tana Ai religion. During the 1980 performance of thegren mahé, the platform of the raja was conspicuously unoccupied and, it was said, it always had been.

For both Sikka and Larantuka, Tana Ai was a rich but marginal fief and neither ever possessed the power, ability or will to assert its claim to the region and to exploit its resources. The Ata Tana Ai do not consider themselves to be marginal but, just as their histories recount the diverse origins of their clans, so too they recognize that they are ata duen, "people of the boundary".

The isolation, inaccessibility and backwardness which characterize the Ata Tana Ai in the minds of the central Sikkanese is thus more social and political than
physical and is, in large measure, the result of the history of eastern Flores. Without continuous and real integration into a larger polity, the Ata Tana Ai have created and maintained an exclusive and distinctive community based on a system of hadat and a conception of their own history that makes them unique in eastern Flores.

The lack of clearly defined institutions of secular authority which complement or oppose that of the sacred and ritual power embodied in the tana puan does not mean that in Tana Ai culture there are not to be found essential dualities by which Tana Ai may be related or compared to other eastern Indonesian societies. The principal means of cultural expression in Tana Ai, the chanted "histories" in which hadat is recorded and encoded, evokes a picture of a universe both composed of and ordered by things which are comprehensible only insofar as other things which are similar or different are knowable, a universe in which things do not exist monadically, but in the convergence of discrete and complementary parts. The medium of expression of the histories, a formal, formulaic and parallelistic ritual language, is itself the best example of the quintessential dualism of Tana Ai thought. In both its form and metaphorical content, Tana Ai ritual language is comparable to the oral traditions of other societies of Nusa Tenggara Timur. However, the institutional manifestations of a fundamental diarchic ideology in Tana Ai are not identical
to those found elsewhere. They are present, but skewed, just as the "messages" contained in the language of ritual, itself comparable to ritual languages elsewhere, are different from those of other societies. Likewise, the core institutions of Tana Ai society are in some ways homologous to institutions found elsewhere in eastern Indonesia, but they are expressed in peculiarly Tana Ai realms of significance and in idioms specifically those of the Ata Tana Ai. Thus in Tana Ai we do not find a relation of complementarity and opposition between secular and sacred authority, because there is no single secular authority in Tana Ai that functions at the same cultural plane as ritual authority. Rather diarchy is found in Tana Ai and is constituted in the way in which a fundamental distinction between maleness and femaleness, a distinction common throughout Indonesia, is articulated and expressed in two different but complementary worlds, one inhabited by women, the other by men. However, this principle, once stated, must be seen as functioning not complementarily, but hierarchically such that in the lower order of organization of Tana Ai society, in "houses" and clans, social groups are governed by women, while at higher levels of organization, in the ceremonial order of the clans which comprise the domain, relations are ritualistic and governed by men.

In essence, the organization of Tana Ai society is not ordered by complementary institutions of secular and sacred authority, but by a hierarchical system of
organization which, at its more general and inclusive levels, is more sacred and ritualistic. Secular authority, which governs access to garden land, water and forests, the economics of harvests and social affiliation of the Ata Tana Ai, is exercised autonomously within clans (sukun). Clans are composed of localized and named sub-clans, each headed by a headwoman (du'a luka), which are in turn composed of lepo woga (houses). Houses are composed of all the members, male and female, of descent lines reckoned from the woman who originally founded the house. The household, which consists of the extended family, is the smallest social and economic group in Tana Ai, but households have access to the resources of the domain, land and ceremonial wealth, through their lepo woga.

While the higher level organization of clans is ceremonial in character, it is founded on principles of alliance no less binding for their religious nature than the economic and kinship relations which bind members of the lepo woga. The whole of Tana Ai is divided into seven ceremonial domains, tana, each headed by a tana puan, "source of the domain", who must come from the central clan of the tana. Tana are composed of clans, each of which has its own ritual specialists who derive their authority in matters concerning the whole of the tana from the tana puan by his delegation of particular ritual obligations and responsibilities to them, and their status by virtue of membership in their clans. The tana puan is neither ruler nor priest,
but the titular head of a loose confederation of clans which are bound together only insofar as their relationships are traceable in the "histories" of the domain. Thus, secular authority is localized and exercised by women, and is bound to the territories and land claimed by sub-clans, while the more inclusive order of Tana Ai, the clans within the tana, are governed ritually by men. The elements of the system can be characterized as follows: at the lower levels, organization is based on kinship and on rights to land governed by houses and sub-clans; at the higher level, organization is based on alliance of the clans of the tana to the core clan of the domain, relationships which are manifested ritually. In Tana Ai, religion and ritual, the domain of men, order autonomous local corporate descent groups which are the domain of women.

This thesis is concerned with explicating some of the ways in which the whole that is the world of the Ata Tana Ai can be seen as ordered by this fundamental diarchic and hierarchic principle. The argument will seek to identify some of the mechanisms — organizational, symbolic and ritualistic — by which the polarities implicated in duality and dual categorization are attenuated, so as to produce a "looseness" in the "system" which, in turn, allows for adaptability, both individual and social, by which Tana Ai society is able to create responses as required to novel conditions. These mechanisms involve
symbolic reversals and ambiguities of expression by which men share in femaleness and women participate in maleness, as when girls are exchanged by descent groups to replace their fathers or when men fecundate gardens, the archetypical female domain, by performing rituals at their centers; and notions of sequence and order by which oscillations between polar opposites are not made discretely but by accretion, as in the gradual movement of "peripheral" descent groups toward the "center" of their clans by a mechanism of asymmetric alliance and the diffusion of authority within the clan by delegation.

The discussion will begin with a treatment of the relations of the Ata Ai to the land which provides them their livelihood and which they both inhabit and inscribe with their culture. It will proceed to a description of the myths in which the Ata Tana Ai locate and account for their origins and the origins of their social order. Next, clanship, descent groups and their organization will be described. Finally, the workings of social alliance in Tana Ai will be taken up.
Chapter Two

TANA: THE CEREMONIAL DOMAINS OF TANA AI

2.1 Introduction

In the language of the Ata Tana Ai the word tana has many meanings. Tana is the earth itself, the half of the universe that is perceivable, knowable, can be manipulated by human beings and is the complement of the unseen divine world. Tana is the ground and substratum upon which the configurations of centers, peripheries and boundaries of the human community are inscribed. It is also the substance of the earth, the rock of which mountains are made and the soil that nurtures crops and forest. The word is used to refer to the physical landscape of Tana Ai and means "region" or "place" when it is used as an auxiliary to a place name.

As part of a general pattern throughout eastern Flores, Tana Ai is divided into a number of ceremonial districts or domains whose people are divided into clans that are bound to their domains by ritual and history. In the domains of Tana Ai, clans are related in a network of rights and obligations pertaining to the performance of ceremonies of the mahē by which the deity is invoked and the crucial relations between man, the earth and the
deity are reaffirmed. These domains, which demarcate most generally the social landscape of Tana Ai, are also referred to as tana.

Each ceremonial domain is headed by a tana puan, a "source of the earth" or "source of the domain", in whom is vested stewardship of the earth and its rituals. In Tana Ai today only three of the traditional domains still have tana puan and in only two domains are the tana ceremonial systems still completely intact. These are Tana Wérang and Tana Wai Brama, where the rituals of the domain still order relations among the clans.

Tana are reckoned as territories but actual boundaries between them are difficult to place. The Ata Tana Ai conceive of the domains as realms of power or ritual influence which emanate from their centers, both social and physical, and overlap in places. The Ata Tana Ai speak of their ceremonial domains not as bounded regions but in terms of ritual centers, named places and the settlements which they encompass. At the center of every tana is its mahé, an altar of stones and wood. Mahé are located in stands of dense forest and are the sites for the performance of the core ceremonies of the domains. The mahé, which can be entered only when ceremonies are to be performed, mark both the ritual and physical centers of the tana communities. The peripheries of the domains are marked by nuba nanga, ritual sites located on the coasts of the island at the mouths of rivers; and between
the centers and peripheries of the domains are located their kloang, hamlets composed exclusively of the ritual houses of the clans of the domains, and the gardens of the inhabitants of the tana.

While Ata Tana Ai identify themselves collectively as "people of Tana Ai", especially in encounters with people from outside the region, the various tana demarcate the largest communities and the limits of social organization. Each domain is independent of the others and has its own clan system and rituals. There is no larger, formal organization by which the various tana can be said to comprise a single polity, and while each tana has myths which relate its founding by the ancestors of the clans of which it is comprised, there is no corresponding myth that accounts for the division of Tana Ai into ceremonial domains or that indicates alliance between them.

The Ata Tana Ai recognize seven ceremonial domains: Tana Wai Brama, Tana Wérang, Tana Uru, Tana Tuabau, Tana Kringa, Tana Natarrita and Tana Darat (see Map III and appendix A). The enclave of Lamaholot-speaking people in the northeast of the district is often spoken of as Tana Muhang or Tana Ojang but is not culturally part of Tana Ai. Tana Warut, to the west, is said to be a region of Tana Krowé (central Sikka). Both Muhang and Warut were included by the government of the rajadom of Sikka under the Dutch and now by the government of the Republic of Indonesia as part of the administrative district that includes the seven domains of Tana Ai.
There is evidence that in the past, *tana* affiliations of some areas of the valley have been fluid and may have shifted with changes in the relative power and the fortunes of neighboring *tana puan*. Thus the last "source of the domain" of Tuabau, whose authority is said to have encompassed only the very restricted realm around the contemporary village of Tuabau, died along with most of the men of the village during the period of the Gerakan Tigapuluh September ("gestapo") in 1965-66. His office was not filled after his death and the Taubau domain was incorporated into Tana Wai Brama.

There was in the past a local *tana puan* at Natarmage who recognized the precedence of the source of the domain of Tana Wai Brama. In 1962 the *mahé* of Natarmage, which was located at Karoknatar, was destroyed by a Florenese *guru agama* (teacher of religion) and assistant to the European missionary who at that time was parish priest at Nangahalé and who was agitating for the abandonment of the rituals of the Ata Tana Ai. The *mahé* stones are said to have been toppled and scattered and the central wooden pole of the *mahé* cut down. It is said now that the *mahé* at Karoknatar has "lost its spirit" ("rohani sudah hilang" [Indonesian]) and the site is no longer used for rituals. Since the early 1960s there has been no *tana puan* at Natarmagé-Karoknatar and the people there now participate in the *mahé* rituals of Tana Wai Brama at Watuwolon.
The mahé of Tana Uru is also said to have suffered a loss of its spirit. The village of Urudetun is today the site of perhaps the most devout Catholic congregation in the Tana Ai valley and while its mahé is intact, it seems to be used only very rarely. Nonetheless there is an old man living near Urudetun who is still recognized as tana puan and who governs the mahé of Tana Uru.

2.2 Tana Wai Brama

While it is not possible to reconstruct a history of Tana Ai sufficient to identify the precedence of the domains, the contemporary ethnographic evidence substantiates the claim of the people of Tana Wai Brama that their domain is not only the largest in extent and population but is also the most powerful and influential of the tana. Tana Wai Brama is today recognized throughout eastern Flores as being the center of Tana Ai culture and the "most traditional" of the domains with respect to adherence to the precepts and rituals of the Tana Ai religion. Because of its central place in the minds of both the central Sikkanese and the Ata Tana Ai, Tana Wai Brama has been the subject of the research reported here.

2.3 Topography, Physical Features and Climate of the Tana Ai Valley

Napun Geté, the valley of Tana Ai, is a topographic anomaly in eastern Flores. The eastern wall of the valley
is formed by a high range of mountains, called Ili Wukoh by the Ata Tana Ai, which rises precipitously from the south coast and consists of a series of peaks which run north and south across the island. This orientation is contrary to the prevailing orientation of the spine of Flores which is composed of a series of volcanos and high mountains ridges that run east and west throughout its length. To the west the valley of Napun Geté is bounded by a series of high, broken and rugged ridges which rise to Mapi (called Ili Egon by the central Sikkanese), at 1703 meters the highest peak in the regency of Sikka and an active volcano. Almost the whole of Tana Ai lies within the extensive catchment of Napun Geté ("Big River" or "Big Valley"), a large river which rises at the north-south watershed of the island. At this part of the island the watershed lies only four to five kilometers from the south coast. Napun Geté, the system of rivers that drains the catchment, flows northward and empties into the Flores Sea near the village of Nebé.

Elsewhere on Flores central mountain ranges have served to isolate mountain populations from coastal people and north coast settlements from south coast communities. This prevailing physical feature of the island has meant that populations have most easily communicated along the coasts. The anomalous orientation of the mountains which bound the valley of Tana Ai has served both to focus Tana Ai society inwardly into the valley and has obstructed
both communication with east Flores and Sikka to the west. The ridge that rises steeply from the south coast and forms the head of the valley also makes difficult communication between the valley and the south coast, along which has moved the coastal trade between Larantuka, Sikka and Ende. Thus access to the valley is restricted to the north coast which has traditionally been neither densely populated nor the route of trade. Even so, access to the valley is difficult as the Ata Tana Ai prefer travel over the west ridge of the lower valley to reach Talibura and there are no footpaths following the river from Nebé to its head.

In its upper course Napun Geté flows below a high escarpment on its eastern bank. Above this escarpment the land rises, gradually at first and then more steeply, toward the peaks of the Wukoh range. The western slopes of the Wukoh range are cut by deep, forested ravines and cataracts which drain the slope into the valley. It is on this broken flank of Ili Wukoh that Tana Wérang and the Watuwolon-Diwang region of Tana Wai Brama, the area encompassed by this study, lie, at an elevation of 450 to 850 meters.

The climate of Tana Ai is mild, with distinct rainy and dry seasons. Rains begin in November or December with the heaviest rainfall of the year and storms usually occurring in January and February. Rainfall decreases steadily from March to May and is rare between June and the beginning of the first intermittent and light precipitation in the middle of October which marks the turning of the monsoon and the
approach of the wet season. From late December through February or March the river of Napun Geté is in flood and during this season the inhabitants of the eastern wall of the valley are isolated from the north coast and the market at Talibura.

The change of seasons is irregular in Tana Ai and the onset of the rainy season, which is particularly important for timing the planting of rice, can vary as much as six weeks from one year to the next. Once begun, the rainy seasons generally provide sufficient moisture for crops, but the end of the rains is also variable and crops can be damaged if the rains end early or continue as the grain matures.

The Ata Tana Ai distinguish two principal seasons: 'lelen (or wulan 'lelen), the "wet season" or "wet months" of the southwest monsoon, and daran (or wulan daran), the "hot" or "dry" months, the northeast monsoon. The rainy season, which is most important for agriculture, is divided into four periods:

- **odong ai karang**: late December, the season marked by winds which "fell dry (or dead) trees";
- **nepa li té**: January, the season when one expects "to step on grass shoots" and when rice shoots appear in the gardens;
- **hegu kibok**: February, the "base of the young bamboo", when the largest species of bamboo in Tana Ai put out new shoots;
duru more: March to April, the season when "flying ants" appear and the season of hunger before the harvests of the first maize.

The remainder of the year is spoken of as daran and is not classified further. The classification of seasons by the Ata Tana Ai is less complex than the division of the year into twelve distinct months (wulang) by the Ata Sikka (see Figure 2.1).\(^1\)

At Urulédun, on the footpath from Talibura to the upper part of the Tana Ai valley, the traveller reaches a salient on the west wall of the valley that commands a breath-taking panorama: rising from the floor of the valley, and above its formidable escarpment, is the whole of the Ili Wukoh range. If clouds do not obscure the upper slopes of the east wall of the valley, the gardens of Tana Wai Brama can be clearly perceived set midst what appears to be, at that distance, tracts of solid forest. The distinction between tana uma, gardens, and tana tuan, forest, which impresses the naive observer, is a fundamental one to the Ata Tana Ai and reflects much of their conception of the world. Forest is sacred, associated with the deity and is the home of spirits. Gardens, which are made from forest and sanctioned by the spirits of ancestors, are quintessentially human and social spaces and are both the source of life and the arena of domesticity. In Tana Ai, the opposition of forest and garden provides one of the principal axes
Figure 2.1: The Agricultural and Annual Ceremonial Cycle
of metaphor in speech and is explicit in the physical arrangements of the landscape and in ritual.

Having crossed the river and scaled the escarpment of the eastern wall, one discovers that very little of the dense arboreal cover of the land is primary forest; most is mature secondary growth interspersed with fallow land in various stages of regeneration. Except along water-courses, one encounters only a few small and clearly demarcated stands of truly mature trees. From the closer perspective, the landscape of Tana Wai Brama appears to be almost entirely the result of human activity. From the point of view of the Ata Tana Ai, however, this is not the case.

The people of Tana Wai Brama conceive their landscape as clearly demarcated into realms of the divine and realms accessible to human beings. The map of Tana Wai Brama (cf. Map VI) clearly depicts primary forests which are realms of spirits and ancestors, secondary forests which are part of the cycle of gardening, and gardens and houses which are the realm of human life. The opposition of the domestic and the sacred is a fundamental one in the culture of the Ata Tana Ai, but two more significant features of life in Tana Wai Brama emerge from the consideration of the landscape of the domain. First, while the domestic and sacred are separated conceptually, the two together constitute the whole of the world. They are in this view not so much opposed elements in a dualistic world order,
but are complementary aspects of a single monadic universe. Second, conceptual distinctions of the domestic and the sacred do not in any way affect the juxtaposition and interpenetration of things classified as one or the other in the physical world. Thus the world is divided into realms of the divine and the human not only in myth and cosmology. In the landscape elements of the two realms are found physically present and interspersed in relationships of contiguity. Similar interspersions can be identified in the contiguous relationships of things that are hot and cold or male and female, as when men enter "female" gardens to perform the rituals to insure crops. In such a world boundaries and the bounding of domains are extraordinarily significant and, as will be seen, much of the expressive culture of Tana Wa Brama - myth, ritual and ritual language - is concerned with the establishment and maintenance of boundaries as well as with the creativity and pregnancy of separate and different things which border one another. Indeed, _wu'un_, the word for ritual in the language of the Ata Tana Ai, means "boundary".

Primary forest is sacred and is identified with spirits who jealously guard their domains on behalf of the deity. Stands of forest, some watered by springs or streams, may not be cleared for gardens and may not be entered by humans without first acknowledging their special nature by ritual. These stands of virgin forest, which are scattered throughout the domain, are all named and are
of three sorts. *Tuan* is simply "forest" which has never been cut and which, by tradition, belongs to no clans or houses and therefore cannot be felled to make gardens. These forests are the domains of free-ranging *guna déwa* spirits which are associated with the trees and stones within them. *Tuan nitu noan* (or *tana nitu noan*) is "forest of spirits of the dead". While *tuan guna déwa* and *tuan nitu noan* are normally avoided, hunters enter them on occasion after making small ritual offerings at their borders. *Tuan piren*, "forbidden" or "sacred forests" are few in number but are the most sacred and dangerous to humans. In these forests are located ritual sites, and among them is the *tuan mahé*, "forest of the mahé", near Watuwolon in which is located the central altar of the Tana Wai Brama ceremonial system and where the core ceremonies of the domain are performed. *Tuan piren* are absolutely forbidden to humans except when, under the authority and direction of the source of the domain, the whole of the community gathers in the *mahé* forest to celebrate *gren mahé*, the *mahé* festival.

Except when hunting or gathering medicinal herbs the Ata Tana Ai avoid entering forests and rarely stray from the dense network of footpaths that covers Tana Wai Brama. Only a few men know the names and attributes of the spirits who inhabit forested land, but all know that little good comes from purposeless excursions into them. For most of the needs which forest land fulfils the Ata
Tana Ai rely on *ai tali*, "trees and vines", by which term they designate the more impenetrable tracts of secondary forest that covers much of their land.

The bulk of land in Tana Wai Brama is accessible to people, and is classified on the basis of land form characteristics as either suitable for gardening or unsuitable for planting. Most of this land is secondary forest and bush which constitutes the reserve (fallow) land of the Tana Ai system of shifting cultivation. Aside from *tana tuan* and other sacred forests, almost the whole of the landscape of Tana Wai Brama is either planted in gardens or is reserve land held by the various "houses" (*lepo*) and is suitable for gardening. Cliffs, rockfalls and earth slides, which are unsuitable for planting, account for a small part of the land of the domain and have much of the character of "sacred" land. All the land in Tana Wai Brama falls into one of these categories and there is no indication that, except for planting coffee, the proportion of cultivatable land and non-cultivatable land has changed in many generations. The Ata Tana Ai do not build terraces, contours or engage in any other work by which land that is unsuitable for planting might be made arable.

The cultivatable land of Tana Wai Brama is divided into fields with permanent boundaries that survive a given planting cycle. All fields, whether under cultivation or reserve, are distributed among the "houses" of the community. The houses hold rights to their land corporately.
The landscape of Tana Wai Brama may thus be characterized as thoroughly demarcated and bounded, a point which the Ata Tana Ai are quick to make to outsiders.

Land in Tana Wai Brama is classified by the people of the domain according to landform and ritual status. The various sorts of ritually sanctioned forests have been identified. Non-ritually sanctioned land is also of various sorts:

- **tana uma**: "garden land" is land under cultivation. Garden land is also referred to as **tana ngeng**, "traditional land", or **tana gete na'in**, "land placed by the ancestors", that is, land to which a particular house and its members have a hereditary claim;

- **tana roin** or **ai tali**: "fallow land" or "trees and vines", which is land held as reserve by the houses for future gardens;

- **tana urun ri'i rotan**: "grass land", which is not cultivated but is burned off periodically. Tracts of grass land are not claimed by particular houses but are accessible to the community as a whole. Deer are attracted to the new grass shoots which appear within a few days of burning and are easily hunted. This land is thus spoken of in ritual language as, "ahu wan wuter lego", land in which, "the hunting dog barks and the bow string is drawn".

- **tana uran doé, nian kowa lawat**: "land where the rain hangs and the sky is wrapped in fog", is land near the peaks and on the upper slopes of mountains which is said to be too cold, wet and prone to landslides to be suitable for cultivation. In the late 1930s
the government determined a boundary along the upper slopes of Ili Wukoh above which forest could not be cut for gardens. The boundary of the government was placed somewhat below the traditional border at 850-900 meters elevation beyond which the Ata Tana Ai never opened gardens, and a few people at Watuwolon still complain about losing land which belonged to their lepo. Today the line between mature forests on the upper slopes and gardens or immaturesly forested reserve land is clearly visible. This boundary is referred to as the grens, a Dutch word, while the large piles of stones which mark the older, traditional limits of cultivation are still found in the forest farther up the slopes of the mountain range. The traditional boundaries of cultivation are tana duen, the "boundary of the land".

_tana wair matan:_ "land of the water's eye" is land surrounding the source of springs. The Ata Tana Ai recognize that springs often cease flowing when the forest above and around them is cut down and stands of forests which surround springs are preserved by traditional prohibitions on clearing them.

_tana repit go'it kokon ra'at:_ "steep, bad land and rotten cliff faces", includes land too steep for planting such as the walls of ravines in which most Tana Ai streams flow, rock outcroppings, the peaks of hills, waterfalls and cliffs. Many places of this sort, especially waterfalls and cliffs, are thought to be the homes of pythons, which are sacred animals in the Tana Ai religion.

_tana nuba nanga:_ "landings and river mouths", by which is meant coastal land generally. River mouths are especially avoided by the Ata Tana Ai (whose range in any case never extended to the coasts) because of
the malaria and filariasis endemic there. Many river mouths on both the north and south coasts are ritual sites.

2.4 The Garden Cycle

Arable land, *tana uma* and *tana roin*, accounts for at least half the land area of Tana Wai Brama. In the years 1978-1980 the ratio of land planted in rice and maize (*tana uma*) to reserve garden land (*tana roin*) was, in the Watuwolon-Watulaban region, approximately 1:15. This proportion implies an average fallow period of forty-five years since fields are planted for three years and then are allowed to fallow. In practice more desirable sites are reopened more frequently, often as soon as they are judged to be sufficiently fertile, while less desirably placed land may enjoy longer fallow periods. The Ata Tana Ai say a field should be left to lie fallow for at least fifteen to twenty years in order to assure good harvests when it is planted, and this rule seems to be observed in most instances.

The Ata Tana Ai are exclusively shifting cultivators who supplement subsistence horticulture with hunting deer, pigs, monkeys, large forest rats (*Papogomys armand-villei*), porcupines and other animals and by occasional gathering of vegetable foods in the forests of the region. Domestic animals include pigs, goats, chickens, dogs and horses. Dogs are used for hunting and are butchered only
when guests from outside Tana Ai are to be entertained, while horses are used for transport and are never slaughtered for meat.

The boundaries of gardens are permanently marked by long-lived fruit trees and palms (areca and coconut) which are planted on the periphery of fields and by *watu mulan*, "planted stones", which are usually long, flat rocks set well into the earth along the sides of the plot of land. Two stones are normally placed with their faces parallel to one another and 5-8 cm apart. When boundary indicators are lost, differences in age and the development of forest cover in contiguous fields usually enable a gardener to distinguish the boundary between her field and its neighbor.

To prepare a field for burning, brush and small trees are felled, while large trees are pollarded, but not girdled, as they are meant to survive the garden cycle. The Ata Tana Ai say that the large trees must be left alive so that the forest will regenerate more quickly when the garden is fallowed, but the branches must be cut so that the rice crop is not shaded. Once the vegetation is cut it is allowed to dry for four to eight weeks before it is burned. Clearing of fields begins in July and all preparations for planting – burning, fencing and weeding – must be completed before the onset of the rainy season in late November.

Firebreaks are cleared on the downwind sides of the garden site and plots are then fired when wind conditions,
its strength and direction, are precisely those anticipated for the burn. Young men, women and children are mobilized to watch the downwind boundaries of the garden and to extinguish brands which jump the firebreaks. A well executed burn of a hectare of garden land requires no more than half an hour before live flames have died out. A few days after burning, unburned logs and large tree limbs which are suitable for use as barrages to check erosion in the fields or in fencing are salvaged and the remaining unburned wood is stacked and burned a second time. The second burning results in a clean surface in the garden.

Fires rarely burn out of control, and when they do it is often because the fire has been conducted underground by tree roots into neighboring plots or forests which sometimes burst into flame, seemingly spontaneously, many days after a garden has been fired.

The first growth of grass which appears within a few days after a garden site is burned is thoroughly weeded out. There is no intentional disturbance of the soil aside from that which results from this weeding and from the use of dibble sticks in sowing. Hoes are not used in Tana Ai. In both newly opened gardens and in gardens being replanted for a second or third crop, the weeds are gathered into many small piles throughout the field and burned.

Large unburned tree limbs and logs are used as barrages (blepeng) by placing them in rows athwart the slope of the ground. Refuse from the garden such as weeds
or banana tree trunks are discarded behind the barrages, a practice that both promotes the formation of terraces and provides compost in the field. By the second year of a garden's life, these barrages produce terraces in the field 50 cm or more in height.

Fences are constructed once burning is completed. Fences in Tana Ai must be sturdy enough to withstand assault by wild pigs and to last the life-time of the garden, and high enough to discourage deer from entering the garden. A thick walled, heavy bamboo (aur) is gathered in the forests and used for the upright members of the fence, while a number of different varieties of larger diameter bamboos are used for the horizontal pieces which are stacked tightly together and bound between parallel and upright aur. Fences are constructed to a height of 150-170 cm and are provided with stiles made from notched logs or bamboo for humans and gates for horses when a garden lies across a major footpath. Small gaps may be left in the fence at ground level where it borders on forest and snares rigged in front of these for trapping wild pigs as they enter the field.

After fences are completed, a second weeding may be required, especially if the garden is a newly opened one. Following this weeding, bamboo poles are placed upright in the ground to support the vines of the yams that will be planted.
Once fields are prepared for planting, gardeners wait for the first rainfall of the season before sowing maize and rice. Normally, every member of a household participates in planting, with the assistance of other kinsmen with whom labor is exchanged. A field one hectare in size can be planted in a single day by ten or twelve sowers. The work is divided between dibblers, usually men, and planters, usually women and children, who follow behind placing seeds in the holes. Four rice seeds are planted in each hole, one, the Ata Tana Ai say, for the birds, one for the mice, one for the ancestors and one for the earth. The holes are left uncovered, it being expected that the flow of rain water will bury the seeds. Maize and crops of secondary importance are planted around the periphery of the garden within a few days of the planting of rice.

A hectare of land requires about two blik of seed rice for planting and in good years as many as 100 blik can be harvested from a new field.

Gardens are planted from two to four times before being allowed to lie fallow. The principal variables in determining the number of plantings to be made in a given garden are those of landform and soil quality. Tana Ai gardeners expect fields to yield no more than 80 per cent of the previous crop in subsequent plantings (60-70 per cent of the first crop in the third year) and often plant the first crop in a new garden when planting the last crop in an old garden. Old gardens, once they are no
longer planted with grain, are not entirely abandoned. They still provide tuber crops and fruit: yams, cassava, sweet potatoes, bananas and papaya are available in old gardens and provide food upon which families depend, especially in years of failure of the grain crops. Jackfruit, citrus, mango, areca nut, betel vines and coconut all require many more years to mature than grain is planted in a field and are harvested for years after a garden ceases to produce rice. Many fruit trees are only fully mature when the garden is opened again after many years of fallowing. Rights to crops and fruits in fallow land are retained by those in whom is vested the primary right to plant grain on the land. Thus grains, which are planted for only a few years in a field, account for only a part of the total productivity of land and the period during which a field produces rice is only one phase in the life cycle of the garden.

While rice and maize are the preferred foods in Tana Ai, and the greatest part of labor is invested in grain cultivation, a significant part of the total food resources available to a Tana Ai household is to be found in fallow gardens. These resources are easily tapped as required in years when grain production is insufficient to meet the needs of a household. It should be noted, too, that fields are held in common by members of lepo, and that all lepo members have equal access to food from fallow land belonging to the group. Thus in 1978, to take an example,
a very good harvest was expected. However, a two week spell of rains and storms occurred during the harvest. Some households were able to harvest all their grain before the storms, while others lost substantial portions of their crops. Members of particular *lepo* were able to make up their shortages from any of the fallow land belonging to the *lepo*. Generally one need only to ask permission from the last woman to open a field before gathering tubers or fruits from her field. The fallow land of a *lepo* thus represents a resource to which all *lepo* members have access, and not merely the household which last worked it. 1979 was a year of *morun geté*, "great hunger", with an almost total failure of the grain crops. Greatly increased hunting by men and gathering of tubers in fallow fields enabled the population to survive with its basic nutritional requirements provided.

Newly vacated gardens receive little or no maintenance, though fences may be looked after if the new garden of the family is not so distant as to make the work impracticable. No planting of trees or brush is done in vacated gardens, which are allowed to revert to forest without human intervention. While some grass appears in vacant gardens, it does not impede the growth of trees, and the grass disappears once forest cover is re-established.

The symbolism of the gardens and forests which comprise the landscape of Tana Wai Brama will be taken up in
a later section, but from the preceding pages it is clear that the people of Tana Wai Brama inhabit a land that is filled with signs of contemporary human life and the remnants of past habitation and activity. Houses, gardens and well-travelled footpaths all provide the people of the domain with places on a contemporary map of their world, but the past lives of their ancestors have also left their residues in the landscape. In traversing the domain, old fence lines must be stepped over and care must be taken not to trip over ancient grave stones. "Planted" stones mark the boundaries of garden sites, many of which have not been planted within the memory span of living people but are nonetheless the estate of particular "houses" whose ancestors set the boundaries. A passerby who looks carefully can find in the forests the teak posts of long abandoned clan houses and barns which, the Ata Tana Ai say, never rot and will survive as long as their valley.

Nowhere is the convergence of past and present more apparent than in the hundreds of badu tada and itu which line the footpaths of Tana Wai Brama. Fruit trees, stands of bamboo, areca and coconut palms all survive by many years the cycles of the gardens in which they are planted. Just as lepo retain their rights to land even though it has not been planted, so too do the members of the house retain exclusive rights to the produce of trees which were planted by house elders and ancestors in those gardens. Badu tada and itu are signs placed next to trees, clusters
of bamboo or bananas and palms to mark the exclusivity of rights to the fruits which they bear. *Badu tada*, "sign of sacrifice" or "offering", are graceful sculptures made of a coconut frond mounted horizontally across the top of a wooden stake called the *olé*, "spear". From this cross-shaped framework are hung knotted bunches of grass and a cutting taken from the tree which is being guarded by the sign. Thus the flower of a coconut palm, a young stalk and frond of a banana tree, areca nuts or a sample of bamboo guard their respective sources. The *badu tada* is rendered potent by a rite performed on a small altar stone placed at the base of its supporting "spear". In this rite, a pig, goat or chicken is killed and its blood, along with the water of a young coconut, is sprinkled over an offering of rice, the altar stone and the sign itself. The animal and rice are then cooked and eaten by the maker of the sign. This simple ritual reduplicates the essential features of larger scale and more complex rituals of "cooling" performed by the people of Tana Wai Brama on every ceremonial occasion. The jaw and feet of the animal, or feet and wings of the chicken, are then hung from the cross piece of the sign, along with the bamboo tube in which the rice offering is cooked. The coconut is jammed onto the top of the "spear". These remnants of the ritual meal assure passersby that the *badu tada* ritual has been performed and that the trees it guards are fully protected. The message of the sign is clear to all: a payment of the
animal sacrificed in making the *badu tada* will be exacted as a fine from anyone who transgresses the sign and takes fruit from the protected trees. If the thief is not found by the maker of the sign, retribution will be taken by the "spear" which supports the sign.

An *uru* is made more simply by driving a stake into the ground and hanging from its top flags of knotted grass and some part of the thing being protected. Rather than sacrificing an animal in making the *uru*, the maker chants an invocation to his ancestors and invokes the spirits of the place where the *uru* stands, who will, in turn, attack any transgressor who ignores the sign. Illnesses and deaths are often attributed to the effects of taking the fruit of trees protected by *uru*.

In addition to *badu tada* and *uru*, lesser signs made from knotted grass indicate that otherwise insignificant bushes, vines or plants are the exclusive property of some one who plans to make use of them.

Everything in Tana Wai Brama, every plant, tree and bit of land is, in principle, accounted for. The knotting of a sign in the present binds the thing marked into a configuration of rights, identities, and future action legitimated by historical claims. It is in the landscape of Tana Wai Brama itself that the first clues to understanding the society of its people are found. Tana Wai Brama is, in short, a domain of many bounded domains whose centers and peripheries articulate space as place and time as
Place and history are visible in the landscape, reflected in the social organization of the people of the domain, and located in the myths which recount the origins of the world and the clans.
3.1 Introduction

In their daily lives the Ata Tana Ai are not much concerned with systematic theology or cosmology, if by the term is meant a coherent and logically consistent theory of the universe and the laws that govern it. But they are, especially on ceremonial occasions, very much interested in origins because it is by them that such quotidian matters as rights to garden land and clan affiliations are determined. In the special language of the histories that recount the creation of the world and the origins of the clans of the domain, there are ordered systems of metaphors in which can be discerned both a cosmography and a detailed cosmogony of society. More important, from the histories of the domain can be extracted key expressions of the nature of social relationships and the ideological foundations of the society of the domain. In beginning this discussion of the relations of the Ata Tana Wai Brama to the land they inhabit with an exposition of the histories of the domain, my purpose is to delineate a set of symbolic classifications that relate systematically
to the social classifications of land and clanship. The symbolic classifications explicated here are homologous with the social classifications to be examined later. Charting these homologies provides a key to understanding social life in Tana Wai Brama.

3.2 The Myths of Creation and Separation

The myth that recounts the creation of the world is a parochial one in that its accounts specifically for the creation of Tana Ai and leaves unaddressed the question of the origin of the larger universe in which, as the Ata Tana Ai know, their domain is only a small part.

When asked who, or what, was the agent of the world's creation and the actors in the histories of the clans, people in Tana Wai Brama are adamant on the point that the actor is unknown, and perhaps unknowable by men. Only once was it suggested to me that it was Iang and Bangu, the mother and father of humankind, who did what is related in the myth of the creation.¹

The strict parallelism of form that characterizes ritual language and the rule of four words per line results in the use of rich metaphors. These metaphorical expressions are often difficult to render concisely in a translation that seeks to preserve the meter and rhythm of the chant. Furthermore, the polysemy of many words in Sara Tana Ai, and especially in the lexicon of ritual language, contributes to the ambiguities of much ritual language.
Ambiguity in a chant is a quality valued by Tana Ai ritual specialists but is one that further complicates translation. In order to circumvent this difficulty so that the meaning of the myth of the creation can be made as clear as possible, the "History of the Search for Land and Seeking for Earth" is presented below as a story. A text of the myth in ritual language is provided in Appendix D. Parentheses enclose my interpolations based on commentaries on the chant by Tana Ai chanters.²

The History of the Search for Land and Seeking for Earth

(Before the dry land and the solid earth existed, the waters of the sea covered everything. Then it was determined that the islands that comprise the world of men should be raised up.)

1 (The creator) dove into the waves and swam beneath the waters of the sea. He scooped up mud which was worked into lumps and bundles.

13 Then (he) swam back up through the waves and threw the lumps of mud around, that they might become islands, but (he) was unable to throw the mud lumps very far and the lumps broke up.

19 So once more (he) dove into the sea and scooped up mud, which was kneaded into bundles. After swimming to the surface of the water, the Brahmini Kite was called and the hawk was summoned. These birds were ordered to take the mud and scatter it about. Thus the earth and land were established and were enlarged and grew broader.
31 But the land was soft like the meat of ripe fruit and unfirm like the ripe papaya. Thus it was left to dry for two nights and to bake in the sun for three days.

35 (To test the firmness of the land,) the woko bird (quail?) and the crow were sent to stamp their feet on the land, to see whether they might make footprints.

39 The birds went and hopped around the earth, but it had hardened, and the joints and bones of the birds' limbs were broken. (The woko and the crow had been chosen for this task because they do not walk upon the earth but hop about; if the earth was still soft, they would not become stuck in it since they only hop about.)

45 The land was hard, like a fall of stones and strong like the earth we know today; hard as the yellow pinang tree of China, and sturdy as the banyan and fig. But it was smooth and level, with no features. Thus the porcupine was called and sent to burrow and cut the earth, and the giant forest rat was summoned and ordered to scratch at the land's surface and to scoop up the soil. Then the waters of the rivers could flow and loose rocks could roll to the sea shore.

51 Likewise, the wodon bird was ordered to go and scrape up hills. Thus grew up mountains and hill-ridges.

54 But there was nothing growing on the land, neither grasses nor any other growing green things. These were provided by the mother of the woman Nipa, who dibbled the land and planted the grasses, and
by the father of the man Nēhok, who planted in the
earth the other kinds of green things.

62 Then (he) paused to think and imagine. (He)
cut the trees and broke the rock and descended down
into the earth. (He) descended into the darkness
and sat upon the stones at the edge of the earth
and leaned against the base of the world. There
below the earth it was tight and constricted, so
(he) ordered the crab to chisel a path upward
through the stone and sent the sea snail to bore
up through the earth. The guna spirit, whose form
is a crocodile, and the déwa spirit, whose form is
the eel, were sent up through the earth. These
animals were chosen because of their fierce and
savage natures. (Guna Déwa are the spirits
associated with rocks and large trees. They inhabit
the trees and rocks which lie near streams and
springs.) Guna Déwa bored upwards until they
reached the deep pools found along the sides of
rivers, and these they used as a bridge to reenter
the surface of the land.

85 Then (he) paused to think and to imagine, how
the earth had been chiselled and bored through.
(He) ascended climbing hand over hand and looked
out over the top. Then the eel and the shrimp
followed, leading the water that flows from springs.

99 Then (he) found the golden cord which tied
together the earth and the land, and the sun and the
moon. (He) climbed up the ladder of the cord, and
followed upward the steps of the chain, up to the
place where the sun rises, up the sloping path of
the sun, and followed the sun along its steep road
as it climbed upward. To where the kite flies,
and the crow dances backwards on the wind. Up to the hanging windscreen (source of winds?) where the cicadas flitter about; up into the blue-black void, to where the clouds roll.

Then (he) paused to think and imagine, thought about the tops of the areca palms; raised up the sheath of the unfolding areca fronds and picked the nuts as (he) descended, as the moon and sun descend; and took up the nuts (?) as when the earth and land arise.

Then (he) paused to think and imagine. (He) sat and chiselled out the mortices and tenons to construct the clan house; he stood and planted the visitors' pavilion. Built the great clan house with its ritually cooled sitting area and the pavilion which is ritually cooled by the water of coconut. (He) constructed the house ladder, and connected the rooms of the house; also the walls, which must be sprinkled with coconut water.

Then (he) paused to think and imagine. (He) cut down the trees around the perimeter of a small garden site, and felled the forest, laying down the chopped wood athwart the garden's slope. But as the trees were chopped they cried out in pain, and the vines of the forest wept when cut. So (he) returned home to consider what to do. (He) tore the ceremonial patola cloth and (he) scattered rice to propitiate the forest, so that the trees would not cry out and the vines would not weep when cut.

Then Siang, 'Hand of Fire', who knows the making of fire was called; and Gega who knows how to chant the rituals was summoned. Siang brought the fire
drill. He came and shredded the husk of the coconut to use as tinder. Then he rubbed his bamboo fire drill until the first wisps of smoke appeared. The lower half of the garden was set afire, and the upper half of the garden set ablaze. The fire scorched the tree trunks and blackened the brush in the garden. The ashes from the fire rose up like white cockatoos, and on the fire blackened tree stumps crows came and perched.

163 Then the white seed grain and the red fruit seeds were scattered in the garden, the grain in the lower half and the fruit in the upper half. In the lower half of the garden grew the Java almonds (Canarium commune); in the upper half grew the coconuts. Even though the garden was small it should have yielded stupendously, and from the young lontars should have flowed much sap. The harvest would fill great baskets, and the lontar sap fill huge bamboo tubes. The harvest would be consumed, but there would remain much surplus to be traded for gold and gongs, elephant tusks and patola cloths.

175 (The crops planted in the gardens failed because the earth and the land were too hot. Hot with the heat which causes illness and is dangerous to men.) Then (he) paused to think and imagine. (He) was fearful and (his) legs and hands trembled; (he) was hungry and (his) knees collapsed from under (him). (He) could not sit without becoming feverish. This was because the earth and the land lay too near the sun and the moon. So the woman was called to cut the umbilical cord by which the earth and the sky were connected; and the man was summoned to untie the knots and hooks which bound the earth and
land to the sun and moon. The woman named Dong Letu and the man called Laga Baleng did these tasks, and when the cord was cut and the knots untied, the sun and the moon rose upwards and the earth and the land sank downwards. Thus the earth became cool like the water of the coconut.

Then came the men of sukun Ipir, the first clan to inhabit Tana Ai. They came chanting their kahé, their ritual boasts, 'I am Ipir, the great tree; I am Sodor, the mountains and the hills'. They founded the ceremonial domain of Wai Brama at the place called Wolobola; they became the rulers at Balénatar. They came and brought with them the history of the earth and the land, and they brought also knowledge of the rules and laws of the sun and moon. They knew of the seven layers of the earth and land, and they knew of the sun and moon's eight levels, that below lay the base pillars and the foundation of the world. (They understood) that below lay the iron of the earth's hardness and below the source of power. That on these the earth and land were founded.

In this myth of the origins of the world is a reference (lines 99ff.) to the golden cord which connected the earth and firmament. Later (lines 179-200) the myth relates the cutting of this cord to separate the earth from the firmament. This is one of many incidents embedded in the text but not elaborated by the chanter. I shall refer to it as the Myth of the Separation.
The Myth of the Separation follows the time when the world was a formless sea. From the mud at the bottom of the sea were formed islands, and on one of them the mountains and river valleys of Tana Ai were raised. At that time, according to an exegesis of the myth by another ritual specialist:

Men and women did not know the way of husbands and wives. Women did not yet give birth to children, nor did men cradle babies in their arms. Human beings just rose up on the land in the manner of the ancestors who were belched forth from the bowels of the earth. But there was no difference between men and women because sex was not known.

At that time the earth was small and the people were too many. It was very crowded and becoming more so because people did not die. There was then no death.

At that time also the heavens and the earth were connected by cords and knots, the sun lay close to the land, and the heat of the sun was unrelenting. People could neither stand upright nor sit down because of the heat (cf. Appendix D, lines 181-182). So the ancestors Endosi and Pandoma decided to make war on the sun, to try to shoot out his eyes so that the land would cool. But the ancestors Igor and Engar refused, saying:

"Lopo nuhu Nian Tana  
Don't make war on the Sky and the Earth,

Lopo kata Lero Wulan  
Don't fight the Sun and the Moon."

So instead the ancestors:

"Dopo Dong Létu inan  
Summoned Dong Létu's mother,

Hawong Laga Baleng aman  
Called forth Laga Baleng's father,

Boro Nian Tana puhen  
To cut the umbilical cord of the Sky and Earth,
Bohak Lero Wulan oha'
To untangle the knots of the Sun and Moon,
Nian bejo réta bawo
So the Sky floated upwards,
Tana nené wau ba'ú
And the Earth sank downwards, 4
Léan towa jok Lero
From a bamboo drying-pole the Sun hung suspended,
Alu alu sudar wulan
And rice pestles supported the Moon,
Wulan wali buluk na
The Moon travelled closely behind,
Lero réta gahar bawo
As the Sun climbed high above,
Blatan wair sina mitán
The Earth was cool as the water of the Black Chinese,
Ro kabor bali bura
And the dew of the white coconut of Bali,
Nian inga Tana ponga
The Sky was light, and the Earth dark and enclosed,
Lero réta Wulan gahar
The Sun above, the Moon distant."

But once the heavens and the earth were separated:

"Ora Nian Tana nuhu
The Earth and the Sky made war,
Ora Lero Wulan kata
The Sun and the Moon fought,
Pati ora Wulan bao
The Moon's fruit trees were beaten,
Oba ora Lero matan
The Sun's eyes were jabbed at,
Bao ha papa rapé
Half the Moon's fruits dropped from its trees,
Matan ha papa léwek
And one of the Sun's eyes rolled away."

Thus the sun lost an eye and half its heat and the moon lost half its light (and must go through phases). The earth was cooled sufficiently for humans to live comfortably on its face.

The primeval universe was a unified one composed of the earth, the domain of human beings who neither died nor
were differentiated by sex, and the firmament, the domain of the deity. Then, by the events recounted in the Myth of the Separation, the unity of the world was split. In the histories the cutting of the cords and knots, which separated the earth and the firmament, and the warfare between the sun and the moon, which had previously been joined, had two important consequences. First, human beings began to die, which brought about the division of humanity between the living and the ancestors; and second, humans no longer came into being by being "belched forth from the earth" but had to be borne by women.

The Myths of the Creation and Separation are about the division of the world into realms of the divine and the domestic and the classification of things in the world, including human beings, as male or female. For the Ata Tana Wai Brama, the myths are histories and in their histories are encoded the fundamental tenets on which is based the social order of their community. Once Tana Ai was created, and its realms demarcated, the inhabitation of the land by the clans is recounted in the ngeng ngerang, the histories of the clans. Together, the ngeng ngerang comprise the Myth of the Founding of the Domain of Tana Wai Brama.

3.3 The Myth of the Founding of the Domain

The domains of Tana Ai are territories whose inhabitants are divided among clans associated with each domain.
Relationships between the clans of the domain are based first on the system of responsibilities which the clans share in performing the rituals of the domain and second, in the alliances created by marriages between their component houses. Each *tana* is associated in myth with a number of clans whose members conduct the rituals of their locality under the overall authority of the *tana puan*. While each domain is inhabited primarily by members of a number of core clans, there are also present in each of them people of other clans who have migrated to the *tana* and obtained land there.

In myth the Ata Tana Ai speak of "sukun pulu wot lima", the "ten clans plus five", that constitute the society of Tana Ai. There are actually by my count twenty clans represented in the valley, although two of these are found also in East Flores and may not be "native" to Tana Ai. My information regarding the clans that are counted as "core" clans of the seven domains is incomplete, but those that are known are as follows:

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<tr>
<th><em>Tana Wai Brama</em>:</th>
<th>sukun Ipir</th>
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<td>sukun Tapo</td>
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<td>sukun Mau</td>
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<td>sukun Liwu</td>
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<td>sukun Mage</td>
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<td><em>Tana Werang</em>:</td>
<td>sukun Watu</td>
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<td>sukun Lòwar</td>
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<td><em>Tana Uru</em>:</td>
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<td>sukun Dèwa</td>
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<td>sukun Tukan</td>
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In other domains of Tana Ai are *sukun* Hòbing and *sukun* Sogé. At Pruda I was told that three clans are *puan* ("core",
"central") at the southern end of the valley and in the area around Pruda: sukun On, sukun Uran and sukun Rotan. There were no members of these clans living in the northern part of Tana Wai Brama during the period of fieldwork, and I have been unable to determine their status in the domain.

Among the clans of Tana Ai there are two whose members live mostly in what is now the regency of Flores Timur (Larantuka). These are sukun Boruk and sukun Héwat. Opinions are divided on the matter, but most ritual specialists agree that these two clans are counted among the ten plus five clans of Tana Ai. Ata Boruk are reported to inhabit a region of Larantuka called Tana Boruk, which includes the area around Wodong and may extend as far as Watubuku on the south coast of Flores Timur. To the west of the dividing range of Ili Wukoh members of sukun Boruk live primarily near the south coast and east of Pruda. The people of Tana Ai have regular communication with the people of western Larantuka, travelling there during the dry season to trade for tua (lontar gin) and textiles and to attend the Tuesday market at the village of Boru. There have been a few marriages between Ata Tana Ai and people of western Larantuka. These marriages have been most frequent between houses closely related to the Source of the Domain of Tana Wai Brama and people of sukun Boruk.
Of the "fifteen" clans of Tana Ai, sukun Ipir is the central clan, and the only one not paired with another in ritual chants. This peculiarity is accounted for in the origin myth, in which Ipir is the first clan to arrive in Tana Ai. Ipir has responsibilities not shared by other clans that are founded in this precedence and are principally related to the mahé ceremonies. Thus there are in Tana Ai, according to the "histories", seven pairs of clans and the central clan Ipir Wai Brama, whose ancestors settled in Tana Wai Brama. In Tana Wai Brama itself there are five clans, Ipir Wai Brama plus four subsidiary clans.

The chanters of the "histories" agree that "in the beginning" ("inuhung nulung"), all human beings were of one sukun. Then Iang Bangu Adang Ewang, the first humans, divided men into different sukun, and the Ata Tana Ai were divided into ten clans and five. Contemporary practices of returning the "father's forelock" (ama 'lo'en) to the paternal clan in cases of inter-clan marriage is seen as perpetuating this primeval division of men. One chanter told me that all men are the 'lo'en ("forelock") of Iang Bangu, but "we Ata Tana Ai were divided at the beginning".

The actual place of origin of the ancestors of sukun Ipir, who first made the epic journey to Tana Ai, is not specified in the clan history. The narrative begins with the people of Ipir already on Flores. While the first lines of the history tell us that the people of Ipir "arose (literally: 'broke forth from the earth') at
Mekengdetung and bubbled up (as a spring) at Woloarung" in Tana Krowé, some informants say that the history of the clan goes back to a time when the ancestors lived on another island which is not mentioned in the myths.

The history of sukun Ipir, the journey of its ancestors, the "finding of land" in Tana Ai and the founding of the mahé of Tana Wai Brama, is recounted in ritual language. The history of Ipir constitutes the Myth of the Founding of the Domain of Tana Wai Brama. In the histories of other clans are references to the allocation of territories and ritual duties to people who arrived in Tana Ai after sukun Ipir. These narratives legitimate the precedence of sukun Ipir and its claim to central ritual authority over the land.

The chronicles that recount the founding of the domain of Tana Wai Brama are called ngeng ngerang tota nian paga tana. An examination of this phrase and the class of narratives it denotes will demarcate a number of fundamental ideas that underlie the relations of the Ata Tana Ai to the land they inhabit and the expression of those relations in ritual language, ritual and the physical environment they have created.

The root of the word ngeng is ngé, which means "to grow", "to become larger", "to advance", "to make headway". The phrase ngé noran in ordinary speech means "to happen", "to occur", "to come about", "to come to pass". Ngeng, the noun formed by the addition of the morpheme [-ng] to the
root *ngé*, means "people" in the sense of a "race" or "tribe", "nation", "generation", "family", that is, people who share a common origin and descent. *Ngerang* means "to disperse", "to spread", "to scatter", "to go out of". *Ngeng ngerang*, then, may be glossed as "spread of the people", the journeys by which the ancestors of the present day Ata Tana Ai came, from different origins, to settle in Tana Ai and to create Tana Ai society. But the phrase, as used in ritual speech, has also connotations of genealogy, the history of the generations between the ancestors and the living Ata Tana Ai. The people who are spoken of as being one people, the Ata Tana Ai, who are related by *ngeng ngerang* are actually of many clans, each clan thought to have a different origin, and the *ngeng ngerang* recount how these people of different origins came to share the same tana, earth or domain. The phrase thus refers both to the histories of the clans and the history of all the people of Tana Ai.

*Tota* means "to seek", "to look for something", "to search". The word is paired in ritual language either with the word *toma* ("to get", "to find", "to obtain", "to reach a place or state of being") or *paga*. *Paga* is the span between the thumb and index finger and is used to indicate distance. *Paga* also means "to stretch" (as one stretching the hand to measure with the span of the thumb and index finger), "to spread", and, by extension, means distance, space, emptiness. Thus in ordinary speech, *paga ha* means
"a distance", "at a distance", "distant" — any distance.

The general name for the histories which recount the creation of the world, the journeys of the ancestors of the clans to Tana Ai and their coming together in that empty land to create Tana Ai society may thus be interpreted as:

ngeng ngerang tota nian paga tana
/people/ /dispersal/ /search/ /firmament/ /distance/ /earth/
geneng ngerang
/generations/ /spread/ /seek/ /heavens/ /space/
"The spread of the people to search through the firmament for empty land".

The distribution of land among the clans by sukun Ipir is also recounted in the ngeng ngerang, but the land tenure system of Tana Ai is not actually explicable on the basis of the "histories". Although the ngeng ngerang sukun Ipir is often cited in disputes over boundaries between fields, it does not identify specifically land given to clans, but only mentions place names associated with the ancestors of the present day Tana Ai clans. I never heard of a case in which the rights to particular land were questioned. Boundary markers are occasionally lost, particularly the markers delineating boundaries of fields which have been fallow for many years. Missing boundary stones raise questions about the boundaries between fields, but the rights of those who work the fields seem never to be challenged. The history of inheritance and changes in proprietorship through sale or marriage, which in every case is putatively traceable
to the original allocation of Tana Ai land among the clans of the domain by *sukun* Ipir, is generally known. The point here is that the *ngeng ngerang*, while not dealing with particular plots of land, serve to legitimate the rights of clans to land in Tana Ai. The *tana puan*, as keeper of the *ngeng ngerang* of the central clan, is the final arbiter in such cases should they arise.

The people of each Tana Ai clan conceive of themselves as making up a group by virtue of descent from ancestors named in the *ngeng ngerang* who were the first people of the clan to arrive in the various localities occupied by the clan. The first ancestors of a clan to take up residence in Tana Ai are referred to as the *du'a mo'an* of the clan. *Du'a* is the honorific form of address and reference for older women; *mo'an* is the form for men. In the *ngeng ngerang* of a clan, each pair of *du'a mo'an* is associated with a named place in Tana Ai, and though people are less than exact in specifying which clans are associated with which *du'a mo'an* and are unable to define the range of the original territories of particular clans and their places, every place in Tana Ai has its *du'a mo'an*. (Perhaps the Ata Tana Ai would more readily concur with the statement that all *du'a mo'an* have their place.) The descendants of the *du'a mo'an* are thus associated with particular *tana*, and the demography of the clans supports this supposition: while there are members of at least nine Tana Ai *sukun* living in Tana Wai Brama, the majority of residents in the domain are
members of Ipir, Liwu, Mau, Magé or Tapo.

Clan histories are referred to as sejara, a word borrowed from the Indonesian (sejarah) meaning "history", or ngeng ngerang. It has been noted that all Ata Tana Ai conceive of themselves as the descendants of immigrants to Tana Ai, and no clan or group of Ata Tana Ai claim to have lived in the region from time immemorial. Furthermore, each Tana Ai sukun is believed to have originated from a different place. Thus the ngeng ngerang, serve to identify each clan in terms of its origins, and to distinguish each clan from every other clan. Implicit in this conception of the origins of Tana Ai society is the idea that riwun Tana Ai, the "community of Tana Ai", while constituting one society distinguishable from other societies of Flores, is divided into a number of separate groups. While sharing a common body of traditions, these groups nonetheless differ from one another in the details of their hadat. Thus the Ata Tana Ai say that they are all the same in having ngawun piren (foods forbidden to individuals by virtue of their clan affiliation), while at the same time each clan has its own specific ngawun piren which is different from those of other clans.

Ngeng ngerang are long recitations of places and names of ancestors (du'a mo'an) associated with those places. Interspersed are cryptic references to events and terms describing physical characteristics of the places named.
It is often difficult to distinguish place names from paired terms which serve to describe places, the more so as place names themselves often derive from descriptive features of the landscape. Often, places referred to in the narratives of the ngeng ngerang no longer exist as landmarks, or have been given other names. Informants were able to identify many of the places referred to in ngeng ngerang, but other places seem no longer to be significant in the affairs of the Ata Tana Ai. In the main, however, the use of locatives and directionals, and the sequence of directionals in the narratives are logical, and overall the changes in direction of movement encoded in the recitations as grammatical markers of the ancestral journeys make it possible to plot a journey on a map of eastern Flores and the Tana Ai region (see Figure 3.1). In this regard it is significant that the ngeng ngerang are most detailed about the movements of ancestors within the Tana Ai region.

The following couplets are from the last part of Ngeng Ngerang Sukun Ipir which constitutes the important narrative about the arrival of the ancestors of the sources of the domain in the Watuwolon-Watulaban area and the founding there of the central mahé of Tana Wai Brama:

Piong pano wae wali  Made an offering, travelled leftward,
Bodor tetu wae wali  Made a sacrifice, travelled leftward,
Watulaban klubar baler  To Watulaban, turn over (as drying fish are turned over in the sun),
Nuhun pau labo habi
Uher la'i Atan
Woga Délong aman
Uher gu inan
Eté Bako Tara aman
Piong tepo waé réta
Bodor tetu waé réta
Da'a Natarwatut Bojanggahar
Ri'igeté Munélok
I'at Hiông nora Koro
I'at Bogin nora Bolet
Hiông Koro Bogin Bolet
Rétong Darang Kawé Rebu
Piong pano waé réta
Bodor tetu waé réta
Kebalolon gong dara
Natahalé hulu hilé
Da'a Wolo'lora hukut human
Ai hidi hala dadin
Koko nora Lio
Gego nora Aron
Piong pano waé ripa
Bodor tetu waé ripa
Hobudué blau apun
Watunuba aur kilat
Nian omi ro'o ro'o
Tana omi lédér lédér
Da'a Wurenuten bao piren

Rice mortar made from mango wood and bound with habí wood,
Uher the father of the people,
Father of Woga and Délong,
Uher who was the mother,
They were the fathers of Bako and Tara,
Made an offering and followed up-slope,
Made a sacrifice and followed up-slope,
To Natarwatut Bojanggahar,
To Ri'igeté Munélok,
They were Hiông and Koro,
They were Bogin and Bolet,
Hiông, Koro, Bogin, Bolet,
Rétong, Darang, Kawé, Rebu,
Made an offering and travelled up-slope,
Made a sacrifice and followed up-slope,
To Kebalolon, shaded from the sun,
To Natahalé in the light of the sun,
To Wolo'lora, where they stumbled repeatedly,
Stumbled over wooden stumps and made errors,
Koko and Lio,
Gego and Aron,
Made an offering and travelled rightward,
Made a sacrifice and travelled rightward,
At Hobudué frightened by vapors,
At Watunuba colored bamboo,
Then their land was nearby,
They were close to their earth,
To Wurenuten, the forbidden banyan tree,
Wair Oin Kabaweger
Da'a lerun lala Watuwolon
Blidi lala mahé poten
Toma Wai Brama Wolobola
Ratu wutun Balénatar
Nian watu mitan misir
Tana manu mai mengan
Blawo on blawo lolon
Blawo mapan blawo geran
A'u Uher la'i Atan
A'u Woga Délong aman
A'u Ipir leten geté
A'u sodor wodon ilin

The stream Wair Oin at Kabaweger,
To the place of the thorned bushes at Watuwolon,
To the blidi tree, the place of the mahé offering stone,
They founded the district of Wai Brama at Wolobola,
Became the rulers as far as Balénatar,
Land of the smooth black mahé stone,
The earth where came the clever chicken,
Dreamed below, dreamed on the mountain above,
Dreamed athwart the slope, dreamed up and down the slope,
I am (You are) Uher father of the people,
I am (You are) the father of Woga and Délong,
I am (You are) Ipir the great tree,
I came (You came) to these hills and mountains (alternative: I pushed forward/up the hills and mountains).

The ngeng ngerang is punctuated with the lines,
"piong pano ..., Bodor tetu ...". Elsewhere it is said:

Du'a iong piong,
Mo'an ong bodor

The mother ancestor sprinkled rice,
The father ancestor sacrificed a pig.

One informant explained that piong is a "meeting" or "encounter": "When the ancestor (Uher la'i Atan) reached a place where people were living, he performed a ceremony of greeting (piong bodor) and a naming, in order that Uher la'i Atan and the ancestors of the place be friends. These rituals marked the first speaking between Uher la'i Atan and the other ancestors he met on his journey." As recounted in ngeng ngerang, each time the ancestor Uher
Figure 3.1: The Journey of the Ancestors as Recounted in the Nyeng Ngerang Sukun Ipir
la'i Ata met people on his journey, he sought:

Ata winé apin kéra (His) sister's people counted as sisters' husbands,

Winen wai kéra la'i Female sisters, male in-laws,

i.e., alliances through marriage. The use of kin terms as metaphors for what became larger, ceremonial relationships is significant and sheds light on the nature of ritual alliance among clans.

The logic is compelling. Uher la'i Ata was male. With each meeting of local du'a mo'an he "married" a daughter of the locality. The local du'a mo'an were then obliged, by the hadat of Tana Ai, to return to him a daughter of the marriage as ama 'lo'en ("father's forelock"). In return for a child, Uher la'i Ata made counterpresentations of plé'a ru'ut: gongs, elephant tusks, and ritual obligations in the social polity he created. By his "marriages" and subsequent bestowal of hadat he created the ceremonial domain of Wai Brama. The myth is the more striking when set against the "outsider" societies of eastern Flores: all are patrilineal, while the Ata Ai are divided among maternal descent groups, and the "outside" is made up of domains ruled by ratu—rajas. Sikkanese myths recount many episodes in which the Sikkanese ratu present the tana puan of local ceremonial domains with elephant tusks, bai'a mangung, "tusk mast (of prahu)", as symbols of political alliance and incorporation into the rajadom.
Thus the ngeng ngerang traces the formation of alliances between Uher la'i Atan, whose descendants of sukun Ipir became the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama, and the du'a mo'an of localities in what became Tana Wai Brama whose descendants comprise the various clans of the domain. As alliances were formed, Uher la'i Atan "surrendered" to each sukun its pîle'a ru'ut, its ceremonial goods, ritual duties, lepo woga (houses), sopé, wélut (reliquary baskets), and land. After founding the central mahé of Tana Wai Brama, Uher la'i Atan divided the land surrounding the mahé forest, giving one field to each of the sukun to be retained perpetually and inalienably as tana ngeng (or tana pusaka), "ancestral land". During the gren mahé ceremonies, each sukun constructs basan (temporary houses) on its tana ngeng for use by its members while participating in the ceremonies.

In the history of sukun Ipir it appears that the alliances between Ipir and other clans resulted from meetings between Uher la'i Atan and the du'a mo'an of places along his journey. The ngeng ngerang of the other four core clans of Tana Wai Brama relate how their ancestors travelled to Tana Ai and how they were given land and ritual duties by the tana puan of sukun Ipir. Thus sukun Tapo was given land in what became part of Tana Wérang. The knowledge of the proper way to make fire and the kitchens of ritual houses, having been brought to Tana Ai by the first people of Tapo, was vouchsafed them by Ipir. The people of sukun Mau, who arrived with the first elephant tusks, were granted land
in Tana Wai Brama and were given responsibility for procuring ivory, patola cloths, gongs and other things kept by clans as ceremonial goods. Sukun Magé brought with them niru burat (lit.: "white spittle"), the knowledge of curing, and was made responsible for keeping that art in Tana Ai. Sukun Ipir retained its ritual responsibilities over the land of the domain.

In the Ngeng Ngerang Sukun Tapo the ancestors Késo and Kuit, Boré and Dopeng came to Tana Ai seeking land and a place to settle. They travelled in the company of "Siang lima api, Gega lama holo", "Siang hand of fire, Gega the ritual chanter". Finally, Ili, Duka, Dolé and Darang arrived at Watuwolon where the people of Ipir had already established Tana Wai Brama. Uher la'i Atan Woga Délong Aman asked the newcomers:

Au bano waé upa? You are travelling in which direction?
Au rema waé epae? Where are you journeying?

An ancestor of Tapo replied:

A'u tota nora nian I am seeking land,
A'u paga nora tana I am searching for earth.

Uher la'i Atan then said:

Duen beli nora nian I will set the boundaries of your land,
Ma'a beli nora tana And divide the earth for you.

As recounted in the ngeng ngerang of sukun Mau, the events that led to the founding of the clan, and the
incorporation of the people of Mau into Tana Wai Brama, are similar to those of sukun Tapo. The following is an excerpt from the history that details the origin of sukun Mau:

Toben nora Bura Toben and Bura (ancestors of sukun Mau),
2 Dau Bawa Rétong Dau Bawa Rétong (ancestors of sukun Mau),
Nimu di Nalé puan mai They (lit.: "he") originated at Nalé (a hill in the Boruk region of Larantuka),
4 Nimu Mororoun bawo They came up at Mororoun (a mountain near Boruk),
Nimu di bubuk hu'u They were belched forth carrying goods balanced on their heads,
6 Nimu di bekor wara They bubbled up carrying goods in baskets by headstraps,
Bubuk hu'u to'o pulu They were belched forth carrying on their heads ten elephant tusks,
8 Bekor wara balik lima Bubbled up carrying baskets of five gongs,
Nimu di bisa to'o They were wealthy with heirlooms,
10 Nimu di lagar balik They were rich with treasure,
Titak bala bihin wawi Sufficient to split tusks for use as troughs for feeding pigs,
12 Leka toar hera manu With enough large gongs for chickens to nest in,

Tota nian tota nian They sought land,
14 Paga tana paga tana They searched for earth,
Omi nian ro'o ro'o Then their land was near,
16 Omi tana lédér lédér Their earth was close at hand,
Ena, éna bliro dani Where the Brahminy kite danced on the wind,
18 Ena, éna gak gakar Where the eagle shrieked,
Nimu bano ihin detu They travelled seeking good harvests,
20 Nimu rema dolo depo They journeyed searching for flowing juice of the lontar,
Omi gu Hila tana napan
Until they came near the flat earth of Hila (the site of the present day village of Hila),

Omi gu Ipir Wolowé'a
To the stream of Wolowé'a (the border of sukun Ipir's tana)

Wali Uher la'í Atan
Across which was Uher la'í Atan (ancestor of sukun Ipir and founder of Tana Wai Brama),

Wali Woga Délong Aman
And Woga Délong Aman (du'a mo'an of sukun Ipir),

Nian wali wé'en geté
Whose land was broad and flat as cloth on the loom,

Tana wali wekak klewang
Whose earth yielded rich harvests,

Au sukun nupa nupa?
What is your clan (asked the ancestors of Ipir)?

Wot aun apa apa?
To what people do you belong?

A'u Toben a'u Bura
I am Toben, I am Bura,

A'u Dau Bawa Rétong
I am Dau Bawa Rétong (the ancestors of sukun Mau replied),

Au bano waś upa?
What direction are you going?

Au rema waś epaś?
Where do you journey?

A'u di tota nian
I am seeking land,

A'u di paga tana
I am searching for earth,

Au logo tota nian
Do not continue seeking land,

Au logo paga tana
Cease searching for earth,

Nian eté uhét dué
On this land lies the navel,

Tana eté puher gerá
From this earth arises the umbilical cord,

Duen beli nora nian
I will grant you land and boundaries,

Hoat ma'a nora tana
I will divide for you earth and boundary markers,

Tana winé wai litin
Against which your sisters can lean,

Tena kéran la'í lér
On which your sisters' husbands can sit,

Tena atan di netin
In which your people will dwell,

Tena apin di depo
In which your descendants will follow,

Nimu litin nian duen
They (the du'a mo'an of sukun Mau) leaned on their land's boundaries,
Nimu lér tana hoat
They sat upon the borders of their earth,
Nimu di laba lepo
They chiselled their clan's houses,
Nimu di sorong woga
They put up their clan's pavilions,

Bano piong oti nian
Then they went and made a sacrifice of rice for the land,
Rema bodor oti tana
They then consecrated the earth,
Piong Belar tana urun
From the grassy fields at Belar,
Nian nitun tana Lédan
To the forest of the nitu spirit at Lédan,
Bitit watu lélé wulan
Picked up the flat stone, round and white like the moon,
Go'i wair bélan bura
And dug at the base of the bélan bamboo to find water,
Piong wawa bélan pua
Made offerings at the trunk of the bélan bamboo,
Bodor wawa wulu ubun
Sacrificed at the tips of the leaves,
Piong ruka olan mitan
Made offerings to cut the black olan tree,
Bodor heti olan méran
And to chop the red olan tree (for clearing gardens),
Leka nimu beli unen
To clear a space within,
Ola nimu beli nain
To make a place (to plant the seeds),
Blatat unen waru blagit
At Blatat where a forest of waru trees stood,
Werang waru dolor blon
At Werang where the waru trees stood close together,
Pliat nimu nai li'at
They planted the three stones (to support cooking pots) at the hearth,
Flaget nimu na'i langat
And above the hearth placed pegs and hooks (for hanging utensils),
Li'at sukun sué
To make a complete kitchen in the house,
Langat song gai
With its hooks for hanging things,
Bano nora hapu watu
Went and swept off the altar stone,
Rema nora géri tana
Went and swept the ceremonial ground clean,
Hapu watu piong paré
Offered rice on the clean stone,
And sprinkled lontar gin on the swept earth,
On my land to lean,
On my earth to sit,
Nearby the clan house and ritual pavilion,
Close by the visitors' room of the lepo with its hanging baskets,
There to make (lit.: "do", i.e., marry) sisters,
There to make brothers by marriage,
Ilé married Duka,
Dolé married Daran,
Mita married Bolen,
Gaté married Dian,
Asking help from up the valley (i.e., from Ipir Wai Brama),
Requesting assistance from up the valley,
From Uher la'i Atan,
From Woga Délounge Aman,
One was Mita who married Nén,
One was Bapa who married Jago,
The ancestors of Mau gave over their sisters,
And exchanged them for sisters' husbands,
I (i.e., Toben Bura) with the ancestral stones and mahé,
On which I lean and rest,
I call all the sisters,
Summoning all the sister's husbands,
Calling Mita unto Nén,
Summoning Bapa unto Jago,
Mita, Nén, Bapa and Jago,
Toli, Poing, Bata and Déwa.
According to another version by a chanter of sukun Mau, when the ancestors of sukun Mau arrived in Tana Ai, they were greeted by Mo'an Uher, who asked them:

Sukun aun nupa nupa? Which is your clan?
Wot aun apa apan? What is your group? (cf. lines 27-28 above).

An ancestor of Mau replied:

A'u Mau a'u Aur
I am Mau, I am Aur,
A'u Iri, a'u Lówuk
I am Iri, I am Lówuk (cf. lines 29-30 above).

Mo'an Uher then said:

Lopo tota nora nian Do not seek land (further),
Lopo paga nora tana Do not search for earth,
Nian eté uhet due In this land lies the marrow,
Tana eté temer gera At this hearth you are well received (cf. lines 35-38 above).

Then the people of sukun Mau began to "chisel a lepo, to put up a woga" (a clan house and visitors' pavilion), and settled in Tana Wai Brama.

In like fashion the ngeng ngerang of all Tana Ai clans relate the integration of newcomers into Tana Ai society under the stewardship of Ipir Wai Brama. In the same way the tana puan is said to have divided the rituals of the ceremonial system, bidding each clan to "hold on to" some part of the whole of the system. The idea that each clan has its own specific obligations and responsibilities
within the ceremonial system serves to define for the Ata Tana Ai the appropriate relationships among clans in an abstract way. The gren mahé, it should be noted, is the only ceremony which involves the participation of all the clans of Tana Ai, and it is in the performance of gren mahé that the different roles of the core clans of Tana Wai Brama are apparent.
Chapter Four

THE SOURCE OF THE DOMAIN

4.1 Introduction

The *tana puan*, the source of the domain, is heir to the earth by virtue of membership in the clan that first settled his *tana* and his descent from the ancestors of that clan. It is from the precedence of his clan, related in *ngeng ngerang*, the "histories", that his status in the community is derived.

The ritual character of the status of the *tana puan* in Tana Ai society reflects the widespread division of authority in eastern Indonesian societies between realms of the sacred, with power over the earth and its rituals, and the secular. The common translation of the different local titles for holders of sacred, ritual authority in the literature on Nusa Tenggara Timur as "Lord of the Earth", or by the Malay term *tuan tanah*, masks significant variations in the nature of the position in the different societies of the region. It is thus necessary to examine carefully the role of the source of domain in the affairs of the people of Tana Wai Brama and the prerogatives ascribed to the status by the community, in order both
to determine its meaning in the organization of the Ata
Tana Ai and to facilitate a systematic comparison of
diarchal organization in the larger region of Nusa
Tenggara Timur.

The various connotations of the word *tana* ("earth",
"domain") have been discussed in Chapters Two and Three.
The word *puan* is equally complex in the range of its
significations. The terminal morpheme /-n/ indicates that
the word *puan* is derived from the root word *pua*. *Pua*
means "to rise up", as "nuhing pua", "the smoke rises"
or "rewu pua", "the dust rises". *Pua* also means "trunk",
"bole" or "stem" of a tree. In the expressions "na'i wawa
pua", "place it on the ground", and "lohor wawa pua", "come
down below (as in descending from inside a house)", *pua*
implies prepositionality, "below", "down", "under".

An *ai pua* is the central ritual site in a garden,
consisting of a tree trunk and altar stone, while *ai puan*
is the bole of a tree. *Puan* means "to begin", "to start"
or "to commence" and also the substantives "beginning"
and "start". *Wair puan* is "the source of water", a spring,
and *ta' in puan* is the belly, abdomen or intestines, the
"source of faeces". 

From these multifarious usages can be posited a
core network of meanings and connotations of the term
*pua*(-n) in which essential elements include:
1. to rise up or come up from below;
2. foundation, base (that is, "trunk" or "base" of a plant, from which it rises);
3. to begin, to start, beginning (hence, origin);
4. centrality and source.

Thus tana puan can be glossed in a number of ways, all of which are appropriate given the different meanings of the word puan:

1. from which the earth / domain has risen;
2. foundation of the earth / domain;
3. origin of the earth / domain;
4. source of the earth / domain.

Beyond these, consideration of the word itself and its usage cannot take us.

4.2 The Metaphors of the Pregnant Boundary

Not all the associations of the word puan are available to a speaker of Sara Tana Ai in ordinary, everyday language. In ritual language, puan occurs as an element in a limited number of dyads. Thus in an invocation to the ancestors of a lepo ("house"), the ritual specialist chants the following two couplets:

Teri ba'a wakè puan (I) sit to reconstruct the source,
Era ba'a réan wangun (I) stand to build the origins;
and:

Blupur wawa liri puan  Ancestors below the central / source house post,
Geté réta lo wutun  Forefathers atop the end of the house beam.

Here *puan* means "source" and "center / central" and is first arrayed synonymously with *wangun*, "origin", and then in opposition to *wutun*, "edge", "end" or "periphery".

Elsewhere in the same chant are the following lines:

1. Marin miu matan gita  You (the ancestors) talk and the eyes will see,
   Heron miu tilun bena  You speak and the ears will hear;
   ...
2. Ewan ba'a weta wu'un  (I) am enabled to speak the ritual,
   Ewan ba'a paen matan  (I) am enabled to bring forth from the "eye";
   ...
3. Weta wu'un paen matan  Bespeak the boundary (speak the ritual), bring forth from the "eye" (make visible to the eyes);
   ...
4. Leku beli nora unen  Give me a space inside,
   Ola beli nora nain  Give me a place for keeping;
   ...
5. Weta hak da'a ahan  Speak that there will be results,
   Paen hak toma moga  Bring into being that there will be a "getting".

Several significant metaphorical relationships are established in these lines. First, in the chant, *matan*
The root mata means "knot" and "to tie a knot" in a cord or rope; and matan also is a "binding", "the lid or cover of a pot, jar or basket", and is the "eye" of a seed or coconut from which a new plant sprouts. In the second couplet, matan is associated with wu’un, which means "boundary" or "ritual". Thus a ritual specialist is spoken of as ata puan bian wu’un, ata bian meaning "human being", puan meaning "center" or "source", and wu’un meaning "boundary" or "ritual". "Gua dena wu’un" in everyday speech means, "to do a ritual", or, more literally, "to work a boundary". The ata puan bian wu’un, "the source/central person, the ritual/boundary person", is he who, through his chanting, "weta wu’un paen matan", "speaks the ritual (or bespeaks the boundary) and makes visible to the eyes (or fertilizes the node)" to bring into being (paen) that which is latent in the boundary demarcating contiguous domains.

The chanter asks that a space (leku) be opened within him and that a place (ola) be given for keeping the results of his speech and for that which is brought into being by his ritual (couplets four and five).

The key words wu’un (boundary, ritual), matan (eye, source, center), puan (source, base, trunk) and leku (enclosed space, cavity) are all metaphors not only in ritual language but are also denominators of the parts of the bamboo plant (see Figure 4.1).
Figure 4.1: The Morphology of the Bamboo
The bamboo, in the conception of the Ata Tana Ai, consists of sections (*larun*) joined at nodes (*wu'un*) which bound the hollow cavities (*leku*) of the culm. From the boundaries between sections grow the branches of the plant. Branches sprout from *matan*, "eyes", which are located on the nodes between sections, and consist, as does the culm itself, of *puan* (trunks) and *kléreng*, the stalk of the branch which is sometimes referred to as *liman*, "hand" or "finger". In ritual language the fecundity of the bamboo and its ability to take root quickly and grow when the nodes joining sections are cut and planted is expressed as:

- Bati meti leku puan — Cut and take the central space,
- Meti meti ola wutun — Peel off and take the peripheral place,
- Leku beli pout — The cavity will then increase,
- Ola beli bojang — And the space within will grow.

The chanter who recited these lines then commented: "bambu punya mata, tanam, tumbuh", "the eye of the bamboo, when planted, will grow". In the invocation to the ancestors cited above, the chanter recalls the imagery of the bamboo in requesting that a *leku*, a "space", be opened within him after the fashion of the bamboo.

Barnes (1974:231) writes of the Kédangese of Lembata that the eye from which the branch of the bamboo grows is distinguished from the base of the branch. The words in the language of Kédang — *puén* and *matan* — are related semantically and with regard to the bamboo in much the
same way as the words *puan* and *matan* in Sara Tana Ai. In Kédang, *puén* and *matan* share common meanings of "source" and "origin" but "the two words effect a division within their common meaning" whereby *matan* "really means no more than a point of emergence or transition" while "*puén* may be associated with ideas of substance, solidarity and durability" (op. cit.). The Ata Tana Ai conceive of the *puan* and *matan* of the branch of the bamboo and its node as synonymous and informants say that *matan* are associated with the *wu’un* (node) of the parent culm and are loci of potential growth. They are germinal points from which "new things" can emerge, but require the fertilization of forces that are intrinsic to the bamboo but external to the *matan* itself in order for growth to be realized. This feature of the bamboo is recapitulated in Tana Ai ritual.

In Tana Ai, all origins are associated with boundaries, and all boundaries, not just those of the bamboo which provides a convenient model for a more universal characteristic of the world, are potentially sources. A dialectic, by which things separated from each other by boundaries generate new things by being brought together either at their borders or vicariously through replacement, is encountered throughout the culture of the Ata Tana Ai, including the regulations governing kinship and marriage by which the system of alliance between houses is created.
Rituals in Tana Wai Brama can be seen as a complex of boundary (and bounding) phenomena by which the potentialities latent in the conjunctions of bounded domains can be quickened by human action, and by which the world can be shaped to human ends.

In terms of the cosmology of the Ata Tana Ai, the whole of the culm of the bamboo is a mediator between the earth and the sky, the human and divine realms of the universe, because it grows from the "downward", "female" and "cool" realm of Nian Tana, the "earth", and reaches beyond the plane of everyday human life into the "upper", "male" and "hot" domain of Lero Wulan, the Sun and Moon. These two realms both meet and are conjoined, and are separated from one another by degrees, in the nodes that separate the series of sections comprising the culm of the plant. Bamboo is a plant of the forest, which is "hot", but is the principal material for the construction of houses, barns, sitting platforms, fences and a myriad of objects used in everyday life, and must itself be "cooled" by ritual when it is cut and brought from the forest to be put to human use. These coolings require the presence of bian wu'un, "men of the boundaries", to effect the transitions from forest to domesticity.

In the Myth of the Founding of the Domain, it was the ancestors of the tana puan who first demarcated the realms and set the boundaries of the sacred forests and
the domestic domains of the landscape of Tana Wai Brama, and it was they who "discovered" the site of the mahé and planted there the altar of the domain. As the heir of these boundary setters, the tana puan is "source" and the "center" of the earth and is the ultimate impresario of the boundaries of the domain and their rituals. He is central because he is the focus of the network of centers and peripheries, both physical and social, that divide his domain, and he is "source" because he is the direct link with the origins from which Tana Wai Brama and its community has sprung and from whom are delegated the statuses of the ritual specialists of the clans.

4.3 The Source of the Domain

The responsibility for the physical and spiritual well-being of a tana is vested in its tana puan, the "center", "source", "trunk" and "foundation" of the domain. In Tana Ai, each domain has a tana puan, while the source of the domain of Tana Wai Brama serves not only as tana puan of his own ceremonial territory but is also considered to be the final arbiter of matters of ritual throughout the region of Tana Ai. Within the ceremonial organization of the domain, the tana puan acts as the head of a corps of ritual specialists who perform the rituals of the domain. In keeping with the characteristic manner in which all responsibilities and obligations that can be delegated are delegated, there are many other
men besides the source of the domain — specialists in hadat and history, practitioners of ritual, chanters and simply important and influential men of affairs — who are regularly consulted by members of the community and who arbitrate in meetings that ostensibly are the purview of the tana puan. Indeed the source of the earth is only rarely involved personally in decisions or plans concerning the conduct of ritual, although he is always apprised of the multifarious legal, ritual and social matters that constantly occupy the Ata Tana Wai Brama.

Nonetheless the tana puan is by no means a figure-head: during the term of field work in Tana Wai Brama no meeting of leaders of the community ever reached a decision to which the tana puan objected. In all but the most trivial matters, the opinions or desires of the tana puan were communicated to the community by men who visited him prior to meetings, conferences and ritual events to solicit his guidance. Nor was a tendency to work in the background an idiosyncrasy of the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama. Rather, indirect involvement of the most important people in the affairs of the domain is a regularity in all aspects of Tana Ai life. The engagement of many people and the seeming decentralization of decision-making obscures hierarchical structures of authority and power that are fundamental to the order of Tana Ai society. In Tana Ai, performers and doers of things are rarely and
only co-incidentally those who are responsible for things done. 7

While the tana puan is the "source" of hadat, as well as its preserver and interpreter, he is not necessarily active as an ata puan bian wu'un, a ritual practitioner, in the actual performance of rituals. In Tana Wai Brama, for example, the guardian of the mahé is a man from another descent group within the clan of the tana puan and the chief chanter of ngeng ngerang is from yet another. These men receive their statuses in the ceremonial organization of the domain by virtue of delegation by the tana puan, or by inheritance of a delegated status. Thus even within the tana puan's own clan, ritual duties are delegated, as other clans are enfranchised to conduct rituals in accordance with their precedence. Only in the gren mahé is the source of the domain active: it is he who must "speak the words" that initiate preparations for the gren and without his active engagement in managing the rituals the participation of all the clans of the domain, which are in all other matters autonomous, could not be coordinated.

The source of the earth does not exercise jural authority in his domain. Disputes that arise within clans are referred to the elder men of the clan for settlement while ritual specialists, men who "know speech", are convened to settle disputes between people of different clans. In all cases these men are viewed as acting on
behalf of the headwoman of their respective groups. Indeed ritual specialists always consult their headwomen before taking decisions, especially in matters involving the disposal of land or ceremonial goods. Disputes are conceived as arising between individual people. Clans rarely act corporately, but because disputes require ritual, and ritual specialists, for their settlement, the house or clan of a litigant is usually involved in proceedings of a jural nature. Despite the secular autonomy of the clans and their houses, the tana puan is usually informed of disputes and settlements though he rarely does more than advise in matters of litigation, or point out principles of hadat that might pertain to the resolution of a dispute.

In Tana Wai Brama, women rule within autonomous social units and men, in whom are vested authority for the conduct of the external affairs of the group, are the "glue" that bind the diverse clans and houses into the larger domain. Tana Wai Brama is thus a confederation of sukun, each of which is autonomous with respect to its internal affairs, presided by the tana puan and chartered by the ngeng ngerang, the histories of the domain.

The various tana puan of Tana Ai are not conceived to be ranked hierarchically, except that the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama is "pokok" (Indonesian: "principal", "main"). The tana puan of Tana Ai never constituted a
government or political entity as such, and the confedera-
tion of clans within tana was never extended as a principle
of organization between domains. Within his domain, the
authority of the tana puan lies first in the realm of
religion and ritual. But the sources of the earth of Tana
Wai Brama did come to represent the Ata Tana Ai generally
in their dealings with the succession of governments that
have claimed suzerainty over the mountains. In this manner
the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama was, until twenty years
ago, invested with a degree of political authority as well.
Both the rajas of Sikka and Larantuka, between whom hegemony
over Tana Ai was disputed in the nineteenth century, recog-
nized the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama as the representative
of all Tana Ai through whom the rajas governed the moun-
tains in turn. Usually the relationship between raja and
tana puan was one between equals, or between nominal ruler
and independent subaltern. Only late in Tana Ai history
did representatives of the raja of Sikka come to reside
in the district that is now Kecamatan Talibura.

The raja of Sikka, with the authority of the Dutch,
consolidated his claim to Tana Ai at the turn of the century,
and presented the tana puan with bala mangun (literally,
"mast tusk") and other regalia as symbols of the government
of the rajadom in Tana Ai. In his capacity as both liege
and ally of the raja, through whom the raja communicated
with the Ata Tana Ai, the tana puan was called by the
Sikkanese *gai ratu* (*gai* means "cane", "rotan", "staff"; *ratu* means "raja").

Under the Dutch and the rajadom of Sikka, beginning in the early twentieth century, the last *tana puan* served as *kapitan* of Distrik Werang, one of three districts into which Tana Ai was divided for administrative purposes. The *kapitan*-ships of Tana Ai comprised one of fifteen districts of the rajadom until 1952. The late *tana puan* of Tana Wai Brama, Mo'an Robertus Rapa Ipir Wai Brama, who died in August, 1979, was the last to serve as *kapitan* of Werang, an office he held until the government of the independent Republic of Indonesia established the district (kecamatan) system in Sikka. Until his death he was often referred to as "Mo'an Pitan", a respectful title derived from the Portuguese word *kapitan*. Since the inauguration of regency government from Maumere, the political influence of the *tana puan*, so it is claimed by the government, has been much restricted.

Kecamatan Talibura is divided into eleven desa (municipalities), each with a *kepala desa* ("municipal head") who is popularly elected from a slate of local candidates approved by the government of the regency in Maumere. Since there is a practice by the kabupaten government whereby *camat* are not assigned to their native districts, the *kepala desa* are the highest ranking officials in the government who hold office in their home districts. In Tana Ai the
Mo’an Robertus Rapa Ipir Wai Brama,
TANA PUAN of Tana Wai Brama
(1979)
principal occupation of kepala desa is the communication and implementation of government policies and projects, but in Desa Wérang, Desa Tanarawa and Desa Pruda, whose boundaries encompass most of the traditional domain of Tana Wai Brama, few decisions of significance are taken without the consultation of the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama. Indeed, the kepala desa of Wérang, a man of sukun Liwu, derives considerable prestige from being the head of the desa in which the tana puan resides and in which the central mahé of Tana Brama is located, and from his marriage to a woman of the house of the tana puan. His major problems in administering his desa arise from what he views as the intransigence of the people of Tana Wérang, whose affairs are within his purview, but who are of a different ceremonial domain. In matters pertaining to the Tana Wérang area of his desa the kepala desa regularly solicits the assistance of the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama who, by virtue of his traditional ceremonial status, is able to speak more effectively than the kepala desa with similarly influential men of the neighboring domain.

While the official political authority of the tana puan has been abolished in recent years, his influence in matters of religion and ritual remain largely intact and, in matters relating to land tenure and inheritance, his influence is still considerable and derives from his status as a lineal descendant of the original allocators of land among the clans of Tana Wai Brama.
The position of the source of the domain is said to be inherited within the core house of sukun Ipir Wai Brama from mother's brother to sister's son, and in this manner the position remains within the central clan of the domain, and within a single core descent group of that clan in perpetuity. Should a tana puan have no sisters, the position would be inherited by a son or grandson of his mother's sister. The position is thus not only associated with sukun Ipir Wai Brama, but is in theory strictly the prerogative of the "central" group of that clan whose members claim descent from the founding ancestor, Uher la'i Atan, who first came to Tana Wai Brama.

In reality the succession of tana puan has been complicated the past few generations by the demise of the "source" line of sukun Ipir Wai Brama. Rapa became tana puan following the death of Buto (see Figure 11.5), who was himself not of the source line. Indeed, it is not clear from the information I was able to obtain why Buto held the position and not Dagan, who was of the central house of the clan. Informants were unable to tell me who was tana puan before Buto, and it is possible that Dagan, or another man of Dagan's house in Ipir Wai Brama and of his generation, was tana puan.

Despite the seemingly straightforward manner of succession expressed in the rule that the position is inherited by a sister's son of a deceased tana puan, other important considerations enter into the succession. Among
them, the *tana puan* must be a skilled chanter and must have a capacity for leadership. Not all men fulfil these requirements (see Chapter Six, pp. 203-205). Following the death of Rapa, a ritual specialist and expert in *hadat* remarked that Bago, though he is of a less central house, is in much the same position as Rapa with regard to eligibility to become *tana puan*. Both Rapa's and Bago's "ama" (fathers) were of the source house of Ipir Nai Brama, and if Rapa (whose mother's mother was originally of *sukun* Mage) is taken as a precedent, then Bago, who is a descendant of the same *ina geté* ("great mother" who first enters a clan from another clan) as Rapa, is eligible to become *tana puan*. However, the informant went on to express his opinion that Bago would not succeed to the position because he is not a skilled chanter and does not "know the histories of the domain".  

4.4 *oda* and *Hura*: Sequence and Pattern in the Ceremonial Order of the Domain

The *tana puan* is most active in the celebration of *gren mahé*, the purpose of which, if such a complex ritual can be said to have a single purpose, is the invocation of the deity and the sacrifice of animals to it in order to insure the well-being of the earth and its continued fertility. The community participates in the *gren* through the mediation of the source of the domain. Behind him,
and arrayed in the order of their mythologically founded precedence, are the ritual specialists of the core clans of the domain. In the gren the precedence, oda geté, of the largest social groups of Tana Ai society is manifested in sequences of events ranged in a hierarchy of importance in which specific responsibilities for different parts of the performance are vouchsafed to the clans. In ritual, the precedence of clans is translated into sequence, the sequence of rites that comprise the ritual. Indeed, in the Myth of the Founding of the Domain, precedence derives from the temporal sequence in which the ancestors of contemporary Ata Tana Wai Brama established themselves in the domain. Sequence is a principle that orders as well much of the social and ritual life of the Ata Tana Ai outside the rituals of the domain.

The idea of sequence here put forward is the union of two closely related ideas expressed in the language of the Ata Tana Ai by the closely related terms oda and hura. Oda can be glossed as "sequence" in the sense of seriatim events that are not necessarily related to one another. The term hura means "pattern", but connotes meaningful consecution, that is, events that are causally or logically related. Oda has to do with sequential events that constitute sejara, "history". Oda establishes precedent in the affairs of the community, and the precedence of rights, or hadat, as they are delegated in the community.
\textit{Hura} is a quality that inheres in action, speech or thought that is worked out on the basis of, or founded in, past events. More precisely, \textit{hura} is a quality of events that are structured by the logic of \textit{oda}. \textit{Oda} is history; \textit{hura} is the patterns of meaning discoverable in the relationships of past events and the logic of ritual performance which draws on history and recapitulates it meaningfully. In Tana Ai, the history of an event or state of affairs legitimates it, and it is in the order of events, attained by conscious interpretation of them, that legitimacy (\textit{hadat}) is established. In its fundamentals, \textit{hadat}, by which social action is sanctioned, is history, the sequence of past events, rendered normative by the interpretations of those events by ritual specialists, those who "know the speech" in which \textit{hadat} is encoded.

The principles of \textit{oda} and \textit{hura}, sequence on the one hand as seriatim events and on the other as "pattern", "order", "meaningful consecution", permeate Tana Ai culture and find expression in the organization of relationships among clans in ritual, in the relations of alliance between the houses that comprise clans, and in the chants of the ritual specialists of the domain. The order of the rites that constitute a ceremony is, to the Ata Tana Ai, as important as the rites themselves, and doing rituals out of their proper order precludes a successful conclusion of ritual action.
The importance of sequence can be illustrated in the chanting of the *oda geté*, the "great precedence", during the *gren mahé* ceremonies of 1980. When the *mahé* forest was cleared to begin preparations for the *gren*, it was discovered that a large bough had fallen from the banyan tree which towers over the site of the *mahé*. The falling limb had struck the *wanin* (drum) which had been left at the site after the last *gren* several years before. The drum was found to be unusable and arrangements were made to fell a lontar palm at Wolo’lora, from whose trunk a new drum would be carved.  

Carving a new *wanin* requires the presence of the ancestors. To summon the ancestors, the chanters of the *oda*, the *ngeng ngerang*, gathered at the site of the lontar to:

\begin{align*}
\text{Jok wiri nora wana} & \quad \text{To call to the left and right,} \\
\text{Jobang nora papa ruan} & \quad \text{To request of both sides.}
\end{align*}

The bringing together of the living and the dead, the "two sides", for consultation is an extraordinarily dangerous business, and care must be taken in chanting that no errors are made. During the calling of the ancestors, one of the principal chanters of the *oda geté* startled the other ritual specialists who were present by chanting the following lines:

\begin{align*}
\text{A’u sera mé} & \quad \text{I surrender (my voice) to my children,} \\
\text{A’u naté pu} & \quad \text{I give over (my tongue) to my sister’s children,}
\end{align*}
A'u tur niluk My knees are painful,
A'u watin lédér My footsteps are close together.

This was viewed by other ritual specialists as a grave error on the part of a still vital middle-aged chanter who shared the responsibility for the successful completion of the gren. Including these lines in his chant was speaking out of place, literally, speaking out of order, out of the oda sequence. The error was later discussed at length by other ritual leaders who decided that the chanter had not endangered the gren, but would likely die soon.

A few days later, during the chanting of the oda geté to open the gren ceremonies, a senior chanter of sukun Tapo, in whom is entrusted "li'ar lusi rang lajur", "the skilled voice and harmonious chorus", made an error in the sequence of the chant. In this case, the error proved fatal: three days after the event, the chanter from sukun Tapo died suddenly.

During construction of one of the houses erected at the mahé for the gren rituals, a man from sukun Magé was given the task of "cooling" the house, which also involves invoking the ancestors. To do this he started off into the forest in order to perform a rite at two trees. He was prevented from doing this by a man of sukun Mau who had delegated his clan's responsibility for the ritual to sukun Magé. To have addressed the ancestors in the forest rather than in the house would have:
Lepo lau wa hugar  Reversed the door of the house downhill,
Woga wawa ulu wale  Turned around the guestroom uphill.

That is, it would been the same as reversing the uphill-downhill orientation of the house, to have made it "a house of the dead".

These errors have the character of errors of sequence, by which the *oda* of the history is confounded. To chant an invocation to the deity as:

- Ama Lero Wulan wawa  Father Sun and Moon below,
- Ina Nian Tana réta  Mother Land and Earth above,

rather than the correct:

- Ina Nian Tana wawa  Mother Land and Earth below,
- Ama Lero Wulan réta  Father Sun and Moon above,

is to ascribe the wrong attributes to the manifestations of the deity, which results in a reversal of order and orientation. The language of ritual speech is *bleka hura*, "patterned, ordered chant". The sequences and patterns of ritual language recapitulate the order and sequences of the universe, and to commit errors in chanting is referred to as *hura hugar*, "to reverse the pattern". Just as the dead inhabit a world that is the mirror image of the world of the living, so the speech of the dead is *hugar*, "backwards", "upside down", "reversed", "turned around". For the living to speak thus is "piré, élé diran", "forbidden, not true", and is therefore dangerous.
The delegation in myth of land and ritual status by the tana puan to the ancestors of the clans corresponds to the decentralization of authority among ritual headmen of the clans today. While authority is decentralized through delegation, ritual statuses of the clans and their specialists are ordered by the hierarchy of precedence of the clans in relation to the source of the domain. Precedence is founded in the histories. And in the histories are encoded the oda and bura, the warp and weft of the order of life in the domain. As "source of the domain", the tana puan embodies the traditions in which this order is founded, and is charged with their preservation.
Chapter Five

THE RITUALS OF THE DOMAIN AND THE CEREMONIAL
ORDER OF TANA WAI BRAMA

5.1 Introduction

The rituals of the domain of Tana Wai Brama are those that are performed at the mahé, the central ceremonial site of the tana. These rituals have at least two characteristics by which they form a class within the total ceremonial repertoire of the people of Tana Wai Brama. First, they are performed by or on behalf of the whole community of the domain. Second, the rituals of the domain are addressed to the deity of the Ata Tana Ai, Nian Tana Lero Wulan ("Land and Earth, Sun and Moon"), which governs the whole of the earth, while clan and house rituals are addressed to the ancestors of the particular groups that perform them. The two broad categories of ritual, those with the deity and those with ancestors as their objects, are distinguishable both by their different forms of ritual action and the oratorical performances that accompany them.

The rituals of the domain can be seen as serving to organize and to provide an arena for the organization of the otherwise autonomous clans that comprise the domain. It is the involvement of the whole of the community in them
that gives the larger organization of the domain its ceremonial character.

There is only one site for the rituals of the domain, and that site, the mahé, is conceived to be the "center" of the domain and is governed by the source of the domain who must authorize rituals conducted there. Occasions for the performance of ritual at the mahé of Tana Wai Brama are strictly limited to two sorts. First are the ceremonies by which the separation of the seasons is insured. These rituals are done twice a year, once at the beginning of the rainy season and before rice is planted and again at the start of the dry season before the harvest is begun. Less frequently, and according to no predetermined calendar, gren mahé, the "festival" or "celebration" of the mahé, is performed. The rituals of the seasons and gren mahé are also the only rituals conducted by the authority of the tana puan and requiring his participation.

The following account of the rituals of the domain is intended to illustrate the ceremonial nature of clan relations in Tana Wai Brama. The description of the individual rituals will be limited to some aspects of the social organization of the ceremonies, especially as it involves clans, and will only touch peripherally on analysis of the performance and content of the rituals themselves. This restricted treatment will nonetheless serve to establish the complementary themes of sequence, precedence and
hierarchy which, it will be shown in subsequent chapters, govern not only relations between clans of the domain, but also the organization, by exchange and alliance, of the houses that comprise clans. These principles are more clearly manifest in the relationships between ritual practitioners of the gren mahé than in the symbolic content of the rituals themselves. This approach is in keeping with the values that the Ata Tana Ai themselves place on ritual.

Because Ipir was the first clan to reside in the domain, and because of the priority of its claim to the region, Ipir is the central clan of the mahé rituals. The tana puan, the source of the domain which itself is known by the name of his clan-branch, Wai Brama, is always from sukun Ipir. The tana puan of Tana Wai Brama is thus seen as being originally the source of the land and other clans, and is still today the source of the well-being of the land. This responsibility of the source of the earth is discharged ritually in the mahé ceremonies. By its guardianship of the mahé, sukun Ipir Wai Brama bears ritual responsibility for the maintenance of crucial relationships between the land and its inhabitants. But in the rituals of the domain, in accordance with the principles of precedence and delegation, every clan and house of the domain is involved in the ceremonies by which these ends are obtained.

During the gren mahé, and only then, the ngeng ngerang, the histories of the clans, are chanted in their entirety
and in the proper sequence. During these ceremonies the chanters, who are appointed by the tana puan, "seek Iang Bangu (the ancestors of all human beings) and search for the precedence", "tota ina ha ama ha", "seek the one mother and the one father", and "tota oda geté", "seek the great precedence". This sequence is sought in order to "tota puan nora oda ma'an", "to seek the source and the division of oda (precedence)". It is in this sequence that the alliances between Ipir (which is puan, "central") and the other sukun (which "hold" oda, "precedence") were established, and thus the ceremonial ranking and ordering of the clans. During the gren this sequence is of supreme importance, and in chanting oda geté, "the great precedence", the temporal sequence of the alliances that founded Tana Ai society is recounted and each clan takes its place in an array of clans, some closer to and others more distant from the source.

While the houses (descent groups) of sukun Ipir close to puan, "the source", maintain the permanent ritual houses of the Wai Brama ceremonial system, the lepo luli ("drinking bowl house", or victuals house) and the most important lepo tana, the "house of the earth" and the house of the tana puan, it is in the performance of gren mahé that the ritual duties surrendered by Ipir to the various clans of the domain find expression, with each clan obliged to provide for some part of the ceremonies.
While they are by no means indifferent to the quality of a ritual performance, or to the ostensible elements of ritual action, the Ata Tana Wai Brama are little concerned with the "symbolism" of what they do when they perform ritual. For the Ata Tana Wai Brama, ritual action is by and large predetermined. Indeed, the word hadat, "customs", "tradition", is also used to mean "to perform a ritual", but the plans and arrangements that are required to produce a ritual provide an arena for political maneuvering and the exercise of power. A purely symbolic account of ritual in Tana Ai would likely relegate to mere byplay the politics of ritual by assuming that it conforms to predetermined patterns of behavior and is governed by "rules" that determine performance.

Such an analysis would overlook what for the Ata Tana Ai is the central requirement of ritual: a ceremony must first be "spoken" before it is "done". Ritual specialists must, before a ritual is undertaken, negotiate among themselves the delegation of various responsibilities, who will provide animals for sacrifice, who will chant the histories, who will perform the rites, and who will assist the principals in all these matters. Furthermore, all halan hulir, "errors and forgettings", that might obstruct the successful performance of ritual must be dealt with and expiated before a ritual can begin. The need to perform a ritual and the requirements of its performance may be determined by hadat,
but these are very much contingent on the affairs of the contemporary community at the time a given ritual is to be done. And it is in the preliminary "speaking" of the ritual in its planning by ritual specialists that much of its social meaning is to be found.

With respect to the descriptions of the rituals of the domain that follow, that of the gren is based on my observation of and participation in the mahé celebration of November, 1980, and incorporates information on previous performances provided by several ritual specialists. The restriction of the analysis to the social relations manifested in the ceremonies is in keeping with a methodological imperative: the generalizations regarding the social organization of the ceremony and the system of ceremonial alliance described are verifiable by reference to information extrinsic to the ceremonies themselves. A general symbolic analysis of the same ceremony as one example of a class of ceremonies is not possible on the basis of observation of only one performance. For the present description of the rituals of the seasons, which I have not witnessed, I have relied entirely upon the accounts of informants for the information provided here. The two kinds of ceremonies conducted at the mahé, and their organization, will be described in turn.

5.2 The Rituals of the Seasons

The separation of the dry season from the rainy season is insured by a ritual performed at the mahé. This ceremony
is done in April or early May and before the beginning of
the rice harvest in order to "neni daran", "to ask for
the dry season". The ceremony is called wérot bruha kabor,
"the coconut which is split to parch the earth".

In November or December, before the planting of rice
begins, another ritual is performed at the mahé to "neni
'lelen", "to ask for rain". Both of these ceremonies are
commonly referred to as hogé kabor, "to upend the coconut",
and the splashing of the water of a coconut is instrumental
in the "cooling" required for the ceremonies to be effective.

Neither of the seasonal mahé rituals is performed
publicly. Rather, the guardian of the mahé, a man of sukun
Ipir Wai Brama close to the "center" of the clan and who
is appointed to his office by the tana puan, decides when
the ceremonies should be done. After consulting the tana
puan, the guardian of the mahé recruits a few ritual
specialists of other clans, one of whom must know the proper
chants, and one or two younger men to handle and slaughter
the animals, a goat and a pig, that are sacrificed during
the rituals. The mahé site is not cleared of undergrowth
for the hogé kabor ceremonies.

Hogé kabor is a simple ritual and requires little
time. The animals are killed, blood from their heads is
sprinkled over the offering stone of the mahé, and the
carcasses are then butchered, cooked and eaten by the men
present at the ritual. Rice is sprinkled over the stones
from a basket, and the remainder is cooked in bamboo tubes for the ritual meal that completes the ceremony. Finally, a young coconut is cut open and its water is sprinkled over the stones and the mahé. The emptied coconut is then jammed onto the right-hand horn (as viewed when facing the altar uphill) of the mahé pole. The jamming of the coconut onto the horn of the mahé is what is meant by hogé kabor, the name of the ritual.

Before animals are sacrificed, and for both the rainy and dry season ceremonies, the deity is invoked with a chant which includes the lines:

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<tr>
<th>Tanka</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neni ora Nian Tana</td>
<td>Ask of the Land and Earth,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ina Nian Tana wawa</td>
<td>Mother Land and Earth below,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plawi ora Lero Wulan</td>
<td>Beg of the Sun and Moon,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ama Lero Wulan réta</td>
<td>Father Sun and Moon above,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohor ba’u lé’u moa</td>
<td>Come down completely,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Léma ba’u lé’u ahan</td>
<td>Climb upward completely,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Léma depo kung bio</td>
<td>Climb up following the golden cord,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohor detu tali plou</td>
<td>Descend by the heavenly ladder,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kung bio honen gorek</td>
<td>Golden chain with notched rungs,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tali plou wulu lodan</td>
<td>Heavenly ladder like a necklace of wulu bamboo,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai mué wa’a du’a</td>
<td>Come here to the female stones,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawo mué mahé mo’an</td>
<td>Come here to the male mahé pole.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the ceremony at the beginning of the rainy season, and following the initial invocation, the chant continues:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tanka</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Etik naha ela tana</td>
<td>Mist must fall on the earth,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kowa naha lolo buluk</td>
<td>Clouds must creep low,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Uran naha lohor wawa     Rain must come down,
Wair naha lêma bawo     The streams must rise up,
Nian Tana naha blatan    Land and Earth must be cooled,
Lero Wulan naha bliran  Sun and Moon must be cooled,
Blatan wair sina mitan   Cool as Portuguese holy water,
Ro kabor bali bura²      Cool as Balinese coconut water.

For the ceremony at the start of the dry season
a different chant follows the invocation of the
deity:

Tito lé'u gebu geté      Disperse completely the great
                        white clouds,
Bado lé'u gon mosan      Lift up completely the broad
                        shading cover,
Degu ilin wutun nan     Fling them from the tops of
                        the mountains,
Belo tahi 'loran ba'u    Throw them away into the middle
                        of the seas,
Wair naha meti batar     The streams must be dried and
                        "cut through",
Urun naha beré hogan     The grasses must be made to
                        grow high.

In their simplicity, non-public and biannual
performance, the rituals of the seasons contrast radically
with the major rituals of the domain, the gren mahé.
5.3 The *Gren*: Celebrations of the Domain

The word *gren* is used by the Ata Tana Ai to refer only to the celebration of the *mahe* and to *gren to'o blatan balik bliran*, the celebration and "cooling" of the ceremonial wealth (gongs, elephant tusks, *patola* cloths and swords) of the clans. The *mahe* and *to'o balik* rituals have in common that they are relatively large-scale and public ceremonies. In both these respects they differ from other rituals — *wu'un* — which are smaller in scale and are conducted independently by the *lepo*, the descent groups that comprise the clans. Neither *gren mahe* nor *gren to'o balik* follow a calendar, but are conducted at times determined by the *tana puan* and clan headwomen, respectively, generally once every four to seven years. Furthermore, the core rites of these rituals are generally not intended as public performances even when, as with the "cooling" of new houses, mortuary rituals and barn ceremonies, ceremonial food distributions accompany them. *Gareng lamen*, the rituals of male initiation, while often more elaborate than *to'o balik* celebrations, are never public, and are thus not *gren*. One informant translated the word *gren* into Malay as "permohonan tanah", a "request of the earth" or "an appeal to the earth", and added that *gren* are, "feasts, a large name for a large feast (pesta)". It is thus appropriate to translate *gren*
as "celebration", which in the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary is given the definition: "to perform publicly and in due form (any religious ceremony) ...". This meaning corresponds precisely to that of *gren*.

The participation of almost all adult members of the community in the *gren mahe* celebration does not preclude the performance of many of its constituent rites outside the public domain. Invocations and sacrifices to clan ancestors and to the various spirits (*guna dèwa*) that inhabit the *tana*, as well as the installations of the *téli apur* (a smaller container of relics of past *gren* celebrations) and *watu mirin* (the "slanted" stone that serves as an altar in the central ritual pavilion), and the construction of the *wanin* drum are attended by only the ritual specialists and their designated assistants, even though the *téli apur* and *watu mirin* are brought from their secret places in the forest to the *mahe* grounds in the midst of public dancing.

By "public" is meant that every resident of the domain, whether or not he or she is bound by a specific ritual obligation to participate, can attend the celebration and make sacrifices at the *mahe*.

The *tana puan* of Tana Wai Brama determines when the *gren mahe* of the domain is to be undertaken. Considerations of the quality of the last harvest, the availability of animals and the length of time since the last *gren* are important in deciding when the ceremonies will be performed.
It is said that gren mahé should be conducted every four to seven years, but this does not constitute an inflexible rule.\(^3\)

Personnel for the performance of the rites that comprise the gren and labor for the clearing of the ceremonial site, construction of the pavilions and paraphernalia (the drum and labit emblems for dancing) are recruited by the central organizers of the celebration from all the houses of the domain. The Ata Tana Ai distinguish, however, two fundamentally different kinds of "rights" in the ceremonies: kuasa litin, "the right to sit", and kuasa tutur marin, "the right to speak". This is a distinction made in any ritual in Tana Wai Brama. Those who have the right to sit are the central ritual specialists of the domain who hold their prerogatives as part of their ritual statuses within the clans to which the delegation of rights in the domain has been made by the tana puan or his ancestors. The term for these rights, "to sit" (litin), recalls the representation of the core clans of the domain in the blikon, the clan stones on which the leaders of the clans "sit and lean" (litin lér) during the rituals of the domain. Those with the right to speak are participating members of subsidiary clans and houses of the domain who are mobilized to assist in the gren performance by the core clans. The right to sit and the right to speak are manifested relatively, however, and imply a hierarchical organization of ritual
status in which each group has the right to sit vis-à-vis other groups, and can only speak, i.e., offer suggestions, opinions or advice in ritual matters, in relation to others. In this regard it should be noted that receiving a right by delegation from a specialist of higher status carries with it the right to divide and delegate that obligation in turn to persons of lower status.

The hierarchy of ritual status and the delegation of obligations by holders of particular statuses takes two forms. First, the *tana puan* and specialists of the core clans can be said to have absolute "rights to sit" insofar as their relationships are fixed in the histories of the domain. But the rights themselves are delegated to the clans, and those who exercise them, the ritual specialists who constitute the personnel of ritual performances, are easily shifted and replaced. Second, lower order and derivative rights can be assigned in particular events. This last feature of recruitment for ritual performance means that within the hierarchy different houses within a clan that holds a particular responsibility in the *gren* may be chosen to fulfil that responsibility on different occasions. Thus a house of clan Tapo was delegated the carving and painting of the *labit dopi* for the *gren* of 1980, but another house of the same clan might be given that responsibility in subsequent *gren* celebrations. It also means that those who actually perform the
decapitations of sacrificial animals, sprinkling of rice on coconut water, the myriad individual rites that make up the *gren* (or any large scale ceremony) can be recruited, that is delegated their duties, on the spur of the moment and in the midst of a ritual. Thus young men and sometimes boys are frequently seen "doing ritual", but always under the close supervision and instruction of an older ritual specialist.

Ritual specialists point out that this feature of the organization of ritual allows young men "to learn the ceremonies". Indeed, ritual specialists themselves say that they do not receive instruction in ritual, but learned by doing it when they were young. Any man in Tana Ai is qualified to perform the rites of a ceremony. What distinguishes ritual specialists from other men is their "knowledge of speech" (*bleka hura*, the ritual language of Tana Ai) and their permanent statuses in the ritual hierarchy of the community. The biographies of ritual specialists inevitably include episodes, usually following on a traumatic event such as the death of a favorite *mamé pu* "mother's brother", who was also a chanter, in which the ritual specialist suddenly:

```
Himo wa déa li'ar
Receives the tongue and takes the voice,
Li'ar lusi rang lajur
The skilled voice, the harmonious chorus,
```
and realizes he has been given ritual power.

Figure 5.1 illustrates a model of the delegation and diffusion of ritual authority and duties in the performance of *gren mahe*. The model also illustrates the way in which the opposition of *puan* (centers, sources) and *wutun* (peripheries) is translated into hierarchy, in this case, of ritual status with respect to one particular ceremony. The equation of a continuum demarcated by a center and a periphery and a hierarchy, as between *kuasa litin* and *kuasa tutur*, is a general theme of the organization of the society of Tana Wai Brama which will be encountered again in the physical arrangements of gardens and in the system of asymmetric alliance and the *oda* (precedence) of houses within clans.

The four core clans of Tana Wai Brama (*sukun Tapo*, *sukun Mau*, *sukun Mage* and *sukun Liwu*) each have specific responsibilities in the *gren* ceremonies, and the divisions of ritual obligations among these four clans are referred to as follows:

*Sukun Tapo* has "hak pertama" (Indonesian: "first rights"), and its ritual specialists are "li'ar lusi rang lajur", "the skilled voice and harmonious chorus" of the domain and hence of the *gren*. In the histories of the domain it was the ancestors of Tapo who brought to the *tana* the knowledge of *bleka hura*, ritual language, and the responsibility for the correct performance of the chants
Figure 5.1: The Delegation and Diffusion of Ritual Authority in Gren Mahé
in gren mahé rests with the living members of the clan.
In particular, Tapo is the clan whose men, for the gren,
cooperate closely with the principal chanter of sukun Ipir
in organizing and carrying out the tota oda geté, "the
search for the great sequence", chanting which, over a
number of days, recounts all the histories of the domain.
The central place of Tapo in the gren is indicated by the
naming of one of the three special ceremonial pavilions
constructed at the mahé during the gren. That is lepo Tapot,
"Tapo's house", which serves as a meeting house for the
organization of the chanters of the ceremonies.

Sukun Tapo and sukun Mau, which has "hak kedua"
(Indonesian: "second rights"), are said to be "wa'i lalan
téna gepun", "feet on the road, small sampan and prahu".
Tapo and Mau "travel together" as a small sampan and prahu.
Tapo directs its subaltern sukun Mau to build lepo Tapot.
Men of sukun Mau are delegated to:

- Hapu watu piong paré: Wipe the offering stone clean
  and sprinkle rice.
- Eri tana tewuk tuak: Sweep clean the earth and
  splash palm gin.

That is, to ekak tewuk, to make the offerings of rice and
palm gin during the gren. Thus the guardian of the mahé,
a man from Ipir, appointed in 1980 a senior ritual expert
from sukun Mau to be his assistant, permitting him to approach
and touch the mahé altar.
Men of *sukun* Mau also perform the pancreas divination during the *sésok*, the ceremony performed four days after the major *gren* rituals are completed. In *sésok* the *mahé* forest is closed after completion of the *gren*, and the final pancreas divination reveals to the ritual specialists whether the *gren* has been properly conducted, portents of future crops and the future health of members of the community.

*Sukun* Magé has "hak ketiga" (Indonesian: "third rights") and its responsibility to provide messengers for the organizers of the *gren* is expressed in ritual language as:

Wa'i wa klasar dola     With foot and mouth, a loud beating.

Magé is also responsible for "tabé raja gejo tuan", "honoring the raja and receiving the guests". In the forest of the *mahé* is constructed a platform especially for visitors from other *tana* of eastern Flores, including in the past a representative of the raja and, today, observers from the district office in Talibura. Men of *sukun* Magé greet these guests, conduct them to their pavilion and are responsible for providing them with food and drink. As the greeters and ushers of the *gren*, men of *sukun* Magé lead the houses as they arrive in the *mahé* forest in processions around the *mahé* altar. Thus in ritual language, *sukun* Magé:

Wa'i wa klasar dola     Makes rhythms with feet and voice,
Tabé raja gejo tuan     To honor the raja, to acknowledge the lords,
Manu wa'in jong têran  As the chicken's foot and the bow of a boat cutting the water,
Puku mulu gawi wa'a  Leads the procession and struts at the fore.

Sukun Liwu has "hak keempat" (Indonesian: "fourth rights") in the gren. Because it is last in order of precedence of the four core clans, it is said "Liwu 'lebê ubê", "Liwu plays at the rear". Under the direction of the prior clans, Liwu "iong piong ong bodor", "makes the sacrificial offerings of rice and animals". Men of Liwu must also carry out whatever instructions they receive from ritual specialists closer to the "source".

In addition to the sequence of ritual offices held by sukun Ipir Wai Brama and the four core clans of Tana Wai Brama, a man of sukun Léwuk of Mudébali is given responsibility for the construction of the woga, the central ceremonial pavilion of the gren mahé. In the woga are placed the drum, the labit and dopi (carved and painted staffs used in dancing during the rituals), and the watu mirin (the "slanted stone"), the flat, triangularly shaped stone that is placed in a corner of the woga and at which are made small offerings during the mahé ceremonies.

It is a ritual specialist of sukun Léwuk who hides the stone at the close of one gren and then brings it out of the forest and places it in the woga for the next gren.4 Sukun Léwuk is not one of the core clans of Tana Wai Brama as they are identified in the histories of the domain.
Why suku Léwuk should have this important role in the gren is not clear, but Léwuk is also the clan from which, in the past, the gai ratu, the representative of the raja of Sikka in Tana Ai, was chosen. Guardianship of the watu mirin may have been assigned to Léwuk in recognition of its special status in relation to the raja.

These attributions of the clans reflect the organization of the domain as it is expressed in the histories, but the details of organization of a gren mahé is, within the general principles laid down by the histories, very much a matter of negotiation and one to be decided by the ritual specialists of the participating houses.

In the gren of 1980, the hierarchy of ritual statuses of the clans was invoked explicitly and publicly on several occasions. The most dramatic of these was the summoning of the clans for hu'an woga, the roofing of the central ceremonial pavilion. The frame of the woga had been completed for several days when the crowd of men, ritual specialists and workers, gathered at the mahé on 22 October, 1980 to thatch the roof of the pavilion. The roofing also constituted part of the consecration of the structure and was marked by the first of three occasions when the chants of the oda geté, the "great precedence" of the domain, were performed. To summon the clans for this ritual, Mo'an Sina Ipir Wai Brama stood at the woga and called out the names of the clans in their order of precedence. As they
Four Ritual Leaders of Tana Wai Brama
were called, three men from each clan took their places, one on the roof and two on the ground, in preparation for thatching the pavilion. As each was called, a man from each clan climbed to the roof, circled it in an anticlockwise direction, and sat at the roof's edge to await the chanting of the precedence by two groups of chanters, one "on the ground" and the other "up inside" the pavilion. A transcript of the summoning of the clans will illustrate the hierarchical relationships invoked as well as the care taken by ritual specialists that the proper sequence of speech not be violated:

Sina: ... Ipir of the broad earth is the elder brother. Ipir Ipir of Wai Brama! Léwuk stands at the head with Ipir! For Ipir, Méré (man called to climb onto the roof)! Three men! Tapot!


? : (Prompting Sina) Liwut. Sina: Liwut! The first at the fore. Then the rest of the clans! Each clan, three men. Each clan, three men and no fewer! One to bundle the grass (for thatching), one to toss the grass from below (to the men working on the roof), one to climb up along the edge of the roof!

5.4 The Wu’a Mahé

The founding of the domain Wai Brama, and the discovery of the site of the mahé are coincident in the Myth of the Founding of the Domain. The discovery of the site of the mahé is recounted as part of the ngeng ngerang, the "history", of sukul Ipir Wai Brama, the "source" clan of the domain.
In another rendition of the Myth of the Founding of the Domain (other than the one cited in Chapter Three), the ancestors reached Watuwolon in their journey, and there found, "an empty broad land, a large uninhabited earth" which was marked by the *mahé* forest. At Watuwolon the ancestors of *sukun* Ipir Wai Brama, Uher la'i Atan and Woga Délong Aman, constructed their clan house and planted the *mahé* pole. As other clans settled in Tana Wai Brama, and were granted land by the ancestors of Ipir, their *wu'a* stones were added to the *mahé*. The ancestors of Ipir:

Teri laba ora lepo
Era sorong ora woga
Lepo geté ulu sinan
Woga blon balé jawan
......
Lepo au'n di gi'it
Woga au'n di mangan
Neni Ina Nian Tana
Flawi Ama Lero Wulan
Nian Tana pi pitu
Lero Wulan tédan walu
......
Teri mula oti wu'a
Era pléhok oti mahan
Wu'a ora du'a mosan
Mahan ora mo'an geté
......

Sat and chiselled the mortices of the house,
Stood and put up the pavilion,
The great house with its Chinese sitting room,
The long pavilion and sitting platform of Larantuka;
My house was strong,
My pavilion was sturdy,
Asked of Mother Land and Earth,
 Implored Father Sun and Moon,
Seven levels of Land and Earth,
Eight layers of Sun and Moon;
Sat and planted the clan stones,
Stood and set in place the monoliths,
Clan stones of the female ancestors,
Monoliths of the male ancestors;
Wali a neni uran  
Where rain is requested,

Wali a plawi warat  
Where the rainy season is asked for,

Apak uran di lohor  
Indeed the rains fall,

Apak warat di léma  
Indeed storms arise,

Tugu uma di ihin  
Causing the gardens to bear fruit,

Ola wanan di dolo  
And the lontar juice to flow,

Neni molé wi'in blatan  
Where also (we) request our 'selves' be (ritually) cooled,

Plawi molé tebo bliran  
And where we ask that our bodies be (ritually) cooled:

....

Ora Iang Bangu heron  
By the speech of Iang Bangu,

Ora Adang Ewang marin  
By the counsel of Adang Ewang, 8

Odo a'u litin gi'it 9  
Ordered me to sit strongly,

Gareng a'u lér mangan  
Enabled me to lean firmly,

Ala tepu nora rebu  
To take the staff and iron,

Ala hena nora blané  
To be the bones and base of the earth,

Gi'it biri baru sinan  
Strong as the Chinese baru tree,

Mangan bao ara jawa  
Sturdy as the banyan of Java,

Edo derit é'o néo  
Which earthquakes cannot shake,

Kéhur gerat é'o keket  
And thunder cannot cause to creak,

A'u Ipir leteng geté  
I am Ipir the great tree,

A'u Sodor wodon ilin  
I am Sodor these hills and mountains,

A'u Uher la'i Atan  
I am Uher La'i Atan,

A'u Woga Délong Aman  
I am Woga Délong Aman

Wai Brama Wolobola,  
The source spring of Wolobola,

Ratu wutun Balénatar.  
Ruler unto the periphery at Balénatar.

In this text, as in all renditions of the history of the core clan of Tana Wai Brama, the "planting" of the mahé preceeds the setting of the clan stones around it. Thus in
the texts of the history of Ipir, the "bowl of the mahé" is paired with the place name "Watuwolon" (which means literally, "stone mountain"). Wu’a, the clan stones, occurs much later in the chant and is paired with mahan, "monolith".

The ancestors of sukun Ipir planted the wu’a and mahan, and once they were planted, the ancestors of other clans came to "sit upon" (lér) them and to "lean against" (litin) them. Thus in the ngeng ngerang of sukun Tapo, the chanter recounts that his ancestors:

Tota tora poi nian
Paga tora poi tana
Na nian wé'en geté
Na tana wekan klewan

Sought land,
Searched for earth,
Came to a land of large fields,
Came to an earth of broad meadows.

That land was given them by the ancestors of Ipir Wai Brama, who:

Ropo weta ora wu'un
Ropo paen ora matan
Ala sopé nora sobok
Ala reki nora dula
Mora wu’a nora mahé
Nora litin nora lér

Quickly spoke the rituals,
Quickly brought into being,
Made a clan reliquary basket,
Made their nest and womb,
On the clan stones and against the mahé,
They sat and leaned.

In the same fashion all the clans of Tana Wai Brama "sit upon" and "lean against" the mahé, whose ceremonies are directed by the source of the domain.

In the gren ceremonies only the tana puan, his delegate and an assistant appointed by his delegate can touch the
mahé altar and rub the blood of heads severed from sacrificial animals on it. Men of sukun Ipir Wai Brama are referred to as "mo'an tana roin tua", "lords of the earth, forest and lontar", or simply as, "du'a mo'an tana", "ancestors of the earth". These men are able to "sisip di belakang" (Indonesian), "to slip behind the scene" of the mahé ceremonies as their interpreters and organizers. It is the people of a branch of Ipir, Ipir Hébing, who live near the south coast of Tana Wai Brama, who "diran bati 'éru", "cut the neck truly", that is, who oversee the sacrifice of animals during the gren.

The central mahé of Tana Wai Brama and for all of Tana Ai, the one founded by the du'a mo'an sukun Ipir Wai Brama, "the ancestors of clan Ipir Wai Brama", is located between Munéwolon and Watulaban and is a ten minute walk west of the lepo tana ("House of the Earth", the central ceremonial house of the domain). In the past a number of factions within Tana Ai seem to have broken away from the authority of the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama and established mahé of their own. These are called mahé nuhu, "war mahé" or "rebel mahé", and are now considered to be legitimate sites for the performance of rituals whose efficacy is restricted to their localities. It is said that the penultimate tana puan of Tana Wai Brama reunited the various local tana puan who were heirs to mahé nuhu shortly before the Second World War by recognizing their legitimacy as local "perwakil" (Indonesian: "subsidiary", "deputy") of the source of the
domain of Tana Wai Brama. By this compromise the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama retained ultimate ritual authority for the whole of Tana Ai. It is said that most of the mahé nuhu still exist, though mahé Waibo at Natararan was moved and joined with mahé Wai Brama.

The extent to which the local mahé nuhu are still used for rituals is difficult to determine. It is likely that rituals conducted annually to bring about the separation of the rainy and dry seasons are still performed at the various mahé nuhu as well as at mahé Wai Brama. In August, 1979 the ritual specialists at Watuwolon were informed that people living near the south coast of Tana Wai Brama planned to perform a small gren mahé ceremony at mahé Natarbola because the major ceremonies had not been held at Watuwolon in many years. The tana puan was consulted about the plan and expressed reservations as he himself was planning to call for a gren for all of the domain to be done in September, 1980. People at Watuwolon thought the intentions of the people at Natarbola to be unsound, arguing that a gren held without the approbation of the tana puan would be meaningless. In the end, the gren was not conducted at Natarbola, but the pressure brought by the southern people may have influenced the decision taken by the tana puan to call for the gren to be done the following year at Watuwolon.

The word mahé is used in several ways in Tana Wai Brama. It is the patch of forest, approximately 2.5
hectares in area, west of Watuwolon and near the stream Wair Kojat in which the rituals of the domain take place (see Map VI). Tuan mahe, the "mahé forest", thus refers to a physical feature of the landscape of the Watuwolon region. Mahé is also used to refer generally to the site within that forest where the rituals are conducted, and to the rituals themselves. Most precisely, the mahé is the two meter tall, Y-shaped wooden offering pole carved from the trunk and first branches of a tree. This pole is associated with the deity of Tana Ai. At the base of the pole are two flat stones, one set atop the other, that comprise the offering place, or altar of the mahé. On the flat stones of this altar rest two spherically shaped stones, each approximately 250 mm in diameter. In ritual language the altar is referred to as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nian watu mitan misir</td>
<td>The black, smooth stone of the land,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tana manu mai mangan</td>
<td>Earth where the chicken comes to scratch.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Around the mahé are planted roughly carved stone monoliths that represent the clans of Tana Wai Brama. These stones are the wu'a, the same word that is used for the small, smooth, black and magical stones carried by men in their areca nut baskets, and which are also part of the paraphernalia of the wélut, the ancestral reliquary baskets of the lepo.
Within the mahé forest is a clearing (see Map IV) which contains the permanent accoutrements of the rituals of the domain. These include the mahé and the clan monoliths which stand in a cluster around it. To one side of the mahé clearing is a large banyan tree which towers over the forest and marks the site from the outside. Below (that is, downslope) the wu'a mahé is a line of seven monoliths which form a boundary, called blikon. The blikon mark the sacred inner circle of the site. The stones of the blikon are said to consist of erect monoliths and flat stones at their bases, but only the tops of the monoliths can be seen as soil which has washed down the mountain side has buried the flat stones. These paired stones form "seats" upon which the representatives of the clans "sit and lean" during the performance of the mahé rituals. The blikon marks the boundary within which women are strictly prohibited, except on two occasions during the gren when they are led in a dance around the wu'a mahé by the keeper of the lepo tana, the "Earth House" at Watuwclon, who, in 1980, was a senior woman of the "core" houses of sukun Ipir Wai Brama.

In addition, the teak house posts on which are built the woga, the central pavilion of the gren mahé, remain permanently in place up-slope from the wu'a mahé. While the pavilion itself quickly disintegrates and rots away between festivals, the posts remain standing until they are used once again in a new gren. During the years between
Map IV: Site of the Mahé of Tana Wai Brama

Scale 1: 1000

- □: basan (temporary houses of participating lepo)
- ○: liät (fireplaces and butchering sites)
- ▲: abandoned mahé
- ---: footpaths
- --: field boundaries
mahé festivals, the ceremonial drum (wanin) which is made from the hollowed trunk of a lontar palm, lies in the clearing. Hidden in the surrounding forest is a sword and small altar stone (watu mirin) which are placed in the woga during performances of gren mahé. Also hidden in the forest between performances is the téli apur, the "lime basket", which is actually a small box whose body and tightly fitted lid are carved from a single block of wood. In the téli apur are kept small and secret objects,¹⁴ the relics of past gren celebrations which are required for each new performance. During the festival a man is delegated by the tana puan (or by his delegates) to "hold the téli apur".

Within the boundary of the forest of the mahé are three abandoned groups of clan stones whose mahé poles have long since rotted away. These sites were abandoned in succession because, in the words of one ritual leader, "tempat tidak izinkan" (Indonesian), "the places did not permit" the altars to remain there. In each case catastrophes (famines, plagues and earthquakes) followed mahé festivals conducted at these altars. Finally, the "true" place of the mahé and clan monoliths was discovered, and the story of this discovery was recounted by one ritual specialist as follows:

The present place of the mahé was determined by Mo'an Uher Ipir of Lómak¹⁵ many decades ago. No one now living still remembers the face of Mo'an Uher.

At that time it was known that the site of the previous mahé was not true. Then an earthquake destroyed that mahé.
The earth did not allow it to stand. Mo'an Uher wished to find the new, true site, so he went to the mahé forest to sleep there and to dream. In his dream a man came and showed him the true site for the mahé, near the large banyan tree. The man in the dream said that it was the site of the grave of Uher la'i Atan and that if Mo'an Uher dug there he would find evidence that this was so.

Mo'an Uher awoke and summoned people to bring their patola cloths. These were opened and hung around the site to screen Mo'an Uher from view while he dug. This was done to spare Mo'an Uher from embarrassment should he be in error.

When he dug into the ground he first found a flat stone, round, and about the size of a plate. This stone he lifted from the hole and beneath it he found the post of an ancient mahé. This was proof that the site was the grave of Uher La'i Atan, and so the new, present day mahé was placed there. Since that time there have been no problems encountered with the site.

I got this secret information, the story of Mo'an Uher, from Mo'an Mita of Lémak when I was still a young man and just learning ngeng ngerang, the histories.

The land surrounding the mahé forest is divided into four plots which belong to the four clans of Tana Wai Brama closest to the "source": sukun Tapo, sukun Mau, sukun Magé and sukun Liwu. These fields are called tana ngeng "ancestral land", and cannot be alienated. They represent the original grants of land made by the ancestors of Ipir Wai Brama to the ancestors of the first clans to arrive in Tana Wai Brama after Ipir. Thus the wu'a mahé and its environs are demarcated by an array of concentrically bounded domains. At the center is the wu'a mahé itself, which represents the deity
and where the deity is invoked in ritual.17 The area around the mahé, and bounded within the forest by the blikon, the banyan tree and the ploi, the line which marks the cleared area from the forest, and the woga, is the domain of the tana puan and his clan, Ipir Wai Brama. Below the blikon are two ritual houses, to which the core clans of the domain have rights, and the balé ratu, the "pavilion of the raja". In this area, and beyond the forest, there are no restrictions on the movement of women. And around the forest is the land of the four clans closest to Ipir in historical and ritual precedence.

The precedence of the clans of the domain structures the overall organization of the gren mahé, but the rituals are actually conducted by people as members of the lepo (houses) of which clans are composed. The analysis of particular performances of gren mahé thus presupposes an understanding of clans and their houses.
Chapter Six

CLANSHIP IN TANA WAI BRAMA

6.1 Introduction

While a consideration of clanship is essential for understanding social relations in Tana Wai Brama, the organization of clans, both with respect to the organization of lower order groups within them and the general ordering of relationships between them, is the most problematic aspect of the general analysis of social organization in the domain. Clans at once provide the most immediate and unambiguous categories of personal identification, and are the most elusive social entities in Tana Wai Brama. For the Ata Tana Ai, clan affiliation is immediately identifiable. Asking an Ata Tana Ai to identify himself or herself almost invariably elicits a personal name, a clan name and the name of a locality of residence. Nevertheless, clans and clanship are much more difficult to define sociologically than are the houses (*lepo woga*) among which the Ata Tana Ai are also divided and which are the primary groups of reference for people of the domain.

*Lebo woga* have clear institutional foundations, and the relationships between them can be characterized on the
basis of kinship (i.e., the genealogical relations of their members), ceremonial exchange and social and economic transactions, all of which are immediately and continually observable in the daily lives of members of the community. The constitution of lepo woga can, in all cases, be specified genealogically. Furthermore, the relations of lepo members, and relationships between lepo, can be defined in parallel and ramifying domains of Tana Ai society such as kinship, affinal alliances, land tenure, and the cooperative organization of labor. While relationships of lepo woga and their members are complex, they are manifested empirically for the analyst very close "to the ground". These qualities allow for more strictly sociological analysis and modelling of the lepo system than is possible for clanship.

Clanship is a matter first of social classification and the characterization of clans must account less for the institutional arrangements of clan relations, which in any case are less apparent and more variable than those obtaining among houses, and more for an abstract system of classes which is expressed principally in language, specifically in ritual language. The clan system of Tana Wai Brama is founded in myth and is, as an ideology, far more susceptible to manipulation by the ritual specialists of the domain in whose hands the system is entrusted. Clans are constituted ideologically and historically in myth. Clan affiliations and the congeries of lower order groups
that comprise clans are the residues of the various individual "histories" which, through rendering them mythically, the Ata Tana Ai elevate to the role of a loose political charter of their domain. This charter is expressed in myth, but is manifested in a ceremonial system that binds the clans together into the confederation of the domain. Relationships between the clans, each of which has its own and peculiar "history", are political in nature and are not based on norms governing jural or economic relations among them. Clans are not, strictly speaking, "corporate" groups, at least not in the sense that lepo woga can be described as corporate, but participate in a system of ceremonially constituted allegiances headed by the source of the domain. The classification of the people of Tana Wai Brama by clans is, on the surface, the clearest and simplest of social divisions, but the system has few concrete consequences. A further obstacle to a general analysis of clanship is that the occasions on which relations are manifested concretely in ritual performance (of which thegren mahé must be counted as preeminent) are few and infrequent. Thus generalizations about clanship based on repeated observations of events of the same kind are not possible on the present evidence.

The discussion that follows draws on three principal sources and kinds of information: (1) internal evidence of texts of ritual language and the comments and exegeses of ritual experts elicited by working through those texts
with chanters; (2) observations drawn from the performance of a single gren mahé; and (3) a miscellany of information on clans and clanship which has resulted from inquiries into other facets of Tana Ai society. On the basis of these sources a characterization of Tana Ai clans may be predicated on the following broad premises. First, clans are constituted in myth. Hence, clanship must be treated in terms of an ideology of social classification and a native theory of how their social divisions came about. Second, clan relations are primarily ceremonial in nature. There is, however, no mechanical, a priori or logically necessary relationship between myth and the ritual performances that clans of the domain conduct periodically, even though myth is seen by the Ata Tana Ai as the source of ritual. Third, the relations of groups that are governed by the classifications of clanship are an arena for political maneuvering by male ritual specialists who act partly on their own initiative and partly on behalf of the maternal hierarchy of the clans which they represent in ritual. If clanship has a "purpose" or "function" it is related to the maintenance of Tana Wai Brama as a domain which, under the tana puan, serves loosely to confederate jurally and economically autonomous houses (lepo woga).

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the nature of clanship as it is expressed in the language of the people of Tana Wai Brama, and will then take up
the question of clan branches and the social structural
connections between clan branches and the houses of the
domain.

6.2 The Sukun

The Tana Ai word suku, which is translated here as
"clan", is a cognate of the Malay word which has, among
its many meanings, the meanings "quarter", "clan" and
"people". In Tana Ai the word occurs either as suku or
sukun. The nominalizing suffix [-n] seems not to alter
the meaning of the root and the two forms of the word are
used interchangeably in conversation. In ritual language
the nominalized form, suku, is used exclusively. The
word is known in central Sikka, and in Sikka Natar it is
used to refer generally to other Sikkanese speaking
peoples of the region or to the various subgroups or
communities of the central Sikkanese. In Sikka Natar,
sukun does not designate a class of social groups or sub-
divisions within the community. Sukun in Tana Ai corre-
spond roughly to kuat wungung, the thirteen noble houses
of Sikka Natar, in that the two different terms denote
respectively the largest social groups in the two commu-
nities and the groups which exchange ceremonial goods on
the occasions of marriages between their members.

Each of the suku of Tana Ai consists of people
belonging to different lower order descent groups, all
of whom claim descent from the same mythical *du'a mo'an*.\(^1\) However, descent is a complex idea in Tana Ai. To begin with, only members of the "source" house of a clan claim direct lineal descent through women from the ancestral *du'a mo'an*. And it is by virtue of their descent exclusively through women that people of the central house of a clan are said to be *puan*, "source". Other lower order descent groups of the clan are descended through single male links from those ancestors; the intervention of a male ancestor between living members of the clan and the *du'a mo'an* marks the point of origin of a new lower order descent group within the clan. The mechanism that governs the segmentation of the clan into lower order groups will be taken up later. Furthermore, "descent" (*poto*) here must be taken in a broader sense than strictly genealogical descent. As people of different origins can be incorporated into *sukun* by adoption, the most fundamental principle governing clan membership is one of ceremonial affiliation and accommodates fictive as well as genealogical connections between clan members. In fact, actual genealogical relationships between the founding ancestors of the clan and its living members are never known, and the relationships that obtain between the various houses and descent groups of a common clan affiliation are all articulated by affinal relations no more than eight to ten generations in genealogical depth.
The various origins of the clans of Tana Wai Brama have been mentioned in previous chapters. While the myths that recount the different journeys of the clan ancestors to Tana Ai are detailed in their accounts of the journeys by which the ancestors of the clans came to Tana Ai, they do not identify the ultimate origins of those ancestors. As is common in other parts of Sikka, and indeed is a feature of the origin myths of many eastern Indonesian societies, it is emphasized by the Ata Tana Ai that the ancestors of the clans originated from other islands or regions of Flores. Thus Larantuka, Ende, Solor, Timor, the Kei Islands and Sumba are mentioned by the Ata Tana Ai as places of origin. However, the myths do not match these places and specific clans.

*Sukun* Tapo is identified as originating in Larantuka, but the eastern Florenese forebears of Tapo are said to have come earlier from another, unidentified island. *Sukun* Kei, which has now died out in Tana Ai, may have come from the islands of the same name. Likewise the small *sukun* Sogé, whose members inhabit Warut and southwestern Tana Ai, may have originated in Ende. Sogé is the Sikkanese word for Ende, and there is good evidence that following a war in the seventeenth century between Muslims and Christians of the island of Ende, Christian Endenese were dispersed at least as far east along the south coast of Flores as Sikka. An exception to the foreign origins of the Tana
Ai clans in sukun Ipir. In keeping with its unique status in Tana Ai society, the ancestors of Ipir are said in the clan "history" to have been "belched forth" (bubuk bekor) from the earth at Mekengdetung, a locality in the hills of the Kangae region of Krowé (central Sikka). In arising from the earth, the ancestral people of Ipir share their origins with the very first human beings, who also arose from the rocks and stones of the earth.

Clanship serves to divide the people of Tana Wai Brama into five sukun: the four clans of "newcomers" (sukun Tapo, sukun Mau, sukun Magé and sukun Liwu) plus the "source" clan of the earth, sukun Ipir. Within each of these five clans it is the nature of affiliation that genealogical links, which are not known between all clan members, are less significant than the social order fostered by clanship as a system of classification based on ideas about the origins of the clans. While the central house of a clan is made up of people who are presumed to be actual descendants of the ancestral founders of the clan, most clan members, or their ancestors, have been incorporated into the clan from other clans by adoption and marriage.  

The unity of the clan, and its organizing principles, are known as plé'a ru'ut. Plé'a ru'ut are the rituals, ritual knowledge, histories, houses and ceremonial goods of the clan, in short, all the possessions that bind together the members of a clan and make them a definable
social entity. In ritual language, the words occur in
the couplet:

\[ \text{piē'a ru'ut rupin rawin,} \]

/plē'a /ru'ut/ /ritual specialists of the clan/4/

\[ \text{seneng kokor watu wēlut.} \]

/small rice basket/ /to cool off/ /stones/ /ancestral reliquary
basket of clan branch/

In this couplet the ritual practitioners of the clan, who
have special knowledge of the components of the clan's
piē'a ru'ut, are associated with rice baskets (a metaphor
for the clan and its members), "coolness" (a ritual quality)
and the small ancestral stones kept in the reliquary baskets
of clan branches and which are manipulated in rituals by
specialists who have "tama piē'a ru'ut", "entered the piē'a
ru'ut" of their groups.

In the ngeng ngerang, the myths of origin of the
clans of Tana Wai Brama, rupin rawin, which are associated
with piē'a ru'ut in the couplet cited above, are mentioned
along with the ancestors of the clans. In one rendition
of the ngeng ngerang sukun Tapo by the principal chanter of
that clan are the lines:

\[ \text{Au réta timu tawa} \quad \text{Ancestors from the point of sunrise (i.e., to the east, Larantuka),} \]

\[ \text{Au réta lero léma} \quad \text{Ancestors from where the sun climbs upward,} \]

\[ \text{Pano ora rupin ahan} \quad \text{Journeyed with the ritual specialists,} \]

\[ \text{Rema ora rawin moga} \quad \text{Travelled with the holders of clan knowledge,} \]
Au naha 'oa ekak Those who must make the rice offerings,
Au naha inu iwuk Those who must make the offerings of palm gin.

Buan neti rupin pulu Carried by the ten ritual specialists,
Lera neti rawin lima Borne by the five holders of clan knowledge,
Bua noro to'o pulu Who carried the ten elephant tusks,
Lera noro balik lima Who bore the five gongs,
Ita réta ilin wutun To us at the peaks of the mountains,
Ita réta tuan 'loran To us in the middle of the forests.

The history of sukun Liwu cites in similar fashion the association between the founding du'a mo'an (ancestors) of the clan, Késo Kuit and Boré Dopeng, and ritual specialists (rupin rawin) who brought the plé'a ru'ut (as ceremonial goods) of the clan to Flores:

Au Késo au Kuit You (the ancestors) Késo, you Kuit,
Au Boré au Dopeng You Boré, you Dopeng,
Tuku tuku tena bano Travelled by sail in a sampan,
Wóhé wóhé gepun roma Journeyed by paddling a small boat,
Wuan ora rupin ahan Which carried also the ritual specialists,
Leran ora rupin moga And bore also the holders of clan knowledge,
Tuku waé ló Sailed along the coast (from east to west),
Wóhé waé ló Rowed from east to west,
Talibura wuan bahang To Talibura carrying (ritual or valuable) trade goods,
Watulebëng Kolibuluk Thence to Watulebëng and Kolibuluk (in the interior of Tana Ai).
The ceremonial wealth of clans, inherited by living members of the groups from the ancestors, are part of the material goods that are a clan's plē'a ru'ut. Clan houses, the ancestral baskets (sopé and welut), as well as clan rituals comprise the plē'a ru'ut of the group. While goods were brought by the ancestors, the incorporation of newcomers into the ceremonial domain of Tana Wai Brama was accomplished by the ancestral sources of the domain, Uher la'i Atan, who delegated to each clan ("odo" or "sera 'é'i sukun") its land and the plē'a ru'ut (as ritual) to the clans of the domain.

6.3 Food Taboos

The people of Tana Wai Brama are subject to food prohibitions of two kinds. The first are circumstantial and temporary. During major rituals the practitioners, their assistants and the people for whom a ritual is being performed are enjoined from eating, drinking and smoking tobacco, and may chew areca nut only when the ritual calls for it. The temporary ritualistic avoidance of food is in effect from the beginning of the ritual until its completion and may last from a few minutes to many hours, depending on the requirements of the ritual being performed. During the injunction both food and the people for whom food is proscribed, are said to be piré, sacred, separate, forbidden. When people may again eat, they are said to be sawar ba'ā,
released from prohibition.

Other occasions are marked not by people who are forbidden to eat food, but by food which must be eaten by a particular group of people who are distinguished from others who may not eat it. During the kleké baso rice mixing ceremony of the lepo (see Chapter Seven), persons outside the descent group (lepo woga) celebrating the ritual can neither touch nor eat the rice of the group. Members of the group, however, must all receive a share of the newly mixed rice, which is cooked, distributed (buwu) and eaten by members of the lepo who sit with food bowls in two concentric circles around the granery during the food distribution and eating.

Similarly, the meat from animals (especially pigs) killed for any house or clan ritual must be divided (buwu wu’un, "to divide or share the ritual" food) among all the participants of the ritual. Each person must receive at least a small bit of every animal sacrificed, and much care is taken in the distribution of the meat that this requirement is fulfilled. Rice is eaten in ritual feasts, but meat is never consumed at the site of the ritual. It is placed in special baskets called sabung and then taken home to be eaten in private by members of the household. This manner of distribution holds also for pelang, the dry roasted rice which is a ceremonial food in Tana Ai. Food divided by the participants in the buwu food distribution
on ritual occasions is *wungung ku'at*, and the people who
must observe the injunctions regarding its consumption are
said to be "wungung ku'at ha", of "one wungung ku'at". The
heads of chickens killed for ritual purposes are also
*wungung ku'at* and can only be consumed by someone of the
group undertaking the ritual for which the chicken was
sacrificed.

Of especial importance are the lower jaws of pigs
(*wawi arun*). Pigs are butchered only on ritual occasions
and their meat is always distributed among many people,
for whom the pig is *wungung ku'at*. The pig's jaw is subject
to further restrictions. It is said, "*wawi arun wungung
ku'at ina ama*, "the pig's jaw is the *wungung ku'at* of the
mothers and fathers". The jaw must be given to the repre­
sentative of a group of people who stand in a particular
relation of alliance with the group who has provided the
pig for the ritual (see Chapter Twelve).

The second class of food prohibitions are permanent,
and hold not just in ritual but in daily life as well.
Throughout Tana Wai Brama, all *ata pu'an bian wu'un*, "source
and boundary (or ritual) persons" (i.e., clan headwomen
and ritual specialists), are enjoined from eating cassava
(*ohu ai*). Cassava was introduced to Tana Ai by the Dutch
in the 1920s during a famine, and is considered to be
both foreign and ritually "hot". Cassava is not planted
within the same fence as rice and maize, but in its own
small enclosures bordering on the ritually sanctioned rice field. The head women and ritual specialists are forbidden either to eat or touch it.

Foods that are forbidden to clans as part of their plé'a ru'ut are designated in ritual language as piré wungung platan ku'at, "the forbidden wungung, the sacred ku'at", and are spoken of in ordinary language as "ngawun piren sukun", "the goods (i.e., food) forbidden to the clan". All wungung ku'at are edible plants or animals, though not necessarily domestic species. Thus sukun Tapo piré wetan nora kéwa uta, "Tapo is forbidden millet and yams (Dioscorea nummularia)"; sukun Léwuk piré hura, "Léwuk is forbidden sweet potatoes";⁶ and sukun Liwu piré widin, "Liwu is forbidden goat". Millet, sweet potatoes, yams and goats count among the domesticated plants and animals of the Ata Tana Ai, while sukun Mau piré la'u, "Mau is forbidden civet cat", a wild animal only occasionally hunted in the forest.

There is an identification of the clan and its membership such that clan members are wungung ku'at ha, of "one wungung ku'at". The Ata Tana Wai Brama say that clans are the same because they all have forbidden foods, and they are different as those foods are different.

Generally, women seem to observe wungung ku'at restrictions more rigorously than men, and older people more carefully than the younger members of a clan. One woman of
sukun Liwu, who with her sister shares the headship of their clan branch, carefully avoids the site where goats are butchered during rituals. She once said that, for her, goat meat "smells bad", and her husband once told me that just thinking about eating goat makes her ill.7

6.4 The Pairing of Clans in Ritual Language

The tana that comprise Tana Ai are independent and there is a curious lack of institutional or formal relations among them. During the period of field work I never recorded occasions which brought together the tana puan of different domains. In all of the clan histories with which I am familiar, however, there are recitations of the names of clans by which clans are paired. These recitations, and the pairing of clan names, are generally the same in the ngeng ngerang of different clans, and point to a conception by the Ata Tana Ai of their region as comprising a society larger than just the domain within which clanship and clan relations can be seen as ordered. If clans within a domain are organized around ceremonial relations, and lack jural structure, then the relationships of clans of different tana seem to be expressed only in ritual language and lack totally any institutional foundation.

Within the domain, clans are ordered in relations of precedence to the source clan of the domain. Investigation of the possibility that source clans of different domains
are similarly ordered across tana boundaries failed to produce evidence for the speculation except that the people of Tana Wai Brama ascribe to their domain a central status, the quality of being "puan", "source", among the domains of Tana Ai. Residents of other domains seem not to attach any particular significance to this claim, and merely point out that Tana Wai Brama is the largest and most "traditional" of the Tana Ai domains. The peculiar status of Tana Wai Brama in the region and among the seven domains may thus be as much the result of the attrition of tana puan in the face of change and external influences since the 1920s as due to any traditional arrangement of the domains with respect to precedence.

An additional clue to the question of a level of organization above that of the individual domain by which all domains are ordered is to be found in cases of marriage between people who are not only of different clans, but also of different tana. There are few cases of marriages of people of Tana Wai Brama with people of other domains, and those I have recorded are most often between men of Tana Wai Brama and women of Tana Wérang. In these cases, the men are considered to be "lost" to their natal house. The return of "father's forelock" is said to be complicated and more difficult to arrange. Indeed, there are cases of marriages between people of Tana Wai Brama and people of other tana, particularly when outside men marry Wai
Brama women, in which the paternal clans seem not to have requested the return of their blood. Informants of Tana Wai Brama express regret that these marriages fail to establish the relationships with the foreign clans that the exchanges would bring about. Thus long-standing affinal relationships, which might serve to bind clans of different tana into a larger system of alliances, do not exist.

The disjunction of relationships within and between tana is further indicated by the arrangements made in the case of marriages between men of sukun Ipir Wai Brama and outside women. In the first case, a man of a relatively core house of Ipir married a central Sikkanese woman. He had moved to the coast, become a Catholic, and obtained employment with the parish at Watubaing. While the house of the Tana Puan of Tana Wai Brama, following the custom of the woman's people, paid bélis (bridewealth) for the woman, no one expects a long term alliance to result from the transaction because the Ipir man is no longer part of his natal community and, bridewealth having been paid, no further claims can be made against the woman's people.

In the second case, bélis was paid by Ipir Wai Brama for a woman of Larantuka who married an Ipir man. She took up residence with her husband's people at Wolo'lora and was adopted into clan Ipir. While the payment of bridewealth for the woman secured her children for her husband's clan, no further relations have been maintained with her natal
group in Larantuka. The payment of bridewealth is seen by the Ata Tana Ai as short-circuiting the relations of blood upon which continuing alliance between groups is founded.

In another, controversial, case, a marriage was contracted in the middle 1950s between a woman of Tana Wai Brama and a man of Sikka Natar. The tana puan told me that he had at first been very pleased with the marriage, the first between the Sikkanese and people of Watuwolon. It was agreed that the marriage would follow Tana Ai custom, and no belis was paid by the Sikkanese to the woman's house. The couple lived in Tana Wai Brama where the man worked his wife's land and sent back to Sikka part of each harvest. He died a few years after the marriage after having children by the woman. The woman's group then expected the Sikkanese to request one of his daughters to replace his blood. Instead, nothing happened until 1978 when a young Sikkanese man appeared at Hila Natar, claiming to be of the dead man's family. He demanded "father's blood". In the intervening years the man's daughters had matured, married Tana Ai men, and had children of their own. None would agree to leave Tana Ai to live in Sikka, so the woman's house offered the young Sikkanese a grandchild of the man. The Sikkanese replied that there was no one in his family in Sikka who could care for a young child, and suggested instead that the return of "father's blood" be made in the form of land and elephant tusks. At this point, the intentions of the Sikkanese were
clear to all: the Sikkanese had never intended the marriage to establish permanent relations with a Tana Ai house, and certainly had no intention of adopting a Tana Ai child. Rather, from the beginning they saw the marriage as a means of obtaining land and wealth in Tana Ai. By Tana Ai custom, the Tana Wai Brama house was obliged to return father's blood, but in the person of one of his daughters. They refused to give over land to the Sikkanese, but agreed to a payment of tusks and gongs.

The young man was recalled to Sikka before negotiations were completed, and the payment had not been made by 1980. The tana puan later told me that he was disappointed by the affair. Obviously all the Sikkanese wanted was access to land and ceremonial goods in Tana Ai, and by waiting as long as they had to press their claim, they insured that the man's children would all be beyond the age of childhood, and would probably not agree to living in Sikka. They had no intention of establishing regular alliance with the Ata Tana Wai Brama. This was why, said the tana puan, there had been few marriages between the central Sikkanese and the Ata Tana Ai, and why there would probably be few relations with outsiders in the future.

These examples do not fully explain the infrequency of marriages between people of different tana within Tana Ai, but they do indicate the attitudes of members of the community toward such marriages. Marriages with outsiders
are, as the Ata Tana Wai Brama say, "complex" matters, and are not on the whole beneficial. Indeed, in the view of the people of Tana Wai Brama, any relations with outsiders, whether involving marriage or other matters, are likely to be complicated.

Despite the notion that relations between *tana* are likely to be complicated, the Ata Tana Wai Brama do conceive of the clans of Tana Ai as comprising a larger, regional community. As noted above, this idea is expressed primarily in ritual language and in the clan histories in which all the clans of Tana Ai are said to be named and paired. In reciting the *Ngeng Ngerang* of *sukun* Tapo, the principal chanter of Tapo on one occasion began his narrative with the following lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
A'u \text{ marin ganu } \text{nué} & \quad \text{I speak in this fashion,} \\
A'u \text{ heron ganu } \text{été} & \quad \text{I recount in this way,} \\
\text{Marin ganu nian bubuk} & \quad \text{How the land belched forth the clans,} \\
\text{Heron ganu tana bekor} & \quad \text{How the earth sent forth the clans,} \\
\text{Bubuk lê'u sukun pulu} & \quad \text{Belched forth all the ten clans,} \\
\text{Beckor lê'u wot lima} & \quad \text{Sent forth the remaining five clans,} \\
\text{Sukun pulu wot lima} & \quad \text{The ten clans and the remaining five,} \\
\text{Aké rua plewon telu} & \quad \text{The two groups, the three relationships,} \\
\text{Liwu nora Léwar} & \quad \text{*Sukun* Liwu and *sukun* Léwar,} \\
\text{Tukun nora Boruk} & \quad \text{*Sukun* Tukun and *sukun* Boruk,} \\
\text{Liwu Léwar Tukan Boruk} & \quad \text{Liwu, Léwar, Tukan and Boruk,} \\
\text{Soge Tapo Mau Rawa} & \quad \text{Sogé, Tapo, Mau and Rawa,} \\
\text{Watu nora Aur} & \quad \text{*Sukun* Watu and *sukun* Aur,}
\end{align*}
\]
Ata Iri nori Lewuk  
The people of sukun Iri and sukun Lewuk,

Watu Aur Iri Lewuk,  
Watu, Aur, Iri and Lewuk,

Kéi Magé pora ora ...  
Sukun Kéi and sukun Magé, all together ...

The pairing of clan names in ritual language is remarkably similar in all the recitations which I have collected and from one "history" to another. On one occasion I asked several men of different clans how the clans should be paired in ritual language, and after a few minutes discussion among themselves, they announced the following order which differs from that quoted above in only one detail:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iri-Léwuk</th>
<th>Magé-Kéi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mau-Aur</td>
<td>Liwu-Léwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukun-Boruk</td>
<td>Sogé-Tapo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this enumeration, the spokesman for the group added the significant comment: "Ipip méha po, Ipip ata tana puan", "Ipir is by itself, Ipir are the people who are source of the earth".

The difference between the two renditions is that in the first Mau is paired with Rawa and Watu is paired with Aur while in the second Mau and Aur are paired and Rawa and Watu are not mentioned. When I queried my informant on this difference he said that the first rendition is "correct", and that the second was "lacking" (kuran, "short"), probably
because the men were not chanting, but were speaking in ordinary language.

By tabulating the first rendition of the clans with their primary tana affiliations, the following relationships obtain:

Table 6.1

Pairing of the Clans in Ritual Language (Clans of Tana Wai Brama in Capitals, Tana Affiliations in Parentheses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIWU (Wai Brama)</th>
<th>Léwar (Werang)</th>
<th>Tukan (Uru)</th>
<th>Boruk (East Flores)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sogé (Warut ?)</td>
<td>TAPO (Wai Brama)</td>
<td>MAU (Wai Brama)</td>
<td>Rawa (Uru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watu (Uru)</td>
<td>Aur (Werang)</td>
<td>Iri (Werang)</td>
<td>Léwuk (Werang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kei (?)</td>
<td>MAE (Wai Brama)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While I can discover no particular significance to the order in which the pairs are chanted, two significant analytical points arise from this exercise. First, while the total number of clans to which I have heard reference made during fieldwork is twenty two, adding Ipir to the fourteen clans named in this "history", yields a total of fifteen which are the "ten plus five" into which the Ata Tana Ai are divided according to the ngeng ngerang. In this enumeration, Ipir is unique in that it is both unpaired and not mentioned. Second, whether the pairing of the clans in the text is considered sequentially (metonymically) in the same line, or metaphorically in adjoining lines, the clans of Tana Wai Brama are never matched with each other, but are always paired with a clan of a different domain:
Tana Wai Brama Clan paired with metonymically and metaphorically

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liwu</td>
<td>Léwar (Werang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapo</td>
<td>Sogé (Warut ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mau</td>
<td>Rawa (Uru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magé</td>
<td>Kéi (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These arrangements can be taken to indicate that, at least ideologically, clans of different Tana Ai domains are conceived as being related, but there are no apparent expressions of these relations in the institutions of Tana Ai society.

6.5 The Pairing of Clans in Mortuary Service

In addition to being paired each with a clan of another tana in ritual language, four of the clans of Tana Wai Brama are divided into two pairs in the performance of hiti 'lo'ó'é karé unur, "to gather the forelock, to pare the fingernails", or hiti karé, "to gather in the hands; to pare, to slice finely".13 *Hiti karé* is the primary rite of the burial ceremony by which the forelock of a corpse is clipped from its head and its fingernails are removed before interment (see Chapter Thirteen). The forelock and fingernails, 'lo'ó'é unur, which are cut from the body are wrapped in a bundle and stored in a small basket. This basket is hung from the rafters of the lepo of which the deceased was a member. There they are kept until placed in the welut of the clan branch during the second stage mortuary rituals.
The paired clans are responsible for the mutual performance of hiti karé. It is said that clans paired in mortuary service, "pano hama hama", "travel together (on the same road)". The arrangement is such that, in the words of one informant:

If one clan (of a pair) encounters difficulties, they are able to ask for help from the clan at their side; between the two they are as one in friendship. People say,

"The two (clans) place their feet on the road as small sampan and large boat,

(If) one forgets, the other speaks,

(If) one forgets, the other shows the way".  

In Tana Wai Brama, a person of sukun Ipir is summoned by members of sukun Liwu to perform the cutting of the forelock and fingernails of Liwu's dead, while a member of sukun Liwu performs the service for the dead of sukun Ipir. Similarly, sukun Tapo and sukun Mau perform hiti karé, the one for members of the other. The relationships between these paired clans are permanent and binding, and are prior to and independent of the relations of affinal alliance that may exist between them.

In many of the societies of eastern Indonesia, the rituals surrounding death articulate relations of affinal alliance between the group of the deceased, their wife-givers and wife-takers. These rituals commonly involve the exchange of goods as well as ritual service. In Tana Ai, aside from the service of hiti karé, the house (i.e., members of
the maternal descent group) makes all arrangements for
the burial of its members and provides both the burial
cloths and whatever may be required as food and drink for
visiting mourners, the majority of whom are members of the
lepo of the deceased. The arrangements for likon, the
second stage mortuary ritual held following the first rice
harvest after the death, involve affinal and consanguineal
kinsmen who contribute rice, pigs and palm gin for the
rituals. But these contributions are redistributed evenly
among all the participants of the ceremony. The exchanges
between affinally related groups which follow upon a death
are centered mostly upon the persons themselves. When a
man dies, his affines return his body and his ‘lo'ě unur
to his natal lepo, and later, one of his daughters to replace
his blood, i.e., the blood lost to his natal house when
he married out. This exchange, of ama 'lo'en ("father's
forelock"), and the continuing relationships established
thereby, in a sense takes the place of exchanges focused
immediately in the funerary rituals. No particular exchanges
between the house of a woman and that of her husband are
invoked upon her death. The husband's group is seen as
having already provided the woman's group with a man, and
the counter obligation of the deceased woman's lepo will not
be required until after his death, when one of her daughters
is exchanged as ama 'lo'en.

An illustration of the manner in which the fixed
relationships of clans in hiti karé service are manifested
is the case of Ria, a senior man of sukun Liwu Pigan Bitak. Ria was the brother of the senior woman of the clan branch who keeps the lepo of Liwu Pigan Bitak at Watuwolon. Ria's wife died a year before him, and he continued living in her garden near Wolo'lora, where he died in 1980. It was decided that he would be buried at his lepo rather than in his garden, and his body was brought to Watuwolon by kinsmen of his natal house early in the morning and a few hours after his death. Since he was of Liwu, a man of Ipir had to be summoned to cut his forelock and fingernails and Wédong (see Figure 6.1) was chosen for this task. Wédong was of the same clan as Ria's wife, but of a lepo distantly related to hers.
By blood, Wedong and Ria were descended from a common "mother" (Golan Liwu Pigan Bitak) and were thus ta' i dula ha, "of one womb". They were also of the same generation and thus were wué wari, "elder and younger brothers". Normally brothers do not perform hiti karé for each other, but Wedong is descended from Diken who had left sukun Liwu in an ama 'lo'en transaction three generations ago. Furthermore, there was a considerable difference in age between the two men, Ria being much older than Wedong. Because Ria's descent group was the source of the woman who founded Wedong's descent group (Diken, who was Wedong's ina puda, "transplanted mother"), and because of their age difference, Wedong called Ria mamé mo'a, "mother's brother". Mo'a is an honorific form of address for older men. Mamé mo'a expresses a fictive relationship between Wedong and Ria of mother's brother and sister's son. Thus Ria and Wedong were members of clans paired in mortuary service, they were related affinally through women who were "sisters" and were considered to be related as mother's brother and sister's son. Wedong was thus well qualified to perform hiti karé for Ria. That relations of affinal alliance did not enter into the hiti karé service is clear, insofar as both lines Liwu Pigan Bitak and Ipir Wai Bramã (see Figure 6.1 and Table 11.3) are husband-givers to Ipir Wai Bramã, and there are no asymmetric relations among the three lines. It may thus be concluded that the principal ritual obligation of burial, hiti karé, is exchanged symmetrically between
groups of a different order from those of affinal alliance
and in accordance with a prior, permanent and general
(i.e., not ego centered) system of ritual alliance which
binds clans within the domain.

The phrase lo puan lo wutun, "central house beam,
peripheral house beam", is used to express special and
unique relationships between two clans. In the histories
of Tana Wai Brama, sukun Tapo and sukun Mau, the two clans
closest to sukun Ipir in the precedence ranking of the
domain, are said to have "travelled together". They have
distinctive origins, but are bound together in a special
relationship which is expressed ritually in the common
performance of blatan balik, the periodic "cooling of (clan)
wealth". This ritual is performed together by sukun Tapo
and sukun Mau alternately at the lepo of Mau at Hila Natar
and the lepo of Tapo near Munéwolon, and accomplishes the
cooling of the wealth of both clans. Sukun Iri and sukun
Léwuk of Tana Wérang are closely related in a similar
fashion and share a common sopé (reliquary basket) and lepo
sopé (clan house). These two clans are often referred to
as one, "Sukun Iri Léwuk", and are also said to be related
as the "central and peripheral beams" of a single house.
In all cases the special dyadic relationships of clans
are symmetric in character. They are founded in history
and established in hadat, and are manifested in ritual.
Unlike the relations of affinal alliance of houses (lepo),
the dyadic relations of clans are viewed by the Ata Tana Ai as given and immutable.

6.6 Clan Branches

The clans of Tana Wai Brama are divided into branches, each of which is associated with a specific locality or territory within the domain. Every clan branch maintains at least one lepo — house. There is no term in the language of the Ata Tana Ai for the general order or level of social classification that is here identified as a "branch" of a clan, and the term itself is a translation not of a word in the language of Tana Ai, but of the characterization of these groups by informants speaking Bahasa Indonesia as "cabang sukun", "clan branch".

People of Tana Wai Brama identify themselves by name and by clan, but identification by clan alone is, for any individual, an incomplete specification of social affiliation. Thus people add to the name of their clan their place of residence or the location of their natal house. Local groups of clan members who maintain a lepo comprise a clan branch. While there is no indigenous term for the order of the group so defined, the distinction being made here is not purely an analytical one. As will be seen, it is the local membership of a clan that maintains a common wélut, the lowest order reliquary basket of the cult of the ancestors.
Table 6.2 is a list of clan branches represented in Tana Wai Brama and indicates that the clans of the domain are not divided into the same number of branches. Indeed, all the members of sukun Tapo, which is said to have suffered a loss of population in the past few generations, belong to one branch. The tabulation of clan branches is not to be taken as complete for all of Tana Ai, but indicates those branches that I encountered while working in Tana Wai Brama. Locations associated with clan branches as home territories are provided in parentheses where they are known.

Informants say that clan branches are created as a result of ma' a mé pu, "to divide" or "to split children and sisters' children", or ma' a hadat, "to divide" or "to split ritual (and ceremonial goods), tradition". The first expression indicates that the social divisions inherent in the brother-sister relationship are repaired by the return of a woman's brother's daughter to her father's sister's clan as ama 'lo'en, "father's forelock". This institution will be discussed in detail later. Here it is sufficient to note that a woman returned to her father's clan founds a new house within the paternal clan and that, in time, this new house may fission from the "trunk" of the father's clan and be recognized as a separate branch. The division of hadat refers to the division of clan wealth between the "trunk" of the clan and a new branch, which may occur
Table 6.2
Clans and Clan Branches of Tana Wai Brama

I. Sukun Ipir Wai Brama
   1. Ipir Wai Brama Taka Hong (Watuwolon)
   2. Ipir Wai Brama Nuha
      i. Ipir Wai Brama Nuha Laba Datang
      ii. Ipir Wai Brama Nuha Jabo Kian
   3. Ipir Wai Brama Hébing (Pruda area)
   4. Ipir Wai Brama Watar Piren (Munéwolon)
   5. Ipir Wai Brama Watar Wair

II. Sukun Tapo
    1. Tapo Lewo Goran (Munéwolon)

III. Sukun Mau
    1. Mau Hila (Hila)
    2. Mau Hébing

IV. Sukun Magé
    1. Magé Mitan
    2. Magé Watuwolon (Watuwolon)
    3. Magé Natarwatut (Natarwatut)
    4. Magé Ri'i Dueng (Ri'i Dueng)
    5. Magé Robon
    6. Magé Wololora (Wolo'lora)
    7. Magé Wolokoting
    8. Magé Kebo
Table 6.2 continued

V. Sukun Liwu
   1. Liwu Pigan Bitak (Watuwolon)
   2. Liwu Watar Firen (Natarwatut)
   3. Liwu Blé'it (Plé'at)
   4. Liwu Geté (Ri'i Dueng)
   5. Liwu Ana' (Ri'i Dueng)
   6. Liwu Puli Wulan (Wolowana)
   7. Liwu Kudi Gajo (Plé'at)
   8. Liwu Diwang (Diwang)
   9. Liwu Wolo'lora (Wolo'lora)
  10. Liwu Blibat
  11. Liwu Onan (Pruda)
  12. Liwu Wair (Watuwolon)

Other clan branches with members living in Tana Wai Brama:

VI. Sukun Hebing
   1. Hebing Waiwen
   2. Hebing Getan
   3. Hebing Sogé

VII. Sukun Boruk
    1. Boruk Ri'it

VIII. Sukun Lewar
   1. Lewar Ekor (Ekor)
   2. Lewar Hobuai (Hobuai)

IX. Sukun Lewuk
   1. Lewuk Nuha
   2. Lewuk Lepo Ruman
   3. Lewuk Rotan
for a number of reasons. First among them is the likeli-
hood that members of a clan residing some distance from
the locality of the group from which it has split, as a
matter of convenience and to facilitate relations with
other clans, may demand a share of the clan heirlooms. The
division of clan wealth and removal of part of it to a new
location requires the establishment of a new clan house
(lepo woga) at the site of the new settlement. Construction
of the new house legitimates the fission. Clan wealth (to'o
balik) is loosely associated with the clan to which it
belongs and each gong, tusk, patola cloth and other heir-
loom has a "history" by which the identification between
ritual object and the group to which it belongs is expressed.
The history of ritual goods divided in the fission of a clan
into clan branches expresses the relationship between the
branches.

The flexible land tenure system of the Ata Tana Wai
Brama, whereby plots of forest suitable for opening as
gardens can be sold and purchased for small payments,
facilitates the movement of people throughout the domain
and between domains. The territorial affiliation of clans
is primarily ceremonial and largely a matter of the clan
"history", and is not necessarily reflected in actual
residence patterns. It is likely that most fissioning of
clans into branches is the result of clan members establish-
ing themselves in areas away from their ola puan ("trunk"
or "base place") through the purchase of land in new
localities.
Inspection of the list of clan branches (pp.182-183) reveals that most are named for the localities in which their female members reside. Sukun Ipir and Sukun Liwu are the only clans that have branches named for ancestors (Ipir Laba Datang, Ipir Jabo Kian, Liwu Puli Wulan and Liwu Kudi Gajo). Ipir Wai Brama Taka Hong is the clan branch of the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama, and is therefore the "central" or "trunk" (puan) clan branch of the source clan of the domain. Some branch names seem to involve ritual taboos. I was told by one informant that Liwu Wair is so named because water (wait) must not enter the gardens of its members, but on this subject I was unable to obtain elaboration. The name Ipir Watar Piren, "Ipir, maize forbidden", refers to a prohibition whereby members of this branch do not eat young maize cooked in water for a time immediately following the maize harvest.

The case of Liwu Geté ("Big Liwu") and Liwu Ana' ("Little Liwu") suggests the local division of a branch of sukun Liwu at Ri'i Dueng, but I was unable to obtain information about what sort of schism may have resulted in two branches of the same sukun being established in one locality. Nuha, which appears in the names of Ipir Nuha and Léwuk Nuha, means "island" and may refer to Solor, where some ancestral Ata Tana Ai are said to have originated. Sukun Hébing Sogé is said to be composed of descendants of migrants from Ende, which is called Sogé in the dialects of both the central
Sikkanese and the Ata Tana Ai. Lewo Goran, the name of the single branch of *sukun* Tapo, may refer to a location in Larantuka. *Lewo* means "village" in the Lamaholot language, and the form Lewo Goran is that of village names in east Flores. Two branch names refer to darkness and blackness: Magé Mitan ("Black Magé") and Léwuk Lepo Ruman ("Dark House of Léwuk").

*Sukun* Liwu Pigan Bitak, one of the larger branches in the Hila-Watuwolon area, illustrates the manner in which the system of clanship is able to accommodate new arrivals and incorporate new groups of people into the social order of the domain. *Pigan bitak* means "broken plate", and how this branch of *sukun* Liwu came into being is recounted in a story which I recorded in three versions.

**The Founding of Liwu Pigan Bitak, Version I:**

A person from Larantuka broke a large *kloda* (storage basket) of bowls (*pigan*) belonging to *sukun* Mau. This was about the time *sukun* Liwu Kebo (from near the south coast of Tana Ai) came to give elephant tusks and gongs to people of *sukun* Mau Nalé for the return of the forelock of a Liwu man. The people of Mau Nalé did not want to receive elephant tusks and gongs in exchange for their daughter, but requested that *sukun* Liwu give instead a dozen bowls to replace those which had been broken. A woman named Raha was thus exchanged for the bowls and entered *sukun* Liwu. Raha's house had many daughters and became known as Liwu Pigan Bitak, "Liwu of the Broken Bowls".
The Founding of Liwu Pigan Bitak, Version II:

An ancestor of Mo'an Rêma (a man living at Hila-Watuwolon), Du'a Wua of sukan Mau Nalé, possessed a kloda of bowls which were broken by Ata Jawa (people of Larantuka). Sukun Mau could not afford to replace the bowls and demanded from the Larantuka people a goat with horns half an arm long. But the Larantuka people had no goats of the size demanded. So people from sukan Mau drove away the Ata Jawa, who wandered in search of a place to settle. In their wandering, they finally met Diro and Bokir of sukan Liwu who asked them, "Where are you going?" "We were exiled because we were not able to replace the bowls we broke." Bokir replied, "In that case, we will pay for the bowls;" you enter our clan." Thus the Ata Jawa entered sukan Liwu and founded a branch of the clan which came to be called Liwu Pigan Bitak.

The Founding of Liwu Pigan Bitak, Version III:

There were once Ata Jawa who owned bowls that were broken by people of Mo'an Rêma's group of sukan Mau Nalé. The Mau people were not able to replace the bowls, and so they gave the Ata Jawa a female child. The girl was taken by the Ata Jawa, who then met Diro and Bokir of sukan Liwu, who said, "We are able to pay tusks and goats for the bowls". So they gave tusks and goats and took the child from the Ata Jawa. This child had many children, some remaining in sukan Liwu, and some being given to sukan Magé as ama 'lo'en, "father's forelock". Thus the descendants of the child became Liwu Pigan Bitak. The children given to Magé founded the house which later exchanged a child with sukan Ipir Wai Brama. A child of the
house founded in Ipir by this exchange became the house of the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama (Mo'an Rapa Ipir's house).

In each of the versions of the story, the transaction by which the ancestor of Liwu Pigan Bitak was adopted into Liwu involved the payment of ceremonial goods and has the character of the exchanges by which children are transferred between clans upon payment of to'o balik. Thus sukun Mau Nalé is said to be ina ama ("mother father") to sukun Liwu Pigan Bitak, a relationship which has fundamental implications in Tana Ai society.

6.7 Secular and Ritual Authority Within the Clan

It has been shown that there is, at the level of the domain, no female counterpart to the ritual authority of the male tana puan. Within the clan, however, and at every subordinate level of organization (clan branch and house) contained by it, the monocratic authority of men is replaced by a bipartition of authority into secular and ceremonial spheres. In Tana Ai, secular authority is vested in women and is transmitted through consanguineally related women, and ritual authority is exercised by men and transmitted matrilaterally by men from mothers' brothers to their sisters' sons. The division of authority within the corporate groups of Tana Ai society between men and women is expressed as being founded in the duality of
commonalities and separation that exists between brothers and sisters.

The secular affairs of clans, clan branches and houses, matters pertaining to the garden land of the group, the opening of new gardens, the sale of land, the transfer of children as ama 'lo'en between clans, exchanges of clan wealth, marriages and the management of delicts and litigations within and between one clan and another, are the purview of the du'a mo'an sukun, the dual male and female heads of the clan. The authority of the group as a whole is vested in its women, and specifically in the person of the du'a luka, the headwoman of the group, whether at the level of clan, clan branch or house, but is exercised — enacted is a better term — by men of the group. Thus women are associated with sustenance (gardens and descent are transmitted through them), while men, the peripheral sex of Tana Ai who move between groups in marriage, also move between groups as the enactors and agents of ritual which is directed both within the group and, more significantly, between groups.

No single person within a clan bears complete authority in either the secular or ritual realms. Several women, each normally (but not necessarily) resident in one of the various lepo of the clan, share authority in a system of ranking based on the places of each lower order house in the order of precedence of all the houses within the
clan. Similarly, each clan includes at least (and usually) one ranking male ritual specialist, and many minor ritual specialists. The general term for holders of positions of authority within the clan, which encompasses both men and women, is ata wu'un bian puan, "source and boundary people" (cf. Chapter Four, pp. 99-100), a metaphorical expression of the centrality of women (bian puan, "source people") and the peripheral nature of men (ata wu'un, "boundary people"). Just as any realm of Tana Ai culture is characterized by the opposition of its component center and borders, so does the division of male and female lines of authority recapitulate the source of the social group and the medium of relationships with other, similarly bounded groups. A second term for designating the holders of authority is bian plé'a ru'ut, "people of the (clan's) plé'a ru'ut" (supra, pp. 159-160).

The highest ranking female ata wu'un bian puan of the clan is referred to in ordinary discourse as ina ama, the "mother (and) father" of the clan who, conversely, speaks of the total membership of her clan as her mé pu, her "children and brothers' children", the latter being potentially members of her clan by ama 'Io'en transactions and who, though members of the clans of the wives of her brothers and sons, are bearers of their fathers' sister's blood. By "ranking" is meant here the highest and final potential arbiter of the affairs of the clan, who is the ata wu'un bian puan of the core or "source" house of the clan.
Although the authority of the clan headwoman is rarely invoked in daily affairs, and indeed her presence is required only on occasions of the highest ritual and ceremonial importance, she is directly and materially associated with the lepo plé'a ru'ut, the "plé'a ru'ut house" of her clan, in which she usually lives. In this house, which is also called the lepo sopé or lepo geté (the "great house") of the clan, is hung the sopé sobok, the central reliquary basket to which the forelocks and fingernails of all deceased clan members are eventually returned. There too are stored the to'o balik, the nonexchangeable ceremonial wealth of the clan. The principle of delegation, by which persons other than those responsible for the execution of an obligation or occupation of a status may be entrusted with the actual performance of it, the accoutrements of clan headship, such as "holding the sopé", may be assigned to others by the headwoman. Nonetheless it is she who is also ina ama toé sopé, "the mother father behind the sopé", or bian toé sopé, "the person behind the sopé", the basket which, more than any other single possession, symbolizes the unity of clanship for a clan's members. As keeper of the to'o balik, the clan's permanent ceremonial goods, the "mother and father" of the clan is also bian wu'un matan, the "boundary and eye person", a term equivalent to bian sopé but one that focuses on the gongs, elephant tusks and other ritual paraphernalia of the clan which are taken out of the lepo
ple'a ru'ut only for the celebration of "cooling" and the 
gren mahé celebrations of the domain. 22

The authority of the ina ama sukun over land belonging 
to the constituent houses of the clan is largely ceremonial 
and nominal, though her approval and that of the tana puun 
is required before any land can be sold. Garden land is 
held corporately and in common by the women of the houses 
(see pp. 226-228 for a discussion of pla pina groups), and 
decisions regarding the division of land among the women of 
the house for opening gardens is made by the headwoman of 
the house, and not usually by the headwoman of the clan.

Of greater importance is the role of the ina ama sukun 
in the marriages of her clan's members. Whether a marriage 
is between two members of her clan or between a member of 
her clan and a person of another clan, she is expected to 
assent to the marriage and to perform (or to delegate the 
responsibility for the performance of) wua klongot ta'a kahan, 
"to husk areca nut, to tie up bundles of betel leaves", the 
ceremony by which the families of a couple being married 
exchange and chew areca nut together.

The headwoman of a lepo woga, "house and visitors' 
pavilion", is the bia luka, or more properly, the du'a luka 
of her group. Luka means "victuals", "provisions" and "eating 
and cooking utensils" and the term du'a luka, "provender 
woman", indicates the intimate association of the position 
and the government of the gardens, their production and the
house which is sustained by them. The *du'a luka* is the woman among the membership of the house who is actually *bian teri lepo*, "the person who lives (literally: sits) in the house". She is also spoken of as *bian uma 'loran*, "the person of the garden's center", by which she exercises authority over the land of her *lepo*. More importantly, the *du'a luka* is said to "*deri 'é'i awu wanan*", "to sit at the right-hand hearth". The right-hand hearth of the *lepo* is the ritually sanctioned one of the two hearths (*awu wiri*, "left-hand hearth", and *awu wanan*, "right-hand hearth").

The duties of the *du'a luka* include keeping the *botek*, the ritual barn of the house, which is built in a clearing near the *lepo*, and in which is kept the *klekê baso*, the "gourd jar and bamboo water tube" of the house, as well as other ceremonial objects. *Klekê* is a container made from a species of large gourds and *baso* are the water tubes with which the *Ata Tana Ai* transport water from springs and streams to their houses. After each harvest, the *du'a luka* must "eat the first rice" of the harvests of all the gardens of her house. This is done in a ceremony called *hemit heruk*, "to eat first and sip and taste", after all the gardens of the house have been harvested. Each of the women of the group brings to the granary of her *lepo*, and to the *du'a luka*, a small amount of the rice harvested from her garden. Half of this rice is mixed with similar
portions brought by all the women of the lepo, and is cooked and eaten by the du'a luka. The remaining portions from each garden are mixed together in a ceremonial mixing of the rice seed, and the admixed rice is then placed by the du'a luka into the kleké baso of the granary. Only after this ceremony is performed, and the continuity of the rice seed of the group thereby insured, can the members of the group begin eating the rice they have grown and harvested.

The rice of the kleké baso is stored in the granary until the women of the house prepare their gardens for the next season's planting. Then, in a ceremonial redivision of the seed rice, the members of the lepo once again gather at the granary. The du'a luka removes the rice from the kleké baso, and divides it among the women of the group, one portion for each garden to be planted by the members of the lepo. Each woman then takes her portion of the rice from the kleké baso to her own field barn (nogar), where she mixes it with the major portion of the seed rice of the garden that has been stored there since the last harvest. Thus the rice that is planted and harvested in the gardens of the lepo has a continuity and is said to share a common "blood" that corresponds to the relations of blood among the women of the house. Once the kleké baso rice has been mixed with the seed rice of the individual gardens, the planting of the gardens can begin.
While two or more lepo usually share a wélut, the reliquary basket of the house and clan branch, every du'a luka is said to be bian toé wélut, "the person behind the wélut", or bian neti wélut, "the one who brings (or holds on to) the wélut". The wélut, a basket that contains the small stones (wu'a or wowa) and other relics of the ancestors of the house, is the repository of the 'lo'ó unur, "forelocks and fingernails", of the ancestors between the performance of likon (second stage mortuary rituals), when they are placed in the wélut, and the 'lo'ó unur (third and final stage mortuary rituals), when they are removed and placed in the sopé of the clan. The wélut hangs in the lepo, from the main roof beam and over the central part of the house (the unen geté, "great inside"). While the du'a luka is keeper of the wélut, only male ritual specialists handle it, as when, for example, the basket must be taken out of the lepo for use in garden rituals, or in mortuary ceremonies.

Other duties and responsibilities of the du'a luka include keeping the to'o balik (objects of ceremonial wealth of the house) and arranging for its exchange for the daughters of house members being returned to the lepo as father's forelock. It is she who negotiates with the du'a luka of other, closely related lepo of her clan for the loan of to'o balik of the sizes and value required for particular exchanges, and who is responsible for the repayment of these loans. And it is she who appoints from among the men of
her house the bian pahé nuru, the man who begins the planting of the gardens of the group by performing the annual garden rituals at the ai pua ("source tree") of each field, and who, as mo'an poru pai, "the man who strips the first grain heads from the rice stalks", initiates the harvests in each of the gardens of the group.24

The headship of a clan is usually occupied by the oldest woman of the source house of the clan. This woman normally resides in the lepo sopé of her clan, but it is not unknown for a clan headwoman to delegate residence to another woman so that the headwoman can live with and be cared for by a daughter or granddaughter. Most often, the lepo sopé of the clans are occupied by an extended family group (see Chapter Seven for the composition of lepo in the Hila-Watuwolon area), consisting of the headwoman (and her husband, if she is not widowed), and daughter and the daughter's husband, and grandchildren. Various unmarried young men, sons or grandsons of the headwoman, are often attached to the lepo and assist in its operation as a household by gardening, hunting and maintaining the structure. Younger women, especially those with dependent children, who are still involved in garden production, usually prefer living with their families in their gardens. Since a clan's lepo is not moved, as are garden houses when new gardens are opened, it may be located some distance from the garden (or gardens) that supports its residents. The composition of the households occupying the permanent houses of the clans
thus reflects the requirements in personnel and labor to maintain the headwoman. A deceased headwoman is replaced by another elder woman of the same "house", though a resident daughter of the deceased headwoman may continue residence in the lepo sopé until she has arranged for the construction of a garden house. A daughter can become headwoman of a clan if the clan as a whole assents to her inheriting the position.

While any woman of a clan's source house is, in principle, eligible to become headwoman, the position of du'a luka of a house is almost always inherited by a daughter of a deceased du'a luka. As with clan headwomen, the du'a luka of a house normally resides in her lepo with a daughter and the daughter's family. The death of a du'a luka creates no particular difficulties for the group, providing a resident daughter is willing to assume the role.

In principle, any man of a house can serve as a ritual specialist in the performance of rituals of the house. That is, any man can perform rituals which he knows, or can work under the direction of more experienced or knowledgeable experts. In practice, however, two degrees of ritual specialization are recognized. First are the men of a house who occasionally perform, or assist more accomplished practitioners in the performance of, the rituals of the lepo. Such men are usually designated by their du'a luka as responsible for particular ritual performances such as the cooling of a new garden house or barn belonging to a
member of the group, a funerary rite for a deceased house member (or for someone of a clan paired with his own in mortuary service), or a garden ritual. There are dozens of occasions for minor ritual on which a man may be called upon to act as a ritual practitioner, either on behalf of his household or lepo, or on his own behalf (as when he performs the small rites of offering before entering a forest to hunt or erects a badu tada to protect trees to which he has rights).

Second are the major ritual specialists of the clan who are capable of chanting the invocations and clan histories of the major rituals of the house, clan and domain. Such men are said to have himo wa dea li'ar, "received the tongue and taken the voice" of ritual and its language. These men comprise a small corps of inspired ritualists whose lives revolve around the ceremonial life of the community to the extent that many are practically full-time ritual practitioners. Many of these men forsake the relative comforts and security of the normal life of gardening to lead the more impoverished life of the peripatetic ritualist. While identified by and closely affiliated with their own clans, these men can serve at any ritual of any clan of the domain. Their services are also in constant demand both as ata niru burat, "men of the white spittle" (i.e., curers) and as du'a kula mo'an kara, adjudicators in disputes and litigations.
Ritual practitioners of either degree are commonly referred to as *ata wu'un*, "boundary" or "ritual persons", or as *ata piren*, "forbidden" or "sacred persons". An accomplished "man of the voice", when serving major rituals, is usually referred to as *bian puan*, "source person", and in high ritual may also be both addressed and referred to as *du'a mo'an* (female and male honorific). The term *du'a mo'an* also denotes the corps of ritual specialists of all clans of the domain who conceive, organize, govern and conduct the culminal rituals of the domain, the *gren mahé*.

*Ata wu'un* and *bian puan* (*du'a mo'an*) can be distinguished generally in that the former perform the rituals of the descent group and *lepo* on behalf of and usually at the behest of the *du'a luka* of their groups, while the *du'a mo'an* perform the rituals of the domain. When these rituals require (or are thought to require) invocation of the ancestors of the group (as many do), a suitably qualified chanter may be sought outside the group if no members of the group conducting the ritual are themselves chanters. *Bian puan*, the "source men" who are able to "speak boldly" the histories and invocations of the clans and the domain, perform the major rituals of the clan (*likon, hewor, blatan balik, 'lo'é unur, dué lepo* and *gareng lamen*) and the domain (*hogé kabor* and *gren mahé*). They act independently of the women of their houses and clans in determining when major rituals are to be conducted. They normally do not
perform the minor rituals, but may direct bian wu'un in
their performance. And it is they who are able to invoke
the ancestors, the spirits of the domain and, when working
in concert, the deity of Tana Ai itself. For most men, who
on occasion must act as ata wu'un, ritual is at least a
sometimes bothersome component of the technical requirements
of housebuilding, planting and harvesting, and at most, a
matter to be treated circumspectly, with caution and care,
when it is unavoidable. In contrast, for the du'a mo'an
of the domain, the true connoisseurs of the sacred, ritual
is life itself, requiring devotion, knowledge, discipline
and passion. For them, ritual provides an arena for political
discourse and leadership and is both a means to power and
prestige in the community and a medium for the expression
of individual creativity.

Succession to the positions of ina ama sukun (headship
of a clan) and du'a luka (headship of a house) is strictly
matrilineal, the positions being passed between closely
related women. If a consanguineally related woman cannot
be found to replace a deceased ina ama sukun, the position
devolves on an elder woman of a house that is immediately
collateral in the precedence system of the clan (see Chapter
Eleven). If a du'a luka has no remaining sisters or lineal
descendants, then her lepo is said to be maté ba'a, "already
dead", and the house ceases to exist as a corporate entity.

The Ata Tana Ai distinguish rights and obligations,
which are both denoted by the term kuasa, from the people
who exercise rights and fulfil obligations. Rights to  
lepo membership are said to be held in common by all the 
members of the house. Membership is thus a matter of  
kuasa an lepo ("rights are the entire house"), but the 
prerogatives attendant on the group as a whole are exercised 
by particular persons of the group. Rights are seen as 
transmitted from one person to another through women, and 
they cannot be obtained directly by one man from 
another. Thus the ritual statuses of men are transmitted 
from actual mothers' brothers to sisters' sons within the 
lepo, and from actual or classificatory mothers' brothers 
to sisters' sons within the clan. Regarding ritual, how­
ever, matters are slightly more complex than in the case of 
rights transmitted with descent. While a man may inherit 
his kuasa to the rituals of his group matrilaterally, and 
be obliged to act as ata wu'un on behalf of the membership 
of his mother's group, becoming a ritual person depends 
first on a man's desire (or ambition) to do so. Irrespec­
tive of the rights a man has in his lepo by virtue of being 
the son of a woman of the group, becoming the ritual spokes­
man of that group depends first on choice and a man's willing­
ness to become a bian puan.

Second, Tana Ai ritualism is a matter of knowledge 
(ra'intan) and skill (rawin) as well as right (kuasa). 
Knowledge of ritual is purely a province of men, and as such 
is conceived to be transmitted directly from men to men,
in contradistinction to the rights of descent. Ritual specialists thus credit both their fathers and mothers' brothers as the sources of their knowledge. Indeed, the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama once remarked that ritual knowledge gotten only from mamé pu (mother's brothers) is insufficient (kuran), and that it must also be received from mê'e (fathers). He then named several men, who were both his classificatory fathers and mother's brothers, from whom he had, as a young man, received his knowledge of the hadat of his domain.

During the years 1978-1980, Pius, the twenty five year old son of Sina, the principal chanter of Tana Wai Brama (see Figure 6.2), was learning ritual language, primarily from his father. Pius's skill, partly obtained by his father's tuition, will become the kuasa of his mother's house, however, and will be utilized in the rituals of her lepo, and not in those of his father's house. This arrangement parallels that of the inheritance of a man's personal belongings, which can be said to be neither "matrilineal" nor "patrilineal". While rights to garden land are held corporately by maternal descent groups, and the land of the group is transmitted from one generation to the next through women, the coconuts, areca nut and fruit trees that a man has planted on land of his wife or sister can be claimed by both his children and his sisters' children following his death. Similarly, the personal belongings
of a man (his spear, bow and arrows, knives, horses, wu'a stones, his teli wuat and its contents) are distributed at his likon among all his mé pu (children and sisters' children). Thus ritual knowledge, as a man's possessions, is not subject to the proprietorship of particular clans or houses. Unlike women's things, rights to the organon of ritual are not held corporately and exclusively, and the ways in which it is transmitted insure a relatively even distribution throughout the society. Knowledge of ritual is exclusive only insofar as it is men's knowledge, and not accessible to women.

While these are the social conventions that can be seen as governing succession to ritual status in Tana Wai Brama, the du'a mo'an themselves tell a different tale. By the accounts of many informants, the major ritual leaders of the community are men whose bodies have been entered by blupur geté ("big old ones"), ancestors of their clans. Men who are possessed in this way become ritual persons who "know hadat". When a chosen man dies, the Big Old One enters another man of the clan. As one informant traced the genealogy of his clan's principal du'a mo'an:

The Big Old One was with Mo' an Lodi, Lodi the ritual person. When Lodi died, the Old One entered Léga; Léga died, entered Toni. When Toni died (the ancestral spirit) changed to Gédá.

A common theme in the life histories of the men of the domain who know ritual language is the inspired receipt
of knowledge of chanting and ritual. Mo'an Sina of sukun Ipir Wai Brama told his story in this way:

One day I was walking on the path from Wolometan to my garden at Watulaban. On the path I encountered a man I did not know. He gave me a wu'a stone, but did not say anything to me. I continued walking, but had not gone very far when my mind filled with ritual language. I could only speak ritual language; suddenly I realized I knew all of the histories. I then went to my lepo geté (clan house) where I learned that my mamé (a chanter and a renowned ritualist of sukun Ipir) had just died. I then knew I had "received the tongue and taken the voice" (himo wa déa li'ar). From that time on I have followed ritual, and have always been in demand as a practitioner.30

Other ritual specialists also recount how their knowledge came to them all at once, in a flash. Since all chanters acknowledge by name the men from whom they have learned the histories, what these stories recount are the episodes by which men succeed to ritual status, or how it happened that they came to know they knew ritual. These events invariably are told by invoking their mothers' brothers, that is, men of their clans whom they have succeeded in the status of du'a mo'an.

Thus too do the bian wu'un of the houses, the men who are empowered to rama welut, "to touch the wélut" in ritual, and to manipulate its contents, speak of the acquisition of their status. Neither Sapé nor Pipi (see Figure 6.2) have "received the tongue and taken the voice", but both are bian wu'un who have inherited the role from their mothers' brothers, Kléruk (who surrendered his status because of old age and deafness) and Nura, respectively.
Figure 6.2 identifies the ata wu'un bian puan of the six houses of sukun Ipir Wai Brama in the Hila-Watuwolon region during the period of fieldwork (1978-1980). The organization of these houses can be taken, for the immediate purpose, as representative of all the clans of Tana Wai Brama. Examination of the genealogy, which includes only those persons holding statuses relevant to the present discussion and excludes the total membership of the lines depicted, reveals that each house of the clan shown has one woman who is du'a luka and at least one bian wu'un. Included also in this clan are the tana puan of the domain and women who keep the permanent and central ritual houses (lepo tana and lepo luli) of the domain. Exceptions are the "source" house (IWB1) whose female line has died out, leaving only a male ritual specialist as its surviving member, and IWB6, the most recently founded house within the group depicted whose headwoman, Holé, has no adult sons who qualify as bian wu'un. The line IWB5 will die out with the deaths of Gunung and her sons since she has no surviving daughters or granddaughters.

6.8 Dividing the Basket: Sopé and Welut as Idioms of Clanship

People who are related as members of a house are said to be seneng ha, "of one basket". Seneng are small, hexagonally shaped baskets with tightly fitted covers that serve a variety of domestic purposes. They are also the
Figure 6.21: Lepe, Du'a Luwa and Ritual Specialists of Sukum Ipir Wai Brana
Table 6.3
The Distribution of Ritual and Secular Authority
In Seven Houses of Sukun Ipir Wai Brama\textsuperscript{32}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Secular Head</th>
<th>Ritual Head</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ipir-Nuha</td>
<td>Kotin</td>
<td>Pagan</td>
<td>Kotin was bian toë sopë, occupied the lepo getë of Ipir and was thus ina ama sukun. Her replacement was not yet decided at the end of fieldwork in 1980. Kotin was also counted as du'a luka of her descent group and that of IWB\textsubscript{1a}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB\textsubscript{1a}</td>
<td>Kotin</td>
<td>Sina</td>
<td>Sina is principal chanter and a major ritual leader of Tana Wai Brama as well as bian wu'un of his descent group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB\textsubscript{1}</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Tadan</td>
<td>Tadan was bian wu'un, but his house has died out. He is now an important curer in the domain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB\textsubscript{2}</td>
<td>Timu</td>
<td>Sapë</td>
<td>Timu was replaced by Hapë as du'a luka and keeper of lepo luli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB\textsubscript{3}</td>
<td>Rudun</td>
<td>Pipi</td>
<td>Wai was an unpopular choice to replace Rudun as du'a luka and keeper of lepo tana. In 1980 there was a move to place Osë in the lepo tana as du'a luka. This arrangement would place Sina, the principal chanter of Tana Wai Brama and Osë's husband, also in the lepo tana, an arrangement generally considered to be disirable. Këdang is shown as bian wu'un. He often performs or assists in minor ritual not important enough to summon Pipi, who lives some distance away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB\textsubscript{4}</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Bago</td>
<td>Bago is also keeper of the mahë under the tana puan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB\textsubscript{5}</td>
<td>Gunung</td>
<td>Lado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB\textsubscript{6}</td>
<td>Holë</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
containers into which are placed the forelocks and finger-nails of the deceased descendants of an *ina puda*, the founding mother of a house. Several *seneng*, each of which represents a single house, are stored together in the *welut* of a clan branch, along with the *wu'a* (or *welut*) stones and other small relics of the ancestors such as the knives used for killing chickens in ritual and *tudi séko*, the small blades used in the circumcision rites of male initiation (*gareng lamen*). *Welut* are the branch baskets of the *sopé* of a clan. The word *sopé*, aside from meaning the central reliquary basket of a clan, denotes a type of basket of a size larger than *seneng* that has many uses in the house and kitchen as storage containers for husked rice and other foods, tobacco and clothing. Typically, a *sopé* contains several *seneng*.

All the members of a clan, whose ancestors' *'lo'ó unur* rest in the *sopé* of the clan, are said to be *sopé ha*, "of one *sopé* basket". In ritual language references to the *sopé* and *welut* of the clans appear as:

- *Sope sobok reki dula* | Central clan basket and womb,
- *Welut pu'ur paré wuta* | Branch of the clan basket taken on a journey.33

This fragment of ritual language thus expresses in succinct metaphors the process by which clans segment into clan branches as their members move from the territories of their "sources" and settle on land in new areas. Once established,
welut, branches of the central sopé of the clan, are created, and with them, the means to provide both for the ritual needs of the branch group and the ties of identity with the clan.

The case of sukun Liwu Pigan Bitak illustrates one way in which clan branches can be created. The sopé of sukun Liwu is kept in the lepo geté of the clan at Ri'i Dueng. One branch of Liwu, Liwu Blé'it has a lepo and welut at Watuwolon. The welut of Liwu Pigan Bitak (whose origins are recounted above, pp. 186-188) is kept at Wolo'lora by Du'a Raha² (see Figure 6.3). Since Liwu

Figure 6.3: The Branching of Sukun Liwu
Pigan Bitak was founded, two sisters, who are classificatory daughters of Du'a Raha\(^1\), have come to live at Watuwolon. One of them, Du'a Sano, lives in a fine lepo there, and Du'a Peni, Sano's sister, plans to build a lepo of her own. Sano's house is said to be "empty", that is, it has no wélut. It is merely a "lepo whin wawi", a "lepo for feeding pigs", the term used to denote any lepo that has not yet succeeded to major ritual status, but is nonetheless a permanent house. Sano's and Peni's branch of Liwu Pigan Bitak is both genealogically and geographically far enough removed from the line of Raha\(^2\) that Sano is considered for purposes of the garden ceremonies of her line to be du'a luka. Both Sano's lepo and Peni's (should she build one) are in principle potentially wélut houses, should it be decided that a new wélut is justified. Since Peni is childless, however, her lepo will remain empty and Sano's will most likely become the lepo wélut (or lepo pléa ru'ut) of the people of sukun Liwu Pigan Bitak living at Watuwolon. Until that happens, Du'a Raha\(^2\) of Wolo'lora remains senior du'a luka of the clan branch that includes Sano and Peni. Once a new wélut is designated by the ina ama sukun, the house that now includes Raha\(^2\) and Sano will have split, even though the two women are lineal descendants through women of the same ancestral ina puda ("transplanted mother") who founded their houses.

The case of the lepo of Sano Liwu Pigan Bitak illustrates the way in which lepo residence is arranged within
the descent group and the manner in which ritual roles can be delegated by persons who actually hold "rights" to the statuses they entail (see Figure 6.4). Sano and Peni inherited rights to their lepo from their "mothers", Kula and Magé, who in turn had them from the line of Ema and Wua, and their "mothers". Wua and Ema were, in turn, du'a luka of their group, and lived in the lepo when it was located 100 meters up the mountain from its present location at

Figure 6.4: The Succession of Residence in lepo Liwu Pigan Bitak, Watuwolon

Watuwolon. When Ema died, her daughter's daughter, Golo, was designated du'a luka. Because Golo did not live in the lepo, residence devolved on her mother's sister, Kula.
In the meantime, Lado had died and his forelock was due to be returned by sukun Mau. This transaction was accomplished when Kula and Sano exchanged elephant tusks and gongs for Girek, Lado's daughter. After the exchange of Girek, residence in the lepo of the woman who had become her ina ama (mothers and fathers) was surrendered to her. When Girek died, the lepo was reconstructed at Watuwolon by Sano, who reclaimed residence in it. One reason why residence in the lepo went to Girek was that the delegation of the duty by her new "mothers" served to cement her position in her new clan. This consolidation was important because Girek had not married a man of Kula's group. With the marriage of Girek's daughter, Luju, to Kula's son, the place of Kula's new "daughter" was secured and residence in the lepo could revert to the central line of women of the lepo.

Because they are sisters, Peni has rights to Sano's lepo. These rights are expressed in the relationship of the two women as "awu wiri awu wana", "left-hand and right-hand hearths" of the house. Just as they are wué wary (elder sister and younger sister), so does Sano have rights to "sit at the right-hand (ritually sanctioned) hearth" while Peni, the younger sister, has rights in the house, but "sits at the left-hand (secular) hearth".

In cases such as that illustrated above, the ina ama puan "central mother and father" of the clan, are said
to "surrender" or to "delegate" the \textit{wélut} to their "children". The \textit{wélut}-holding branch and the "source" of the clan are said to be related as \textit{lîri puan lo wutun}, "the central house post and peripheral house beam". The "source" or "trunk" line is said "to sit at the source", while the branch line "sits at the edge or periphery". In contrast, two \textit{wélut} branches are \textit{lo puan lo wutun}, related as "central beam and peripheral beam", that is, as two entities of the same sort with different positions in a system of ranking.\textsuperscript{34}
7.1 Introduction

The majority of Ata Tana Wai Brama live in single family residences constructed in their gardens. Gardens are dispersed more or less uniformly throughout the domain. Domestic life is centered in and around the garden, and the exigencies of the horticultural cycle of Tana Ai require continuous attention be devoted to the gardens, especially during the seasons of preparations for planting and during the five or six months of the year during which grain crops are maturing. Travel, even over short distances, is difficult during the rainy season, and from late December through March, people remain almost exclusively in their gardens. Once the harvest is completed in June, people are freer to move about and from July through October, the dry season and the time of the major rituals of the community, people visit one another throughout the domain. Even during this season, however, most of a family's time is spent in its garden, the women engaged in minor maintenance of the garden, basket making, weaving and other domestic chores, while the men are occupied with hunting,
ritual activities, housebuilding and the construction and repair of fences. Regardless of the season, however, people make regular visits to their lepo, their true "houses", to attend to a variety of matters pertaining to their descent groups.

In Tana Ai, the word lepo, "house", denotes both a physical structure and a social unit of a particular kind (cf. Fox 1980b:11-12). As in some other eastern Indonesian societies, the Tana Ai lepo, as a social group, is the unit concerned with land, property and marriage (ibid.). The lepo of the domain regulate descent insofar as membership in a house determines the primary social affiliation of individual Ata Tana Ai. Inheritance and access to land, the principal economic resource of the Ata Tana Ai, are matters determined by the lepo on behalf of its members. Lepo are exogamous, and are the primary units of reference in the system of affinal and ceremonial alliance that regulates higher order social relations among clans and clan branches of the domain. The simplest, most inviolable and, to the Ata Tana Ai, the most natural of principles governs lepo membership: all Ata Tana Ai, whether male or female, belong to the lepo of their mothers. While lepo affiliation can be altered, the mother's lepo is always the "source" and "origin" of an individual.2

The core of a lepo is a group of consanguinely related women in whom is vested commonly shared rights to
garden land and whose decisions regarding the distribution of that land within the lepo membership or its disposal cannot be gainsaid by any higher authority.

The lepo as a physical structure is the true and permanent home of all the members of the house, most of whom live in temporary houses in their gardens or, in the case of married men, in the gardens of their wives. The lepo is, for the members of the group who share rights in it, a ritual center and a center of considerable personal and affective significance. This chapter is devoted to a description of residence and settlement patterns in Tana Wai Brama, the house, both as a material edifice and as a social group, and to the gardens that sustain it. The role of the house in the alliance system that regulates marriage and relationships between lepo will be taken up in later chapters, as will the roles and functions of houses in the rituals of the domain.

7.2 Household Composition and Residence Patterns

The residential unit of Tana Ai society is the nuclear family. The family group, which may occasionally include a widowed parent, unmarried sister or orphaned sister's children of the woman of the household, lives in and works a garden belonging to the lepo of that woman. This garden working group is the basic economic unit of Tana Ai society. No single word in Sara Tana Ai denotes the nuclear family.
Just as the word *lepo* means both the maternal descent group and the house associated with it, so too do the Ata Tana Ai use the word *mobo* to mean both the residential group and the house and garden it occupies. *Mobos* (see Figures 7.6 and 7.8) are usually built within the confines of the garden and are occupied as long as the garden is used for planting rice and maize, normally a period of two to four years. When a garden no longer is planted in grain, the family opens a new field and moves its household to it, constructing there a new *mobo*.

Residence in individual and dispersed gardens is dictated, at least partially, by features of the ecology of the region. The forests of Tana Wai Brama abound in wild pigs, deer and troops of macaques, all of which can severely damage crops. Sturdy fences are constructed to enclose fields and to protect them from depredation by pigs, but fences are not completely effective as barriers to deer, and monkeys cross them freely. The need to protect the food resources of the family from animals dictates continual residence in the gardens.

The primary region of study lies on the western slopes of a range of peaks that run north and south across the width of the island. These slopes are cut at regular intervals by deep and forested ravines that run generally east to west and down the flanks of the mountains. Gardens are opened on the crowns of the ridges between these
ravines and watercourses. Thus the landscape of much of Tana Wai Brama consists of strips of dense forest alternating with strips of cultivated land and reserve secondary forest (see Map VI). While the Ili Wukoh watershed is well-watered, there are no large rivers above the escarpment of Napun Geté, the major river of the Tana Ai valley. Instead, there are many small streams and springs regularly spaced throughout the region, none of which is capable of supporting a large or dense settlement, and the availability of water encourages dispersed settlement.

As domestic animals are slaughtered only on infrequent ritual occasions, more regular supplies of animal protein are secured by hunting pig, deer and smaller animals in the forested strips along watercourses. Dispersed settlement can also be understood as an adaptation to the dispersed placement of forest resources, both animal and vegetable. Fencing and house building materials also come from the stands of forest, but the heavy timbers and bamboos used in domestic construction must be transported by men, who prefer living near to the forests to reduce the distances and labor required to utilize the resources of the forests. Thus the dispersed settlement pattern is well adapted both for the utilization of the landscape and for its protection, as denser settlements would certainly increase the degradation of soil and forest in this region of steep mountainsides and relatively heavy rains.
Map V depicts the small area of Tana Wai Brama immediately surrounding Kloang Watuwolon. The information on household composition and land tenure provided in the accompanying Table 7.1 illustrates a pattern that is evident more generally throughout Tana Wai Brama. While the principal social groups of the domain are organized around maternal descent groups which are centered in the *lepo* of these groups, the members of the *lepo* are scattered over fairly wide territories. There are two social mechanisms at work to produce this pattern. First, most women prefer to live near their *lepo*. As a result, the gardens of *lepo* members cluster around their *lepo*.

If a desire to live near one's *lepo* leads to the clustering of gardens of members of a descent group near their *lepo*, a central feature of the land tenure system, namely, its fluidity, can facilitate the acquisition of land in a desired location. Rights to usufruct of a field can be purchased by payment of one goat or pig or by an equivalent payment of rice. Such payments secure for a household the use and products of a garden for the term of one planting cycle (two to four years). But this custom can also have a more centrifugal effect, allowing women to obtain land more distantly located from their *lepo*. Often this is done when a couple wish to live near the husband's kin, and land can be purchased from the affines to facilitate settlement in this way.
Map V: Kloang Watuwolon and Environs

Scale: 1 : 2000

O : lepo (clan or ritual house)
O : mobo (garden house)
O : granary

| : tuan (permanent forest)
| : tuan piren (sacred forest)
| : roin (secondary forest, reserve gardens)

\/: fence

\/: footpath

? : spring

--- : garden boundary

--- : field boundary

\+: ai pua (ritual center of garden)

O : abandoned lepo

\:: former site of Kloang Watuwolon
Map V: Kloang Watuwolon and Environs
Table 7.1

Key to Map V, Houses and Gardens of Kloang Watuwolon and Environs

**Lepo at Kloang Watuwolon**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>lepo of Sano Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Bago Ipir Wai Brama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a1</td>
<td>botek of Lepo Liwu Pigan Bitak, Watuwolon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a2</td>
<td>nogar of Sano Liwu Pigan Bitak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>lepo tana, the central ritual house of the domain (Rudun Ipir Wai Brama and Wai Ipir Wai Brama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>lepo of Woso Liwu Blé'it (= Kléruk Ipir Wai Brama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1</td>
<td>botek of Liwu Blé'it, Watuwolon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>botek of Liwu Diwang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>lepo wihi wawi (Urong Mau → Ipir Wai Brama = Nura IWB, abandoned after Nura's death, March, 1979)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mobo**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Péni Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Koa Tapo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f1</td>
<td>nogar of Péni LPB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Nolé Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Basa Mau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Gego Liwu Blé'it (= Bli'et Liwu Pigan Bitak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Wa'ine Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Sopung Mage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>Gata Tapo (= Kédang Ipir Wai Brama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j1</td>
<td>nogar of Gata Tapo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>Nogo Tapo → Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Glalek LPB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>Wai Ipir Wai Brama (husband deceased)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fallow Gardens**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Ose Ipir Wai Brama (= Sina IWB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Péni Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Koa Tapo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.1 continued

Fallow Gardens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Urong Mau + Ipir Wai Brama (= Nura IWB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Urong Liwu Diwang (= Sula Mau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Léing Mau (= Wédong Liwu Pigan Bitak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Nolé Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Basa Mau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Maria Ipir Wai Brama (= Dagan Ipir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Woso Liwu Blé‘it (= Klérük Ipir Wai Brama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Sano Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Bago Ipir Wai Brama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Pina Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Di’ın Liwu Blé‘it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>?:</td>
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<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>?:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>?:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>?:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Ona Magé (= Sogo Mau) (opened July, 1980)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Sano Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Bago Ipir Wai Brama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Woso Liwu Blé‘it (= Klérük Ipir Wai Brama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Nolé Liwu Pigan Bitak (= Basa Mau)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.1: Relationships of Residents at Watuwolol (1979)
other mechanisms act to disperse lepo members. First, ownership of a field can be transferred from one lepo to another when a child-giving group transfers land along with a child given as father's forelock (see Chapter Ten). The field brought by such a child joins the pool of land of the child-receiving group, but is likely to be relatively distant from the fields of other members of the child's new lepo.4

A second centrifugal factor in the pattern of residence is to be found in the decisions taken by individual women and their du'a luka (descent group headwomen) about the fields of the lepo that, in a given year, may be cleared for planting. In any year, the membership of a lepo has access to a larger number of garden plots that have been fallow a sufficient number of years to be reopened than there are women in the group who wish to obtain new plots. Decisions about which fields are to be opened are made by the headwoman of the house when she is approached by one of her daughters or sisters. The headwoman normally takes her decisions in order to maximize crop yields which sometimes means she grants gardens more distant (and less frequently opened) from the lepo than those requested.

The total land holdings of the lepo of Tana Wai Brama vary widely. The house of the late tana puan is
unquestionably the wealthiest. The fourteen women of
the house of the *tana puan* control among them in excess
of 100 fields in addition to considerable holdings of
uncut primary forest and old secondary forest at various
places in the domain. The *tana puan* himself once estimated
that the total land holdings of his house might be the
equivalent of more than 300 gardens. In contrast, the
women of *lepo* Liwu Pigan Bitak, Watuwolon hold among them
between ninety and one hundred garden plots. This house
is said to be among the poorest of the *lepo* in Tana Wai
Brama.  

Figure 7.2 illustrates the entire membership of the
*lepo* of Liwu Pigan Bitak, Watuwolon and its constituent
households and gardens in 1979. As in any *lepo*, the
married women of the descent group who are lineal descen­
dants through women of the founding woman of the house
comprise the core of the house, headed by its *du'a luka*
(headwoman). These women comprise the *pla pina* group of
the *lepo*. *Pla* means "to ask" and *pina* means "to request".
Thus *pla pina* are the women of whom land is asked and
requested, and who, as core members of the *lepo*, control
the land and ceremonial wealth of the house. Quite often,
houses encompass subsidiary descent groups. In the case
of Liwu Pigan Bitak, Watuwolon, the *pla pina* group of the
house contracted the return of Lado's "forelock" from
*sukun* Ipir Nuha in the person of Girek (see Chapter Ten).
Notes:
1. Women transferred out of clan as ama 'lo'en or mula puda do not appear on chart.
2. Only surviving children indicated.
3. Only married persons named.
4. Enclosed groups comprise residential households (moco and garden groups).
5. Darkened circles indicate women who are members of pla prix group of the house.
6. Lower case and underscored italics indicate residential groups that appear on Map V.

Figure 7.2: Membership and Residential Households of sukan Liwu Pićan Bitak, Watuwo!on.
Girek is said to found a new house in *sukun* Liwu Pigan Bitak, but until her descendants become more numerous and accumulate sufficient *to'o balik* (ceremonial goods) to merit building their own *lepo*, they remain in the house of the women (Ema's descendants) who, collectively, exchanged *to'o balik* for their brother's forelock. Glalek's wife, Nogo, has entered Liwu Pigan Bitak, Watuwolon as *mula puda*, the counter transfer of a child following an ama 'loen exchange (see Chapter Ten) and, in accordance with custom, married a man of the house which she has entered.

Decisions regarding the fields of a *lepo* that are to be cleared take into account factors such as the location of the available plots, their landform characteristics, proximity to water and, if the gardens have been worked before in living memory, how well they yielded in the past. All else being equal, women usually choose, as noted above, to open the plots nearest their *lepo*. Final decisions about opening new gardens, once worked out by the *pla pina* women of the house, are referred to the headwoman for confirmation.

Decisions about opening new land for gardening are never as straightforward as they would appear from the foregoing. The considerable labor required to clear a garden plot of trees and brush and to prepare it for planting is provided by the husbands of members of the
lepo who can call upon their wives' brothers to form the large work groups that clear all the new gardens of the house. As much labor is invested in cutting bamboo for the construction of fences, field houses and barns and in hauling it to the garden as is expended in the work of clearing. It is thus an advantage to enclose several gardens within one fence. While single, isolated fields are not unknown in Tana Ai (see Map VI), it is usual to find four to six, and occasionally as many as ten fields enclosed within a common fence. Contiguous fields within a single fence are called 'etan (or uma 'etan, "fenced gardens"), and the households and their members who live within the fence speak of themselves as a group as "'etan ha", "of one fence".

In contrast to activities that center in the lepo and which necessarily involve members of a single clan and house, the formation of a new 'etan is the result of decisions taken by women whose gardens are being cleared. Equally important as the availability of land, in making a decision about opening a new field people consider also who may open contiguous plots to form an 'etan. In this matter, the wishes of a woman's husband are entertained as it is he who will provide the heaviest labor required for clearing and fencing a garden. And it is he who, among the potential 'etan partners, must be able to enlist the cooperation of other men "within the fence" in sharing
labor. Thus men evaluate the potential gardens of their wives not only in terms of the potential of the land to yield a good harvest, but also in terms of the possible membership of an 'etan whose members cooperate in the clearing and fencing of land.

'Etan, which, with the kloang (hamlets composed of ritual houses), comprise the two units of settlement and residential groupings in Tana Wai Brama, come into being as the result of the convergence of individual decisions. Much of a person's social life is charted and remembered by the sequence of 'etan which he has shared with chosen others. People mark time in terms of 'etan, and reminiscences often begin with the phrase, "Ena hun oras ami 'etan ha nora ...", "Once, when we were of one fence with...". The manner in which a person comes to participate in the life of an 'etan thus stands in marked contrast to the manner in which, by being born into a house and clan, the individual is placed and oriented in the larger nexuses of Tana Ai society. In the larger order of society, relationships are articulated at predetermined sites — the lepo woga — and only on infrequent and specified occasions. A person's lepo may be far removed from his mobo, garden and 'etan, the sites of many day to day activities.

In contrast to the character of social interaction in mobo and 'etan, which is familiar and informal, behavior
within the precincts of the *lepo woga* is more formal and shaped by the rituals that are performed there. To be sure, one may visit informally kin and friends who live in a *lepo*, but such visits themselves emphasize the distinction being made here: that the loci of a person's social activities alternate between the garden, the domicile of the nuclear family and point of daily contact with people of other houses and clans, and ritual centers where relationships involving one's clan mates and other clans are enacted. The nature of social interaction at these two places is considerably different.

Most often, the fields to which a house has rights are scattered over a large area. This means that sisters rarely are able to organize *'etan* together, and it is largely a matter of chance that house sisters find themselves neighbors within the same fence. Thus an *'etan* most commonly consists of members of as many clans and houses as there are fields within its boundaries.

In June, 1979, the Kepala Desa (head of the municipality) of Desa Wérang, a member of *sukun* Liwu Pigan Bitak, and his wife, who is of *sukun* Ipir Wai Brama, planned to open a new garden near Kopor. The new garden would have been one of five sharing a fence and comprising an *'etan*. The other four fields within the *'etan* belonged to women of *sukun* Magé, *sukun* Liwu Pigan Bitak, *sukun* Mau and *sukun* Ipir. By August, the work of clearing the new
fields was well under way when the Kepala Desa learned that fields which were contiguous with a plot of forest to which his wife had rights were being opened up the mountain near Wair To'ur (see Map VI). The Kepala Desa suddenly decided to abandon the field at Kopor in favor of the garden at the second site. As far as I was able to determine, the basis for this change of mind was that, from the point of view of his wife, the second site was nearer the garden of a clan sister, and the second 'etan included men with whom the Kepala Desa preferred to live during the following three or four years.

Being 'etan ha involves people in a temporary configuration of coresidence that is unlikely to be repeated during their lifetimes. As fallow periods are usually prolonged, and because fields that are 'etan ha are opened and abandoned at the same times, it is conceivable that the heirs of the women of an 'etan might some day form again the same 'etan, but the Ata Tana Wai Brama seem not to attach significance to this possibility. The relationships that obtain between 'etan members, the minor alliances and exchanges of food, labor and sociality that result from daily interaction within the fence, and that are significant in the lives of individuals, are impermanent and evanescent and do not affect the major alliances of kinship and ritual which 'etan relations crosscut. The major relations of Tana Ai life are located in the lepo, the subject of the following section.
7.3 The House as a Physical and Social Entity

For the Ata Tana Ai much of his identity as a person is bound by ties to and identification with his lepo. As both a physical structure and the group of people of common ancestry who build, maintain and share it, the lepo is a "true" home. The Ata Tana Ai identify themselves among themselves by saying "we are of one lepo" ("Ami lepo ha"), and one's lepo is one's primary referent in society. It is no violation of the Ata Tana Ai conception of the social order to say that each person is placed in a lepo by circumstances of birth, and placed by the lepo in relationships with fellow lepo members and with consociates in other lepo. This sense of placement is encountered at any level at which the lepo is considered, but is particularly evident in the considerable affective attachment that people have for their lepo. The lepo is one's proper place. To die away from one's lepo is considered a very bad (though sometimes unavoidable) thing. The individual springs from the people of his lepo and it is there that his forelock and fingernails are kept after his death, and there too his spirit will return after his mortuary rites have been completed.

A sense of the identification between person and lepo is found in the couplet from ritual language:

Lepo ulu woga têli  Sitting area of the house, baskets suspended from the rafters of the woga,
Kuwut mut kawak maran  
Dry as the wild pig's burrow,
warm as the bird's nest.

The identification made in these lines is the more profound in that teli, the baskets of household goods and food which hang from the rafters of the lepo, are here a synecdoche for the sopé sobok into which are placed the hair and fingernails of dead lepo members. As a chanter of sukun Ipir explained it, "Once the lepo came into existence, so must have the soul of Uher (the founding ancestor of sukun Ipir Wai Brama)." "Once men did not have houses, but as soon as the lepo were divided among the clans, then people had (a place that was) kuwut mut kawak maran, as their centers."

If the lepo is home to the living it is because it is the place to which the ancestors of the clan are summoned on ritual occasions and the place wherein the living and the dead commune. The lepo is imbued with meaning by the ancestors, who are said to perch like birds in the rafters, on the beams, in the walls and on the floor of the house, places from which they guard the knots of the vines that bind together the parts of the house.

The lepo (see Figures 7.3 and 7.4) is the largest structure built by the Ata Tana Ai and is the central of four structures that together comprise a lepo compound. Lepo are most often constructed on isolated sites in the forest and on land belonging to the descent group. There are, however, six hamlets of lepo in Tana Wai Brama, at
Watuwolon, Wolo'lora, Ri'i Dueng, Diwang, Mudébali and Karoknatar. These hamlets, called kloang, serve as centers for the staging of the major rituals of the domain. Each includes at least one lepo designated as lepo lué, "reckoning house", in which are hung the knotted strips of lontar leaves (lué) that indicate, by the number of their mata ("knots"), when a major ritual is to take place. Kloang serve also as centers for traditional political activity in the domain.

House compounds consist of the lepo proper, a botek, a tigé and a woga. Botek (see Figure 7.5) are ritually sanctioned granaries. They are distinguishable from nogar, the field barns, by elements in their design. Botek are usually larger than nogar, and are equipped with rat guards (klilit) mounted on their four posts. Klilit are not placed on field barns. In addition, the doors of botek face réta, i.e., they are oriented upslope toward the prime direction. The doors of nogar face the centers of the gardens in which they stand and in particular are oriented toward the ai pua, the central altars, of gardens. Tigé are pig enclosures constructed of bamboo piles and roughly plaited coconut frond roofs. Tigé are built at the boundary of the house compound. Woga are temporary pavilions built in the house-yard of the lepo to provide a sitting platform and accommodation for guests on the occasions of large rituals. The whole of the house compound is called lepo woga, a term that of itself implies the multiplex alliances in which
Figure 7.3: View of a Lepo from Wali (Left Side)

Figure 7.4: View of a Lepo from Réta (Up-slope Side)
Figure 7.5: View of a Botek from Réta (Up-slope Side)

Figure 7.6: View of a Mobo
the individual house is a participant and which can be translated as "house and visitors' pavilion".

The structures of the *lepo woga* are placed in a bounded area of cleanly swept ground called *woer sogé naman jawa*, "the house yard of Ende, the circle-dance ground of Larantuka". The boundaries of the *woer* are marked by large bamboos and tree branches that are laid on the ground at its periphery and completely encircle the compound. Outside this boundary\(^7\) is "forest". The inner door (*wa* or *gebi wa*) of the *lepo* must face *réta ilin*, "upslope toward the mountain peaks", while the house ladder (*dan*) by means of which entry into the house is gained is placed at the outer door at the *wali réta*, "uphill and left-ward", corner of the house (see Figure 7.7). The *lepo* is thus oriented by reference to the directions of Tana Ai (*réta, ripa, lau* and *wali*),\(^8\) its inner door facing the prime direction, *réta*.

To enter the house, a person leaves the forest by crossing the border of the *woer* in which the house stands. In passing under the thatched eaves of the house one crosses the *témo leman 'lepín gahar*,\(^9\) that is, over the water channels surrounding the house below the eaves of the roof and under the thatch hanging down from the eaves. The *témo* and *'lepín* mark another boundary. Having passed under the roof, the visitor, who has been *wawa tana*, down or below on the earth and outside the house, climbs *réta unen*, "up inside" the
Figure 7.7: Floor Plan of a *Lepo* (Scale 1:100)

A : *têmo 'lepin*  
boundary of roof eaves

B : *dan*  
house ladder and outer door

C : *gebi wa*  
inner door

D : *plebin*  
space between hearths

E : *dolan*  
floor beam demarcating *ulu lok* and *unen geté*

F : *sopé* or *wélut*  
reliquary baskets

G : *to'o balik*  
elephant tusks, gongs, patola cloths, swords and other wealth of the house

H : *kledar*  
sitting platform outside the house but under its roof

I : *liri puan*  
central house post

J : *arun*  
jaws of animals hunted in the forest hung over the *awu wanan*

K : *li'at*  
hearth stones

L : *plebeng*  
floor beams supporting the hearths

M : *tilun bunga*  
posts supporting the lower roof

- *ulu lok*  
area for entertaining guests

- *unen geté*  
central living area

- *suku*  
sleeping area

- *awu wiri*  
left-hand hearth

- *awu wanan*  
right-hand hearth
Figure 7.7: Floor Plan of a Lepo (Scale 1:100)

Figure 7.8: Floor Plan of a Mobo (Scale 1:100)
Figure 7.8: Floor Plan of a Mobo (Scale 1 : 100)

A : leker  food storage area
B : unen geté  living and sleeping area
C : suku  sleeping area
D : li'at  hearth stones
E : awu  kitchen
F :  fire wood store
G : wa  door
H : dan  house ladder
I : kledar  sitting platforms
J : liri puan  central house post
K : wolar  primary roof beam
L : tēmo 'lepin  roof eaves
house by means of the house ladder and enters the tépi, the verandah of the house. Anyone can enter the verandah, but a person who is not a member of the lepo must, if etiquette is observed, wait to be invited into the house itself. Crossing the gebi wa (the "wall's mouth"), the true door of the house, brings one into the house proper. A visitor passes through the plebin, the space between the two hearths, crosses the unen geté (the "great inside"), and sits in the ulu lok, the inner visitors' area of the house where, on formal occasions, the visitor:

Plagé waég ara mata  Sits with legs crossed and eyes meeting (those of his host).

To be invited to:

Lebé réta plebeng  To play in the space between the hearths,

Lodar wawa dan  To follow (one's host) through the door,

Dolan koja hélu r móluk (To sit at) the dolan beam of kenari (Indonesian) wood with its shiny patina from being often sat upon,

Tilun bunga laba lédér  At the roof support posts standing in a row,

that is, to be invited into the inner areas of the house and to sit there with one's host in the ulu lok, is considered a mark of respect.

On informal visits, the guest may be invited to cross the dolan, the floor beam that separates the ulu
lok from the unen geté, and to sit in the unen geté under the wolar, the primary and highest roof beam of the house, from which hangs suspended the wélut or sopé, the ancestral reliquary basket of the house. To one or both sides, depending upon the size and construction of the house, are the suku, the sleeping areas for the residents of the house, which are rarely entered by guests. Sitting under the ancestral basket, and facing the two hearths, the visitor has reached the center of the house.

The act of entering a lepo is viewed as a movement from the "forest" outside the periphery of the house yard, across a series of boundaries (blepeng or duen, témo 'lepin, dan, gebi wa, plebeng and dolan) and through a series of more and less peripheral and central spaces (tuan [forest], woer, lewu [the space under a roof or under the floor of a house], tépi, plebin, ulu lok), the most central of which is the unen geté of the house. But the entrance into a house is also viewed as being in keeping with another kind of movement, a ritual movement. All ritual in Tana Ai is said to "move to the right" within the orientation system, and movement to the right is physically a circular or spiral movement in an anticlockwise direction (as viewed from above). The beginning of this circular, or spiral, movement which takes a person from the border of the house yard into the unen geté of the house is from "up-slope"
(rēta) then "to the right" (ripa), and then around in an anticlockwise direction (Figure 7.9). Anticlockwise movement continues until the starting point is reached and a cycle is completed. Entering a house is conceived as requiring a movement such as the following: approaching the house from upslope, one first "moves to the right" to enter the verandah by way of the house ladder. This change in direction initiates a circular movement that takes a person through the inner door of the house to the ulu lok.

A reversal of direction, as must follow from circular movement, places the visitor in an upslope orientation, opposite that from which he began, and sitting in the appropriate fashion in the unen geté of the house and facing the hearths.

Unlike the houses of other eastern Indonesian peoples, the lepo of the Ata Tana Ai is not ostensibly
divided into male and female areas, nor are there pervasive dyadic categories or classifications by which the house and its parts are ordered in a total way. Rather, the house itself is one term in a larger dyad of house and garden, on the one hand, and forest on the other. Expressions of opposition between male and female are not found primarily in the house, the quintessentially domestic and female domain, but between the house and the "male" forest. The elements of male and female meet in, and are mediated by, the garden and are expressed in its arrangements and rituals.

There is, however, a de facto sexual organization that characterizes the utilization of the various parts of the house. While men, in the absence of women to perform the task, may boil water for coffee or prepare a simple meal at the left-hand hearth, the hearths are principally the domain of women. In contrast, the ulu lok is principally a male space. The unen geté, suku and tépi are all shared and utilized equally by male and female members of the household and by nonresident members of the lepo descent group. Among the women residents of the lepo, the eldest woman, in whom is vested headship of her descent group, takes for herself the right-hand hearth and up-slope half of the right-hand suku as her special domain. The association of the physically juxtaposed liri puan and the ritual hearth with the woman who keeps the lepo is an anomaly in that in all other realms of Tana Ai culture, men are associated with ritual. It should be noted, however, that in general the
adult males who reside in a lepo do so because they have married women of the lepo. The affiliations of such men are with other lepo, and they have no ritual authority over the affairs of their wives' houses. Conversely, the men related consanguinely to the women of a lepo, who do have ritual authority in the house of their sisters and mother, reside uxorilocally, and thus are not present in their own lepo except on ritual occasions or on occasional visits. Indeed, it is ritual that brings together the total membership of a lepo. In the absence of her sons and brothers, the elderly female resident of the house becomes the guardian of its ritual paraphernalia.15

Young children are most commonly tended in the left-hand suku and at the left-hand hearth. These arrangements are in keeping with the designation of the right-hand hearth as a ritual hearth for cooking meat and the left-hand hearth as the profane hearth, used in everyday preparations of rice for meals. In point of fact, both hearths are commonly used in the course of daily housekeeping, but the sacred:profane distinction between them nonetheless indicates the way in which the Ata Tana Ai conceive of their lepo.

Rather than exhibiting the analytic classification of parts or areas of the house in terms of various dual oppositions, the symbolic arrangements of the structure of the lepo and the metaphors that express these arrangements in ritual language emphasize the unity of the house.
as a structure and the cohesiveness of the social group that maintains it. The house compound is identified in ritual language as consisting of:

Lepo unen woga wutun The inner house and the peripheral visitors' pavilion,

but the import of the phrase is synthetic rather than analytic, the parts of the compound being conceived as contributing to the whole. Similarly, the house itself is encompassed and demarcated by its:

Liri puan lo wutun The central house post and the ends of the house beams.

While parts of the house (posts and beams) are designated by this line, it must be noted that the two are not paired as contrasted elements in two lines of a couplet, but are sequentially related within one line as aspects of an organic whole. Furthermore, in no texts where this line occurs are there predications associated with the line, except that the post is "down" or "below", while the beam is "up" or "above", ascriptions that reflect the physical relationship of the two elements and which are not further equated with maleness or femaleness or other oppositions. Chanters also express the idea of the unity of the house in the couplet:
Noru liri nana lo  Woven of posts and plaited with beams,
Liri ipir lo to'ur  Posts of strong teak wood, beams of sturdy to'ur (sp.?) wood.

The Ata Tana Ai thus say they weave and plait the parts of their houses to make a strong structure, and that structure then serves to:

Apu wai tuli më  Embrace the woman and to carry the child (as) in a cloth sling.

In explaining this phrase, one chanter remarked its dual meaning. First a man embraces a woman to get children, then the lepo embraces the woman and "serves as a 'vehicle' (Indonesian: 'kendaraan')" for her children.16

Far more important to the Ata Tana Ai is their conception of the lepo as a group of people who, just as the posts, beams and struts of the house are bound together, are:

Wué wari kéra pu  Brothers, sisters and sisters' husbands,
Netin bidon doen dawak  Arranged and bound together as many small fruits.17

In explaining the second line of this couplet, an informant said, "bidon, that's to be bound together like wué wari (same sex siblings). Doen dawak, that's to be tied together until there is no longer any difference (between those
things that are bound), to go together. Another informant said that the members of a lepo fit together the way that the fingers of two clasped hands fit together. "Look at the wall (of a lepo). Without the diagonal struts, it will bend in the wind, but with the diagonal struts it is sturdy and strong. That is the same as our wué wari and our kéra pu (wives' brothers and sisters' husbands)."

It is not only the coeval members of the lepo who are bound together in the house. The identity of the lepo as an historical entity with a diachronic existence is confirmed in that it houses the hair, fingernails and other relics of the ancestors of the group. The parts of the house are bound together by cords made from rattan and nidun (sp.) vines, themselves the vehicles for the reincarnation of ancestral Ata Tana Ai whose spirits have completed their cycle of death and rebirth.

In the rituals of the house, the presence of ancestral spirits who are an integral part of the composition of the lepo is acknowledged, and the ancestors are invoked by name. In the chants of invocation, particular ancestors are associated with specific parts of the house. Invocations are made by ritual specialists who descend to the lewu (the clean earth below the house) and address the liri puan, the "central" or "source" post of the house. One ritualist in Watuwolon normally begins his invocations with the following lines:
Now I,
Speak with the four old ones,
Talk to the five big ones,
Old ones down at the central house post,
Big ones atop the peripheral house beams,
Below are Godo and mo'an Géri,
Géri down at the central house post,
Above are Sodo and mo'an Gokok,
Gokok atop the peripheral house beam,
Du'a Dala on the split-bamboo floor,
Mo'an Bola up at the central roof beam,
Visit here at your house,
Come here to your pavilion,
At our strong house,
At our sturdy pavilion,
Strong as the Chinese areca palm,
Sturdy as the banyan tree of Larantuka,
House and pavilion with their central rooms and baskets hanging from their roofs,
Dry as the wild pig's burrow, warm as the bird's nest.

Several key attitudes, repeated by informants in conversation, are expressed by these couplets, but most striking is the sense of place and being placed in both the physical and social worlds by one's lepo. For the Ata Tana Ai, most of whom lead a peripatetic existence in temporary garden houses, the lepo is a true home, strong, warm, dry
and permanent. While it is anchored in and oriented toward a world well defined symbolically, the Tana Ai lepo models not the cosmos, but the social group which it constitutes and nurtures.

7.4 The Ritual and Symbolic Order of the Garden

The horticultural cycle of Tana Ai has been described in Chapter Two. The Ata Tana Ai speak of their gardens as participating in a cyclical movement from forest to garden and, in stages, back to forest again. Within this cycle, a garden is conceived to have a lifetime similar to that of human beings. In its youth, the garden is an uma and produces rice and maize. The opening of an uma is marked ritually, and so long as it produces grain, the uma is the site of ritual performances of various sorts and subject to ritual sanctions. Once it is no longer planted in grain, and begins its return to forest, the garden enters its middle age and is called ruka. During its ruka stage, the garden still provides food, principally root crops and fast growing fruits, and the interests of its owners in it are marked by protective signs (see Chapter Two). The land of a ruka is not subject to ritual observances, but the plants within it are protected by ritually sanctioned signs. Ruka are still well within the domestic concerns of the people who planted them and are visited regularly for the gathering of roots and fruit.
As its fences decay and bush growth and trees become well established, the garden enters old age and is called roin or tana roin. Roin means secondary forest. Tana roin is normally of interest to its owners only insofar as it still produces fruits from long lived trees (jackfruit, citruses and mangoes), areca nut or coconut. These trees, if they are still of economic interest, are marked with protective signs in the manner of ruka (see Chapter Two).

Finally, if the land is not cleared and the uma cycle begun again, tana roin becomes tana tuan, true forest, and is called aitali, "trees and vines". Aitali is potentially garden land and is distinguished from the forests of the domain which are never cut for making gardens. Aitali no longer contributes food to the household of its owner, but does become the home of animals which are hunted for meat (see Figure 7.10).

Forest is a male domain. It is wild space, and as such, contrasts with the domestic spheres of Tana Ai life, the house and garden which are cool and female. Forests are the realm of spirits and are hot. In Tana Ai, things not tended by human beings become hot of their own accord, whereas ritual makes hot things cool, and renders them safe for use by people, at least temporarily. Among the Ata Tana Ai, the entropic tendency of the world to degenerate from ordered domesticity to wild forest is expressed as the natural movement of things from a state of coolness
(blatan bliran) induced by ritual to a state of hotness (rou gahu) when ritual sanctions are removed. Thus before being put to human use, things of the forest, whether materials for building houses and fences, animals or the land itself, must be cooled by ritual.

Once cooled, the garden produces food for its inhabitants, and that food itself must be cooled in the various stages of its growth. Thus the annual garden cycle is punctuated by the performance of rituals for
the planting of rice (whereby its seed is cooled), when
the rice shoots first appear above the soil, when the
stalks mature and grain heads appear, and following the
harvest.

Among the cultigens commonly planted in gardens (see
Appendix B), rice, maize and millet have a special ritual
status and can be planted in the central part of the garden
(the uma proper). Other crops are considered to be rela-
tively hot, and can only be planted in the border area
(lapan) of the field. The ritual status of rice, maize
and millet is related to the Myth of Du'a Paré Wai Nalu
which recounts the origins of these grains in Tana Ai:

In the beginning, a stranger named Du'a Paré ("Rice Woman",
sometimes called Ina Paré, "Mother of Rice") came to a garden
in Tana Wai Brama in the planting season. At that time
there was no rice or maize in Tana Ai, and people ate only
magar tana (wild yams), pida (a kind of cultivated yam) and
bué (green grams).20

Where Du'a Paré came from no one knows.21 When she came
here, the people killed her. Her flesh was cut into strips
and dried to make jerky, her two legs and two arms were
thrown away, and her head was buried by her murderers where
she fell.

Then a man came to visit the people who had killed Du'a
Paré. He saw the jerky hanging out to dry, and said, "Good.
I'll eat some of this meat." But the people warned him,
saying, "Don't eat that meat. If you do, 'the flesh will
burst your belly and the blood will rise to your face',22
and you will become an evil sorcerer." But he was stone
headed and ate the flesh anyway. As a result he became
the first of the ha lapen, the eaters of the souls of
living people.

This frightened the people, who decided it would be
best to bury ("nuru", the ritual planting of the first
rice seed in a garden) the remaining jerky. Then grew
the first rice and maize in Tana Ai. Indeed, rice grew
from the flesh of Du'a Paré, maize grew from her bones
and millet grew from her spattered blood. So people say,
"Du'a Paré Wai Nalu", "Pound the mother of rice to get
husked rice".

The narrator of the Myth of Du'a Paré Wai Nalu then
continued his account:

Thus also we say:

"Nuru guru ai pua

The first planting of flesh became the (central) tree
trunk,

Nang roja wini derin So we place the seed rice on
the seed altar."

The head of Du'a Paré became the ai pua of our gardens. So
we place hu'at (black, hair-like fibers taken from the enau
palm), which is Du'a Paré's hair on the ai pua. Around the
ai pua we place tada (small bamboo stakes on which are
mounted lontar leaf flags). These are Du'a Paré's hands and
feet. And at the four corners (klikung hutu) of the garden
we place tada and coconuts, and these are the legs and arms
of Du'a Paré which were flung away to mark the boundaries of
the garden (uma). From Du'a Paré we got rice.
What the myth sayer is recounting here are the essential rites conducted in the garden for the planting of rice. For the rice planting ceremony, the seed rice is brought to the field in a basket which is set upon an altar stone at the base of the *ai pua*, a tree trunk that has been left standing in the center of the garden when it was cleared, or one planted there after the clearing. The basket of seed rice is bound firmly to the *ai pua* (see Figure 7.11) during the rites that follow and during the planting. *blepeng* (barrages) are placed around the *ai pua* to form a square area around it approximately three meters on a side. This forms the ritual precincts, called *plagar*, of the garden while rice is growing in it. The *plagar* can be entered only by male ritual specialists (the *mo'an poru pai* or their delegated assistants) of the clan of the woman to whom the garden belongs. At the *ai pua*, the seed rice is ritually cooled with coconut water and offerings of torn cloth (*patan*) are made by the ritualist, who then plants the first rice within the *plagar* and distributes the remaining seed to the members of the work group who plant the rest of the field. Once the field has been planted, the ritual specialist goes to each corner of the garden in turn where, beginning with the "right-hand" corner, he plants *tada* and sprinkles water of a young coconut. The garden is then considered to be "cool", and passersby are not allowed to walk through it, but must follow a path (*duré*) around its perimeter.
Figure 7.11: The *Ai Pus* Ceremony. The ritualist is scraping *wu’a* stones from the ancestral *wélut* basket of his clan branch. This is said to "fertilize the rice seed". The ritualist sits on a *biepeng* (barrage) that encloses the *plagar*, the ritual center of the garden. The *tada* flags and coconuts, whose water will be used to "cool" the boundaries of the garden, are in the foreground. Note the maize placed atop the seed rice in the basket. Maize, being a ritually sanctioned food, is subject to the same planting rites as rice.
The Ata Tana Ai plant gardens of two sorts. The first is the *uma*, which requires the rituals of planting and harvest. The ritual status of *uma* is marked by *ai pua*. The second are *rewuk*. *Rewuk* are not subject to rituals for planting and harvest and "hot" crops, such as cassava, can be planted in them. They are usually smaller than *uma*, and most often are opened as second fields by especially large households who require more food than can be provided by a single garden. In *rewuk* crops can be intermixed more freely than in *uma*, though the plan of the *uma* is usually observed in the placement of various crops. In addition to *uma* and *rewuk*, the Ata Tana Ai occasionally plant small plots of land (called *klugen*) with maize, cassava, cotton and tobacco or *plalak* *watar*, small plots planted exclusively with maize (*watar*) and sorghum. Neither *klugen* nor *plalak* require the rituals of the *uma*.

The plan of the ritually sanctioned garden is rigidly determined (see Figure 7.12). The physical and ritual center of the garden is its *ai pua*. Surrounding the *ai pua* is the restricted area of the *plagar*. Outside the *plagar* is the *uma*. Strictly speaking, *uma* is the area of the garden within the *duen lapan*, though the word is commonly used to mean the whole of the garden area within a fence. The *lapan* is an area just within the fence.
Figure 7.12: The Plan of the Garden (Scale 1:1000).

ai pua  ritual altar
plagar  central ritual precincts
uma    ritually sanctioned area for planting of rice
duen lapan boundary between uma and lapan
lapan   non-ritually sanctioned area for mixed crops
niha    fence
blepeng barrages
duré    footpath
nogar   field barns
mobo    house
rain réta upper half of garden
érin lau lower half of garden
berin wali left half of garden
higun ripa right half of garden
réta, ripa, directions
lau, wali
and approximately five to eight meters wide that completely surrounds the *uma*. Rice is planted in both the *uma* and *lapan*, but in the *lapan* it is mixed with maize, millet, sorghum, tobacco, cotton, yams and other crops normally planted by the Ata Tana Ai. Only cassava, a new food and considered "hot", is prohibited from being planted within the fence of the garden. Fruit and banana trees are planted along the *dueh lapan*, and along with the barrages that are laid around it, demarcate the boundary of the *uma* and *lapan* areas of the garden.

The garden is a thing of boundaries. The fence separates the hot forest from the cool area of cultivation, but within the garden are boundaries that separate more central and cool (sacred) areas from less central, less cool and more peripheral areas. These divisions of the garden have correlates in practices governing the consumption of food from them. The garden is harvested from its periphery, the harvesters working towards the *ai pua*. Any food from the *lapan*, the profane area of the garden, can be eaten by anyone at any time. The produce of the *uma*, in contrast, must be stored and not consumed until the harvest rituals, which may take several weeks to complete, are performed by the *bian wu'un* (ritual specialist) of the clan. Grain from the *plager* is reserved for the *kleké baso* of the *lepo* of the woman of the garden (see Chapter Six). This rice is not consumed at all, but contributes
to the seed rice of the lepo that provides the continuity of the gardens of the group (see Figure 7.13).

In both ritual and ordinary languages the garden is spoken of in different ways as consisting of opposed divisions. Erin lau and rain réta are, respectively, the lower half of the garden and the upper half of the garden. Hígun tipa, the "corners on the right" and herin wali, the "borders on the left" is another expression of the unity and totality of the garden in terms of two opposed but complementary parts.

As in other realms of Tana Ai life, the most common and most potent expressions of the nature of the garden emphasize its center and periphery. In the expression aí pua tua wutun, the ritual center (aí pua) and the "lontars of the periphery" (tua wutun) are opposed as the contrasted elements that encompass the field and define its domain. While gardens are female and cool domains and forest (which is bounded by the gardens' peripheries) is male and hot, in this line is expressed the essential interpenetration of the two, and is an example of the way in which, to the mind of the Ata Tana Ai, conceptual distinctions can mask contradictions. In the phrase aí pua tua wutun, the remains of a wild tree of the forest are opposed to the lontar, a tree planted by men.

The ritual center of the domestic garden is thus marked by a remnant of the wild forest which the garden
Figure 7.13: The Boundaries and Foods of the Garden.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENTER</th>
<th>FEMALE (+ MALE)</th>
<th>COOL</th>
<th>SACRED</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>HOT</th>
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- **Ritual center:** Produce reserved for clan headwoman and used as seed rice in next planting.
- **Food of lepo members and garden residents:** Male domain; animals hunted by members of any lepo.
- **Non-sanctioned public area of garden:** Food may be eaten before harvest rites.
- **Male domain:**
has supplanted. And in ritual language, the ai pua, a "hot" and "male" intruder in a largely "cool" and "female" domain, is opposed to a cultivated plant located at the wild border of the garden. The predication of tree (ai) as pua (trunk) indicates again that ritual in Tana Ai has much to do with the bringing together of opposite things and the fertility that results from their conjunction (see Chapter Four).29

The conception of the garden is, fundamentally, that of an arena for the interaction of male and female principles in a world consisting of things characterized as being either male or female. The garden, conceived to be a female domain, nonetheless supports both males and females. It is cut from and owes its fertility to forest, a male domain. Furthermore, men acting as ritualists are required to accomplish the cooling (and fertilizing) rites of the ai pua. Just as the social order is founded on the archetypical separation of males and females as siblings, fertility, whether that of women or gardens, requires that maleness be rejoined to femaleness. In the garden the penetration of males as enactors takes place within an overriding idiom of femaleness. The metaphors of this idiom are predominantly those that express themes of centrality and peripherality. Centers, whether physical centers or the social centers of clans and houses, are ruled by women,30 but their efficacies and meaning in social life arise from their character as loci of action
by men, points where men and women both contribute qualities borne separately but necessary in combination for procreation and the renewals on which the existence of society is predicated.
8.1 Introduction

The houses (*lepo*) of Tana Wai Brama are the concrete social units of which the domain is composed and by which its rituals are performed. *Lepo* are corporate entities responsible for carrying out the various roles that are delegated to them by the ritual specialists of the domain. Thus, while the ideological foundations of the ceremonial system of Tana Wai Brama are reflected in the histories of the *tana* and the system of precedence of the clans, the performance of the rituals of the domain, especially the *gren mahé*, depends upon the participation of all the individual *lepo* of the domain.

Every *lepo* has two ritual functions: first, each has a status within the ancestor cult of the clan, and second, a place in the rituals of the *gren mahé*. Within the clan, the houses of the clan are ranked hierarchically in the cult of the ancestors and each has a function in the rituals of the mortuary cycles of clan members. The central house of the descent group is its *lepo plé’a ru’ut*. The *lepo plé’a ru’ut* is the locus of the garden rituals.
of its female members. Several lepo ple'a ru'ut make up a wélut, or clan branch, group. One house of the wélut group is designated as lepo wélut, the "wélut house", of the clan branch and contains the ancestral reliquary basket (wélut) of the clan branch. Lepo wélut are subsidiary to the central lepo sopé, the "sopé house" (or lepo geté, the "great house") of the clan, in which the "source" reliquary basket (sopé) of the entire clan is housed.¹

For the gren mahé, certain of the houses of a clan are designated as lepo lué, the houses in which the guardian of the mahé hangs knotted lontar leaves (lué) to count the days remaining before the gren begins. These houses usually include all the lepo sopé and several of the lepo wélut of the domain, as well as a number of lepo ple'a ru'ut. The lepo lué are chosen not with regard to their statuses within the clans, but because of their locations as convenient centers for the organization of the houses that contribute labor, materials and animals for the ceremonies. Most lepo lué are located in kloang (hamlets of lepo) and are the sites for dancing and the playing of the gongs of the lepo sopé and lepo wélut of the domain during the week preceding the commencement of the rituals at the mahé.

The male ritual specialists of the clans are normally associated with the headwomen and lepo sopé of their
clans, although they may be members of descent groups other than those who have rights of residence in the lepo sopé. On occasions of the performance of the gren mahé, these men assume roles in relation to the source of the domain that are independent of their statuses within their clans. For the gren, the ranking ritual specialists of a clan become, in effect, the headmen of their clan whose primary responsibilities are to the gren.

Among the lepo of the domain are two purely ritual houses, the lepo tana, "house of the earth" or "house of the domain", and the lepo luli, the "bowl house". These houses are not associated with descent groups, as are the other lepo of the community, but with the tana puan, and function only in the rituals of the domain.

In the gren mahé of 1980 there were at least twenty-five lepo of six clans and eleven clan branches that fulfilled ritual obligations in the performance of the ceremonies. Of these, thirteen were counted among the "nuhun pulu wot telu", the "ten rice mortars plus three". Nuhun are distinguished from other houses in that they are designated before the performance to contribute the labor, ritual specialists and sacrificial animals required for the gren. These thirteen lepo consisted of three houses of clan Ipir Wai Brama (the lepo tana, the lepo luli and the lepo welut – clan branch house – of the tana puan) and ten other lepo lué.
8.2 The Ritual Houses of the *Gren Mahé*

The *wu'a mahé*, the central ritual site of Tana Wai Brama, and the *lepo tana*, the house of the earth of the source of the domain, form an axis around which the rituals of the domain are organized and take place. The relationship between the founding of the house of the earth and the *mahé* is expressed, rather elliptically, in ritual language as:

- **Wai Brama Wolobola**
  - Founders of the domain at Wolobola,
- **Ratu wutun Balénatar**
  - Rulers as far as Balénatar,
- **Lerun lala Watuwolon**
  - At the place of thorny brush at Watuwolon,
- **Blidi lala mahé poten**
  - At the *blidi* tree is the *mahé* altar (cf. Chapter Three, p. 85).

The founding of the *lepo tana* is described in the *ngeng ngerang*, the histories of clan Ipir Wai Brama, when the ancestors:

- **Laba natar wanin tana**
  - Chiselled the settlement and drum of the earth.

*Natar* means a hamlet of houses (a "village" in central Sikka), and here refers to the house of the earth, while the drum is that used in the *gren mahé*. The present day *lepo tana* is spoken of as a "descendant" of the first house.
The permanent ritual houses of the ceremonial domain of Tana Wai Brama are the lepo tana, the "house of the earth" (sometimes called the lepo geté, the "great house") and the lepo luli, the "bowl house". These houses, whose functions relate primarily to the rituals of the domain, are all "held" by members of the core descent groups of sukon Ipir Wai Brama, as is the guardianship of the mahé. Thus the principle of delegation of ritual obligations operates both within the "source" clan of the domain as well as between it and subsidiary clans. The house of the earth is located at Watuwolon and the lepo luli stands alone to the west between the mahé and Watuwolon (see Map VI).

The house of the earth is the house of the source of the domain, and serves as a place for organizing the gren celebration and, between gren, as the house for storing the gongs, elephant tusks and other ritual paraphernalia of the gren and clan Ipir Wai Brama. The house is at other times used as a meeting place for the ritual specialists of the domain. During the period of research, from 1977 through 1980, the house of the earth was not occupied by the source of the domain himself, but by the headwoman of the lepo closest to that of the tana puan in the hierarchy of houses within the clan Ipir Wai Brama. The tana puan had lived in the lepo tana but in 1960, and contrary to hadat, he took a second wife. He then moved to the lepo welut
of his clan branch, and when he left the lepo tana he delegated residence in it to the eldest woman of his clan.\(^4\)

The lepo luli\(^5\) is a "cabang" (Indonesian: "branch") of the lepo tana. During the period of field work the lepo luli was occupied by a sister of the tana puan, her daughter and daughter's husband.

Another term for du'a luka, the headwoman of a clan, is du'a luli kara, the "woman who pours rice from a luli". This term is a reference to the ritual obligations of the headwoman to divide the seed rice of the house among its members before planting and to eat the first rice harvested from each garden of the house (see Chapter Six), and indicates the function of the lepo luli in the celebration of gren mahé.

The lepo luli serves as the provender house of the gren mahé and for ekak tewuk, the offerings of rice (ekak) and palm gin (tewuk) that accompany the gren.\(^6\) In the gren, three broad divisions of the community that contribute to the ceremonies are identified metaphorically by the equipment used for pounding rice: the participating houses of the gren are called nahun, "rice mortars"; the lepo tana and its members "hold the halu", the pestles used for pounding rice; and the lepo luli "scoops the rice out of its storage baskets (rau paré)". The bala dena (bala is an elephant tusk, dena means "to do"), which is placed in a
rice basket during the *gren*, is kept in the *lepo luli* and brought to the *mahé* during *iông piong ong bodor*, the rite of sprinkling rice and splashing palm gin as an offering, which is part of the *mahé* festival.

Three houses are constructed in the *mahé* clearing especially for the *gren*. These are the *woga*, the *lepo tana* and *lepo Tapot*. During *gren mahé*, the pavilion called *lepo tana* is constructed within the *mahé* forest and to the south-east of the altar. This structure is said to replace temporarily the house of the earth at Watuwolon for the duration of the *gren* and is the pavilion of the *tana puan* from which he directs the sequence of rites that comprise the celebration. It is the gathering place for the ritual specialists when they must discuss the course of the rites to be done.

The four core clans of the domain construct a separate house below the *blikon* and *mahé* from which their contributions to the celebration, the mobilization of labor and materials, are organized and directed. This house is called *lepo Tapot*, the "house of clan Tapo", in recognition of the precedence of *sukun* Tapo among the four core clans of the domain and complements the other two major pavilions of the *gren*, the *lepo tana* and *woga*.

8.3 Preparations for the Gren Mahé of 1980

The celebration of *gren mahé* in 1980 took place despite several extraordinary obstacles and difficulties.
These included the death of the *tana puan* in August, 1979, poor harvests in 1980, and a belief on the part of the community that both the local government and the Catholic missionary at Talibura were opposed to the ceremonies and would act to prevent them. In addition, an epidemic struck Tana Wai Brama during the dry season of 1980 and resulted in the deaths of at least seventy five people in the Watuwolon-Lémak region of the domain, including several older men and women who otherwise would have been important participants in the *gren* celebrations. These difficulties taxed the organizational resources of the community and at several times during the months preceding the *gren* it seemed that the ceremonies would not take place.

*Gren mahé* is normally celebrated after exceptionally good harvests, but from 1977 to 1980 the opinion of the people of the community was that the series of poor harvests in the decade before 1980 was at least partly the result of the failure to celebrate the *gren* since 1961. Thus, despite many practical difficulties, the leaders of the community were determined to conduct the rituals successfully.

Preparations for the *mahé* celebration began in August, 1979 when, a few days before his death, the source of the domain of Tana Wai Brama "spoke the words *gren mahé*, thereby setting into motion plans for its performance the following year. Once the *tana puan* determined that it would be done, the responsibility for "finding the road" (*tota*
Ilan) to the gren fell to the principal ritual leader and chanter of the domain, a man from a house of sukun Ipir Wai Brama close to "the source" of the clan. By July, 1980, it had been decided that a new tana puan would not be chosen before the gren. The installation of a new source of the domain, it was generally felt, would complicate ritual matters in the domain to the point that it would be impossible to organize the celebration. Furthermore, there were no obviously qualified candidates for the position within the core house of Ipir Wai Brama, which would make selection of a suitable person very difficult. It was also feared that the government would interfere and seek to forbid an appointment.

In the absence of a new tana puan, a man of sukun Tapo, Mo'an Koa Tapo, assumed many of the functions that should have been exercised by the tana puan and, in cooperation with Mo'an Sina, acted in effect as a temporary source of the domain from July through the close of the ceremonies.

The first half of the year 1980 was a difficult one for the people of Tana Wai Brama. A drought (darangahu, "dryness and heat") from February to March had reduced the harvest in June, and in July an epidemic swept the domain. Both the drought and the illness were the results of rou gahu, "(ritual) heat and hotness", having settled upon the domain. Gren mahé was scheduled to be performed later in the year. As part of a general requirement that all disputes be settled and all other outstanding ritual obligations be
discharged before the *gren* took place, *kula gahu* (*kara*) *rou*, the expiation of the error of not having done *gren* sooner which resulted in the "heat" in the domain, was required in preparation for the celebration of the *mahé* which would follow. This was accomplished in a ceremony performed by Mo'an Sina Ipir Wai Brama and Bago Ipir Wai Brama, the guardian of the *mahé*, at the House of the Earth at Watuwolon. There, on behalf of the whole of the domain, the ancestors were offered *wua ta'a* (areca nut and betel leaf) and were invoked to rid the valley of its heat. Offerings of rice and eggs were also made to the spirits of the domain. Sina's invocation of the ancestors to request the banishment of heat from the valley illustrates the way in which ritual at the *lepo tana* serves the whole of the domain, as well as the nature of relations between living members of the community and the spirits of Tana Wai Brama. Sina began by summoning the ancestral spirits of the domain, and then asked that the *halan hulir*, the "errors and forgettings", of the community be expiated in exchange for his offering of *to'o balik*, ceremonial goods:

```
Apun na'i to'o halan
Place in your arms the wealth of our errors,
To'o na'i balik hulir
Hang up the goods of our forgettings,
Halan ganu ia due
The errors that here sit,
Hulir ganu ia gera
The forgettings that here stand,
A' u di
I (say) also,
Himo na'i nora to'o
Receive and keep this wealth,
Dega na'i nora balik
Take and keep these goods,
```
Apu na'i nora wa'i
Toé na'i nora palik
Eté a'u neni not
Eté a'u pla'a plawi

Carry them away in your arms,
Carry them away hanging from your shoulders,
This I request sincerely,
This I pray abjectly.

To'o balik are the ceremonial wealth — elephant tusks, gongs, patola cloths and ancient swords — of the house and clan. They are given in the exchange of a woman between clans as "father's blood". In these lines the chanter asks that the wealth of the valley be taken by the ancestors in exchange for the errors and forgettings which have resulted in heat.

He then asks:

Deri lopo gliki hala
Gera lopo kolok hulir
Eté a'u di hama ganu
Gahu gahu hak tugung due
Rou rou plegeng gera
Tugung due wuhung pulu
Plegeng gera kobek lima
Tugung due lepo unen
Plegeng gera woga wutun
Kamang a'u topo not
Kamang a'u hawong nato

Do not sit remembering our errors,
Do not stand counting our forgettings,
These are the same as,
The heat which remains lying here,
The hotness which still stands here,
Remains in the ten meadows,
Still stands in the five ravines,
Remains sitting in the houses,
Still stands in the visitors' pavilions,
May I call and send for,
May I summon and order,
Hama ganu  So that,
Gahu teri teri réhi  The heat be forbidden to sit,
Rou era era lo'ar  The hotness not be allowed to stand,
Huk gahu hak nala bano  Wish the heat to take leave,
Rou hak nala rema  The hotness to be taken away.

The chanter reminds the ancestors that the *gren mahé* is imminent:

La'ir ba'a nora puan  Sources have crept all around (us),
Lolot ba'a nora wangun  Origins lie over everything,
O halan pulu ia dué  The ten errors that lie here,
Hulir lima ia gera  The five forgettings that stand here,
Ete a'u  Thus I,
Pano ba'a waké puan  Have travelled to reconstruct the sources,
Rema ba'a rean wangun  Have journeyed to discover the origins,
Omi gu peté lué  It is almost time to cut lontar leaves (for the *gren* calendar),
Omi gu siro tali  Nearly time to tie the cords,
Apa gu luét nala wu'un  So that the knotted lontar leaves will announce the rituals,
Apa gu talít nala matan  So the knotted cords will "take the eyes",
A'u gu  So I,
Guti lé'u nora lué  Have cut the lontar calendars,
Geti lé'u nora tali  And have clipped all the cords,
...  ...  
Kamang blatan wair sina mitan  May there be the coolness of the water of the black Chinese,
Ro bliran kabor bali bura  Cold as the water of the white coconut of Bali.
A few days before this ceremony took place, a long standing dispute between two men (Datan and Mitan) over rights to certain of the gren rites was settled at Plé'at. Reference to this dispute and its settlement is made by the chanter and the assistance of the ancestors is invoked to preserve the settlement:

Datan hama ganu Mo'an Mitan
Eté punu na'i ia dué
Wujang na'i ia gera
Puna ha lepo unen
Wujang ha woga wutun
Punu na'i woer sogé
Wujang na'i naman jawa
Punu na'i guna mulan
Wujang na'i déwa pa'at.

The same as Datan and Mitan,
Their quarrel, put it to sleep,
Their argument, let it stand,
A quarrel within the house,
An argument at the visitors' pavilion,
Put the quarrel (outside) in the house clearing,
Put the argument (outside) in the dance ground,
Put away the quarrel the guna spirit planted,
Put away the argument the déwa spirit sowed.

The dispute here referred to was one of many matters for which the ritual leaders of the domain sought kula kara before the gren could begin.

Once again the ancestors are asked to rid their descendants of the "heat" which afflicts their domain:

Ami gapu na'i
Gahu hat ia dué
Rou hat ia gera
...

We place in (your) hands,
The heat lying here,
The hotness standing here
Tugun due dan puan That remains lying at the central door (of the lepo),
Plégéng gera wanga woer That still stands in the cleanly swept house yard,
Tugun due woer sogé That remains lying in the house clearing,
Plégeng gera naman jawa That still stands on the dance ground of the house,
...
Kama éna été kamang May you now,
Kedo ukung bano baler Return home and go back whence you came,
Au di hama ganu As you also,
Bano au waé lau You travel downhill,
Rema au waé wawa And journey below,
Gahu hat nala bano Take the heat when you go,
Rou hat nala rema Take the hotness when you travel,
Kama nian duen man May it be taken to the frontiers of the land,
Au tana hoat bawon And carried up to the earth's border,
Au wetin wutun man To the edge of the shore,
Au tahi loran ba'un Out into the middle of the sea,
Au nian oang man Take it down deep under the land,
Au tana pengan ba'un Deep into the middle of the earth,
...
Ropo na a'u Then I will soon,
Kedo ukung bano baler Return home and go back,
Taho lepo sapé woga Visit the house and come to the pavilion,
Na réta a ropo wungun wu'un Go up to do the rituals of the clans,
Réta a kuat matan Go up to bind the clans together,
Réta a weta wu'un Go up to speak the rituals,
Réta a paen matan  Go up to bring into being,
Réta a peté lué  Go up to hang the lontar calendars,
Réta a siro tali  Go up to tie the cords,
Ropo a'u gren geté  Soon I will do the great celebration,
Ropo a'u gléjur mosan  Quickly I will do the broad festival,
Ropo a'u dudu baba  Soon I will pound the drum,
Ropo a'u téng gong  Quickly I will beat the gongs,
Dudu baba bai wawa Nian Tana  Pounding the drum of the Land and Earth below,
Téng gong degu réta Lero Wulan  Beating the gongs of the Sun and Moon above,
Ropo na kula na'i nora wa  Soon will come the expiation placed with the tongue,
Kara na'i nora li'ar ...  The atonement put with the voice ...

With the getting of *kula kara*, the ritual specialists of the domain were able to turn their attention to the practical matters of organizing the *gren*. Labor had to be mobilized and the tasks of clearing the *mahé* site and constructing the pavilions for the ceremonies assigned. Pigs and goats required for sacrifices had to be obtained. And the sequence of the rites that made up the *gren* had to be decided. These preparations required another nine weeks.

8.4 Sequence in the Organization of *Gren Mahé*¹⁴

The histories of the domain provide a model by which the responsibilities for various aspects of the performance of *gren mahé* are delegated from the central clan to the
core clans and the peripheral houses of the domain. In addition to being conceived as moving from ritually central to relatively peripheral clans, the delegation of ritual obligations and rights is a complex hierarchical phenomenon; men of higher ritual status (who are closer to the "source") delegate to men of lower ritual status (who are, relatively, peripheral) the performance of the rites that comprise the rituals of the domain.

Ritual status is itself a complex matter. Except for the position of tana puan, statuses in the ceremonial system of Tana Wai Brama are not inherited. However, young men of a house that includes as a member an accomplished ritualist are more likely to have the opportunity to observe and to learn ritual and ritual language than young men of a house that includes no ritual specialist. In this way the knowledge of ritual tends to pass from mother's brother to his sisters' sons and certain houses produce more recognized experts than others. Thus within a clan, the men who perform the more important ritual duties in the ceremonies of the clan do not necessarily come from the central house of the clan.

The status of a ritual specialist with respect to the gren mahé derives primarily from his clan affiliation, partly from his house affiliation and partly from his competence as a chanter of ritual language, a matter that is judged independently of house affiliation. Thus ritual
practitioners of the central houses of *sukun* Ipir Wai Brama are, in terms of house and clan affiliation, of higher status than ritualists of subaltern clans. However, accomplished chanters of subsidiary clans can, in a given *gren*, occupy higher status than minor chanters of Ipir Wai Brama. In the same way, an accomplished chanter of a relatively peripheral house can, in particular events, replace a lesser man of a more central house within a clan. The ritual leaders of Tana Wai Brama point out that, to succeed, a *gren* must have the participation of major ritual specialists from all the clans of the domain. This means that, except for the major rights which are held by the men of Ipir Wai Brama, ritual statuses, and the roles played by particular ritual specialists in the *gren mahé*, are negotiable. Table 8.1 documents that at least one man from every clan filled major positions in the organization of the *gren mahé* of 1980.

In both principle and practice, every house of the *tana* holds some responsibility toward the performance of the *gren*. This is insured insofar as at least one member of every clan is included in the limited circle of organizers of the ceremonies. These men are then able to delegate to the men of different houses of their clans specific obligations and rights. Once arrangements are made within the house for carrying out their obligations, every member of the domain is involved in the *gren* in some way. Thus
everyone in Tana Wai Brama is conceived to be mata, "bound" or "tied", in the rituals of the domain.

While hadat, knowledge of the histories and rituals of the domain, indicates the general character of relationships between social groups, it does not prescribe the details of ritual performance. Indeed, the histories themselves lack completely any elements resembling recipes for rituals. A given performance requires the direction of ritual specialists who, drawing on their experience in previous rituals, give order to the performance, interpret the histories and translate them into prescriptions of ritual action. Thus, for example, the phrase iong piong ong bodor occurs in ritual language and recalls the offerings of animals and rice associated with the sequence of marriages contracted between the ancestral founders of the domain of sukun Ipir Wai Brama and the ancestors of the other clans of the tana. But in the same history there are no further rules given which would connect these first ceremonial offerings in Tana Wai Brama with the progress of the gren mahé sacrifices. The reenactment of the mythological offerings by which the alliances of clans were established must therefore receive direction from a source outside the histories themselves.

In addition, the houses that are charged with contributing labor, venues, animals and rice for ritual change from one performance to another. Such changes
result from the shifting fortunes of individual houses. Thus a house that makes a relatively large contribution of personnel and resources for one *gren mahé* may find itself unable to make the same contribution to the next *gren*. The ritual specialists who organize *gren* celebrations also change as older men die and their roles are assumed by other men who can come from different houses. Because ritualists can draw first and most easily on the resources of their own *lepo*, the houses of the central organizers of a *gren* are usually prominent in its performance.

While ritual in general is founded in myth, each particular ritual must be brought into being independently by a ritual practitioner, or by a group of practitioners, who interpret the general injunctions of myth as it is expressed in ritual language. A dialectic may be postulated by which ritual specialists, as they themselves put it, "find the road" (*toma lalan*) to a ritual in keeping with *hadat*. Once performed, the ritual itself enters *hadat*, and what was done serves as a precedent in future performances of the same kind, to be used by the same or other specialists in directing future performances.

Tana Ai ritual is thus dynamic and ever-changing, and serves as a vehicle for the expression of the creativity of individual ritual specialists who, at every performance, must find a balance between the interpreted requirements
of hadat and the exigencies of time, place, personnel and resources in conducting a ritual. It is safe to say that no two rituals in Tana Ai are ever the same.

Figure 8.1: The Dialectic of Ritual Performance

Herein lies another aspect of the distinction between oda and hura, sequence and pattern, history and meaning. Myth provides motivation and justification for ritual, and the "reasons" for it, that is, its oda. The interpretation of history, used as a guide for the sequence of events, the order of rites, that comprise ritual, the enactment of mythologically established imperatives, is hura.

At every stage of a complex ceremonial event, the ritual specialists who conduct the ceremony confer to discuss the sequence and content of the individual rites that constitute the total performance. Conferences of the directors of rituals commonly involve discussion of the rite to be done next, the sequence of rites that follow and details of the rites: which (and how many) animals are to
be sacrificed, who will kill the animals, who will receive their jaws, and so on.

Sequencing in ritual is an important aspect of performance. In the *gren mahé* of 1980, considerable attention was devoted to the sequence of the animals to be sacrificed. Each animal is named (or belongs to a named class of animals) and is sacrificed for a particular end. Each must be accompanied by the appropriate invocation and must be killed by the proper person.

Several features of the *gren mahé* of 1980 were governed by notions of sequence and had to be performed with proper *hura*. Most striking was the ordering of the major invocatory chants, *tota oda geté*, the "search for the great precedence", i.e., the recitations of the history of the domain. The order of the *tana geté*, the "great entrances", the processions of the contributing houses into the precincts of the *mahé*, received considerable attention by the specialists. And at every stage during the planning and execution of the ceremonies the sequence of animal sacrifices was discussed in detail.

The sequence in which the animals were sacrificed in the *gren* structured the overall performance. Animals were classified as either *wu'un*, "ritual" animals, or as *saden*, "private" or "individual" animals. *Wu'un* animals were sacrificed on behalf of the whole of the domain, and their numbers were dictated by *hadat*, while "private" animals
were those offered by individual houses as part of kula kara (expiation) settlements. The meat of the wu'un goats and pigs was distributed (buwu wu'un) among all the houses, and particular care was given to the distribution of the jaws of these animals. The meat and jaws of saden animals was distributed only among members of the houses to which the animals belonged and in accordance with the principles governing pig-jaw distribution in other rituals (see Chapter Twelve).

The sequence of animal sacrifices, which was carried out in a twenty-four hour period, was:

1. *pati' Günna, "offering to the Günna spirits" of the forest.
   One male goat killed by the guardian of the mahé in the forest near the mahé site. Animal provided by a son of the house of Ipir Wai Brahma next to the tana puan inprecedence.

2. *pati blikon, "offering at the stones of the blikon boundary":
   following a protracted argument between ritual specialists from the head of the valley and those of Watuwolon over the number of animals required for pati blikon, a small pig supplied by a house of sukun Liwu Diwang, was sacrificed to open the greng celebration.

3. pati geté, "the big cutting":
   a. *uru nilo, "light of the torch that guides"; seven animals,
      Before this sacrifice there was discussion among the ritual specialists regarding the number of animals offered. One animal from each nuhun was called for, but only seven were provided. It was decided the reduced number would not affect the rite;
b. mawar: four animals provided by the houses;

c. * widin tana, "goat of the earth": One goat provided by the house of the chief ritual specialist of the domain, Mo'an Sina Ipir Wai Brama. The goat of the earth was one of two pleron ("to tie up, to tether") goats and was tethered at the edge of the mahé clearing four nights before the ceremonies began. Young men were assigned to guard the pleron animals continually during the nights preceding the opening of the celebration.

d. * widin wido gahu, "the goat to break the heat": the goat to break the heat was sacrificed as part of the expiation of the "errors and forgettings" which had resulted in drought and disease in the domain. This goat was provided by sukun Ipir Nuha (from a house at Lémak) and was also pleron. It was brought to the mahé two nights before the gren began and was guarded by the young men assigned to the task of watching over the pleron animals.

e. saden or pati nuhun, "private" animals, or "offerings of the houses": these animals, the most numerous of those sacrificed in the gren, were offered by individual houses as part of kula kara required individually by the houses making the sacrifices.

4. * gorok ulan, "to extinguish the fire": the last animal sacrificed during the major sequence of the gren.

5. * sésok: four days after the gren was completed, the ritual specialists gather at the mahé for the sacrifice of three last animals (pati sésok) in order to "close the mahé" (dìé mahé).

Within the framework of this sequence of sacrifices, every house of the domain contributed at least one animal for the gren mahé.
Table 8.1: Principal Lepo* of the Gren Mahé of Tana Wai Brama, November, 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan and clan-branch identification</th>
<th>Normal function of lepo</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Function in gren mahé</th>
<th>Ritual specialists active in gren</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. *Ipír Wai Brama</td>
<td>lepo tana</td>
<td>Watuwolon</td>
<td>Rudun IWB &amp; Wai IWB</td>
<td>&quot;house of the earth&quot; - central ritual house of the domain</td>
<td>Sina IWB &amp; tana puan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. *Ipír Wai Brama</td>
<td>lepo luli</td>
<td>Watuwolon</td>
<td>†Timu IWB</td>
<td>provender house of the domain</td>
<td>†Rapa IWB (tana puan) &amp; Bago IWB (jaga mahé)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. *Ipír Wai Brama</td>
<td>lepo sopé</td>
<td>Watalaban</td>
<td>†Kotin IWB (=Suda)</td>
<td>central clan house of IWB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ipir Wai Brama</td>
<td>lepo wélut</td>
<td>Munéwolon</td>
<td>†Rapa IWB (=Holé IWB &amp; Golo Lewuk)</td>
<td>clan-branch house of the tana puan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. *Ipír Nuha</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Wolo'lora</td>
<td>Lolin IWB (=†Mita)</td>
<td>roa wanin &amp; wido wido gahu</td>
<td>diran batí 'eru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. *Ipír Hébing</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Waibo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Méré IWB (=Doset)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. *Ipír</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Diwang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. *Tapo</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Munéwolon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Krélik Tapó (=Dégó)</td>
<td>&quot;Li'ar lusi rang lajur&quot; - leads chanting of oda geté</td>
<td>Koa Tapo (acting tana puan) &amp; †Ténu Tapo (chanter of oda geté)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. *Tapo</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Tanakepi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lari Tapó</td>
<td>leads sacrifices at mahé</td>
<td>Gati Mau (deputy jaga mahé)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Tapo</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Wolo'lora</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>carving labit and dopi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Mau Tukan Botik</td>
<td>lepo sopé</td>
<td>Hila</td>
<td>Lodan Mau (=†Ténu Tapo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mau Belar Urat</td>
<td>lepo ?</td>
<td>Blatat/Belar</td>
<td>Maria Mau (=Bae)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Mau</td>
<td>lepo wélut</td>
<td>Lémak</td>
<td>Rosina Mau (=Pius IWB)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Mau</td>
<td>lepo ?</td>
<td>Plé'at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. *Magé</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Natarwatut</td>
<td></td>
<td>Goma Magé (=Jawa Magé)</td>
<td>&quot;tabé raja gejo tuan&quot;</td>
<td>Sera Magé (chanter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. *Magé</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Ri'i Dueng</td>
<td></td>
<td>Naru Magé</td>
<td>raja kedo ukun (replaces raja and greets guests)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Liwu Diwang/Botan</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Diwang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Déwa Liwu Diwang (=Boro)</td>
<td>long piong ong bodor &amp; widin bilikon</td>
<td>Déwa (chanter and organizer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Liwu Blé'it</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Watuwolon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Woso Liwu Blé'it (=Kléruk IWB)</td>
<td>holds télí apur at lepo Tapot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Liwu Pigan Bitak</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Watuwolon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sano LPB (=Bago IWB)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Liwu</td>
<td>lepo ?</td>
<td>Natarwatut</td>
<td>Heger Liwu (=Bago)</td>
<td>long piong ong bodor</td>
<td>Toso Liwu &amp; Leba Liwu (chanters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Liwu Pigan Bitak</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Lémak</td>
<td></td>
<td>Raha LPB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. *Léwuk</td>
<td>lepo pié'a ru'ut Mudébal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hau Léwük (=Juang Léwük)</td>
<td>kuasa woga &amp; poto watu mirin</td>
<td>Juang (organizer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(†: died during the gren; *: lepo lué)
Chapter Nine

THE IDEOLOGY AND IDIOM OF BLOOD

9.1 Introduction

The social world of the Ata Tana Ai is constructed of smaller groups subsumed within larger groups (Figure 9.1). An individual's primary group of reference is the *lepo*, whose membership is, in most but not all instances, coterminous with the descent group. The *lepo* consists of consanguinely related women and their brothers. *Le*po are corporate to the extent that land is held in common by the women of the house, as are the elephant tusks and gongs that constitute the *balik wai 'lo'en*, "the wealth given in exchange for a woman (as father's) forelock", the goods exchanged for the return of the blood of brothers who have

![Figure 9.1: The Layered Social World of the Ata Tana Ai.](image)
married out of the house. The closest bonds are those that bind people of the "same blood", and marriage is the means for converting people of "other blood" to a relationship as close as that of consanguinity, though of a different nature.

Lepe are the marriage contracting groups of Tana Ai society. While marriages between lepe of the same clan are possible, marriages between lepe of different clans have a special significance to the Ata Tana Ai. These marriages establish relationships between alien lepe that, by means of exchanges between them in subsequent generations, lead to the establishment of new lepe within the husband-giving clan. Just as gardens are made fecund by the introduction into their centers of male elements of ritual, so too are new houses created by the marriage of women to men from outside the husband-taking clan. As in gardens, men cross socially constituted boundaries of house and clan and in doing so, bring with them the means of creation. Thus alliance in Tana Ai can be seen as a boundary phenomenon. As all boundary crossings and relationships that cut across boundaries are marked by ritual, marriages between houses of different clans entail exchanges and rituals that do not follow from marriages between houses of the same clan.

Clans consist of maternal descent groups bound together by the blood shared by their members. In contracting marriages with other houses, these descent groups lose that part of their store of blood that is carried by men.
The children of men, and the blood that is passed to those children by men, are lodged in another house. Subsequent marriages between the two houses restore to the original husband-giving women the blood of their brother in the person of one of his daughters. But her blood has been fortified by the admixture of the blood of other women through the father's wife. The blood returned to the father's group cannot, therefore, be directly rejoined with his group, but forms a new house within the paternal clan. Thus the segmentation of houses within a clan is a direct result of alliances contracted between houses of different clans. The idiom of blood and the details and logic of the alliance system created by the calculation of blood relationships are the subjects of this and the following two chapters.

9.2 The Calculation of Blood

Houses are not named, as are clans and clan branches, but there are strong unifying bonds between the members of a descent group who constitute a house and for whom the house is in all respects as important a point of reference as the nuclear family. House members are said to be lûnûn ha, "of one group", and women of the house are pîl a pînâ hâma hâmâ, "to ask, to request together", meaning that they share rights in the land and goods of the house and that each has a voice in the distribution and use of these resources.

Men and women of the house are said to be mîn e tân ha, "one blood and flesh", by virtue if being tâ'î dûlâ ha,
born of "one stomach, one womb". The Ata Tana Ai say that
blood is reckoned through both male and female ancestors,
that is, consanguineal kin are recognized through both
the mother and father. They are, however, equally clear
on the point that the blood that is "important" is trans­
mitted from one generation to the next by women to their
children. The clearest statement I obtained on the subject
of the maternal transmission of blood and how blood is
reckoned is worth quoting in full:

... for us here, what is closest, is (the blood) from women.
It is the blood of women that is the closest relation. With
men indeed we are also close, but we must exchange wealth for
the forelock first. If the forelock is not yet exchanged, we
are not yet close (to men by blood). Because of the difference
of his (the father's) clan, the mother's brother's child is of
a different clan. Indeed, his blood is the same, but the clan
is different. But if we are related through the mother, clearly
(blood and clan) are always the same. Regardless of blood,
there is blood from the father as well as from the mother, but
it is blood through the mother that is more direct (more
smoothly connected). With father's blood, if the father's
forelock is not yet returned, then even in a hundred years we
will not yet know him. He will be forgotten. (I.e., the
relationship between the maternal and paternal houses is not
marked until "father's forelock" is returned.)

From this and other statements by informants it can be
concluded that lineally related men (fathers and sons) are
of "one blood" with their descendants, but collaterally
related men are of "other blood".

Throughout eastern Indonesia patterns of affinal
alliance govern the "flow of life" between socially defined
groupings of kin. In some societies, maternal blood, the
vehicle of life, and paternal semen, brought together in marriage, reunite vicariously brothers and sisters of a prior generation who are forbidden to one another. The nature and mechanisms of alliance, as well as the language and metaphors by which the idea is expressed, vary from one society to another, but most have in common the idea that brothers and sisters are in some regard the same, but separated by the prohibition of incest (cf. Fox 1980:12-24). The Ata Tana Ai distinguish father's blood from the blood of the mother, and the system of affinal alliance in Tana Ai, as elsewhere in eastern Indonesia, facilitates the reunion of the blood of siblings.

In Tana Ai, the idea of incest is expressed in the rule that people who are of one blood, that is, related solely through women, cannot marry. Hence Tana Ai houses are strictly exogamous, and it is the house that is the fundamental unit of the system of affinal alliance that articulates the social organization of Tana Ai.

For the Ata Tana Ai, the calculation of blood has its greatest force in considerations of marriage and the determination that prospective marriage partners are diran tion, "truly sharp" siblings. Calculation of blood pertains to determining whether or not a marriage is incestuous, while the diran tion relationship signifies the actual or potential return of father's forelock (ama 'lo'en). These matters will be taken up in turn.
People who are *mēin etan ha*, "of one blood and flesh", are forbidden to marry. Marriages between people of the same descent group, or *lepo*, are thus strictly forbidden. The Ata Tana Ai express a rule of incest ("atur ou kawit", "plan of [sexual] relations and marriage") by saying:

- Ou winen piren: To reap the sister is prohibited,
- Pata kēran glaran: To insult the brother-in-law is forbidden.

The archetype of incest is said to be that committed by opposite-sex twins (*mē klong*, "twins") while still in the womb. While same-sex twins have no special significance in Tana Ai (there are no terms distinguishing identical from fraternal twins), on the subject of opposite-sex twins, one informant stated the case succinctly: "Ata du'a, ata la'i ou dula wali unen, piren golo", "a woman and a man 'marrying' in the womb is absolutely prohibited". In ritual language it is said:

- Ou winen halan: To reap the sister is an error,
- Pata naran hulir: To have intercourse with the brother a forgetting,
- Ia winen piren: There the forbidden sister,
- 'E'i naran glaran: Here the prohibited brother.

It is said that a boy and girl sharing the womb is such a "heavy" error, that one or both of such twins usually dies. If they live, they are divided, one or the other being given
to another clan. No ceremony accompanies this transfer, which is done furtively soon after birth, thereby to establish the fiction that the twins are of different blood and are not related. Thus, to marry one's sister is to insult the man who is properly one's brother-in-law, by taking the woman in whom he has rights of marriage, and is piren, "prohibited, contrary to law". No one, of course, marries his sister, and this expression has a deeper force. A man's kēra pu is the man who marries his sister, but kēra pu is also the brother of the man's wife, into whose house he marries. This affine is also, at least classificatorily, the son of mamé (MB) in whom jural authority over his sister's children is vested, and to insult a mother's brother's son is to insult the source of one's wife, as marrying other than his daughter is insulting.

The marriages of men and actual mothers' brothers' daughters occur most frequently as part of the exchange of father's blood. In such cases, not to marry the daughter of one's mamé is to refuse the return of his blood to his natal clan, an insult both to one's clan and to the people (MBW and MBS) who are obliged to honor the return of that blood.

Of the actual commission of incest and improper marriages, it is said:

Toki telo hai hawak  To peck open the egg, to wreck the nest,
Ga bihi wi'in      To eat the contents of one's self,
Ninu lēma tebo    To drink deeply of one's (own) body.
Thus incest, and indeed the contravention of any rule, is compared to the eating of one's own flesh and the drinking of one's own blood. The identification of acts contrary to hadat (custom) as cannibalistic is common throughout Tana Ai culture.

Improper and incestuous marriages do occur, though rarely. In such cases there are few sanctions, but essential to correcting the "error" (halan hulir, "error and forgetting") is a ceremony called ma'a dan, "to divide the house ladder", in which a man and a woman improperly married descend separately from their house, one by the back door and one from the front.

9.3 Lu'ur-Dolor Relationships

While the calculation of kinship in Tana Ai is primarily a matter of the classification of mein etan, "blood and flesh", the language of Tana Ai kinship also takes into account genealogical distance. Any kin term in Sara Tana Ai can be modified by the words lu'ur, "close", or dolor, "distant". A person with whom no consanguineal or affinal relationship can be determined is ata pehan, "other people", or mein pehan golo, "entirely different blood". Aside from their use as modifiers of kin terms, lu'ur means, "straight, in a line, not crooked or bent", and dolor means, "in a row, one after another, in single file".
The discrimination of genealogical distance as lu'ur and dolor is made both absolutely and relatively. In the first case, all members of a person's nuclear family (M, F, Z, B, C) are lu'ur (ina lu'ur, mé'e lu'ur, winé lu'ur [m.s.], wué wari lu'ur [m.s.], nara lu'ur [w.s.], wué wari lu'ur [w.s.], mé lu'ur). Mother's brother is mamé lu'ur, mother's sister is ina lu'ur, father's sister is bé lu'ur, father's brother is ama lu'ur, and their children are lu'ur. Beyond these "close" relationships, all relatives with whom a person calculates kinship strictly through women, either lineally or collaterally (M, MM, MMM, ...; MZ, MMZ, MMMZ, ...; MMZD, MMMZDDD, ...) are lu'ur. Similarly, FF, FFF, ... and FFB, FFFB, ... are ama lu'ur while equally distant relatives through men and women are usually spoken of as dolor.

There is no definite boundary between close and distant relatives, however, and the distinction is perhaps best conceived to be between two terms of a continuum such that two relatives may be equally distant, or one relatively lu'ur and the other relatively dolor. In the relative use of the terms, removal by generation is significant. The distance of collateral kin is counted by lapé (cf. Indonesian: lapis), "layer" or "lamina", so that first cousins are "lapé ha", "one layer", second cousins are "lapé rua", "two layers", third cousins are "lapé telu", "three layers" removed and so on. This interpretation of the lu'ur dolor relationships as a series of continua is represented in Figure 9.2.
Informants explained the difference between *lu'ur* and *dolor* by reference to blood: "*lu'ur* iat méin itan demen, 'é'o méin péhan déon", "*lu'ur* is that which is truly our blood, not different blood"; "*dolor* na ha méin pé-péhan", "*dolor* must be different blood*. *Lu'ur* is "méin ela lewu ha", "blood descended under one house", while *dolor* is, "méin ela blawir", "blood descended distantly". Such statements as these notwithstanding, the use of the *lu'ur*- *dolor* distinction implies a more fluid calculation of relationships.

In order to marry, a man and a woman just be *wué wari dolor* (cf. next section), "distant cousins". Once married, close kin of one and the other partner are said to be *lu'ur* to their new affines. Thus, a man's mother's brother is *mamé lu'ur* while the fathers of all marriageable women are his *mamé dolor*. Once he marries, his wife's father is
counted as mamé lu'ur, whether the wife's father is genealogically his mother's brother or not.\(^5\)

In the following example (see Figure 9.3 below), A and B were marriageable "cousins" and their relatedness was characterized as dolor, "distant". When A and B married,

![Figure 9.3: Affines as Lu'ur Kin](image)

lines II and III became lu'ur, "closely related". Had A and B not married, C and D could have. But, once A and B married, as an informant explained the case, the following relationships were created:

1. B and F became wué wari lu'ur, "close siblings" of E. Thus E and F cannot marry.

2. Because B is "sibling" to E, she is ina lu'ur, "close mother", to C;

3. C and D are thus nara winé, "brother and sister" and cannot marry.

In the third generation, a son of D (i.e., H) can marry a daughter of C (G) because children of nara winé who are MBD and FZS can marry.
The logic of the creation of lu'ur relationships from dolor relationships through marriage may be explained by reference to the principles of alliance. In Figure 9.3 the following marriages occur in the first generation (+ links a husband-giving to a husband-taking descent group):

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{II } \rightarrow \text{ I} \\
& \text{II } \rightarrow \text{ III}.
\end{align*}
\]

If C married D, then the following configuration, in which there is a reversal of the direction of husband exchange, obtains:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{I} \\
& \text{II } \rightarrow \text{ III}
\end{align*}
\]

In the third generation a fourth descent group is introduced by the requirement that C marry a woman from a descent group other than II or III. With four descent groups exchanging husbands, a son of D can marry a daughter of C, with the following result:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{I} \leftarrow \text{ II} \\
& \text{IV} \leftarrow \text{ III}
\end{align*}
\]

Subsequent marriages between men of IV and women of II would complete two alliance cycles (I \rightarrow IV \rightarrow II \rightarrow I and
II → III → IV → II) in a manner fully concordant with the principles of asymmetric alliance.

9.4 The Classification of Kin

The Ata Tana Ai say that among a person's kin are those with whom he or she is "méin ha", "one blood", and others who, while being kin, are "méin pé-péhan", "different blood". Thus, all the members of a house (one's M, MZ, MZC, MB, B, Z, ZC and, for women, C) are of the same blood. Any relation through men entails a relationship of different blood. Thus, a person's F, FZ, FB, FBC, FZC and, for a man, his child, are conceived to be of different blood. These distinctions parallel classifications made by the kinship terminology in which the different terms for M and MB, and F and FZ distinguish the different sexes of the referents. Similarly, C and ZC are distinguished by men, and C and BC are distinguished by women. There is an ambiguity in the terminological classifications by which cousins are distinguished, which will be taken up below.

Terms of address and those of reference are generally the same in Sara Tana Ai, though the terms used by women differ in some respects from those used by men. The terms for kin relationships are taken up in turn.
The Language of Kin Relationships and the Classification of Kin.

1. *du'a*: "woman". *Du'a* is a form of address used by men in speaking to their wives and by any person addressing a woman older than the speaker. It is sometimes used by both men and women in addressing young girls of the speaker's *lepo*.

2. *mo'a(-n, -t)*: "man", is a form of address used in addressing older men.

3. *la'i*: "man" or "boy" is used by women to address their husbands and as a term of reference used by women speaking of their husbands ("la'i a'un ...", "my husband..."). *La'i* is a universal term of address and reference for young boys and young, unmarried men.

4. *ina*: "mother" has a broad range of uses. The term can mean, as a term of reference or address used by both men and women, the genetrix of the speaker. Mother's sisters are also *ina*. Patrilateral and matrilateral grandmothers and any woman of Ego's grandparents' generation of his or her *lepo* are *ina*. Old women of other *lepo* are usually called *du'a*. *Ina puda* or *ina geté* can refer to the founder of speaker's *lepo*. *Ina geté* can also mean "mother's older sister".

5. *ama* or *m'é*: "father". These terms include father (genitor) and father's brothers. The terms are heard less frequently than *ina*. The terms are synonymous, but *ama* is used most frequently to mean any of the group comprising the classificatory fathers of the speaker while *m'é* usually denotes the speaker's
genitor. The terms do not have the extended use characteristic of ina. Men of Ego's grandparents' generation are more often addressed and referred to as mo'an than by either of the terms for "father".

6. mamé: A term of address and reference used by persons of both sexes to mean mother's brother and father's sister's husband. A man's wife's father is his mamé, and a woman's husband's father is her mamé. Mother's mother's brother and father's mother's brother can also be referred to as mamé or mamé mo'a.

7. bé: A term of reference and address used by persons of both sexes to mean father's sister and mother's brother's wife. A man's wife's mother and a woman's husband's mother are bé, or ina bé.

8. mé: The children of a man or woman; children's children. A woman's sister's children and a man's brother's children are also mé.

9. gu: A woman's brother's children and a man's sister's children; used by both men and women to mean son's wife or daughter's husband.

10. wué/wari: Terms of reference and address used reciprocally by same-sex siblings. Wué is used by a younger sibling to address his or her older sibling of the same sex while wari is used by older siblings to address younger siblings of the same sex. The terms are also used between parallel cousins of the same sex. However, marriageable cousins (MBD and F2S) are also wué wari and wué wari relationships are created between persons of opposite sex.
by any marriage. A man's wife's sister and brother's wife are his wué wari, as are a woman's husband's brothers and sister's husband. The terms "wué wari" used together can thus mean all of the speaker's siblings within his or her lepo, or indicate a group of people related to the speaker as closely as siblings but who are affines.

11. nara: A term used by women meaning their brothers and parallel cousins of the opposite sex.

12. winé: A term used by men meaning their sisters and parallel cousins of the opposite sex.

13. ura pu: A woman's husband's sister, brother's wife and father's sister's daughter who are sisters of men (FZS) in a marriageable category with Ego.

14. kéra pu: A man's wife's brother, sister's husband and mother's brother's son who are the brothers of women (MBD) in a marriageable category with Ego.

The auxiliary words geté, doi, and 'lora (w.s. and m.s.) are used to discriminate the relative ages of persons in sibling groups in the first ascending generation from Ego. Thus, ama geté is FeB, ama doi is FyB and ama 'lora is father's brother older than ama doi but younger than ama geté. Similarly, ina geté is MeZ, ina 'lora is MmZ and ina doi is MyZ.

Several features of the terminology are immediately discernible. First, in the first ascending generation the classification of relationships is symmetric, i.e., mamé [MB = FZH = HF (w.s.) / WF (m.s.)] and bé [FZ = MBW = HM]
Classification in the first descending generation is also symmetric: \(C = ZC (w.s.) / BC (m.s.)\) and \(pu \ [BC (w.s.) / ZC (m.s.) = SW = DH]\). Second, these distinctions are consonant with the notion that maternal blood is the same as one's own, but paternal blood is "different", in the sense of being farther removed, from maternal blood.

With regard to the classification of cousins, however, matters are less clear. Brothers and sisters are reciprocally \(nara (w.s.)\) and \(winé (m.s.)\), and by extension all persons who are related as \(nara\ winé\) are forbidden to marry. Opposite-sex parallel cousins, MZS and FBS (w.s.) and FBD and MZD (m.s.) are classed as brother and sister respectively. FZS (w.s.) and MBD (m.s.) are \(wué\ wari\), a term otherwise used to denote elder and younger siblings of the same sex and parallel cousins of the same sex, and are marriageable. Indeed, cousins who can marry are said to be \(wué\ wari\ diran\ tion\, "truly sharp" \(wué\ wari\). Sister's husband (w.s.) and husband's brother are similarly \(wué\ wari\) of the opposite sex, and the Ata Tana Ai say that an advantage of marriage is that a person gets new, and more, \(wué\ wari\, i.e.,\ marriage makes siblings of affines.

In this statement lies a clue to understanding the essential nature of affinal relationships in Tana Ai. Primary rights to a child are vested in the women of the
lepo, i.e., the child's mother and her sisters. These women are wuë wari. But, in the conception of blood of the Ata Tana Ai, every child possesses not only blood from its mother but also from the father, who is of a different blood and house. The paternal house has "lost blood" insofar as the father's children reside in another lepo and are affiliated primarily with that lepo. Members of the paternal house maintain an interest in the child since the child carries their blood. By definition, any group of people who share rights and an interest in a child are like a group of siblings and members of that group are related either as wuë wari or as nara winë. Hence the matrilateral and patrilateral sibling groups, by virtue of their common interest in a child who is the issue of a marriage between them, must in some regard be like siblings, but must be also unlike siblings since two of their number have married.

An affinal sisterhood is thus created between women, one of whom has married the brother of the other. The children of these affinal sisters are wuë wari because they are the children of sisters but they can marry because they carry different maternal bloods. These special siblingships, between mothers of different bloods, on the one hand, and between their opposite-sex children, on the other, are indicated by special terms: affinal sisters are ura pu, while their children are wuë wari diran tion.

The rule of incest prohibits the marriage of a brother and sister (nara winë). The common blood of a brother and
sister, in its transmission to a new generation, is thus divided and must take different paths. It can be postulated that the underlying concern and fundamental principle of Tana Ai social organization is the rejoining of the blood of siblings, and the means to this reunification is marriage. Since siblings cannot marry, marriages are inscribed with the character of siblingship. But the terms that denote affinal siblingship, taken from the language of blood siblingship, are applied not to persons of the same sex, but to persons of different sex. Thus, consanguineal wuē wari are sisters or brothers of the same sex, while affinal wuē wari are men and women, whether they are linked by marriage in one generation or potentially marriage partners in the next (i.e., wuē wari diran tion). Affinal siblings of the same sex are distinguished from blood siblings by the terms kéra pu and ura pu, and children of people who are ura pu or kéra pu to one another are siblings who can marry.

Equally authoritative informants disagree on the marriageability of a man's FZD and a woman's MBS, and whether these kin should be termed wuē wari diran tion (marriageable siblings) or nara winé (nonmarriageable siblings). A majority of informants said that the terms ura pu and kéra pu specify a woman's [MBD, FZD, HZ, BW] and a man's [MBS, FZS, WB, ZH] respectively, but on this point some said a woman's MBD is her wuē wari and a man's FZS is his wuē wari. The inclusion of MBD as ura pu, FZS as
kéra pu, and MBS and FZD as wuē wari diran tion argues for a symmetric terminology which, it is known, can govern an asymmetrically organized system of alliance (cf. Needham 1966; 1967:43ff; 1970:255; and 1971:20) and we may suppose that wuē wari (MBS, FZD) completes the symmetric terminology. Such a judgment, however, is clearly petitio principii, and ignores the significant question of how it is that the evidence from Tana Ai is ambiguous on precisely the point on which analysis of prescriptive alliance turns. Despite the compatibility of symmetric classification and asymmetric alliance, in order to understand more fully the character of marriage and the relations of alliance between social groups that are the foundation of the social order in Tana Ai, this apparent ambiguity must be explained. And it is preferable that the explanation of this problem be accomplished by accounting for the ideas and practices of the Ata Tana Ai themselves.

The classification of kinship relations may be represented in two ways, depending upon the different categories in which, on the basis of the evidence, FZD (m.s.) and MBS (w.s.) can be included. If persons standing in this relationship (i.e., FZD and MBS, reciprocally) can marry, then the terminological system may be analyzed as symmetric. If it is taken that a woman's MBS and her FZS are distinguished by terms and classification, whereby her FZS is marriageable and is thus related to her as wuē wari diran
tion, but her MBS, with whom she is nara winé, is not marriageable, then the relationship terminology must be cast as asymmetric.

These are the analytic options available given the ambiguity of informants' statements. To these should be added the statements by Ata Tana Ai to the effect that the children of mamé (MB, FZH) and bé (FZ, MBW) are marriageable. This evidence lends credibility to an argument that the terminology is symmetric in its classificatory scheme, but a judgment between the two possibilities can still be made only on an a priori basis. Chapter Ten will be devoted to a more detailed examination of marriage in Tana Wai Brama, and the system of alliance that it governs, in order to answer these questions.
Chapter Ten

THE ECONOMY OF BLOOD

10.1 Introduction

The relationships between the clans of Tana Wai Brama are ceremonial in character and are expressed in the rituals of the domain. The houses of the domain are involved in the performance of ritual in accordance with their clan affiliations, but relationships between them are primarily the result of marriages between their members. Houses are defined in terms of the blood shared by their members and are the exogamous units in the system of affinal alliance that orders the society of Tana Wai Brama. Thus two closely interrelated systems of alliance determine social relations generally in the domain. The first is the ceremonial organization of clans and the second is the system of affinal alliances by which houses are related.

Because houses are the marriage contracting social groups in Tana Wai Brama, with respect to alliance, three kinds of marriages are possible: intraclan marriages between people of different houses of the same clan, interclan marriages between people of houses of different clans and
marriages between people of Tana Wai Brama and people from outside the domain. Marriages between Ata Tana Wai Brama and outsiders are rare and, in the view of the people of the domain, do not much affect social relationships within the domain (except that they generally complicate affairs within the houses in regard to inheritance, and rights to children and land).

In reality the classification of marriages is more complicated than enumeration of the obvious possibilities indicates. The marriage of a man and woman of different clans requires the return of a daughter from the woman's clan to that of the man in a subsequent generation. This return is spoken of as the return of ama 'lo'en, "father's forelock". The return of father's forelock is accomplished by the transfer of one of his daughters (an actual daughter or daughter's daughter is preferred) who leaves her maternal clan, enters her father's clan and in this way is said to replace his blood in his clan. A woman who enters her paternal clan should marry a man of that clan, a man who is her father's sister's son. Thus clan exogamy requires a subsequent marriage between two clans and ordains affinal relations of longer duration than a single marriage between them.

The marriage of a man's daughter to his sister's son, in those cases where the daughter changes clan affiliation, is ambiguous with respect to the classification of marriages
as endogamous or exogamous. *Ama 'lo'en* marriages can be viewed as exogamous because the woman so married originates from a clan other than that of her husband and because such a marriage is the direct result of a prior marriage between the two clans in a previous generation. On the other hand, this kind of marriage, which involves the union of a mother's brother's daughter with her father's sister's son, can be equally considered as endogamous. This is the view stressed by the Ata Tana Wai Brama themselves, for whom all marriages of fathers' sisters' sons to mothers' brothers' daughters are marriages between persons of the same clan. Such marriages are endogamous because the woman changes her clan affiliation from that of her mother to that of her father, and is thus of the same clan as her husband. The implications of this point, which will be discussed in Chapter Eleven, are at the heart of the ordering of houses within clans.

Discounting marriages between Ata Tana Wai Brama and outsiders, which are of little practical effect, there are thus three kinds of marriages to be considered in a discussion of affinal alliance in the domain: purely endogamous marriages, exogamous marriages and those marriages involving the return of father's forelock which are ambiguous with respect to the other two types.

The people of Tana Wai Brama say that intraclan marriages are preferred and are desirable because they are easier to arrange and because their consequences for the
groups involved are less complicated than is the case in
interclan marriages. Intraclan marriages are in accord
with previously established alliances between houses, which,
as will be shown later, does make them less complicated.
However, a count of the frequency of intraclan marriage in
the genealogies from Watuwolon indicates that purely endoga-
rous marriages are relatively rare and account for only 22%
of all marriages recorded in the genealogies, while exogamous
marriages are 66% of the total (see Table 11.2). Interclan
marriages are thus important not only because of their
frequency but because they bind houses across lines of clan-
ship and result in relations of affinity between clans that
are otherwise related only in the ceremonial order of the
domain.

While marriages involving the return of ama 'lo'en
account for only 10% of the marriages recorded at Watuwolon,
these marriages are extraordinarily important because it is
by them that alliances between houses across clan lines are
fully established. These marriages are crucial in the
rejoining of the blood of brothers and sisters, a goal
toward which the alliance system is oriented. Because of
their significance, the discussion of marriage and alliance
in Tana Wai Brama, which will be the subjects of this and
the following two chapters, will begin with the analysis
of ama 'lo'en.
In order to establish the characteristics of affinal alliance in Tana Wai Brama it is necessary to examine what the people of the domain say marriage is, what it accomplishes and what are its consequences for the community as well as to account for the marriages actually contracted by members of the community. The examination of ideas about marriage will require a further examination of the language and idioms employed in discourse about the relations between alliance groups.

An examination of genealogies from the Watuwolon region of Tana Wai Brama reveals only two cases of marriage between a woman and her mother's brother's son. In one of these cases a woman married her actual mother's brother's son, and in the other the marriage was with a more distantly removed cousin who was classificatorily equivalent to mother's brother's son. In both cases, the marriages were regarded by informants as improper, although no informant labelled them incestuous.

There are recorded, however, more than fifty marriages (approximately 25% of the total sample of 267 marriages) between actual or classificatorily equivalent mothers' brothers' daughters and fathers' sisters' sons. Of these, approximately half were between actual mothers' brothers' daughters and fathers' sisters' sons and half were between classificatory mothers' brothers' daughters and fathers' sisters' sons. Regardless of the ambiguity found at the
level of ideology with regard to the marriageability of various cross-cousins, in contracting marriages the people of Watuwolon thus exhibit a marked inclination to marriages between mothers' brothers' daughters and fathers' sisters' sons to the exclusion of marriages between fathers' sisters' daughters and mothers' brothers' sons.

The ideological foundation for this preference is not obvious. The people of Tana Wai Brama address the problem in terms of the idiom of blood, but the prohibition of marriage between people who are of the same blood is merely interdictory, does not imply a positive rule of marriage, and does not bear on the question of the eligibility of the FZD and MBS. Indeed, by merely calculating blood relationships, either MBD or FZD qualifies as a wife. In the diagram below (Figure 10.1), Roman numerals identify maternal bloodlines (not descent groups). It can be seen that both MBD

![Diagram](image)

Figure 10.1: Blood and the Calculation of Marriageability

(blood II) and FZD (blood III) are of different blood from Ego, and would be potential spouses if calculation of blood was the only criterion of eligibility. Furthermore, while mother's brother's daughter is of the same blood as Ego,
father's brother's daughter is of different blood but is expressly and unambiguously classified as *wĩne*, sister.

In the thought of the Ata Tana Ai, the idiom of blood is primarily employed in reckoning relations of consanguinity. While the calculation of blood is crucial to determining the marriageability of specific individuals, the idiom itself does not imply a prescription of who ought to marry whom. Thus the calculation of blood does not resolve the ambiguity of father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter in light of the frequency of marriages with the latter and the rarity of marriages with the former. The solution to this problem must take into account the idiom of blood, but must be sought in a broader examination of the institutional arrangements of alliance in Tana Wai Brama.

10.2 Marriage and the Exchange of Father's Forelock

Marriage in Tana Wai Brama is marked neither by feasting nor by the exchange of bridewealth, in contrast to the celebrations that accompany marriages in central Sikka. When a man and a woman decide to marry, the man simply leaves his mother's house and takes up residence in his wife's mother's household. It is said that when a couple decide to marry, their mothers and fathers should sit together and *ma'a wua ta'a*, "divide areca nut and betel leaf", but this is never done before cohabitation begins and is rarely done before a
second or third child has been born (cf. Chapter Six, p.192). The areca nut and betel leaf ceremony seems to be considered more important when people from different clans marry.

The couple lives with the wife's parents, the man working his wife's mother's garden, until the birth of children justifies opening a garden of their own, or until arrangements are agreed upon whereby the woman receives permission from the senior woman of her house to open a field on land belonging to the descent group. As fields held by descent groups are scattered, opening a new garden of their own usually means a couple construct and move into their own house.

Descent groups consist of people who share the same maternal blood, while clans include people who are related through father's blood (i.e., of houses related by the exchange of father's blood), as well as descent groups whose members are related by shared mother's blood. Clan members are said to be "lepo ha", "of one house", people who are "měi ela lewu ha", children of "blood that falls under one house floor", while members of other clans are more distantly removed. People of other clans are seen as people of entirely different blood, although genealogically this is not always the case. Thus interclan marriages have a special significance not attached to marriages between people of the same clan.
The husband-receiving descent group of an inter-clan marriage is obliged to "return the blood" of the husband to his sukun upon his death in the person of one of his daughters. The daughter of a man who has married outside his clan changes her clan affiliation to that of her father and then is expected to marry a man of her father's clan and descent group who is her father's sister's son.

Occasionally a married woman is exchanged, in which case her children follow her into her new clan. In such cases one child, usually a boy, may be left behind in his mother's natal clan, retained by that clan upon their request, and is referred to as mé wawa tana, "child of the earth", meaning that the child is like a foundling since it has no mother in the clan. Young children retained by the maternal house as mé wawa tana continue to live with their mothers but are affiliated with her natal clan. Mé wawa tana is usually given only when a woman leaving her mother's clan to enter the clan of her father has many children at the time of the exchange. The exchange of a married woman has little effect on her husband, except that he must establish relations with members of a new clan.

A woman carries her father's blood, but so long as she remains in her mother's clan, the father's blood is conceived to be "lost" to his clan. Marriages of mother's brother's daughter to father's sister's son returns the father's blood to its sukun puan, its "source clan", and
the nature of such marriages in returning blood to its source is emphasized in that MBD and FZS are said to be *wué wāri diran tion*, "truly sharp siblings", that is, they are marriageable siblings.

The characterization of marriageable siblings as *diran tion*, "truly sharp", is worth exploring. In Tana Ai, the souls of the dead are thought to advance through eight afterlives and seven deaths before "reaching the base" (*dun ba'a*), after which they are reborn as vines — *kuar* (rattan) and *nidun* (sp.?). These are the vines that are used (indeed they, among the many suitable species in Tana Ai, are required) for tying together the parts of the *lepo*, the descent group house. To be of use, the thick vine is split through its entire length into two or four sections with a bush knife. As one informant was demonstrating to me the splitting of rattan, he said: "Ita naha leka kuar élé hiren, ganu 'é'i", "We need to split the rattan cleanly all the way down its length without its breaking". He then volunteered:

People say, in splitting the rattan, it breaks (this is to be avoided), like,

"Mother and sister, brother and father,
Split as rattan cleanly and without a break",

that means, (the knife is) truly sharp. If we split, beginning from the end, and it breaks in the middle, people say (its like), "mother and sister, brother and father", they are not truly sharp. If they are alive, they cannot marry.

This was a provocative statement, and in response to my request for clarification, my informant explained that with respect to the couplet in ritual language, mothers and
sisters for men (and fathers and brothers for women),
though of one blood, are forbidden in marriage to their
sons, brothers, daughters and sisters, respectively. The
bond of blood between a brother and sister is split, and
as the knife which is "truly sharp" splits the rattan with­
out a break, so is the cleavage between brother and sister
permanent and complete. But, he continued, "odi lero depon,
miin tia beli walong", "then in the future, that blood is
given back again". This return of blood is accomplished
by the exchange of ama 'lo'en.

Strictly translated, 'lo'en, that which is said to be returned to the father's clan by the marriage of his
daughter to his sister's son, must be rendered as "forelock". However, the Ata Tana Ai translate ama 'lo'en, "father's forelock", into Indonesian as "darah bapak", "blood of the father". The metaphorical equivalence of forelock and blood rests on the rule that 'lo'ë unur (the forelock and fingernails of the dead) of both men and women are always returned to the natal clan to be placed in their reliquary basket and hung from the roof of their lepo geté (clan house).
This holds for men who marry women of other clans than their own, as well as those who marry within their clans.

In the dialect of central Sikka, loë is a verb meaning "to abduct a woman", "to commit adultery". Thus ama loën means "abduction of the father". If such an interpretation is given to the Tana Ai expression ama 'lo'en (as opposed to ama loën), then it may be seen that the payment of
to'o balik by the father's clan to his wife's clan upon the occasion of the return of his blood and the marriage of his daughter to his sister's son is a sort of ransom paid for his blood which was alienated by his marriage to a woman outside his clan. That it is blood being ransomed and not bridewealth being paid is clear because to'o balik must be given to the child-giving clan whether or not the child exchanged marries a man of the father's group. When asked, "Is it better for people to marry within a clan or someone of another clan?", informants agreed unanimously that marriage within the clan is preferred because such marriages are "easier", "less complicated" and because partners in intraclan marriages "already know one another well".

The daughter returned to her father's sukun replaces (sélung) the father in his clan. Men who marry out of their clans, and their blood, are lost to their clans, while they still live, and are returned only to be buried. The loss to his clan of a man who marries out is a very real one as he resides with his wife, often at a place distant from his sisters, works her fields, and is obliged to assist his affines with labor and in matters of ritual. The daughter who is returned as ama 'lo'en carries the blood of her father, but that blood is mixed with the blood of another clan. Marriage with her FZS insures that a man's grandchildren are fully incorporated into their father's and mother's father's clan. His grandchildren are conceived to be blood of their clan, but their origins in another clan are not forgotten.
The problem of the marriageability of FZD and MBS may now be reconsidered. MBD/FZS marriage serves to return the blood of a man to his natal clan. *Ama 'lo'en* transactions may be represented as in the following diagram in which upper case letters stand for clans and numerals represent blood lines:

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 10.2: The Return of Blood by the Marriage of MBD and FZS**

The woman *z* is returned to clan *A* to replace the blood of *x*, her father. The marriage of *y* to *z* serves to consolidate her position in the new clan, and to found a new descent group (*A*_2) which is fully of clan *A*. Since men do not carry blood, they cannot be exchanged to replace the blood of the father (cf. Figure 10.3 below).

In Figure 10.3, in which *z* marries his FZD and *y* her MBS, the blood of *x* is not returned because men do not convey blood. Furthermore, if *bélis* (bridewealth) was required in

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 10.3: The Inefficacy of FZD and MBS Marriage as a Means of the Return of Blood.**
marriage (in Tana Ai it is not), the marriage of z to y would reverse the direction of payment, which in other respects is prohibited in Tana Ai. Thus, although the question of the marriageability of father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's son is moot, and cannot be determined by reference to specific opinions of experts in Tana Ai hadat, it can be seen that in terms of the ideology of blood such marriages would not serve the purpose intended by the marriage of cross-cousins. Furthermore, there is an established prohibition on the exchange of siblings in marriage between houses. The marriage of father's sister's daughter, following upon a previous marriage between two houses, would contravene this prohibition.

The exchange of father's blood for ceremonial goods and the assimilation into the paternal clan of women with "mēin pé-pēhan", "different blood", creates alliances between clans. Moreover, such exchanges create three groups from the point of view of a woman who is exchanged and her lineal descendants. Indeed all Ata Tana Ai, except those who are puan sukun, "center" or "source of the clan", carry the blood of another clan which they refer to as their "source". All members of asymptotic houses within a clan trace descent, and their genealogies, at least as far as the ancestral mothers who entered their clans as ama 'lo'en. These women, who found new houses in a clan, are called by their descendants ina puda, "first mother" or "ancestral mother".7
A woman exchanged in an ama 'lo'en transaction and her descendants refer to the house, and by extension the clan, from which she was transferred as their ina ama nawu winé tung kéra, "mother father who accompany the sister and exchange (her) for a brother-in-law", or, more briefly, ina ama nawu tung, "mother father who accompany and hand over". The clan that she enters, and more particularly the house whose brother she replaces and who exchange to'o balik for her, are her ina ama baha boter, the "mother father who buy and pay". She herself, and her descendants, are tudi manu, "knife chicken", of her ina ama baha boter. The expression tudi manu comes from the prestation of a knife tied to a chicken given to her ina ama baha boter by her ina ama nawu tung upon the occasion of her transfer and as part of the ceremonies by which her clan affiliation is changed. A woman transferred as ama 'lo'en, and her descendants, remain the tudi manu of the house and by extension the clan that gives to'o balik until she or her descendants give to'o balik for the blood of one of their own brothers, thereby becoming ina ama baha boter to a new tudi manu of their house and clan.

Normally a woman transferred as tudi manu is given a field of land by her natal ina ama when she enters her new clan. This land is her own exclusively and is inherited by her daughters. Land given to a tudi manu is said to ease the transition and to insure that she is not orphaned in her new clan. Her wealth-giving ina ama can make no
claims upon this land. In addition, a tudi manu can ask for the use of fields belonging to her ina ama baha boter. Usufruct of a field is usually granted by the women of the wealth-giving house, whose son the tudi manu has married. From the surplus production of land obtained in this way a tudi manu is able to obtain more land and to'o balik of her own. When she, or her descendants, have obtained sufficient to'o balik she and the new house she has founded are able to leto ("dower") its own blood or, if it has had no men marry out of the clan, it may arrange to leto the blood of another house. Cases of one house transacting for the blood of another house are rare, and usually occur when a house whose blood is still outstanding had died out. In such cases the tudi manu (the most recently endowed house of the clan) may be delegated by superior houses the right to leto the blood of the defunct house. The woman obtained as the new tudi manu replaces the defunct house in the order of precedence of houses in the clan (cf. Chapter Eleven), and the house who pays to'o balik for the returned blood leapfrogs in precedence since ina ama baha boter is superior to tudi manu.

To'o balik payments for the leto of father's blood are standardized in Tana Ai and the number of elephant tusks and gongs is not negotiated between the child-giving house and wealth-giving house as they are between wife-taking and wife-giving groups in central Sikka. The payment for ama
'lo'en is always two elephant tusks (bala) and two bronze gongs (gong). While the number of to'o balik exchanged for ama 'lo'en is set, the size of the gongs and elephant tusks is liable to negotiation. The Ata Tana Ai deny that to'o balik is belis (bridewealth) such as is exchanged on the occasions of marriages in central Sikka. The Ata Tana Ai emphasize that the amount of belis is decided through bargaining, an idea repugnant to the Ata Tana Ai who say that such practice is unbecoming because people are not to be bought and sold. In Tana Ai the goods given in return for blood are set at a customary, established value and represent a "gift" to the house who gives father's blood so that they will not feel "rugi" ("to suffer a loss") and will later be able to leto the blood of their own brothers to replace the woman they have given up as ama 'lo'en. The only occasion on which I heard the common central Sikkanese term belis used in Tana Ai was when informants explained to me that they "belis anak", "pay goods for children", while the central Sikkanese "belis ibu", "pay goods for mothers (i.e., wives)". To the Ata Tana Ai, to'o balik payments are conceived strictly as the price of returned blood and as an investment in the progeny expected from that blood which strengthens the blood-receiving clan.

It should be noted that the Ata Tana Ai distinguish two sorts of to'o balik. First there are gongs, elephant tusks, patola cloths and swords that comprise the permanent,
unalienable ceremonial wealth of the clan. These goods are *ngawun pusaka*, "clan heirlooms", and may not be sold or otherwise exchanged. They are symbols of the unity of the clan, having been granted the clan by its *du'a mo'an puan*, "source ancestors", and are kept in the *lepo plé'a ru'ut*, the clan house. *Ngawun pusaka* are under the control of the clan headwoman and are displayed publicly only on the occasion of *gren mahé* ceremonies or when they are ritually cooled in *blatan to'o bliran balik*, the ceremony "to cool the tusks, to make the gongs cold". Other gongs and tusks circulate in *'lo'en* transactions and may be purchased and sold. These are called *balik wai 'lo'en*, "wealth (for exchanging) women (for) blood", and are the possessions of individual houses. *Balik wai 'lo'en* may be sold or exchanged for *ama 'lo'en* by a house without reference to other authority.\(^\text{11}\)

The return of mother's brother's blood for *to'o balik* secures a wife for one of the sons of his sister. Men of Tana Ai say:

\begin{align*}
\text{To'o wai a'u wain} & \quad \text{Give wealth for a woman and she is my woman,} \\
\text{Balik sogen a'u sogen} & \quad \text{Treasure that is loaned is my loan,}
\end{align*}

a way of expressing that payment of *to'o balik* brings a woman in return. Having paid *to'o balik*, the wealth-giving *ina ama* are said to suffer a heavy loss if the woman exchanged is not married into the clan, preferably to a
son of the house which has arranged the transfer.

Generally, however, marriage is a matter entirely separate from the transaction of father's forelock, which may be arranged between two houses years before a particular woman is of an age to marry. There are usually several daughters of a house that has agreed to an ama 'Io'en transaction who are eligible to be transferred. While the exchange may have been arranged years in advance, these daughters, or some among them, may have married by the time the actual ceremony takes place. If all the available daughters have married, then the child-receiving house must decide whether to wait another generation to receive an unmarried child, or to accept one of the married daughters of their brother. Child-giving houses are less willing to give up a woman with children than a blood receiving-house is willing to accept her. Since children are the true measure of the wealth of a house, the child-givers usually argue for a delay in the transaction of blood which will enable them to give only one child rather than a woman and her children. It is, however, difficult for a child-giving house to ignore the claim of a house to whom blood is owed. From the point of view of the child-receiving house, the decision to accept a married woman and her children often turns on the question of her marriage. She may or may not have married a man of the clan into which she is to be transferred and of the house that exchanges to'o balik for her, though often a girl is
nominated as ama 'lo'en, marries a son of the wealth-giving house, and then the exchange is made. If she has married a man of the blood-receiving group, then there is an advantage to them in accepting her and her children. If the woman being transferred has married a man from another clan, then her father's clan, which she enters, will face the obligation to return her husband's blood in the following generation, an obligation that can be avoided by agreeing to wait a generation before demanding the return of their own blood.

The Ata Tana Ai say that it is preferable in an ama 'lo'en exchange for an actual son of the house of the wealth-giving ina ama (or, in mula pada, a son of the child-giving house) to be married to a woman leto-ed by his house. If this is not possible, then a son of another house of the clan is acceptable. When a tudi manu fails to marry the son of her father's sister, or another man of the paternal clan, she can be incorporated into the clan of her wealth-giving ina ama without difficulty since the purpose of the exchange is to replace the blood of her father in his natal clan and not to contract a marriage of a particular kind. In such cases no damage is done to the alliance that is articulated by the exchange, though the wealth-giving house is said to be "rugi (Indonesian)", "to suffer a loss".

Marrying outside the intended clan affects mostly the fortunes of the woman being exchanged and her rights
to land. She is likely to be impoverished. First, she is
disenfranchised in her natal sukun, and loses rights to
land in her natal house, on account of the change in her
clan affiliation which is essential to the exchange.
Second, having married outside her new clan, there is less
advantage for her new clan mates to grant her land. Since
she is married to a man outside the new clan, her new clan
mates feel that in giving her land they are "feeding the
children of another clan". Third, the obligation to
surrender one of her children as the 'lo'\textsuperscript{en} of her husband
makes her affairs "repot (Indonesian)", "complicated".
Finally, since she cannot claim land from her husband's
sisters as her right, she must depend upon the charity
of the women of her husband's house and their "affection"
(megu) for him, in order to obtain land from those affines.
Should she obtain land from her ura pu (husband's sisters),
when the 'lo'\textsuperscript{en} of their brother is to be returned, her
husband's house can claim that she has "ga to'o balik ba'a",
"already eaten the tusks and gongs" which members of the
husband's house would normally give her house to receive
their brother's (or mother's brother's) blood because the
child exchanged has been fed from their gardens.

These complications mean that a woman who fails to
marry a man of her new house or clan is likely to encounter
difficulty in obtaining unencumbered land. Such land is
required, not only to sustain herself and her family, but
as a means for accumulating the to'o balik which her
daughters will need to letö the blood of their brothers and thereby to "move to the center" in the precedence ranking of her clan.

Women marry in contravention of the expectations of their ina ama for a number of reasons. First, a woman may marry whom she pleases, even opposing what to her house and clan mates may seem to be her own self-interest. The Ata Tana Ai say that "du'a la'i naha megu golo", "a woman and a man must 'love'", in order for a marriage to work, and it is not always the case that such affection is found among the preferred spouses. Second, the house and clan into which a woman moves may not include an unmarried man of suitable age, in which case she may seek a husband elsewhere. Ultimately these less than preferred marriages do not affect the alliance relationships between houses, as it is in the return of blood, in the person of the woman and, more important, her children, and not marriage that they are articulated.

In some cases more than one house may be involved in the letö of a man's blood. In the following example of the marriage of Toso and Géhing (Figure 10.4), the return of Téwang's 'lo'en was delayed four generations because sukun Mau was "kuran wai", "lacking women", and because sukun Liwu Blé'it was "kuran to'o balik", "lacking wealth". Finally Woso of Liwu Blé'it decided that the return of the blood of her mother's mother's mother's brother, Téwang, could be delayed no longer. She arranged
to obtain on loan from her clan mother Girek half the to'o balik required to leto the blood of Tewang. After having been transferred from sukun Mau to sukun Liwu Blé'it, Géhing should have married a man who was pu (sister's son) of the man whose blood was returned, that is, a son of Woso, her ina ama baha boter. Woso's sons were still children when Géhing was exchanged, however. Because Girek had contributed to'o balik for the exchange of Géhing she was also, not by blood but because she had contributed to'o balik for the exchange, ina ama baha boter, and it was arranged that Géhing would marry Girek's son Toso. All parties to the transaction benefited. Woso received...
Téwang’s blood and a tudi manu whose children will strengthen sukun Liwu Blé’it. Since Géhing married a man of Liwu, none of her children will be lost as ama ‘lo’en given to another clan. By their loan of to’o balik, Girek and her daughters will in future have an ally within another branch of their clan from whom they will be able to obtain to’o balik or, in its place, land when they require it, and they were able to contract a preferred intraclan marriage for Toso.

Women are exchanged as father’s forelock because only they transmit blood. On rare occasions a male may be returned to his father’s clan as father’s forelock. In the only case of such an exchange about which detailed information was obtained, a man of sukun Mau, now dead, married a woman of Liwu Pigan Bitak who bore only sons by him. The woman remarried following her first husband’s death but had only two daughters by her second husband, one of whom was given to sukun Ipir Wai Brama as ama ‘lo’en of a grandfather. Sukun Mau cannot demand the remaining daughter because a woman is always entitled to have at least one heir within her clan. The house of the mother is thus short of daughters and there are several prior ‘lo’en obligations to be fulfilled by the house, and these will require the daughters of the woman’s remaining daughter. People of sukun Mau, wishing to settle the matter of the ‘lo’en of the woman’s first husband, agreed to accept one of the man’s three sons as his forelock.
This son will replace the father in his natal clan, but the son, who cannot convey blood, cannot found a new house in the father's clan. Thus no puda will be exchanged in a subsequent generation (see below) and no new alliance will result from the original marriage between Mau and Liwu Pigan Bitak.

In cases of sororal marriages, two children may be returned as ama 'lo'en to the father's clan, one a girl who conveys the blood of her father to his clan, and the other a son, usually by the second wife (if she has children; a son by the first wife if she does not). The daughter returns the blood of her father, while her brother is exchanged in recognition of the second marriage. Since the women the man married are sisters and are of the same clan and house, one daughter is sufficient to maintain the alliance between the two clans. Of a woman marrying the husband of her deceased sister the Ata Tana Ai approve, saying, "ou hubun pata plota", "to reap inheritance, to continue the marriage".

10.3 Mula Puda — The Return of the "Planted Mother"

The ancestral mother of a house who entered her clan as ama 'lo'en is referred to as the ina puda, "first", "ancestral" or "traditional mother", or occasionally as ina getê, "big mother". The clan from which she originated
is referred to by her and her descendants as their *sukun puan*, "source clan". Four generations after the exchange of *ama 'lo'oen*, the women of the wealth-giving clan in the forelock exchange are obliged to return one DDDD of the original *tudi manu* to the *sukun puan*, i.e., to the *ina ama nawu tung* of the *tudi manu*. This exchange is called *mula puda* or, more fully, "*mula walong puda 'ē'i sukun puan*", "to replant the ancestral mother in the clan of origin". In exchange for their *mula puda*, the source clan returns to the clan of the original wealth-givers, and specifically to the house founded by the *tudi manu*, *to'o balik* in the amount of one half the tusks and gongs exchanged for the father's forelock, i.e., one tusk and one gong. The woman returned to her source clan as *mula puda* founds a new house which is closely allied to the house from which her *ina puda* originated.

It occasionally happens that in the intervening generations between the exchange of *ama 'lo'oen* and the return of *mula puda* the house of the 'lo'oen-givers dies out. In such cases the returned *mula puda* directly replaces the last woman of the 'lo'oen-giving house as her "daughter" (which, with respect to the classification of kin, she is) and the replanted mother and her descendants take the place of the defunct house in the precedence of houses within the clan.

An expert in matters of *ama 'lo'oen* once commented in speaking of the importance of *mula puda* that the *pla*
pina group of women (the new house created by the return of their father's forelock) are prohibited from requesting the return of the blood of their brothers until mula puda is returned by them to their own source house. He went on to say that this rule is almost never observed. In practice this regulation at least insures that each exchange of 'lo'en is an occasion on which both parties to the exchange take stock of their obligations in the economy of blood transactions.

A woman who is returned to her source clan as mula puda is expected to marry a son of the house of her ina ama nawu tung, thus cementing her position in the clan in the same fashion as the marriage of a tudi manu to her father's sister's son. As can be seen from the following diagram (Figure 10.5), however, the marriage of mula puda to a son of her ina ama nawu tung entails a marriage between people who are nara wine, "brother and sister" (MMMMZDDDS/MMMZDDDD). The Ata Tana Ai do not view this marriage as contravening marriage regulations. The exchange of ama 'lo'en results in an absolute change in the clan identity of the woman exchanged, and in the social identity of her descendants. The identity of their blood, which is fixed by birth into a particular maternal descent group, cannot be changed. For the Ata Tana Ai, society is composed of clans, that is, groups larger than houses, because the
Figure 10.5: The Exchange of Ama 'Lo'En and Mula Puda

Upper case letters indicate clans
Roman numerals indicate houses
Arabic numerals indicate blood lines
blood of Tana Ai houses resides in different clans. From the point of view of an individual house, relations with another clan are necessary in order to bring about the consolidation of the blood of brothers and sisters of the house. Thus while blood cannot be changed, its temporary affiliation with a different group of a higher order — another clan — allows it to be rejoined periodically. Upon this rejoining of the blood of brothers and sisters, the survival of the house depends. Thus for a woman who is *tudi manu* the affiliation of her blood with that of her *ina ama baha boter* group is real and permanent. The origin of her blood in a house of another clan, that of her *ina ama nawu tung*, and its identity with that house, is no less real but must be expressed in the idiom of clanship and affinity by means of which the alliance between *lo'ên* exchanging clans is expressed. The result is a vehicle by which identities of blood can be altered metaphorically by an independently constituted system of social classification (clanship) in terms of which the marriage of brothers and sisters is not only allowed, but is desirable. If the father's blood is returned to its source by *ama 'lo'ên* transactions, then mother's blood is returned in the exchange of *mula pada*, and is rejoined by the marriage of a brother and sister.

Alliance in Tana Ai is expressed in an idiom and is worked out in a logic by which sisters and brothers
are made marriageable. The marriage that results from the return of father's blood is one between a man and a woman who are *wué wari*, "siblings of the same sex", and who are thus not siblings; and the marriage that results from the return of *mula puda* is between a man and a woman who are not siblings, but who are *nara winé*, brother and sister. Thus, in response to my query regarding the marriageability of persons who are classificatorily *nara winé* on the occasion of the return of *mula puda*, one informant commented, "Méin tia nané ba'a, inu hun golo", "that blood is old, a long time ago". He then went on to liken the receipt of *mula puda* by *ina ama nanu tung* to the interest paid by Chinese merchants on money placed with them:

> We give a mother to live in another clan, then we get back profit (*mula puda*). We can compare this to a savings account. If we place a hundred thousand rupiah with the Chinese, then each year we take the interest.17

The return of *mula puda* is seen as a gift. The *tudi manu* transferred from her source clan and her descendants produce many children who, in the span of four generations, enrich the clan of the wealth-giving house. In return for these children, *ina ama baha boter* returns a child (*mula puda*) to replace the *ina puda* in her source clan. The reduced prestation of *to'o balik*,18 maintains the essentially asymmetric character of the overall exchange.
Indeed, the characterization of the to’o balik exchanged for mula puda provides an insight into the views of the Ata Tana Ai regarding the exchanges of women generally between clans. Child-givers can demand to’o balik of a desired value in return for the woman they forfeit as ama 'lo' en. But for mula puda, the 'lo' en-receiving house, who are seen as simply sharing with ina ama nawu tung some of the "wealth" (i.e., descendants) produced by the receipt of their tudi manu, must accept silently and without protest the tusk and gong they are offered. The essential difference between the exchanges of ama 'lo' en and mula puda is that the former establishes alliance between two clans while the latter reaffirms the alliance. The Ata Tana Ai say that to argue about the value of to’o balik given for mula puda is "lué muné repo", "to break the knotted cord". When during a ceremony to mark the exchange of mula puda from Ipir Wai Brama to Liwu Pigan Bitak a man commented that the people of Liwu were being stingy with their to’o balik, especially since the woman exchanged already had children who were to accompany their mother into the new clan, a ritual expert admonished him saying:

"Huk tudi boro boir Think of the knife that cuts the throat,
Huk manu toki mata Think of the chicken that scratches out eyes."
Here the mention of "tudi manu" was a reminder that an old alliance was being reaffirmed and that to behave other than politely with an allied clan would be to "cut the throat, to scratch out the eyes" of the ally.

The affirmation of alliance is further expressed in a metaphor for the elephant tusk and gong exchanged: "tio ha korak ha", "one walking stick, one coconut shell bowl". An informant put it, "From these ancestors (the mothers of the house beginning with the ina puda) comes one walking stick (i.e., the elephant tusk, on which both partners lean together), people count the tusk as one tusk given back". Thus the exchange is between partner clans who lean one upon the other as upon a walking stick, and eat from the same bowl.

While the marriage of mula puda to a son of her ina ama nawu tung appears to be incestuous according to the kin classes of the partners of the marriage, by counting the exchange of husbands as between established houses and the new houses created by the transfers of ama 'lo'en and mula puda, it is in accordance with the exchange of husbands in the system of alliances between Tana Ai houses. In Figure 10.5, the following exchanges of husbands are made:

\[ A: I_1 + B: I_2, \]
\[ A: I_1 + A: II_2, \]
\[ B: I_2 + B: II_2; \text{ or} \]
\[ A: I_1 + B: I_2 \rightarrow B: II_2 \]
\[ A: II_2 \]
These exchanges are fully characteristic of asymmetric alliance.

Establishing full alliance between two clans requires many generations. Like marriage itself, alliance relationships grow and are elaborated with time. Houses and clans that have exchanged both ama 'lo'en and mula puda are said to be hoer saket, a "hook of friendship". Once houses are hoer saket, the exchange of ama 'lo'en is said not to be required in subsequent marriages between them. This rule notwithstanding, because genealogical relations are not usually remembered past the ina puda of a house, 'lo'en is always returned in cases on interclan marriage, and alliances are constantly recreated between houses and clans. It should be noted in this regard that 'lo'en is not returned as a result of marriages between houses of the same clan because, given the order of precedence of houses of the clan, which is in all cases known, the relationships of hoer saket are clear and the return of blood is not required.

10.4 The Language of Tana Ai Alliance

The relationship terminology of Sara Tana Ai constitutes a system of categories by which any one Ata Tana Ai can classify any other Ata Tana Ai. Kin terms are also used in combination and when so used their meanings are
extended to denote broader categories of relationships between groups of consanguineal and affinal kin by which alliances between houses and clans are articulated.

Examination of the kin terms of Sara Tana Ai (cf. pp. 301-304) and their meanings reveals three classes of terms: lineal terms (ama/me'e, ina, mo'a, du'a, mé), co-lineal terms (nara, winé) and terms with both colinear and affinal referents (mamé, bé, wá/wari, kéra, ura, pu). Terms used in combination associate two or more of the core terms of relationship in reference to a group of people who are in each case allied to the speaker in particular ways. Even when a combination consists of only lineal terms they designate a group, and imply an opposed one, between whom there is ritual responsibility and obligation. The categories of alliance commonly denoted by kin terms used in combination are those below.

1. ina mé'e: All of a person's lineal ancestors (M, F, MM, MF, FM, FF, ...) who together constitute the group of Ego's consanguineal kin who are affiliated with two or more houses.

2. ina ama/ina mé'e: When used without additional specification such as ina ama nau tuung or ina ama baha boter, ina ama connotes all lineal and collateral ancestors and contemporaries of a person's house and, more generally, of a person's clan. Both ina mé'e and ina ama, it should
be noted, are combinations of strictly lineal kin terms.

*ina mé'e* is used to mean an individual's parents, while *ina ama* always connotes a group that is corporate in some respect.

3. *mé pu*: Ego's children, sisters' children, brothers' children and more distant descendants of Ego's house are *mé pu*. Thus all persons of Ego's grandchildren's generation with whom he or she can count either a consanguineal or affinal relationship are, as a group, Ego's *mé pu*. The term is used as one of reference, for example: "Mé pu nimun gawan golo", "He (or she) has many descendants". Older women frequently use the term *mé pu* in a more restricted sense to mean all their descendants within the *lepo*, i.e., the children who are the source of a woman's prestige and the wealth of her house. Most generally, *mé pu* includes all the people of a younger generation in a person's *ina ama na wu tung*, own, and *ina ama baha* boter groups. The group of *mé pu* thus cuts across boundaries of clans and *lepo*. At major ceremonies, and particularly for *likon* (second stage mortuary ceremonies), the du'a *luka* (clan headwoman) and her "sisters" are very much concerned that, "Mé pu lé'u mai sawé", "All our descendants are present". To speak of *mé pu* is to rejoin verbally a group divided among different houses. The term reaggregates conceptually social groups that arise from the division of blood of the children of brothers.
and sisters and its distribution in several houses. Speaking of his mé pu, a person indicates all his or her descendants, including those affiliated with other houses who have served to create alliances between Ego's own people and others, as well as Ego's heirs within the house.

4. *ina pu* are all the women of other clans who have married men of the house of the speaker. The combined terms *ina pu* may be glossed as "mothers from whom blood is returned" in ama 'lo'en transactions. *Pu* as a kin term is ZC (m.s.) or BC (w.s.) and is SW and DH. The category *ina pu* and its relationship to Ego is sometimes expressed as "pu depo detu" or "pu depo ora", "son's wife who follows (us)" or "son's wife who comes along with (us)". It is from the group of *ina pu* that the daughters of brothers of a house are returned. The returned women are "*ina ganu tepo ora (amin)*", "mothers who follow behind (us)" in the order of precedence of houses within the child-receiving clan since in the exchange of ama 'lo'en the houses founded by women returned as father's blood are inferior in precedence to the houses of their fathers' sisters.

5. *pu winé*: A man's sisters and sisters' children with whom he shares rights in land, his clan house and ceremonial goods. *Pu winé* are the women to whom a man presents the jaws of pigs and deer which he hunts in the
forest, and toward whom he has ritual obligations such as organizing the planting and harvest rituals performed each year in their gardens. More generally a man speaks of his pu winé, in contradistinction to his wife's people (if he has married out of his clan), to mean his lepo (clan) to whom his hair and fingernails are returned after his death.

6. winé kéra: "sister and sister's husband", a group which includes people of two houses and, in the case of interclan marriage, cuts across clan and lepo boundaries. It is also a grouping which, from the point of view of individuals, dissolves with the death of either the sister or her husband. Although a man may be relieved of assisting his sister and her husband with his labor when the brother-in-law dies, the larger alliance between the houses remains intact. While interclan marriages initiate alliances which are articulated by exchanges of blood in subsequent generations, the Ata Tana Ai conceive the affinal relationship between particular people to be temporary in that the 'loé unur (hair and fingernails) of partners to a marriage are returned to their respective lepo. Men are conceived to be loaned to another house or clan in marriage, and the purpose of such loans is expressed in the saying from ritual language, "ou wai pata mé", "reap the woman, give birth to the child". In death the child producing couple is split, the woman returning to her "source" lepo and the husband to his.
7. *ina wine nara ama*: This relationship is most simply defined as that between a woman and her descendants who are *tudi manu*, that is, given as "father's forelock", to another clan and her brothers (her children's mother's brothers) who remain in her natal lineage. The expression *ina ama nawu tung* defines the house that gives "father's forelock", while the expression *ina wine nara ama* pertains to responsibilities and obligations which obtain between *ina ama nawu tung* and their sister given as *tudi manu* after the exchange takes place. The house who receives 'lo'en gains rights to their new *tudi manu*. As one informant put it, "A'u paha tudi pulu, woter manu lima, rimu tudi pulu manu lima di'in naha a'u ina ama", "I exchange goods for ten knives and pay for five chickens, those ten knives and five chickens must listen to me, their *ina ama* (baha boter)". In matters of land, for example, a woman exchanged as "father's forelock" must turn to her *ina ama baha boter*, but the men of her *ina ama nawu tung* are still responsible for her spiritual well-being. These men, who are of her *sukun puan*, her "source clan", are her *nara ama*, her "brothers fathers" to whom she is *ina winé*, their "mother sister".

When a woman who has been exchanged as *ama 'lo'en*, or her children, suffer illness, poor harvests or other calamities, or when they transgress *hadat* by committing *halan hulir*, "errors forgettings", they may take a gift
of food called "kéké ga" ("cooked rice eaten") or "dangé ga" ("cooking to be eaten") to one of their nara ama, usually a son of the woman living in her natal lepo. The nara ama, as du'a kula mo'an kara, "the ritual specialists who seek the source and determine the cause", summons the ancestors of the lepo ("gapun blupur geté", "call forward the big old ones") by performing a ritual at the central house post of the lepo and requests that they intercede on behalf of the afflicted sister or sister's child.

In the context of ritual a house refers to its women alienated as ama 'lo'en as ina winé (mothers sisters), and the phrase ina winé nara ama expresses the residual unity of men and women of the house even after the giving of "father's forelock". This unity is founded on the common blood between ina winé and nara ama and on their still having the same ina mē'e, "mother and father (genetrix and genitor)".

The ina winé nara ama relationship is especially important to a woman given as father's blood so long as she is tudi manu, that is, among the last women exchanged by her ina ama baha boter, and before she fully establishes her position in her new clan by "moving to the source". But the relationship is a permanent one. In one case I recorded, Oné (cf. Figure 12.2), a woman whose "source clan" was Livu but who was near the center of Ipir Wai Brama, failed to provide a man of Ipir with a spoon at a
ritual. The man was insulted and demanded restitution. Oné appealed to Glalek, her *nara ama*, who stepped in and confronted the man, telling him to be calm and reminding him that Oné was "*ina winé a'u nawu na'i*", his "mother sister who (he) placed" in Ipir.

A man seeking the assistance of his mother's natal clan in a similar way appeals to his *mamé mo'a*, his mother's brothers. *Mo'a* is an honorific form of address and is used also to refer to *mamé* who are more distantly related than actual mother's brother.

The close relationship between people of a "source" house and the women whom they transfer to other clans (and their descendants) is expressed when people so related recall their common *ina mé'e bua gaé*, "mother who gives birth, father who cradles in his arms".

In all cases, simple kin terms are not the specifiers of alliance groups or categories. Instead, the Ata Tana Ai combine simple kin terms into complex expressions that denote the various axes along which relations of alliance between groups are articulated. But the use of kin terms in this extended fashion primarily serves in discourse about alliance from the point of view of individual Ata Tana Ai. The language of alliance thus employs idioms that are ego-centered in their core meanings. The extension of kin terms to encompass the social classifications of the alliance system is a metaphorical one whereby purely ego-centered terms encode the universe of relations that bind groups into society.
Chapter Eleven

MARRIAGE, ALLIANCE AND THE PRECEDENCE
OF HOUSES WITHIN CLANS

11.1 Introduction

A woman returned to her father's clan is in some respects a liminal figure. She has forfeited rights in her natal clan by being removed from it. The payment of ceremonial goods (*to'o balik*) for her represents a loss to her new clan, and specifically to her father's house whose women have exchanged *to'o balik* for her. The expense to her wealth-giving *ina ama* of her *leto* ("purchase", "exchange")\(^1\) plus her mixed blood (she brings with her the maternal blood of a house of the clan into which her father married) mean that she can gain full rights in her new clan only by marriage to a son of that clan and preferably to a man who belongs to her father's sister's house. But it is her children who legitimate her new affiliation, and in whom her position is secured.

Thus in the view of the Ata Tana Ai, marriage is less a matter of alliance between two clans, although such alliance is significant, than one of providing a woman's father's sisters and their daughters with allies within
their clan. Being of different maternal blood, no fiction can allow a woman to be assimilated into a house whose organizing principle and definition is identity of blood. But a woman returned as father's blood can found a new house, allied to the house of her father, father's sisters and father's sisters' daughters, i.e., the women who are her ina ama baha boter, the "mothers and fathers who buy and pay" within the clan of her father.

The ideology of blood requires the rejoining of blood that is divided between brothers and sisters. The return of the brother's blood to his sisters requires marriages with groups other than the natal house. These marriages both create and sustain the system of house and clan alliance that characterizes the social order of Tana Wai Brama. The return of a brother's blood, and its vicarious rejoining to the blood of his sisters by means of the marriage of their children has another result of fundamental significance for the larger organization of society. The marriages of women to men of their father's sisters' houses create new houses within the paternal clan. In essence, the alliance system itself and the exchanges that are required by it result in the segmentation of houses within clans. The segmentation and proliferation of houses is an indirect result of the ambivalent identification of brothers and sisters as possessing the same blood, but forbidden to one another. Thus every brother and sister
dyad is potentially the source of a new house within their clan.

The houses within clans are ordered by a hierarchical system of ranking by which established houses are superior to the houses founded by newly returned daughters of the men of the older houses. The crucial and animating relationships in this system are those between sequences of women who are related as fathers' sisters and brothers' daughters. Fathers' sisters are husband-givers and are superior to their brothers' daughters. Nevertheless, between a man's sister and his daughter are strong solidifying bonds of consanguinity, affinity and reciprocal ritual obligations.

The following two sections are devoted to an exploration of the significance for the social organization of Tana Wai Brama of these relationships and the systems of intraclan and interclan alliance in which they are embedded.

11.2 Marriage and Alliance

Marriage in Tana Wai Brama is regulated insofar as it is improper for people of the same blood to marry. Descent group and house exogamy implies that marriages can be contracted between men and women of either the same or different clans. The ratio of interclan marriages to marriages within the clan (where marriages involving the transfer of a woman into her husband's clan are counted as endogamous) is, in the genealogies from Watuwolon, 2:1.
It should be noted that Tana Ai as a region is practically endogamous. This is especially true of Tana Wai Brama. Of 304 marriages recorded in the domain, only eleven, or 3.6%, were between people of the domain and people outside the valley (cf. Table 11.1).

Beyond the proscription of identical blood, alliance, as has been demonstrated, is not a matter of the prescription of marriage, but of the relations of blood and its replacement through the transfer of daughters from the maternal to the paternal clan. Only one of a man's daughters is required to replace his blood in his clan, and his other daughters are free to contract marriages in accordance with their own desires and subject only to the restriction against marriage with men who are classified as their nara (B, MZS, FBS, ...). Indeed, as noted, the Ata Tana Ai express an ostensible preference for contracting marriages within the clan. It is the daughters not exchanged as father's forelock who are free to marry endogamously.

Whereas the failure of a woman who is tudi manu to marry a man of her paternal house or clan is treated with tolerance, and incest itself can usually be "corrected" by finding a relationship between two people whereby their marriage is not incestuous, the direct exchange of men and women between houses is a more serious matter. Five cases of such marriages are recorded in the genealogies from Watuwolon (see Figure 11.1). In the first two cases,
1. Liwu Pigan Bitaki ↔ Ipir Wai Bramas:

2. Ipir Wai Bramai ↔ Mau:

3. Ipir Wai Bramai ↔ Mau:

4. Liwu Pigan Bitaki ↔ Mau:

5. Tapo7 ↔ Liwu Blé'it5:

Figure 11.1: Cases of Direct Exchange Recorded at Watuwolon
brothers and sisters were exchanged directly between houses that are otherwise unrelated. Informants said that these marriages were improper because the return of the blood of the men would lead to the direct return of to'o balik. While there is no explicit ideology of asymmetric affinal alliance in Tana Ai, there is an immutable rule that to receive to'o balik directly from those to whom it is given is improper and is the same as incest and cannibalism. To'o balik must pass through a third house before it can be accepted again, and the prohibition of direct exchange of ceremonial goods is expressed in ritual language:

Tudi pulu manu lina
Eté ami leto tudi
Eté ami pana manu
Ami lé'e ooa wihi wi'in
Ami lé'e inu lêma tebon
Blau mé'í lêma waé
Blemuk etan tubu ta'i
Blau tudi kedo ukun
Blemuk manu bano baler
Huk tudi boro boir
Huk manu toki mata

Ten knives and five chickens, Here we exchange the knife, Here we give over the chicken, We do not wish to eat and feed on ourselves, We do not wish to drink and ingest our own bodies, Fearful of vomiting the blood, Hungry from flesh congesting the belly, Fearful of the knife dancing backwards, Hungry because the chicken returns, Think of the knife cutting the throat, Think of the chicken scratching out the eyes.

Regarding each of the first two cases of direct exchange, informants said care was taken that the same tusks and gongs given in exchange for 'lo'en were not
returned to their sources. Furthermore, ma'a dan (cf. Chapter Nine, p.296) ceremonies were conducted on the occasions of the marriages of Ema and Bahan and Géhing and Suban, the second marriages of each set.

In the third case (Figure 11.1), house eleven of Ipir Wai Brama gave two men in marriage to house six of Mau, which returned one man to Ipir Wai Brama. Informants said that the marriages of Nura to Urong and Seké to Wai would be "forgotten" and that for the purposes of ama 'lo'en, only the blood of Dodé would be returned by Mau to Ipir Wai Brama. It should be noted that the marriage of Wai to Seké was doubly "improper" because she married her MBWB, who was her ama (father).

In cases four and five (Figure 11.1), the marriages of Rosina to Hélu and Lona to Ilé are of the form MBS/FZD, i.e., between persons of categories which later will confound the return of 'lo'en between the houses.4

Despite the preference for intraclan marriage expressed by the Ata Tana Ai, examination of genealogies of the residents of the Watuwolon region of Tana Wai Brama reveals that only 33% of the marriages recorded for seven clans of the area were between men and women of the same clan. Table 11.1 is a summary of the genealogical data from Watuwolon, and Table 11.2 records the numbers of interclan and intraclan marriages from which this proportion is calculated.
Table 11.1: Summary of Genealogies from Watuwolon

1. Total number of Ata Tana Ai recorded in genealogies 880
2. Number of houses identified in genealogies 87
3. Total number of marriages recorded in genealogies 304
4. Number of marriages identifiable by the houses of both spouses 267
5. Marriages between Ata Watuwolon and people from outside Tana Ai
   Tana Ai women = outsider men 9
   Tana Ai men = outsider women 2
6. Marriages of women exchanged as ama 'lo'en and mula puda:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ama 'lo'en</th>
<th>mula puda</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. women transferred = man of wealth-giving clan</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. women transferred ≠ man of wealth-giving clan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. women transferred who did not marry</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. women for whom no marriage was recorded in genealogies</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n = 56</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>Total marriages recorded</td>
<td>Endogamous marriages</td>
<td>Exogamous marriages</td>
<td>Ama 'lo'en married into clan (% of total marriages) / total women received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. INB</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>21 (31%)</td>
<td>36 (54%)</td>
<td>9 (13%) / 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mau</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>19 (23%)</td>
<td>55 (68%)</td>
<td>7 (9%) / 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Liwu</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>9 (16%)</td>
<td>38 (69%)</td>
<td>7 (13%) / 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tapo</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3 (12%)</td>
<td>22 (85%)</td>
<td>1 (4%) / 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Magé</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>9 (82%)</td>
<td>0 (0%) / 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Iri</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>6 (60%)</td>
<td>2 (20%) / 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Lówuk</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4 (24%)</td>
<td>11 (65%)</td>
<td>2 (12%) / 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>60 (22%)</td>
<td>177 (66%)</td>
<td>28 (10%) / 52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The high proportion of clan exogamous marriages (67%) in the sample from Watuwolon has produced a marked asymmetric pattern of alliance, as can be seen from Table 11.3. While the Ata Tana Ai do not expressly value marriages that complete an alliance cycle, there are thirty nine minimal alliance cycles (i.e., sequences of marriages in the form House\textsubscript{1} + H\textsubscript{2} + H\textsubscript{3} + H\textsubscript{4}) to be found in the genealogies from the Watuwolon area (see Table 11.4) and there are other closed cycles involving more than three houses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Affinal Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IWB1: Ipir Wa'ir Brama</td>
<td>IL: Ipir Lédon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPB: Liwu Pigan Bitak</td>
<td>LWP: Liwu Watar Piren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB: Liwu Blé'it</td>
<td>LA: Liwu Anak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN: Ipir Nuha</td>
<td>IH: Ipir Bébing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LD: Liwu Diwang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates direct exchange
Ø indicates no marriage recorded

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IWB1 → IWB1</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø → IWB2</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iri7 → IWB3</td>
<td>IWB7, Mau13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB7 → IWB4</td>
<td>(Ata Krowé)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB11 → IWB5</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPB1* → IWB6</td>
<td>IWB7, IWB10, LPB1*, Léwuk9, Magé3 (2x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB3, IWB6, IWB11, Mau13*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPB1, LPB2, Léwuk6 → IWB7</td>
<td>IWB4, IWB8, Mau6 (2x), Mau8, Mau13*, Mau16, Léwuk5, LB5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB7 → IWB8</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapo7 → IWB9</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB6 → IWB10</td>
<td>LPB1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mau4, Mau6*, Mau7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPB1, LD1 → IWB11</td>
<td>IWB1, IWB7, IWB12, IWB15, Mau2, Mau8 (2x)*, Mau13, Mau15, LPB2, Tapo7, LB5, Magé3, IWB5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB11 → IWB12</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mau7, IH7, Tapo7 → IWB13</td>
<td>IWB11, IWB14, Mau13, Tapo7, IWP1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB13 → IWB14</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB11, Iri9 → IWB15</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mau7 → IWB16</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LD7 → IWB17</td>
<td>Magé3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LD7 → IWB18</td>
<td>IN2 (2x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? → IWB19</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iri2 → Mau1</td>
<td>IH7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWB11, LPB1 → Mau2</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mau7 → Mau3</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{LPB} &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_4 \rightarrow \text{IWB}_1, \\
\text{(Ata Boruk)} &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_5 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{IWB}_2(2x), \text{IWB}_1(2x) &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_6 \rightarrow \text{IWB}_1 \\
\text{Mau}_7, \text{LPB}_1(2x) &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_6 \rightarrow \text{IWB}_1 \\
\text{Mau}_7, \text{Tapo}_1, \text{LB}_5 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_7 \rightarrow \text{IWB}_1, \text{IWB}_1, \text{Mau}_6, \text{Mau}_8(2x), \\
\text{Mau}_9, \text{Mau}_{10}, \text{LPB}_1, \text{Tapo}_1, \text{Mau}_8 &\rightarrow \\
\text{IWB}_7, \text{Mau}_9(2x), \text{LPB}_1 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_8 \rightarrow \text{Iri}_2 \\
\text{Mau}_7, \text{Mau}_{16}, \text{Wat}_1 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_9 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{Mau}_7, \text{IH}_1 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_{10} \rightarrow \text{LPB}_1, \text{LB}_2, \text{Mag}_3 \\
\text{Mau}_{13} &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_{11} \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{Mau}_7 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_{12} \rightarrow \text{Mau}_{13}(2x) \\
\text{IWB}_3, \text{IWB}_7^*, \text{IWB}_1^*, \text{IWB}_1^*, \text{Mau}_{12}(2x), \text{LPB}_1^*, \text{Tapo}_7(2x), &\rightarrow \text{IWB}_7^*, \text{Mau}_7(2x), \text{Mau}_4, \text{Mau}_4, \text{Mau}_4, \text{Mau}_4, \text{IWB}_1^*, \text{LPB}_1^*, \text{LPB}_4, \text{Lewuk}_8, \text{IH}_1 \\
\text{Mau}_{13}, \text{Tapo}_1 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_{14} \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{IWB}_1 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_{15} \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{IWB}_7 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_{16} \rightarrow \text{Mau}_9, \text{LPB}_2 \\
\text{Lewuk}_7 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_{17} \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{Mau}_7 &\rightarrow \text{Mau}_{18} \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{IWB}_8^*, \text{IWB}_1^*, \text{Mau}_7, \text{Mau}_1^*, \text{Mau}_1^*, \text{Tapo}_1(2x), \text{Lewuk}_8, &\rightarrow \text{IWB}_8^*, \text{IWB}_7, \text{IWB}_1^*, \text{Mau}_2, \text{Mau}_4, \text{Mau}_4(2x), \text{Mau}_8, \text{Mau}_{13}, \text{LPB}_2, \text{LPB}_4, \text{LPB}_6(2x), \text{LPB}_7, \text{LB}_4, \text{LB}_5 \\
\text{IWB}_1^*, \text{Mau}_{16}, \text{LPB}_1, &\rightarrow \text{IWB}_7, \text{Tapo}_7(2x), \text{LB}_3 \\
\text{Lewuk}_8(2x), \text{Mag}_2 &\rightarrow \text{LPB}_1, \rightarrow \text{IWB}_7, \text{Tapo}_7(2x), \text{LB}_3 \\
\text{Tapo}_7 &\rightarrow \text{LPB}_3 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{LPB}_1 &\rightarrow \text{LPB}_4 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{Tapo}_7 &\rightarrow \text{LPB}_5 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{Mau}_{13}, \text{LPB}_1(2x) &\rightarrow \text{LPB}_4 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{LPB}_1 &\rightarrow \text{LPB}_7 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{LD}_1 &\rightarrow \text{Tapo}_1 \rightarrow \text{Mau}_7, \text{Mau}_{14}, \text{LPB}_1(2x), \rightarrow \\
\text{Tapo}_2, \text{Tapo}_7, \text{Mag}_3 \\
\text{Tapo}_1 &\rightarrow \text{Tapo}_2 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
? &\rightarrow \text{Tapo}_3 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\ne &\rightarrow \text{Tapo}_4 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{Iri}_2 &\rightarrow \text{Tapo}_5 \rightarrow \emptyset \\
\text{Mau}_7 &\rightarrow \text{Tapo}_6 \rightarrow \text{Tapo}_7
\end{align*}
\]
IWB1, IWB13, LPB2 (2x), Tapo1, Tapo6, LB5* → Tapo7 → Mau13 (2x), LPB3, LB5*, LD1, IWB8

?# → Lówuk1 → Ø
?# → Lówuk2 → Ø
?# → Lówuk3 → Ø
Lówuk7 → Lówuk4 → (Lówuk Natargahar)
IWB7, Iri5 → Lówuk5 → LPB1, LPB2 (2x), Iri2, Iri4
? → Lówuk6 → IWB7
Lówuk7 → Lówuk7 → Mau13
Mau13 → Lówuk8 → Ø
IWB6 → Lówuk9 → Ø
? → LB1 → Ø
Mau10 → LB2 → Ø
LPB2 → LB3 → Ø
LPB1 → LB4 → Ø

IWB7, IWB11, LPB1, Tapo7* → LB5 → Mau7, Tapo7*
LD7 → LB6 → Ø
Liwu Ri'i Dueng → Magê1 → LPB1
LA7 → Magê2 → LPB2

IWB6 (2x), IWB11, IWB17, Mau10, Tapo1 → Magê3 → Ø
? → Magê4 → Ø
? → IN1 → Mau13
IWB18 (2x) → IN2 → IN3, LD1
IN2 → IN3 → Ø
Iri2 → Iri1 → LPB1
Mau8, Lówuk5 → Iri2 → Mau1, Tapo5, Iri5
Iri-Lówuk7 → Iri3 → Ø
Lówuk5 → Iri4 → IWB15
Iri2 → Iri5 → Lówuk5
Tapo7, IN2 → LD1 → IWB11, Mau13, LPB2, Tapo1
Iri-Lówuk7 → LD2 → Ø
Rawa7 → Rawa1 → Ø
Rawa7 → Rawa2 → Ø
? → IL1 → Ø
IWB_{13} \rightarrow \text{LMP}_1 \rightarrow \text{IWB}_7

\text{Liwu}_2 \rightarrow \text{LA}_1 \rightarrow \text{LPB}_1

? \rightarrow \text{Watu}_1 \rightarrow \text{Mau}_9, \text{Watu}_2

\text{Watu}_1 \rightarrow \text{Watu}_2 \rightarrow \emptyset

\text{Mau}_{13} \rightarrow \text{II}_1 \rightarrow \text{Mau}_{10}
Table 11.4: Completed Minimal Alliance Cycles among Houses of the Watuwolon Region, Tana Wai Brama (Husband-giver → Husband-taker).

| Cycle | LPB1 → IWB6 → IWB7 → LPB1 | LPB1 → IWB7 → Mau6 → IWB11 | LPB1 → IWB7 → Mau13 → LPB1 | LPB2 → IWB7 → Mau16 → LPB2 | LPB1 → IWB7 → Lówuk5 → LPB1 | LPB2 → IWB7 → Lówuk5 → LPB2 | LPB1 → IWB11 → IWB7 → LPB1 | Mau6 → IWB11 → IWB7 → Mau6 | Mau7 → IWB11 → Mau13 → Mau7 | LPB1 → IWB11 → Mau13 → LPB1 | Mau7 → IWB11 → LB5 → Mau7 | IWB7 → Mau6 → IWB11 → IWB7 | LB5 → Mau7 → IWB11 → LB5 | Mau13 → Mau7 → IWB11 → Mau13 | LB5 → Mau7 → LB1 → LB5 | Mau13 → Mau7 → LB1 → Mau13 | LPB1 → Mau13 → Mau7 → LPB1 | IWB11 → Mau13 → Mau7 → IWB11 | IWB7 → Mau16 → LPB2 → IWB7 | Lówuk5 → LPB1 → IWB7 → Lówuk5 | Mau7 → LPB1 → Mau13 → Mau7 | Mau7 → LPB1 → LB5 → Mau7 | LPB1 → LPB2 → IWB7 → LPB1 | Mau16 → LPB2 → IWB7 → Mau16 | Lówuk5 → LPB2 → IWB7 → Lówuk5 | LD1 → Tapo1 → Tapo7 → LD1 | INB11 → Tapo7 → LD1 → INB11 | LPB2 → Tapo7 → LD1 → LPB2 | Tapo1 → Tapo7 → LD1 → Tapo1 | INB7 → Lówuk5 → LPB1 → INB7 |
31. IWB$_7$ $\rightarrow$ Lewuk$_5$ $\rightarrow$ LPB$_2$ $\rightarrow$ IWB$_7$
32. Iri$_5$ $\rightarrow$ Lewuk$_5$ $\rightarrow$ Iri$_2$ $\rightarrow$ Iri$_5$
33. IWB$_{11}$ $\rightarrow$ LB$_5$ $\rightarrow$ Mau$_7$ $\rightarrow$ IWB$_{11}$
34. LPB$_1$ $\rightarrow$ LB$_5$ $\rightarrow$ Mau$_7$ $\rightarrow$ LPB$_1$
35. Lewuk$_5$ $\rightarrow$ Iri$_2$ $\rightarrow$ Iri$_5$ $\rightarrow$ Lewuk$_5$
36. Iri$_2$ $\rightarrow$ Iri$_5$ $\rightarrow$ Lewuk$_5$ $\rightarrow$ Iri$_2$
37. Tapo$_7$ $\rightarrow$ LD$_1$ $\rightarrow$ IWB$_{11}$ $\rightarrow$ Tapo$_7$
38. Tapo$_7$ $\rightarrow$ LD$_1$ $\rightarrow$ LPB$_2$ $\rightarrow$ Tapo$_7$
39. Tapo$_7$ $\rightarrow$ LD$_1$ $\rightarrow$ Tapo$_1$ $\rightarrow$ Tapo$_7$
40. IWB$_{11}$ $\rightarrow$ Mau$_{13}$ $\rightarrow$ IWB$_7$ $\rightarrow$ Mau$_6$ $\rightarrow$ IWB$_{11}$

......
11.3 Oda: The Ordering of Houses Within Clans

The houses that constitute a clan are ordered by the precedence of the incorporation into the clan of their founding mothers by means of ama 'lo' en transactions. The sequence of ama 'lo' en establishes the oda, the precedence of the houses. Oda is a word of many meanings, and can refer (1) to the precedence of descent groups (houses) within a clan; (2) to the body of rights and obligations pertaining to the rituals of the clan as they are held by the different houses; and (3) to the responsibility for the rituals of the domain as it is distributed among the clans of the domain. Oda also denotes the access (or the degree of access) of a group to knowledge of these rituals. In the last sense, oda is a synonym of plé'a ru' ut, and one speaks of those people in a clan who are designated to "jaga oda", "to guard" or "to hold the knowledge of rituals and the ceremonial goods (sopé, wélut, lepo, clan histories, etc.) of the clan".

In every clan there is one descent line that is puan, "source", "central", "original", and whose members claim descent from the first ancestors of the clan to arrive in Tana Ai. Relationships between living ina ama puan, "source mothers and fathers" and deceased ancestors with whom actual genealogical links are known, and the du'a mo'an sukun, "ancestors of the clan" who are named in the ngeng ngerang
of a clan as its founders, are not actually known genealogically. With time, houses that may actually be descended from original ancestors die out. When this happens, another collateral house "moves to the center" of the clan and replaces the defunct house in the *oda* ranking of the clan.

People do not think of themselves as occupying a particular rank in a rigid ordering of houses, but speak of the members of other houses as being "wa'a toi", "more to the front" or "earlier", "or "ina ama toe mai", "mothers and fathers who follow behind". These expressions indicate the nature of the alliances between houses. *Ina ama toe mai* are houses to whom Ego's house has given husbands in the exchange of *ama 'lo'ен* (or from whom Ego's house has taken women as father's blood) or who are husband-takers of husband-takers, while houses that are "é'i wa'a, "to the front", are those from whom Ego's own house has taken husband's (or to whom the founding mother of Ego's house was given as father's blood) or who are husband-givers to Ego's husband-givers. It should be noted in this regard that while an individual may calculate his relationship to houses of other clans as *toé mai* (wife-givers to whom he or she is *ina ama 'é'i wa'a*) or as *'é'i wa'a* (wife-takers to whom he is *toé mai*), it is only within the clan that the relative (and circular) ranking implicit in asymmetric alliance is rendered as a system of ranked statuses. This is true because only within the clan does
the alliance system "pile up" against one element (the source house) of the alliance cycle. Thus, among the houses of a single clan, there can be no closed cycle of marriages as a closure would contravene the asymmetry of the oda sequence. That is to say, affinal cycles involving two houses of the same clan can only be closed by two marriages, one husband-taking and the other husband-giving, with a house of another clan. Hence, in Table 11.4 there are no completed cycles consisting of three houses of the same clan.

Informants agreed that marrying within a clan is "kurang repot, lebih baik (Indonesian)", "less complicated, better", and that people generally prefer marrying someone from their own clan. The principle that marriages contrary to the directionality of affinal exchanges within the clan are not permitted means that a minimal affinal alliance cycle can include, at most, only two houses of one clan. The third house of the cycle must be of a second clan (figure 11.2).

Figure 11.2: Relations of Alliance Between Three Houses of Two Clans
Clearly, two thirds of the marriages in such a cycle, from the point of view of the clan as a whole, must be with members of a different clan, while only one third can be endogamous with respect to clan affiliation. Indeed, the proportion of marriages between people of the same clan to the number of marriages between people of different clans, in the total sample of genealogies from Watuwolon, is 1:2, or 33% (cf. Table 11.2).

The mechanics of the segmentation of houses within clans can now be examined in detail. Figure 11.3 depicts the formation of collateral and subsidiary houses within a clan (labelled A in the diagram). In the first instance, a man of house A1 marries a woman of clan B. One of his daughters is returned to clan A by means of the transfer of father's forelock. The daughter enters her father's clan, marries her father's sister's son and founds within clan A the house A2. In the next generation, another man of house A1 marries a woman of clan C and a man of A2 marries a woman of clan D. Daughters of these men are subsequently returned to clan A, marry their father's sisters' sons and found houses A3 and A4 respectively. House A5 is founded in the sixth generation as the result of the marriage of a man of house A4 to a woman of clan E.

The oda ranking, i.e., the precedence of the houses, is established by the order in which their founding mothers
Figure 11.3: The Organization of Houses within the Clan
enter the clan. However, *oda* is reckoned in two ways.

The first *leto* (exchange) of father's forelock by an *ina ama 'é'i wa'a*, "mothers and fathers at the front", establishes a house that is their *oda wa'a*, "first *oda". Thus, in the diagram, if *A₁* is *ina ama puan*, "source mothers and fathers", then they are *'é'i wa'a*, "ahead", "earlier", to house *A₂*, their *oda wa'a*. The second *leto* of a house creates a house that is *oda depon*, "subsequent" or "later *oda". House *A₃* is *oda depon* to house *A₁*. *A₁* and *A₂* are both *'é'i wa'a* to *A₃* in the system of precedence. Subsequent *leto* by the source mothers and fathers (or any other house) are counted as follows: the third house is *oda rua* ("second *oda* to *oda depon"); the fourth house is *oda telu* (the "third *oda* following on *oda depon"); etc.

Of greater importance is the concatenation of houses that is formed when the *tudi manu* of one house exchanges wealth for her own brother's blood. In figure 11.3 house *A₂* is *tudi manu* of *A₁*. When the descendant women of *A₂* obtained the blood of their mother's brother from clan D, then the alliance hierarchy of the houses of the clan became fully established, and serves as the basis on which the absolute positions of houses in the precedence system are calculated. As the Ata Tana Ai count it, house *A₂* can also be called *oda suar wa'a*, "the first in a chain (suar) of precedence". *A₄*, a house founded by *A₂*, becomes *oda suar depon*, "the following (house) in the chain of
precedence". House A₅, founded by A₄ in turn, is oda suar rua, "the 'second' (i.e., third) house in the oda chain". With each addition of a house in the chain of precedence at the "periphery" (wutun) of the clan, the preceding houses are said to "move to the center".

Several observations of considerable significance in understanding alliance in Tana Ai can be made from this model of the organization of houses in the clan. The following relations between husband-givers and husband-takers obtain:

\[
\begin{align*}
A_1 & \rightarrow B \\
A_1 & \rightarrow A_2 \\
A_1 & \rightarrow C \\
A_1 & \rightarrow A_3 \\
A_2 & \rightarrow D \\
A_2 & \rightarrow A_4 \\
A_4 & \rightarrow E \\
A_4 & \rightarrow A_5,
\end{align*}
\]

from which can be extracted the sequences \(A_1 \rightarrow A_2 \rightarrow A_4 \rightarrow A_5 \rightarrow \ldots\) and \(A_1 \rightarrow A_3 \rightarrow \ldots\). It should be noted that these open-ended and asymmetric sequences of husband-giving between houses are the direct result of the giving of men in marriage by clan A to clans B, C, D and E. These sequences can be seen as a movement of men from more to less central houses within the clan, and indeed, the affinal arrangements within a clan are generally characterized by the movement of men from the center to the periphery of the clan or out of the clan altogether. As the Ata Tana Ai conceive it, however,
it is the movement of women ($A_5 \rightarrow A_4 \rightarrow A_2 \rightarrow A_1$) from peripheral houses to the center that is important. This movement, which is not really a movement at all but the establishment of affinal links between less central and more central houses, results in the greater consolidation of maternal descent groups in the center of the clan. The more central, and older houses are relatively more powerful because they are the wealthiest in terms of the number of their women.

In Tana Wai Brama, daughters are wealth. The larger the number of women in a house, the greater is the productive capacity of the house, and the larger the surplus from gardens that can be converted into to'o balik. A clan's reserves of to'o balik thus tend to be concentrated in the core houses of the clan who wield corresponding power in the clan by virtue of being able to decide how that wealth is used in securing, through ama 'lo'en exchanges, women from other clans.

Another result of the pattern of alliance within the clan tends to balance the power of the core houses against the lesser power of the peripheral houses. Because of the unidirectionality of affinal exchanges established by the transfer of ama 'lo'en, the prohibition of direct exchange between houses and rules governing the movement of to'o balik, marriages between houses of the clan always follow a pattern whereby men of relatively central houses marry
women of relatively peripheral houses. Given that clan endogamous marriages are preferred, the more central a house, the more likely its men are to marry endogamously. This is because central houses have "behind" them a larger pool of potential spouses within the clan than do peripheral houses. Peripheral houses, whose men cannot marry "up" the hierarchy of precedence, must marry out of the clan more frequently. While the marriage of a woman from a peripheral house to a man of a more central house strengthens the bonds between the two houses, because no ama 'lo'en is exchanged between houses of the same clan, the lower order house benefits from clan endogamy by keeping all the daughters of the marriage. At the same time, peripheral houses, whose men must marry out of the clan more frequently than men of central houses, contract alliances with houses of other clans that result in a relatively larger number of ama 'lo'en transactions. These exchanges are necessary for the peripheral houses to move up the oda chain and to the more powerful center of the clan.7

Two examples from Watuwolon will fully demonstrate the oda principle and the resulting concentration of wealth and ritual authority in the core houses of clans. The first is sukun Mau, one of the four core clans of Tana Wai Brama, and the second is sukun Ipir Wai Brama. The case of Ipir Wai Brama is more complicated because it is the central clan of the ceremonial system of Tana Wai Brama. In each example
only the number of people required to illustrate the
organization of oda precedence are depicted in the charts.

The founding of the puan houses establishes a clan. The
foundings of the core houses of the clans of Tana Wai Brama are related in the ngeng ngerang of the clans. The "history" of sukun Mau (see Chapter Three) recounts the search for land by the ancestors of the clan, the offer by the ancestors of sukun Ipir Wai Brama to grant land to Mau, the building of clan houses and opening of gradens, rituals performed to consecrate the land, and the intermarriage of ancestors of Ipir Wai Brama and Mau, by which sukun Mau was incorporated into Tana Ai society.

Men and women of house Mau (see figure 11.4) are members of the puan house of the clan and are said to be descended from the du'a mo'an (founding ancestors) of the clan, Toben and Bura. As men of the house married out and as their blood was returned in ama 'lo'en exchanges, the collateral houses of the clan were founded. Figure 11.4 represents the relationships among the nine most central of the eighteen contemporary houses that constitute sukun Mau in the Watuwolon region.

Hape Mau, her sisters and daughters are ina ama puan, the central mothers and fathers. Hape is du'a luka, the headwoman of the clan, in whom is vested ultimate responsibility over the land of the houses of the clan, the lepo (clan houses), sopé (ancestral reliquary basket), the wélut
Figure 11.4: The Precedence of Houses (Oda) of Sukun Mau
(the reliquary baskets of the branches of the clan) and the to'o balik pusaka, the wealth of the clan. Hape is said to neti oda, "to hold the oda", but as is the case in all clans of the domain, specific responsibilities for the plé'a ru'ut (clan rituals and ceremonial goods) are delegated to collateral but core houses.

In sukn Mau house Mau₂, the first house in the oda sequence, has died out. Léing Mau₃ has thus "moved to the center" and has been delegated the lepo sopé of the clan by the women of the puan house. Lodan Mau₄ is keeper of the lepo wélut. In this way the important ritual statuses of the clan are maintained by its most central houses.

The oda precedence of the houses of sukn Mau is counted as follows:

Mau₁ : ina ama puan
Mau₂ : oda wa'a
Mau₃ : oda depon
Mau₄ : oda depon rua (two)
Mau₅ : oda depon telu (three)
Mau₆ : oda depon hutu (four)
Mau₇ : oda depon lima (five)
Mau₈ : oda suar wa'a
Mau₉ : oda suar depon

The delegation of responsibility and rights to ritual statuses and the decentralization of authority among the core houses of a clan is most apparent in sukn Ipir Wai Brama. Not only does sukn Ipir Wai Brama include the
Figure 11.5: The Precedence of Houses (Oda) of Sukun Ipir Wai Brama

Dala is 'Iloën of Wulan
Diken is 'Iloën of Raga
Néruk is 'Iloën of Gadi
Gunung is 'Iloën of Tibon
Holé is 'Iloën of Bahan

Dala is 'Iloën of Wulan
Diken is 'Iloën of Raga
Néruk is 'Iloën of Gadi
Gunung is 'Iloën of Tibon
Holé is 'Iloën of Bahan
statuses common to all clans (du'a luka, ata wu'un bian puan and keepers of sopé and wélut), but it holds the lepo tana and lepo luli, the central ritual houses of the ceremonial domain of Tana Wai Brama and it is from sukun Ipir Wai Brama that the source of the domain comes. It is therefore useful to examine in detail the oda precedence of Ipir Wai Brama.

In 1980 the clan included approximately 150 people living in the Watuwolon region and divided among nineteen houses. Examination of the oda precedence of the clan indicates that, as with all clans, ceremonial statuses and positions of authority within the clan are delegated among the core houses of the clan. Figure 11.5 includes two houses (Toru and her descendants and Lodan and her descendants) whose territories are within Tana Wai Brama but to the south of Watuwolon. Their positions in the order of precedence cannot be determined precisely but they are well to the center and may antecede the house of the tana puan (IWB2).

All the women of the house of the ina ama puan of Ipir Wai Brama have died and the man Tadan, who is married to a woman of Tana Wérang, is the last surviving member of the "source" group. With the death of Sébo, the sisters of the tana puan (represented by Timu in figure 11.5) are said to neti oda, "to hold the oda" of the clan. The important statuses in the oda were in 1977-1980 held as follows:

1. Rapa IWB2, who died in August, 1979, was tana puan. He inherited the position from Buto, his mamé (mother's
brother). In December, 1980 a new tana puan had not yet been recognized.

2. Timu IWB$_2$ (died 1980) and her daughter Isa IWB$_2$ lived in the lepo luli, one of the two central ritual houses of Tana Wai Brama.

3. Rudun IWB$_3$ (died 1981) lived with her daughter Wai IWB$_3$ in the lepo tana, the central ritual house of the domain. These two women netin to'o balik pusaka, "hold the ancestral wealth" of the clan. These goods include the gongs used in gren mahé.

4. Nura IWB$_3$ served as a replacement for Rapa as tana puan during the 1940s when Rapa was appointed Kapitan (district administrator) for the Tana Ai region in the Rajadorn of Sikka. Nura retained considerable authority and prestige in Tana Wai Brama after Rapa resumed as tana puan in the early 1950s.

5. Bago IWB$_4$ is jaga mahé, the "guardian of the mahé", and is the only man in the valley who may actually touch the mahé altar, or delegate that ability to others. The jaga mahé is also charged with seeing that no one enters the precincts of the mahé between occasions of ceremonies there.

6. Gunung IWB$_5$, as ama 'lo'en of Tibon IWB$_1$, could have replaced the puan house but she married a man from sukon Iri rather than a man of IWB$_2$ (her ina ama baha boter) and was thus prevented from "moving to the center".

7. Holé IWB$_6$ was transferred to Ipir Wai Brama as the 'lo'en of Bahan IWB$_1$ and married the tana puan (Rapa IWB$_2$).
marriage was arranged by the tana puan, and though it
corrivened hadat because his first wife was still alive,
it allowed him to consolidate oda in his hands as Holé
inherited responsibility for the plé'a ru'ut of the clan.
Holé is said to replace Sébo and Lélu of the central house
as their "daughter", and now occupies the lepo plé'a ru'ut
of Ipir Wai Brama and is jaga wélut, the keeper of the
raliquary basket of her clan branch.

8. Sina IWB, is very close to the center of the precedence
order of Ipir Wai Brama and is the principal chanter of
the domain. He is ata wu'un bian puan, the "boundary man
and source person" of the mahé and in this status was one
of the principal du'a mo'an of the gren mahé ceremonies of
1980. It was planned that Sina and his wife, Osé IWB3,
who is also near the source of the clan, would move into
the lepo tana following the death of Rudun (number three
above).

9. Kotin IWB Nuha, (died 1980) and Lolin IWB Nuha are jago
lepo sopé, "guardians of the sopé house" of the clan. Ipir
Nuha is a branch of Ipir Wai Brama whose territory is
centered at Lémak. Sina and Kotin are closely related, she
being his "ina lu'ur", classificatory "mother" closely
related by blood. An earlier tana puan is said to have
engineered the delegation of the sopé by IWB3 to Kotin's
house.
10. Pagan IWB Nuha is the principal bian puan in the performance of planting and harvest rituals for all the gardens of Ipir Wai Brama.

The sequence in which leto 'lo'en, the transactions of fathers' blood, of the core houses of Ipir Wai Brama took place was:

Séla IWB₁ leto Dala Magé → IWB₂ as 'lo'en of Wulan IWB₁.
Dala was oda wa'a.
Séla IWB₁ leto Diken LPB₁ → IWB₃ as 'lo'en of Raga IWB₁.
Diken was oda depon.
Séla's daughter Sébo IWB₁ leto Néruk Magé → IWB₄ as 'lo'en of Gadi IWB₁. Néruk was oda depon rua.
Guneng IWB₂, a tudi manu of the puan house, leto on behalf of her ina ama baha boter (IWB₁) Gunung as 'lo'en of Tibon IWB₁. Gunung is counted as oda depon telu of IWB₁ and as oda suar wa'a since a transaction by a tudi manu initiates the "chain" of precedence. Timu IWB₂ leto Holé LPB₁ → IWB₆ as 'lo'en of Bahan IWB₁. At this stage in the clan's history, the puan house had died out, and this transaction can be counted as an oda depon of the core house IWB₁, as an oda depon of IWB₂, or as oda suar depon.

Other leto 'lo'en transactions have created oda suar houses which do not appear in Figure 11.5.

Two additional observations can be made on the basis of this analysis of the relations of houses within clans.
First, while central houses have a relatively greater productive capacity due to their larger memberships and larger numbers of gardens, peripheral houses can be said to have greater reproductive capacity. By reproductive capacity is meant the social reproduction of houses, a result of the proportionally larger number of marriages that peripheral houses must contract with houses of other clans. Second, the relative power of central houses is primarily a political and ritual power that accrues to these houses within the clan. Central houses, by increased opportunity for endogamous marriage, are able to place more of their men throughout the houses of the clan, and as a result enjoy political gain rather than reproductive gain. Thus in the examples of *sukun* Mau and *sukun* Ipir Wai Brama cited above, ritual authority, a concomitant of political power in Tana Wai Brama, is centered in the core houses of the clans.

Not only does the system of alliance appear to be complex in its analysis, the Ata Tana Ai themselves sometimes encounter difficulties in calculating the multiplex relations of blood and affinity that govern particular marriages and the groups related by particular marriages. Occasions for the return of father's blood and the rituals of clans and houses provide important opportunities for the principals of each ritual to take stock of their outstanding obligations and rights in the community as they exist at particular times. The actual transactions that are
entailed by alliance relationships thus require scrutiny, in order that the mechanics of the system be understood. The next chapter is therefore devoted to descriptions of the ceremonies by which women are exchanged between clans and to the prestations of the jaws of pigs killed in ritual by which established relationships of alliance are reaffirmed.
Chapter Twelve

THE CEREMONIAL EXPRESSION OF ALLIANCE

12.1 Introduction

In all ritual, from the rare gren mahé to the simple rites of the garden, can be perceived the manifold alliances that bind together the Ata Tana Wai Brama. Two ceremonies in particular, the child exchange ceremony and the giving of the jaws of pigs, express specific ties of affinal alliance between clans and between houses of a single clan.

12.2 Apu Tudi Nadar Manu: The Child Exchange Ceremony

The exchange of ama 'lo'en or mula puda is a matter of discussion between two houses for many years before the ceremony by which the transfer of a child is effected takes place. Most often a young girl is nominated as tudi manu, but the ceremony for her transfer may be arranged after she has married and has children of her own. The exchange of a woman as ama 'lo'en or mula puda begins when men of a house that is entitled to a child approach men of a house that owes blood in order to dogen 'lo'en.
The word *dogé* is a verb meaning "to be angry" or "to demand", "to speak forcibly", and the nominal form of the word, *dogen*, means "demand" or "request". *Dogen 'lo'en* is the phrase used to mean the first meeting between members of two houses to discuss the exchange of blood between them and means, "request for forelock". While the word *dogé* is sometimes used as a synonym for *moro*, "anger", "to be angry", Ata Tana Ai emphasize that *dogen 'lo'en* discussions are not occasions for exhibiting *li'ar geté*, "big", or "angry voices", but must be conducted calmly, according to etiquette and with *tabé*, "respect". First formal and public approaches regarding requests for the return of blood are generally made during ceremonies held for other purposes at which both parties to an exchange are present.\(^1\) Informal discussions on the subject of a child exchange might go on for years before the first public discussion takes place.

*Dogen 'lo'en* conclude with agreement on the girl or woman who will be exchanged.\(^2\) The *'lo'en*-requesting men can ask for a particular child by name, but cannot force the child-giving group to relinquish that child if it wishes to give another. Once the child is agreed upon, several years may pass before the wealth-giving *ina ama* are able to assemble the elephant tusks and gongs required to mark the actual transfer of rights to the child. The marriage of the child to be exchanged is not discussed between the
two sides, though either (or both) may approach her pri-
vately to point out the advantages of her marriage to a
son of the wealth-giving house. As the statistics confirm
(see Tables 11.1 and 11.2), women who are exchanged do not
always respond positively to the entreaties of their ina ama.

The exchange ceremony is referred to as apu tudi nadar
manu, "to embrace the knife, to cradle the chicken in the
arms". Chickens are carried in the crook of one arm,
leaving the other hand free for stroking the bird. This
is the meaning of the word nadar, "to carry and to stroke".³
People also say, "leto tudi pana manu", "to exchange to'o
balik for the knife, to shoot (with a bow and arrow) the
chicken". Indeed when the ina ama baha boter of a girl come
to the lepo of her ina ama nawu tung to fetch her, they are
given also a knife, a chicken and an arrow. The chicken is
to be eaten, the arrow for killing it, and the knife for
carving its meat for the cooking pot.

The apu tudi nadar manu ceremony begins with people
of the clan of the wealth-givers (ina ama baha boter) who
gather at their lepo. The tusks and gongs to be given in
exchange for their blood are brought down from the rafters
of the house, placed on the floor of the unen geté (the
"big inside", the central ritual floor of the lepo – see
Chapter Seven) over which hangs the reliquary basket of the
house. One man descends from the front house ladder of
the lepo and squats under the house facing its "central"
post (*liri puan*) and uphill. He tears a small piece of cloth, placing shreds of the fabric on the ground at the base of the post and again at its top whereon rests the principal cross-beam of the floor of the house (*lo wutun*). He also places there slices of *wua ta’a*, areca nut and betel leaf (or fruit) as an offering to the *blupur geté*, the "big old ones", the ancestors of the *lepo* whom he invokes and addresses to inform them of the departure of *to'o balik* from the house and the arrival of a new clan member who returns as the blood of another. He invokes the ancestors saying, in part:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marin na'i blupur hutu</th>
<th>Place this speech before the four old ones,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heron na'i geté lima</td>
<td>Place this discussion before the five big ones,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blupur wawa liri puan</td>
<td>One ones at the central house post,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geté réta lo wutun</td>
<td>Big ones atop the floor beam's end,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taho na'i nora lepo</td>
<td>Visit and remain at the <em>lepo</em>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapé na'i nora woga</td>
<td>Come and remain at the pavilion,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lepo woga ulu télî</td>
<td>House and pavilion with its visitors' floor and baskets,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwut mut kawak maran</td>
<td>Warm as a pig's burrow in the forest, dry as a bird's nest,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilun miun mala bena</td>
<td>Your ears receive this hearing,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mata miun mala gita</td>
<td>Your eyes take witness,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blupur itan kedo ukun</td>
<td>Our old one returns (literally, &quot;dances backwards&quot;),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geté itan bano baler</td>
<td>Our big one is coming home,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nora tio deton do</td>
<td>With the walking stick (i.e., elephant tusk) heard tapping,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nora korak ragu reng  The coconut shell bowl (i.e.,
gong) ringing chaotically,

To'o di kedo ukun  The tusk also dances backwards
(i.e., is returned to the child-
giving house),

Balik di bano baler  The gong is going home,

Tudi di kedo ukun  The knife likewise dances back-
wards (the child returns to
her father's lepo),

Manu di bano baler  The chicken returns home,

Waha lu’at rema rua  Tomorrow, and two mornings hence,

Teri '6'o punu jaun  No enemies will be sitting,

Era '6'o wujang klaun  No quarrels will arise (i.e., in
the future the two houses will
be friendly toward one another),

Huk tudi boro boir  Think of the knife that cuts the
throat,

Nera manu toki mata  Meditate on the chicken that
scratches out eyes (the result
of quarreling with allied people),

Téna tulun wi'ir timu  Together we travel eastward in the
same boat (i.e., the two parties
to the child exchange),

Lédé li'ir jago jawan  We together are fearless,

Ha lupa ha heron  If one errrs, the other speaks,

Ha hulir ha donen  If one forgets the other shows
the way.

Following this invocation the lepo members take the
gongs and tusks and walk to the lepo of the ina ama nawu
tung, the child-giving house. There they are received with
tobacco, areca nut and betel. The gongs and tusks are
handed over. The ina ama nawu tung then kill a chicken
by slitting its mouth with a bush knife (which must pass
under the tongue). Blood from the chicken's mouth is
sprinkled on the gongs and tusks in order to "cool" (blatan
bliran) them. The chicken is cooked and the two groups
share a meal. A man of the child-giving house descends from the house and addresses his ancestors at the central house post with an invocation and to inform them of the departure of a daughter of the lepo and the receipt of gongs and tusks.

The child is presented to the wealth-giving house and with her is given the tudi manu, the chicken, knife and arrow. This prestation is said to be in return for "ohu watar", "tubers and maize", the name given to the first gong and tusk exchanged which replaces the food from the gardens of the ina ama nawu tung that has nourished their daughter until her transfer. 4

The second gong and tusk are called leton lihan, and for these two to'o balik the child's ina ama nawu tung present the wealth-givers with a patola cloth in a prestation referred to as lewan ("to soften; softening") or utan patan ("cloth tearing"). Lëton means "stranger", "outsider" and lihan means "within the household or family". Thus the leton lihan evokes the idea of a stranger entering a house. The lewan cloth, which is also called iri, "rope", by the people of her natal house, "softens" the removal of the child from her natal clan and the entry into her father's clan. In the past, lewan were patola cloths but patolas are now rare and fine cloths from Larantuka or commercial batik are usually given now.
Throughout the proceedings at the lepo of the child-givers, it is the mother's brother of the tudi manu in whom is vested "kuasa puan" or "hak puan", "central authority" or "central rights" in the conduct of the exchange and whose speaking, on behalf of his sisters, is with "li'ar diran, wa ngan", "sharp tongue, commanding voice". Other men participating, men of the wealth-giving ina ama and the kéra pu (sisters' husbands and daughters' husbands) of the woman's mother's brother, "hak tutur", have the "right to speak" only.5

Finally, to complete the incorporation of a child given as ama 'lo'en or mula puda into her new clan, she is taken to a garden of one of her ina ama baha boter where a ceremony called kabor hirat (kabor = coconut; hirat = the rising of the sun; to begin, beginning; to splash, spatter) is performed. A pig is killed and the woman who is tudi manu and her ina ama baha boter touch the blood together, "mén wi'it uma 'lora tua wutun", "to touch one's own blood in the garden's center, at the edge of the lontar palms (which grow at a garden's boundary)". Thus the blood of the woman is joined to the gardens of her father's clan.

12.3 Wawi Arun: The Gift of the Pig's Jaw

While marriages are not celebrated with ritual in Tana Ai, the exchange of ama 'lo'en and mula puda are. Once
an alliance has been established by marriage, and 'lo'en has been returned there are further ceremonial exchanges between the allied clans and houses. These exchanges require the prestation of the lower jaws of pigs between a woman and her ina ama nawu tung, that is, people of her "source clan".6

All major rituals require the slaughter of pigs, but only domestic pigs (females or castrated males) can be used for ceremonial purposes. Pigs hunted in the forest, or snared in gardens, are always killed away from the house. The aru (lower jaws) of hunted pigs are hung over the hearth of the lepo of the hunter and his mother.

The Ata Tana Ai normally only kill domestic pigs on ritual occasions (injured or diseased animals are killed and eaten outside of ritual). The head of a pig killed for ritual purposes can not be eaten by members of the house of the woman (or man) to whom the pig belongs. To do so is to:

- Ea etan wi'in: To eat one's own flesh,
- Tinu méin tebon: To drink the blood of one's own body,
- Méi lóma waé: The blood that is vomited up (literally, "rises to the face"),
- Etan tubu ta'i: The flesh that congests the gut (literally, "distends the belly").

Thus, when pigs are killed in ritual, care is taken to waga aru, tekan pepi, "to detach the lower jaws (aru), to split the upper jaws (pepi)", from the bodies of the pigs. The
detached heads (*wawi 'lo'en*) are tied together and watched over by a man from a house other than those to whom the pigs belong. It is he who splits the lower jaws from the upper parts of the heads, ties them in a bundle and then splits each of the upper heads into two "ears", and places these in baskets for redistribution.

The meat from pigs butchered for a ceremony is divided among all the participants of the ceremony, each of whom must receive a portion, if only a small one, of every pig killed. This meat is carried home where it is cooked and eaten by households individually. Half the "ears" of the pigs are given to the *du'a kula mo'an kara*, the ritual specialists who organize the ceremony, while the other half are distributed among the *mo'an jaga meran*, "the men who guard the butchering site" from dogs and children, and who prepare the special soup, made from bits of pork, required for redistribution to participants of the ceremony.

The *wawi arun*, "pig's lower jaw", or *'lo'é arun*, "the lower jaw of the head", is treated with special care, as this portion of the animal must be given to a particular person who is of the *ina ama nawu tung* clan of the owner of the pig.

Every Ata Tana Ai who is not a member of a central house of a clan has an *ina ama himo 'lo'en déa arun*, a "mother father who receives the head and takes the pig's jaw". The recipient of the pig's jaw must be someone of
the clan of the *ina ama nawu tung* of the giver of the jaw who is "mëin pë-pëhan", of "different-blood". This means that the *ina ama* who receives the pig's jaw must be of a house within the jaw-giver's source clan whose *ina puda* (founding mother) was transferred into the clan as *ama 'lo'en* after the *ina puda* of the giver of the pig's jaw was *leto-*ed (exchanged) out of her clan. That is to say, the *ina ama himo 'lo'en déa arun* must be lower in the *oda* precedence of the source clan than the source house (*ina ama nawu tung*) of the giver of the jaw.

In effect, the descendants of a woman who leaves her natal clan (*A₂*, in Figure 12.1) present the jaws of pigs

![Diagram](https://example.com/diagram.png)

*Figure 12.1: The Exchange of Wawi Arun*
killed in rituals for their garden, mortuary rites for the
death of their house, and for any other ritual to the descend­
ants of the woman (B2) who replaced her in her natal clan
as the 'lo'ên of her mamé, mother's brother. She thus
gives part of the 'lo'ên (head) of a pig to the woman who
is married to her classificatory MB, a woman who has "himo
'lo'ên", "received the forelock", in marriage, of her MB.
Ata Tana Ai point out that the phrase ina ama himo 'lo'ên
dea arun also means, "the mother father received as 'lo'ên
(father's forelock) who takes the pig's jaw". The gift of
the pig's jaw thus recalls rites of social reproduction, the
founding of new houses. Jaws are given by a woman (and her
descendants) who has left one clan to form a new house in
her paternal clan to the woman (and her descendants) who
subsequently replaced the giver of the jaws in her natal
clan.

In practice, the relationships between tudî manu nawu
tung, "the knife chicken given over" and the tudî manu baha
boter, "the knife chicken bought and paid" are rarely as
simple as the model (Figure 12.1) indicates them to be.
One example from Watuwolon will serve to demonstrate some of
the complexities that arise in the exchange of wawi arun.
In Figure 12.2, Oné's MMM was transferred to sukun Ipir as
"Raga 'lo'ên", "Raga's forelock". Sano is counted among
Oné's ina ama nawu winé tung kéra, "the mother father who
give over a sister in exchange for a brother-in-law". Sano is forbidden to eat the wawi arun of Oné because she and Oné are mein etan ha, "one blood and flesh". They are ina mé'e ha, "of the same mother and father (genetrix and genitor)". The first woman to be transferred into Liwu

Figure 12.2: An Example of the Calculation of the "Mother and Father Who Take the Pig's Jaw"

Pigang Bitak following the nawu tung of Diken was Girek who replaces the blood of Lado in LPB. The return of Lado's
'lo'en took place two generations after Diken was nawu tung, which means that for Barek and Blaun there was no one in Liwu Pigang Bitak to whom they could establish the proper 'lo'ê arun relationship until Girek was exchanged. Barek's (or Diken's) ina ama nawu tung therefore advised Diken to give her wawi arun to Liwu puan, a house on Liwu Blé'it. Once established, that relationship (Liwu Blé'it as Oné's ina ama himo 'lo'en déa arun) is permanent. However, the house to whom Oné gives her 'lo'ê arun will soon die out as the last surviving woman of the house has only sons. When the last son dies, Oné's descendants will finally begin presenting the descendants of Girek with pigs' jaws as ina ama himo 'lo'en déa arun.

The presentation of wawi arun as a part of ceremonies can be quite a complicated matter for the men responsible for the presentations. Every woman participating in a ritual for which pigs are killed must contribute an animal. The men who slaughter the pigs must keep track of the heads, and the ritual specialists conducting the ceremonies must determine that, for each woman, her wawi arun is presented to her proper ina ama himo 'lo'en déa arun. If no man of that category is present, one must be fetched or another for whom it is not forbidden to touch the particular aru must be found to deliver the jaw.

It is the responsibility of a woman's nara ama ("brother father") to ascertain that the appropriate person
receives the jaw of his ina winé, "mother sister". In
the example above, any man of Oné's ina ama nawa tung house
is her nara ama. Thus, for example, Glalek may serve in
this capacity. The nara ama must also insure that the
proper sort of wawi arun is exchanged. At a likon (second
mortuary rite), for example, aru nua (the jaw with skin from
the base of the pig's neck tied to it) may be given. Aru
nua, "the squeal of the jaw", i.e., "the pig's squeal",
communicates that while the pig is being killed on behalf
of a deceased member of the house there are still surviving
members of the house. For the nara ama to give aru tubon
("truncated jaw"), the jaw without skin, means that the last
descendant of the ina puda of the house has died and that the
relationship with ina ama himo 'lo'en déa arun has been
severed.

The ina ama himo 'lo'en déa arun have reciprocal
obligations to their mé pu (pig's jaw givers). Men of a
woman's ina ama himo 'lo'en déa arun serve, for example, as
the bukan, "helper, sponsor", of her son in his gareng
laman (male initiation). It is an initiate's classificatory
mamé or kéra pu (MB or WB) who thus assists the initiate
in the rituals which the Ata Tana Ai view as a prerequisite
of marriage.

Informants emphasize two meanings of the wawi arun
exchange. First, the exchange of the pig's jaw provides a
means of remembering kinship relations through men and the
"hubungan" (Indonesian: "relationship") of the jaw-giver and
jaw-taker. A man of sukun Tapo commented:

It is evident that the pig's jaw is (important) ... if we don't relate with the pig's jaw, then decades after blood is returned (as ama 'lo'en), I don't know, it wasn't you who were exchanged. Or, it wasn't you who paid the tusks and gongs. Finally, a foundation which is most tightly knit, that's the pig's jaw.

... The pig's jaw is most important. If one doesn't give the jaw, then one must pay (to ina ama himo 'lo'en dōa aru) one elephant tusk, one piece of gold or earrings. If the jaw isn't given, God will punish indeed unto death.¹⁰

While people may forget their ina puda with the passing of generations (and especially once mula puda is exchanged), the wawi arun relationship is enduring and ends only with the demise of one or the other of the houses so related. People who exchange a pig's jaw are MBC and FZC to one another. Second, as one informant put it, "Lo'ē aru semacam sumber turunan", "The jaw of the pig is like the source of descent". And indeed, a man gives, on behalf of his sister, the jaw of her pig to his MBC, his kéra pu, whose sister he can marry to propagate his own blood.
Chapter Thirteen

THE CLAN AS ANCESTOR CULT

13.1 Introduction

For the Ata Tana Ai, life is the prelude to a journey that does not properly begin until death, a transition by which living members of the clan become ancestors. The ancestors of a clan and its living membership are bound together in a relationship of mutual dependence and service. The living perform the rituals by which the ancestral spirits move through the stages of "cooling" required before they rest finally in the sopé basket of the clan, and then become the generalized ancestral spirits of the domain. The journey which begins at birth culminates many years after death with the apotheosis of the spirit. Along the way to divinity, an ancestor loses the individuality and identity provided by possessing a name and remembrance among his living descendants. Eventually his clan affiliation is lost, at least to the collective memory of his living clan mates, and the ancestor becomes guna déwa, the oldest and most powerful of the old and powerful. The spirit is then no longer associated exclusively with a particular social group, but
is still intimately a part of the domain, an entity of the stones, trees and springs of the forest. Guna déwa are a part of the natural and social environment, though distantly removed from the daily affairs of the community. As all ancestors, they can be invoked in ritual to serve as intermediaries between the living and the deity.

More important, guna déwa, the semidivine ancestors, animate the forests and waters of the domain, and are thus ultimately responsible for the fertility of gardens. Guna déwa are, however, jealous of their sylvan realm and render it "hot" and dangerous for human beings. Incursions into the forest, whether for hunting, gathering, cutting material for construction of human habitations or felling forest to make gardens, are intrusions to which guna déwa react malevolently unless proper offerings and invocations are made. Thus all materials taken from the forest are taken from guna déwa, and must be "cooled", as must the land on which forest has stood, before they can be put to human use. Thus too, hunters make offerings at the edge of the forest before taking animals from it.

Before ancestors become semidivine guna déwa, they pass through a number of stages, each marked by rituals performed first by their lepo and then by their sukun. In return for these ritual services by the living, the ancestors serve as conduits of the powers of the deity by which health, the fertility of gardens and the well-being of the community
are secured. The journeys of the ancestors after death, unlike those of the founders of the domain, are charted not in oral histories, but in ritual. The relationships of the social groups in the performance of death rituals are the subject of this chapter.

13.2 The Life Cycle and the Soul

Birth marks the entry of the individual into the society of Tana Ai. Birth is, however, not the beginning of life. The Ata Tana Ai recognize that sexual intercourse is required for procreation, but there seems to be no idea that men and women contribute different qualities or parts of the body to the making of a child. Thus, the Ata Tana Ai do not distinguish, as do peoples of other parts of eastern Indonesia, paternal semen, bone or flesh and maternal blood, or the like. Both parents are viewed as contributing blood to the child, but the distinctions made in the discrimination of paternal and maternal bloods are a matter of social classification and not of physiology. The Ata Tana Ai simply say, "ina bua mé, ama gaé", "the mother gives birth to the child, the father cradles it in his arms". Neither the mother nor the father alone impart to the child its soul; and the origin of the soul is also a matter about which the Ata Tana Ai have no definite ideas.

While not prudish, the Ata Tana Ai were reluctant to discuss matters of procreation with me. Nevertheless, in
discussing the miscarriage of a woman (mé wukor, a child not carried to term; still born), an informant commented that life begins as a "kumpulan darah", (Indonesian: "gathering" or "coalescence of blood") within the woman's womb (dula). This blood is "from the mother, but the man must also contribute ...". He went on to remark that, while both the mother and father are saddened by a miscarriage, because the child's blood is from the mother, miscarriages are the "responsibility of the mother".

The birth of a child is marked by the simplest of rituals. Four days after its birth, the child is taken from its mother and placed briefly on the ground in a ceremony called lohor mé, "to lower the child". This can be done by any woman other than the child's mother, and is frequently done by neighbor of the household into which the child is born. No special relations of kinship are invoked in lohor mé. Lohor mé is said to make the child comfortable in the world and is done to insure that he will be a "co-operative" and "polite" adult.

In terms of the dualistic universe inhabited by the Ata Tana Ai, women are inherently "cool" and "of the earth" and men are born "hot" and "of the sky". For women, maturation is a continuous progression from childhood to marriage, motherhood, grandmotherhood and death. The life cycle of a man is, in contrast, ritually discontinuous. A man, before he can marry, must be "cooled", and the required
cooling is accomplished by a large-scale, complex and
dramatic ceremony of initiation and circumcision called
gareng lamen. Lamen in Sara Tana Ai has the dual meaning
of (1) any male, four-footed animal, and (2) a young man.\textsuperscript{4} Gareng means to entrust someone with something (or to
entrust something to someone) and to confide a secret.
Ata odo gareng means "to take someone's place" and connotes
the conferring of full powers on a person. Gareng lamen
may thus be translated as, "(the ceremony) to invest young
men with (secret or private) power". While the Ata Tana Ai
say that the purpose of gareng lamen is to "wi'in blatan
tebon bliran", "to cool the self, to make the body cool",
the emphasis of the ritual is on the transfer of knowledge
from older, initiated men to novices. The knowledge trans­
mitted is that of ritual, and gareng lamen, in addition to
being a prerequisite of marriage, is also necessary for a
man to become ritually efficacious. The "cooling" that is
effected is not absolute, but is aimed at providing a
discipline by which the heat that is a necessary and
ineluctable component of ritual can be controlled and directed
toward ritual ends.

The rituals performed by men are of two kinds: the
rituals of the domain that are addressed to the deity, and
the domestic rituals of house and garden. Domestic rituals
take place in essentially cool, female domains (see Chapter
Seven). It is the power and discipline to perform their
ritual functions in the domestic sphere that are entrusted
to initiates in *gareng lamen*. By initiation, men are invested with the ability to move between domains as, in marriage, they move between and bind together two houses and, in ritual, they fecundate "cool", "female" gardens by bringing to them the fertilizing "heat" of the forest.

In the rites of *gareng lamen*, the separation of male and female is graphically depicted. Two principal rites are involved. The first are characterized by ritual tranvestism in which the basic classifications of male and female are confused. The initiates are dressed by their *bukang* ("sponsors", i.e., mothers' brothers who serve as "instructors") in women's clothing provided by their sisters and mothers. This clothing includes not only women's *ikat sarong*, but also *lusé geté*, the headgear of feathers and cloth worn by women in the *gren mahé*, *tipa tola*, *patola* cloths worn only by women and which are part of the ceremonial wealth of the house, and gold and beaded necklaces. For the ceremony during which the initiates are attired, their ear lobes are pierced and then fitted with heavy gold earrings, the possessions of the oldest women of their houses.

As the ritual proceeds, and when night has fallen, the initiates leave the *lepo* where the preliminary rites of adornment take place and are led to a special *woga* (pavilion) in the forest. There, amid torches and the taunts of their *bukang*, they are stripped of their women's clothing, refitted with men's sarongs, and receive their first "instruction".
The women's clothes are packed away in baskets, and the troop of initiates is led deeper into the forest, to the lapak, a specially prepared clearing. As the troop nears the lapak, they encounter troops from other lepo and are led in a raucous and chaotic combat with the other cohorts. The troops of all the lepo participating in the gareng lamen then enter the lapak, where they are received by the mo'an kula kara, the committee of ritual experts who perform the circumcisions.

Each initiate is provided a flat stone on which to sit and a tree bough driven into the earth behind the stone, against which he leans and on which are hung his ritual paraphernalia. During the night the mo'an kula kara pass down the line of initiates and perform the circumcisions. The initiates are subject to a strict prohibition against speaking, eating, and drinking until dawn. Nor can they fall asleep. Before and after the circumcisions they receive more "instruction" from their sponsors who dance, shout, chant and sing loudly to prevent their sisters' children from falling asleep. At dawn the troops are led back to their lepo, where they undergo a last ritual cooling with rice, pig's blood, coconut water and palm gin. A feast of rice and pork is then served, and the ceremony ends.

As noted above, lamen means both "young man" and "male animal". The circumcision of men is explicitly likened to the clipping of the ears of domestic pigs (cf.
Chapter Twelve, note 6) to mark ownership. In ritual language the "taming" of forest animals is expressed as:

- Ruha uta wawi lilan Forest (i.e., wild) deer and tame pig.
- Horot tilu pata iur Pierced ears and clipped tails.

This couplet was also cited by informants in explaining the purpose of the *gareng lamen*. Though they never again wear earrings, Tana Ai men maintain the holes in their ear lobes by periodically widening them with short wooden pegs. Pierced ears are public evidence that a man has undergone initiation in *gareng lamen*, and that he is no longer like an animal of the forest, but is a fully potent member of society. And for some the ritual is a prerequisite for "receiving the tongue and taking the voice", by which they become ritual specialists and manipulators of ancestral spirits.

There is no "rite of transition" in the lives of women comparable to the male *gareng lamen*. In Tana Ai, none is required. As has been noted, marriage is unmarked by ritual except for the areca nut and betel leaf ceremony that may take place long after cohabitation begins or, in many cases, not at all. Maternal descent groups, and their houses, the fundamental units of Tana Ai society, are autonomous and self-contained. Houses can insure their perpetuation by the simple and automatic means of the
recruitment of the daughters of their women. Since ritual in Tana Ai is primarily associated with boundary crossings, the return of a woman to her paternal clan requires ritual and a series of prestations and counterprestations between child exchanging houses. But both the ritual and exchanges of ceremonial goods are required whether or not the woman marries a son of the father's house. These rituals mark the death of a father, the change of social affiliation of his "forelock" and the creation of a new house in his clan rather than the marriage of his daughter.

Prestige, respect and status in the community accrue to both men and women as they grow older. This is especially true of women, whose power and authority, seated as they are in their descent groups, increase in proportion to the increase in the number of their mé pu, children, brothers' children and grandchildren. In Tana Ai, true wealth is measured in uma ihin tua dolo, "richly yielding gardens and flowing lontar juice", and in the number of a person's descendants. Older women with many descendants become ina geté, "big mothers", the same term used to refer to a woman who, as "father's forelock", founds a new descent group and lepo. The very old of both sexes are referred to and addressed as blupur, "old ones", which is also the term used to refer to clan or house ancestors.

The poor and unhappy are old people without descendants. For them, life is lonely and isolated. A woman
without children cannot hope to occupy a *lepo*, and old men who have no descendants can find themselves in particularly critical circumstances unless they are able to attach themselves to the household of a collateral kinsman.

The life cycles of individual Ata Tana Ai are thus not marked discretely by transitions between statuses, accompanied by elaborate ritual. Rather, power, authority and status increase by gradual and continuous accretion. The authority of the old is a spiritual authority and is recognized in proportion to the wealth of the individual. The accumulation of spiritual authority through the fecundity of one’s life is viewed by the Ata Tana Ai as a prologue to becoming a powerful ancestor after death. The power of the individual is one aspect of his *wi'in*, "selfhood", "person", "personality". *Wi'in*, selfhood, has two essential aspects, and the relation between them is expressed by a metaphor of laminae. The *ha lapen*, the "first layer" of the self, is the body. The body is said to give form to and to be the shape of the soul. The body, and the first layer of the self, cease to exist at death. The spirit that remains is *rua lapen*, the "second" layer of the self. *Rua lapen* is the spirit, which does not die, and contains, or gives form to the *maen 'aju*, the soul. Together, the two layers make up the self.

The conception of the laminated self and its nature is further revealed in the belief that sorcerers, who have
received knowledge at the place of the sunrise and at the shores of the island, are able to divide their selves, their spirit remaining in one place, while their ha lapen are sent forth to wander the domain. Sorcerers thus control their ha lapen and employ them to perform all manner of evil. The ha lapen of a sorcerer can cause illness, death, insanity and the failure of gardens among the sorcerer's enemies. Sorcerers are called wüen or ué wari. Both these terms are derived (or are at least similar to) the terms wüé wari, which denote older and younger siblings of the same sex and marriageable cross-cousins.

The recondite knowledge that enables sorcerers to split the self and project their ha lapen is sought and obtained:

Réta timu tawa lero léma Up at the point of the sun's rising (the peaks of Ili Wukoh),
Lau nian wutun tana watan Down at the land's edge, the earth's border (the coast).

Or,

Réta ilin lau watan At the peaks of the mountains, at the shores of the sea,

The mountains (the point of the sun's rising) and the shores of the seas mark the ultimate boundaries of the domain, and are thus a source of danger and dangerous knowledge. One informant told me that a particularly infamous wüen was known to have consorted with ata goan, the Muslims who inhabit small settlements scattered widely along the north
coast of Flores, and obtained his sorcery from them.

Thus the self consists of two parts, the physical body and the individual spirit. The latter controls the former, just as through ritual the living can control the ancestors of their domain.

13.3 Death and the Soul

Death initiates a series of rituals performed on behalf of the dead over a span of several years. These rituals, which together complete the mortuary cycle, have the character of rites of passage. Each marks the passage of the soul of the dead through a stage in its progress to a state of semidivine existence, and to the status of ancestors who insure the fertility of the gardens and the well-being of the living. The journey of the soul after death takes the spirit of the dead away from his lepo. While each of the rites of the mortuary sequence removes the soul farther from its house, the death rituals at the same time insure that channels of communication between the living and the dead of the lepo remain open, and that the ancestors can be summoned by their living descendants when required.

The death rituals of the Ata Tana Ai are considerably more complex and elaborate, more attention is devoted to them and more care is taken to insure they are performed properly than is the case with any other of the rites of
passage of the living (except, possibly, for gareng lamen). In Tana Ai the major life cycle rituals are best seen as death cycle rituals.

The events that initiate the cycle of mortuary rituals – deaths – are of a number of different kinds. While the Ata Tana Ai do not recognize categorical distinctions between "good" deaths and "bad" deaths, it is considered desirable to die in the lepo of the descent group. In his lepo the Ata Tana Ai is "closer to the source". Dying in the lepo also means that the corpse does not have to be transported in order to be buried in the woer, the clearing around the house. When a person dies away from his lepo, the first decision that must be made by his surviving lepo mates regarding his burial is whether he is to be buried where he died or moved to his lepo for burial there. The transportation of a corpse is a dangerous and risky business and usually only the older members of a descent group are moved when they die away from their lepo. One reason for the reluctance to move a corpse is that death is disorienting to the soul and newly dead spirits are known to wander the path taken in transporting the corpse. These wandering souls are a hazard to the living.10

In addition to maté 'é'i lepo, "dying in the lepo", there are the deaths of the elderly from disease or old age. These natural deaths are neither good nor bad, but merely normal and expected. As against these, there
are a number of what may be termed "unfortunate" or "pre-mature" deaths:

1. *maté méi benu*, "to die full of blood", is to die accidentally and "before one's time";
2. *maté tibo lamen*, "to die as a young (unmarried) man";
3. *maté wai bua la'en*, "to die as a young woman who has never given birth";
4. *maté du'a inan*, "to die as a mother" and head of a household;
5. *maté mo'an lamen*, "to die as a (mature) man" and as the father of children;
6. *maté wua nurak*, "to die in childbirth";
7. *maté blara da'a*, "to die of disease".

Deaths resulting from accidents (snake bites, falls from trees or footpaths) are "bad" deaths, as are *maté dana halan hulir* (or *maté dana dosa*), which are deaths resulting from infractions of custom such as unjustified or willful homicide or *gowa pani*, sexual assault. Deaths such as these, and indeed all accidental or sudden deaths, are treated with suspicion and must be examined by ritual specialists in a ceremony of *kula kara* to determine whether the deceased died "naturally", or as a result of an "error and forgetting" made by him or by someone else.

The Ata Tana Ai conceive of the relations of human beings and the universe they inhabit as basically harmonious and the world itself as benign. The world of the deity, spirits and ancestors, which constitutes the unseen complement
of the knowable and social world of the living, must be in harmony with the everyday world. Harmony is maintained by proper observance of hadat, the customs and traditions of the Ata Tana Ai that govern social relations. Calamities — illnesses, plagues, crop failures and other catastrophic events — are not inherent in the universe, but are caused by the failure of the living to observe hadat. While death itself is natural and expectable, sudden, accidental and early deaths are caused by transgressions against hadat, and if these breaches are not corrected, they will continue to afflict the survivors of the person actually killed by them. Failure to observe hadat disrupts the balances and boundaries between the two complementary worlds that comprise the universe, and such disruptions result in unfortunate consequences for the living, and presumably, for the beings of the spirit world as well.

There is an essential theodicy in the logic of the way in which the action of men can affect the world. There are no intrinsically malevolent forces in the universe. Even though some forest spirits are thought to be capricious in their behavior toward people, misfortune is largely the result of human action. Misfortune is also located, or inheres, in isolated events and most commonly arises when, knowingly or unknowingly, men impinge on the domain of the spirits, either their prerogatives or their land. Such trespasses are manifested in sickness and death. The
theodical attitude toward the other world means that the
circumstances that result in a death can be reconstructed
and corrected, and the equilibrium of the complementary
worlds, disturbed by some human action or failing, can be
regained. Thus, to the Ata Tana Ai, unfortunate events
have causes that can be discovered, located and identified.

*Hadat* is more than merely a bundle of customs and
traditions. It is the body of knowledge whereby causality
and effect can be established by men. Ritual is both the
means for discovering the origins (or "sources") of un-
natural death and the instrument of expiation. Once the
cause of a death is identified, ritual action appropriate
to the case can be employed to correct the disequilibrium
and suffering by the living can be avoided. This is what
is meant by the term *kula kara*.

In ordinary language, *kula* means "to pour into", as
rice is poured into a *kara*, a basket for storage. But in
its ritual sense, *kula kara* is the result of the reestab-
lishment of balance, the orderly relationship between men
and the world of the spirits in accordance with *hadat*, and
the expiation of transgressions that result in misfortune
for the living members of the community.

Action contrary to *hadat* is called in ritual lan-
guage, *halan hulir*, "errors and forgettings". In ordinary
language breaches of *hadat* or etiquette are spoken of as
*dosa*, a word cognate in Malay, meaning "sin" or "crime".
The errors and forgettings of one person, if not corrected by ritual, can ramify through a house, clan, and even through the whole of the domain. Such ramified transgressions are *dosa neper*, "inherited", "shared" or "common errors".

When an unnatural death occurs, ritual specialists are summoned to:

*Waké puan réan wangun*  
To reconstruct the source, to discover the origins, of the *halan hulir* that have resulted in the death. The sources and origins are past actions or events in the life of the deceased person, and the reconstruction of the sources in ritual takes the form of charting the history of the dead with respect to aspects of his life deemed not in accord with *hadat*. The ritual practitioner, by invoking the ancestors in chants and offerings, seeks to discover why:

*Ina Nian Tana rudu*  
*Ama Lero Wulan tura*  
Mother Land and Earth rebukes,  
Father Sun and Moon reprimands,  
the person and house who are the victims of death.

The reasons for the rebukes and reprimands of the deity, which are delivered in various forms of misfortune in addition to death, are specific. Thus in 1980 a woman who suffered continued illness and whose garden yielded even less than the average that year was examined by her husband, a
ritual specialist. In seeking the sources and origins, he discovered that she had cut:

\[ \text{Ai duan tali teran} \quad \text{Old trees and sturdy vines,} \]

that is, in making her garden which was located at the border of a sacred forest, she had cut some of the forest along the boundary of her garden. The \textit{nitu} spirit of the forest was affronted, and brought down the illness and crop failure on the woman. In another case, the misfortunes of a man were discovered to be rooted in:

\[ \text{Punu jaun wujang klaun} \quad \text{A loud quarrel, a noisy conflict,} \]

in which he had been involved with another house for some time. Failure to perform the rituals of the house and clan can result in misfortune to those groups who ignore this important part of \textit{hadat}. And failure to perform \textit{gren mahé} in two decades was determined by the source of the domain and the principal ritual specialists of the \textit{tana} to be the cause of the plagues, epidemics and crop failures that had afflicted Tana Wai Brama for many years.

By the ritual of "reconstructing the source and discovering the origins", the ritual specialist is able:

\[ \text{Puan tuki wangun tangar} \quad \text{To place the source on the ground, to display the origin} \]

of the error. Once the error is discovered and laid before the specialist, it is said he has:
that is, he has expiated the error.

Expiation, "getting kula kara", is located in the search for the source of the error, but sometimes more than the simple discovery of the origin of a state of affairs is required. Then a ceremony of offering to the spirits and expiation called huer herin, "to leave behind at the side of the road" (or, alternatively and according to other meanings of the two words, "to banish from the boundary of the house") is prescribed.\(^{11}\)

All deaths leave orphans and in this respect, because everyone has dead ancestors, the Ata Tana Ai say that they are all orphans (mē nukak). In ritual language it is said:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tiv</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Da'a kula noration</td>
<td>Reached the true kula,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toma kara norahul</td>
<td>Gotten the genuine kara,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ina maté loan nukak**  The deaths of mothers leave us poor,

**Ama maté loan noeng**  The deaths of fathers leave us bereaved and destitute,

**Kula na'i norawu**  The tongues that "place" our expiations,

**Kara na'i norali'ar**  The voices that "place" our atonements,

**Ko, ina amin 'ō o ulun**  Thus, our mothers who no longer speak,

**Ama amin 'ō o galat**  Our fathers who no longer counsel.

The origin of death is linked to the separation of the earth and the heavens in the Myth of the Separation (see Chapter Three). Another myth, which may properly be part
of the Myth of the Separation, details the beginning of death as the result of a "search" by the ancestors. I have not recorded the entire myth as a spontaneously performed rendition, and the version provided here is constructed from fragments recorded on different occasions and from different informants.

In the beginning the world became very crowded because there was no death. People say:

Deri lé'u neté 'etin  
Everyone sat as if stuck together,

Gera lé'u neté oan  
Everyone stood packed together as a high stack of firewood.

Finally, an ancestor sat and thought, "How is it? The earth is too small and there are too many human beings. We are living all crowded together. It would be better if we:

Tota wok pi pitu  
Search the seven levels,

Paga ok tédang walu  
Seek in the eight layers,

Da'a nian nahaa maté  
Until we find the land where men must die,

Da'a tana nahaa potat  
Until we find the earth where men are lost."

So the ancestor gathered together a group of people. They:

Pano ora dolor blon  
Travelled in a long line,

Rema ora lalan lodar  
Journeyed on the road in single file,

through the seven levels and the eight layers of the world. Finally, one turned his head and discovered that the last
person in the file of travellers was missing. The remaining people journeyed below the seven levels until they found, at the seventh level, the corpse of their companion. As they prepared to bury him, the spirit of the base of the world\textsuperscript{12} spoke to them and said, "You cannot bury your dead here. If human kind is to die, it must be buried in the upper eight layers where:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Nian inga tana ponga & The land is illuminated and the earth is brightened, \\
Lero réta wulan gahar & By the sun above and the moon high up", \\
\end{tabular}

that is, on the surface of the world. So they carried the corpse back upward, where it was interred in:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Ruga huer pata halar & A grave measured to the length of the body and covered with split bamboo, \\
Lera wodon tige ledé & In a tight-fitting grave like the cage in which is kept a trapped wodon bird ("bush-chicken").
\end{tabular}

The ancestors were apparently dissatisfied with what they had accomplished in discovering death and another myth (which I have not recorded in full) recounts how the ancestors, having begun to die, then sought the "land and earth of life". In this myth the ancestors:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Tota kokak ganu koat & Sought to shed their shells but continue to live, as do locusts, \\
Paga loguk ganu ular & Sought to shed their skins as snakes.
\end{tabular}
In the ritual language of the Ata Tana Ai the world is said to consist of *pi pitu tédang walu*, "seven levels and eight layers". The seven levels are those of the earth and the eight layers are those of the firmament. Human beings live on the face of the world, between its levels and layers. When a person dies, his soul begins a cycle of seven deaths and eight rebirths, "da'a dun ba'a", "until it reaches the end", and this cycle of deaths and rebirths is likened to the soul's journey through the multileveled universe. Following its last death, the ancestral spirits are finally reborn as *kuar* (rattan) and *nidun* (sp.?), the vines of the forests of Tana Ai. It is *kuar* and *nidun* that the Ata Tana Ai split lengthwise into four quarters to make the strong cords with which the parts of houses, barns and fences are bound together. The myth of the discovery of death thus can be seen as recounting the archetypical journey of the soul of the first Ata Tana Ai to die.

The journey of the soul through the cycle of deaths and rebirths is called *leka*, a word more commonly used to mean the splitting of vines with a bush knife (*leka tali*) to make cord. Death separates the living from the ancestors, and is said to "*leka wué wari ba'a*", "to split siblings" from one another. At death the body is split from the soul, which must then "cross over" (*lete*). The crossing over of the soul is a dangerous and uncertain business and is likened to walking on a thin thread or
walking on the sharp edge of a knife blade. This idea is expressed in ritual language as:

- **Tuber pitu manar walu**
  - The seven spirits and eight souls,

- **Leté blida' bano gurun**
  - Cross over on a thread and walk the knife's sharp edge,

- **Leté réhi bano loar**
  - If they are unable to cross over and cannot walk farther,

- **Tawa kuar léma nidun**
  - They grow as rattan and sprout up as *nidun* vines.

In order to complete the cycle the soul must, "bano plonang leté diran", "travel straight and unentangled, cross over sharply".

The words that denote the soul are *tuber manar* and *maen 'aju*. The difference between these two terms, and whether they denote different aspects of the soul, is difficult to determine on the basis of the present evidence.\(^\text{14}\) *Maen* is the word most often translated by informants as *jiwa* (Indonesian: "soul", "spirit"). *'Aju* in other contexts means, "intertwined", as two trees growing so closely together that their leaves and branches commingle and they appear as one tree. My impression is that, just as the living person consists of two layers (*ha lapen*, the outward, visible person, and *rua lapen*, the inner spirit of the personality), so too does the soul have two facets, *tuber manar* and *maen 'aju*. However, the distinction between these two requires further investigation.
13.4 Spirits

The spirit of the newly dead is *gahu rou*, "hot", and it is the purpose of the death cycle rituals to render "cool" (*blatan bliran*) the spirits of the dead. The cooling of the dead takes place in stages. The uncooled spirit is *nitu maten*, "ghost" or "spirit of the dead*. *Nitu maten* are volatile and potentially dangerous to the living, especially during the interval between death and burial while the corpse is being prepared for interment. With burial, the spirit begins to be cooled. It must, however, remain outside the *lepo* and out of gardens. Between the time of burial and *likon*, the second stage mortuary rituals, the spirit is thought to pace at the boundary between the house yard and the forest, and must remain, "wawa tana wali woer", "on the ground and in the house yard". It cannot enter the house and remains near its grave, which is placed at the border of the clearing around the house. During this time the spirit is said to "guard the house" and to care for the animals of the household, which it feeds. It protects the garden of its house from the predations of wild animals. In ritual language it is said the *nitu maten*:

- *Ja lepo jepa woga*: Guards the house and watches over the pavilion,
- *Bihin wawi peni manu*: Feeds the pigs and scatters grain for the chickens,
- *Wula rain wula érin*: When the upper and lower halves of the garden are ripe,
- *Jaqa were no ra wekak*: Protects from monkeys and cockatoos.
Burial cools the corpse and starts the soul on its journey to ancestorhood. This journey takes the spirit from its banishment at the boundary of the house and forest to the *lepo geté*, the "great house" of its clan. When *likon* is completed the soul joins:

| Blupur réta lepo unen | The Old Ones up inside the house, |
| Geté lau woga wutun | The Big Ones down in the visitors' pavilion, |
| Blupur deri tuké nudé | The Old Ones that sit at the posts of the hearth, |
| Geté gera plapu awu | The Big Ones that stand near the fire place of the hearth, |
| Deri 'ulu higun gera | Sit in the main room and stand in the corners of the house. |

When the *'lo'ë unur*, the third and final rituals of the death cycle, are completed, the ancestral spirit becomes one of the many:

| Blupur wawa liri puan | Old Ones at the central house post, |
| Geté réta lo wutun | Big Ones atop the end house beam |

of the clan house, places to which they are summoned during the rituals of the house and clan.

With its *likon*, the *nitu maten* begins to cool, and with the second stage rites completed, the *nitu* becomes *blupur geté*, an "old big one". That is, it has begun to assume its ancestorhood. With *likon* the spirit is re-aggregated with its descent group, and can once again enter its *lepo* where it perches in the rafters or hangs from the
posts and beams of the house. With the completion of its third stage rites, 'lo'ë unur, the spirit leaves the house as guna déwa and takes up residence in the forests of the domain, from which it can be summoned by its descendants when its assistance is required. There the ancestral guna déwa spirits are closely associated with stones and trees, the basic elements of the forest. In ritual language the association is expressed simply as:

Blupur hutu geté lima The four Old Ones and the five Big Ones,
Ai watu guna déwa Trees of the guna spirit, stones of the déwa spirit.

All rituals include rites of offering (ekak pare tewuk tuak, "to offer rice, to sprinkle palm gin") made at a flat altar stone and a tree trunk or bough driven into the earth behind it. The stone and wood are called mula watu pa'at ai, "the transplanted stone, the planted wood".

From the forests, their natural realm, the ancestral guna déwa can be summoned when their assistance is required by the living members of the house. But the most significant characteristic of guna déwa, and one that is most important for the living, is their semidivinity. Guna déwa are the terrestrial representatives of the deity, and they serve in ritual as intermediaries between the living and Nian Tana Lero Wulan, the deity of the Ata Tana Ai. Guna déwa are capable of communication with the deity and, when
properly invoked, are able to convey divine power for the benefit of the community.

With the apotheosis of the spirit completed, the ancestral guna déwa of the house and clan serve their descendants in a variety of ways. Most important, they control the rains and oversee the growth of crops in the gardens of the domain, and it is they whom their descendants invoke to assure that the rains begin and end in accordance with the requirements of riziculture. As one Tana Wai Brama cultivator put it:

In the beginning (of gardening), it must be the blupur getê to whom we always address our requests (for good crops) when we say, "Eh! Old Ones, take pity on us! We have planted. You must make the stalks of the rice plants wish to grow, and their roots long." That we ask of the blupur getê; then they protect the growth of the rice before it breaks the surface of the soil, and afterwards. The blupur getê guard the plant as it sprouts, and watch over its growth so that the plant's body is healthy. If we see the rice begin to die ... what do we do? Then we ask the four Old Ones and the five Big Ones to give the rice its growth.

All the guna déwa of the domain are summoned (apun guna déwa or apun blupur) to surround and guard the mahé during the celebration of gren mahé rituals (see Chapter Five and Appendix F). The summoning of the spirits to ask them to intermediate between the members of the community and the deity is called guna mahan, "the service of the spirits". In return for this service, the spirits are given offerings of rice, palm gin and torn cloth (patan).
Curers invoke the ancestors in the ritual treatment of disease. In curing the ritual specialist employs a small piece of wood, called *guna*, and a small stone not unlike the *wu'a* stones of other ritualists, but called *déwa*. Treatment consists of invocations in ritual language by which the cause of the illness is discovered and the manipulation of the stone and wood of the ancestors. Expectorated juice of areca nut is rubbed on the body of the patient to complete the cure.

When hunters enter the forest in search of game, a small offering of a chicken's egg and rice is made to the *guna déwa*. This offering is called "*heni hokot nalu nang*", an "offering given for (animals) received". If a large animal is hunted, a cloth is torn at the forest's edge as a *patan* offering. This is said to be "bridewealth* (*bélis*) given to the spirits in exchange for an animal.

While *guna déwa* spirits are jealous of their forest domains and react irritably and capriciously when men transgress their realms and prerogatives without first performing the proper rituals, they are not innately malevolent. However, they share the forests with other, more antipathetically malicious and dangerous spirits. These are the unsocialized *nitu noang*. Not even the most knowledgeable Tana Ai ritualist knows much about these spirits. There are no rituals by which they can be either invoked or controlled. It may be that *nitu noang* are renegade *nitu maten* whose mortuary rites have been incorrectly or incompletely performed.
Most likely, as one informant suggested, they are the aboriginal spirits of the domain, its inhabitants before the coming of the clans to the valley. In any event, next to nothing is known about nitu noang since encounters with these evil fossils of a primeval era are almost inevitably fatal.

Nitu noang are associated with animals, and an exchange between one of these spirits and two ancestors of sukon Ipir provided the Ata Tana Ai with their first pigs and goats (see Chapter Twelve, note 6). In myth, it said that in the beginning, men did not know the husbandry of animals. Once, as two ancestors wandered through the forest, they came upon an animal belonging to the nitu noang of the place. They saw that it was a pig, and that it left golden faeces. After returning home, they thought about the pig and decided they would steal it in order to obtain to'o balik, the wealth exchanged for "father's forelock". So they stole the pig of the nitu noang, took it home, and waited for it to defecate gold. ("And", concluded the narrator of the story, "they waited, and waited and waited. And to this day the Ata Tana Ai keep animals to get wealth.")

Only the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama knows the chants by which the number of pigs can be increased. His knowledge of the names of the nitu noang, perhaps the rarest knowledge in Tana Wai Brama, may be related to his forebears having been the first human beings to enter the valley and to displace the aboriginal forest spirits as sole rulers of the
domain. The following is a fragment of the chant for increasing the pig herd:

Nitu wait Sili Liti  
The *nitu*, wife of Sili Liti,
Noang Sora Laké aman  
The *noang*, father of Sora Laké,
Nitu wait Ti Wéné  
The *nitu*, wife of Ti Wéné,
Met Tali Ada Bogin  
Whose child was Tali Ada Bogin,
Nitu réta ilin wutun  
They are the *nitu* of the mountain peaks,
Noang lau tuan 'loran  
And the *noang* down in the forest's center.

The chant reveals that *nitu noang* come in two varieties, male and female, and implies that they reproduce in the same manner as humans. It may be conjectured, then, that *nitu* comprise a society not entirely unlike that of human beings. The chant goes on to identify the *nitu* "wife of Ti Wéné" and her child Tali Ada Bogin as the spirits who guard the waters of the domain, while the *nitu* "wife of Sili Liti" and the *noang* who was "father of Sora Laké" are the spirits who guard the peaks of Ili Wukoh. Thus each *nitu* is tied to one place. They are, however, able to take on the bodies of animals, and they can inflict injury on human beings when they appear in dreams.

While the *nitu noang* are bound to specific locations, *guna dêwa* spirits are identified with particular places but can range freely and can be summoned from one place to another. Indeed, the long recitations of ancestors' names and place names that comprise much of the *ngeng ngerang sukun*,...
the histories of the journeys of the clan ancestors, identify the places associated with named guna déwa. These guna déwa, in the context of the histories, are referred to as du'a mo'an (see Chapter Three).

The equivalence of du'a mo'an and guna déwa is expressed in the saying, "du'a mo'an ha, guna déwa ha", "one clan ancestor, one ancestral spirit". Whether in actual speech the ancestors are referred to as du'a mo'an or as guna déwa is a matter of circumstance. In casual, everyday speaking, ancestors are always referred to as du'a mo'an. Du'a mo'an is also the term used on any occasion by people who are not ritual specialists. Reference to guna déwa is a much more potent matter since the term connotes not just the idea of ancestors, but the living spirits of the ancestors. The names of the du'a mo'an denote places, while the names of the guna déwa denote the persons of the ancestors themselves, just as in genealogies, recorded names can signify both positions in a network of social relationships and actual persons. For the Ata Tana Ai the signification of guna déwa is the ancestral "self", about which little or nothing is known by contemporary Ata Tana Wai Brama, while du'a mo'an, who are associated in the chants with places and events, are demarcators of "history".

In the chants by which the guna déwa are summoned, the narrative style of the clan histories is replaced by a
directly invocatory style of ritual language. The following brief excerpt from the invocation of the *guna déwa* to attend the cutting of a new drum for the *gren mahé* celebration of 1980 will illustrate the tone of requests made to the ancestors.

A'u di
Dopo guna wutun sot
Hawon déwa unen leman
Mai ahan bawo moqa
Bati wor goba kesa
Baké timu tawa na
Ela lero léma bawo
Luhenlédan Génunuli
Popo unuk Man Delé
Lala Déwa lale Léka
Lala Téré lala Délong
Luli Sai Sapé Latan
Ia mai ita mogat
Ia bawo ita ahan
A'u topo wiri wana
A'u hawon papa rua
Plikat wutun plami unen
Pruda detu tua monin
Lulé Sai Dala Wutun

I also,
Summon the guna spirits from the borders of the domain,
Call forth the déwa spirits from their deep corners,
Come down here, come up here also,
Contribute to the pounding of the drums, add to the striking of the gongs,
Arise with the coming of the sun over the peaks,
Come down as the sun climbs into the heavens,
Come from Luhenlédan and Génunuli (places at the frontier between Tana Wai Brama and Larantuka),
Bathed in the fragrant herbs of Mandiri (a district of Larantuka),
There are Déwa and Léka,
There are Téré and Délong,
Luli, Sai, Sapé and Latan,
They too come to us,
They come up to us also,
I summon from left and right,
I call forth from both sides,
From the ends of the tree branches and from within (*plami* = ?),
From the plain of Pruda (on the south coast of Tana Wai Brama), swept with lontar,
Lulé, Sai, Dala and Wutun,
In answer to summonses such as this one the ancestors respond quickly, taking the forms of animals to travel to the site of the ritual. For fear of injuring or killing an ancestor, a ban is imposed on hunting throughout the domain during the ceremonies to which the *guna dèwa* have been called.

13.5 The Social Organization of the Death Cycle Rituals

As the spirit of the dead moves through its cycle of mortuary rites, larger groups of people are involved in
the rituals that mark its progress. The rites of burial are the responsibility of the members of the lepo of the deceased, that is, the members of his immediate descent group. Likon is performed once a year by a house or a few houses in concert and takes place at the lepo welut of the clan branch. The members of this lepo perform one likon for all the members of the branch who have died during the previous year. The final ritual of the cycle, 'lo'á unur, is organized by the clan headwoman and takes place at the lepo sopé of the clan and in the gardens of the houses of the dead of the clan. The movement of the soul outward from the place of burial to its lepo, clan house and, finally, to the forests is thus marked by a series of rituals which are seen as taking the relics of the dead from the periphery of its clan to the central or source "basket" of the clan, while removing the spirit from its house to the forest.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to describe in detail the rites that comprise the ceremonies of the death cycle. However, a brief discussion of the principal rites of each ceremony will serve to define the relations of the living and the dead that each expresses.

13.5.1 Burial

Corpses of the Ata Tana Ai are buried quickly, usually the same day as the death and within twenty-four
hours except in cases when the deceased is a particularly important person whose mourners must be summoned from distant localities. People are buried at the edge of the clearing that surrounds their house, at the border between the clearing and the surrounding forest. While it is considered desirable to be buried in the clearing of one's lepo (descent group house), the "true home" of the Ata Tana Ai, this is most often done only for the burial of the older members of the house and for actual residents of the house. Burials are done quickly, simply and economically, and require a minimum of arrangement and expenditure. The additional arrangements required for removing a corpse from where it died to its lepo are usually considered justified only for the older members of the house, its du'a mo'an, senior men and women.

As news of a death spreads through the community, mourners, both people of the descent group of the deceased and others, begin gathering at the house where the burial is to take place. The women of the ina ama, "mothers and fathers", and pu winé, "sisters' children and sisters", of the deceased gather in the unen geté, the "big inside" of the house, where they weep and chant dani bohé, "crying of remorse", the lamentations that accompany burials and likon. The men attending the burial gather in the verandah of the house and outside on bamboo sitting platforms under the eaves of the roof where they talk, smoke tobacco and chew areca nut.
The rite of removing the hair and fingernails from the corpse has been described (Chapter Six). Immediately the *hiti kare* rite is completed, the body, which is wrapped in new cloth, is tightly bound in pandanus leaf mats. The body is then bound with cords twined from red dyed warp threads removed from a loom of a woman of the house. The corpse is then left in the house where the *dani bohe* of the women reach a climax, and the men who have wrapped the corpse leave the house to assist other young men who are digging the grave under the direction of ritual specialists and older men.

Providing the burial cloths of a man is the right and obligation of the women of his house and descent group: "The mothers (M, MM, MZ, MMZ) have first rights; (if the mothers are) dead, the mothers are replaced by the sisters (of the deceased); if the sisters are dead, the sisters' children replace the sisters". A woman's burial cloths are, "*kuasa ina ama baha boter*", "the rights of the mother and father who buy and sell", i.e., women (or their female descendants) of the house who have exchanged *to'o balik* for the woman (or her lineal ancestor) who first entered her clan as "father's forelock" (see Chapter Ten). The *ina ama baha boter* of the deceased call her *nara ama* ("brothers and fathers"), who are of her natal clan (or who are the descendants of the brothers of her ancestral mother who founded the descent group of the deceased woman). These men are
required to assist with the woman's burial.  

During the preparations for burial, the corpse lies in the house with its feet facing uphill. In burial the orientation is reversed, the head being placed uphill (to the east). Of the reasons for this reversal of orientation informants only quoted from ritual language the following lines:

- Lau 'ulu réta wa Downhill the receiving room of the house, uphill the door,
- Lepo lau 'ulu Sina The house downhill, and the receiving room of China,
- Woga réta wa Jawa The visitors' pavilion uphill and door of Larantuka.

In order to understand this fragment of ritual language (and in the absence of a fuller native explanation) and the reversal of the orientation of the corpse, it must be noted that houses are oriented uphill, that is, to the east and toward the peaks of the Ili Wukoh. Up-slope is both the prime direction and the sacred direction in Tana Ai. Specifically, a lepo oriented in harmony with the sacred direction has its door (wa, the inner door framed by the two hearths of the house) facing up-slope. For the head of the corpse to be opposed to the "head" of the house is a reversal of proper orientation, and it can be seen as an expression of the dissociation of the dead from the surviving members of his lepo. More to the point, the survivors both intentionally
bring about that dissociation and express it during the rites before burial by placing the uncooled (and therefore dangerous) corpse in an "unnatural" position. With its burial, and its soul safely on the path of the ancestors, the corpse is returned to its natural orientation, head toward the mountain peaks and the rising sun. As a perspicacious child put it to me at one burial, laying out the corpse with its head down-slope, "reminds (the) dead (person) that he is dead".

Digging the grave is closely observed by a ritual specialist who seeks signs in the digging that there are no impediments to the burial. Obstacles to the burial, such as roots or stones that cannot be removed from the excavation, manifest the unwillingness of the earth to accept the corpse and indicate outstanding and unsettled halan hulir (errors and forgettings) of the deceased which must be settled before the corpse can be interred. If such debts, breaches of hadat or unsettled litigations remain, and the corpse were to be buried, the punishments of the deity for the unexpiated sins of the deceased would befall his survivors. Once the grave is prepared, and no preternatural obstacles or signs are uncovered, the corpse is brought from the house and very quickly (an unceremoniously) placed in the grave and buried. Once the corpse is in its grave, it must be covered with earth as quickly as possible so that, "nothing more (such as the corpse's spirit) is
buried with it”. For the same reason the grave is narrow and "tight fitting", and is dug in accordance with careful measurements made of the corpse before excavation commences.

Following interment, the bamboo poles used to loosen the earth in digging are laid along side the grave and the coconut shells used as scoops for removing soil are placed atop the mound of fresh earth. *Watu mulan*, two "transplanted stones", are then placed at the head of the grave, one planted upright and the other along the base of the first and down-slope from it, thus forming a small altar. On this altar are placed offerings of tobacco, areca nut, betel leaves and lime. The tobacco is ceremoniously removed from its basket container, and the lime is poured out of its coconut shell jar. The basket is then ripped apart with a bush knife, which is then used to smash the lime container.

One final and important rite, conducted by a young man under the direction of the presiding ritual specialist, completes the burial ceremony. After the offering at the headstone, the burial party moves to the foot of the grave and, at the boundary between the bush and the house yard, performs a rite which has no name, but is said to be the cooking of rice for the dead. The following then occur in the sequence enumerated:
1. A stick of buwu, a thin, long sectioned, vine-like bamboo, is driven into the earth at the precise boundary of the house yard and the surrounding bush;

2. A ceramic (and valued) rice cooking pot is placed bottom up on the ground just over the boundary of the yard, and on the bush side;

3. A kerosene burning cigarette lighter is then struck, the ritualist being careful to roll the striker backwards so that no flame is produced;

4. Rice from a household télí (a small, covered basket) is decanted into a korak (a coconut shell bowl), and from the korak into a poté (a gourd bowl), and then is poured over the upended cooking pot, to run onto the ground;

5. The poté and korak bowls are smashed with a bush knife and thrown into the bush;

6. The cigarette lighter is struck with the blade of the bush knife and also is thrown into the bush;

7. The télí basket in which the rice was carried is slashed with the knife and thrown into the bush;

8. The rice pot is smashed with the knife;

9. The carrying basket in which the rice and cooking utensils were carried from the house is slashed and thrown into the bush;

10. The woman who brought the rice from the house then tosses maize and peanuts into the bush;
11. The sherds of the pot follow the food into the bush;
12. The ritualist then takes up a *baso* (bamboo tube) of water and slowly pours out its contents onto the ground as the onlookers, moving in single file and anticlockwise around the grave, file past, the men who dug the grave wetting their right hands in the flowing water;
13. The ritualist hacks holes in the *baso*, throws it into the bush, and joins the file of mourners returning to the house.

The world inhabited by the dead is conceived as being an *alon*, "shadow" or "reflection" (as the reflection of something in a mirror), of the world of the living. For the dead, all relationships of things and sequences of events are the obverse of relationships that obtain for the living. Thus the language of the dead is said to be spoken with *hura hugar*, its "pattern back to front". In the rite at the foot of the grave, the living approach the boundary between the realms of the living and the spirits, the border between the cleanly swept house yard and the forest, and there rice is cooked for the recently deceased of the house. The cooking is conducted in the idiom of the dead, for whom an upside down pot holds rice, and a broken one serves as container. Similarly, the reversed striking of a cigarette lighter generates flame for the dead and baskets and water containers, to be of use to the ancestor, must first be slashed and thereby rendered unusable to the living. In
this last meal prepared for the newly deceased by his surviving lepo mates, the change of status of the dead, and the new relationship between him and the living, is dramatically expressed.

The "cooking of rice" at the foot of the grave ends the burial ceremony unless it is suspected that the death was an unnatural or bad one, or was caused by a malicious agent. In such cases a meeting between members of the lepo of the deceased and ritual specialists takes place immediately following the burial. The purpose of the meeting is to:

Waké puan réan wangun To construct the sources, to discover the origins,

of the death and to determine whether additional ritual is required to effect completely the transition of the dead to ancestorhood.

13.5.2 Likon

While burial effects the transition of the living in death and is concerned primarily with the corpse, likon is concerned with the "cooling" of the spirit of the dead and the reaggregation of the spirit with its lepo and the membership of the lepo. The ostensible purpose of the ceremony is the "cooling" of the souls of the dead for whom likon is performed, but the rites themselves are conspicuously those by which the Ata Tana Ai express the solidarity of the memberships of their houses. These are primarily the
Women awaiting the division of rice at the likon of 1979, Lepo Tana, Watuwolon

The division of pigs' jaws at the likon of 1979, Lepo Tana, Watuwolon
ritual division of cooked rice and the meat of sacrificial animals, and the distribution of pigs' jaws between the ina ama (mothers and fathers) of the house, by which the survival of crucial social relationships in which the deceased participated while alive is expressed.

The full name of the second stage mortuary rites, as it is expressed in ritual language, is "likon méin papan etan", which may be interpreted to mean, "to encircle (or encompass) the blood and separate the flesh". The rituals marking the second mortuary ceremonies of the likon thus can be seen as intended to unify relations of blood while separating the body (flesh) of the deceased from the group who shares his blood.

Likon is meant to be a larger and more elaborate ceremony than burial. It is conducted by the membership of a lepo once a year following the harvest on behalf of the spirits of all the members of the descent group who have died during the previous year. When a lepo has suffered few deaths it can join with another group or groups in the performance of likon in order to produce a ceremony of the desired elaborateness. Thus in 1978-1979 the houses of the Munéwolon-Watuwolon area lost few people, the majority of the deaths in that year having been those of infants and very young children. The oldest and most important person to have died was Nura, a man of sukun Ipir Wai Brama
(see Chapter Eleven, Figure 11.5 and p. 380). Nura's elder sister, Rudun, the keeper of the lepo tana of the domain, organized his likon, which formed the nucleus for the rites for three other persons (see Figure 13.1) who were descended from sisters of Nura's mother's mother.

(Chart shows four of twelve deceased for whom likon was celebrated.)

Figure 13.1: Likon Performed at Lepo Tana, Watuwolon, 1979.

Because of child exchanges in previous generations, these four people were of three different clans and houses, but it was decided that by joining together, a likon appropriate to Nura's status in the community could be organized. Once word was passed that the nucleus of a likon had been formed,
the dead of eight other households of the area were joined to the celebration. In a similar fashion, the likon that was organized around the rites performed in 1980 for Mo'an Rapa Ipir Wai Brama, the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama, included celebrations for the dead of eight houses of four clans (sukun Ipir Wai Brama, sukun Mau, sukun Liwu Pigan Bitak and sukun Léwuk). The core of the likon of the tana puan is identified in Figure 13.2.

The likon begins with the arrival of the kin of the dead at the lepo where the ceremony is to take place. The closest kin of each of the dead, usually their sisters, provide pigs for the ritual, while every person attending contributes rice. The rice that is contributed individually by the various celebrants is taken as it arrives at the lepo and poured into a large storage basket called the télî puan, the "source" or "central basket". In this basket all the rice is thoroughly mixed. During the rites that follow, some of the rice, after pounding and additional mixing, is used in offerings to the dead while the bulk is cooked and distributed among the participants in the event. Except for the mixing, the rice is handled and prepared solely by women.

While the women prepare the rice, the pigs are slaughtered by men working under the direction of the bian mo'an (the overseer of the slaughter), the bian ekak (overseer of the offerings), and mo'an jaga meran (the guardian
(The chart shows nine of the thirteen deceased for whom likon was celebrated.)

Figure 13.2: Likon Performed at Lepo Wélut, Sukun Ipir Wai Brama, Munéwolon, 1980.
of the slaughtering site). These three men are designated to act in the rites by the presiding ritual specialist. The lower jaws (aru) of the pigs are separated from the heads and strung up to await distribution. The meat from all the pigs is mixed together and then divided and packed into baskets of different sizes, one basket for each of the dead whose likon is being celebrated. In the meantime, the rice that has been cooked is divided into as many baskets as there are dead, the size of the baskets indicating the relative statuses of the people they represent.

As the preparations of rice and animals begin, the presiding ritual specialist prepares an altar in the house by placing along the down-slope boundary of the central room of the house a young coconut (kabor kubar). As each pig is decapitated in the yard of the house, its head is rushed into the house and blood from the severed head is shaken onto the coconut. A bowl of cooked rice scooped from each of the baskets representing the spirits of the dead is also emptied onto the kabor kubar.

Once these offerings have been made, and the meat is prepared and packed into baskets the redistribution of the meat and rice takes place. The ritual distribution of rice and meat, which takes place in any clan or house ceremony, is called buwu, "to divide", "to distribute", "to share". In ritual language it is the subject of the lines:
In buwu, all the participants in the ceremony receive a nera, a bowl made from the pliable sheaths of the areca palm, a téli (small basket), and a tuir, a section of bamboo used as a container for liquids. The participants sit in two concentric lines around the house with their nera, téli and tuir on the ground before them. When blood from the heads of all the sacrificed pigs and cooked rice from all the baskets have been offered at the coconut altar within the house, several men then begin the distribution of the remaining rice and pig meat to the participants, each person receiving a small amount of rice and meat from every basket and animal. Lurun, a stock made by boiling a bit of meat from each animal in water, is distributed among the tuir of the participants. The principal requirement of buwu distributions is that every person receives a share of the food offered for each of the dead for whom the likon is performed. Following the buwu, the lower jaws of the pigs (wawi arun) are distributed. None of the food distributed at the likon, or in other ceremonies, is consumed during the ceremony and at the site of the event. Instead, the participants carry their shares back to their houses where the food is consumed individually and privately.

Interspersed with the preparations for buwu and wawi arun distributions are offerings made to the dead. Tobacco,
areca nut and betel leaf are placed on the headstones of all the graves at the *lepo* where the *likon* takes place, regardless of whether the graves are those of people whose *likon* are being celebrated. At least once during the proceedings women representing the dead gather at the border of the house yard and the surrounding bush to *heni si'ong*, an offering to the spirits of the dead that consists of uncooked rice from the *téli puan*, maize and tobacco. These offerings are "shaken out of baskets" (*si'ong*) across the boundary.

Preceding and following each rite of the *likon* the women of the ceremony chant *dani bohé*, lamentations for the dead. *Dani bohé*, "weeping and remorse", are keens chanted in a modified ritual language\(^27\) by women in chorus and by solitary ritual specialists who address their *dani bohé* to particular dead who are named in their chants.\(^28\)

The following excerpt is from the *dani bohé* for the source of the earth of Tana Wai Brama performed by his clan mate, the principal chanter of the domain:\(^29\)

\[
\begin{align*}
0, \text{ Mo'an oe} \\
\text{Mo'an oe, Rapa oe} \\
\text{Aman geté, ama a'un gahar} \\
4 \text{ Litin mué 'lo'en moret} \\
Lér mué matan nara \\
\text{Au ganu ngaisia} \\
\text{Au ganu nara gega} \\
8 \text{ Li'ar aun dira dadin} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
0, \text{ Father, oe},^30 \\
\text{Father oe, Rapa oe,} \\
\text{Great father, my tall father,} \\
\text{Lean here where lives your forelock,}^31 \\
\text{Sit here within sight of your people,} \\
\text{You who were wise,} \\
\text{You who guided your people,} \\
\text{With your might voice,}
\end{align*}
\]
Wa aun ngang totan
Ruk Mo' an
............
Huk ora sugo tubon
12 Nera ora dalo wan
Hiri eta ina li'ar
Nohi tepo ama rang
Apa gu
16 Ina li'ar lusi
Ama rang lajur
Ruk Mo' an
............
0, Mo' an oé
20 Kasi ruk Mo' an oé
Pulek poi nian inga
Lae poi lero hirat
Lohor na'i wawa tana
24 Pano na'i wali woer
Gu témo leman an
Gu 'lepín gahar wan
Hidi lopo bui dan pu
28 Pok lopo nawan wanga woer
E, ruk Mo' an
Huk nora wetin blatan
Nera ora wera bliran
32 Ruk Mo' an
Lo'ar bano more mó pu

And your bold tongue,
Slip away, Father.

Think of the great age of
tree stumps in the garden,

Meditate on the baskets hanging
from the roof beam,

Attend to the voices of your mothers,

Follow the chorus of your fathers,

The skilled voices of your mothers,
The harmonious chorus of your fathers,

Slip away, Father.

O, Father,

See only the light of the morning,
Experience only the rising sun,

Journey from the house yard,

Leave across the deep trenches that
 surround the house,

Depart from under the high thatched
eaves of the house,

Do not wait and stumble at the
central door of the house,

Do not linger in the house yard,

Slip away, Father.

Think of the cooling rice offerings,

Remember the coolness of the
offered rice,

Slip away, Father.

Do not take with you your children
and sisters' children,
Lopo bano mora ari ana
Bano témo leman ma
36 Rema 'lepin gahar bawo
Bano lopo toé toger
Rema lopo boro korok
Ruk Mo'an
40 Au ganu tuku téña
Au ganu behé gepun
Ruk Mo'an
.......... 
Au omi lepo huler uné
44 Woga omi klakat wutun
Ruk Mo'an
Kasi Mo'an Rapa
Mo'an geté, Mo'an Gahar
48 Ruk Mo'an
0, Mo'an 0é
Kasi Mo'an Rapa 0é
Marin dan puan di ba'a
52 Heron wanga woer di ba'a
Mo'an
Apin oti wali lepo unen
Gasi oti réta woga wutun
56 Ewan Wu'un ganu rua telu
Naran ganu hutu lima
Mo'an
.......... 
Do not travel as the Portuguese,
Leave across the trenches of the house,
Depart from under the thatched eaves,
Go and do not linger at the grave's maw,
Leave and do not (?),
Slip away, Father.
Row away as in a sampan,
Sail away as in a boat,
Slip away, Father.
You who are in the bush near the house,
And in the trees near the pavilion,
Slip away, Father.
Leave us, Mo'an Rapa,
Great father, tall father,
Slip away, Father.
0, Father,
Leave us Mo'an Rapa,
You have finished speaking from the central doorway,
You have done talking in the house yard,
Father.
But count those within the house,
And enumerate those in the pavilion,
Capable are the two and three boundaries (rituals),
And the four and five groups enclosed,
Father.
Wali a toé widin
There lie the goats,

60  Wali a nadar tali
There tethered on ropes and
awaiting sacrifice,35

Ruk Mo'an
Slip away, Father.

Widin na na sorong 'éru
The goat must stretch out its neck
and be slaughtered willingly,

Wawi na na dong kélik
The pig must wait patiently for
the sword's blade to fall,

64  Mo'an
Father.

..........
O, Mo'an é
O, Father,

Kasi ruk Mo'an Rapa jawa
Leave us, Mo'an Rapa, father of
aman
Larantuka,36

Widin sorong 'éru di ba'a
The goat has stretched out its
neck,

68  Wawi dong kélik di ba'a
And the pig has presented its neck
to the blade,

Omi gu daha geté
Soon now the great feast,

La'en poi daha geté
There remains only the great feast,

La'en poi linok mosan
There remains only the wide drink-
ing,

72  La'en poi wuwu riwun
There remains only the division
of food to the thousands,

La'en poi ma'a ngasun
There remains only the sharing
among the hundreds,

Ruk Mo'an
Slip away, Father.

..........
O, Mo'an óé,
O, Father,

76  Kasi ruk Mo'an Rapa, é
Leave us and slip away, Mo'an Rapa,
Mo'an Rapa,

Aman geté aman gahar
Great father, tall father,

Au di wali a
You there,

80  Topo lé'u tudi pulu
Summon the ten knives,

Hawong lé'u manu lima
And call forth the five chickens,

Mai ahan bawo mogan
Bring them down also,

Sugo welli kaman guman inga
Live a long life and give light
and darkness,
84 Dalo beli kaman leron wau
   (From) the basket give the
   morning and evening,

Ruk Mo'an Rapa oé
   Slip away, Mo'an Rapa.

O diat beli kliti meten
   Hand over and entrust yourself
   to a quiet journey,

Dokang beli blino mahak
   Surrender and give yourself to
   a calm voyage,

88 Ruk Mo'an
   Slip away, Father.

Watu hidi au le'e
   You do not want stumbling stones,

Ai pok au loar
   Roots that trip you leave behind,

Ruk Mo'an
   Slip away, Father.

92 Bano apak tahi blino
   May your journey be on a calm sea,

Rema apak lalan woer
   And may you travel a wide, smooth
   road,

Kedo lepo lémá woga
   But occasionally return to your
   house and enter your pavilion,

Bano nahan kliti meten
   On your quiet journey,

96 Rema apak blino mahak
   And your calm voyage,

Kasi aman geté Mo'an Rapa oé
   Depart, Mo'an Rapa, great father.

Whatever else this text reveals, and the mournful
tenor of its performance notwithstanding, the *dani bohé*
reflects an essential ambivalence on the part of the living
toward the recently dead. On the one hand, the mourner
invites the spirit to reside in the reliquary basket of the
house (lines 4-5) and implores it to visit the *lepo* (line 94).
Elsewhere the chanter asks the spirit to count and be mindful
of the surviving members of the *lepo* (lines 54-55), but the
spirit is enjoined not to take the lives of its children
and sisters' children and not to behave as the Portuguese,
who may have captured Ata Tana Ai in the past (lines 33-34).
On the other hand, the clearest message of the *dani bohé,*
while respectful in tone, is a demand that the spirit take its leave of the living and their affairs and depart on the journey of the dead.

With the completion of the distributions of cooked rice and meat, the last of the rice from the central basket, which has been set aside for the purpose, is divided into as many portions as there are dead for whom the likon is being performed. The division of this kokor, "cooling off", rice is done by the presiding ritual specialist who places the kokor offerings into small baskets (tapa' or seneng) and entrusts them to the women who will make final offerings at the graves of the dead once the rituals at the lepo are completed. With the completion of this final distribution, the ritualist enters the lepo where he breaks a bottle of palm gin over the coconut, then cuts open the coconut itself and sprinkles its water in the center and four corners of the house and over the altar in a final rite of offering and cooling. This rite ends the communal ceremony of likon.

Following the final cooling with the coconut, the participants who do not leave immediately to return to their homes split up into smaller groups, each led by a close kinswoman of the dead. These women visit individually the graves of their dead to place there offerings of rice (the kokor), areca nut, betel leaf, lime and small items that belonged to the dead. For men, a bow and arrow or spear
are usually placed on the grave, while the graves of women receive small model looms and weaving supplies such as cotton, a spinning wheel, bees' wax and thread taken from cloth left incomplete when a woman died. Once these goods have been placed on the graves the likon is complete.

13.5.3 'Lo'é Unur

The rites of the second stage mortuary ceremony, despite the ambivalence toward the dead expressed in the keens, are aimed at the rejoining of the spirits of the dead and their lepo. In 'lo'é unur, the third and final mortuary ceremony, the hair and fingernails of the dead are removed from the wélut of his clan branch and placed in the sopé which hangs from the high roof beam of the central house of his clan. The soul is thereby conceived to have returned to its source and, at the same time, to be freed of the constraining bonds to the living and able to return to the forest. Where likon establishes a relationship between the dead and its house (lepo), 'lo'é unur reestablishes a relationship, mediated by the clan, between the spirit and the garden whereby the living are able to tap the animating powers of the ancestors to insure the fertility of gardens and the success of crops planted in them.

The ceremony of 'lo'é unur (hair and fingernails) is performed much more rarely than the annual likon. It
involves the participation of all the houses of the clan, and may be conducted cooperatively by two or more clans of the domain. According to informants, a clan performs 'lo'ë unur once every six to eight years upon determination of the headwoman and ritual specialists of the clan. The primary prerequisite for 'lo'ë unur, which is held during the dry season, is that all the gardens of the clan have yielded good crops in the previous harvest.

The purpose of 'lo'ë unur is said to be:

Wihi sopë sobok To fill the reliquary basket of the clan (with the hair and fingernails of clan members who have died since the last 'lo'ë unur ceremony),
Leran reki dula The burial (of the hair and fingernails) in the womb of the clan.

The principal rites take place not in the lepo, however, but in a garden of the clan and are called piong 'lo'ë unur, "sacrifice of animals for the hair and fingernails (i.e., the ancestors)". The idea of the relations between the opening of a new garden, its fertility and the fecundating influence of the ancestors is expressed in ritual language in which the opening of a new garden is said to require:

Hiti roun roma ramut The stripping of leaves and the pulling of roots,
Huga unuk sa moi The cutting of fragrant bush and rooting out of trees,
Pole kabor bali bura (Water of) ritual coconuts.

As part of the ceremony, men of the clan sit in the garden in two lines oriented up and down the slope of the mountain. Two *luli* (bowls made from fire-hardened coconut shells) of palm gin pass up and down the lines of men. One is the *luli wana*, the right-hand *luli*, and the other is the *luli wiri*, the left-hand *luli*. The right-hand bowl is associated with the *rain*, the upper half of the garden, and the left-hand bowl is linked to the *erin*, the lower half of the garden (see Chapter Seven). The drinking of *tuak* (lontar palm gin) is part of offerings made to the ancestral spirits. The drinking of *tuak* is *tewuk*, the liquid counterpart of *ekak*, the offering of cooked rice, and *piong*, the offering of sacrificed animals, and completes the tripartite offerings that serve to reintroduce the spirits of the dead, who have been dissociated from gardens until this point in their death cycle rituals, into the gardens. The movement of the ancestors back into the gardens is likened to:

Luli wana réta na The right-hand bowl moving upward,
Luli wiri lau na And the left-hand bowl moving downward.

Finally, in 'lo'ó unur, the ancestral spirits, who are converted from *nitu maten*, spirits of the dead, to *blupur geté*, the powerful but "cooled" "Big Old Ones", are invoked
in ritual language to lend fertility to the gardens and to guard the livelihood of their descendants:

Neni ora blupur hutu Request of the four Old Ones,
Plawi ora geté lima Implore the five Big Ones,
Miu ata lurin guni You the people of the turmeric colored bones (i.e., elephant tusks),
4 Miu ata korak méran You the people of the red coconut shell bowls (i.e., gongs),
Miu ata maté mulu You the people who have died before,
Miu ata potat wa'a You the people who were lost long ago,
Bano mora wi'in blatan Journey with cooled "selves",
8 Rema mora tebon bliran Travel with cool bodies

Ina ata lurin guni Mothers of the yellow ivory,
Ama ata korak méran Fathers of the red gongs,
Kaman ukun nora tio' n May you now truly return,
12 Kaman taji nora bélan May you now completely come home,
Kedo ukun bano baler Return to your starting point, travel back to your origins,
Mai ro'o nora mé Come here near to your children,
Bawo par nora pu Come up close to your sisters' children,
16 Ro'o mué uma 'loran Close here to the garden's center,
Par mué tua wutun Nearby the lontar palms at the garden's borders,
Ami neni uma ihin We ask that the garden yield,
Ami plawi tua dolo We beg that the lontar juice flow,
20 Ihin geté dolo mosan With great harvests and broad flows of juice,
Wihin mé penan pu Feed your children and nourish your sisters' children,
Mé naha wi'in blatan Your children whose "selves" must be cooled,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pu naha tebon bliran</th>
<th>Your sisters' children whose bodies must be cool,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24 Blatan wair sina mitan</td>
<td>Cool as the water of the black Chinese,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ro kabor bali bura</td>
<td>And the dew that drips from the white coconut of Bali,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganu ina beta heron</td>
<td>As our mothers have instructed us,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganu ama duru donen</td>
<td>As our fathers have pointed the way.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two key relationships are implied in this chant. First, the ancestral spirits are identified as "people of the ivory and gongs". Elephant tusks and gongs (to'o balik) are the ceremonial wealth of clans and houses that are exchanged for women in "father's forelock" transactions. By these exchanges, blood alienated from the clan by the loss of a man in marriage is replaced by one of his daughters who returns to the paternal clan to found there a new descent group and a new cohort of ancestors. Second, the chant identifies the return of the ancestors to the garden as a vehicle of "cooling", i.e., fertility, and the productivity of the gardens themselves. The ancestors' return brings fertility which is transformed into bountiful harvests and life for their descendants. Thus the living and the dead must cooperate to insure the survival and well-being of the social group.
Chapter Fourteen

Concluding Remarks: Social Reproduction in an Idiom of Alliance

In 1935, van Wouden sought to demonstrate that in eastern Indonesia myth, ritual and social structure, the "three great components" of the "essential unity of culture" (1968:2), are related in the same way in all the societies of the region. He began his study with the observation that:

> Among the various peoples of eastern Indonesia we find a remarkable system of regulations governing non-reciprocal marriages ... (this system) completely determines the inter-relations and activities of the social groups, and is reflected also in myth and ritual. By starting from this system we shall arrive at a clear understanding of the form and meaning of these culture-types, and we shall find it possible to demonstrate the essential unity of social organization, myth, and ritual. (ibid.:9.)

At the same time, van Wouden noted the incomplete state of the ethnography of the area (ibid.:2-4), and closes his monograph with the remark that more intensive research in the field would be required before his thesis could be put to empirical test (ibid.:166).

Forty-five years later, in his conclusion to a volume of essays by fifteen anthropologists who have carried out research in eastern Indonesian societies,
Fox writes, on the basis of ethnography which van Wouden lacked, that:

Recent research has contributed to the creation of a far more complex view of the region as a culture area than van Wouden appears to have had. Cultural similarities are no less strikingly apparent now than they were when van Wouden did his research, but cultural differences can no longer be ignored in an overall view. (1980b:328.)

One result of the recent work has been to place alliance systems more firmly within the particular societies in which they are found. This contextualization of alliance and its relations to other cultural forms within particular ethnography, while a prerequisite of comparison and "mutual interpretation" as envisaged by P. E. de Josselin de Jong (1980:317-326), has nevertheless raised doubts about the primacy of forms of marriage in the comparative study of eastern Indonesian societies. Whereas van Wouden took as his starting point, "exclusive cross-cousin marriage, which ... occupies throughout the area a position of eminent importance", and sought "to show that this marriage custom is the pivot on which turns the activity of the social groups, the clans" (op. cit.:2), Fox points out the significance of fundamental variation in alliance systems of the region, and observes that:

A large number - possibly a majority - of the societies of eastern Indonesia do not structure their alliances on the basis of exclusive cross-cousin marriage ... (Fox 1980b: 329-330.)

Thus the method employed by van Wouden, the comparison of local conditions in terms of an a priori conception
of a universally practised connubium, is no longer sufficient to the task of accounting for the similarities and commonalities among societies that, in view of our contemporary ethnographic knowledge, have been found to differ significantly in the details of their content and organization. In the modern ethnography, the societies of the region emerge not as isolated and orthogenetically evolved communities that nonetheless maintain a common structural core. Rather, their present conditions incorporate historical influences of trade, contact and incursions by Europeans, western Indonesians and some among their own numbers. These influences have varied in degree from one society to another, as have the responses of particular communities to foreign influences. Between south coastal and mountain peoples of Sikka we find today greater divergence than must have obtained before the coming of the Portuguese. The influence of the Portuguese in Sikka Natar was profound and resulted in conversion to Catholicism, the establishment of a rajadom and its hegemony over most of the east central part of Flores, and the incorporation of the Sikkanese into a large Florenese polity and into relationships with other rajadoms in the archipelago. Even the Ata Tana Ai, who appear to have had relatively few direct contacts with those who, in 450 years, have greatly altered the lives of their fellow Sikkanese, preserve in their ritual language echoes of the presence of the Portuguese, Dutch and Muslim traders in the archipelago,
just as their items of ceremonial wealth, ivory, bronze gongs and patola cloths, indicate at least a marginal participation in trade networks extending far beyond their valley. Sorting out the indigenous, the alien and the interaction of the two requires first considerable detailed information on local societies and second, knowledge of the history of the region generally.

As Fox notes, the "structural core" common to eastern Indonesian societies, identified by van Wouden as consisting of a clan system, asymmetric connubium and sociocosmic dualism, remains a point of departure for modern analyses, but no longer serves as a model of predefined terms by which ethnography is tested. Rather, the approach of recent anthropological studies has been, "to study each society from within and in terms of its own social categories" (Fox 1980b:330). The study of social categories requires a knowledge of classifications in particular societies, and these are apprehended most readily in language. Where we find named categories and linguistic usages that correspond to the relations of social groups manifested in social action, we can with fair accuracy characterize the form of the "structural core" of particular societies. To the extent that concordances of language and metaphor, classification and categories, and social groups and relations among them can be shown to transcend local societies, comparative analyses, the "mutual interpretation"
of societies within the eastern archipelago, are possible and useful. Fox suggests that, given the variety of systems of alliance in the area, such that phylogenetic relationships between local systems are difficult, if not impossible, to establish, analyses of societies in the region must seek to compare, by reference to particular systems of social organization, categories and metaphor, the content (the "meanings" of isolatable culture traits within systems), form (the structures in which those traits are embedded) and the ways in which shared systems of social categories express the structural core. But the method must take into account complexities not apparent to van Wouden. Categories can be identical between societies, while the ordering of those categories can vary between the same societies. Similarly, the structures devisable by anthropologists to model relations of categories can be similar between societies whereas the meanings of the categories and their arrangements, i.e., what they are categories of, can also vary between societies. As Fox puts it:

The overwhelming impression of the variety of these categories is that of a range of resemblances in the conception of alliance - similarities rather than an identity of features. Together the combination of kin categories, terms for the house and for parts of the body, color categories, spatial coordinates, and botanic expressions ... composes metaphors whose analysis may provide a better comparative perspective on alliance than van Wouden's formal model. ... The vitality of eastern Indonesian societies ... is not the effect of an adherence to specific organizational structures but rather the result of a continuing preservation of similar metaphors for living which are encoded primarily in a pervasive dyadic form. (ibid.:333.)
The analysis of metaphor, especially in its social use, must attend both to the system of social classifications which it expresses and to group relations as they are manifested in social action. Metaphorical extension, the relations of substitution by means of which a symbol (either linguistic or iconic) given in one domain of meaning is transferred to and informs another, and the resulting complexity of meaning, implies ideology. Ideology, the system of ideas by which the members of a community express and interpret social relations, governs the substitutions by which symbols are removed from one realm of meaning and placed in another. Thus, in Tana Ai mythology, the simple and manifest equation of sky, itself composed of a complex of identifications (Sun and Moon), and masculinity (the culturally mediated identifications of maleness) is not of itself sufficient for understanding the meaning of the equation. Forests are also identified by the Ata Tana Ai as masculine domains, and the relationship between forest and sky cannot be comprehended without a knowledge of religious ideas in which the ancestral spirits of the community are conceived as mediators between human beings and the deity. There are thus meta-metaphorical patterns of thought and logic that govern the substitutions of metaphor and by which some equivalences among those that are possible are made significant while others are not.

The implications of this view, that in analyzing
systems of metaphor the anthropologist studies ideology, are directly pertinent to the consideration of alliance in Tana Ai. It is always possible for the anthropologist to make sense of the most disparate social facts. It is not always clear, however, the extent to which the construction of explanations by an anthropologist accords with the ideas of a people themselves in regard to the facts the anthropologist seeks to explain. Thus, in regard to the ethnography of the Ata Tana Ai, we are able to perceive patterns of marriages which can be elucidated in terms of a theory of asymmetric prescriptive alliance. That theory has its origins, however, not in the ethnography of the Ata Tana Ai, but in analyses of data from other societies. Thus it appears in the ethnography of Nusa Tenggara Timur that not only do alliance systems that can be characterized as asymmetric and prescriptive exist, but that an awareness of asymmetric alliance exists among various peoples of the area themselves. And we may conclude that such a consciousness, manifested not only in actual marriages, but also ideologically as rules governing marriages and as ideas about the nature of relationships between one social group, its wife-givers and wife-takers, characterizes these societies and indeed is a necessary prerequisite for such systems. In other words, regardless of the extent to which marriage patterns actually conform to prescription and asymmetric norms, ethnographic reports lead us to believe that the people,
whose communities are under the scrutiny of anthropologists, are themselves aware of or subscribe to forms of marriage that anthropologists term "asymmetric". This awareness on the part of our informants is taken to be expressed in statements by informants and in texts, social action and ritual performance. Furthermore, in those societies in which asymmetric marriages do not constitute a large proportion of all marriages, we find that marriages in accord with prescription are more highly valued than those that are not, and that such valuation is expressed by the same means, by classification and categories identified in language, as any other social valuations. It may be inferred that people themselves are aware of such closures and value them because of their significance in alliance, the systematicity of which they are also conscious. While the members of a community may not follow prescriptive norms such that particular marriages are arranged to produce alliances of a particular kind, or to close alliance cycles, they nevertheless know what is going on generally, and this knowledge is not only reflected in classifications, but also in the language available to them for speaking of these ideas and in their actual use of that language. Thus in the ethnography there is a convergence between the consciousness of the people whose community is studied and the patterns and processes of alliance by which the ethnographer identifies them.
While this convergence can be inferred in the literature, the question of the consciousness of people in regard to alliance and asymmetry is not often addressed by ethnographers. In a discussion of the society of the Ata Tana Ai this is a particularly important question: to what extent is the alliance system of Tana Wai Brama rational, in the sense of being entertained by the Ata Tana Wai Brama themselves?

In Tana Wai Brama closed cycles of affinal alliance occur, and indeed they are common. Against these data is the significant fact that the Ata Tana Ai do not identify marriages that close alliance cycles as being of particular significance. Among the forms of marriage that are distinguished as important (ama 'lo'en, mula pada), there is no category of marriage identified in language or ritual that corresponds to cycle closing marriages. When pressed on the question, informants invariably responded with shrugs. It is as if, as far as the data allow us to proceed, the Ata Tana Wai Brama do not recognize, signify or much care about closures of alliance cycles. If they are aware of them they certainly attach no special significance to them. It would, therefore, be an error to impute greater significance to the closed alliance cycles that do occur than do the Ata Tana Ai themselves. To do so would be to risk misapprehending what it is that social organization in the domain accomplishes.
The ideology of the Ata Tana Ai does express two points which together with social norms and action produce as an artifact closed cycles of affinal alliance. The first is oda, "precedence" or "order of precedence" and the second is puan, "source" and the action of "returning to the source". Pervading the realms of Tana Ai culture discussed in the preceding chapters is the idea that events occur in sequences which have built into them a discernible order. Thus, precedence is manifested in the Myth of the Founding of the Domain, in the sequence of rites that comprise the gren mahé and in the marriages that order the hierarchies of houses within clans. Marriages must be in keeping with ideas about blood, the principal idiom in which kinship relations are calculated. Blood that is alienated from its "source" house must later be "returned" in ama ‘lo’en transactions. Similarly, in ritual, the Ata Tana Ai seek the "source" by recounting the myths that chart the oda of Tana Ai society. Ritual is the enactment of that return to the source and corresponds in the conception of the Ata Tana Ai to the return of blood to its source.

In Tana Wai Brama, two parallel and concordant systems of alliance inform society. In both, the ceremonial organization of clans and the organization of houses by affinal alliance, can be perceived a concern with asymmetry, the result of precedence, and exchange that results from the return to the source. In the system
of affinal relations that orders houses, the maintenance of the system in accordance with the principle of oda produces the pattern by which MBD/FZS marriages are preferred. This preference, in turn, gives affinal alliance in Tana Ai its asymmetric tenor. Whereas central houses give men to relatively peripheral houses in exchange for women, in the oda system by which clans are organized, rights to ritual are delegated by the "source" clan to peripheral clans in exchange for the validation of the authority of the central clan. This delegation of rights, from center to periphery, recapitulates among clans the asymmetry that characterized relations of houses within clans. Within the framework of the larger ceremonial and political order of the domain, the tana puan, because he "holds the source" and the oda unassailably, gives away the trappings of his authority. He is thus normally inactive (cf. van Wouden 1968:165). In gren mahé, however, the community returns periodically to the source and reforms the unitary ritual authority of the tana puan in whom are personified the relations between the community and the deity.

If the Ata Tana Wai Brama do not conceive of social relations as producing closed cycles of relationships, then what meaning can the analyst of their society impute to the social system as a whole? Two points must be taken into account in any attempt to answer this question. First, it has been demonstrated that the two systems
of alliance that characterize society in Tana Wai Brama, the ceremonial and affinal, are founded in a radical separation of male and female. This separation, upon which is founded a complex system of masculine and feminine classifications, has as its archetypical form the separation of brothers from their sisters. The brother-sister relationship and its place in Tana Ai culture thus deserves careful scrutiny. Second, a significant result of affinal arrangements in Tana Wai Brama is the creation of new houses within clans. That is, the system results in the reproduction and differentiation of the fundamental social groups of the domain, the house or maternal descent group.

A brother and a sister are biologically capable of reproducing children, but the direct union of siblings cannot produce differentiated social groups. The means by which the separate offspring of a brother and sister pair are reunified in marriage does, however. The remerging of brothers and sisters through their children is expressed in language: the children of brothers and sisters are siblings. A parallel terminological reunification is expressed in ritual. Male ritual specialists and the female headwomen of houses and clans are both ina ama, "mother father", a term employed in reference to those forebears whose participation in the alliance system has produced the houses of the clans. In the expression ina ama, whether it is used in reference to particular living persons, as the designation of alliance groups
or in reference to the ancestral founders of the clans
in myth, can be perceived the reunification of male
and female, and the worldly and divine, that is the end
result of the social order.

In the process of this reunification the Ata Tana
Wai Brama accomplish what every social system must provide,
that is, its own reproduction. By the institution of
the return of "father's forelock", itself governed by
the economy of blood relations, new houses are created
within clans. But as new houses are created, established
houses move to the source, and this movement requires
the death of the source house. While the genealogical
data are incomplete, it is evident that in Tana Wai Brama
the houses of the ina ama puan, the "source mothers fathers",
are at once the wealthiest and most powerful of the houses
of the clans. Because of their relatively greater genealogical
deepth, they should also be the most populated. They
are in fact often the least populated of houses within
a clan. While these houses have the greatest productive
capacity of the houses that comprise the clans, their
very success in having reached the "source" of their
clans places them in a position in which their daughters
must find husbands among the men of other clans. Thus
all marriages of women of central houses result in the
alienation of daughters by the return of ama 'lo'en
to the affines. This places the central houses in a
precarious position with regard to their own survival,
and indeed the evidence suggests that core houses are regularly depleted of women and die out. As they die out they are replaced by houses subsidiary to them in the hierarchy of precedence. Clans in Tana Wai Brama can thus be seen as mechanisms that move peripheral houses to their centers and, finally, remove them from the clan entirely. The life cycle of the house is charted in its birth through the return of father's blood, its progress through the hierarchy of the clan to maturity, wealth and power. It becomes "mother father" to the clan when it reaches the center and returns to its source. When it dies out, it is returned to its source, the other clans of the domain which serve as the reservoir of its blood until it is reborn at the periphery of the clan.

At the center of the system is the image of the 
_{ina ama_}, the old woman and ritually potent man, the significance of which was first identified by van Wouden (1968:165). It is the _ina ama_ who are givers of life. At the heart of the system too are the mysteries whereby masculinity and femininity, male and female, to be joined, are confounded. The old woman is not entirely feminine. Rather, she is active and wields jural authority in her house and clan. The ritualist, who is best personified in the source of the domain, is male, but is largely inactive and delegates his authority to others. These reversals also characterize the principal medium of expressive culture in Tana Ai. In the histories of the
domain the world is pictured as divided into divine and domestic realms of the deity and human beings. Closer analysis reveals, however, that the masculine realm, the firmament, is actually both male and female, while the feminine earth also incorporates male as well as female attributes. It is in these fundamental ideas, and their expression in metaphors of life and in social relations, that the source of alliance and the total reproduction of society in Tana Wai Brama can be found.
APPENDIX A: THE CEREMONIAL DOMAINS OF TANA AI*

The ceremonial domains (tana) of the Tana Ai region of eastern Sikka are listed below. Tana are not, strictly speaking, bounded territories. They are best characterized as realms of ritual authority which are defined by the rights in them of the clans associated with them, and by the authority of the sources of the domains (tana puan) who are their ceremonial headsmen. The centers of tana are their mahé. To facilitate the identification of the domains by reference to Map III, the ceremonial domains are indicated by the villages that are today found within them. In some tana, the ceremonial sites and kloang that would more properly identify them no longer exist. It should be noted that villages (natar) are now incorporated into desa (Indonesian: municipality), which are administrative subdivisions of Kecamatan Talibura, the district that includes all of Tana Ai. Desa boundaries were established without reference to the traditional domains of the region, and the municipalities crosscut the tana divisions. Traditional names have in some cases been given to desa, creating a degree of confusion. For example, Desa Werang does not include all the land of the clans of Tana Werang, and it

* Most of my information regarding the identification and extent of tana and their boundaries was provided by the late tana puan of Tana Wai Brama, Mo'an Robertus Rapa Ipir Wai Brama.
encompasses the northern part of the domain of Tana Wai Brama. Thus the kepala desa (municipal headman) of Desa Wérag is from Tana Wai Brama and has a close affinal relation to the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama, which has led to many problems and tensions in his governance of the area of Tana Wérag within his desa.

At Pruda, on the south coast of Tana Ai, I was given the following list of tana, all of which were said by my informant to be under the suzerainty of the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama:

1. Tana Wodontéok
2. Tana Natarmagé
3. Tana Natarara
4. Tana Natarbola
5. Tana Wolohobin.

Of these, I never heard Wolohobin and Natarara mentioned in the Watuwolon area. The remaining three I heard mentioned as sites of subsidiary mahé within Tana Wai Brama. Such evidence as this suggests that the names, place and importance of various tana and mahé have changed in the past, while the notion that Tana Wai Brama is primary has remained a central organizing idea regardless of shifts in other tana.

The Tana of Tana Ai:

1. Tana Wai Brama

The central mahé of Tana Wai Brama is located between Watuwolon and Watulaban, with subsidiary mahé, called
mahé nuhu, located at Waibo, Wodontéck, Natarbola, Araling, Natarmagé and Karoknatar. Three nuba nanga located on the south coast below Pruda and one nuba nanga on the north coast near Nebé were part of the ceremonial system of Tana Wai Brama. Of these nuba nanga, those near Pruda still function ritually. Tana Wai Brama incorporates the once independent Tana Tuabau, which has its own mahé near the present day village of Tuabau. Contemporary villages within the domain of Tana Wai Brama include:

Tuabau
Natarmagé-Watudetun
Karoknatar
Kloung
Natarkamé
Tanakepi
Munéwolon

The kloang (ritual hamlets) of the domain include:
Mudébali
Puaklor
Pruda
Watulaban
Wolometan
Plé’at

2. Tana Wérrang

Tana Wérrang maintains its own mahé and tana puan. Villages of the domain include:
Hila
Ekor
Hobuai

Wérrangdetun
Wérranglédu

3. Tana Uru

The mahé of Tana Uru, which is located between Urudetun and Urulédun, is intact, but is said to be used rarely. The position of tana puan has lost much of its authority since the establishment of a primary school and kapela in Urulédun in the early 1970s. A tana puan is still recognized by the people of the domain. Villages of Tana Uru include:
4. Tana Kringa

The people of Watuwolon sometimes refer to Tana Kringa as Tana Watutena, after the location of the mahe of the domain. Thegren mahe is still celebrated at Watutena, the last performance taking place in October, 1980. I have no information regarding the tana puan in Tana Kringa/Watutena. The tana puan of Tana Wai Brama maintains a nuka nanga near Nebé within Tana Kringa and many Ata Kringa are invited to attend ceremonies in Tana Wai Brama. Villages of the domain include:

- Kringa
- Boganatar
- Natarmudé
- Watutena
- Blawuk
- Buhé
- Ogolidi
- Natargahar
- Hikong
- Nebé
- Wairmitak
- 'I'an 'Lo'en
- Bangko'or
- Napunmalin

5. Tana Darat

Tana Darat may not have been an independent ceremonial domain. I have never heard of a mahe associated with Darat, and it may be that references to "Tana Darat" merely specify a geographical region within Tana Ai that has become more important with the settlement of migrants from other areas of Sikka and eastern Flores and not a ceremonial domain. There is evidence that the Ata Tana Ai have only in the past few generations begun to settle on the north coast of Flores, which may mean that Darat was not an independent tana but only an uninhabited though named region prior to settlement. Villages in this area include:

- Daratpanté
- Watuhuwur
- Daratgunung
- Waibura
6. Tana Natar-rita (Natarleba)

It is not clear that this region ever constituted an independent ceremonial domain. As with Darat, the coastal area around Nangahalé-Talibura has been settled only since the establishment of the Catholic parish first at Nangahalé and later at Watubaing. The Church owned coconut plantations at Nangahalé drew population to this coastal area, as has the establishment of the district (Kecamatan) headquarters at Talibura. Talibura is the site of a weekly market, and the market itself is said to be on the site of an important nuba nanga. This nuba nanga seems most likely to have been maintained by the clans of Tana Wai Brama and is mentioned in many of the ngeng ngerang of the clans of Tana Wai Brama.

Villages of this area include:
- Nangahalé
- Watubaing
- Talibura

7. Tana Ojang

Tana Ojang is not, properly speaking, a part of Tana Ai. It is inhabited by Lamaholot speakers who are called Ata Muhang by the Sikkanese. Ata Muhang are more closely related culturally to the peoples of East Flores. Nevertheless, the histories of Tana Ai clans mention Tana Ojang, and the people of Watuwolon regularly speak of this northern region of Kecamatan Talibura as if it is part of Tana Ai. I have no information regarding the ceremonial system of Ojang, or indeed whether this area has one. Villages include:
- Klatang
- Wailamun-Hinga
- Lewomadalere
- Lewumudat

- Kajowaing
- Lewomada-Blolo
- Bokang
8. Tana Boruk (Wodong-Kokang)

Located in Larantuka, Tana Boruk lies on the eastern slopes of Ili Wukoh. The village of Boruk is on the motor road between Larantuka and Maumere and is an important regional market. The relation of this area of Larantuka to Tana Ai requires investigation. There is considerable evidence that in the past, Boruk participated in the ceremonial system of Tana Ai, and there is a clan called Boruk with members living in the southern area of Tana Ai.

9. Tana Warut-Watudirang

This tana is located on the western border of what I have taken to be Tana Ai proper. Warut is counted as a ceremonial domain of Tana Ai by some, but is generally considered to be Krowé, i.e., a part of central Sikka.
APPENDIX B: CULTIGENS OF WATUWOLON

The following is a list of cultigens planted in gardens in the Watuwolon area of Tana Wai Brama.*

Cereals (in order of importance):
1. rice (3-5 varieties)
2. maize
3. sorghum (2 varieties)
4. finger millet (*Setaria italica* and a second unidentified variety of millet)

Tubers:
1. yam (*Dioscorea nummularia*) (The Ata Tana Ai distinguish two varieties of this yam, *chu wutik* and *chu krowê.*
2. cassava
3. sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*)
4. taro (*Xanthosoma sp. /violaceum?/
5. peanut

Other vegetables:
1. green gram (rare)
2. Tallow guord (*Benincasa sp.*)
3. pumpkin (*Cucurbita sp.*)
4. eggplant (*Solanum sp.*)
5. watercress (grown most successfully near springs)
6. a variety of bean
7. cow pea (*Vigna sinensis*)

* These plants have all been identified within the fences of gardens, which is to say, they are either cultivated or tolerated and not weeded out. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Dr Douglas E. Yen of the Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies in the Australian National University, who identified for me a number of the plants in this list.
Palms:
1. areng
2. lontar
3. pinang (areca nut)
4. coconut

Fruits:
1. papaya
2. banana
3. tamarind
4. tomato
5. lime
6. mango
7. jackfruit
8. pineapple
9. guava

Spices:
1. chili
2. tumeric
3. ginger, two varieties (Alpina sp. and ?)
4. thyme and lemon thyme

Miscellaneous non-edible crops:
1. cotton
2. castor oil
3. sirih (betel vine)
4. tobacco
5. indigo
6. sp. of guord for making bowls
7. hibiscus
8. candle-nut
9. coffee
APPENDIX C: THE LANGUAGES OF ORIENTATION AND TIME

Sara Tana Ai,* the language of the Ata Tana Ai, compels a speaker to encode in any utterance pertaining to movement, activity or place information about the directional relationship between subject and object or between speaker and object in relation to the range of mountains that forms the eastern wall of the Tana Ai valley and is the predominant feature of the Tana Ai landscape. Locative expressions are only directional, and distance must be specified by auxiliary words. Generally, however, distance is implied in statements of location.

Direction and movement are expressed in Sara Tana Ai by using elements from four classes of words:

1. General progressive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'u a</td>
<td>I go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au ma</td>
<td>you go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimu na</td>
<td>he, she goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>&quot;to come hither&quot; (not inflected)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bano</td>
<td>&quot;to walk, travel, go&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Verbs indicating direction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>&quot;to go&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'u pano</td>
<td>ami bano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au bano</td>
<td>ita pano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimu bano</td>
<td>miu bano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rimu pano</td>
<td>they go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sara, a cognate of the Malay word cara, means "way, manner, custom". It also means, in Tana Ai usage, "language" and "speech".
2. Directional verbs (all noninflected)

- **bawo**: to go upward, up-slope
- **wawo**: to go from here, this place upward or up-slope to there, that place
- **hae**: to climb up (usually meaning to traverse a very steep slope or path)
- **ba' u**: to descend, go downward, down-slope
- **wa' u**: to go from here, this place, downward or down-slope to there, that place
- **'loré**: to climb down, descend (usually meaning to traverse downward a very steep slope or path)

3. Directional adverbs

- **réta**: up, upward, above
- **lau**: down, downward, below
- **ripa**: to the right, rightward (when facing down-slope)
- **wali**: to the left, leftward (when facing down-slope)
- **lala**: diagonally across a slope either upward or downward

4. Other locative and directional adverbs

- **wawa**: distant, far away, far
- **blawir**: distant, far away, far
- **ro'o(-n)**: close, nearby; nearly (of time), almost
- **'ë'i ba'u**: here, at this place
- **ia ba'u**: there, at that place
- **da'a**: until, reach, obtain, get to, arrive at, (at)
- **waè**: to the front, before, facing, in the direction of
- **toè**: behind, following, at the back of, rear
- **mapa(-n)**: oriented across or laterally along a slope
- **gera(-n)**: oriented up and down a slope
- **haden**: across a river or stream (*haden* implies the descent and ascent required to traverse a stream or ravine, movements which require going down and up in a direction contrary to the major slope of the Ili Wukoh range)
In Sara Tana Ai every expression of place, except 'é'i ba'u, "here, this place", requires the specification of direction from the speaker relative to the slope of the Ili Wukoh range. Thus while the word 'é'i may be glossed to mean "at", the expression of place always requires the use of a directional adverb:

\[
\text{Nimu deri wali Diwang} \\
\text{/he, she/ /lives/ /leftward/ /Diwang/}
\]

"He lives at Diwang,"
is the correct expression for a speaker located at Watuwolon, since Diwang is located to the south, that is, to the left along the slope of Ili Wukoh from Watuwolon. Likewise, a speaker at Diwang would say of a person living at Watuwolon:

\[
\text{Nimu deri ripa Watuwolon} \\
\text{/he, she/ /lives/ /rightward/ /Watuwolon/}
\]

"He lives at Watuwolon."

Expression of movement (coming or going) can be more complicated but very precise as Sara Tana Ai encodes the changes of direction which are made in getting from one place to another as a person actually traverses the Tana Ai landscape. Since Watuwolon lies diagonally across and up the slope of Ili Wukoh from Watulaban, a person can say:

\[
\text{Nimu deri lala Watuwolon} \\
\text{/he, she/ /lives/ /across the slope/ /Watuwolon/}
\]

"She lives at Watuwolon."

Here the use of lala expresses simply location in relation to the speaker with respect to the mountain. But in
recounting a journey from Watulaban to Watuwolon the same speaker might say:

\[ A'u \text{ réta ripa } \text{toé Watuwolon } a \]

/I/ /up/ /rightward/ /behind, then/ /Watuwolon/ /went/

"I went upward then rightward to Watuwolon."

A different path, one which led first rightward and then upward, might have been taken and the recounting might be expressed:

\[ A'u \text{ ripa réta toé Watuwolon } a \]

/I/ /rightward/ /up/ /then/ /Watuwolon/ /went/

"I went rightward then upward to Watuwolon."

Crossing a watercourse or ravine oriented up and down the predominant slope of Ili Wukoh requires a descent and a climb in a direction contrary to the predominant slope of the valley wall. Such features of the landscape can also be encoded in the expression of movement or place:

\[ Sera \text{ gopi wair Wérut la}a \]

/Sera/ /clear forest/ /stream/ /Wérut/ /across the slope/

\[ \text{haden Wahin uman ripa mai} \]

/across the ravine/ /Wahin/ /garden/ /rightward/ /come/

"Sera is clearing a new garden across the stream Wérut and hither from Wahin's garden."

The situation of the named places and directional relationships are depicted in Figure C.1.

Walking in a complete circle on the slope of Ili Wukoh, as in circumambulating a garden, involves a series of changes in direction of movement which might be expressed
in stages as follows (see Figure C.2):

1. wali ma : go leftward
2. wali lau ma : from leftward go down-slope
3. lau ripa ma : from down-slope go rightward
4. ripa réta ma : from rightward go up-slope
5. réta wali ma : from up-slope go leftward.

Another circumambulation, in an anticlockwise direction, might be expressed: "wali an, haé réta wawo, réta ripa an, ripa 'loré wa'un da'a lau Watuwolon" (see Figure C.3). Here directional verbs are employed to express actual movement which occurs in the following segments:
1. *wali* an : go leftward
2. *hae réta wawo* : climb upward from here
3. *réta ripa an* : from upward, go rightward
4. *ripa 'loré wa'un da'a lau Watuwolon* : from rightward
descend downward from there until
Watuwolon is reached.

Of course, one can say simply, "Ami bano kléor", "We
walk around (in a circle)".

![Direction diagram](image)

**Figure C.3**

Direction is expressed in the most casual speech, as
well as when precise specification of place or movement is
required. Even within a house directionality is encoded
into speech, as when a woman commands a child, "Beli poté
deri ripa kledar", "Give (me) the gourd bowl lying (to the
right) on the bamboo platform", where the speaker, the child
and the bowl are all located within the narrow confines of
a kitchen.

When discussing places far removed from the western
slopes of the Wukoh range the directional system breaks down.
Thus a woman telling a friend of my itinerary when departing
Tana Ai said, "... rimu réta Kupang lé'u, lau Jakarta lé'u,
lėma jong horong ...", "... they (will go) upward to Kupang, downward to Jakarta, board a 'flying ship'...". Asked about her use of réta and lau in this context, the woman replied, "réta Kupang di epan, lau Kupang di epan", "upward to Kupang is all right, downward to Kupang is also all right". Normally, however, the directional adverb wawa is used for places not on Flores. Thus in ritual language the phrase réta Jawa means Larantuka while wawa Jawa means the island of Java.

In contrast to the specific spatial orientations encoded in speech by locative constructions, time markers are fewer and much less specific. In Sara Tana Ai there are no tenses indicated grammatically, but the following expressions indicate time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'éna</td>
<td>now, today, time; a little while ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'éna té'i (eté)</td>
<td>now, at this time, at this moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'éna ro'on</td>
<td>a little while ago, time just past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'éna hun</td>
<td>time long past (as events recounted in the &quot;histories&quot; of the domain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nané ba'a</td>
<td>a long time past (in reference to human events)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gun nulu</td>
<td>a long time past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leron ('éna) 'é'i</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mera</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lero(-n) depon</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luur'at</td>
<td>in the morning, tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la'en rema rua</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow, two days hence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wulan ha</td>
<td>one month hence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The day:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kawu</td>
<td>morning, before sunrise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puan poa</td>
<td>twilight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Time of day is easily and precisely specified, but the historical past and the future are referred to only vaguely in the flow of speech. 'Ena hun is time long past, ancestral time. 'Ena té'i ('éna até) is "this time" or the present. No such general category of time marks the future. One merely says odi, "later". Thus, while one can say, "'Ena hun du'a mo'an lau tana wutun lau mai", "long ago our ancestors came from the coast", one would rarely, if ever, speak of "in the future, my children will ..." in the sense of something that will happen generations hence.

The indefiniteness of time markers available to the Ata Tana Ai in their language does not mean that they live in an "ahistorical" universe. The politics of the ritual cycle and the histories of the clans imply time stretching as distantly into the future as the past.
APPENDIX D: TOTA NI AN PAG A TANA, THE MYTH OF
THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

The 220 lines of the text recorded here are remarkably
clear, well ordered and lack the repetition that characterizes
much of Tana Ai chanting. Because it is an unusual text,
a few words on its recording are in order. In July, 1979,
two months before his death, Mo'an Robertus Rapa Ipir Wai
Brama, the Source of the Domain of Tana Wai Brama, proposed
to provide me with the complete "history" of his clan, suku n
Ipir Wai Brama. He would not agree to making a sound record­
ing of his chanting, however, saying that his voice was not
a good one (in fact, he was regarded as the most accomplished
chanter of the domain during the period of my first field
work in Tana Ai) and that chanters, in actual performances,
include too many repetitions and are liable to put parts
of the chant out of their proper sequence. He also pointed
out that this "history" is only performed on occasions of
gren mahé and it would not be appropriate to perform the
chant on any but a true ceremonial occasion.

I provided Mo'an Rapa with pencil and paper and in
three consecutive evenings he dictated the history to his
daughter, a seventeen year old student who was at that time
attending the middle school in Talibura. Mo'an Rapa con­
sidered his project of sufficient importance to recall her
from the coast in order to assist him in writing down the
"history".

Once it was completed, the manuscript was typed and
then Mo'an Rapa's comments on the chant were elicited. I
first recited the chant back to him, making corrections,
emendations and rearranging the sequence of some couplets
as he suggested changes. I then solicited, line by line
and word by word, his exegesis of the text, in order to
elucidate metaphor and points of structure. The notes from
this work are incorporated into the translation here
provided. The project required five weeks and was completed
to the satisfaction of Mo'an Rapa only four days before
he died. Throughout our collaboration Mo'an Rapa was intent
on providing the clearest and most orderly text of the chant,
with a view toward its publication.

The completed work is in two parts, the History of
the Creation (Tota Nian Paga Tana) and the History of Sukun
Ipir Wai Brama (Ngeng Ngerang Sukun Ipir Wai Brama). The
two parts number 655 lines. I have included here only the
Myth of the Creation, which includes the Myth of the Separation.

The history, as presented here, cannot be said to
be complete. The whole of the knowledge of the history must
take into account parts known by other chanters, who are able
to elaborate sections which appear here in abbreviated form.
Indeed, the chanters of Tana Ai themselves point out that
there is no ideal text which they, in performance, seek to approximate and that there are many sections which are "not remembered" by contemporary chanters. The notion of "remembering the history" in Tana Wai Brama implies that the history is never lost, and that parts which are unknown to contemporary chanters are quite likely to be "remembered" by future chanters.

This work is one among many texts in ritual language collected during eighteen months of field work in Tana Ai. It is the only text which was not collected under natural conditions, that is, transcribed from tapes of ritual performances.

*Sejara Tota Hian Paga Tana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sejara Tota Hian Paga Tana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugung wura waé lau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawang olé waé wawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da'a lau tahi taru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Toma wawa naro naké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hulut hulut waé wawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halet halet waé wawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ita muok dué tahi unen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Botin dué wair 'loran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia gu sugung sugung waé wawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wawa wau wuor neti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawan bawan waé wawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Wawa wau popor lawat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus dive upward through the waves,
Swim upward through the breakers,
Go above and throw the bundle,
Go above and throw away the packet,
Broken but the land was small,
Shattered but the earth was tiny,
Thus dive again one time more,
Swim once again,
Descend down, take a kneaded bundle,
Descend down, take what is gathered,
Thus dive up through the waves,
Swim upward through the breakers,
Call the falcon,
Send for the hawk,
The falcon went strewing more (mud),
The hawk went distributing to increase (the earth),
The land began to grow larger,
The earth began to add breadth,
But it was soft like the fruit of a tree,
Mushy like the ripe papaya,
Thus it dried for two nights,
And warmed for three days,
The woko bird was sent to mark the earth with its foot,
The crow was entrusted to mark the earth by hopping,
The woko bird was sent,
As was the crow,
He stamped on the ground, but the joint of his leg parted,
He made his footprint, but his bone broke,
The earth was hard like a fall of stones,
Mangan ganu tana inan
Gi'it biri baru sinan
44 Mangan bao ara jawan
Ko detun poin désak poin
Koben poi naman poi
Topo rutun bukun ploi
48 Kawong běhar lera sēsa
Ia gu wair newan ba bajang
Watu newan gogo pout
Hawong wodon géri wonon
52 Ilin di newan ĭawa
Wokan di newan lēma...
Ko nian la'en wulu tawa
Tana la'en herong lēma
56 Pati du'a Nipa inan
Mula tena nian wulu
Oba mo'an Néhok aman
Pa'at tena tana heron
60 Nian di wulu tawa
Tana di heron lēma
Huk molé wa'i ha
Nera molé ha homa
64 Lau wau tedu watu
Wawa wau mela ai
Watu riat newan bitak

Strong like "our land" (i.e., like the earth today, "mother earth"),
Strong like the biri and the baru trees,
Sturdy like the banyan and the fig tree,
But the land was only smooth, only level,
Just featureless, only unformed,
The porcupine was called to burrow and cut,
The giant forest rat was sent to scoop and scratch,
So the water could flow,
And the rocks could roll,
Call the wodon-bird to scrape up the hills,
Thus the mountains also grew,
Thus the ridges also rose up,
But on the land the grasses had not yet grown,
From the earth the growing things had not yet risen,
These were dabbled by the mother of the woman Nipa,
Who planted the land with grasses,
These were beaten by the father of the man Néhok,
Who did the planting of the earth with growing things,
The land then grew grass,
On the earth growing things came up,
Think again one time,
Meditate again once more,
Descend downward breaking the rock,
Downward into (the earth) cutting the trees,
The coral stone was broken,
Ai lajat newan boga

68 Da'a wawa rumang dadin
Toma wawa iteng totan
Litin wawa napan wutun
Lér wawa repit puan
Nian wawa dudak rumang
Tana wawa ého teker
Odo ui getin etin

72 Laba watu waé réta
Gareng unen donen oan
Korek tana waé réta
Topo guné puku nulu
Hawong déwa gawi wa'a

80 Guné koub uir patar
Déwa eto brae brana
Korek tana waé réta
Da'a réta liwun mapan

84 Toma réta rani ḥaden
Huk molé wa'i ha
Nera molé ha homa
Laba watut waé réta

88 Korek tana waé réta
Da'a réta nobé no
Toma réta kedo kolot
Da'a tuna inan goko

92 Legi 'lora wair matan
Tuna inan deten terang
Posi loli go'i wair
Wair di ba bajang

96 Watut di gogo pout

The (zirih) trees were parted,
Descended downward until all was dark,
Reached the place where blackness is
Sat on the stones at the earth's edge,
In the land confined and dark,
Below the earth, tight and constricted,
Order the crab to dig a path (open a
road),
Chisel the stone upwards,
Send the sea snail to show the path
(lead the way),
Bore the earth upwards,
Call the guné spirit to lead the way,
Call the déwa spirit to climb
up ahead,
Guna crocodile with the broken tail,
Déwa thorned fish, fearless and savage,
Bore upwards through the earth,
Upwards to the pool (in a river) lying
athwart (the stream),
Stand up on them like a bridge,
Think again one time,
Meditate again once more,
Chisel the stones upwards,
Bore upwards through the earth,
Steal hand over hand, reach the top,
Reach the top, jump up and look out,
Then the female eel,
Reached the middle of the eye of the
spring,
The female eel opened the spring,
The crab dug and burrowed the water,
So the water flowed,
And the rocks rolled down the slope,
Laba laba waé réta
Korek korek waé réta
Toma ba'a kung bio
100 Sapé ba'a tali plou
Léma depo kung bio
Kung bio honeng gorek
Pikit tetu tali plou
104 Tali plou wulu lodan
Da'a réta timu tawa
Réta timu tawa dogon
Sapé réta lero léma
108 Réta lero léma lekir
Léma tepo waé réta
Pikit tetu waé réta
Da'a bliro lari aman
112 Bliro réta soka ukung
Sapé gak nobon bura
Gak réta nani baler
Léma tepo waé réta
116 Pikit tetu waé réta
Da'a kiku lilu doen
Sapé blio blalo horo
Réta mitan maro téar
120 Réta bura baga liga
Huk molé wa'i ha
Nera molé ha homa
Hua' molé wua wutun
124 Poton molé glok lolon
Hoé hok ora lohor
Ora lero wulan lohor
Oi wókok ora léma

Chisel, chisel upwards,
Bore, bore upwards,
Until is reached the rope of heaven,
Until is reached the golden chain,
Ascend following the cord of heaven
and earth,
The cord (like) a ladder,
Step up following the golden chain,
The chain (like) golden bamboo,
Up to the place where the sun rises,
Up to the sun’s sloping path,
Until is reached the rising sun,
Up (where) the sun climbs (its) slope,
Rising following upwards,
Ascending along the upward direction,
Up to the falcon,
The falcon that dances backwards,
Up to the crow,
The crow above returning on the wind,
Ascend following the upward path,
Rise upward following the upward
direction,
Reach the hanging windscreens,
Up to the flying cicada,
Upward to the black (blue) void of sky,
Upward where the clouds roll open and
closed,
Think again one time,
Meditate again once more,
Think again, atop the areca nut tree,
Raised up (again; and) the new sheath
of the areca leaf,
Descend the picked-clean (areca nut
tree),
As the sun and moon set,
Dig up and take (pick) up, as (it) climbs,
Ora nian tana lêma  
Huk molé wa'i ha  
Nera molé ha homa  
Teri laba ora lepo  

Era pa'at ora woga  
Lepo geté 'ulu sinan  
Woga blon bali jawan  
Dan kadak soro éhur  

Gehi blasi soro sinan  
Huk molé wa'i ha  
Nera molé ha homa  
Teri puka ora klugeng guer  

Ha'e ora rewuk mapan  
Pati hak ai géri  
Heti hak tali klangit  
Teri ala kedo ukung  

Era ala pano waler  
Wali a urat luhen  
Wali a rahé paré  
Ia gu pati ewan ai bilé  

Heti ewan tali meket  
Topo Siang lima api  
Hawong Gega lama holo  
Wali na kiho poro  

Wali na sarit rati  
Boro boro waé wali  
Kapa lait wali mai  
Ojor ojor waé wali  
Pua pebo wali bawo  

As the land and earth rises,  
Think again one time,  
Meditate again once more,  
Settle down (reside) and chisel the joists of the clan house,  

Stand up and construct (lit: "plant") the guests' house,  
The great clan house, its ritually cooled sitting room,  
The guest house at its side, cooled by the coconut,  
Steps of the house ladder, connected corners of the lepo rooms,  

The walls of the clan house, cooled by the coconut ritual,  
Think again one time,  
Meditate again once more,  
Reside and cut the trees around the small garden site,  

Remove the forest, lay the cut wood athwart (the slope),  
Chop but the trees cry out,  
Cut but the vines weep,  
Sit, return to the house,  

Stand, go back home,  
Then go and tear the cloth,  
Then go and scatter the rice,  
Thus may the trees be silent when chopped,  

The vines not cry out when cut,  
Call Siang of the fire hand (who knows the making of fires),  
Send for Gega who knows the ritual chants,  
Bring hither the fire drill,  

Come hither and shred the coconut husk,  
Rub rub across the bamboo,  
First wisps of smoke arise,  
Scrape scrape across the bamboo,  
Smoke begins to come out,
Burn the lower section of the garden,
Set fire the upper section of the garden,
Fire to scorch the tree trunks,
Fire to blacken the brush,
White ashes rise up like cockatoos,
On the blackened tree stumps the crows perch,
Scatter the white seeds of grain,
Broadcast the red seeds of fruit,
White seeds in the lower garden section,
Red seeds in the upper garden section,
In the lower garden section grows the almond,
In the upper garden section grows the coconut,
Small garden yields much food,
From small lontars flow much sap,
Until the harvest fills large baskets,
Until the flow of sap fills large bamboos,
Eat, and the surplus trade for ornaments,
Drink, and the excess exchange for heirlooms,
Think again one time,
Meditate again once more,
Fearful lest the legs and hands tremble,
Hungry so the knees feel pain,
Feverish, cannot sit (live),
Hot, cannot stand,
The sky lies close by,
The earth stands too near,
Call the woman to cut the (umbilical) cord,
Cut the cord of the earth and land,
Send for the man to untie the knot,
Untie the knot of the sun and moon,
Nian duć dasi laing  
The sky lies hooked and tied,

Tana gera tali taon  
The land stands roped and knotted,

Nian la'ën poro puhen  
The cord of the sky is not yet cut,

Tana la'ën bohak oha  
The earth's knot is not yet untied,

Topo Dong du'a Létu  
Call the woman Dong Létu,

Hawong Laga Baleng aman  
Send for the man Laga Baleng,

Réta na boro puhen  
Go up and cut the cord,

Réta na bohak oha  
Go up and untie the knot,

Boro nian tana puhen  
Cut the cord of land and earth,

Bohak lero wulan oha  
Untie the knot of sun and moon,

Nian bejo waé réta  
The sky rises upward,

Tana nené waé wawa  
The earth sinks downward,

Blatan wair sina mitan  
Cool as the water of the black Chinese,

Ro kabor bali bura  
Cool as the dew of the white coconut of Bali,

A'u Ipir leten geté  
I am Ipir, the great tree,

A'u Sodor wodon ilín  
I am Sodor, the mountains and hills,

Wai Brama Wolobola  
Wai Brama at Wolobola,

Ratu wutun Balénatar  
Rajas to the frontier at Balénatar,

Ora nian tana kiring  
With the history (lit: "telling") of land and earth,

Ora lero wulan harang  
With the admonishments (interdictions) of sun and moon,

Nian tana pi pitu  
Seven levels of land and earth,

Lero wulan tédang walu  
Eight layers of sun and moon,

Wawa soru wawa beré  
Below, the pillars, below, the base,

Wawa loet wawa 'lo'at  
Below, the foundation, below the trunk,

Soru beré loet 'lo'at  
Pillars, base, foundation, trunk,

Pun pati repan gala  
There the earth's place, the dibble and rice basket,

Wawa tepu wawa rebu  
Below, the strength (of the earth), below, the iron,

Wawa hena wawa brané  
Below, the sturdiness, below, the power,

Tepu rebu tubu nian  
(On its) strength and iron leans the land,
216  Hena brané ha'an tana
   Nian di newan gi'it
   Tana di newan mangan
   Gi'it biri baru sinan
220  Mangan bao ara jawan

(On its) sturdiness and power rests
the earth,
Thus may the land be strong,
Thus may the earth be sturdy,
Strong as the betel palm and the waru
tree of China,
Sturdy as the banyan and the fig of
Java.
APPENDIX E: METAPHORICAL MOVEMENT IN THE Myth of THE SEPARATION

In the Myth of the Separation, before the cutting of the cord of earth and sky and the quarrel between sun and moon (lines 1-179 of the text, Appendix D), the relation between nian (land) and tana (earth) is that between the two elements of a metaphorical dyad of terms in ritual language. Land and earth are metaphorical equivalents, and are related as opposed but complementary aspects of the world in the chant. In the text, the words nian and tana occur, as in lines 17-18, in the separate lines of a couplet. After the separation, however, nian and tana are conjoined in the first line of couplets and contrasted to lero and wulan, sun and moon, in the second line. In the shift of the terms from arrangement as a metaphorical dyad to a metonymical dyad, there is an ambiguity associated with the term nian.

The root of the word nian is nia, "to look", "to look at", "to be seen". Nia pertains to visibility: things that can be seen are nia, and one must nia in order to perceive visible things. Nian means "light", "brightness", both that by which vision is possible and, where the word might be translated as "ether", the pellucid medium of perception, the Ata Tana Ai themselves use it as if it means an immanent quality of extant things by which they are perceived. Thus all sensible things in the world, and indeed the world itself, are nian. The theme of visibility and invisibility pervades
ritual and ritual language in Tana Wai Brama. In rituals requiring the invocation of the ancestors, the chanter asks the ancestors:

- Marin a'u tilun bena: To speak so that my ears can hear,
- Heron a'u matan gita: To demonstrate so that my eyes can see,
- Kama a'u weta wu'un: That I may speak the boundaries (i.e., the rituals),
- Kama a'u paen matan: That I may render visible the sources.

These are requests to the ancestors, to whom are visible (that is, known) things obscure to the living, to assist their living descendants.

In ritual language, in which nian can be related to tana as an element either in metonymical dyads or in metaphorical dyads, nian means the diaphanous and luminous half of the human universe. In explaining the nature of nian in relation to tana, the source of the domain of Tana Wai Brama once remarked: "Nian ganu alon tana", "Nian is like the shadow (or 'reflection') of the earth".

Nian can thus be translated in that portion of the myth before the separation as "land" (see lines 17, 29, 54, 57, 60, 72, 128 and 181 in the text, Appendix D). Before the separation the meaning of nian in the contexts of the events recounted is clearly one by which the relation of nian to tana is that between two aspects of the earth, the surface of the earth, "land", and the inside or substance of the earth, tana. In lines 41-42, 74-77 and 87-88 of the
text, tana forms dyads with watu, "rock" or "stone", rather than with nian, and in lines 56-57 the planting of the first grass on the "land" — nian — is recounted. The human domain, before the separation, consisted of the land and the earth, that is, the surface of the earth and the inside of the earth. I have, therefore, translated the word nian as "land" where it occurs in the myth before the separation, and as "sky" after the separation.

The important point is that either of the terms nian or tana, when they occur individually in one line of the couplet, may be understood as a metonym, a synecdoche to be more precise, for the larger idea of the earth and land/sky, which is a unit.

The metaphysics of the primeval universe was founded on the juxtaposition of the two realms, the divine and the human. The Ata Tana Ai say that the deity is a whole, but that it is knowable to men only through its various attributes. Principal among these manifestations of deity are the Sun and Moon. Thus the fundamental oppositions in the Myth of the Separation are those between

Land // Earth and Sun // Moon,*

and in the language of myth, before the separation, the first of these terms is rendered in the dyad

Nian // Tana,

* // means "related as terms in a metaphorical dyad";
+ means "related as terms in a metonymical dyad".
while the second does not appear. With the separation, the four terms occur in the same couplet (lines 183-186, 195-196 and 205-208), but the nature of the relationships between them has changed. _Nian_ and _tana_ no longer occur only as elements of a dyadic set and related paradigmatically, but now manifest a syntagmatic relationship in the same line and together as the paradigmatic complements of _Lero_ + _Wulan_, which make their first appearance as a dyad. Only once before the separation of the Sky and the Earth and the Sun and the Moon does the term _nian_ occur in the same line as the term _tana_ (lines 126-128). This incidence is, I suspect, the result of an error by the chanter whose text is reproduced here. Another ritual specialist, to whom I recited this text several months after it was recorded, commented that the narrative of lines 126-128 was, "salah' harus kemudian di tempat lain", "in error; must be later at another place".

The metaphorical movement may be charted as follows:

In the overall sequence of the histories, the Myth of the Separation is prior to the Myth of the Founding of the Domain Wai Brama and its inhabitation by the Tana Ai clans. In the histories of the clans, the deity, Sun and Moon, is
not often mentioned, the concern being with Sky and Earth, the realm of human life. However, in chants employed in ritual by which the ancestors are invoked to intercede with the deity on behalf of human beings and in the *gren mahé* ceremonies, the divine and human realms, which together comprise the universe, are juxtaposed in ritual language. The two realms are related in a way not characteristic of the Myth of the Separation and are given new attributes. The couplet here referred to occurs in many different chants, and is rendered:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ina Nian Tana wawa} & \quad \text{Mother Sky and Earth below,} \\
\text{Ama Lero Wulan réta} & \quad \text{Father Sun and Moon above.}
\end{align*}
\]

Encoded in this couplet is a complex of oppositions and predications. First, the dyadic sets *ina* // *ama* and *wawa* // *réta*, mother // father and below // above, where mother : father :: below : above, provide a classification of the attributes of Sky and Earth and Sun and Moon which can be arranged in a paradigm:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Gender} & \mathcal{O} (\text{ama}) & \mathcal{Q} (\text{ina}) \\
\hline
\text{realm} & \text{wawa} (\text{human}) & \text{nian} & \text{tana} \\
& \text{réta} (\text{divine}) & \text{lero} & \text{wulan} \\
\end{array}
\]

From this paradigm can be read relations with which informants fully agreed:
1. *nian*, the sky, is male and below;
2. *tana*, the earth, is female and below;
3. *lero*, the sun, is male and above;
and 4. *wulan*, the moon, is female and above.

Which is to say that in both the human realm (below) and in the divine realm (about which the Ata Tana Ai say little is known) there are elements which are male and female and related to human beings as mothers and fathers.

The syntagmatic relationships of elements in ritual language are predicative and metaphorical rather than contrastive. If the structure of the same object is examined syntagmatically, the first line may be read as a predication by which Sky and Earth are mother and in the second line Sun and Moon are said to be father. Thus the contrasted features of the same elements in the paradigm are in the syntagm, with respect to gender, confounded. That is, sky, which paradigmatically is father and above, is associated syntagmatically with mother and below. In the second line of the couplet, Moon, which is female, is associated with father. In an account of Rotinese ritual language, Fox (1971a: 224) remarks that:

... rather than claim that a dyadic set is either a unity or merely the union of its elements, the (Rotinese) chanters commit themselves to the view that it may be both.

This view accords with the Tana Ai case, in which the associations of Sky, Earth, Sun and Moon vary according to where they appear in the sequence of the Tana Ai histories.
Thus in the Myth of the Separation, Sky can be related to the male domain of the divine, and later be associated with the lower female domain, while Moon can on the one hand be associated with the lower female domain before the separation and thereafter with the upper, male domain. There are no contradictions to be found between the two arrangements when it is discovered that in the later couplet it is Nian Tana, the human domain that is contrasted with Sun and Moon, the divine domain, while preserving the primeval contrasts in the subsequent expression. The message of the later couplet is that things that may in one manner be classified as male or female (or above or below) can in another contain within them, as part of their constitution, elements of their complements. This principle is manifested in a number of realms of Tana Ai culture, as in the garden, where it is men, who are primarily associated with forest, who are required to perform the planting ceremonies at the center of the garden, the archetypical female domain. Indeed the landscape of Tana Ai itself is partitioned into domains of the sacred and profane.
## Appendix F: Sequence of Events of and Leading to the *Gren Mahé*, July-November, 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Public (+/-)</th>
<th>Name of Event</th>
<th>Principal Participants</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. 15 vii, a.m.</td>
<td>Watuwolon</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dëwa Liwu of Diwang meets Koa Tapo to announce the desire of people at the head of the valley to do the <em>gren</em> quickly.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. 15 vii, 1100</td>
<td>Wair Namur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sina IWB, Koa Tapo, Osé IWB, Dëwa Liwu Diwang</td>
<td>Brief discussion of <em>gren</em> along with other ritual matters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 31 viii, 1600</td>
<td>lepo tana, Watuwolon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nenî blupur plawi getê</td>
<td>Sina IWB, Bago IWB, Rudun IWB, Kédang IWB</td>
<td>a. Wua ta'a offering in <em>lepo tana</em>;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Invocation of the ancestors inside <em>lepo tana</em>;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. Addressing central house post of <em>lepo tana</em>;</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>d. Offering of rice and eggs to spirits at the boundary of the <em>lepo tana</em>'s clearing;</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>e. Continuation of invocation to the ancestors outside the <em>lepo tana</em>;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f. Simple meal inside <em>lepo tana</em>.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>This ceremony was done to confirm <em>kula kara</em> and to rid the valley of heat and illness before the <em>gren mahé</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 21 ix, a.m.</td>
<td>Koa's house, Watuwolon</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sina IWB, Koa Tapo, Larì Tapo (Tanakepi), Blewo Ipir (Wolometan), Sera Magé (Natarwatut), Bago IWB</td>
<td>First meeting of the ritual specialists of the houses participating in the <em>gren</em> to discuss its plans and organization. Various <em>kula kara</em> required in outstanding disputes enumerated. Not all the ritualists invited to Watuwolon attended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 25 ix, p.m.</td>
<td>Sésu's house, Hila Natar</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sésu LPE, Bago IWB, Sina IWB</td>
<td>Meeting between ritual leaders and <em>Kepala Desa</em> to discuss attitude of the district government toward the <em>gren</em>. Discussion of a &quot;budget&quot; for the purchase of food and drink for visiting district officials. <em>Kepala Desa</em> agrees to handle any permit required by the government for the <em>gren</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 26 ix, 0800</td>
<td>E.D.L.'s house, Watuwolon</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koa Tapo, Sina IWB, Sera Magé, Renu Tapo, Bago IWB</td>
<td>An unplanned meeting of ritual specialists at which they discussed the order of chanting the <em>oda getê</em> in <em>gren mahé</em>. Thirteen <em>nuhun</em> (houses) are counted as core participants in charge of organizing their localities. Discussion of the number and sources of animals required for the <em>gren</em>, who will provide them, and the sequence in which they will be sacrificed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 28 ix, a.m.</td>
<td>Koa's house, Watuwolon</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koa Tapo, Sina IWB, Sera Magé, Bago IWB, Kédang IWB</td>
<td>Second meeting of ritual specialists of participating houses to discuss matters not settled at meeting of 21 ix. Sina reports on meeting with <em>Kepala Desa</em> (25 ix). Much anger and anxiety at failure of several ritual leaders to attend this meeting. It was agreed that the <em>gren</em> would be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. 30 ix</td>
<td>Munewolon</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. 30 ix</td>
<td>Koa's house, Watuwolon</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. 1 x, a.m.</td>
<td>Munewolon</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12. 1 x, p.m.</td>
<td>Watulaban</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. 2 x, p.m.</td>
<td>Koa's house, Watuwolon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14. ca. 11 x</td>
<td>Watuwolon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15. 12 x, p.m.</td>
<td>Lepo tana, Watuwolon</td>
<td>- dangé ekak</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. 13 x, a.m.</td>
<td>mahé Wai Brama</td>
<td>+ ploi mahé</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17. 13 x, p.m.</td>
<td>Koa's house, Watuwolon</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. 14 x</td>
<td>mahé Wai Brama</td>
<td>(same as 13 x, a.m.)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

done regardless of the number of houses that actually contribute. News arrives that Salu (Koa's brother) is dying and the meeting breaks up.

Letter arrives at Munewolon during the burial of Salu directing the du'a mo'an to meet the camat (or his representative) tomorrow morning.

Discussion of the significance of the camat's letter. The meeting called by the camat conflicts with the schedule for the local census, but Koa argues that matters affecting the gren are more important than the census.

The camat fails to arrive. Word comes from Wolometan that an official from the camat's office wishes to meet the du'a mo'an at Watulaban later in the day.

Meeting with the camat's representative. The government desires a desa project (clearing land in the valley for a coffee plantation) to be started and completed before the gren can be done. Otherwise, the gren was not discussed.

Koa and Sera discuss the gren between themselves until 0600, 3 x.

A decision is taken to begin ploi mahé, the clearing of the site of the gren. After the site is cleared, the camat will be visited to invite him to attend the gren. In this way the camat's permission will not be sought for the gren to take place.

Small ceremonial offering of rice (ekak) before the ploi mahé begins.

Clearing of the mahé site and gathering of materials for the construction of the ritual pavilions begins. Juang arrives with many men from Mudébai, who work throughout the morning and afternoon. By 1730 the lepo tana is complete but for its thatch and the site is thoroughly cleaned.

The decision is taken to wait until all the ritual pavilions are completed in the mahé forest before visiting the camat. It is decided that construction of the woga will begin 19 x, and that a meeting of the du'a mo'an will be called before then.

Koa and Sina inspect the old wanin (drum) and decide that a new one must be made for the gren. Lepo Tapot is completed by men recruited by Dewa from Diwang and Mudébai (Juang's group). After roofing both lepo tana and lepo Tapot, the du'a
19. 14 x, 1730  Watuwolon - Plé'at + telang haga

20. 17 x  Talibura +  Sina IWB

21. 18 x  Watuwolon +  Sina IWB, Koa Tapo

22. 20 x  mahé Wai Brama + také woga & alín woga: all ritual specialists

23. 21 x  mahé Wai Brama -  Bago IWB

24. 22 x, 0645  mahé Wai Brama +  Sina IWB, Bago IWB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0800</td>
<td>lepo tana, Watuwolon - dopo guna hawon déwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0930</td>
<td>mahé Wai Brama +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>&quot; +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1040</td>
<td>&quot; +</td>
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</table>

Mo'an gather in the lepo tana at the mahé to discuss the settlement of a long-standing dispute involving Sukun Mau at Plé'at.

Ruman and Bapa (from Plé'at) leave for Plé'at with Bago for a ceremony marking the settlement of the old dispute. The dispute arose many generations ago between a man serving as guardian of the mahé and his assistant from Mau Plé'at.

Sina goes to Talibura to invite the camat to attend the gren. The camat promises to attend the hu'an woga on 21 x, but fails to do so.

Sina returns from Talibura. He and Koa meet and agree on a schedule for the preparations for the gren as follows: Monday, 19 x, také woga (clearing the site for the woga pavilion); Tuesday, 20 x, alín woga (construction of the pavilion); Wednesday, 21 x, hu'an woga (thatching the roof of the new woga).

Construction of new woga was carried out by 50-60 men from all parts of Tana Wai Brama. The frame and floor of the pavilion was completed. Du'a mo'an then ate at the lepo tana (mahé) and Sina gave instructions for the gren to the assembled men.

Bago performed a small ritual of cooling (?) and ate a simple meal at the mahé. No other people were present during Bago's ritual. (The purpose of this rite seems to have been to insure that the mahé, having been "opened", was not left unattended.)

Sina IWB, Bago IWB

a. Sina and Bago return from Tanakepi where they have made arrangements for a goat skin for the new wanin.

b. Small offerings to guna déwa spirits at lepo tana. (This ritual may have been done in relation to the goat skin for the wanin.)

c. Men sit at mahé site waiting for the arrival of the du'a mo'an; some men cut ri'í grass for thatching the woga. Du'a mo'an arrive from Koa's house and lepo tana kloang. They talk for a while at lepo tana mahé. All are waiting for the arrival of the camat, who promised to appear between 0900 and 1400.

d. Koa informs Pipi that Pipi will be responsible for pati guna and that "orang Diwang" (i.e., Mo'an Dêwa) will be responsible for widin blikon.

e. Du'a mo'an sit in lepo tana mahé discussing the chants to be done for hu'an woga.
Koa Tapo, Déwa Liwu

f. Déwa and others wish to begin ‘hu’an woga even though the camat has not yet arrived; Koa argues that they should wait at least until early afternoon.

g. Sina sides with Déwa and goes to the woga to begin the roofing ceremony by calling the names of the clans in the order of their oda precedence. Men from each house climb to the top of the pavilion as their clans’ names are called and take their places around the rim of the roof.

h. Chanters organized into two groups: 1) wawa tana - ten men on the ground facing the front of the woga; 2) rėtā unen (“up inside” the pavilion): Pius IWB, Rēnu, Rēka and others. Juang stands in the woga but does not chant.

i. Roofing of woga completes the ceremony. Approximately seventy five men present.

j. Roofing workers and chanters eat a simple meal prepared by women who arrived mid-afternoon. After eating, men left to return home before dark.

Koa, Sera, Déwa, Sina & Bago

k. Discussion of the schedule for the grem.

Déwa is dispatched to the camat’s office to inform the camat that the ‘hu’an woga ceremony is completed.

Déwa returns from the camat’s office and reports to Bago and Sina of their meeting. 3 xi is acceptable for the start of the grem; the camat will arrive 2 xi. Koa is ill, and the three men ate on his outer platform with him listening to their conversation from the inside of the house. Sina outlines the sequence of animal sacrifices for the grem.

a. Rēnu Tapo dies as a result of hura hugar, an error he made in chanting during the ‘hu’an woga ceremony.

b. Much coming and going by ritual specialists. Bago and Sina go to lepo gete of sukun Ipir for the burial of Du’a Kotin who died last night. Gati Mau arrives and leaves again; Pipi eats rice at the lepo tana; Naru (from the head of the valley) arrives at Koa’s house with two chickens and two bottles of tuak as part of the supplies for guests at the grem. Koa tells Naru that petē luet should have been done two days ago.
c. Bago begins *petê lué* at the ritual houses of Natarwatut, having met with the *du'a mo'an* there earlier this morning. The lué (knotted strips of Jontar leaves) have nine matan (knots). Hence the *gren* will be completed in nine days.

d. Pipi, Bago, Wahin and Gati sit at the *lepo tana* *kloang*. All leave on various errands except Pipi, who remains in the house eating rice. Gongs are brought out of the *lepo tana* and hung from a platform which has been built in the rear of the house. Rice pounding and gong playing will continue 24 hours a day until the start of the *gren*. "Lowering the gongs" at the *lepo tana* signals *lodong gong* at the other *lepo* of the domain, which begins the following day.

Pounding rice for the *gren* begins. Rice mortars are set up at the *botek* (granary) of *sukun* *Liwu Ble'it* because the *lepo tana* does not yet have a barn of its own. Sina, Jabo and Rudun chew *wua ta'a* to initiate the pounding of rice. *Du'a Rudun*, inside the granary, directs the pouring of rice from its storage baskets.

With the lowering of the gongs completed and rice pounding under way, Sina, Sera and Naru chant and drink palm gin at the *lepo tana*. By 1555 dancing begins at the *lepo tana*, accompanied by gong playing.

A few ritual chanters gather at the *lepo* of *sukun* Mau to practice chants and to assign chanting for the *gren* to various chanters.

With the lowering of gongs and pounding of rice begins at the *lepo* of Natarwatut and other houses of the domain.

a. Women begin dancing at the *lepo tana*. Dancing will continue until the gongs are moved to the *mahé* for the beginning of the *gren*.

b. Sina and Koa discuss the schedule and plans for the *gren*.

a. Small ceremony to "cool" the *lepo* *Tapot*. One small pig sacrificed, with a young coconut, as in the cooling of a normal *lepo*.

b. A new schedule for the *gren* is worked out by Sina and Koa: Friday, 31 xi, *ro'a wanin* (cutting the new *mahé* drum); Saturday, 1 xi, *ra'it wanin* and *ro'a labit* (placing the head on the drum and cutting the labit emblem) at *Wolo'lor*; Sunday, 2 xi, *késa labit* (painting the emblem) at *Wolo'lor*; Monday, 3 xi, *labit tana* (placing the emblem in the *mahé* in the
35. 30 x

36. 30 x  
  mähê Wai Brama  

37. 31 x, a.m.  
  lepo Ipir Nuha, Lëmak  
  ro’a wanin  
  Sina IWB, Sera Magé, Karo, Pius IWB, Bago IWB, Pipi IWB, Leba, Laro, et. al.

38. "  
  Wololora  
  ro’a labit  
  ?

39. "

40. 1 xi, a.m.  
  Watuwolon

OPENING OF THE GREN MAHE -

41. 2 xi, a.m.  
  mähê Wai Brama  
  +

  "  1730  
  +  léda labit

  "  ca. 1800  
  +  tama widin mawar  
  Bago IWB, Leba, Karo, Sera Magé, Tibon, et. al.

  "  2000  
  +  tama widin wido gahu

  "  2000+  
  +  tewuk tuak

42. 3 xi, 1345  
  lepo tana mähê  
  +

  Koa Tapo, Sina IWB, Bago IWB, Leba, Karo, Juang Lëwuk, Gati Mau, et. al.

morning, widin wido gahu (placing "the goat that binds the heat" in the mähê) in the afternoon; Tuesday, 4 xi, tama geté (the "great entrance"), the beginning of the gREN.

Dancing continues at all the houses of the domain; many people visit the lepo tana at Watuwolon to dance there.

Construction of basan (temporary houses) by members of the houses that will participate in the gREN.

Felling of a lontar palm and carving a new mähê drum from its trunk. The work is accompanied by continual chanting to dopó guna, to summon the spirits and ancestors. The completed drum is carried in a long procession to the mähê, where it is installed in the woga. From the time of the first cut in the tree until its installation in the woga all participants in the event are prohibited from eating, drinking and smoking.

Carving the labit and dopó (the mähê) emblems.

Minor chanters meet at the various lepo of the domain to organize and practice the chanting for the gREN.

Koa receives the Sikkanese school teacher who lives at Hila Natar, and his family, who have come to watch the dancing at the lepo tana.

a. Construction of basan and li'at (hearth) continues; people begin arriving at the mähê.

b. The labit and dopó are brought to the mähê; dancing with the labit begins with men circling the mähê altar.

c. Procession of men from Ipir Nuha lead a large goat, the widin mawar, which Ipir Nuha contributes to the ceremonies. Dancing around the mähê intensifies with the arrival of this goat. Rudun and Woso lead a few women in dancing around the altar. Men begin henok dance at the altar.

d. "The goat that binds the heat" is brought to the mähê clearing by people of Sina's house.

e. Karok and Sera discuss plans for the ceremonies to be done the next day. They then perform an offering of palm gin (tewuk tuak) in the lepo tana mähê.

a. Du’a mo’an sit in lepo tana and discuss the final arrangements for the gREN and the various responsibilities of the different nuhun.
Juang Lekuk, Karok, Leba, Sina IWB, Pipi IWB, Gati Mau, et. al.

Koa and Karok argue about this. Koa argues that the sacrifice must be done immediately, with one animal to be sacrificed at the blikon. Pipi and Gati, along with other men, are finally sent to pati guna.

c. One pig sacrificed in the forest as an offering to the spirits.

b. Pati guna not yet done. Koa and Karok argue about this. Koa argues that the sacrifice must be done immediately, with one animal to be sacrificed at the blikon. Pipi and Gati, along with other men, are finally sent to pati guna.

c. One pig sacrificed in the forest as an offering to the spirits.

43. " 1530 " +

Koa Tapo, Karok, Sina IWB, Pius IWB, Bago IWB, et. al.

b. Immediately the wua ta'a offering ends, the animal is killed next to the lepo tana mahé and discuss the wai blikon, the sacrifice of a pig at the boundary of clan stones below the altar. Karok argues that two pigs must be killed as pati blikon; Koa argues that in keeping with hadat, only one animal is required. Koa wins his point after a half hour's discussion. After the decision is taken, Bago conducts a wua ta'a offering in the lepo tana mahé while Leba chants. This rite is a "getting of kula kara".

a. After returning from pati guna, the du'a mo'an gather in the lepo tana mahé and discuss the wai blikon, the sacrifice of a pig at the boundary of clan stones below the altar. Karok argues that two pigs must be killed as pati blikon; Koa argues that in keeping with hadat, only one animal is required. Koa wins his point after a half hour's discussion. After the decision is taken, Bago conducts a wua ta'a offering in the lepo tana mahé while Leba chants. This rite is a "getting of kula kara".

Leba, Bago IWB, Gati Mau, and all ritual specialists

b. Immediately the wua ta'a offering ends, the animal is killed next to the lepo tana mahé, and the ekak is led by Pius IWB. Then the du'a mo'an take positions behind the line of blikon stones, and Leba chants the opening invocation of the deity, standing in the middle of the line of du'a mo'an and facing the mahé pole. Following the invocation, labit dancing resumes.

a. Entrances of the houses into the mahé. Each house forms a procession into the mahé clearing, bringing their animals with them. Each house, as it enters the precincts, is met by a man with the labit and is led in a parade and in dancing around the mahé altar.

b. The houses of Mudebali and people from Pruda make their entrances; henok dancing around the altar.

c. The second and third houses enter.

d. The houses of Wolo'lora enter.

e. The houses of Wolometan enter.

f. The houses of Natarwatut enter.

g. The houses of Pié'at enter.

h. Sukun Tapo (people of Munéwolon) enters.
i. Entrance of five more nuhun.

The representative of the camat halts the proceedings by mounting the steps of the woga and stopping the drum and gong playing. He demands the surrender of all weapons - parangs, spears, bows and arrows - before the ceremony can continue. The kepala desa then makes a speech from the woga, covering three points: 1) the need for "order and safety", 2) a warning not to "waste food" during the ceremonies, and 3) a command that no more animals can be killed before payments of slaughter tax are made.

With all but one or two nuhun having entered the mahé, Sina calls the du'a mo'an to the lepo Tapot for consultation.

The school teacher from Hila Natar, one police officer and an official from the camat's office are ushered to the platform of the raja.

Rudun, dressed in ceremonial clothes with patola cloths, leads women in a dance around the altar.

The last nuhun makes its entrance to the mahé.

Every participant files past the stones of the mahé and blikon and makes an offering of torn cloth on each stone.

Koa Tapo, Sina IWB, et al.

The du'a mo'an discuss the poto watu mirin ("raising the slanted stone"), which has not yet been done because Gati has gone to Plé'at on an errand.

The official from the camat's office complains about the delay in beginning poto watu mirin.

a. Gati returns from Plé'at. The du'a mo'an gather at the lepo tana mahé to discuss the sequence of chanting to be done for the poto watu mirin rite.

b. Tewuk at lepo tana mahé.

c. Pius rehearses chants with several other men; Bogar replaces Renu in the réta unen group of chanters.

d. Angry at the delay of poto watu mirin, Bota, the representative of the camat, goes to the woga and harangues the crowd about how late it is.

a. Chanters organized into two groups at the woga.

b. Juang performs the poto watu mirin rite inside the woga.

c. Chanting of oda geté begins.
a. Discussion among du'a mo'an before the sacrifice of animals begins.

b. Pati geté (the "great cutting" of animals) begins. Representatives of the clans take their places at the blikon stones.

c. Seven animals killed in rapid succession; dancing around the altar.

d. The Kepala desa interrupts the ceremony to repeat his speech about the payment of the slaughter tax.

e. The meat of the first seven animals sacrificed is divided by Sina, Ké dang and others among men lined up along the south side of the mahé clearing and the blikon.

f. Ekak (=piong paré) offering at mahé altar.

g. Ritual division of wawi arun (pigs' jaws).

h. Sacrifice of the "earth goat" and one other core ritual goat.

i. Sacrifice of the pleron goat.

j. Sacrifice of large, white goat.

k. Once the sacrifice of the uru nilo and mawar animals was completed and their meat divided, pati geté, the "great cutting" of the saden animals, which are contributed by the houses individually, begins. The animals are led to the meran (butchering site) at the woga and sacrificed in quick succession.

l. During the pati geté, men circle the altar of the mahé in a dance called henok.

m. Sacrifice of the last animal of the pati geté.

n. Following the pati geté and the final ekak at the mahé altar, it was discovered that two animals remained to be sacrificed. These animals could not be cut at the mahé because the ekak offering was finished. After a heated argument, these two remaining saden animals were killed at the lepo Tapot rather than at the woga, and their blood was not rubbed on the altar.

o. Representatives of each nuhun did another offering of torn cloth on the stones of the mahé altar, each stone of the blikon and on the tops of the house posts of the lepo tana.

Fighting, a necessary part of the grem celebration, erupts among men at the mahé.

Dancing resumes at the altar after the fighting ends, but the ceremonies are officially completed.
People begin drifting back to their basan to prepare to return to their homes.

a. The ritual specialists of the houses that participated in the gren gather at the mahé for the ritual of sésok, the closing of the gren mahé, by which the mahé forest is "closed" until the next celebration.

b. Three animals are sacrificed; ke'ek (pancreas) divination of a large goat to read the success of the gren. Ekak of animals.

c. Areca nut and betel leaf chewed by participants in the lepo tana.

d. A simple ritual meal closes the sésok and with it, the gren mahé is considered to be completed. The ritual specialists return to their homes.
Notes to Chapter One

1. Other sources on Sikka that were utilized in preparing for field research include Arndt (1931), de Brabander (1949), Calon (1890-1891, 1893, 1895), van Dijk (1925-1934), Sevink (1914) and Vosmaer (1862).

2. The Indonesian word kafir (kapir), "unbeliever, infidel; pagan", as used by European missionaries in Kabupaten Sikka, commonly connotes a person without religion, one who is "belum beragama", i.e., who is not Catholic. The Sikkanese author of the work cited implies, in his title, a view closer to that of most native Sikkanese: that behind their lack of Christianity the pagan peoples of the district possess and practice an indigenous religion. To the Ata Tana Ai themselves, the Malay word agama means "Christianity", and there is no categorical term in their own dialect that means "religion", except that hadat, "custom, tradition, ritual, law", includes a body of ideas and practices that westerners might generally identify as "religious". I once suggested to an elderly ritual specialist that, in contradistinction to "agama Katolik", the Ata Tana Ai possess "agama tanah", "religion of the earth", and he enthusiastically agreed. Within a few days, several men congratulated me on this felicitous turn of phrase, but it soon disappeared from usage.

3. Sara means "language" and "way", and is cognate with cara in Indonesian.

4. The earliest mention of Christians in Sikka that I have found is in an undated Portuguese report on Flores (probably 1568-1579).
Meersman (1967:37) documents the arrival of three Franciscan friars at Ende in 1589. The Portuguese established a settlement on the island of Solor in 1566.


6. Diaries of the controleurs of Maumere for the years 1879-80, 1884-85 and 1887-1907 were translated from the Dutch by Mo'ang Pedro Fernandes in 1943. I have been unable to locate the original documents from which the translations were made.


8. ibid. p.1161.


11. There is a striking similarity between the character of the ritual office of tana puang in Sikka and the Dae Langgak of the Rotinese domains. In Sikka, as on Roti, the tana puang claims priority of authority because of earlier presence. The present tana puang of Sikka Natar recounts that his forebears actually created the Sikkanese rajadom by nominating one Sikkanese lineage as that of the ratu. As on Roti, the Sikkanese tana puang, except in his role as ritual head of the earth, is treated by members of the community (especially by those of the noble lineages) as socially inferior and something of a buffoon (cf. Fox 1980:109). To be sure, the office of the tana puang in Sikka Natar has survived the institution of the rajadom by many years.
12. In Sara Tana Ai, the dialect of the Ata Tana Ai, "réta Jawa" means Larantuka, "the Jawa over the mountains", while "wawa Jawa", "the distant Jawa", is Java.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. The people of Sikka Natar divide the year into twelve months:
   1. *wulang bleké geté* (January), "big food shortage"
   2. *wulang bleké doi* (February), "little food shortage"
   3. *wulang kowo* (March), "heavy rain"
   4. *wulang kowo balu go'is* (April), "bad rainy month when rotting food must be thrown out"
   5. *wulang kowo balu epang* (May), "rainy month when less food rots and must be thrown out"
   6. *wulang prupu poru* (June), "to wipe dry the path to the harvest"
   7. *brebo hewot* (July), "food drying at dusk"
   8. *brebo o'ing aling* (August), "dry weather with wisps of mist on the sea"
   9. *wulang mapa iling* (September), "clouds lie across the mountains"
   10. *wulang mapa watang* (October), "clouds lie across the shore"
   11. *wulang moré* (November), "month of flying ants"
   12. *wulang muru* (December), "month of trading (for food)"

2. In the past fifteen years the people of Tana Wai Brama have begun planting coffee in some *tana tuan*, most of which covers the steep ravines in which run the streams of the domain. The Ata Tana Ai justify bringing these forests into the economy of the area, pointing out that the land on which they stand is useless for gardens and, in any case, coffee is planted under the trees and in accordance with the traditional prohibitions pertaining to the felling of primary forest.

   It should be noted that in 1979 the regency government began allowing the cutting of trees by firms from Maumere along Napun Geté
in the lower part of the valley. These trees are mature and of considerable commercial value. Since in the view of the Ata Tana Ai they are sacred, they cannot be claimed as property. The timber cutters interpret this as meaning that they are free for the felling, and no compensation is paid to local residents. Without government protection similar to that provided for the inaccessible forests on the peaks of the Wukoh range, the Tana Ai valley may suffer very rapid deforestation and the loss of a resource essential to the preservation of soil in the valley and as a natural restraint on flooding.

3. *urun* is open grassland; *ri'i* is a tall grass used for roof thatching; *rotan* is swordgrass.

4. Occasionally a household may have two gardens planted simultaneously for a year. Overlapping gardens reduces the average theoretical fallow period somewhat.

5. The tools used in garden work are limited to short machetes, small iron knives used in weeding and digging tubers, and the dibble stick.

6. An inventory of crops commonly planted in the gardens of Tana Wai Brama is found in Appendix B.

7. The standard measure for grain, coffee and peanuts in Tana Ai, as elsewhere on Flores, is a biscuit tin with a capacity of fourteen litres called *blik* (from the Dutch word for "tin", "can"). One *blik* of newly harvested rice weighs approximately 10 kg and approximately 8 kg after storage for several months.

8. Harvests decrease by 15-20% with each successive planting of a garden. Thus a garden in its third planting may produce only 65-70% of the first harvest, other conditions being equal. The figure of 1000 kg per hectare for the best expectable rice harvest is derived from informants' statements. In 1978 about one half of the rice crop of Tana Wai Brama was lost because of late and heavy
rainfalls; in 1979 nearly 100% of the grain crops (rice, maize, sorghum and millet) were destroyed by disease and a plague of mice. The harvest of 1980 was considerably better than either 1978 or 1979, but did not approach the maximum which gardens are capable of producing. In years of grain crop failure the Ata Tana Ai rely on tubers (yams, taro, cassava, sweet potatoes) and increased hunting to insure their requirements of food.

9. Grain harvests are variable in Tana Ai. The last year for which informants reported harvests which generally approached the maximum (1000 kg/ha) was 1972-73. The beginning and end of seasons are variable in Tana Ai and difficult to predict. Drought and heavy rain falls after grain heads mature both affect harvests, as do periodic plagues of field mice and worms which attack the upper roots and lower stalks of the rice plant. During the period of field work the following overall harvests, expressed as percentages of what the Ata Tana Wai Brama consider to be maximum yields, were recorded in the Watuwolon-Watulaban region:

1978 : 50-60%
1979 : 10%
1980 : 60-70%

1978: late rain falls and storms destroyed the crops of some households which had not yet begun harvesting their fields, while other households, who were able to complete their harvests before the rains began, fared very well;

1979: disease and mice left many households without sufficient rice for the 1979 planting;

1980: All crops reduced by drought late in the rice growing season.

10. The language of location and time is described in Appendix C.
Notes to Chapter Three

1. While the text of the myth of the creation is recited in narrative form, it must be noted that Sara Tana Ai lacks the passive grammatical voice and that sentences can be translated either in the active or passive voice. Where in the translation that follows I have employed the active voice it should be understood that I do so as a matter of convention and that the agent remains unspecified.

2. Marginal numbers indicate lines in the text (see Appendix D).

3. The cord or chain connecting the upper and lower realms of the universe is rendered in ritual language in either of two ways:

   Kung bio honen gorek,
   Tali plou wulu lodan,

   or

   Kung bio wulu lodan,
   Tali plou honen gorek.

Wulu is a variety of bamboo with long sections and thin walls. It is a delicate plant for which the Ata Tana Ai find few uses. Lodan is a chain or necklace, usually made from finely worked gold or silver, such as those produced by the people of the island of Ndao and traded in eastern Flores. Tali plou means a hanging cord or chain, and refers also to the many species of vines that hang from trees in the deep forests of Tana Ai.

Honen gorek: Honen is a wooden peg used to connect crosspieces of bamboo in the construction of houses, barns and sitting platforms. Gorek means to cut round holes in the wall of a section of Bamboo by making oblique cuts in the bamboo with a bush knife. These cuts result in a round hole into which are inserted the crosspieces in making a platform or house frame.
A platform made by the honen gorek technique has the form of a ladder, from which comes the metaphor in ritual language: the ladder by which the deity commutes between the realms.


5. The precise meaning of this couplet, one of the most common in the ritual language of Tana Wai Bram, is obscure. Blatan and bliran are closely related, both meaning "cool" or "cold". Beli bliran also means "to enlighten". Ro is the dew that forms on coconuts and drips to the ground on cool nights. It may thus be a metaphor for "coconut water". Wair sina mitan, "water - China - black", given the syntax of Sara Tana Ai, can mean variously, "black water of China" or "water of the Black Chinese". In the first sense it may refer to the blood of sacrificial animals, which is an agent of ritual "cooling" in Tana Ai, but it is unclear why a metaphor for blood would have this form. James J. Fox (1980: pers. comm.) notes that in parts of eastern Indonesia, the Topasses or "Black Portuguese" were sometimes called Black Chinese. If this is the case in Tana Ai, a connection is suggested between the holy water of Catholic priests and coconut water: both are sprinkled in their respective rituals in similar fashion. Why the coconut of ritual cooling in ritual language should be given the attributes
"white" and "Balinese" remains, in the absence of unequivocal statements by informants, a puzzle. Again, Dr Fox has pointed out that the metaphorical equivalence of Balinese and Portuguese may hinge on the Portuguese having employed Balinese as mercenaries and slaves. It is safe to say, however, that this couplet expresses the "cooling" function of ritual, but neither the ritual nor the couplet is explained by this statement.

6. I was to have made a trip to Flores Timur in 1978 in company with the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama who planned to attend ceremonies there. I had hoped to learn something of the relationship between the Ata Tana Ai and the people of the southeastern slopes of Ili Wukoh, but was prevented from making the journey when Larantuka was closed by the government because of an outbreak of cholera in Kota Larantuka.

7. According to tradition, people of Tana Ai were forbidden by hadat to weave ikat textiles. In addition to the traditional men's cloths that are produced in large numbers in Tana Wai Brama, a few young women of the domain have begun weaving textiles with designs copied from Sikkanese and Larantuka cloths. Most women's cloths are, however, still obtained by trade with Sikkanese at the market at Talibura or from people of Larantuka on trading expeditions to Flores Timur.

8. In this regard, these marriages resemble those between the royal houses of Sikka and Larantuka. In the genealogies of the house of the raja of Sikka there appear regular marriages between daughters of the Sikkanese royal house and sons of the raja of Larantuka. The people of Sikka Natar acknowledge the political significance of these marriages and point out that the Sikkanese are wife-givers to the rajas of Larantuka. The extent to which Tana Wai Brama may now incorporate, or have incorporated in the past, areas of Flores Timur in its ritual purview and the relations between people of the two regions generally requires further investigation.

9. According to the Ata Tana Ai, lama holo means latu lawan, "ritual speech", in the language of Lamaholot of east Flores and Solor.
10. The deleted sections that follow tell of the travels of the ancestors to Tana Wai Brama and consist of long recitations of place names and names of ancestors.

11. Uhet is the marrow of bone and the flesh of soft fruits such as papaya. Uhet is the possessive form of the word uhé, which means "door", and in this context appropriately forms a dyad with temer, "entry", "reception", "arrival", "penetration", "to insinuate one's self into another's favor" (see Meyer, n.d.). I did not get a definition of temer from the Ata Tana Ai, and its meaning may also pertain to the earth or some quality of earth. In Kédang, uhé means "the inside of the earth" (Barnes 1974:104).

Thus these lines may mean either:

"At this land lies the door,
At this earth stands the entry",
or,

"At this land lies the marrow,
At this earth stands the inside (inner source)".

Either translation expresses the reception of newcomers who, after searching, have found their place.

Notes to Chapter Four


2. Other words similar to pua and puan which were mentioned as "related" to them by informants, but which must be distinguished on linguistic and semantic grounds, are: pu'a, the fastening of a knife's blade to its haft, and in the phrase "pu'a né'i naruk", means, "to instigate an argument, litigation or discussion"; puang, as the cognate of buang in Malay, can also mean "to throw" or "to throw away" as in "puan lé'u wawa tana ba'a", "throw it on the ground", although this usage is more commonly heard in central Sikka than
Tana Ai; pu'at means "owner", "proprietor" and "truly", "really" or "strong (of emotions)" as in "nimu 'ata jentiu pu'at", "he is really a pagan", and "dewang pu'at", "strong desire"; pu is a term of kin relationship (see Chapter Eight); puda is a child exchanged between houses to reaffirm a relation of blood (see Chapter Nine).

3. The invocation from which couplets are cited here was recorded on several occasions in longer and shorter versions and by the same ritual specialist, Mo'an Sina Ipir Wai Brama, the chief ritual chanter of the domain. It was recorded at different times between 1977 and 1980 on the occasions of a gareng lamen (male initiation) ceremony, the "cooling" of a new clan house, an exculpatory ceremony performed at the lepo tana the house of the earth of the domain, as one of many subsidiary rituals performed in preparation for the gren mahé of 1980 and at other minor ceremonies. In all these performances the excerpted couplets were chanted.

4. Wu'un means "boundary" in the sense of the frontier or border between two things, or "seam". The boundary of a field or territory can be spoken of as wu'un when the speaker intends to imply the contiguity of two like things, but is more commonly spoken of as duen, the outer border of the field itself, a part or quality of the field.

5. The word larun also refers to the length of the bones of the human body and wu'un are also the joints of limbs by which the human form is articulated.

6. In none of the texts of ritual language I have collected do the words puan and matan occur as elements of a dyad in the same couplet. This may be because these words are synonyms and do not therefore mark similarity and difference which analogous terms in couplets serve to mark.

7. During our stay in Tana Ai the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama never attended any of the ceremonies which I recorded. Only once did I see him participate in ritual, and that was for the "cooling" of his own house.
8. Affairs between Sikka and Tana Ai were never quite as simple as that, however. Sometime during the 1920s, for reasons which no one in Tana Ai seems to remember, the Raja of Sikka also presented a man from Tanakepi in the upper Napun Geté (the Great Valley of Tana Ai) with a grai and made him his representative in addition to the tana puan. The Tana puan of Tana Wai Brama remembered the appointment with chagrin: the man was neither a local tana puan nor, worse still, was he of sukun Ipir. He was not even of the core clan of his own domain. If the gai ratu was not himself tana puan, it was customary that he accept appointment only with the approbation of the tana puan.

9. That is, both Rapa's mother's mother's father and Bago's mother's father. See Figure 10.5.

10. As of December, 1980, a new tana puan had not been recognized in Tana Wai Brama. It is quite possible that Pius, the son of Sina (see Chapter Six, pp.234-235 and Figure 10.5) and Osé, may succeed to the position. He is becoming skilled in the histories, and appears to be ambitious in the sphere of ritual leadership in the domain.


12. The error of this chanter was to place events in the histories of the clans out of their proper sequence. He also made errors of a grammatical sort, ascribing to the Sun and Moon the predication "below" and to the Land and Earth the predication "above".

Notes to Chapter Five

1. Cf. footnote 3, Chapter Three.

2. Cf. footnote 5, Chapter Three.

3. Prior to November, 1980 the last gren in which all the houses of the domain participated was in 1960 or 1961. Thereafter a small
gren was undertaken in 1974, although informants were uncertain about when and by whom this ritual was done, and whether or not it had the approbation of the tana puan. Considerable mystery and a marked unwillingness on the part of informants to discuss this gren may mean that it was either not sanctioned by the tana puan or was not successful. More likely, the uncertainty among the people of Watuwolon about this gren is because it was put on by the people of Watutena. The guardian of the mahé of Tana Wai Brama told me during the preparations for the gren of 1980 that the tu'an mahé, the mahé forest, at Watuwolon had not been cleared since 1960. Furthermore, the people of Watutena conducted a gren at their mahé near Natargahar a few weeks before the celebration of Tana Wai Brama in 1980. I passed through Watutena two days after the ceremonies were conducted there, and the kepala desa, with whom I spoke about the Watutena rituals, said the gren mahé there had last been done six years previously, that is, in 1974. Thus the references to a small celebration in that year by people of Watuwolon may refer to the ceremonies conducted at Watutena which some Tana Wai Brama people may have attended.

4. *Poto watu mirin*, "to raise up the slanted stone", the ceremony of consecration of the woga during which chanting of the *oda geté* takes place.

5. Note the position of *sukun* Léwuk: Léwuk is delegated the responsibility for construction of the pavilion and placing the *watu mirin* within it. Thus Léwuk, in this ceremony, "stands at the head with Ipir".

6. *Rêta Jawa(-n)* is Larantuka, the Jawa "up" (and over) the mountains; *wawa Jawa*, the "distant Jawa", is the island of Java.

7. *A'un* is the first person possessive pronoun. It is used here by the chanter, the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama, to mean that his ancestors of sukun Ipir Wai Brama asked of the deity that his house be made strong and his woga sturdy.
8. Iang and Bangu were the first human beings. To them have been added in the language of ritual the Christian Adam and Eve.

9. A'u, "I"; the speaker of this chant was the source of the domain whose ancestors first "sat on the land and leaned against the earth" of Tana Wai Brama.

10. In the gren mahé of 1980, Bago Ipir Wai Brama was the delegate of the source of the earth and Gati Mau was Bago's assistant.

11. In Krowé, the local tana puan, whose authority derived from higher tana puan, were called manu 'alang ("head of the chicken"). In Tana Ai the local tana puan were not called by this or any other term but tana puan, and were merely keepers of local mahé nuhu.

12. These rituals were conducted in November, 1980 despite the death of the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama in August, 1979.

13. In Tana Wai Brama, the chicken is the animal closest to Nian Tana Lero Wulan, the deity; it was the first animal created.

14. The objects contained with the téli apur are large tusks of pigs slaughtered in past gren celebrations.

15. The name Uher does not appear in the genealogies collected at Watuwolon, but a man of the same name is said to have been tana puan before the predecessor of Mo'an Robertus Rapa Ipir.

16. The founding ancestor of sukun Ipir Wai Brama.

17. Care should be taken before any one symbolism is imputed to the mahé. However, one informant, speaking of the relationship between the mahé and the deity, said:

   The Catholics, they criticize us and say that we pray to (Indonesian: "sembayang kepada...") the wood (the mahé), and kill many animals to waste food. But the wood is only a symbol (Indonesian: "kiasan"); yes, it is a sign ("tanda"). Behind it, in the background ("latar belakang") is God ("amapu").
But we do not presume to know the name of God; only the Christians know that, it seems. And perhaps the Muslims, though I don't know. In Krowé they say "Amapu" (a term introduced by the Roman Catholic missionaries in central Sikka meaning "father of generations"). But its all the same thing. Its purpose is the same. So we just follow our ancestors. We can only know the attributes (of the deity). We say Nian Tana Lero Wulan, but in the background it is God, but we face the wood ("menghadap kayu").

Notes to Chapter Six

1. Du'a, "woman", is the honorific form of address for women older than the speaker; mo'an, "sir", "man", is the honorific form of address for men older than speaker.

2. The mechanics of this incorporation will be taken up in Chapters Ten and Eleven.

3. I have never elicited translations of the words plé'a and ru'ut in Tana Ai. In Sikka Natar, plé'a are the roots of a tree climbing vine which are gathered in the central hills of the district and sold to the people of Sikka Natar who use them as a fish poison.

4. Note that in ordinary language, ata rawin is a curer (Indonesian: dukun) who practices niru burat, the art of curing with the juice of areca nut and betel leaves which is spat on the patient while ancestors are invoked to cure an illness. In Sikka Natar, ata rawin is a "clever", "capable" or "able person".

5. During the ro'a wanin, the "carving of the drum" for the gren mahé in 1980, all the three dozen men attending were enjoined from eating, drinking, smoking and chewing areca nut from early morning when the work began until midday when the finished drum was carried four kilometers and placed in the central pavilion at the mahé site. By mid morning during the heavy work the ritual specialists relented and acceded to the complaints of some of the men and allowed a brief break in the prohibitions during which everyone rolled and smoked lontar leaf cigarettes. Drinking, however, was not allowed.
6. At Mudéballi, a hamlet of lepo at the head of the valley of Tana Ai, I collected the following bit of Léwuk's history which identifies the wungung ku'at of the clan in ritual language as wild mangos and sweet potatoes:

"Léwuk lama kata, Of Léwuk it is said,
Ku'at dodo piré hura The wild mango is sacred, the sweet potato is forbidden,
Hura uta ngiot ngaot To pound into mash the sweet potato,
Da'an di (réhi) oan Unripe they are forbidden to eat,
Daha di (piré) oan Ripe they are forbidden to eat,
Hura gon lopa deri Sweet potato do not lie in the shadows,
Padu wau lopa gera Mango do not stand in the afternoon!"

7. In addition to the various food avoidances incumbent on groups of people, there are also personal and individual avoidances. Thus some people dream that a particular food or drink might harm them or make them ill, and they avoid consuming it. In 1978 one of the ritual leaders of the domain dreamed that tuak, palm gin, would make him "hot". Thereafter he substituted coffee for the palm gin he was required to drink when he chanted in rituals.

8. The distance between the home localities of parties to an inter-domain marriage seems to be a factor. Certainly the genealogies collected in Watuwolon indicate that, whatever the professed difficulties arising from such marriages, the transaction of "father's forelock" between houses of Tana Wai Brama and Tana Werang seems to occur regularly. The people of Watuwolon seem to marry more frequently with people of Tana Wérang than with any other tana of the region.

9. It was well known in the Watuwolon area that the woman, who had gone to live in Sikka, was mistreated there by her husband's family. Generally, the Sikkanese view the Ata Tana Ai as primitive and backward.

10. During the negotiations between the Sikkanese man and the men of the woman's house, which I attended at Hila Natar in 1978, the
man first spoke of his demand for the return of ama 'lo'en, "father's forelock", but as the discussion progressed and became more heated, he began referring to the payment he required as bélis, "bridewealth" (a misuse of the term). This lapse clearly revealed his true purpose and attitude toward the relationship between his people and his "father's" wife.

11. The last two words of this line I originally transcribed as /bora ora/. Bora I was not able to translate, nor were informants able to tell me what the phrase means. Ora means "with", "along with", "together with", "and". It occurred to me after returning from the field that I may have not transcribed the phrase correctly. If in fact the phrase is /pora ora/, then the proper translation is "all together", pora meaning "all", "total", "complete". I have listened again to the tape recording of the chant in question, but have not been able to determine precisely whether the initial sound of the phrase is /b-/ or /p/-.

12. The three central tana of Tana Ai and their core clans are as follows:

Tana Wai Brama:  
sukun Ipir, sukun Tapo, sukun Mau, sukun Magé, 
sukun Liwu;
Tana Wérang:  
sukun Iri, sukun Léwak, sukun Léwar, sukun Aur;
Tana Uru:  
sukun Watu, sukun Rawa, sukun Déwa, sukun Tukan, sukun Goban;
Other tana:  
Boruk (East Flores), Kéi (?), Hébing, Sogé, 
Héwat (East Flores), Onan, Rotan, Uran.

13. Karé tua is also the term employed for the slicing of the inflorescence of the lontar palm to promote the flow of juice. The reliquary baskets (wélut and sopé) of the clan branch and clan will be discussed below.

14. "Ra'ik genu toma susar, newan pra lakan ha papa; nora sukun rua ganu déun ha. Ata weta,
'Ruat wa'i lalan téna gepun,  
Ha lupa ha heron,  
Ha hulir ha donen.'"

15. The partner clan of sukul Magé, also a core clan of Tana Wai Brama, is not known to me. My information on hiti karé pairing comes entirely from informants at Watuwolon who claimed not to know who the partner clan of sukul Magé might be. I have never attended the burial of a member of sukul Magé, whose members live principally at the other end of the domain from Watuwolon, and I have thus not witnessed first hand the arrangements made by sukul Magé for its dead. Nor have I inquired among the members of the clan who live near Watuwolon regarding this question. It is clear however, that if Magé actually participates in a hiti karé alliance with another clan, it must either form a redundant relationship with another clan of Tana Wai Brama, or have as its partner a clan of a different tana.

16. In Kédang (Barnes 1974:80), a man's wife-givers provide the paraphernalia for his funeral, while his wife-takers handle his corpse. Among the Mambai of East Timor, exchanges of gifts that are initiated by a death are conceived to be a continuation of payments that began with the marriage of the deceased. It is close kin of the descent group of the deceased who organize the funerary exchanges between them and their wife-giving and wife-taking affines (Traube 1977:355). The wife-giving and wife-taking affines of a deceased eastern Sumbanese share responsibility with his kabihu (higher order paternal social group that consists of related "houses") for the proper exchange of funeral gifts (Adams 1969:62). Among the Makassae of Timor, the descent group of a deceased person mediate a complex of exchanges between their wife-givers and wife-takers (Forman 1980:153), a pattern that characterizes exchanges following upon a death in Sikka Natar.

In contrast to a common eastern Indonesian pattern, death in Tana Ai does not immediately invoke relationships of affinal
alliance. In Tana Ai, the rituals that follow a death do not require exchanges between the descent group of the deceased, their wife-givers and wife-takers, but require the participation of the members of the descent group of the deceased (the lepo) and his or her affines. The sociology of death and funerary exchange in Tana Ai is more similar to that of the Rotinese, among whom death exchanges are between paternal and maternal kinsmen (Fox 1980:117-118), than to those systems in which death exchanges recapitulate the exchanges between alliance groups that attend marriage.

17. In the past, the valuable patola cloths that comprise part of the ceremonial wealth of the house and clan and which were buried with important persons such as clan headwomen or important ritual specialists and the tana puan, had to come from the natal lepo of the deceased and not from any particular group of affines. While patolas are only rarely buried with corpses now days, the principle that the maternal lepo provides the burial shroud and cloths is still observed.

18. See Chapter Eleven for a discussion of the crucial wawi arun, pig's jaw, exchange, which follows the slaughter of all pigs killed for ceremonial purposes, including death rituals.

19. Whether or not a brother of Ria's wife, to whose group Ria's was husband-giver, could have performed the hiti karé is a question I failed to ask in the field. In principle, any man of sukun Ipir Wai Brama could have performed the service.

20. Rotan was once an independent clan which has been amalgamated by sukun Léwuk.

21. "Ami hoi song au", "We will purchase your freedom".

22. The ina ama sukun and the locations of their lepo pi'e'a ru'ut of the five core clans of Tana Wai Brama are:
1. Ipir Wai Brama, Du'a Kotin IWB, Watulaban.
2. Sukun Tapo, Du'a Krétik Tapo, Munéwolon.
4. Sukun Magé, (?), Diwang or Rî'i Dueng.
5. Sukun Liwu, (?), Rî'i Dueng.

(See Figures 10.2 and 10.3.)

23. *Hemit heruk* is the term which also denotes the tasting of the first sip of *tuak* from a newly opened bottle by a host before he serves the liquor to guests. This is done "to test the tuak" to see if it is good and to test for poison.

24. The ritual duties of men associated with the harvest and sowing of fields is expressed completely as:

   "Ata (or mo'an) pahe nuru nalu,
   Mo'an poru pai pare."

   *pahe*: to dibble the holes into which seeds are dropped in sowing;
   *nuru*: to plant;
   *nalu*: rice grains;
   *poru*: to strip the grain heads from the rice stalk, i.e.,
   to harvest rice;
   *pai*: to sow seeds into dibbled holes in the earth;
   *pare*: husked rice.

25. Though often heeding the desires of the women of the community.

26. *Wu'a* or *wowa* are small, black and polished stones, kept as personal ritual and magical objects by men in their têli wuat (betel leaf baskets). Wu'a have magical properties, particularly those of ritual specialists, which are utilized in curing. They are intimately bound to a man's identity and after his death, some of his wu'a are placed in the wélut of his lepo, while others, if he has many, are divided among his children and sisters' children along with his other belongings. Informants disagree on the question of whether or not women also keep wu'a stones, an uncertainty which is itself a clue to the remarkable secrecy surrounding these objects.
27. Téli wuat, "betel leaf baskets", are complexly plaited baskets of lontar leaves containing many compartments (such as Chinese boxes) which a man carries with him at all times and which contain all the possessions he can claim as his private property: betel leaves and areca nuts, tobacco, lontar leaves or maize husks for rolling cigarettes, a cigarette lighter, fish hooks, small blades, small amounts of cash, wu'a stones and other odds and ends.

28. The distribution of the belongings of the tana puan of Tana Wai Brama, Moan Rapa Ipir, took place as part of the likon, the second stage mortuary rituals of sukun Ipir, in 1980. This event was filmed and will be incorporated in a film now in production (Lewis and Asch, n.d.).

29. "Blupur geté nimun, Lodi bian wu'un. Lodi maté ba'a, blupur tama Léga; Léga maté, tama Toni. Toni maté, ganti Mamé Géda (a current bian puan of sukun Mau)."

30. This story was not recorded, but was set down on paper from memory a few hours after a conversation with Mo'an Sina.

31. See Chapter Ten for additional discussion of the organization of sukun Ipir Wai Brama.

32. Sukun Ipir Wai Brama consists of at least nineteen houses. Those represented in this chart are those of the immediate area of Watuwolon. The precedence statuses of these houses (indicated by subscripts) are thus relative and do not indicate absolute positions in the overall system of clan precedence.

33. The precise meaning of this couplet is difficult to determine, though its general meaning can be interpreted. Sobok are, in the language of central Sikka, the helmets worn by Portuguese soldiers and officials during the period of direct Portuguese contact with the peoples of Flores. One sobok, thought to be made of pure gold, is renowned throughout eastern Flores as
having been presented to the first raja of Sikka in the sixteenth century. This helmet is still in the possession of the da Silva family (the royal house of Sikka) and is kept by the widow of the last raja of Sikka, Mo'ang Ratu Centis (a photograph of this helmet has been published in da Franca 1970).

Sobok have the shape of a container, and the connotation of great value and antiquity. As such, the word sobok is fitting as a "kata kembang" (indonesian: "word that blossoms") paired with sopé, "reliquary basket". One chanter defined sobok for me as meaning, "kepala, macam orang Bojang Muhan sebut sobok untuk sopé", "Head, such as the Muhang folk of Bojang say sobok for sopé". Meyer's dictionary gives two meanings of sobok:

"[1] (S[ikka]) roode must [sic. = nuts?] gelijk de Mohammedan dragen (?);
[2] (K[rowé]) mannelijk geslachtsdeel. Au --- gete rakang (obsc.)" (op. cit. p.274). He then defines "sobok-bahar" as "bisschopsmijter, gouden helm (S[ikka])"

Dula means "womb", the source of human beings. Reki is said by informants to be "a word from the Néwat area (of Larantuka) that means sopé". (I have been unable to determine from other sources whether reki is indeed a word of the Lamaholot language, or what its meaning in that language might be.) Welut pu’ur paré wuta means, "short welut and rice bundle". This metaphor is related to that of two clans paired in a ritual relationship (cf. supra pp. 166ff.). Paré wuta are small bundles of cooked rice bound in banana leaves or packed into small, square, plaited lontar leaf containers (5 cm on a side) that are carried by the Ata Tana Ai as provisions for the road on journeys to market.

34. This is the same metaphor as that for the relationship of two clans paired in a ritual relationship (cf. supra pp. 166 ff.).
Notes to Chapter Seven

1. Since the Second World War missionaries and the government have promoted settlement in government designated villages in Tana Ai. While these efforts have been successful in some parts of Tana Ai (notably along the motor road linking Maumere and Larantuka and in the area around Boganatar), the people of Tana Wai Brama point out that living in a village is impossible if they are to work their gardens. Nevertheless, they have generally acceded to the demands of the district (Kecamatan) government that every "family" must build a house in a village. This policy has, in Desa Wérang, been carried out with occasional threats and in 1978, claiming to be acting on instructions of the camat, the Kepala Desa burned the field houses of several families in Tana Wérang who had not built village houses. While many people in the Watuwolon area have built houses in Hila or Munéwolon, many have told me they find the government style houses to be uncomfortable, dirty and cold because they are built directly on the ground and have dirt floors rather than being constructed on piles with split bamboo floors as are traditional Tana Ai houses.

Village houses in Hila, and in other villages in Tana Ai, are often merely facades, complete in the front with doors and windows installed in the manner prescribed by the government, but open at the rear and empty inside. At Uruléndon the walls of houses, which are constructed of split bamboo, are rolled up and carried to the gardens for use there. When a government official makes a visit to the village, people bring the walls back from their gardens, unroll them and tie them to the house frames which stand permanently in the village. Once the visitor has left (to make his reports about how well the government housing program is proceeding), the walls come down and are removed to the gardens. No mobo or lepo are permitted within the boundaries of villages, though at Hila there are houses which meet the requirements of government designs at the front.
When these hybrid constructions are entered from the rear, one finds inside, built on its traditional posts, a mobo, cleverly disguised.

2. The secretive transfer of one of a pair of opposite sex twins out of the maternal lepo soon after birth violates the principle of lepo affiliation but not the underlying principle governing the reckoning of blood relations and incest. See Chapter Nine.

3. Note the relatively high concentration of women who are members of sukun Liwu Pigan Bitak, Watuwolon in the 21.15 hectares area of Map V. Four members of clan Ipir Wai Brama also have garden land in this area, but they are of three different lepo within the clan. Sukun Liwu Blé'it is also represented, with its members holding three of twenty three garden plots in the map. Liwu Blé'it, whose lepo is at Watuwolon, was once more populated, but has suffered a marked loss of personnel in the Watuwolon region in the past few generations. The settlement and dispersal of maternal descent groups requires additional investigation. It can be said that women naturally plant gardens near their lepo, but how lepo come to be where they are and the mechanisms of land acquisition in particular areas by particular lepo remain, on the present evidence, not entirely clear. I am therefore concerned in this section with the description of what can be observed, that gardens of lepo members do tend to be congregated within relatively limited territories whose centers are the lepo.

4. By the same token, the land given by a child-giving group to her new clan may be chosen because its distance from the lepo of the child-givers makes it less attractive to them. That being the case does not guarantee that the land being given is nearer to the lepo of the child-receiving house.

5. Taking the figure of ninety five gardens for the house, twenty of which were in cultivation in 1979, the twenty households of the lepo thus control seventy five reserve plots. Taking the
average planting period of a garden to be three years, the land of this group lies fallow an average of eleven years between plantings. This is considerably less than the forty-five years average fallow calculated as the theoretical average for the whole of the domain, a figure based on the total land available to the entire population (see Chapter Two).

6. There was, for example, considerable approval and some awe among the people of Watuwolon when the late tana puan, who became ill at Talibura on the north coast, walked with bleeding ears back to Munéwolon to his lepo where he died three days later.

7. The boundary of the house yard has no name of its own, but is referred to as blepeng, the word for the wooden barrages placed in a garden to check erosion or to mark the boundaries of different parts of the garden, or duen, which means "boundary".

8. See Chapter Two and Appendix C for a discussion of the directional system of the Ata Tana Ai.

9. Temo are the trenches that surround a house below the eves of the roof that are made by water running off the roof; leman means "deep"; 'lepin are leaves or fronds stripped off of trees, i.e., the thatch of the roof; and gahar means "high", "tall", "above".

10. Lok means, of place, "forward" or "in front" and, of time, "in advance", "before", "before hand".

11. The lepo of Tana Wai Brama can be classified as being of two types (as the Ata Tana Ai themselves classify them). Lepo wu’un are ritual houses, either by virtue of housing a sopé or wélut or because they have a special function in the system of tana ceremonies. Lepo wihin wawi, "houses for feeding pigs", are structurally indistinguishable from lepo wu’un, but have neither sopé nor wélut and serve no particular ritual function aside from being a venue for the garden ceremonies of their members. Lepo wihin wawi are thus home to a lepo descent group, though the
group is still attached to and participates in the wélut cult
of another lepo. All lepo wihin wawi are potentially wélut
houses, and a sign that a group may be splitting away from its
wélut house is that the group has constructed a new lepo wihin
wawi. In time, new houses of this sort receive a share of the
relics of the houses from which they split and become recognized
as lepo wu'un. A new wélut and clan branch is thereby created.
I have also heard the distinction between lepo wu'un and lepo
wihin wawi expressed as the difference between lepo ruman,
"dark houses" (i.e., ritual houses) and lepo inga, "houses of
light", but these suggestive phrases do not appear in any texts
of ritual language so far collected, nor do they reflect a
general metaphorical opposition of dark and light or black and
white.

12. The awu wiri or li'at wiri is the left-hand or profane hearth
and the awu wanan or li'at wanan is the right-hand and ritually
sanctioned hearth, as judged when facing the inner door of the
house from the unen geté. Awu means, literally, "smoke" or
"dust", and is extended figuratively to mean "kitchen" or "hearth";
li'at are the three stones planted in a bed of earth upon which
are placed ceramic cooking pots over a fire; wiri and wanan mean,
respectively, "left" and "right".


14. One area of the expressive culture of the Ata Tana Al might be
expected to reveal latent or actual identifications of parts
of the house as either male or female, if such a classification
is significant. I refer to ritual language. However, inspection
of texts of Tana Al ritual language, while revealing much about
the conception of the house, reveals no classification of the
sort. Rather, the names of structural parts of the house and areas
of living space are juxtaposed in ritual couplets according to
their structural relationships and not in terms of a more general
symbolic classification of the house and its parts.
15. The lower jaws (aru) of deer and pigs hunted in the forests by men of the lepo are always returned to the lepo and presented to the headwoman of the group who resides there. She in turn hangs them from the framework of beams above the awu wanan, the ritual hearth of the house (see Figure 7.7). This practice illustrates the point that in Tana Ai, characterizations of a categorical order may be valid generally, ideologically or analytically, but they do not mean that praxis in every case accords with them. An older house with a very large membership can have many hundreds of jaws gracing its ritual hearth, all of them placed there by and associated with the woman of the house.

16. The word gapu (apu, 'apu) connotes the protective embrace of a child in its mother's arms; ou, as in "ou wai pata mé" ("to embrace a woman, to give birth to a child"), is the sexual embrace of a man and a woman.

17. I have also recorded the second line of this couplet and the first line of the couplet at the top of this page as two lines in the same couplet:

Noru liri nana lo

Woven of posts and plaited with beams,

Netin bidon doen dawak

Arranged and bound together as many small fruits on one stem form a massed bunch.

The shift of these lines itself confirms the metaphorical equivalence of members of the lepo as a social group and the parts of the lepo as a structure.

18. Doen dawak: Doen is derived from the verb doé, "to hang up something", "to hang down (as from a hook)". Doen dawak is a phrase that describes the tightly packed pattern displayed by areca nuts hanging down from the palm. From a distance, though it is composed of scores of individual nuts, the bunch appears to be one, undifferentiated fruit.

19. The word ruka in Tana Ai seems to have no meaning other than a garden that has been newly abandoned. In central Sikka, ruka is the creaking of an old house or tree.
20. The mention of green grams in this myth is interesting because green grams are not often planted in Tana Ai today, and not at all in the Watuwolon region of Tana Wai Brama.

21. In a version of the Du'a Paré myth collected in Sikka Natar, the rice mother is said to have come from Lio.

22. Cf. Chapter Nine. The bursting of the gut and rising of blood because of eating forbidden or indigestible food (as in cannibalism) is a common theme in Tana Ai. The expression, "Kaman dugu ta'in bihan", "May (your) intestines burst into shreds", is a curse.

23. The projected image of a sorcerer (see Chapter Twelve). The implication is that the primeval eater of human flesh became the first wuen, the soul eaters of Tana Ai.

24. This line from ritual language displays essential poetic ambiguity. The word wai means "woman" and is used to mean "female" as against du'a, which is used as an honorific to mean "mother". Wai also means to pound in a mortar, and wai nalu means "to pound rice (in order to remove its husk before cooking)". Thus this phrase can also be interpreted to mean, "Mother of rice, woman of husked rice", the complete name of the rice woman.

25. In any case, few people plant cassava, which is considered generally unwholesome. It is used primarily as a food during times of famine.

26. In contrast to the rituals of the house, garden rituals do not require chanting, and there is no large corpus of ritual language concerned directly with the garden or the planting cycle. References to gardens in ritual language are found scattered throughout the various myths of origins and invocations that make up the repertoire of the chanters of Tana Wai Brama, but in most instances the dyads of contrastive terms taken from the vocabulary of the garden and horticulture are used metaphorically in relation to other ritual concerns.
27. As is often the case with expressions in ritual language, the phrase tua wutun has at least two possible interpretations. Despite their scarcity in Tana Wai Brama, references to lontar palms are common in ritual language. Coconuts, areca palms and the occasional lontar are trees planted at the fences of gardens, and tua wutun, "the peripheral lontar", is thus a synecdoche for the border areas of the garden. Wutun also denotes the crowns of trees, which are of the sky, as opposed to their trunks (pua), which are rooted in the earth. Hence ai pua tua wutun can also be rendered as "the (ritual) tree trunk (below), the (profane) crown of the palm (above)". In the view of the Ata Tana Ai, such ambiguities indicate the power of their language to express complex and sometimes contradictory ideas simply, efficiently and in a straightforward manner.

28. In fact, the lontar, in contrast to the coconut and areca palms, requires little care and is able to propagate itself without human cultivation. But in Tana Ai all three trees are classified as being of the garden as opposed to trees of the forest. In Tana Wai Brama lontar palms are found growing singly and almost exclusively in association with the peripheries of human habitations. There are in the domain none of the large clusters of lontars as are found elsewhere in Nusa Tenggara Timur (cf. Fox 1977:220).

29. A fuller exposition of this principle would result from a detailed account of the ritual cycle of the garden.

30. The mahe and its rituals, an apparent contradiction of this principle, has been dealt with in Chapter Five.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1. The functions of these three kinds of houses in the rituals of the mortuary cycle are described in Chapter Thirteen.

2. I was unable to identify all of the houses that participated in the gren mahe of 1980. Future research will aim at investigating
all of the houses that participated, their locations and memberships, and the specific roles they fulfilled. Twenty-five of the houses that participated in the *gren mahé* of 1980, and the major ritual obligations delegated among them, are tabulated in Table 8.1.

3. In the time of the ancestors, drums called *wanin tana*, "earth drums", were made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with banana leaves. These leaves were then beaten to produce the rhythms to accompany the *gren*. This is said to have been before the ancestors discovered the making of drums from hollowed tree trunks and stretched goat's skin.

4. In 1980 there was a feeling in the community that if the *tana puan* (who had died in 1979) did not live in the *lepo tana* then it should be occupied by the senior ritual practitioner of the domain. This man, Mo'an Sina Ipir Wai Brama (cf. Figure 11.5), told me in 1980 that he would move into the house of the earth after the woman living there dies.

5. A *luli* is a bowl made from the shell of a coconut. It may be roughly finished (or not finished at all), as those used for scooping rice from storage baskets or in digging roots in the garden, or shaved and fire-hardened to a porcelain like hardness and translucency. Finely worked *luli* are used for drinking palm gin and have a general ceremonial significance: on ritual occasions, men must drink palm gin only from *luli* and not from glasses. The two bowls used in ritual drinking are identified in ritual language as:

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Luli wana luli wiri       Right-hand drinking bowl and
                         left-hand drinking bowl,
Luli ra'in luli érin     The bowl of the upper part of
                         the garden, the bowl of the lower part of the garden.
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These lines refer to the two bowls that are passed, one in a clockwise direction and the other in an anticlockwise direction, around the circle of ritual specialists at a ceremony.
6. *Ekak tewuk* (or *ekak iwuk*) are any offerings of rice, specifically cooked rice, and palm gin. *Ekak* range from the elaborate offerings made in the *gren mahé* to the simple offering of two or three grains of rice from an eating bowl that is made before any meal.

7. Equivalent to perhaps 5-6% of the population of this area.

8. *Mo'an Sina Ipir Wai Brama* (see Figure 11.5). It is impossible to say to what extent the *tana puan* himself would have been active in planning the *gren* had he lived, but it is likely that the four men who actually brought about the ceremonies, Sina Ipir Wai Brama, Sera Magé, Koa Tapo and Dëwa Lïw, would have been no less active than they were, and would have encountered many fewer difficulties in the political machinations involved in the celebration had the *tana puan* lived to serve as arbiter in the disputes that arose during the preparations. Certainly these men unanimously mourned the death of the *tana puan* for this reason, and remarked on many occasions how much easier their job would have been had he lived.

9. I arrived in Tana Wai Brama, following an absence of ten months, just as serious preparations were beginning.

10. I have been unable to discover any directives from the district office forbidding the appointment of a *tana puan*. Officers of the district government are evasive in their responses to inquiries about this matter, but it is widely held by the people of Tana Wai Brama that the government, abetted by the priest at Watubaing, would act if a new *tana puan* was to be installed publicly. Thus, as with many other ritual matters, a decision will certainly be made regarding the new source of the domain, but it will probably not be announced generally.

11. Koa is a highly respected expert in matters of ritual and hadat who served in the 1940s and 1950s as kepala kampung (Indonesian: "village head") in the Hila-Watuwolon area under the old scheme of government. While he claims merely to "duduk di dapur macam
pension", "to sit in the kitchen like a pensioner", and not to "know language", i.e., ritual speech, very little occurred in Tana Wai Brama during the period of fieldwork in which he was not involved. He is the principal adjudicator of disputes in his part of the valley. Politically, he was ideal to act as tana puan because he is known to the government officials in Talibura as an advocate of education and as a progressive on at least some aspects of economic development. Thus, he would be able, it was felt, to represent the ritual specialists of the domain effectively should the government decide to intervene in the performance of the gren.

By the reckoning of blood, Koa is a surviving direct descendant of the puan (source) house of Ipir Wai Brama, which has no surviving female members. As a MMFZDDS of the late tana puan (Mo'an Rapa), Koa was Rapa's mé ("child") and thus not eligible to inherit the position of the source of the domain, which must go to one among Rapa's pu, "sister's sons". In fact, the classificatory relationship between Rapa and Koa is ambiguous as it turns on the relationship between Rapa's MMF and MMFZ. If Koa is Rapa's mé (child), Koa cannot be tana puan because the position must be inherited by a man who is Rapa's pu (sister's child). If Koa is Rapa's pu, then he could justifiably act with the authority of the tana puan in the gren, but still can never be tana puan officially because he is not of clan Ipir Wai Brama. However, had his MMM not been transferred to sukun Tapo in a transaction of "father's forelock", Koa would have had a claim prior to that of Mo'an Rapa to be tana puan. Because his MMM was transferred to Tapo (see figure below and Figure 11.5), he can never be recognized officially as the source of the domain, despite his suitability as an interim holder of that position and surrogate for Rapa in the rituals of the 1980 gren mahé.

Because he was suitable as an acting tana puan, but is not a possible candidate for the position when the choice is finally
made, his acting as tana puan for the duration of the gren mahé did not arouse the antagonism of those of sukun Ipir who might be candidates for the position or of others who might favor another candidate.

The relationship between Koa Tapo and Rapa Ipir Wai Brama

The claim of a man of sukun Liwu Diwang to the position of tana puan on the strength of his father having been a man of Ipir Wai Brama was taken seriously by no other ritual specialist during the gren, and he ceased arguing his claim before preparations for the ceremonies were far advanced.

12. The entire ceremony at the lepo tana was filmed on 31 August, 1980. This film will be incorporated into a series of films (Lewis and Asch, in production) on the gren mahé of 1980.

13. In the ritual that accompanied this chant, torn cloth (patan) replaced to'o balik as the actual objects offered to the ancestors.
As one ritual expert said of this substitution, "Indeed there were elephant tusks and gongs in the house, (but) torn cloth can be substituted because the others are very heavy things". The excerpts from Sina's chant that follow are taken from the 390 couplets that made up the performance.

14. The detailed description and analysis of the political and ritual events that led to the *gren mahe* of November, 1980, and of the ceremonies themselves, are both beyond the purview of this thesis and beyond my capacity at present. Much work remains to be done to analyse the information that I obtained from July-December, 1980. I plan to return to Flores in 1982 to work with informants to obtain additional information required for the treatment which the event deserves. My intention here is to indicate how certain fundamental themes of Tana Ai culture, which are discernible in other realms, were expressed in the *gren mahe* of 1980. Reference to Appendix F will indicate the scale and complexity of the event.

15. Cf. Appendix F, in which these conferences have been treated as component elements in the *gren mahe*.

16. *Saden* is a two to three year old animal.

17. *Pati* means "to cut" or "to chop with a knife, sword or bush knife". The symbol * indicates a *wu'un* animal.

18. I was unable to ascertain the meaning of this word in Tana Ai. In Sikka, *mawar* means "fine" or "beautiful". The Tana Ai word *mawar* may be closer in meaning to the Sikkanese word *mawang*, "to tend", "to take care of", "to watch over", in which case the sacrifice of *mawar* animals may relate to one of the general purposes of the *gren*, to invoke the protection of the houses of the domain by the deity.

19. *Bido* (*w*) means "to break (a thing)"; *bidon* (*w*) means "to tie up", "to bind", "to tether an animal".
20. This list may be incomplete, as is, in some cases, information
on the houses listed. The information summarized here is
condensed from notes on the gren and preparations for it taken
from July-December, 1980. I intend to devote the next period
of field work in Tana Ai to visiting every house in the domain
in order to survey more completely the delegation of ritual
obligations. While a systematic survey of houses in Tana Wai
Brama and their memberships have yet to be undertaken outside
the Hila-Watuwolon-Watulaban region of the domain, I estimate
that there are four dozen or more in all. Perhaps as many as
3000 people attended the gren celebration of 1980.

Notes to Chapter Nine

1. "... kami disini itu yang paling erat itu (darah) dari wanita.
   Itu darah dari wanita yang paling hubungan lebih rapat. Kalau
   orang laki, kita memang rapat juga, tapi kita mesti leto 'lo'en
dulu. Kalau 'lo'en-nya belum leto, itu belum ... Tapi karena
   bedaan sukun-nya, mamé punya anak ini sukun lain. Memang darah
dari turunan, darah dari mamé, tapi sukun-nya berbeda. Kalau
   kita hubungan dari ibu, itu jelas, karena sukun-nya tetap satu.
   Kalau darah itu, ada satu dari darah laki, satu dari darah wanita,
   tapi darah wanita itu yang hubungan lebih lancar. Kalau darah
   laki itu, kalau laki punya 'lo'en tadi kita belum leto, masih
   seratus tahun belum kenal baik. Ada lupa."

2. I recorded no marriages of people of the same descent group.

3. Literally, "to speak harshly to the wife's brother/mother's
   brother's son".

4. ou = literally, "to reap", "to harvest", "to gather in"; a
   metaphor for sexual intercourse. pata = "to insult", "to
   commit adultery" (by metaphorical extension).

5. All HF and WF are addressed as mamé. When HF or WF is not
   actually MB, then the terms mamé lu'ur or mamé a'an are


appropriately used as terms of reference. mamé a’an (m.s.) means, "(wife's father) with whom I live". Residence is implied in the term a’an, and a husband usually joins his wife in the wife's natal house until the birth of children, when the couple constructs a house of their own.

6. This analysis of the idiom of blood owes much to long discussions with Dr James J. Fox and attempts to puzzle out the Tana Ai case in terms of a general theory of Austronesian kinship developed by Dr Fox.

Notes to Chapter Ten

1. The difference between this figure and the 10% of marriages that involve the return of father's forelock is explained by noting that other marriages, namely those within clans, can be between FZS and MBD.

2. I never once during my eighteen months in Tana Ai witnessed the wua ta'a ceremony for a marriage.

3. Lewu is the swept earth under a lepo or sitting platform and is a space bounded by the posts upon which the house or platform is constructed.

4. Thus, the lepo is conceived to be knotted together by ancestors in the form of these vines.

5. "Ata beta, leka kuar hiren, ganu,
   Ina winen nara ama,
   Leka kuar šiše hiren',
berarti, diran tion. Kalau belahkan mulai ujung sampai tengahan putus, orang bilang, 'ina winé nara ama', bukan diran tion.
Kalau kidup, tidah bisa kawin."

6. /-n/ is a nominalizing morpheme suffixed to verbs to produce substantives. Regarding the discrimination of /loën/ and /'lo'en/, it should be noted that the Ata Tana Ai do not enunciate initial glottal stops as clearly as the central Sikkanese.
7. I never encountered an Ata Tana Ai who was unable to provide his genealogy at least as far as his ina puda, "first mother", or "ancestral mother", the woman who founded his house within his clan, and the sukun from which she originated. In no case did these genealogies extend more than seven or eight generations.

8. The fluidity of land tenure in Tana Wai Brama means that, with time, a tudi manu and the house she founds can obtain fields by outright purchase, rental of rights to usufruct or by inheritance from her ina ama baha boter. The field a tudi manu brings with her into her new clan forms the nucleus of the reserve land she and her daughters accumulate later.

9. In the past, two elephant tusks, two gongs and a patola cloth were exchanged for ama 'lo'en, but patola cloths have become exceedingly rare in the mountains since they are buried with important people and new ones no longer come onto the island. Today patola cloths are reserved for burials and for use in mahé ceremonies.

10. The quality of the goods exchanged for ama 'lo'en is measured by the lengths and circumstances of the tusks and the circumferences of the gongs. In contrast, to'o balik exchanged for mula puda (cf. infra) is both set and nonnegotiable with respect to the sizes of the tusk and gong.

11. To'o means "ornament" or "treasure"; balik means "wealth" or "treasure". The words used together mean specifically the ceremonial goods exchanged in child transactions.

12. See Table 11.1 for an estimate of the percentage of marriages actually contracted between tudi manu and men of the wealth-giving ina ama.

13. This marriage contravened the regulation of marriage in that Géhing is Toso's classificatory mé, child. But by reckoning to'o balik exchange, Toso had the right to marry Géhing because he is the son of a woman who was Géhing's ina ama baha boter. In addition, by the calculation of the blood relation of Toso...
and Gêhing, through men married to women of three clans (Liwu Pigan Bitak, Tapo and Mau), the blood between them was judged to be sufficiently remote to allow the marriage to proceed.

14. *Mula* means "to plant", not as a seed or plant, but as a house post, fence post, grave stone, etc.

15. Informants were not in agreement on the relationship between a woman returned as *mula puda* and the house that exchanges *to'o balik* for her. Some said her descendants found a new and independent house in the new clan, in the same way that new houses are created by the exchange of *ama 'lo'en*. Other informants said that *mula puda* are actually incorporated into the houses that give *to'o balik* for them as "daughters and sisters" of the women who pay *to'o balik*.

16. As James J. Fox (personal communication) has put it, at the heart of every Austronesian social system is a mystery of reversal whereby male becomes female and the forbidden is allowed.


18. *Mula puda* payments are limited to one gong and one elephant tusk, which are usually small and of only nominal value.


20. "'E'i blupur 'é'i mai, tio ha, gata ata tena tio ganu tio ha, beli walong."

21. *Mula puda* exchanges appear less frequently than *ama 'lo'en* in the genealogies from Watuwolon (see Table 11.1). I was told that the exchange of *mula puda* lapsed during a period from the 1930s to the 1950s, and that the late *tana puan* was instrumental in encouraging these exchanges. When I left Flores in 1980, several additional *mula puda* exchanges were in various stages of negotiation. Despite their relative infrequency, the
transaction of mula puda is thought to be very important. The principles of the exchange are clear from informants' statements and those cases I have documented genealogically accord fully with the principles.

22. Hoer means "friend" or "friendship"; saket is a peg or hook used for hanging utensils and baskets in a lepo or a pack saddle from which goods are hung on a horse for transport.

Notes to Chapter Eleven

1. The word leto in central Sikka means "to pay bridewealth". In Tana Ai, the word is best understood as the verb meaning to exchange to'o balik for the father's forelock. Thus the phrase, "leto 'lo'en" means "to make payment in exchange for father's blood", and "leto tudi manu" means "to make payment in exchange for a brother's (or mother's brother's) daughter". Le to payments are made corporately by a man's natal house to that of his wife.

2. Throughout this chapter subscripted numerals are used to distinguish houses within clans. Only for clans Ipir Wai Brama and Mau do the numerals actually indicate the relative statuses of houses in the precedence rankings within these clans. The oda rankings of houses of other clans of Tana Wai Brama (Tapo, Magé and Liwu) have not yet been worked out and require further investigation.

3. "Ita ea balik, ganu ita ea bian", "For us to eat (our own) balik is like eating a human being".

4. The analysis of specific cases of direct exchange by reference to rules governing the exchange of to'o balik is not, strictly speaking, sufficient to resolve the question of direct exchange in Tana Wai Brama. In terms of its formal structure, the return of mula puda can be interpreted as constituting the direct return between two clans of a woman in exchange for previous ama 'lo'en
(cf. Figure 10.5). Despite the statements of informants' on the subject, the effect of such direct exchanges, and their possible role in the organization of Tana Wai Brama society, require further investigation.

5. In some cases no marriages were recorded in the data; in others the house cited is too recently founded to have contracted a marriage. $\emptyset$ indicates that no husbands were recorded as given by a house, while $\neq$ indicates cases in which I am certain no husbands have been given.

6. In the diagram, the dotted line indicating this marriage is intended to convey that the marriage need not actually occur for the relationships of the houses to be established.

7. Field research was primarily concerned with marriages involving persons of different clans and the ama 'lo'en exchange. It was not until analysis of the field data began that the importance of arrangements and marriages within the clan was understood. As a result, the data clearly indicates the patterns of alliance both within and between clans, but genealogies from Tana Wai Brama are not sufficiently complete to allow an accurate calculation of the relative frequencies of endogamous marriages of central and peripheral houses in the clans of the domain. The data I have are fully in accord with the argument in this section, as indeed, the argument derives from the analysis of the Watuwolon genealogies. Future research will aim at documenting statistically the pattern of clan endogamy identified here.

8. Informants at Watuwolon were unable to reconstruct the places of these two houses in the oda of the clan and said that the 'lo'en relationships are no longer sufficiently known to determine their places. Because members of Ipir Wai Brama are more dispersed throughout the domain than any other clan, and because of the relatively larger population of this clan, additional investigation will be required before the precedence of its houses can be worked out completely.
Notes to Chapter Twelve

1. Thus a large second stage mortuary ceremony held in 1980 by sukun Ipir Wai Brama was the occasion for at least three dogen 'lo'en between participants.

2. As noted previously, the person transferred in an ama 'lo'en or mula puda exchange can be a young girl, an unmarried woman or a married woman. Regardless of her age and marital status, the people of Tana Wai Brama, in their discourse, usually refer to the girl or woman as mé, "child". I will follow this usage in the present discussion and refer generally to persons transferred as "children", and occasionally as "women".

3. Cf. Chapter Nine (pp. 340-341) and Chapter Ten (p. 355). Embracing the knife and cradling the chicken is quite the reverse of the chicken scratching the eyes and the knife cutting the throat which are metaphors for incest.

4. One informant indentified another connection between the woman given as tudi manu, the chicken and knife given with her and the maize and tubers which she has eaten as a child. Maize and roots are fed to the chickens of a house while they are tied in the house compound during the planting season.

5. In an exchange of mula puda between sukun Ipir Wai Brama and Liwu Pigan Bitak in September, 1980, a classificatory mother's brother of the woman being exchanged rebuked a sister's husband who objected to part of the proceedings by telling him: "Au depo detu, au poi tutur ra'ik au réhi hak, au réhi kuasa, poi dena mala puan, réhi. Au poi tutur. Ra'ik ami depo di epan, 'é'on di epan." ("You just follow behind, you only speak but you cannot decide, you cannot have the authority. For you to seize the center cannot be. You only speak. If we follow (your advice), good; if not, that's also good.")

6. Pigs bear considerable symbolic weight in Tana Ai. In ritual language the pig is associated with the goat, both of them being
animals belonging to human beings. In Tana Ai, the chicken is associated with Nian Tana Lero Wulan, the principal attributes of the deity of the Ata Tana Ai, and was the first animal created by the deity. The goat is an animal purely to the ancestors and the spirits of the forest. But the pig belongs both to the human and domestic sphere. It is thus a boundary animal. A myth, part of the 1ngeng of sukun Ipir Wai Brama, relates how pigs, goats, and deer were divided between men and the spirits of the forest:

In the beginning in Tana Ai, men did not have animals and though they knew the catching of fish in the sea, they were not clever at fishing. Thus, the ancestors Jawa Aba and Sewa Laka placed their weir and fish traps in the sea. But all they caught were sea snakes, and sharks destroyed their traps. So Jawa Aba and Sewa Laka removed the traps to the forests and the mountains, and there, after four nights and five days, they returned to find they had caught a great sawaria, a long dewa naga, the reticulated python. What they did not know was that they had captured the nitu noang, the spirit of that forest place, who has the power to assume the form of any animal in the forest, and who is a clever speaker. The ancestors decided to kill the snake, which then spoke up, saying:

Aun guru blu' lio lutan
Aun ruha wai lutan
A un ruha uwa lutan
A un ruha uwa lian
Mali a' u guru blu
Mali a' u lio diger
Mali a' u lio diger
Well a' u guru blu
Well a' u lio diger
Well a' u lio diger
Well a' u guru blu
Well a' u diger
Well a' u lio diger
Well a' u lio diger
...

... do not grind me into the earth, do not beat me to death...

I am the colorfully patterned sawaria snake,
I am the python who lives in the leaves,
I will give you ten pigs,
I will give you five goats,
I will help you with five goats, I will surrender to you calm goats,
But I will retain the wild pigs and the deer of the forest,
I will give you tame pigs,
I will return the wild pigs,
I will return the wild deer,
While yours are the tame pigs and the calm goats.

In the beginning in Tana Ai, men did not have animals and though they knew the catching of fish in the sea, they were not clever at fishing. Thus, the ancestors Jawa Aba and Sewa Laka placed their weir and fish traps in the sea. But all they caught were sea snakes, and sharks destroyed their traps. So Jawa Aba and Sewa Laka removed the traps to the forests and the mountains, and there, after four nights and five days, they returned to find they had caught a great sawaria, a long dewa naga, the reticulated python. What they did not know was that they had captured the nitu noang, the spirit of that forest place, who has the power to assume the form of any animal in the forest, and who is a clever speaker. The ancestors decided to kill the snake, which then spoke up, saying:

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A un ruha uwa lian
Mali a' u guru blu
Mali a' u lio diger
Mali a' u lio diger
Well a' u guru blu
Well a' u lio diger
Well a' u lio diger
Well a' u guru blu
Well a' u diger
Well a' u lio diger
Well a' u lio diger
...

... do not grind me into the earth, do not beat me to death...

I am the colorfully patterned sawaria snake,
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I will give you ten pigs,
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I will help you with five goats, I will surrender to you calm goats,
But I will retain the wild pigs and the deer of the forest,
I will give you tame pigs,
I will return the wild pigs,
I will return the wild deer,
While yours are the tame pigs and the calm goats.
Thus men keep goats, the deer belong to the forest, while men and the forest spirits divide pigs between them, men keeping sows in their house compounds, while the boars live in the bush. Men's pigs are branded by clipping their ears (the Ata Tana Ái say that marking a domestic pig by clipping its ears is the same as circumcision initiates in the gareng lamem, the male initiation ceremony) which facilitates identifying the ownership of pigs that are allowed to forage outside the fences during the day. Men hunt pigs in the bush and trap them using snares, but the hunting and capture of wild pigs require an offering to the forest. This offering is spoken of as wawi bélis, "the pigs' bridewealth".

7. The word 'lo'en means both the hair of the forehead ("forelock") of a human being and the head of an animal sacrificed in a ritual. Cf. Meyer, n.d.

8. "Oné nimu nawu tung lé'u, sélung Girek", "Oné is given away and replaced (in Liwa) by Girek".

9. Note again that, in the same fashion as ina ama, the term nara ama denotes a group of people, in this case specifically men, who by alliance have a particular relationship to Oné. Genealogically Glalek and Oné are ina mé.

10. "Inilah nyata bahwa 'lo'e aru (penting) ... kalau kita hubung tidak 'lo'e aru, itu memang nawu tung ini terpuluhan tahun kemudian, ah, saya tidak tahu, bukan kau nawu tung. Atau bukan kau baha boter. Akhirnya, satu alasan yang paling ikat, ialah lo'e aru ini. ... Wawi arun yang paling penting. Kalau orang tidak kasi arun, baru, harus bayar satu gading, satu emas atau anting. Kalau tidak kasi arun, hukum Tuhan sampai mati memang."

Notes to Chapter Thirteen

2. The vocabulary for the mating of animals comprises a semantic domain in Sara Tana Ai. Thus,

- **ahu melin** is the mating of dogs;
- **jarang plo'or, widin plo'or, ...**, is the mating of horses, goats and other four-footed animals;
- **wawi dokun** is the mating of pigs; and
- **manu hilir** is the mating of chickens and other birds.

I was told repeatedly that the words for human sexual intercourse are "piré weta", "forbidden to speak (to be spoken)", and to the present I have been unable to establish fully the lexicon of human sexuality.

3. I have been unable to determine whether the placenta receives any particular attention, and, though I have been present in houses during childbirth, I have observed no ritual attending the afterbirth. Nor have inquiries among informants yielded any information on the treatment of the placenta, which, it seems, is disposed of in the forest by any woman attending the birth.

4. **tibo lamen** means, "unmarried man".

5. Throughout the region of Sikka, **ikat** textiles are female goods, and are worn only by women, while men wear plainly woven, non-ikat cloth. An exception to this general pattern among Sikkanese-speaking peoples is Sikka Natar: there women's cloths, 'utang, are decorated by ikat (Indonesian) motifs of the warp whereas men's cloths, lipa mitan, are decorated by ikat of the weft.

6. Nowadays not all initiates who undergo gareng lamen are actually circumcised. Exceptions are made, especially for children who are attending or will attend school on the coast. Among the Catholics of the district, being circumcised is a mark of a heathen. Some blood, if only a few drops, must be drawn from every initiate however. In the case of boys already in school
on the coast, the ears may not be pierced for similar reasons. Since the puncture of the ear lobe heals with only a small scar, younger boys, who may later be sent to school away from the valley, usually have their ears pierced with the expectation that the punctures will heal before they enter school.

7. lapé(-n) in Sara Tana Ai is a cognate of the Indonesian and Maly word lapis, "layer", "fold", "lining"; "lamina".

8. One knowledgeable informant defined for me the Indonesian word suangi (a capricious nocturnal ghost or spirit) as "wué wari kéra", "sibling, wife's brother (or sister's husband)". Why there should be a semantic equivalence between malevolent sorcerers and these categories of kin must remain a matter of speculation and interpretation in the absence of definitive explanations by the Ata Tana Ai themselves.

9. The north and south coasts of the island border on seas that the Ata Tana Ai, as well as other Sikkanese, call Tahi Wax (or Tahi Du'a) and Tahi La'i, the Female Sea (or "Sea of Women) and Male Sea ("Sea of Men), respectively. The Flores Sea (Tahi Wai) to the north of the Island is usually a very calm body of water, while the Savu Sea (Tahi La'i), to the south, is much rougher and is liable to severe storms during the months of January and February. Thus the ultimate borders of the Tana Ai region lie, in the conception of the Ata Tana Ai, on domains that are classified as "male" and "female".

10. In 1979 the Tana Puan was completing construction of a new lepo for himself, his second wife and their children near Munéwolon when he discovered that the house stood on the path taken by the bearers of a corpse buried at the nearby lepo of sukun Tapo. Rather than risk the spirit of that corpse wandering into his house, and as an alternative to moving the nearly finished structure, the Tana Puan constructed with suitable ritual a jalan geté, "big road", around his house. This "road" served as a detour for the spirit. Marking the divergence of the detour from the original path with "signs" (tada) made of bamboo and
lontar leaf and cloth flags at both its ends, the Tana Puan laid out split bamboo strips on the ground around and well away from the house to mark the new path for the spirit.

11. Huer herin ceremonies are usually quite small, uncomplicated, and conducted privately (if not furtively), and consist of offerings of wua ta'a (areca nut and betel leaf) made to a spirit at the border of its forest, a chicken sacrificed to the ancestors, or an offering of eggs and rice.

12. The base or foundation of the world is said to be a cliff and a rock slide, and in ritual language reaching the base cliff of the world is referred to as dun ba'a, "reaching the end, the final extremity, the conclusion". Living at the world's base is a spirit, sometimes called guna déwa, that has the form of a python (naga or ular sawaria). In Tana Ai, the bases of waterfalls and cliffs are thought to be the habitat of pythons. These places are avoided by people, and it is forbidden in Tana Ai custom to kill a python.

13. For some purposes requiring fine bindings, the bark of the kuar vines is stripped and used by itself as cord.

14. Tuber buluk manar lonok, "(to short[-en] soul, [to make] small, narrow [the] soul", is a metaphorical expression meaning "to die". In Sara Sikka, manar means, "quick", "flock (of birds)", "agile", and manar puku means, "to frighten", "to startle into flight".

15. Wawa tana, "(down) on the ground", means outside the house, in contrast to réta unen, "up inside", which means inside the house.

16. Apu means "to summon"; apun is a "summoning".

17. When more than one house take part in likon or, as occasionally happens, houses of different clan branches perform their likon together, the site chosen for the ceremony is usually the house or lepo wélut of the most important of the dead for whom the likon is performed. The performance of likon for important ritualists is especially likely to draw houses from other wélut and sometimes
from other clans. Thus the likon at the lepo wélut of the tana puan in 1980 was celebrated not only for the tana puan and other deceased members of his house, but for the dead of two other clans as well (see Figure 13.2).

18. In the past, the corpses of important du'a mo'an (elders of the house) and ritual specialists were buried shrouded in tipa tola, patola cloths. These cloths are now rare in Tana Ai. The only person of the Watuwolon region of Tana Wai Brama to be buried in a patola shroud during the period of field work was the source of the domain.

19. "Ina hak pertama; (ina) maté ba'a, naha sélun ina da'a winé; winé maté ba'a, sélun pu."

20. See Chapter Ten.

21. In some other eastern Indonesian societies the wife-takers of the deceased, who are represented as having "taken life" from the group of the deceased, serve their wife-givers by handling the corpses of the wife-givers. The Ata Tana Ai emphasize that the nara ama, the husband-takers, of a deceased woman are obligated to assist handling her corpse. That the nara ama subsequently surrendered a woman to the clan of the deceased (the deceased herself or the ancestress who founded her descent group) to replace the man originally given them by the clan of the deceased, which would make the nara ama wife-givers to the clan of the deceased, is not considered significant by the Ata Tana Ai.

22. See Chapter Twelve for a more complete discussion of the exchange of wawi arun (pigs' jaws) as a means of expression of alliance relationships.

23. The word likon, in Sara Tana Ai, seems to have no meaning other than the denotation of the second mortuary ceremony. In central Sikka, however, likon means, "to encircle", "to encompass" or "to round up (as free ranging animals are rounded up)"). Papan is derived from the root verb (b-, p-)apa, "to cut in two", "to halve". The expression ha papa means, "(to, on) one side", "one half". Papan, the nominalized form of the verb, means, "half of something that was whole", and connotes something separated
from another thing that, with the other, comprises a symmetrical whole. Mein is "blood", both the substance and a quality transmitted by descent and is distinguished from etan, "flesh", the complement of blood in the person of a member of a group of people related by shared blood (see Chapter Nine). In death, blood, which is both a metaphor for the unity of the group and its ancestors, and a quality transmitted from ancestors to descendants by which the kinship of contemporary individuals is reckoned, is separated from "flesh", the living descendants of the ancestors of a group related in shared ancestral blood.

24. Meran are the leaves that are spread on the ground on which the meat of the slaughtered pigs is butchered and packed into baskets.

25. The ordinary word for "coconut" in Sara Tana Ai is niur, a cognate of the Malay word nyior. In ritual, however, the sacrificial coconuts of the Ata Tana Ai are referred to by the central Sikkanese term kabor.

26. Goats, whose blood is hot, are never sacrificed at mortuary rituals aimed at "cooling". Why the division of goats is referred to in this line remains a puzzle. Kula here refers to the incessant decanting, refilling and mixing of rice in baskets which marks all house and clan rituals. Naiu is pounded but uncooked rice, and wera mutun is unpounded rice that is dry roasted (mutun) and eaten on ceremonial occasions.

27. The language of the dani bohé is modified in that it does not exhibit the strict semantic parallelism and couplet structure of the ritual language of the "histories". It is, instead, fitted to the freer meter and syncopation of the song-like keen in which dani bohé are performed.

28. The dani bohé of women are by the large incoherent keens, while those of ritual specialists are performances in which the dead are addressed in coherent verse. The difference in style between the dani bohé of women and men is in keeping with the distinction between the sexes whereby men "know language" and women do not.
29. Mo'an Sina Ipir Wai Brama, Munéwolon, 5 August, 1980. This likon was recorded on 16 mm sound synchronous film and will be incorporated in films by Lewis and Asch on the ceremonial life of the Ata Tana Wai Brama.

30. Mo'an, translated here as "father", is an honorific form of address for older men.

31. I.e., in the lepo welut, where his forelock and fingernails will be stored in the welut basket of the clan branch until they are removed to the sopé basket of the central house of the clan.

32. The welut and sopé baskets are conceived to be as ancient as the ancestors themselves.

33. Ari ana is borrowed from the Portuguese ariano, "aryan".

34. Toger is the depression at the base of the neck and the top of the clavicle. Korok is the breast, and boro means "to cut" or "to slash". The meaning of the phrase boro korok in the present context is not clear.

35. As noted above, pigs and not goats are sacrificed in rituals of "cooling" such as likon.

36. The reference here to Larantuka is obscure and requires additional inquiry.

37. Tudi manu, "knife chicken", are women exchanged between clans as "father's forelock" and are the founding mothers of lepo.

38. Only one lo'ė unur ceremony occurred in the principal area of study during the course of field work in Tana Ai. That ceremony was organized by sukur Tapo and was held in early September, 1978 while I was in Kupang applying for extension of my research permits. The description that follows treats in the most general way the main points of the lo'ė unur and is based entirely upon informants' statements.

39. Note that, as if to forestall facile psychological interpretations of their ritual language, in lines 9 and 10, women are associated with elephant tusks while men are linked to gongs.
Notes to Chapter Fourteen

1. Thus we find, for example, that in Kédang the marriage of a man to a woman who is both of the prescribed category and FFZDD is relatively rare but is highly valued. It is given a special name, pau wéiq balé, which means, "to return the blood" (Barnes 1974:248-249). A marriage of this sort, "means a completion of an alliance cycle". The implication of this report from Kédang is that, regardless of the frequency of such marriages, they are important because they close alliance cycles.

2. See Chapter Eleven. Marriages from which closed minimal alliance cycles can be isolated from the genealogies of Tana Wai Brama account for 38% (117/304) of all marriages recorded in the domain. This proportion would be considerably larger if cycles of four, five or more terms were included.

3. On one occasion I went over genealogies with a ritual specialist of sukun Tapo. After pointing out several closed cycles, and asking whether a special term might apply to such marriages, my informant answered with the most elaborate response I obtained on the subject: "Bi au; ewan di moga", "Perhaps; that too is possible".
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