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CHILDREN OF THE BLACK PATOLA STONE: ORIGIN STRUCTURES IN A DOMAIN ON PALU'É ISLAND (EASTERN INDONESIA)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the social and ceremonial order of one of twelve domains on Palu'ë, a small volcanic island in Eastern Indonesia. Domains are identified as individual ceremonial, political and territorial units that are linked with each other in a system of ceremonial and political alliance, and enmity. Each domain is constituted by its ceremonial centre of which a senior member of a first settling group is the guardian. Within the domain first settling groups maintain a position of precedence over subsequently settling groups. Every domain conducts its own ceremonial cycle, at various stages of which narratives of origin are recited at the ceremonial centre. First settling groups hold the knowledge of these narratives. In these narratives the origins of the first settling groups and those of the island are conflated. Through the appropriation and manipulation of such origin structures, the first settling groups of a domain maintain a position of precedence, whereby later settling groups model themselves after the first settlers. This thesis examines the origin structures of the domain and the ideas that the people of the domain hold about those structures. In this process the social and ceremonial order of the domain is exposed.
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This thesis is dedicated to the young people of Palu'ë.
A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The people of Palu'e speak their own distinct language called Sara Lu'a (literally, the idiom of Lu'a). Sara Lu'a is closely related to the language of Lio and is classified by Wurm and Hattori (1981) as a member of the Bima-Sumba sub-group belonging to the Central Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family.

In the orthography of Sara Lu'a three symbols are employed that need to be specified here:

\[ \acute{e} : \text{sharp e} \]
\[ \grave{e} : \text{glottal stop} \]
\[ \breve{e} : \text{implosive} \]

Throughout the thesis terms in Sara Lu'a are in italics. Indonesian terms and English glosses are indicated by single quotation marks. European languages are written in Helvetica font. Bold-italics are employed for Latin terms. Bold indicates Austronesian terms.
INTRODUCTION

CONDITIONS OF RESEARCH

The material presented in this thesis was obtained in the course of some thirty-one months of fieldwork conducted on Palu'é Island ('Pulau Palue') in eastern Indonesia.¹ I began the study of the people of Palu'é in 1979 while still an undergraduate at the University of Basel in Switzerland. During a period of three months I carried out a general anthropological and linguistic survey of the largely unstudied island while based in K°ajuk°éri, one of the villages of the centrally located domain of T°ua Nggéo.

In December 1984 I returned to my previous village of residence and commenced a long term study of Palu'é for my doctoral thesis. During the ten months of residence in the domain of T°ua Nggéo (or K°éli, i.e. mountain, as it is sometimes referred to by members of other Palu'é domains), research was mainly directed to the study of Sara Lu'a, the language of Palu'é, and to the investigation of the social and ceremonial order of that domain as well as that of its allied domains. However, in October 1985, I was presented with the unique opportunity to study and document a complete ceremonial cycle in Ko'a, a domain belonging to a different group of alliance located on the southwestern side of the island.² The domain of Ko'a was about to initiate a new ceremonial cycle and, due to special circumstances, this cycle was going to be cut short by three years. Since my domain of residence did not intend to conduct its own ceremonial cycle for a number of years yet, and since such a cycle represents the most crucial ceremonial order of the domain, I decided to change my research site

¹ During nearly one third of this period, I was afflicted with malaria and other tropical illnesses and therefore — although remaining in the field — during that time, I was only able to carry out investigations at a reduced pace.
² On Palu'é seven out of a total of eleven domains each periodically carry out a ceremonial cycle that usually extends over a period of five years. The cycle commences with the purchase of water buffalo from Flores and culminates, after five years, in the sacrifice of these animals.
and move to Ko'a. Within the twenty-four month period of research I had hoped to be able to study and document one complete ceremonial cycle of a domain on Palu'e. The Ko'a cycle was initiated as planned in December, 1985. However, by the end of March 1987 it became apparent that the final sacrifice would not be carried out until the end of that year and so I temporarily left the field. In December 1987 I returned to Ko'a for an additional four months of research to complete the documentation of the ceremonial cycle. Finally, in June 1990 I had another opportunity to return to Ko'a for a few weeks, during which time I was able to continue work on the ceremonial cycle and on the ceremonial and social order of that domain.

Because of the shift in residence in 1985, I am now in the fortunate position of being able to comment on domains belonging to two opposed political and ceremonial alliance groups that practice this particular type of ceremonial cycle. This thesis, although it concentrates on the social and ceremonial order of the domain of Ko'a, in various instances also draws upon comparative material from the domain of T'ua Nggéo.

In addition to this affiliation with separate alliance groups the two domains contrast in a fruitful way in several respects. For nearly forty years T'ua Nggéo has been host to the catholic church and consequently this domain has been strongly exposed to catholic ideology, whereas the domain of Ko'a is generally recognized as the least Christianized of all domains on the island, maintaining a vigorous ceremonial life and retaining all of the ancestral ceremonies of the domain, as well as those of the agricultural cycle and those of the House and person. Furthermore, with regard to several 'traditional' institutions, such as for example the exchange of goods in the establishment of marriage alliance, the two domains show markedly differing interpretations. Such differences within a sphere shared by both domains significantly increase our understanding of that institution and open up new lines of inquiry.

Finally, the presence or absence of a given social category in one domain, such as that of a House of 'mother person' status which may have a crucial position in the
sphere of marriage alliance (see Chapter 5), the category of the healer-sorcerer (see Chapter 3) or the existence of dual priest leadership as opposed to a monocephalic structure (see Chapter 3) adds a further dimension to the analysis of the social and ceremonial order. Although most domains practicing the ceremonial cycle of the water buffalo are structured in a similar way the thesis does not claim to describe the domains of Palu’e at a level of abstraction where individual statements can unqualifiedly be applied to all domains of the island. The present investigation is focused on the domain of Ko’a and thus primarily constitutes an ethnography of its social morphology and of the system of ideas held in that domain.

Fieldwork on Palu’e was at times trying. The lack of accessible water on the island, annually recurring seasonal famines, the remoteness of Palu’e and its inaccessibility during the rainy season, often presented a considerable challenge. In retrospect, however, the relationships I was able to develop with some people on the island, and the work I was able to conduct there, represent a reward that by far outweighs the inconveniences of fieldwork and any subsequent health problems.

GENERAL THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In retrospect a number of important works can be identified as having shaped at an early stage my understanding of the ethnography of the region. Doubtlessly their influence still can be perceived in the present investigation. Reading the study of the collective though: of the people of Kédang on Lembata by Barnes (1979), when it first appeared, initially aroused my interest in eastern Indonesian societies, and this interest was subsequently consolidated by my reading of the historically and ecologically-oriented study of the economy of the island of Roti by Fox (1977). Three more works of my early readings that I consider to be of similar significance also need to be mentioned in this context; the monumental study of the political systems of Timor by
Schulte Nordholt (1971), the innovative study of the House of Tanebar-Évav³ by Barraud (1979) and the remarkable study of the social and ceremonial order of the people of Tana 'Ai by Lewis (1982 [1986]).

These authors in turn mostly acknowledge as a guiding influence the pioneering works of the Leiden school of structural anthropology, specifically that of van Wouden (1935) on types of social structure in eastern Indonesia and that of his teacher, de Josselin de Jong (1935) on Indonesia as an anthropological field of study. However, while van Wouden was, for lack of reliable ethnographic data, forced to employ a number of pre-supposed central features, those of cross-cousin marriage, a clan system as well as a pervasive socio-cosmic dualism, the authors mentioned above were in the position to study indigenous categories in their own terms.

Since the time of van Wouden numerous ethnographic studies have been carried out in eastern Indonesia, most of which are of a remarkably high scholarly standard (see Fox in Lewis 1989:xii). All of them have, though mostly only implicitly, measured their findings against van Wouden's model. The region, which used to be among the least documented in the archipelago, is now rapidly becoming the most thoroughly studied in all of Indonesia. As such it could indeed claim a special status and could be viewed as a privileged anthropological laboratory within which the type of comparison which was initiated by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong and van Wouden could be further developed and refined. However, the concept of the 'Field of Anthropological Study' (ESF) as proposed by de Josselin de Jong in his inaugural lecture in connection with his appointment to the chair of Indonesian Studies at the University of Leiden in 1935 is currently undergoing a shift in emphasis. Whereas the ESF used to be primarily defined in cultural and linguistic terms as a region within in which there existed a sufficient amount of differences as well as similarities to allow for comparison, recent studies of non-Austronesian speaking societies of the region

³ The term House spelled in upper case, as opposed to the (sometimes congruent) house as a dwelling, is henceforth employed to denote the basic social unit of Ko'a.
namely in Timor (Berthe 1972, Friedberg 1978) and in the Moluccas (Platenkamp 1988, Visser 1984, Teljeur, 1990) suggest that greater consideration be given to the historical context (see Platenkamp 1990b). Reference bibliography: The ESI concept remains a valuable tool in the comparative study of eastern Indonesia to which this thesis intends to make a contribution by providing a description of the social morphology and ideology of a previously unknown society of this regional 'anthropological field of study'.

Some of the results of studies of eastern Indonesian societies similar to those mentioned earlier have been published in a volume edited by Fox (1980). What emerged from a comparative perspective was a set of concepts shared by eastern Indonesian societies that are central to their life and thought. Fox (1980:333) suggested that rather than exclusively comparing systems of alliance and kinship terminologies, and merely drawing upon materials from the realms of mythology and ritual to complement the former, as had been done earlier, the comparative study of eastern Indonesian societies needed to focus on these concepts which he termed 'core concepts'. Whereas at the time van Wouden viewed marriage as pivotal to activities of all the social groups of the region and therefore made cross-cousin marriage his starting point for a model of society, the approach suggested by Fox moves away from the reliance on a rigid formal model towards the study of 'metaphors for living' as they are applied at various socio-cosmic levels (Fox n.d. 2).

Because Palu'el has never been studied before — any mention in the literature is mostly incidental and references are extremely scarce — this thesis first and foremost constitutes a contribution to the ethnography of the region. As such it stands largely on its own. However, with respect to these 'core concepts' as they are articulated in the participants' models, the thesis locates itself within a broader comparative framework. Although comparison is not explicit — such a task goes clearly beyond the scope and size of the present investigation — the conception of the thesis is such that the reader
familiar with the body of ethnographic works on eastern Indonesia can relate the material to other ethnographies of that region in a meaningful way.

PALU’É CORE CONCEPTS AND SOCIO-COSMOLOGICAL METAPHORS

In developing a mode of comparison between societies of eastern Indonesia these core concepts constitute crucial points of departure. Such a comparison will eventually have to focus on what notions about society and the cosmos are expressed by means of specific constellations of such concepts. In the present investigation of the social and ceremonial order of the domain of Ko’a a number of core concepts were encountered at various structural levels of Ko’a society. In Ko’a, as indeed throughout the larger region, central ideas about social life are expressed in metaphorical form in ritual speech. Such metaphors are encoded in semantic parallelism which constitutes the main structural feature of this specific type of speech (Fox 1988a). Thus, the three main categories of spatial metaphors employed, botanic metaphors, boat metaphors and metaphors of the body, in ritual speech take the form of oppositions and complementarities. Notions of ‘trunk’ (b’öu’u) and ‘tip’ (ngalu), ‘bow’ (hulu) and ‘tail’ (éko), ‘head’ (t’öaba) and ‘feet’ (wa’i) are used to order the social world of Ko’a. Also, a number of what I refer to as symbolic operators allow for the construction of various constellations that coherently express ideas about man, society and the cosmos. They are categories of gender, relative relation, symbolic space and states of aggregation which again constitute opposites or complements: ‘elder sibling’ (ka’ë) and ‘younger sibling’ (hari), ‘father’ (hama) and ‘mother’ (hina), ‘father’ (hama) and ‘child’ (hana), ‘up’ (rétöa) and ‘down’ (laë), ‘east’ (lë) and ‘west’ (wa), ‘male’ (laköi) and ‘female’ (wai), ‘left’ (hiröi) and ‘right’ (pana), ‘inside’ (riböe hunë) and ‘outside’ (la’ë pënga), ‘centre’ (roröi) and ‘periphery’ (raköa liköi), ‘hot’ (beköë) and ‘cool’ (melu).
ORIGIN STRUCTURES AND PRECEDENCE

At the centre of this thesis stands the text of a ceremonial chant which consists of hundreds of paired place names (see Chapter 2). This text forms the basis of the ideology held by the first settling groups of the domain. With regard to the status of topogenies, i.e. ordered successions of place names, Fox has recently remarked:

I see the recitation of topogeny as analogous to the recitation of a genealogy. Both consist of an ordered succession of names that establish precedence in relation to a particular starting point — a point of origin. In the case of genealogy this is a succession of personal names; in the case of topogeny, this is a succession of place names. Whereas considerable attention has been directed to the study of significant genealogies, little attention has been given to the study of the recitation of place names. ... Too often, however, topogenies have been regarded as all but unintelligible prefaces to narratives ... On Roti personhood cannot be explicated without reference to place. Places may take on the attributes of person and persons the attributes of place.

(Fox 1992:1)

Although a significant number of ethnographers has reported on the existence of topogenies in societies of the larger region (see for example Rosaldo 1980, Kuipers 1985, Lewis 1986, Traube 1986, Erb, McWilliam 1990, Berthe 1972, Clamagirand 1978) very few have accorded them the crucial significance they take on in the present ethnography.

In Ko'a little emphasis is placed on genealogies. Although notions of descent are present, they are not as central to Ko'a society as other structures. The most prominent of these structures is constituted by a notion of origin which is not constructed by means of genealogies. At various stages of the ceremonial cycle of the domain, narratives of origin are recited at the ceremonial centre of the domain. Specific groups of Houses that claim to be the first to have settled on the island hold the knowledge of these narratives by means of which the origins of the island and the domain can be traced. In these narratives the origins of the first settling groups and the formation of the island itself are conflated. In linking up with the origins of man and the world
extensive chains of place names are recited which constitute locations in symbolic space. In Ko'a these place names structurally replace the notion of genealogies.

The thesis, therefore, does not impose conventional anthropological concepts of descent onto the Ko'a material but proceeds to analyse Ko'a society in terms of what Fox has referred to as 'origin structures' (Fox 1988b:11). Through the appropriation and manipulation of origin structures the first settling groups of Ko'a maintain a position of precedence among groups that settled later. These in turn model themselves after the first settling groups of the domain. The thesis investigates the system of ideas underlying such origin structures, and in doing so, explores the application of a further number of metaphors about life and living that are fundamental to Ko'a thought. In focusing primarily on the system of ideas held by these first settling groups, I have concentrated on the analysis of ideas underlying social practice rather than on an exposition of the demography of the population and on the quantitative record of individual interactions.4

The concept of precedence, as it is used throughout the thesis has been developed in the context of the 'Eastern Indonesia Seminar' chaired by Professor J.J. Fox at The Australian National University. In a recent paper in which he also draws upon his earlier work (Fox 1989: Fox 1990). Fox describes the concept as follows:

In eastern Indonesia, precedence is linguistically constructed by recourse to any of a variety of complementary categories (such as male/female, elder/younger, first-born/last-born, inside/outside, prior/later, or trunk/tip). These categories serve as linguistic 'operators' that are asymmetrically marked and recursively applied. Unlike the Dumontian notion of hierarchy based as it is on a single-valued all encompassing relationship, precedence is structurally relative, temporally continent, and often disputed. Different operators may be invoked to create alternative forms of precedence. Precedence may serve as the means for establishing rank; but it is not the equivalent of hierarchy. Based on differentiation, precedence may

4 A paper dealing specifically with demographic issues in a small scale society such as Ko'a is currently in preparation (see Vischer, in preparation).
be used to create or undermine what are generally regarded as 'hierachical structures'.

(Fox n.d.:3)

In Ko'a the position precedence of first settling groups is constructed by means of origin structures. In this process groups claiming first settling status have come to occupy the most central position in the socio-cosmological world of that domain.

THESIS STRUCTURE

In investigating the social and ceremonial order of the domain of Ko'a and in investigating the system of ideas held by its first settling groups the thesis proceeds from the more inclusive to the less inclusive. It begins with a brief description of the natural environment, since until now only very little is known about the island, and it continues by providing an impression of the past of Palu'ë and its relations to the outside world. This historical tableau is bound to remain fragmentary because of the nature and the scarcity of the sources. However, some of the themes touched upon in this survey recur in subsequent chapters and, thereby, a diachronic depth is gained. It must be emphasized, however, that with the exception of this chapter this thesis is not concerned with culture and change but constitutes a study of a system of ideas. Information and comments on recent developments are, therefore, mainly to be found in footnotes.

The second chapter introduces concepts that are brought to bear on the island as a whole and on its constituent domains. The notion of the domain constituted by its place names and by its cosmological, ceremonial and political centre is developed and ritual practice at its centre is drawn upon to illustrate its workings.

The next two chapters deal with the House as a basic social unit and with individual groups of Houses within the domain that share the notion of a common place of origin. I argue that, at this level, the social order is encoded in an idiom of centrality. An order of precedence is expressed here in terms of relative distance to the
centre of the domain. The house is analysed first as a dwelling in which fundamental ideas about man and his position in the world are encoded. Notions expressed in ritual practice related to the house and in the rituals of the life cycle overlap and tie together the dwelling as the House, the basic social unit and the person in a common conceptual realm, which is in turn linked to the larger frameworks of the domain and the island as a whole.

The final chapter deals with the ideas underlying formal relations between origin groups and individual Houses that are established through marriage alliance. Notions of exchange, particularly those played out in the exchange of bridewealth, are examined and related to a larger cosmological framework.

In the exposition of the material care was taken not to 'over-determine' the material by striving to arrive at a description of a tightly coherent system of ideas. I have attempted to allow the material to reveal its own inherent logic together with its apparent inconsistencies and discrepancies, because it is only in confronting the latter that new insights can be gained about eastern Indonesian societies and, by extension, about those of the wider Austronesian world.

Regrettably, due to the word limit imposed upon a doctoral thesis by this university, a detailed exposition of two major realms had to be excluded from this work. While the analysis does repeatedly draw upon material related to the ceremonial cycle of the domain, the agricultural cycle is only very generally alluded to. In a future, more extensive and holistic description of the domain of Ko'a, both of these realms will have to be included. However, judging from my present vantage point, their inclusion will not alter the argument presented here but merely complement the exposition.
Chapter 1

PLACE AND PEOPLE

SECTION 1: THE ISLAND IN GENERAL

The island of Palu’é, one of the smaller inhabited islands of the outer shelf of the Lesser Sundas is located in the Flores sea, approximately fifteen kilometres off the north coast of central Flores at Lat. 8°20’ S., Long. 121°43’ E. (Kemmerling 1929:90).

Throughout the Lesser Sunda Islands the people of Palu’é are usually referred to by the Indonesian term 'Orang Palu’é' (people of Palu’é). When referring to themselves as one people they call themselves 'Hat’a Lu’a' (people of Lu’a) and their island Nua Lu’a (Lu’a island).¹ Various ethnic groups of neighbouring Flores employ as a designation for them the general vernacular term for islanders. Thus in coastal Ngada they are called Ata Nusa, in Sika, Ata Pulo and in Tana 'Ai, Ata Nuha. The people of Ende call them Ata Kua and those of coastal Lio, Ata Rua. On sixteenth and seventeenth century Portuguese maps the island is listed variously as Ilha de Nuca Raja, Lusa Raja, Rusa Raja, Lucaraje or Illusaraia. Early Dutch maps sometimes use the term Konigsheert. Later Dutch designations include a number of variations of the name Palu’é (PaloE, Paloewéh, Palu, Pulowe, Paloe), a name possibly traceable to ‘palu-palu’, the Bugis term for a conically shaped headdress (Said 1977) which may have been applied in allusion to the shape of the island. The present official Indonesian designation is Pulau Palue (Palue Island).²

¹ Glinka (1972b:902) suggests that Lu’a has the meaning of sulphur. To my knowledge, however, there is no special meaning to the term Lu’a. There is also no specific term for sulphur as a substance. The term for sulphuric vapours is mut’u elané, which translates as scent of the volcano.
² In the sections of this chapter dealing with the history of administration and missionisation the term Palu’é is employed. Throughout all subsequent chapters either the endonym Nua Lu’a, or on occasion the abbreviated version Lu’a, is used.
Map No. 1.1
Volcanological Map of Palu'ë (from Neumann van Padang, 1930)
(Only a small number of the Palu'ë villages of 1928 indicated. I have added the designation Koa standing for the contiguous three Koa settlements.)
Administratively the island constitutes a sub-district (‘Perwakilan Kecamatan Pulau Palue’) of the district of Mauemere (Kecamatan Mauemere) which in turn forms part of the Regency of Sikka (‘Kabupaten Sikka’), one of the regencies of the Indonesian province of Eastern Nusa Tenggara (‘Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur’).

The island is constituted by a volcano that rises from the bottom of the Flores sea at a depth of over two thousand metres (Eastern Archipelago Pilot 1943:330) and culminates in the mountain Ili (875 m.) which is situated slightly off centre on the southern half of the island.³ Palu'ę is roughly circular with a diameter of 8-9 km and extends over approximately 72 km².

According to volcanologists (Neumann van Padang 1928) the Ili represents a younger stratocone which was built up within the 900 m wide ancient crater of an original volcano. Out of this original mountain which is likewise a strato-volcano, a large number of erosion gorges radiate. Several small adventive cones disturb the regular features of the morphology, thus indicating that these secondary eruption centres post-date the formation of the valleys. Collapses along radial and concentric faults have disrupted the southern sector of the original volcano (see map no. 1).

The volcanic nature of the island was first suspected in 1831 by the visiting Dutch government official Francis (Francis 1856:141) and later commented on by Wichmann, a member of an expedition of the Dutch Society of Geography and Statistics that toured the eastern archipelago in 1888/89 (Wichmann 1891). The Dutch volcanologist Kemmerling visited Palu'ę in 1925 and came to the conclusion that the volcano, which is referred to on Palu'ę as Mutu (literally, volcano), was still at an active stage. However, nobody on the island appeared to remember any previous volcanic activity (Kemmerling 1929:95).⁴ Only a few years after Kemmerling’s visit

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³ The common exonym for the mountain is Manu Nai. Nineteenth century Dutch navigational charts list it as K'ell Peri (Kemmerling 1929:92).
⁴ It may well be that the people of Palu'ę chose not to inform Kemmerling of any previous eruptions because Palu'ę cosmology does not allow for any direct mention of the volcano's activities.
the volcano erupted. The Dutch volcanologist Neumann van Padang arrived on Palu‘é shortly after the first eruption of 1928 and gave the following description:

In the collapsed area renewed volcanic activity took place in the form of explosion holes and lava domes. Five craters with an average diameter of 200 m and three lava-domes existed before the eruption in August-September 1928. Preliminary tremors set in on 25 July. The great eruption initiated during the night of 4/5 August. It was accompanied by three sea waves reaching a height of 5–10 m on the coast of Palu‘é as well as on the neighbouring Flores north-coast. A heavy fall of ashes and pumice destroyed the south-west part of the island and formed a cover of 4–8 m thickness in the immediate vicinity of the craters. Ashes were transported by the prevailing winds as far as east Java. The total amount ejected by the four eruption centers was estimated at 19.5 million m³ (or 4.61 million m³ of magma). In addition a new lavadome was formed with a volume of 8 million m³. On 9 September a small crater with a diameter of 80 m came into existence on the border of the larger crater.

(Neumann van Padang 1930: English summary, n.p.)

Since the eruption of 1928, which on Palu‘é is referred to as 'the great eruption' (Mut⁶u ḅe:ḳo c₂), the volcano has periodically erupted, however, never again as intensely as in 1928. The last significant eruption of Gunung Rokatenda (Mount Rokatenda), as volcanologists have chosen to call the volcano, occurred in 1972 (NTT 1986 [1988]). Further activity was registered over several months in 1981 (MT 1981:14). Since then two relatively minor eruptions have occurred in 1985. Because of this volcanic activity the Indonesian government now classifies roughly one third of the island on its southeastern side as a 'danger area' ('daerah bahaya') unfit for habitation, whereas the rest of the island is merely classified as an 'area of caution' ('daerah waspada') (NTT 1986 [1988]).

Another remarkable characteristic of the island is its nearly complete absence of accessible drinking water. The first western observer to note the lack of water on

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5 Neumann van Padang is referring here to the southern sector of the island.
6 The various eruptions are named and serve as time markers. Thus, it is possible to use them in calculating the dates of specific events or in the assessment of the approximate age of elders.
7 The volcano is now periodically observed by the Indonesian volcanological service of Ende; however, a government project to set up a permanent station has to date not been implemented.
Palu'ė Island (Nua Lu'a): aerial view from the south-west.


Mother and daughters removing sweet potatoes and tubers from volcanic earth oven (poa bēkē).
Palu'ë was J. Cameron, a member of the Royal Geographical Society of London. He visited the island briefly in 1860 and upon his return made the following report to the Society:

Although apparently destitute of fresh water the island supports a population of 5000 souls, a squallid looking race, of exceedingly attenuated figure, with an abundance of matted hair on their heads. They had no clothing except a strip of cloth around their loins, and were exceedingly dirty: nevertheless, their countenances wore, for the most part, a comically good natured expression ... the population, in their complete destitution of fresh water make their ordinary beverage of a fermented drink from the fruit of a tall palm tree. The fermentable juice is collected in bamboo pitchers and has the property of being a harmless tipple in the morning, slightly stimulating at midday and strongly intoxicating towards the afternoon ... In consequence of the habitual use of this drink their daily life is a round of intoxication, often ending, towards the night, in serious brawls.

(Cameron 1865:31)

After hearing Cameron's travel account, the members of the Royal Geographical Society strongly contested his statement on the absence of water and called it "a total impossibility" (Cameron 1865:31).

Later commentators also found it hard to accept this apparent lack of water. The volcanologist Kemmerling (1929:92) contended that Palu'ë could not be as destitute as Cameron had reported and that during the rainy season the population would probably be able to catch some of the rainfall. He also mentioned that, according to the report of a missionary, there was a spring located on the mountain that gave water all year through, where the inhabitants obtained water for ceremonial occasions and there appeared to be several locations at sea level where people went to gather water.

The volcanologist Neumann van Padang visited this spring located on the southeastern slope of the mountain in 1928. On his map of Palu'ë he marked the place as Memeh. In the late 1970s local people detected another small spring on the

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8 He was able to measure an average flow of 3 m³/min. Measurements I took at this location in 1985 showed an average flow of only 1.5 m³/min.
opposite side of the erosion gorge of Memeh in a region traditionally referred to as Lidi-Wolowéo.

Some water sources at the coast, as noted by the missionary, were verified as well. Fumarolic action of the volcano occurs frequently in many parts of the island. It is chiefly connected with the volcano’s ancient adventive cones, but also with fault lines on the bottom of valleys and along the coast (Neumann van Padang 1930:19). At some of these spots on the southeastern and southwestern coast small amounts of boiling water rise to the surface; at others the water is cool but extremely brackish due the influx of sea water. The former are referred to by the people of Palu’té as 'hot water holes' (waé poa bekê) and are used for the preparation of specific types of beans and tubers. Throughout the island numerous spots with high volcanic soil temperature but lacking water are also employed as earth ovens; they are referred to as 'hot pits' (poa bekê) or as 'tuber pits' (poa navu réré).

At some of the fumaroles located inside gorges close to settlements, volcanic steam was condensed and gathered by covering the point of exit with lontar palm leaves and catching the water in bamboo cylinders. In the 1960s this traditional mode of water gathering was further refined by a Sikanese schoolteacher posted to the domain of Cawalo. The schoolteacher, inspired by traditional palm gin distilleries on Flores, employed a similar technology at spots that appeared to remain damp for a short period even after the morning dew around them had evaporated through the heat of the sun. At such locations fumarolic steam was found to be seeping through the ground. By digging a pit and filling it with the fibre of the enau palm (Arenga saccharifera) to keep it from collapsing, and by covering it again with soil and inserting a hollowed-out bamboo pole, the steam gathering in the pit could be directed to rise up through the pole. Another pole, vertically inserted into the upper section of the horizontal bamboo then served as a condenser for the rising steam and from there the condensed steam could drip into a further bamboo pole serving as a water container. Locations of fumarolic activity are most frequently found on the western
side of the island, especially in the domains of Cawalo and Ko'a and the new technology is employed throughout these regions. Other domains appear to lack fumaroles completely. The locations of these steam vents are not stable through time and, therefore, the installations have to be moved occasionally. A condensing installation at a favourable location can produce up to thirty litres of water a day.

The two small springs and the condensed water of fumaroles, however, only barely cover the needs of a small part of the population. In most parts of Palu'ē water is traditionally gathered from plants. The stem of the banana plant is commonly tapped for plant juice rising up inside its trunk. A cavity is made at the base of the trunk where the rising liquid can gather. The overflowing liquid from the cavity is then led along an elephant grass reed from where it drips into a bamboo cylinder. Often a cluster of three or more plants is tapped at the same time and the juice is pooled through a system of bamboo poles into one cylinder. The yield of juice that can be gathered from banana trunks appears to vary according to the position of the moon and according to the season. During the rainy season at high tide a cluster of three banana trunks can produce a maximum of twenty litres per day. During the dry season, especially at low tide, the same cluster may yield only five to ten litres per day. The cylinders are emptied twice daily by the young unmarried women of a household and the cavities are regularly scraped out to keep the juice flowing.\(^9\)

Apart from banana plants a number of different trees and various types of bamboo can be tapped for water as well. However, tapping them is only resorted to during periods of intensive agricultural work on fields located far from settlements.\(^10\) When hunting in the forest on the mountain top, rainwater and dew remaining in cavities inside trees (waë lok'a, literally, cavity water) is often sucked up by means of straws.

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9 The water gathered from banana trunks has the pungent scent of decaying organic material and is, therefore, only rarely used for drinking. Washing with such water commonly results in strong allergic reactions of the skin.

10 Water tapped from bamboo can only be used for cleaning and cooking. Due to the content of an unidentified toxic substance drinking it can result in intestinal trouble.
Young woman tending to the extraction of juice from a cluster of banana trees (*waé muk*u*).  

Climbing the lontar tree for a session of palm juice tapping. Note the plantation of tubers in the foreground and in the background the area cleared for the planting of maize.  

Devices for the condensation of volcanic steam (*waé poa*).
In his description of 1860 the visiting geographer Cameron also mentioned that for their daily intake of liquid the people of Palu'ė relied on the juice of a palm tree (Cameron 1865:31). The palm tree in question is a member of the Borassus family commonly known as the lontar palm (*Borassus flabellifer* or *Borassus sondaica*). On Palu'ė this tree is called *k'oli* and the juice tapped from it is called *t'ua*. The palm is tapped twice daily throughout most of the year by employing basically the same simple technology extensively documented and described by Fox for the eastern Indonesian island of Roti (Fox 1977; Fox, Asch and Asch 1983). Depending on the season, which every year reaches its peak during the months of June, July and August and depending on the number of inflorescences tapped, a single tree can provide up to twenty-five litres of juice a day. In many domains on Palu'ė lontar juice constitutes the most important daily intake of fluid. Throughout the island a traditional proscription on the distillation of palm juice into gin (*hara*) is strictly adhered to. The fermented palm juice does, however, have the intoxicating properties Cameron alluded to.

In spite of the lack of accessible drinking water, Palu'ė is not a dry island. Climatologically it forms part of the semi-arid tropics. It has an average rainfall of 1800 mm p.a. (1984-1987), 85% of which falls during the months of the rainy season from December to April. Much of the island has lost its tree cover through excessive felling and primary and mature secondary forest are only found on the mountain top to the north and west of the volcanic vents. Some isolated patches of forest remain inside deep erosion gorges and at specific spots that are considered to be sacred. In many

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11 Generally there is a seasonal break in tapping that coincides with the rainy season. According to some Palu'ė tappers, a tree can theoretically also be tapped during the rainy season. Tapping can, however, be very dangerous during periods of strong winds and rains. The practice is, therefore, mostly discontinued shortly after the onset of the rainy season.
12 In spite of the now greater availability of water from rainwater tanks, Palu'ė elders often prefer not to drink anything at all, if palm juice is not available.
13 Distilled palm juice, *hara*, is highly valued on Palu'ė. For celebrations and ceremonial occasions, it is purchased in Manuere or Aewora on Flores.
14 It is appropriate to express here my thanks to the bilateral Australian-Indonesian 'NTT Integrated Area Development Project' conducted by ACIL in Besi Pae in West Timor for having provided me with a rain gauge.
gorges forest (éni t’u’é) has been recently replaced by clusters of bamboo and banana. The landscape is marked by the lontar palm tree which occurs throughout the island but is most prominent on the northwestern side of the domain of Tºomu. In recent times coconut palm trees have been extensively planted along the boundaries of individual fields. Other trees prevailing in open spaces include, banyan (Ficus benjamina), candlenut, tamarind, various types of mango and recently also 'nangka' (Artocarpus integrifolia), a tree valued for its seeds and fruit. Most of the accessible terrain is employed for the growing of the main cultigens: tubers, green gram, pigeon pea and maize. In some regions, agriculture is carried out by way of shifting cultivation. In others parts, due to land shortage, this traditional agricultural system has given way to a semi-permanent mode of cultivation. Recently efforts have been made to terrace inclined fields by means of leucaena shrubs. Settlements (nat’á) are now located at the few flat expanses of terrain on the island, whereas formerly they used to be located for defensive purposes at the top of ridges.

Due to the scarcity of water, monkeys, deer and feral pigs, all which are common on Flores, are not found on the island. For liquid intake those animals inhabiting the forest survive on dew. They include civet (lakºu), feral cats (méo hutºa), pythons (hola caa) as well as various other types of snakes (generic term, hola) giant lizards (werºi), wild chicken (hatºa), bats (nikºi) and a large variety of birds collectively classified as kºolo. Most of these animals are hunted with dogs and by means of bows and arrows.

Palu’é groups with access to the sea distinguish well over 250 taxa of marine life. Fishing is traditionally conducted by means of bow and arrow or by the setting of fishtraps. More recently lines, spear guns and explosives have been employed as well. The Palu’é shoreline is rocky, interrupted by small coves of sandy beach which form the outlets of erosion gorges. On the northern and northeastern coast there is a coral reef that extends to approximately two hundred metres off shore. According to volcanologists this part of the island has been lifted due to volcanic activity (Neumann
van Padang 1930:23). At all other coastal regions the sea bed initially is shallow up to a distance of approximately thirty metres off shore and then drops abruptly to a depth of two thousand metres. At some places the sea bed of the shallow coastal section ends in a short receding 'lip' formation.15

Assessing Palu'ė population statistics through time is difficult because of the heterogenous nature of the available data, specifically because of variations in the basic units to which the numbers given in different sources refer. The first detailed figures for Palu’ė are provided by Controleur Symons, the Dutch administrative head of the regency (Onderafdeeling Maoemere) between 1930 and 1935 (Symons 1935). Symons lists figures for the twenty-three administrative villages ('kampong') which constituted the municipality (gemeente) of Palu’ė. The numbers are broken down according to gender. For any period preceding 1935 we only have the estimates of early travellers.16 In no case do we know on what these estimates were based. Missionaries on Palu’ė tried to keep exact records of church matters and their data can be considered to be fairly reliable. P. van der Velden provides population data for clusters of individual traditional villages (nat'a) for 1956 (van der Velden n. d.:n.p.).17 In 1966 P.J. Glinka (SVD), a missionary and physical anthropologist conducted research on Palu’ė in order to determine the origin of its population in terms of physical anthropology (Glinka 1972a; 1972b; 1972c). His diary (Glinka 1965:n.p.) lists Palu’ė population figures according to clusters and individual traditional villages for the year 1965.18 The population census carried out by the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics in

15 This 'lip' phenomenon has been exaggerated on Flores where according to a popular misconception it is believed that the island is of the shape of an umbrella and that its central 'handle' could easily break off allowing the island to disappear into the deep sea without leaving any trace.

16 The very first population census of eastern Indonesia was the Dutch Volkstelling of 1930. Unfortunately the published version of this census only gives data at regency level and does not list individual villages or even Palu’ė as a whole.

17 Earlier population data collected by P. Hoeymakers were lost during the Japanese occupation. Other data relating to the immediate post-war period are said to have been sent to Ende. These data have not been located to date.

18 The data was probably obtained from the resident missionary P.W. Maas. Glinka notes a slightly greater number of adult women than adult men. He explains this feature by ascribing to Palu’ė men a higher mortality rate due to their often hazardous life as seasonal migrants along the Flores north coast.
1971, which is still considered to be the most accurate census ever carried out in eastern Indonesia, gives data for 'desa' level. All subsequent published government population censuses only provide data at district level (1974; 1980; 1981 and 1986) and, therefore, they are of little value for my purposes. Because of the heterogeneity of the data the table below brings together the available population figures for Palu'ë as a whole, rather than those for traditional villages or those for the different administrative units.

Table No. 1.1
Palu'ë Population Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860 (Cameron 1865)</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935 (Symons 1935)</td>
<td>7178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956 (van der Velden nd.)</td>
<td>8890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965 (Glinka n.d.)</td>
<td>9674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971 (Sensus Penduduk NTT)</td>
<td>10927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981 (Kantor Statistik NTT)</td>
<td>11528</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Latest population counts (1990) carried out by the Bureau of Statistics in Mauemere give a total population of 13,500. However, not all of these people actually do live on the island. Since 1981 approximately 2500 people have been transmigrated to Flores. Nonetheless, the population density of approximately 180/km² is still exceptionally high. Real density is even higher taking into consideration that approximately one third of the island cannot be inhabited or used for agricultural purposes due to the proximity of the volcano.

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19 On Palu'ë the modern Indonesian administrative unit of the 'desa' comprises clusters of traditional villages (nat'o) which belong to two or more traditional domains (ta'ana) that maintain a traditional relationship of political and ceremonial alliance with one another. However, some 'desa' encompass domains of opposed sets of alliance.

20 The data for 1990 are courtesy of Kantor Sensus dan Statistik Dati II Sikka.

21 Palu'ë population density is as high as that of the central part of Sikka Regency on Flores (Metzner 1982:101). Sikka density in turn is by far the highest of the province and is comparable to parts of Java.
Ninety-eight per cent of the population is of Palu'é origin. The remaining two per cent consist mainly of schoolteachers and administrators from Flores and their families. Until now only a very few Palu'é men have taken wives from outside the island and have brought them back to live on Palu'é. In their experience women from other islands often find it hard to keep up with the daily workload Palu'é women are used to performing and find it difficult to adjust to the hardship of everyday life on Palu'é. Conversely, of the small number of men from outside Palu'é who have taken wives from the island, very few are living there.

SECTION 2: IMPRESSIONS OF THE PAST

Evidence of Palu'é in sources predating the colonial administration is extremely rare and even in this century the island was scarcely ever mentioned in reports of colonial administrators. Its small size, remoteness and relative regional insignificance are responsible for this situation. However, it is none the less possible to gain a general impression of the past of Palu'é. In what follows I shall attempt this by amplifying the few written references we have with accounts obtained from the people of Palu'é relating to specific periods and past events and, where indicated, by referring to the historical context of the larger region.

The Hindu-Javanese empire of Majapahit claimed the Flores region to be part of its realm (Le Roux 1942) and there is a certain amount of evidence of Majapahit influence on Flores that appears to support this claim (Le Roux 1942; Arndt 1958). On Palu'é a folk-etymological connection is made between the name Majapahit and the names Majo and Bō'ai featuring in an important ceremonial chant. The ritual speech

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22 Archival searches for material relating to Palu'é have been conducted in the archive of the administration of 'Kabupaten Sikka', the Algemeene Rijksarchief in The Hague, the library of the Royal Institute of Anthropology and Linguistics in Leiden as well as in the library of the State University of Leiden.

23 The recent work by the historian S. Dietrich (1989) on the colonial history and the history of missionisation of Flores has been very useful in establishing the broader historical background of the region.

24 In the domain of S'o'a both terms are employed as personal names, whereby Majo is given to men and Bō'ai to women.
couplet *Majo no’o Bō’ai* (Majo and Bō’ai) which stands at the beginning of a chant of origin connects the descendants of specific domains with their mythical ancestors who are believed to have originated in an undetermined place located at a great distance to the west of the island. However, neither there nor in any other context is any information given on contacts with the fourteenth and fifteenth century empire of Majapahit.

The earliest Western mention of Palu‘e dates back to 1512. Shortly after the Portuguese conquest of Makassar a small Portuguese fleet passed along the Flores north coast as it returned to Makassar from an exploratory voyage to the 'Spice Islands' of Ambon, Ceram and Buru. In the course of this voyage the cartographer and pilot Francisco Rodrigues made a number of panoramic drawings of the Flores north coast, one of which depicts Palu‘e set against the background of central Flores. On the drawing Palu‘e is named 'Ilha de Nuca Raja' ([Island of] King's Island). The drawing also shows a settlement ascribed to the people of Palu‘e on the opposite Flores coast marked 'Compeco da Ilha da Nuca Raja' (Settlement of King's Island) (Cortesão 1978: Map No. 1.2). Although no villages are shown on Palu‘e itself we can assume that at that time the island was already inhabited.

There appears to be very little knowledge held on Palu‘e specifically relating to the early Portuguese. Before the establishment of Dutch authority in the early twentieth century all Westerners, regardless of their origin, were categorized by the same term *Har‘a Lanu*. It is, therefore, difficult to assess in any case to which group of Westerners a given Palu‘e oral tradition refers. Early Portuguese presence along the Flores north coast was insignificant, and so we can assume that contact with Palu‘e was minimal. For the seafaring men of Palu‘e, the Portuguese were but one of several

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25 The 'Book of Francisco Rodrigues' which accompanies the panoramic drawings actually states that the Portuguese boats were on a voyage of discovery (in Cortesão 1967:290). Since, according to the historical record, these islands had already been first discovered a number of years earlier, I must agree with R. Barnes's argument (Barnes 1989:123-124) that this had probably been an exploratory trip rather than a voyage of discovery of the Spice Islands.

26 I gratefully acknowledge that the reference to Palu‘e in this source was originally pointed out to me by Dr David Stuart-Fox.
Map No. 1.2
Ensemble of Five Panoramic Drawings by Francisco Rodrigues Showing Palu'c Island and Part of Central Flores (from Cortesão, 1978: Platex).
(Underneath is the corresponding outline to a modern chart.)
forces active in the Flores sea and, compared to the Makassarese and Bugis of south Sulawesi, probably also a minor one.27

Portuguese presence in the region during the second half of the sixteenth century was largely confined to the island of Solor off the coast of eastern Flores and somewhat later also to Larantuka in eastern Flores and to the island of Ende off the south coast of central Flores. In these locations forts were built to give shelter to Portuguese merchants engaged in the trade of sandalwood from Timor. From Solor and Ende Dominican missionaries were active mainly in the regions adjoining these forts.28 By the beginning of the seventeenth century most of the Dominican stations had been abandoned under Dutch pressure and due to incursions from various Islamic rulers and local pirates (Piskaty and Riberu 1963:42). However, Visser (1925) also mentions the existence of a Dominican mission station in Dondo on the Flores north coast in the immediate vicinity of Palu’ė. Unfortunately we know nothing further about this station. In ancient chants of the Palu’ė domain of Ko’a the place is mentioned as a friendly anchoring place, and it is said that ‘crowds flock to Dondo’ (pungi rivu lau T’ondo) to greet the Ko’a boats that are on a voyage to purchase sacrificial water buffaloes.

There is one mythical tale of the domain of Cawalo on the western slope of Palu’ė that may actually refer to the Portuguese. It is recounted that over fifteen generations ago a group of giant Hat’a Lanu made camp in Cawalo and chased the population off into the mountain forests. Eventually the people of Cawalo managed to regain their village and drive out the Hat’a Lanu. Two large rocks in the village of

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27 Part of the ceremonial dress of ritual officiants of those Palu’ė domains that practise water buffalo sacrifice is claimed to be of Portuguese origin. The héma is a knee length plaited skirt made of loosely woven indigo-dyed cotton. It is only worn for important ceremonial occasions relating to the domain, after which it is placed back in storage in a special house in which the ceremonial objects of the domain are kept. Magical qualities and a considerable age are ascribed to the héma. Oral tradition however, does not tell us more about how it came into Palu’ė possession.

28 A notable exception is Sika Natar on the south coast of east central Flores, the heartland of what later became the Rajidom of Sika.
Cawalo are now believed to have been the mortar and the pestle used by the giant Hat¬a Lanu.29

Another tale that is held in all of the domains of Palu’é tells of how a small fleet of Palu’é boats had managed to outwit a large force of Hat¬a Lanu by employing a ruse. According to this tale a fleet of Hat¬a Lanu one evening had cornered a number of Palu’é boats in a bay adjoining the cape of Wat¬u Manu (Batuk Manu) on the Flores north coast. After nightfall the Palu’é crews managed to haul their boats across the mountain and let them back to water on the side of the cape that was hidden from the view of the Hat¬a Lanu. At daybreak, when the Hat¬a Lanu found out that they had been guarding an empty bay, the Palu’é boats had already completed the crossing back to the safety of their island.

The next mention of Palu’é occurs nearly two centuries later. In the reports of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) of September 1699 it is stated that the Raja of Gowa in south Sulawesi laid claim to Palu’é and its inhabitants and that he intended to send the Gowanesse nobleman Karaeng Jarannikka (Crain Jerenika)30 to lead a raid against the island’s thousand armed men. The entry mentions a previous unsuccessful attempt to bring the island under the supremacy of an earlier Raja of Gowa (Fol. 44-rv in Coolhaas 1976:71). In the next entry of the Generale Missiven it is stated that the Raja of Gowa reported on 21 September 1699 to have been at war with Palu’é but that the population had managed to retreat unharmcd to the Flores mainland by means of boats and rafts. The entry goes on to question whether all of the people of Palu’é had managed to get away because of the large influx of new slaves that had been observed in south Sulawesi around that time (Fol. 44v-45r in Coolhaas 1976:71-72).

The entries in the Generale Missiven are remarkable for several reasons. Although Palu’é is referred to as a ‘gem[ene] eylandje’, a common little island, the Raja of Gowa

29 The characterisation of the Hat¬a Lanu as giants may be an expression of the Palu’é assessment of their superior strength.
30 Karaeng Jarannikka had previously been one of the field commanders of the Raja of Gowa to lead a raid against the formerly allied Sultan of Bima on the island of Sumbawa (Andaya 1981:292).
Map No. 1.3
Orientation Map of South Sulawesi, Flores and Timor

Map No. 1.4
Administrative Division of Flores as of 1910

--- Borders of Flores Regencies (onderafdeeling) (congruent with present 'Kabupaten' boundaries)
------- Inclusion of Sub-District of Palu'e (Gemeente Paloeweh) into the onderafdeeling Maocmere
appears to have considered it significant enough to plan a special raid on it. Its armed population is estimated at over one thousand men who are said to have previously managed to resist the forces of Gowa rulers and as a result had maintained their independence. The estimate seems inordinately high. It implies a total population of approximately six thousand people, a number which probably was not reached until 1930.\textsuperscript{31} If indeed there was such a large number of warriors, it is still questionable whether all of them were actually from Palu’è. The large number of warriors may also have been composed of Palu’è allies in piracy and slave trade from central Flores or from the kingdom of Bone in south Sulawesi (see Appendix). On the other hand, the Raja’s statements about re-enforcing previously existing Gowa rule over Palu’è, and about its large number of warriors, may well have been without foundation and may merely have served as a pretext to conduct a raid on the island solely for the purposes of obtaining slaves. This is also the suspicion of the author of the VOC missive.\textsuperscript{32}

Although the extent of Gowa rule in the Flores region is still to be determined, we know that Gowa, up to the late eighteenth century, at least nominally laid claim over the western half of Flores referred to as Mangray (E.N.I. 1917-1921).\textsuperscript{33} However, during much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries its was predominantly the Sultans of Bima, originally Gowa allies on the island of Sumbawa to the west of Flores, that maintained dependencies along the coastline of western Flores. In that region the Bimanese eventually managed to curtail the influence of Gowa and to regularly levy taxes from the inland population payable mainly in form of slaves.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{31} It is, of course, also possible that Palu’è population numbers have in the past fluctuated due to incursions by slave raiders.

\textsuperscript{32} We also know that the VOC considered Karang Jarranika who led the raid to be undesirable. He reportedly did not return to Makasar together with his soldiers after the raid (ibid.).

\textsuperscript{33} This includes large parts of the present regencies of Manggarai, Ngadja and Lio-Ende.

\textsuperscript{34} A mythical tale with historical connotations reported from Rembong in the easternmost part of Manggarai links Gowa to Palu’è through marriage (Erb 1989:23-25). According to this tale, a Gowanese prince founded a great kingdom called Separang in western Flores which had Potta, a town on the north coast as its centre. Later the centre was moved into the mountains to the middle of the Rembong region. Many of the Rembong now trace their origins to this Gowa kingdom. The king of Separang had married a woman from Palu’è who had brought along a rat as her guardian when she moved to Flores. The children she had by the king were twins, one of which was human and the other
The evidence considered so far largely supports the claim made by the people of Palu'é that the island never had been an integral part of the rule of a larger realm. Rather, the individual domains of Palu'é throughout the centuries maintained separate truces (rura cafi) with various outside groups that allowed them to conduct trade, piracy and slave trade in the waters of the Flores region.

In Dutch nineteenth century sources Palu'é is repeatedly mentioned in connection with slave trade and piracy which continuously plagued the Flores sea to the detriment of maritime trade. In 1851 the Dutch navy mounted an expedition employing a number of steam ships in an attempt to clear the region of pirates. In the course of this expedition several boats suspected of piracy were pursued to Palu'é. There their crews abandoned their boats, fled across the mountain and made their escape from the other side of the island. The Dutch navy destroyed these boats and burned down a number of coastal villages to deter the population from giving support to pirates in the future. The inhabitants are said to have retreated to a fortified village further inland where they briefly responded to the Dutch fire before fleeing into the forest (Brummend 1853:128-129). One section of this naval report relating to the island in general and to the activities of its inhabitants is worth quoting here:

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was a rat. The rat-child turned out to be a nuisance in the house and so it was taken to the forest and abandoned. In Rembong this story serves to account for the presence of rats on Flores. Rats are treated with respect and a number of ceremonial activities during the agricultural cycle involve the special treatment of rats. On Palu'é an important cosmological position is accorded to rats as well. They are closely associated with the ancestors because they share the same abode inside the volcano. Importantly, they are protected animals and may not be harmed inside the house. The Rembong story may be understood as couching the relationship between Palu'é and Potta in an idiom of truce. Although I am unaware of any particular Palu'é group standing in a relationship of truce (rura cafi) with Potta, its subordinate position as a wife-taker of Palu'é in the Rembong tale in conjunction with the Rembong notions of ceremonial protection of the rat, may be interpreted as the idiom of a truce the Gowa kingdom on Flores remembers having upheld with Palu'é. The township Potta repeatedly features in ceremonial chants of the domain of Ko'a on Palu'é. There it is referred to by the ritual speech couplet 'Reo in the west, Potta in the west' (va Reo, va Bora), which links Potta with Reo, another settlement on the Flores north coast that at the end of the seventeenth century was a Bimanese stronghold. Given that in Ko'a ritual speech semantic parallelism links classificatory opposites, the couplet may reflect a Palu'é insight into the antagonistic relationship between Bima and Gowa in western Flores at that time. Some Palu'é domains claim to have in the past stood in a relationship of truce with Reo as well. A later document which reportedly relates to such a truce existing between one or several Palu'é groups and the representative of the Sultan of Bima in Reo appears to confirm this Palu'é view. The document in question is in possession of Dr J. Metzner to whom I owe this reference. The document is written in Arabic script and is presumably of the late nineteenth century (personal correspondence J. Metzner 24.9.79). Unfortunately I have not yet been granted access to it.

35See Appendix.
According to reports from neighbouring islands Roesa Raja, just like Kalatoe, is a pirate's nest. Its inhabitants are either pirates themselves or friends of these. They keep their slaves in custody and exchange stolen goods against gunpowder which they receive from Singapore via Bonerate as well as against food supplies and other goods and they provide safe shelter for the pirates. Even though the island is small it is difficult if not impossible to search it without a sufficient number of forces. Its mountain is nearly two thousand feet high. Numerous paths cross through the mountainous little island which is covered with dense forest. If attacked from one side the inhabitants take flight to the other side. Only by closing in with two steam ships to prevent escape from the island and by approaching the mountain from two sides could the population be subdued and stopped from giving shelter to pirates in the future. Throughout the archipelago the pirates look for islands such as Kalatoe and Roesa Raja to hide themselves and to remain there for short or long periods in friendship with the inhabitants and to obtain information about war or steam ships in the region and about expeditions mounted against them... Roesa Raja is beautiful. Its evergreen mountain arises wonderfully out of the wild surf roaring around its rocky beach which surrounds it like a broad silver band. Around the foot of the mighty mountain which arises from the centre of the island there is a dense forest in front of which small villages are hidden under groups of palm trees. Rich greenery covers it from the east all the way to the top. What a wonderful and far view can be had from there across the sea onto the neighbouring islands and onto the coast of Flores! How clearly can the Bajak see the approaching enemy as well as the unsuspecting trading vessel which he attacks as sudden as the vulture swoops down on his prey. Here he is as safe from steamships, even though they shoot at his boats and burn them, as he is safe from the inhabitants of the Flores coast, which he has often harassed and from where he has robbed men and goods. Why must it be that this island, which is more beautiful than any other and which would have been chosen by Calypso and her nymphs, is the abode of those wild, ferocious and cruel pirates!

(Brummend 1853:129-130; my translation)

Some parts of this naval report are confirmed by Palu'ë informants. In nearly every domain of the island there is an abundance of tales relating to the feats of piracy performed by specific ancestors. Slaves (hat’a ko’o, hat’a rat’a lo’o or hat’a coiné). however, are rarely mentioned. The existence of a network of alliances extending

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36 An island approximately 50 km to the north of Palu'ë.
37 'Bajak', a Malay term for pirate.
throughout and beyond the Flores sea allowing for early warning, mutual support and replenishment of provisions is equally confirmed by Palu’ë tales. Some of these relations, namely with specific groups on the Flores north coast but also with the people of Roja in Ende and the people of Bone in south Sulawesi were formalized as relations of truce and are respected to this day.

Although further punitive expeditions were mounted against Palu’ë pirates in 1857 (Buddingh 1861:279, 332) these activities do not appear to have stopped.

Even though Westerners were frequently warned not to stop over on the island,\footnote{See, for instance, Jakobsen 1896:43.} scientific voyagers began to visit Palu’ë as of the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1860 J. Cameron of the Royal Geographical Society of London, who was the first to report on the island’s lack of water, visited Palu’ë briefly. He appears to have been well received in spite of the warnings. Contrary to the negative image of piracy and slave trade conveyed by other sources Cameron mentions in his report that Palu’ë had a reputation among its neighbours as an island of master boat builders (Cameron 1865:30-32). And indeed, Palu’ë elders tell about how they used to build large numbers of boats and sell them along the Flores north coast as far as Larantuka at the eastern end of Flores.\footnote{Traditional Palu’ë boats were up to twelve metres long, had a sewn hull, three merging masts and rectangular sails woven from lontar leaves.} These boats were usually exchanged for muskets, golden earpendants and ivory tusks, objects which, apart from the guns, feature as the main prestations of wife-taking groups to wife-giving groups in the establishment of marriage alliance.

Whereas Cameron was well received, members of an expedition of the Dutch Geographical Society that landed on Palu’ë in 1889 had a somewhat different experience. Initially the coastal population was hospitable as well, however, when the geologist Wichmann attempted to collect rock samples he and his party were physically threatened and driven back to their boats by men armed with flintlock guns. From their angry exclamations Wichmann gathered that he had breached a prohibition pertaining
to the inalienability of Palu'ē rock and soil (Wichmann 1891:196-200). Thus it was not due to general hostility ascribed to a population practising piracy but as a result of a breach of local custom that Wichmann's visit had to be cut short.

SECTION 3: EARLY ADMINISTRATION

When the Dutch government official Francis landed on Palu'ē in 1831 and asked to see the 'raja' a man was led to him who formally handed over a number of papers which were tied together.40 From the reverent way in which they were presented, Francis initially took them to be official documents. Upon closer inspection he discovered that the parcel consisted of picture cards of Christian saints, a catholic calendar and an old issue of a missionary journal (Francis 1856:140-145).

The incident raises several issues the first of which touches on the question of any missionary activity on Palu'ē preceding the advent of the SVD mission in the 1920s. Given the small number of Jesuit missionaries active in Flores at the turn of the century and given the remoteness of the island, it is unlikely that Palu'ē was ever included in regular patrols. It is, however, probable that Jesuits had visited the island in the early part of our century.41 Palu'ē men had certainly also come into contact with the Jesuit mission during their annual seasonal migration to Flores and could well have obtained the Catholic documentation there.

The second issue the report by Francis raises is that of the existence of an indigenous figure holding political power over all of the island. We can, however, only speculate about who this 'raja' may have been who came to meet Francis. According to Palu'ē accounts there has never been such an office on Palu'ē, and before the establishment of colonial administration no person and no office held

40 Nothing is known about the specific purpose of Francis's visit to Palu'ē.
41 In his volcanological study of Palu'ē Neuman van Pandang (1930) lists an article published in the Journal of the Jesuit Society, *Berigten van het Leden van het Sint Claverbond*, entitled 'Reisbeschrijving van een missionaris naar Polo E' (Travel Account of a Missionary to Polo E). Unfortunately the reference is faulty and incomplete and can at present not be verified.
authority over all of the island. Rather, every one of the twelve traditional domains (i'ana) constituted a separate territorial, political and ceremonial entity each of which was headed by two priest-leaders, the Laki'omo (literally, strong man) of the domain. The village of Uwa on the north coast of the island does, however, claim to have had a 'raja' who is referred to as Ratu Mangge' (King Mangge'). The title, which was carried by a priest-leader of Uwa, seems to have been modelled after such positions existing on neighbouring Flores. This Uwa appropriation of the title may have been intended to establish in the colonial context the precedence of the Uwa region over the rest of the island.

Elders of the domain of Ko'a maintain that it was mostly those that were not invested with traditional offices of authority that would 'run down to the beach' (laju lau langa) to greet visitors from the outside. Though these people were locally usually insignificant, they were outgoing by character and inclination and they possibly also had a knowledge of Malay and foreign visitors were likely to mistake them for figures of authority. We may even speculate that some of these people of low status seized upon the occasion to put themselves forward as leaders. The holders of traditional positions of authority would only rarely come forth and confront a visitor because such behaviour would diminish the dignity of their office (ngara ca, the great name). But sometimes they would send a junior delegate (sélo rullané, to replace the face) to find out what was going on and to accept the gifts and prestations traditionally expected from outside visitors. This pattern largely holds true to this day.

According to Palu'c informants the island was pacified by Dutch military forces along with the central Flores region around the years 1905 and 1906. Elders of the domain of Ko'a on the western slope of the island tell of the great loss of lives the mountain populations suffered in the armed resistance they put up against Dutch troops and maintain that in gaining victory the Dutch were assisted by a coastal Palu'c group called Magé.
According to information from the domain of Edo (Glinka 1972b:904), eighteen generations ago Edo was located on the Palu'é north coast from where it was forced by intruders from outside the island to retreat to its present location on the northeastern slope of the island. A truce between the two warring groups was eventually concluded on the north coast at a place which was named Malurivu, 'the tamed crowd' (my translation), to commemorate the truce. The intruding group then established itself in Magé next to Malurivu. Ko'a oral tradition, however, maintains that Malurivu commemorates the victory the Dutch gained over Palu'é groups with the help of Magé. It might appear that the Ko'a view serves to interpret the fact that it was in Uwa, on Magé territory on the Palu'é north coast, that the centre of the local government administration was eventually established.\(^4^2\)

In 1910, following the pacification of the region, the Dutch colonial government established its authority in east central Flores by way of indirect rule. Noemeak, the Deputy Raja of Sikka ('Wakil Raja'), a traditional domain on the south coast of east central Flores, was appointed to head a new 'self-governed region' (Zelfbesturend Landschap) which was given the name Rajadom of Sikka (Kerajaan Sikka). The regency was initially divided into nine counties (Gemeente)\(^4^3\) each of which was composed of approximately twenty administrative village units called 'kampong'. In 1929 'Kerajaan Kangae' and 'Kerajaan Nita', up until then two separate traditional rajadoms of east central Flores, were fused by governmental decree with 'Kerajaan Sika' to form the Zelfbesturend Landschap Sika (Self Governing Region of Sika).\(^4^4\) To head this new administrative unit, which now covered all of east central Flores and which was composed of a total of eleven 'Gemeente' the Dutch appointed Don Thomas Ximenes da Silva, the Raja of the traditional domain of Sika (Rusconi 1940:2).\(^4^5\)

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42 Searches in Flores archives as well as in the Algemeene Rijksarchief in the Hague have to date not yielded any information on a specific concerted instance of resistance of the population of Palu'é against the establishment of colonial rule on the island.

43 Sometimes also referred to by the bastardized term 'hameente'.

44 See Govmt. Besl. 27. Sept. 1929 No.48.

45 Don Thomas Ximenes da Silva had already signed the government treaty (Korte Verklaring 17 Feb. 1922) that effectively made him self-governing Regent under indirect Dutch rule in 1922 (Rusconi 1940:2).
Palu'ë had already been included as a separate Gemeente in the Regency when it was formed in 1910. According to Palu'ë accounts, the people were given the choice of deciding whether they wanted to be included in the Lio-Ende Regency of central Flores or the Sika Regency. For practical reasons the population opted for inclusion in the Sika regency. Geographically its new administrative centre Maoemere on the Flores north coast was located at a greater distance from the island than Ende, the Lio administrative center. However, Maoemere was more conveniently reached in one or two days by boat from Palu'ë than Ende, on the Flores south coast, which in order to be reached required the crossing of the mountains of central Flores in an arduous walk of several days.

Every Gemeente was headed by a representative of the Raja, the 'Kapitan' and all 'Kapitan'-ships of the Regency were occupied by relatives of the Raja of Sikka.⁴⁶ As the first 'Kapitan' of the Gemeente Paloeweh the Raja appointed a relative of his by the name of Wongga (Rusconi 1940:40).

Officially the 'Kapitan' had few judicial powers of his own; these were exercised by the Raja and his council of 'Kapitan's' (Volksheofden) on Flores, in which the Controleur, the Dutch administrative head of the Regency, had a consultative function. In practice, however, the 'Kapitan' adjudicated most court cases himself on Palu'ë and fines were payable to him in the form of goods. He was responsible for matters of local administration, the collection of taxes (a part of which he was entitled to retain for himself) and for the enforcement of Heerendienst and Gemeenteredienst, two forms of corvée labour.⁴⁷ In order to carry out his administrative tasks, he employed a number of local assistants bearing the title 'mandor', who maintained communications between

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⁴⁶ In Sikanese tradition the eleven "Kapitan"-ships came to be conceptualized as the dependencies of the twelve royal Houses of Sikka Natar, the heartland of the Rajadorni, whereby each of these Houses laid claim to its own "Kapitan'ship". There appears, however, to be little factual basis supporting this view (pers. comm. E.D. Lewis 2.6.91)
⁴⁷ The Memorie van Overgave of Symons (1935:Bijlage I) does not list any numbers for the Palu'ë Heerendienst category. Possibly, because of its remoteness from Maumere where Heerendienst labour was employed for the construction of the Flores road system, the Palu'ë population was only liable to perform Gemeenteredienst, compulsory labour within the Gemeente, that is, the construction and upkeep of paths and administrative buildings on Palu'ë itself.
the residence of the 'Kapitan' in Uwa on the Palu'ë north coast and the headmen of the villages throughout the island.

Taxes appear frequently to have been a point of contention among the population of Palu'ë. The term for taxes literally means 'bird’s money' (hoa kolo), which alludes to the fact that the money was commonly perceived to leave Palu'ë without ever bringing anything in return. According to Palu'ë elders, payment of outstanding taxes was enforced by the Raja's soldiers ('serdadu') who were known for their brutality towards reluctant or impecunious taxpayers. Corporal punishment, such as beating and dragging as well as confiscation of livestock and ancestral goods, are said to have been the means employed to compel the payment of outstanding taxes. To this day it is said of particularly brutal or arbitrary behaviour by local government officials or traditional holders of authority that they are 'as bad as during Dutch times' (ndoa hama no'o homa Belanda); Dutch, in this context referring to the administration of the Dutch appointed indigenous local ruler. Palu'ë elders recall their parents fleeing into the mountain forests with all of their livestock, carrying their ancestral gold and ivory tusks whenever they heard that the Raja's soldiers were on the island to collect outstanding taxes. Until well past World War II the arrival of visitors wearing long sleeved shirts (lambu teke lava) would cause the population to flee in panic, because long sleeved shirts were commonly associated with the Raja's soldiers or with administrators.

48 As a reaction to the introduction of taxes and corvée labour, a number of popular uprisings took place on the Flores mainland. Some Houses of the Palu'ë domain of Tua Nggäo claim that their ancestors played a crucial part in one of these uprisings lead by a charismatic figure from Lio by the name of Mari Longga. From Palu'ë itself no such uprisings are reported.
Table No: 1.2  
Village Population Figures, 1934

List of villages of 'kampong' stems and population figures rearranged according to their location within the traditional domains of Palu'ê (after Symons 1935:26).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gemeente PaloeE, Landschap Sikka</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T'ana Awa</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Awa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ana Nit'eo</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Nitoeng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Male (Obo?)</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ana Tomoe</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ana Ko'a</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Ko'a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ana Edo</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Edo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ngalo (or T'ana Woto?)</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Nt. Moeke (or T'ana Woto?)</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ana Cawalo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Dijawaloo</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ona</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Ngaroe</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Toedoe</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Wl. Habi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or T'ana Woto, or T'ana (Woja) K'eli?)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ana Tëo</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Tëo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ana Ndéo</td>
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<td>15. Ndéo</td>
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<td>7. Poró</td>
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<td>4. Niopanda</td>
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The Memorie van Overgave by Symons (1935) lists twenty-eight administrative village units ('kampong') for Palu’è (see Table No. 1.2). Each 'kampong' was headed by a 'Kepala Kampong', a village headman. This division as well as the offices were probably already set up in 1910 when the 'Kapitan'-ship was established in the coastal village of Uwa. In this process not every traditional Palu’è village (nat°a) received 'kampong' status. In a number of cases smaller villages or hamlets were grouped together to make up one administrative 'kampong', whereby every unit received the name of its largest component village. Fortunately the grouping did not cross cut the boundaries of traditional domains (t°ana). In most cases junior members of Houses of Lakimosa status were appointed as village headmen, and adjudication of customary law thereby remained with the the holders of traditional positions of authority.

One of the main reasons given by the Dutch for the forceful pacification of Flores was not piracy and slave trade — these issues had largely been dealt with half a century earlier — but the ongoing state of feuding between various local groups of the Regency (Dietrich 1989:79-83). In this respect Palu’è was no exception. The Memorie van Overgave of Controleur Hagenaar lists for his period of service (1931-1934) a number of local wars where the military had intervened. One of these entries is concerned with endemic inter-domain feuding on Palu’è:50

The hoofd of Palu’è was not capable of handling local boundary disputes. Although the Controleur of Maomere has fixed the boundaries the population does not accept them and fights amongst themselves. Therefore a patrol came to Palu’è and apprehended the hoofden. They [the patrols] stayed for ten days on the island. Twenty-five flintlock guns were confiscated but no powder or bullets were found. The guns must have been relics of the past.

(Hagenaar 1934:122; my translation)

49 The numbers preceding the listing of individual 'kampong' names on Table No. 1.2 refer to their consecutive numbering in the original list by Symons. This rearrangement, according to domain adherence, suggests that the Symons administration was not fully aware of these traditional political entities and did not know which 'kampong' units together made up a traditional domain.
50 No date is given for these events.
51 Presumably Hagenaar is referring here to the 'Kapitan' of Palu’è.
52 Here Hagenaar is referring to the priest-leaders of the various domains of Palu’è.
Judging by the briefness and the offhand tone of the entry, the incident appears to have been viewed as just a minor event amongst many of the sort that had taken place during that period in the regency. On Palu’é this is viewed quite differently. Ko’a elders pinpoint the incident as an important turning point of life on Palu’é. In their view the disarmament of the island marks the end of a period referred to as ‘the old land’ (t’ana nolone) and the beginning of an new era called ‘the recent land’ (t’ana mурине).

Up until then nearly every Palu’é man had his own flintlock gun, which he treasured and carried with him wherever he went. These guns had been acquired by trade during the heyday of piracy and had been handed down to their owners through a succession of warrior ancestors. Because of their origin they were imbued with magical qualities and in carrying them a connection was always maintained with the spirit of defiance against outside interference and the dare-devil character and magical feats that mark the ancestral tales surrounding pre-colonial days. By giving up these guns this continuity was to some extent severed and it can be said that the men of Palu’é thereby relinquished a powerful symbol of their traditional sense of independence. In order to force the population to do so the Dutch resorted to apprehending (кеве) the priest-leaders of the domains involved in boundary feuding. They were brought to Mauemere and kept in custody. According to Palu’é sources the population was then informed that if they ever wanted to see their priest-leaders again they had to hand in all of their guns. Only when the last guns on the island had been turned in would they be released and be free to return to their domains.

Although the Palu’é priest-leaders operated by consensus and discussion and, therefore, cannot be viewed as headmen in the strictest sense, they were responsible for the ritual maintenance of the cosmic order and their absence from their domains

53 In a more recent development, the use of guns has been permitted again for ceremonial purposes. In this context they are employed to ward off malicious spirits and sorcerers. As I was able to witness during important ceremonial events, very few guns appear to have survived the period of concealment following the Hagenaar intervention.
posed a real threat to the wellbeing of its population. This threat was obviously great enough for the men to turn in at least a number of their guns, after which the priest-leaders were allowed to return to Palu'ė.\textsuperscript{54} From then on anyone caught owning a gun was subject to severe punishment as well as fines and although many held on to their weapons, they were carefully hidden in cavities inside trees or between layers of elephant grass beneath the ridge of the roof of the house.

After disamament, Palu'ė men went back to carrying traditional bows and arrows (\textit{wu-hub} \textsuperscript{54}) and since then wars over domain boundaries have been fought by means of such weapons rather than with guns. Any effort by the government to fix domain boundaries by setting up markers has had the opposite effect and has perpetuated inter-domain feuding. It is also not surprising to hear that Hagenaar considered the 'Kapitan' of Palu'ė incapable of handling such disputes. According to Palu'ė accounts, the 'Kapitan' often encouraged warfare and would accept gold and ivory from the feuding factions against the promise of giving his support once the matter had reached regency level and hearings were conducted in court to determine a disputed boundary line\textsuperscript{55}.

According to Palu'ė reports\textsuperscript{56}, military interventions were often carried out with excessive brutality. Following such interventions a number of men were usually

\textsuperscript{54} The people of Palu'ė do not take well to the manipulation of their priest-leaders and the 'blackmailing episode' is to this day recounted with resentment. Many years later, when the last European Bishop of Ende visited Palu'ė, the priest-leaders of the twelve traditional domains of the island were called upon to carry his sedan as a gesture of submission of the traditional order to the advent of the Catholic Church. Some of the priest-leaders attended, others sent their sons on the grounds of their age and they carried the usaka (from the Indonesian 'uskup', bishop) from Uwa all the way up the mountain to Koeëli. Shortly after his visit the bishop is said to have died a sudden death. On Palu'ė his death was readily interpreted as the sanction of the Palu'ė Supreme Being for having humiliated the priest-leaders.

\textsuperscript{55} Whereas inter-domain warfare on Flores had nearly disappeared with the establishment of a permanent government presence, no such development took place on Palu'ė. There, at almost regular intervals, traditional enmity between specific domains continued to flare up over disputed boundary lines and escalate into full scale warfare involving groups of allied domains set against traditional enemy domains and their allies. Although apart from the Hagenaar mention there is little evidence of such wars in government sources, we know from Palu'ė reports as well as from dated and inscribed cemented boundary markers which were set up in various domains of the island that military intervention from Flores was usually employed to put a temporary end to such conflicts.

\textsuperscript{56} I have reason to suspect that Government documents relating to Palu'ė inter-domain warfare have often been destroyed. Political considerations and the covering up of court cases (the outcomes of which may have been influenced by payments of goods as well as protective measures against future claims by the factions involved) could have played a part in this.
designated as the main culprits and taken off to jail on Flores and sometimes even as far away as Sulawesi, Timor or Sumbawa. Having spent a number of years in prison was considered to be an asset for every young man. Upon returning he was believed to have seen something of the outside world and this added to his personal reputation (ngara ca, literally, the great name).

Periodically recurring inter-domain warfare eventually gave Palu'è a bad name which has persisted to this day with the Flores administrations. It was not recognized that boundary disputes and inter-domain warfare formed part of the ceremonial cycle of every domain, the completion of which in turn was crucial for the maintenance of its wellbeing. Palu'è men were perceived as being aggressive and defiant and not worthy of outside support.

SECTION 4: PALU'È AND THE FLORES MISSION

In 1913 the Jesuit mission handed over its duties on Flores to the Society of the Divine Word (Societas Verbi Divini [SVD] or Steyler Mission). Soon after the establishment of the new mission society on Flores, a Swiss SVD missionary by the name of Pater Bertholdus Fries (Catalogus 1981) began paying brief annual visits to Palu'è. Over the years he took a number of Palu'è children back with him to Flores to have them educated at a new mission school in Lela on the south coast of Sika.

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57 Seasonal famine (wula rare) occurs annually for a period of one or two months preceding the green gram harvest.
58 A mythical story created in the domain of Ko'a to account for the position of the researcher as the younger brother of the main Ko'a priest-leader relies on this prison topos. Following a war with Niu in the 1950s Laki MSa Waré, the former Ko'a priest-leader, was sent to prison in Bima. There he is said to have had a European spouse who became pregnant by him. After his term was up the woman returned to Europe and Waré went back to Palu'è where he eventually died. The researcher is said to be the child resulting from this union and it is told that for years he roamed the earth to find his father's house until he finally came to the domain of Ko'a where he was recognized as the lost son of Waré.
59 Unless stated otherwise, the information relating to the missionisation of Palu'è was obtained from the former Palu'è SVD missionaries themselves. Interviews were conducted with these missionaries in September 1980 and in March 1984 in the SVD missionhouses of Teteringen and Deurne, The Netherlands. I would like to thank here the SVD mission and especially Pater J. Hoeymakers, Pater W. Maas and Pater R. van der Velden for their interest, co-operation and hospitality.
Amongst these children was one Sanda from the village of Uwa who eventually became the first Lu'a-born 'Kapitan' of the island.

Bringing in children for education from families holding traditional local positions of authority was a policy that the Jesuit mission had already successfully applied in eastern Flores.⁴⁰ Later the SVD continued to employ this practice as a major tool to establish contacts with the populations of remote areas such as Palu'ë. The children were baptized and educated in reading, writing and arithmetic as well as in the Malay language which was to become the official language of the administration. The missionaries would then accompany those children back to their place of origin and in that way gain access to the population as a whole. Some of these graduates found employment in the mission or in the lower ranks of Dutch administration, others were educated to become catechists ('guru agama') and support the work of the mission back in their place of origin.

Under the Flores-Sumba contract of 1913 the Netherlands Indies Government had turned over education and instruction in the region to the Jesuit mission.⁶¹ The Divine Word Mission, their successors, effectively held on to what amounted to a monopoly on education for nearly fifty years (Reksodihardjo 1957:65).⁶² Although initially the Catholic Church was frowned upon by influential members of the essentially Protestant Dutch colonial service the government eventually came to realize that by educating the people of Flores along the lines of Christian, albeit Catholic values, administration and development would proceed more smoothly than if they were to be educated by an Islamic élite, and so, full support was given to the mission and its undertakings.⁶³

⁶¹ The contract ratifying the transfer of Portuguese holdings in the Flores region to the Dutch stipulated that the Dutch government provide clerical support to the Catholics on Flores. It is for this reason that under the Dutch the missionisation of Flores was exclusively carried out by Catholic missions.
⁶² Even though the relevant articles of this contract had been superseded by 1948 the Catholic mission on Flores continued to exercise the prerogatives regarding schools and schooling under the successive Indonesian Governments up until the 1960s.
⁶³ The historian, Dietrich, cautions against drawing hasty conclusions about the establishment of schools and schooling following immediately in the wake of pacification of the region. He
Three SVD missionaries, P. Fries, P. Strieter and P. Flint established and controlled the first schools on Palu’é (Pareira 1986:61-62). However, none of these missionaries actually resided on the island. The island was thought to be too remote and too difficult to reach in unfavourable conditions and the presence of missionaries was confined to annual visits to dispense the sacraments and check on the schools. When the Apostolic Vicar of the Lesser Sunda Islands visited Palu’é in 1936 the population is reported to have pleaded with him for a resident priest. By that time three schools in the villages of Nitung, Lei, Uwa had been established and six schoolteachers and several catechists were active throughout the island. Out of a total population of approximately eight thousand, one hundred were listed as having been baptized (Hoeymakers 1938b:267-268).

The Vicar complied with the request of these, as he referred to them, 'unspoiled people' and a year later Pater J. Hoeymakers, a Dutch-born SVD missionary was appointed to be the first resident priest on Palu’é. Because of its location at the centre of the island it was decided to establish the first church and mission house in Lei, the main village of the domain of the "mountain people" (Hat’a Këéli). From there all other domains could conveniently be reached and regular patrols conducted on horseback and by boat. In the presence of the regent Raja Thomas da Silva, a flat expanse of land in Lei was purchased from the Këéli priest-leader for the price of hfl.50. Foremen and prefabricated elements were brought in from Flores and a church as well as a number of parish buildings were constructed with the help of the population.

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64 In the 1950s further schools were established in the villages of Edo-Nat’a Wat’u, Nito’u, Awa and Woja.
65 In the domain of Këéli this tale is likened to the Christian tale of Judas selling Christ for thirty pieces of silver. The subsequent death of the priest-leader is interpreted as a supernatural sanction for treason against the ancestors and the Supreme Being of Palu’é.
66 One of the first structures to be erected was a water tank to preserve water for the mixing of cement. Once the tank was empty, Palu’é men brought in water by boat all the way from Lio and their women carried it in bamboo cylinders up the mountain.
From his station in Lei the resident missionary continued the practice of missionisation of the population through the medium of the local Catholic schools ('Sekolah Dasar Katholik', SDK). Attendance was made compulsory and in order to enforce it amongst resisting parts of the population the 'Kapitan' had to resort to employing his 'Mandor'-overseers to round up those mothers that were hiding their children in the mountain forests. According to the missionary, the children attended school quite regularly once they were enrolled. Elder people of the domain of Ko'a recall that out of fear of the white missionary and his school some mothers used to hide their children inside baskets which they carried with them to their fields in order to avoid detection by the 'Mandor'.

As a matter of course all enrolled children were baptized and in many cases it was this practice rather than the actual schooling that some people feared. This essentially held true for children of Houses of priest-leader status who were raised to take on the important ceremonial positions of their natal domains. It was understood that allegiance to the Catholic Church would effectively rule out their succession and traditional ritual practice would, thereby, eventually be undermined.

Since that time Christianity and schooling have been regarded by the people of Palu’é as virtual synonyms. Thus when asked if a given person has been baptized that person will respond that he or she has been to school and vice versa. Up to this day it is still compulsory for a Palu’é child to be baptized before the child can attend school.67 The practice did not only eventually ensure the Catholic affiliation of all of the population but it also gave the Church and the school a leverage on the baptismal and marital status of the child's parents.

Whereas the establishment of local government on the island, apart from the imposition of taxes and the enforcement of corvée labour, only had a limited effect on

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67 This practice has to do with the fact that upon enrolment a child needs to provide a document certifying the name of its parents as well as its own name and date of birth. The appropriate document, a birth certificate ('surat kelahiran'), is to this day not issued by the local government administration and therefore the baptismal certificate is substituted for it.
everyday life, the advent of the Church and schooling did bring about significant changes, especially for the population in the immediate vicinity of the mission stations in Lei and Uwa. Not only did Catholic dogma of the time prohibit the traditionally prescribed mode of marriage alliance with the matrilateral cross cousin, but Christians were no longer allowed to participate in any traditional ritual activities. According to the missionaries, elderly Christians could not be made to cease their pagan practices, but younger people were forbidden to participate as ritual officiants in ceremonies. Finally, because the integrative and dynamic functions of generalized exchange were not recognized, large scale prestations were considered to be wasteful and needed to be eliminated.

_Hada_, a concept that can be described here as standing for the totality of the way of thought and action handed down by the ancestors, was construed by Catholic doctrine as being something evil and misdirected that needed to be eradicated and replaced by Christian ideas and values. More often than not, the missionaries did not fully comprehend the nature of Palu'ë institutions and, therefore, opposed them. Even after the Second Vatican Council in 1964 had explicitly allowed for an integration of elements of traditional local custom into Catholic practice, most of the Palu'ë priests continued to maintain their opposition. It is only now, after nearly thirty years, that the Indonesian Catholic Church on Flores is considering implementing the papal rulings of 1964.

In the villages of Uwa, Lei and Nitu the schoolteachers, all of whom initially came from Flores, often had completed an additional one year course as catechists in a

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68 Palu'ë was eventually divided into two parishes. In the 1960s another church and parish complex were built in Uwa, the administrative centre. During that period a second SVD missionary was appointed to run the new parish. Later, a chapel was constructed in the village of Nitu to service the southwestern domains of the island.

69 It was, however, conceded that participation in the dances accompanying large-scale ceremonies was permissible because these were viewed as being family-oriented activities and thus in line with Christian ideology.

70 Henceforth referred to as _hada_ or 'adat'.

71 Many of their misconceptions are understandable in view of the fact that the population near the mission stations never fully informed the missionaries of the intricacies of _hada_. On Palu'ë, extensive knowledge of such matters constitutes an important source of personal power which is to be kept from outsiders such as the Church.
training center in Mata Loko (Todabelu) on Flores. At the level of the individual villages they functioned as the crucial link between the Church and the population. These salaried 'guru agama' (teachers of religion) who had been active on Palu'ë since the establishment of the first schools were in charge of religious instruction and the organization of prayer practice (ngaji). They not only took note of instances of birth and death in the neighbouring villages but they also reported the genealogical links in planned marriages to the resident missionary. In his absence they were empowered to provide the baptismal sacrament to the dying, and judging from the records, they mostly succeeded in baptizing dying elders.\textsuperscript{72} It is said that they employed the argument that at death non-Christians would never be united in the hereafter with their Christian descendants but would have to remain with their pagan ancestors in a separate abode. This line of persuasion is to this day successfully practiced on dying non-Christian parents or grandparents.

It would, however, be inaccurate to portray the missionization of Palu'ë as one that had been accomplished by the Church solely by means of pressure and with the help of the local government. It was the people of Palu'ë who had initially requested the presence of a resident priest on their island. Palu'ë seasonal migrants over the years had been able to witness the growing economic influence and power of the mission on Flores. There it had been the mission rather than the government that had provided much of the early infrastructure such as schools, churches and medical services. Doubtlessly an alliance with an institution that commanded seemingly inexhaustible resources from overseas was perceived to be extremely desirable, and it was felt that if all of Flores appeared to be greatly profiting from the presence of the mission, Palu'ë should try to do so as well.

Aside from economic considerations one of the reasons why the Church was so readily accepted on Palu'ë may have been that the population at a superficial level was

\textsuperscript{72} Until 1975 the SVD missionaries meticulously kept registers of the two parishes in Uwa and Lei noting baptisms, births, deaths and marriages.
able to perceive an apparent conceptual affinity between some aspects of their own system of thought and that which the priest and the ‘guru agama’ taught. An abstract notion of a Supreme Being was not new to Palu’é thought. The concept of Sun-Moon/Stone-Earth (*Era-Wula // War³u-T³ana*) ultimately stood for the origin of the world and of everything in it. Although some of its manifestations were personified, it was understood as a single unity. To conceive of a Trinity in this way, as Christian belief seemed to propose, was not that far removed from the concept of the Palu’é Quadrinity.

Some passages of the Holy Scriptures, such as the slaying of Christ on the cross, could be related to their own traditional ceremonial practice without difficulty. In the culminating sacrifice of the ceremonial cycle the buffalo is slowly slashed to death and his suffering is thought to rid the community of the weight of wrongdoings against *hada* accumulated since the last sacrifice. A close conceptual affinity was perceived between Christ on the cross dying for the sins of mankind and the water buffalo sacrificed to the Supreme Being dying on behalf of the community. Other parallels were perceived between local and Christian ideas about the afterlife. These concern, specifically, the Christian notion of purgatory and Palu’é ideas about the voyage of the soul after death, where the soul of the deceased is believed to get caught up in its subterranean passage from the rim of the earth to the abode of the ancestors inside the volcano, if the deceased has committed offenses against *hada*. Finally, Palu’é notions about relations of the living with their mythical ancestors and the Catholic veneration of saints and the Virgin Mary appeared to be related as well.

Moreover, Palu’é Christians ascribed to their missionaries magical powers that are traditionally strictly associated with the priest-leader (*Lak³imosα*) and the healer-sorcerer (*Hat³a Pīsa*). Christian as well as traditional Palu’é officiants are believed to

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73 To some converts, Catholic institutions such as the confessional (*kopesa*) became a means to outwit the sanctions of traditional *hada* law. For example, by confessing to theft a Catholic would consider himself less vulnerable to sanction by the Palu’é Supreme Being and would no longer exclusively depend on the ritual mediation of the priest leader carried out against payment of goods.

74 The anthropologist Kohl, who spent a relatively short time on Palu’é, considers that the Christians on Palu’é have managed to reinterpret Christianity according to traditional thought and practice and
derive their powers from having direct access to their respective Supreme Beings and, therefore, their powers are understood to be similar as well. Thus, for example, in performing Catholic thanksgiving ceremonies the missionary was seen to have similar powers to those of the priest-leader at a first fruit ceremony. Some of the Palué missionaries, sensing they were being pushed into the quasi-traditional role of healer-sorcerer or priest-leader, resorted to adopting simple conjurers tricks to enhance this belief in their magical powers, because they felt it would assist them in their tasks. Others, for the same purpose, cultivated an abundance of facial hair, the growth of which is associated with the possession of magical powers.

Catholic thought was differently interpreted in the various domains of the island and summarily it can be said that the degree to which it has influenced everyday life and thought decreases with its distance from the churches in Lei and Uwa and from the chapel in the domain of Nåu. The host domains consciously reduced hada practice ('kurangkan adat') over time to be able to live with the Church and profit from her presence. At the other end of the spectrum are the domains of Ko'a and Cawalo. As evidenced by their ceremonial practice, both have remained remarkably undisturbed by Catholic thought. In these domains the relation between Catholicism and traditional practice is marked by compartmentalized co-existence rather than integration. As the main Ko'a priest-leader likes to put it: "On Sunday the people of Ko'a are Christians who go to Church and follow the priest, on all other days they are Hat'o Nat'a and follow hada" (Mingguné hat'o Ko'a serani, pana misa cek'u tetu wiwi e'e t'o ua ndoké, era hivané konéné hat'o nat'a cek'u tetu hada).76

cites Palué as an example of the category interpraetatio indigena of Christianity (Kohl 1986:208).
75 One missionary used to pluck a hair from the head of the person he wanted to impress and roll it over his thigh in the palm of his hand until by way of magic he had turned it into a coin which he would then give to that person. Palué elders still recall these magical feats with awe.
76 The literal translation of Hat'o Nat'a is village people, which for lack of a better term is employed to denote those that subscribe to the traditional system of beliefs when contrasted with Hat'o Šerani, Christian people.
SECTION 5: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Reports of visiting missionaries and occasional travellers of the first half of this century contrast strongly with the impression given by earlier accounts. Here the people of Palu'ë are no longer portrayed as fierce pirates but as gentle children of nature living on this mysterious small volcanic island, untouched by the changing outside world (Tol 1934; Hooiveld 1936; Cornelissen 1934, Hoeymakers 1938a). This romantic view stemmed from the perspective of missionaries working on Flores, which was, especially in the Onderdeelend Mauemere, undergoing important socio-economic changes. These changes indeed largely bypassed Palu'ë.

Although Palu'ë men during their seasonal migration witnessed the modernisation occurring in the administrative centres, they always remained on the fringes of these settlements, living and conducting trade in temporary shelters on the beach or on their boats. During the dry season many young Palu'ë men also chose to work as temporary manual labourers on the large coconut plantations that had been established along the coast and there as well they witnessed the deployment of Western technology. The men of Palu'ë were valued as labourers, traders and craftsmen, but their traditional dress, hairstyle and pierced and stretched earlobes set them apart from the populations of the trading centres. It marked them as tribal islanders in an environment where men no longer had their hair tied up into a bun or wore bronze spirals and black coral around their ankles and arms but had short Western haircuts and wore shirts to town.

By the 1930s the external contrast between mainland Flores and Palu'ë had grown to such an extent that the Dutch administration tended to regard visiting Palu'ë men as exotic curiosities and took photographs of them to paste into their administrative reports.\(^7\) Up to this day many tales and jokes in Mauemere are

\(^7\) See, for instance, the 'Memorie van Overgave' by Hagenaar (1934:60).
informed by the Palu'ë hillbilly image and use events ascribed to Palu'ë men to ridicule its backward population.\footnote{And so, for example, it is told that when the first ice machine arrived in Maumere in the early 1950s Palu'ë men sought to buy a block of ice to take it back to the island to show to their families. No matter how much the ice maker insisted that the ice would not last the trip, the Palu'ë men were set on buying the ice which they wrapped up in leaves and placed into several layers of baskets and took back home. The tale ends with the men returning to the ice maker several weeks later and angrily demanding that their money be refunded (personal communication, Baba Ci Hong, former Maumere ice maker).}

Socio-economic change on Palu'ë occurred at a much slower pace and less drastically than in the administrative and trading centres on Flores. Even though sections of the Palu'ë population were perhaps more favourably disposed towards change than some inland groups on Flores, the distance to the island and its regional insignificance always seems to have worked to its disadvantage. Thus, when the Flores roads were completed and the Raja of Sikka acquired a motor car, the men of Palu'ë were summoned to perform corvée labour and construct a motorable road leading from the beach to the north of Uwa up to the Kêli region, so that the Raja on his visits could ride up to Kêli. As it turned out, the Raja never brought his car with him on visits and the road never served any purpose at all. There now remain but faint traces of this road which was laid in a straight line up the mountain by a population enthusiastically welcoming an era of motorized transport that has to this day failed to begin. The episode is characteristic of the island's relation with the successive Flores administrations.\footnote{There are echoes of the episode of the Raja's road in a more recent event. In the early 1980s when the Indonesian government provided every 'desa' with a television set, Palu'ë also received one. A generator was provided as well and installed by a mechanic from Flores. A large crowd of villagers, most of the islands schoolteachers and administrative officers were present for the official installation that in their eyes would bring the island into the twentieth century. When the set was switched on it remained blank. No image could be received because the island lay way out of reach of the transmitter in Maumere. With regret the set and the generator had to be returned to Flores.}

When Japan invaded Indonesia in 1942 most of the SVD missionaries including the Palu'ë priest were rounded up and interned in camps in Sulawesi. Japanese soldiers initially landed on Palu'ë as well but they did not establish themselves there. Once again the island was largely bypassed by the events shaping the outside world. Although the Japanese ordered one man out of every household to perform corvée
labour on Flores, not all Palu'ë men were actually pulled in. Those returning from Flores reported the hitherto unseen wealth of the Japanese and the squandering of goods that they had observed.\textsuperscript{80}

One tale celebrating this topic from the domain of Ko'a relates how a large trunk filled with Japanese war currency was washed up on the Ko'a beach. In commemoration of that event an offshore rock was named Wat\textsuperscript{o}u B\textsuperscript{o}et\textsuperscript{e}i (Rock of the Trunk), which is now believed to represent the solidified treasure trunk. On the island there were hardly any complaints related to the Japanese except for the fact that in transactions with them people were mostly paid with cheques which then never could be cashed. It is merely reported that, although Palu'ë woman were not harassed at all, Palu'ë men were often teased and bullied because of their long hair. When American bombs were dropped over Mauemere and the Japanese began to leave Flores, Palu'ë men aided some of these soldiers in their escape against payments in goods. At the end of the war Palu'ë men came to Flores to reclaim their missionary and accompanied him back to the island. Reportedly nothing had been touched in the mission, apart from the mass wine which had been consumed by Japanese soldiers.

The establishment of the successive early Indonesian governments following independence from the Dutch appears to have had as little effect on Palu'ë as the Japanese occupation. What mattered from the Palu'ë point of view was that Raja Thomas of Sika, a figure that had grown to be important to them, no longer headed the Regency but was eventually replaced by the 'Bupati', a centrally appointed administrator. In 1960, in the course of the formation of the present province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (Eastern Lesser Sunda Islands), the Onderafdeeling Mauemere was reclassified and became the Regency of Sikka ('Kabupaten Sikka'). The Regency was divided into a number of districts ('Kecamatan') each of which was administered by a centrally appointed officer ('Camat').

\textsuperscript{80} Some Palu'ë men remember Japanese songs and terms they were taught during the war. These songs can sometimes be heard during the evening session of palm tapping.
Map No. 1.5
Traditional Domains (T ana) and Administrative Units (‘Desa’)

Domains
1. T ana Koa
2. T ana Cavalo
3. T ana T omo
4. T ana Ava
5. T ana T ua Nggéo (K e’i)
6. Woja (settlements from K e’i, Nde, T éo)
7. T ana Nde
8. T ana Ni’u
9. T ana T éo
10. T ana Cua
11. T ana Edo
12. T ana Woto
13. Malurivu / Umalue
   • Administrative Centre of ‘desa’
   ○ Administrative Centre of sub-District Palu’E Island
   — Domain Boundaries (approximations)
   --- ‘Desa’ Boundaries
   X Ili (Mountain Top)
   ○ Mut’u (Volcanic Vents)

‘Desa’
A: Desa Rokirole
B: Desa Nitung-Léa
C: Desa T ua Nggéo
D: Desa Lidi (transmigrated)
E: Desa Késakoja (partially transmigrated)
F: Desa Malurivu (partially transmigrated)
As had been the case in 1910, Palu'ë was again included in the administration of Mauemere ('Kecamatan Mauemere'), of which it now formed a sub-district ('Perwakilan Kecamatan') headed by a Deputy District Officer ('Wakil Camat'). With respect to self government, independence from the Netherlands and the subsequent establishment of the new administrative units and its officers represented a step backward for Palu'ë. As its last 'Kapitan', the Raja had appointed a man from Palu'ë and not one of his relatives, as had previously been the case. With the new administrative order, however, it was once again outsiders who were appointed to head and administer the sub-district from its centre in Uwa.

The old Gemeente of Palu'ë which had been divided into twenty-three administrative villages ('kampong') gave way to the creation of the sub-District of Palu'ë Island ('Perwakilan Pulau Palue') and to new administrative units referred to as 'desa'. Each 'desa' was headed by a subsidized local Desa Headman ('Kepala Desa') who was responsible to the administrative head of Palu'ë, the Deputy District Officer ('Wakil Camat') in the administrative centre in Uwa.

The new sub-District of Palu'ë Island was divided into six 'desa'. Whereas the former division into administrative villages ('kampong') had not cross cut the boundaries of traditional domains, the new 'desa' division did. Moreover, in some cases it grouped together, into the same unit, domains that belonged to traditionally opposed sets of political and ceremonial alliance. Thus, Desa Nitung-Léa was made up of the traditional domains Tö'ana Awa, Tö'ana Cua and Tö'ana Nitö'u, whereas the two smaller domains Awa and Cua were loosely allied and densely populated Tö'ana Nitö'u belonged to a different set of alliance. Desa Tuanggeo grouped the three allied domains of Kö'éli (or Tö'ua Nggéo), Ndéo and Téo together with the traditionally opposed domain of Tö'omu. Desa Lidi, on the southeastern slope of the mountain was created out of a conglomerate of different allied domains that had settled there on Kö'éli territory. It did, however, include Ona, an outlying territory of the opposed domain of Cawalo. Desa Malurivu consisted of just one domain of the relatively recently arrived
group that is said to have aided the Dutch in the pacification of the island and that was now host to the island's administration. Desa Késokoja united the loosely allied domains of Edo and Woto. Finally, Desa Rokirole exclusively grouped together two longstanding allies T°ana Cawalo and T°ana Ko'a.

One traditional village (nat°a) in each 'desa' was chosen as the seat of the 'desa' administration and a meeting hall ('balai desa') was built that also served as an office. Just as the designation of Uwa as the administrative centre of the island had given that domain a position of prominence and advantage over all other traditional domains of the Palu'ê, the location of the 'desa' administration accorded such a position at a lower level to the domain hosting the 'desa' administration with respect to any other domains constituting a given 'desa'.

The grouping of domains belonging to opposite sets of alliance into the same 'desa', and the position of prominence held by the domain hosting the 'desa' administration have severely undermined the system of traditional political alliance. For example, in the late 1960s, during an armed conflict between the domains of Nit°u and Ko'a, only the allied domain of Cawalo came to the assistance of Ko'a. The Ko'a allies Awa and Cua withheld their support and remained neutral because these domains now formed part of a 'desa' that was dominated by Nit°u. Most of the domain of T°omu, another Ko'a ally, remained neutral as well because its 'desa' in turn was dominated by K°èli, a domain traditionally allied to Nit°u. As a consequence Ko'a was outnumbered and lost the war against Nit°u that had been able to draw upon the support of most of its own allies.

Unlike during the period of the gemeente, when village headmen had mostly been selected from members of Houses that traditionally held positions of authority, the administrative requirements of 'desa' headmanship and of those of his secretary ('Sekretaris 'Desa') were such that officials were now selected for their educational skills, regardless of their traditional social position. Initially these new local officials
often lacked the support of the traditional order and found it difficult to exercise
government authority.

The 'desa' was further divided into administrative units called 'dusun' that were
headed by a 'dusun' Headman ('Kepala Dusun') mostly referred to as 'Pamong'
guardian). Most of these 'dusun' units were congruent with the traditional unit of the
domain and in many cases 'Pamong'-ship went to representatives of the traditional
order. At the lowest administrative level nearly every traditional village (\textit{nat'\=a}) made up
a unit referred to as RT (\textit{rulkun tetangga}, neighbourhood association) headed by an
RT headman ('Kepala RT'), an office for which usually a senior member of a
commoner group was chosen.\footnote{Depending on the size of these units a further office was instituted that was located between Dusun and RT level and held by a 'Kepala RK' (\textit{Kepala Rulkun Kampong}, Village Association Headman). In some cases larger traditional villages were also divided into two RT units.}

The officers at the various administrative levels of the 'desa' received limited
judicial powers. Offences against \textit{hada} regulations could be dealt with either
exclusively by the priest-leader of the domain or then they were adjudicated together
with the Pamong. Any ruling could always be appealed against at the next higher
administrative level. Depending on its gravity, an offence was referred to either 'desa'
or Perwakilan level. Cases of infringement against Indonesian criminal law also
entailed the involvement of police and a referral to authorities at regency level.\footnote{Since the mid 1970s a permanent police station has been maintained in Uwa, the sub-District Centre. Because of the hardship involved in a Palu\'e posting, these Moeombre policemen are usually only there for one month at a time. The post was initially established to deal with endemic inter-domain warfare.} This
system has remained in place up to the present date.

For the execution of administration the Deputy District Officer and the 'desa'
Headmen depended on the support of the growing body of resident schoolteachers
with which they shared an affiliation to the same political party. By the 1980s nearly
every Dusun had its own government-run primary school (SD, 'Sekolah Dasar',
elementary school). In addition to these, a secondary school (SMP, 'Sekolah
Mengenah Pertama', lower secondary school) operated in the sub-district capital in
Uwa. The total teaching body on the island amounted to well over sixty male and female teachers, many of whom were from Palu’ê itself. The schoolteachers were not only intimately involved in local politics but, following the tradition of the 'guru agama' of the early days of missionisation, they also acted as the representatives of the Church and its local priest. Due to this situation they effectively formed the most crucial element in the triangle of power and authority of the new order made up of school, church and government and from this position they have continued to exercise significant influence on everyday life on Palu’ê.

In a very few places on the island, such as in the domain of Ko'a, where there is no resident schoolteacher, this influence is only indirectly felt. However, Ko'a children go to school in the neighbouring domain of Niri'u. Here the traditional enmity between the domains of Ko'a and Niri'u finds its expression at the Niri'u school and even those teachers from outside Palu’ê tend to side with the people of Niri'u due to their position as guests of that domain.\(^{83}\) In addition to this enmity there is also some resentment about the fact that the people of Ko'a largely still manage to live according to traditional values and do not have to defer to their wishes because of the geographical distance to the school, the Church and the 'desa' centre.

Palu’ê together with the region of Tana 'Ai in the eastern part of the regency on Flores have always been considered by the government and the mission to be the two most backward and most problematic parts of the regency. On the grounds of their remoteness — Tana 'Ai being mountain locked and without road access and Palu’ê located at several days distance by boat — and of their relatively strong adherence to *hada* as well as of their poverty and living conditions, the regency’s successive governments have always treated these regions as their stepchildren (Lewis 1989).

\(^{83}\) There was the remarkable case of the now deceased Guru Rofinus, a Flores schoolteacher in Niri'u who was in the habit of regularly beating all of the Ko'a schoolchildren. This man maintained that on such occasions the Holy Spirit entered him and made him act in such a way in order to "drive the devil out of these heathen children".
When the volcano erupted in September 1928, two hundred people were killed on Palu'ê and an unknown number was injured by falling debris and ashes. Five large villages were entirely consumed by fire and most of the crops were destroyed. Many of the casualties had actually been caused by tidal waves hitting the Palu'ê coast in the wake of the eruptions rather than by volcanic emissions. People who had fled to the beaches or had boarded their boats to get away were crushed by a series of tidal waves reverberating back from the Flores mainland onto the shores of Palu'ê reaching a height of up to ten meters. A few days after the eruption representatives of the regency administration arrived together with medical practitioners to assess the situation and to provide aid to the survivors. To their dismay Palu'ê men stubbornly refused to cooperate. None of them helped bury the dead and very few of the injured came to seek medical attention. Only the women could eventually be persuaded to be of assistance (Neumann van Padang 1930:24).

Palu'ê elders say that they had reacted like this because they believed that the eruption had been caused by the government, who had been digging for water in Uwa. Two elementary Palu'ê notions pertaining to the island, that of the mountain being a living body and that of the inside of the volcano being one of the abodes of the ancestors, lay at the bottom of this issue. In line with these notions Palu'ê hada prohibits any deep excavation. It is understood that by digging deeply into the ground the flow of "blood" beneath it is disturbed and the boundaries between the living and the dead are infringed upon. By disregarding these notions and digging a well at the Uwa shore the government had in the eyes of the population caused cosmic disharmony and provoked the eruption. The refusal of the men to cooperate was their way of passively protesting against the government's infringements of Palu'ê hada.

This prohibition on excavation continued to hinder the administration's development efforts, such as the construction of water cisterns which were commonly built into the ground. A further prohibition which applies to the insertion of metal into the ground and which is equally connected with these cosmological notions made it
problematic to set foundations for administrative and mission buildings. Finally, the period of restriction (bọ́ji kọ́arapau) on the undertaking of large-scale projects extending over five years following the closing of a domain's ceremonial cycles, which was adhered to in the various domains, significantly complicated any development plans by government. In addition to these extended restricted periods, a large number of shorter periods of restrictions (lengi éné) come into force throughout the year, connected with the agricultural cycle and the atonement for infringements against hada rules. These restrictions further hindered the implementation of government sponsored projects.

Eventually ways were found to circumvent the strict application of some of these rules especially in the administrative and missionary centres, but to this day most domains insist on the adherence to the ceremonial restrictions and only allow for breaches if the ritual costs connected with the opening of a new ceremonial cycle are taken over by the infringing party. These costs can often exceed the costs of a given project, and this situation in turn creates additional tension between all parties involved. These are but a few reasons responsible for the fact that very little by way of government or mission sponsored community development projects has ever been implemented on Palu’é.

After a typhoon hit the island in 1973 and devastated villages and fields, a number of immediate relief programs were carried out by the government which were aimed at the reconstruction of houses and the provision of food supplies during the ensuing period of famine. At the time the resident SVD missionary commented on the negative effects these programs had on the population and deplored that they had turned Palu’é into a "beggar society" (Burt in Webb 1986:176-177). He stated that, after having been paid by the government for reconstruction work, people were no longer ready to perform communal work without pay\(^{84}\) even if the work was for the

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\(^{84}\) 'Gotong royong' a system of mutual self-help or communal cooperation
direct benefit of the community, and that it was impossible to carry out any community
development project without the voluntary help of the population.

This attitude on Palu'é is, however, partly understandable in the light of the fact
that the island had for so long been bypassed by government and mission sponsored
socio-economic development. People on Palu'é were increasingly becoming aware of
being disadvantaged in comparison to other parts of the regency on Flores and the
younger adult generation was beginning to feel frustrated about this situation. As they
viewed it, they had abided by the rules of the "new land" in that they had become
Christians, gone to school, torn down their old houses and built new ones according
to government regulations. They had also changed their appearance and had cut their
hair and stopped wearing traditional dress, but they had not received any of the
benefits and advantages they believed the Flores population was receiving. So now
that Palu'é had for once profited from outside support in the form of relief aid, people
believed that any future developmental aid, which they felt was due to them, would be
given under the same conditions. No difference was perceived between the two types
of aid, and to have been paid for one but not to be paid for the other did not make
sense to them and aroused their suspicions.

Because of the lack of sufficient water supplies, the people of Palu'é have
always had to live in extremely unhygienic conditions. Consequently the general health
of the population is poor as well. Kidney damage in adults, severe afflictions with skin
disease, gastric diseases and infections are widespread throughout the population.
Until 1980 western medicine was only dispensed through the mission. Initially the
missionary had given medical support himself. In 1964, when a new church was built
in Lei, a medical station (BKIA) was set up by the mission which was headed by a
Palu'é-born midwife and which was aimed at providing health services to mothers and
children.\(^{85}\) Only in 1980 a general medical station was built on the coast south of

\(^{85}\) There are no data on Palu'é mortality rates. However, high infant mortality was the main reason for
the setting up of the BKIA station.
Uwa. This station ('Puskesmas') is staffed and run by the the regency administration. Both stations at present lack the most basic equipment and supplies to provide health services to the population.86

From the perspective of the successive colonial and Indonesian administrations, it never seemed advisable to invest funds in the improvement of living conditions on Palu'é. Ever since the eruption of 1928, efforts have been made to transmigrate part or all of the population to locations on Flores. All of these efforts were said to have been made to protect the population from the volcano. However, for administrative purposes it was considered impractical to have part of the regency's population living so far away from the centre. Furthermore, for transmigration out of disaster areas funds could be obtained from the national government. Finally, the backward little island with its archaic living conditions and ancestral customs and its tradition of warfare was becoming somewhat of an embarrassment to a local government committed to modernisation. Following every volcanic eruption new plans were made to move parts of the population off the island and in some cases these plans were actually implemented. Until 1982 none of these plans had been successful. Sooner or later the transmigrated populations had always returned to the island.

In 1982 the whole population of 'desa' Lidi was moved to a place called Nangahure on the north coast of the Regency (Sel./Dag. 1981). People were given tin-roofed houses and allotted parcels of land and the younger generation heartily took to this opportunity to set themselves up in the vicinity of the regency centre. The soils, however, turned out to be extremely poor and the region lacked accessible water so that even after years of effort yields remained low. Furthermore, the region was

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86 In order to improve conditions of health amongst the population, an Indonesian non-government organisation and I recently worked on designing and implementing a project for the construction of rainwater tanks. In consultation with the priest-leaders and their government homolokes, these tanks were designed to accord with traditional notions related to the handling of the earth. They were placed on top of the ground rather than let into it and were reinforced with woven bamboo rather than with iron rods. Between 1987 and 1989 throughout the island nearly a thousand rainwater tanks were constructed by the population under the supervision of foremen from Flores. This amounts to approximately one tank for every two houses on the island. These tanks are mostly shared between two households.
infested with malaria. In particular the women who had not been able to develop semi-immunity while growing up on Palu'è suffered from the exposure. Even though the Nangahure transmigration settlement had turned out to be problematic, a further settlement was later established in similar conditions in Waturia, to the west of Nangahure and more of the Palu'è population was moved to the mainland. The government intends to keep up this process so that by the year two thousand all of the Palu'è population may have been moved off the island either to locations on Flores or, failing that, to West Irian or Kalimantan.

Despite transmigration the total population of Palu'è has continued to grow, leading to land shortage in some domains. Traditional agricultural practice gradually changed from a relatively land intensive form of shifting cultivation to semi-permanent cultivation resulting in decreasing yields and widespread soil degradation. Much of the tree cover traditionally maintained on fields was cut down to improve yields in the shaded areas, leaving the steeply inclined terrain vulnerable to erosion.

Schoolteachers and local government officials who served as role models of "modernisation and development" ('modernisasi dan pembangunan') took it upon themselves to clear some of the last patches of primary forest left on the island. These spots, which were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings, had until then been protected by traditional hada law. In clearing them the proponents of the new order defied ancestral law and in order to avert supernatural sanction they sought the protection of the Church. Their example led to further gratuitous clearing of tree cover by the wider population.

Agricultural intensification programs by the government tried to encourage the growing of alternative cash crops (coffee, bananas, coconuts etc.) in locations unsuitable for traditional crops, such as the sides and bottoms of the numerous erosive ravines radiating from the mountain. Ironically, the government sponsored introduction of 'lamtoro' (Leucaena leucocephala) tree and shrub terracing to control soil degradation achieved the opposite of its intended effect. For a number of
years during the 1980s 'lamtorg' was hailed throughout Flores as the miracle plant with which terraces could be shaped that would contain the soil on inclined terrain. The plant was fast growing and yielded firewood as well as feed for livestock and seemed to offer a solution to the problems of agricultural systems such as Palu'ë (Metzner 1976). Government programs for the "greening" of the island ('penghijauan') strongly encouraged 'lamtorg' planting and the population was ordered to replace previously existing varieties of terracing shrubs exclusively with the new plant.

In many cases the introduction of 'lamtorg' further encouraged the cutting down of shade providing trees on the fields. Thus, when a plague of 'jumping lice' ('kutu loncat') spread over the island in 1986 attacking specifically the newly introduced *leucaena* and destroying or damaging most of it, no alternative trees or shrubs were any longer there to reduce soil runoff. Within only a few years large amounts of topsoil were washed away by the yearly rains and on much of the inclined terrain agriculture is now no longer feasible.

Most Palu'ë domains used to be involved in the construction of boats. As long as there was a sufficient supply of large trees, nearly every village each year produced several large and small crafts. The sale of these boats provided an important additional income particularly for those who did not participate in the annual seasonal migration to Flores. Due to the deforestation of the island, boats can no longer be produced for sale. In recent years the once thriving boat-building industry of Palu'ë has been reduced to the construction of dug-outs for personal use.

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87 In this context the people of the domain of T'ua Nggéo deserve a special mention. Although they are recognized as the best boat-builders on the island, most of them are ignorant of the ways of the sea. As inhabitants of the only land-locked domain on the island their livelihood used to be entirely oriented towards agriculture and the hunting and gathering of supplementary supplies on the mountain. Although their oral tradition does not state so, given their boat building skills it is reasonable to deduce that at some point in time they had been seafaring people who probably had retreated under pressure from more recently arriving groups. Surrounded by the forested terrain of the mountain they had been able to retain the craftsmanship of boat building, but being cut off from access to the sea, they had entirely lost their navigational skills. In order to obtain supplies of fish and to carry out periodically the ceremonial purchase of sacrificial water buffalo on Flores, they came to rely on the domain of Ndéo, a neighbouring allied domain with access to the sea.
Land degradation on Palu'ë is matched by the destruction of the fishing grounds surrounding the island. Although possession and use of explosives is prohibited by Indonesian law, coastal groups on Palu'ë have been fishing by means of explosives and selling their catch in Flores markets since the 1960s. Explosives obtained from Islamic smugglers were initially used for fishing in the vicinity of the administrative centre in Uwa. Once these fishing grounds had been destroyed, the activities were extended to the coastlines of other Palu'ë groups until gradually all of the Palu'ë shores had been covered. None of these groups appear to have connected the bombing with decreasing catches in their fishtraps that are traditionally lowered every three days. People witnessing the bombing were usually content to receive a small part of the catch, and the population has always protected these fishermen against government prosecution in the same spirit of complicity and admiration in which it had given support to pirates and slave traders in the past. As a result of this use of explosives the catches in fishtraps have now become so low that constructing and handling them is no longer considered to be worth the effort and thus a crucial dietary supplement has been virtually eliminated.

Following the abolition of slave trade and piracy, small scale inter-island trade during the months of the dry season became an important source of income for Palu'ë seasonal migrants. Differences in the availability of goods at the various market places along the Flores north coast and further inland allowed for trading with relatively high profit margins. There were numerous profitable sequences of transaction which varied from season to season and from place to place. With the establishment of roads and transport facilities throughout most of Flores, this type of small-scale trading no longer yielded significant profits. Palu'ë men now still migrate seasonally to Flores,

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88 For instance, up until the 1980s, pigs and rice could be cheaply bought in the marketplace of Danga in the Ngadha region, or bartered for plates and cutlery obtained from smugglers on the island of Pemana and later resold in Maumere. School notebooks bought in Maumere could be sold at high prices to isolated schools along the coast and inland or bartered for dogs or chicken that were then resold in Maumere.

89 Thus, for example, with the development of an extensive network of roads on Flores, the difference in price of rice and pigs in Maumere and in Danga became only marginal and Palu'ë boats could not carry enough of these goods to compete with Flores traders.
but rather than engaging in trade they offer their services as craftsmen and manual labourers. The income gained in this way, however, barely covers the needs of their families back on Palu’è.\(^{90}\)

Faced with decreasing harvest yields and diminishing fishing catches on Palu’è and with the loss of trading profits on Flores and the loss of additional income from the sale of boats, other solutions needed to be found to provide a livelihood. Schooling had always been viewed as one of the ways by which at least one child in a family could gain salaried employment and parents were often prepared to go deeply into debt to pay for schooling outside Palu’è. In most of these cases young people chose to be educated as schoolteachers. However, in recent years it has become increasingly difficult for such graduates to find employment. In some domains men have bought motorized boats from the profits of bomb fishing and trading and now provide transportation between the islands or conduct trade or fishing as far as Timor to the east or Bali to the west.\(^{91}\) Over sixty Palu’è men appear to have permanently settled in Tanjung Benoa on Bali from where they venture out on their boats to catch shark or turtles that are then resold to hotels on Bali.

Approximately ten years ago, encouraged by the reports of Flores migrants returning from Malaysia, the first men of Palu’è left to seek work as manual labourers in Sabah and in western Malaysia.\(^{92}\) Because the initial costs involved in migration such as identification papers, departure taxes and fares and funds necessary to settle and find employment were mostly out of reach for Palu’è men, many of them during these first years entered Malaysia illegally. If apprehended by the Malaysian government, these men were held for ransom, thus further impoverishing and

\(^{90}\) After a seven months period of manual labour on Flores a Palu’è seasonal migrant may only be able to save around Rp.100000.-.

\(^{91}\) Whereas in 1979 there was only one motorized boat (belonging to the mission) which provided transport between Palu’è and Maumere, there are now over fifteen motorized boats owned by Palu’è men. They are, however, mostly engaged in trade elsewhere and transportation to and from Palu’è is still problematic.

\(^{92}\) Already at that time the mission was sceptical about the long-term benefits of labour migration for Palu’è. See for instance, the letter by P.J. Glinka (SVD) to a local newspaper expressing concern about ‘merantau’ to Malaysia (Glinka 1981).
indebting their families on Palu'ē. Later migrants began to rely on the services of Chinese business men who organized papers, transport and employment against the first year's salary of every migrant. Every migrant returning after several years of labour in Malaysia and bringing back a small fortune would in turn entice a number of men of his village to migrate as well. It is estimated that in some domains in recent years as much as sixty to ninety per cent of the male population between the age of sixteen to fifty years has left for Malaysia.

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93 Savings after six or seven years of work in Malaysia can amount to several millions of rupiah. The money is usually employed to cover debts on Palu'ē, to provide gifts and to pay for marriage prestations. Often funds are used to build iron-roofed cement and stone houses.

94 This recent large scale labour migration calls for a separate study specifically addressing its consequences for life on Palu'ē.
Chapter 2

THE DOMAIN

SECTION 1: ORIENTATION IN SPACE

Directional adverbs play an important role in the language of everyday life on Nua Lu'a. Two standard questions constitute the structural equivalents of formalized greeting: "Where are you coming from?" (kɔ'au seba mai?) and: "Where are you going to?" (kɔ'au pana seba?). When moving around within a village, or along the paths of the island or even out at sea, these questions will invariably be asked at the initiation of an encounter, regardless of whether in a given context the answer is quite evident. An answer to these formulaic queries will nearly always have to be formulated by means of directional adverbs, sometimes in combination with a place name.

Nua Lu'a has four axial coordinates which, for the present purpose of exposition, are equated with the four cardinal points of the western system. These coordinates are denoted by four terms. Lau, which roughly equates with north, and raja, south, together constitute one of two axes, and lé, east, together with wa, west, constitute the other. In the diagram below the two axes and their coordinates are schematically represented in a quadrant.

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1 I actually know of only three possible non-directional answers to the first question. One of these constitutes the proper response when going to relieve yourself, hakɔ'u pana coloné (literally, I am going ahead). Another option to avoid giving a directional answer is to state that you are just taking a stroll, hakɔ'u pana naéro (literally, I am walking in play). The third option is only employed if you have already reached your destination when queried and from there will not be going anywhere: hakɔ'u alé (literally and laconically, I am here).
Diagram No. 2.1
Lu’a Axial Coordinates of Orientation in Space

\[ \text{lau (north)} \]
\[ \text{wa (west)} \quad \text{lé (east)} \]
\[ \text{raja (south)} \]

Given the topographical situation on Nua Lu’a, moving from one village to another usually involves going either up or downhill. The top of the mountain dominates the landscape at almost any given location on the island and hence the most basic spatial orientation is provided by the mountain in terms of an uphill-downhill axis termed \( rét °a \) (up) and \( laé \) (down).

A third term, \( rib °é \), denotes a movement which we may gloss as across. Since the topography of the island is marked by deep erosion ravines that run down all sides of the mountain, even a movement across the mountain to a location of the same elevation often involves descending into a ravine and climbing up the other side. \( Rib °é \) describes this movement, as well as one where a hill must be crossed to arrive at a destination of similar elevation. Finally, \( rib °é \) is also employed for a straight movement across one of the very few flat locations on the island. Diagrammatically, the terms for verticality and laterality can be shown as follows:

Diagram No. 2.2
Vertical and Lateral Space

\[ \text{rét °a (up, uphill)} \]
\[ \text{rib °é (across)} \quad \text{rib °é (across)} \]
\[ \text{laé (down, downhill)} \]

The application of the four directionals, \( lau, raja, wa, lé \) and the three auxiliary terms \( rét °a, laé, rib °é \) is essentially simple. A general final direction may be given by employing any one of these terms. However, if for instance, directions are given for the way leading from one point to another, the directional indicating the initial direction
of the path is stated first. To this is added the direction in which to turn off from that path and continue on another wherever this is called for, until the final destination is reached. Such information may then take the shape of a sequence of directionals linked together. For example, the directions to get from Ko'a on the western slope of the mountain via the mountaintop to Woja on the eastern slope of the mountain go as follows: rét'á-lé-rib'óé-lé-laé. In these instructions rét'á indicates the path leading up to the top of the mountain, lé-rib'óé directs you onto the path that circles the volcano and the mountaintop in a clockwise motion until you reach the path that leads downhill towards the west, lé-laé, to Woja.

Diagram No. 2.3
Directionals on Path from Ko'a to Woja

\[ X = (li)\] mountaintop
\[ O = (nu)\] volcanic vent

A ritual speech couplet pertaining to travel along the larger footpaths on Lu'a is formulated as 'to travel the path of the lord // to walk the gully of the raja' (pana lala é'é t'óua // pana hojé é'é rat'óu). These paths connect most of the traditional domains on Nua Lu'a with Uwa, the administrative centre on the northeast coast. In colonial times they were kept in good condition by corvée labour (gemeentdienst) which was enforced by the Raja of Sikka and the 'kapitan', his representative on Lu'a; hence the allusion in the couplet to the lord and the raja. Nobody on Lu'a ever gets lost when travelling these paths. However, when travelling outside the natal domain on one of the numerous narrow paths (lala lo'óné) that criss-cross the Lu'a landscape it may
sometimes be necessary to ask directions from people of the domain one has entered. Given the mode of sequencing of a limited number of terms it might appear that asking your way and receiving instructions would be not too complex an undertaking. In everyday life, however, people from two different domains encountering each other along a path often misunderstand the question as well as the answer, resulting in one party missing a turn and eventually ending up in the wrong place.

In order to explore the nature of this apparent disjuncture between the systems of orientation in space applied in different domains it is necessary to consider how the people of Lu'a orient themselves on the neighbouring Flores mainland.

Lu'a inter-island traders and seasonal migrants usually leave the island around April, once the main agricultural labour has been completed and the sea is calm and navigable. During eight or nine months they move around within an area extending all along the north coast of Flores. Hence it is this coastline that provides the main point of reference for orientation in space. Because of the general east-west orientation of this coast, any given point along it is conceived as being located either to the west (wa) or to the east (lé) of the viewer. When viewed from the Flores north coast, Nua Lu'a as well as islands close to it such as Kalatoa or Kromfang are referred to as being to the north (lau), since reaching them entails a route that crosses the open sea in a northerly direction. Places on Flores located in the immediate hinterland of the viewer are referred to as raja, south. Any other locations at some distance from the coast are referred to either as wa-rét³a, west-up or as wa-raja, west-south and as lé-rét³a, east-up, or as lé-raja, east-south, because reaching them entails following the coastline by boat and then moving overland uphill (rét³a) in a southerly direction (raja) into the centre of the island. Finally, major centres of trade, such as the port of Ende on the southern coast of Flores, or Kupang on Timor are referred to as rib³é, across, thereby expressing the notion that they are located somewhere on the other side of the mountain ranges that run through Flores island from east to west.
The east-west axis (lé-wa) applied in both settings, on Nua Lu'a as well as on the Flores north coast, appears to be fixed. Some people on Lu'a maintain that the axis takes the rising and setting sun as its points of reference, others point towards the two seasonally prevailing wind directions as the main referents of this axis.\(^2\) This fixedness is, however, not given for the north-south axis (lau-raja). When applied to the Flores north coast this axis is often congruent with the uphill-downhill axis (retโอกาส Lahed). On Lu'a this congruence is given only in domains located on the northern half of the island and not in domains located on the southeastern or on the southwestern slopes of the mountain.\(^3\)

Considering the Lu'a north-south axis (lau-raja) in terms of a seaward-landward opposition makes sense if we take into account a feature which is shared by the mythical narratives of most Lu'a domains. According to these narratives the ancestors of the various Lu'a domains travelled from a point of origin in the distant west in an eastward direction to the location of the island. In such a voyage from west to east not only the island of Flores, that was passed towards its end, but also the chains of islands that were passed previously, were consistently located to the south of the voyagers and the open sea was consistently located to their north.

Upon settling on Lu'a the equations of north with seaward and south with landward continued to hold true only for domains located on the northern half of the island. Those domains located on the southeastern side such as Edo, Woto (and the outlying territories Woja and Ona of Kéli and Cawalo) and the domains Awa, Nitua, Cua, Ko'a and Cawalo located on the south western side appear to have accommodated the disjuncture by each of them shifting the lau-raja axis to a degree that suited the topographical layout of their respective territory. The resulting

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\(^2\) The two proto-Austronesian terms commonly glossed as west and east, *habaratu and *hatimuR, refer to the northwest and the southeast monsoon respectively and not to the movement of the sun (personal communication Dr. K.A. Adelaar).

\(^3\) The proto-Austronesian root for the term lau is *lubud, whereas that for the term raja is *Daya. On a comparative basis the former generally is taken to stand for a seaward and the latter for a landward direction (personal communication, Dr. K.A. Adelaar).
differences in the declination of the lau-raja axis in different domains accounts for the problems that can arise in communication between people from two domains.

In a model this could be represented as the two axes wa-lé and lau-raja always crossing at a central point, whereby the former is relatively fixed and the latter to some degree movable.⁴

Diagram No. 2.4
General Model of the Lu’a System of Orientation in Space

Even though the framework for orientation in space is given by the topography of the natal domain and thus is somewhat different for every domain, the point of crossing of the two axes in actual space is in all cases constituted by the mountain top. An observation made by people of the domain of Ko’a about the path of the sun when visiting a village called Ona located on the southeastern slope of the mountain emphasizes this feature. The Ko’a visitors maintained that in Ona the sun rises in the west (wa) and sets in the east (lé). Because they were used to the morning sun appearing in Ko’a from behind the left side of the mountain, its appearance in Ona from behind the right side of the mountain-top signalled to them a fundamental inversion of the situation in their own domain and it was this observation that led them to the conclusion that in Ona the sun rises in the west.

⁴ Strictly speaking the wa-lé axis is not absolutely fixed either. Slight declinations from a true east-west orientation can occur in its application. These may be due to the differences in the orientation of the two possible referents, the path of the sun and the direction of the seasonally prevailing winds.
Geographical features specific to a domain, colloquialisms and local habits, and political as well as a historical factors may also have a bearing on the usage of directional adverbs in a given domain. Some domains have integrated aspects of their system of political alliance into the everyday usage of directionals. If Kêéli people say they go to Ndéo, which lies about a kilometre to the north of Kêéli, they say lau Ndéo. However, when they refer to Ko'a, they also employ the directional adverb lau, rather than the directional opposite raja, even though Ko'a lies in the opposite direction of Ndéo. In fact, when referring to the domain of Nitöu that lies in the same direction as Ko'a, only one kilometre further along the same path, the people of Kêéli actually do say raja Nitöu. In this example the reasons for employing the directional lau may be sought in the positions these domains occupy within the traditional system of political alliance. Here Kêéli, Ndéo and the domain of Nitöu belong to the same set of alliance and Ko'a together with the domains of Cawalo and Tömu to an opposed set of alliance. By using lau as a directional for Ko'a, Kêéli emphasizes the affiliation of Ko'a to the opposed set of alliance.5

The direction lau is generally associated with otherness or foreignness. Chinese traders, whose boats the people of Nua Lu'a used to attack, came 'from the north' (lau mai) on their way to Timor to trade in sandalwood. The henchmen of the Raja of Goa on Sulawesi who, up until the eighteenth century claimed hegemony over large parts of western Flores as well as over Nua Lu'a, also came 'from the north'. As it was explained to me, even white men should correctly be called Hatoa Lau Mai, 'people from the north' and not, following the Indonesian usage ('orang barat'), Hatoa Wa Mai, 'people from the west'.

Finally, peculiarities in the usage of directionals within a domain may also have historical origins. For example, the villagers of Lei refer to a place called Töosé located along the path to Cawalo as ribö Töosé, whereas the villagers of Köajuköéri, whose

5 For the same reasons Kêéli refers to Cawalo, which lies roughly in the same direction as Ko'a but is closer to Kêéli, as lau as well.
boundaries now are virtually confluent with its neighbour Lei, refer to the same place as wa T°osé. T°osé does indeed lie to the immediate west of both Lei and K°ajuk°éri and, therefore, the directional wa is appropriate. The designation rib°é by Lei does, however, make sense if we take into consideration the history of settlement of Lei. A number of generations ago Lei was located on top of a ridge at several hundred metres to the southwest of its present location. Its former ritual courtyard still clearly marks this place called T°ua Nggéo (Crooked Lontar). And indeed, viewed from there, T°osé lies just on the other side of a gully which appropriately would be designated as rib°é. And so it appears that the people of Lei have continued to refer to T°osé by its ancient directional even several generations after their village had been moved.

Considering this evidence it appears that the model of the Lu'a system of orientation in space developed above, containing a fixed lé-wa axis which is congruent with a west-east direction, and a second, somewhat flexible lau-raja axis, the inclination of which is domain specific, can only serve as a general guideline. It is evident, that in many individual instances the usage of directional adverbs in a given domain must be understood within a context that is also made up by historical and political factors.

Lu'a thought makes a number of important symbolic associations with every axial coordinate. Throughout the subsequent chapters and especially in the following sections of this chapter, some of these associations will be elaborated upon within their appropriate context.
SECTION 2: SYMBOLIC COORDINATES

The term \(T^\text{ana}\) has the primary meaning of earth, soil or ground. In combination with
the term \(\text{éné} (\text{éné} T^\text{ana}, \text{literally, the one ground})\) it can be glossed as the whole earth.
In ritual speech \(T^\text{ana}\) is always paired with \(\text{wai}^\text{u}\), the term for stone or rock. There it
denotes a totality that can be glossed as homeland. \(T^\text{ana}-\text{wai}^\text{u}\) can stand either for the
whole of the island, or for each of its twelve constituent traditional territorial,
ceremonial and political units. These units shall henceforth be referred to as domains.
The individual domains on Nua Lu'a are named and referred to by their name in
conjunction with the term \(T^\text{ana}\). Thus, for example the domain of Ko'ā is always
referred to as \(T^\text{ana}\) Ko'ā.

This section introduces a number of concepts that are central to Lu'a thought.
Because of their centrality they are referred to at the most general level as core
concepts. With respect to their application to the domain they are referred to here as the
symbolic coordinates of the domain. The application of these core concepts involves
the use of a limited set of symbolic operators. Although these core concepts and
symbolic operators are introduced here in connection with the domain, their application
pertains to every level of the socio-cosmological order of \(T^\text{ana}\) Ko'ā. As such they
constitute essential tools for an understanding of Ko'ā ethnography.

Before proceeding to their exposition a preliminary remark concerning an
important feature of Ko'ā classificatory thought is indicated here. Ko'ā classificatory
thought is structured by dual partition. The principle of classification is a symbolic
linking of categories by pairs, whereby classification into one category or another is
mostly relative rather than absolute.

On Lu'a the application of the symbolic operators, female, \(\text{wai}\) and male, \(\text{lak}^\text{ū}\), is
elementary and pervasive. Individual categories of things are identified by opposition
and according to context. This partition into male and female also contains a notion of
asymmetry in that the conceptually male is defined as superior to the conceptually
female. Thus this form of dual classification entails a form of ranking which is of the same relative nature as the contextual classification into one category or another.

A classificatory pair pertaining to Nua Lu'a as a whole is contained in the ritual speech couplet `era-wula rét°a // wat°u-t°ana laé.6 At the highest classificatory level this couplet expresses the concept of a Lu'a Supreme Being. In the first half of the couplet `era, the sun and `wula, the moon are conceived as being rét°a, above and therefore conceptually male, as opposed to wat°u-t°ana, the stone and the earth, that are laé, below and hence conceptually female.

One feature, which is always inherent in the application of the complementary operators wai and lak°i is that the complementarity is recursive in that it occurs at various classificatory levels. In our example this recursive complementarity can be found at all levels as we move from the level of `era-wula//wat°u-t°ana down to those marked by its constituent elements. Thus, in the complementary pairing of sun and moon (`era-wula), which is often used as a brief form of designation for the Lu'a Supreme Being, the sun (`era) is considered to be conceptually male (lak°i) and the moon (`wula) conceptually female (wai). In the pairing of stone and earth (wat°u-t°ana), which denotes the notion of homeland, stone (wat°u) is male (lak°i), whereas earth (t°ana) is female (wai). Finally, to the healer-sorcerer, who employs the sun and the moon in his secret ritual manipulations, the sun in turn not only has a male but also a female component and the moon contains a male as well as a female part.

When referring to the whole of the domain and by extension also to all of the island, the seaboard lau langa, (literally, north at the beach) is evoked together with the mountaintop, re°a Ili (literally, up on the mountain). In such an opposition, the seaboard is classified as female and the mountain as male.

According to Lu'a mythology the mountain used to have two tops of different height, one located next to the other. In line with Lu'a classificatory thought the more elevated one was classified as male and the other as female. Then it occurred that a

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6 The symbol // indicates semantic parallelism, an important structural feature of ritual speech.
brother and a sister from the domain of Cawalo had sexual intercourse with each other. As a result, one of the two mountain tops dropped into the sea, and in falling took the incestuous couple with it.\(^7\)

The fallen mountaintop is thought to have resurfaced as an island (P. Sukun) to the northeast of Lu'a and the people that live there today are said to be the descendants of the couple from Cawalo. Now the Hat\(^2\)a Lu'a classify the remaining top of the Ilï as female as opposed to the volcano, Mut\(^2\)u, located just next to it which is classified as male. Those on Lu'a who know the mythical tale are aware that this classification originally pertained to the two mythical mountain tops.\(^8\)

In ritual speech (pa'è), when referring to the totality of the island, the opposition ré'ta hulu /lau éko is employed. The term hulu is applied in various contexts, its primary meaning being that of the bow of a boat. In the composite hulu wua (literally, the flowering bow) it has the meaning of first-born child, or first-born son. By extension the composite is also applied to male elders as hat\(^2\)a hulu wuané, first-born persons. At a general level one common structural trait emerging from this brief review appears to be an opening movement.

The term éko is restricted to ritual speech and is employed only in connection with the term hulu. Éko is a cognate of the Indonesian term 'ekor' where its primary meaning is that of the tail of an animal. The Lu'a term also has this connotation of hind or end part. In opposition to hulu, it constitutes a closing movement. By pairing two structural opposites at either end of a spectrum, all of what in a classificatory sense lies between these two is included. Thus the ritual speech couplet ré'ta mei hulu ca'i lau

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\(^7\) According to the volcanologist Neumann van Padang, the mountaintop at some point in the past was constituted by two prominent lavadomes, one of which is now referred to as the top of the Ilï and another one next to it, which disintegrated during an eruption (Neumann van Padang 1930).

\(^8\) At first sight it is not evident, why the volcano in this context should be classified as male. The deep circular main crater and its surrounding more recent ones appear to evoke associations with the conceptually female. However, after having witnessed a series of eruptions myself (14 February 1985; 26 June 1985) the Lu'a association made sense. All the eruptions were preceded by a sudden and rapid emission of a white mushroom-shaped cloud of gas reaching a height of several kilometres which then exploded with a deafening roar. The similarity between the male ejaculation (wu pesu) and the emission of these clouds was subsequently pointed out to me by several of my male Lu'a friends.
éko, (literally, from up at the hulu to the éko in the north) encompasses the whole of the natal domain and by extension also all of the island.

In the combined boat-body metaphor applied to the domain and to the island the bow, hulu, is congruent with rétö'a, up and with raja, south, and the tail, éko, is congruent with laé, down, and with lau, north. These equations are expressed in a ritual speech couplet featuring in an important myth of origin of the domain of Ko'a (see Section 3; patola chant: couplet no 29) which contains fundamental statements about the nature of the cosmos. In this ceremonial chant which recounts the origins of the island in a place located in the west it is stated that "the earth from the west descends to the north, the earth from the west ascends to the south" (rō'ana wa po lau laé, rō'ana wa tuka raja rétö'a). The couplet also allows for the inference that in the combined boat-body metaphor applied to the island the east (lé) is associated with the right hand side and the west (wa) with the left.9

On Lu'a concepts of right (lima pana literally, right hand) and left (lima hiri literally, left hand) are employed as symbolic operators that are of a similar elementary order as those of male (laköi) and female (wai). The following example introduces another prominent orientational feature of the island and demonstrates some important associations made in that context with left and right. When leaving the shores of Tō'ana Ko'a by boat to cross the straits to Ngadha regency on Flores, the Lu'a coast is always first followed in an eastward direction to a place called Watö'u Pou. There the boat is halted for a short duration and only then is the voyage continued in a southwesterly direction across the Flores sea to the shores of Ngadha regency. There are two reasons for this initial departure in what actually amounts to a detour in a direction opposite to the final destination.

The first is of mythological nature. Watö'u Pou (literally, the rock-boat) is a place marked by a rock located about thirty metres off the south coast of Lu'a. It has

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9 According to Lu'a thought the concept of the island as a boat cum body is visualized as an entity lying on its back.
received its name due to the shape of this rock which, at high tide, resembles that of the hull of an upturned boat. According to one Lu'a myth of origin, it is at this spot that the mythical ancestors first arrived and cast their anchor and from there went ashore and populated the island. The boat and its anchor are said to have solidified and to have turned into stone, thereby marking this spot for their descendants. By stopping at this location during a sea voyage the traveller establishes a connection with the mythical voyage and with the original ancestors of his domain. On a voyage this connection protects him and assures a safe crossing. Upon returning to Lu'a a first stop is again made at Wat'u Pou, before moving on to the shores of the natal domain. Here establishing the ancestral connection assures the success of undertakings on Lu'a.

A further reason for the initial route taken upon departure is the notion that in order for the voyage to be successful, it is necessary to 'go along the right hand' (pana lima molo). From the perspective of the domain of Ko'a this implies that the island is partially circumnavigated, moving counter-clockwise towards the southeast. In this notion of 'going along the right hand' the association of the right hand with the counter-clockwise movement is demonstrated as the trajectory of the right hand when moving in to slap.

In Lu'a ritual practice as well as in ordinary everyday life 'going along the right hand' is generally considered to be the only correct way. When making offerings (lengi éné) to the ancestors and to the Supreme Being at the central ritual courtyard of the domain (t'ubu t'ana), the priest-leader places these offerings at the four monoliths of the four corners and at the central monolith. In line with the prescription, the setting of offerings begins at the front right corner (as viewed from the entrance to the

10 On the shores adjoining Wat'u Pou another rock called Wat'u Lavé (literally, the rock anchor) is thought to be the anchor of this boat. The rock is shaped like a traditional Lu'a anchor which is made up of a wooden hook with a stone fitted onto its elongated shaft. Popular belief has it that although Wat'u Lavé is somewhat precariously balanced on top of a sharply inclined cliff nobody has ever been able to dislodge it.
ceremonial courtyard), then proceeds in a counter-clockwise direction to all corners and finally ends at the centre (see Chapter 2, Section 4).

This same movement is also applied in the ritual cooling of the boat (lali sob'te), where the boat is circled five times counter-clockwise when applying the blood of the sacrificial pig to both ends and both sides ending at the centre, at the "navel" of the boat (b'usé, the spot where the mast is fitted into the hull).11

Similarly, in the construction of a dwelling, the houseposts are set beginning at the front right and continuing in a counter-clockwise motion 'along the right hand'. Once the house is completed, it is ritually cooled by means of the blood of a dog which is applied to the posts along the same lines observed in construction. At a later stage of ritual cooling, pig's blood is applied to the four walls of the rectangular frame in the same manner.

These are but a few examples of a principle that is adhered to throughout Lu'a everyday life, be it in ritual, the weaving of a mat or cloth, the way in which the lontar palm is approached for tapping, or a child is set onto its mother's hip.

The actual movement followed in the ritual cooling of the house or the boat is, however, somewhat more complex than has been described above. If we remain with our example of the ritual cooling of the house and term the four houseposts A to D, beginning at the front right post (A) and moving counter-clockwise, 'along the right hand' (lima molo), we arrive at the following series:

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11 Notions of hot (b'ek'te) and cool (melu) are central to ritual practice. People and things can accumulate heat which is dangerous to humans and, therefore, needs to be cooled by way of ritual. Human activity creates such heat through conscious or unconscious transgressions against hada or through exposure to negative influences generally associated with the outside world. Both the outside as well as that part of nature on Lu'a that has not yet been fashioned by man are believed to be in a constant state of heat. Contact with such heat is noxious and requires ritual cooling. Within Lu'a thought hot and cool represent another set of symbolic operators that is, however, not of the same elementary order as male-female or left and right.
After completing five rounds moving counter-clockwise the blood is taken slightly past post B to a point that is not marked by any post and referred to here as point B' after which it is returned to post A, the original point of departure. In returning to A the blood touches again on post B. The reason given for this final inversion of the cooling movement is, in the words of Ko'a men, that "we must also show some love to our women" (tau roa keli hat'a wai ha lo'o). This statement provides further insight into Lu'a classificatory thought. It exemplifies the association of the left hand with the classificatory female, and by extension also, that of the right hand with the classificatory male. Pana lima molo, thus, is to go in the male direction.

Another point exemplified by the final application of the left hand or clockwise movement pertains to Lu'a insights about life and the world according to which nothing and nobody can be entirely good. This notion is expressed in the general behavioural directive a father passes on to a son, "you must be good a little and then be bad a little" (tau mbola ha lo'o, ceku ndoa ha lo'o). Or then, "good on its own does not exist and neither does bad" (mbola méané ka'a no'o, ndoa méané keli ka'a). Likewise, to honour only the male principle in a cooling ritual by proceeding solely 'along the right hand' would not be honouring this Lu'a insight on the nature of things.

Just as the movement of 'going along the right hand' is considered to be solely correct, so is employing the right hand the only acceptable way of doing things, be it in ritual or in everyday life. Thus, for example, eating is performed with the right hand, whereas the left hand is involved in defecation. Children, therefore, are taught from an early age to favour their right hand. When accepting something, they are always reminded to "hold out the right hand" (naga lima molo, or, naga lima pana,

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12 In fact, this is one of the main objections Lu'a traditionalists raise against Christian doctrine.
literally, accept it: with the right hand, whereby *molo* has the meaning of right or the right way and *pana* has the meaning right as opposed to left), or then they are admonished, "don't accept with the stupid hand" (*mi naga lima ngongoné*).

One attribute by which the witch (*hatőa nutőu*) is referred to as 'stupid witch' (*nutőu ngongo*). This expression does not make allusion to a lack of cleverness. Indeed, on Lu'a some witches are considered to be clever (*cu'u*) because they are capable, against the payment of a fee, of identifying and harming or even killing a thief or wrongdoer. When placing offerings on the mortuary monoliths (*ratē*) of his ancestors in order to call upon their help as auxiliary spirits (*pu*), the witch turns his back to the monolith and employs his left hand to place his offerings. In doing so he is employing his 'stupid hand' (*lima ngongo*), hence the attribute cited above. By turning his body and facing away from the monolith he adds further emphasis to the inversion of the commonly prescribed hand.

Aside from its application by the sorcerer for the purpose of causing harm, this inverted position of the body is the mark of a category of rituals which are orientated towards the west and which are aimed at getting rid of or averting evil influences. The generic term for these is *niru-siko*. *Niru* has the meaning of spitting and *siko* denotes a movement of flinging something backwards across the shoulder. For example, *niru-siko* is performed after completion of boat or house building in order to rid the builder of 'heat' (*bekōče*) incurred during and generated by the process of construction. The builder has to be ritually 'cooled down' (*puna melu*) in order not to fall ill as a consequence of his activity. Variations of this ritual are also performed as part of the series of rituals called for after returning to Lu'a following a long period of absence in order to shed the negative influences (*ndoanė*) of the outside world to which the traveller has been exposed. It also forms part of the ceremony marking a reconciliation.

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13 Although on Lu'a most people who are known or suspected of practising witchcraft are men, it is also possible, although rare, that a woman may be considered to be a witch.
between individuals after a conflict. The sequence of events adhered to in all of these cases is basically very much the same.

The person on whom the ritual is performed crouches, facing east, on a bamboo pole which is laid on the ground. Both hands are held, palms upturned, slightly above the knees. The officiant is usually a mature-age married woman for whom bridewealth payments have been completed and who, therefore, is empowered to conduct the ritual, kēwē sivē-iñelo (literally, to hold the ceremonial rice and the ritual egg). Both actors wear traditional ceremonial dress.\textsuperscript{14} In addition to this a headcloth, a shirt or shouldercloth and a waistband are worn, all of which for the niru-siko must be red. If the ritual follows the construction of a house or a boat, wood scrapings are taken from these and placed on a winnowing tray in front of the crouching builder. The officiant then takes an egg out of a bowl containing ceremonial rice (luko-sivē), ancestral beads (t̪uŋt̪u) and golden earpendants (k̤oma) and passes it in an upward motion along both sides and both arms and along the right and left side of the person's back while pronouncing a spell wishing the negative influences to depart. Five times after every passing the practitioner spits (niru) a mixture of betel, areca nut and lime contained in the winnowing tray onto his forehead. And equally five times ideally five seeds of ceremonial rice are passed across the body following the path of the egg.\textsuperscript{15} After every passing these seeds are placed into the waiting upturned hands and flung backwards across the shoulders (siko). Following this the egg, which is thought to have absorbed all of the harmful "heat", is set onto the ground behind the bamboo pole. The officiant goes on to dance a circular dance (coka) to ceremonial gongs and drums while holding the winnowing tray. Then the tray is placed next to the egg. The person for whom the ritual is performed arises and without looking back he lashes out with his left leg at the tray behind him sending it sprawling in the direction of the setting sun.

\textsuperscript{14} Ceremonial dress and adornment on Lu'a essentially consist of a specific type of tie-dyed cotton loincloth (generically termed nāe for men and t̪uŋt̪a for woman, featuring vertical red stripes against a black background with inserted dotted white geometrical designs), golden earpendants (k̤oma) and strings of ancestral beads (t̪uŋb̪i).

\textsuperscript{15} The number five represents a Lu'a notion of completeness. The human body with its four limbs and with the navel as a centre serves as an elementary model for this notion.
It is important the *niru-siko* be concluded at the very moment the sun is setting in order for the negative influences to follow the path of the disappearing sun. In fact, the main spatial orientation of this ritual is towards the west, one of turning the back, flinging the seeds of ceremonial rice and finally kicking back the tray to the west (*éré wa-né*). This orientation clearly emerges from the spell which is pronounced by the officiant during the ritual, the first lines of which are given below:

*éré wa, éré wané*  
*wa t'aná widi so, lembu so*  
*wa t'aná karapau so, cara so*  
*wa t'aná k'é'o lawané*  
*wa t'aná lanua so*  

to the west, in the westerly direction  
to the land of many goats and sheep in the west  
to the land of many water buffalo and many horses  
to the land of long-eared maize,  
to the land of plentiful rice

In the west, in the immediate proximity of Lu'a, lie the regencies of Lio and Ngadha. These northwestern parts of Flores are economically a lot more prosperous than Nua Lu'a, and to the people of Lu'a they may indeed appear to be the land of plenty. It does, therefore, make some sense that they direct their negative influences towards these neighbours. More importantly, however, the direction of the setting sun is associated with death and with the mythical ancestors.

Somewhere in the west, in an undefined but great distance, lies the land of origin of the first ancestors of the domain, and after death the soul departs on a voyage by boat to this land to join the mythical original ancestors. This orientation towards the west is taken into account in burial practice. There the feet of the deceased are oriented towards the west. The *Lu'a* rationale for this orientation is that the soul of the deceased should, in order to find its way there, be able to arise facing the place of origin.

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16 On Lu'a the deceased are buried on the very same day that death occurs. The proper time to do this is around three o'clock in the afternoon, so that the interment can be concluded before sunset. (If death occurs later than that the burial is carried out only the next day). Traditionally the body is wrapped in textiles (nowadays, due to Catholic influence, often a makeshift coffin is used which is laid out with textiles) and interred in the immediate vicinity of the house. A pit of the depth of a man's shoulder height is dug and the body is placed into it stretched out on its back.
However, when death occurs through violence or suddenly or through an accident, this orientation is inverted and the corpse is buried with the feet oriented towards the east. It is understood that such a death has occurred as the result of witchcraft or as a consequence of a breach of hada and it is feared that as long as the living have not made the appropriate amendments the soul of the deceased will bring harm to the community.\textsuperscript{17} Through this inversion the departure of the soul of the deceased is deferred. This allows the living to take adequate measures after which the soul is released by means of a separate ritual.

In all cases, following the interment, the personal belongings of the deceased are taken and thrown away at a specific spot, ala kao-né (literally, the place of throwing away) located at the western boundary of the village.\textsuperscript{18} The ala kao-né is a place avoided after sunset especially shortly after the occurrence of a sudden death. It is feared that those who have died a violent and sudden death roam about this place and bring harm upon the living they encounter.

The following diagram brings together the symbolic associations established up to this point with the four points of the main axes of spatial orientation. Associations are listed in the order of their appearance in the analysis.

\textsuperscript{17} In such a case the fresh soil of the burial site is covered with strips of bamboo that are slightly raised off the ground. Following burial the deceased is implored not to take any other members of the community along with him. In connection with this plea he is asked about the reasons for his death. It is understood that what killed him may also affect other members of his House if no measures are taken to make amendments. A number of hypothetical options are spelled out to the deceased. General breaches of hada, such as theft, unpaid bridewealth or debts, incest or extramarital relations are mentioned. The deceased is asked to let the living know the reason for his death by the next day. The next morning the bamboo strips are removed and the soil beneath is scrutinized for designs created by worms or insects that have crawled across the finely-grained, freshly-closed burial site. These are then interpreted according to their shape (i.e. an elongated curved line indicating an ivory tusk, a short and sharply curved line signifying a golden eardrop, a circle pointing towards a pig). Since breaches of hada can only be amended through the payment of goods, the patterning on the earth designates goods. Dreams and introspection will eventually also provide information as to the recipient of the goods perceived.

\textsuperscript{18} The personal belongings of a man might include his tools, his bow and arrows and his drinking cup; those of a woman, some of her weaving implements and her dyeing and cooking pots and containers.
SECTION 3: PATHS AND CURRENTS

Another set of symbolic coordinates emerges from the conception of the domain as a living body. Here the seashore figures as the feet (wai") and the mountain top as the head (t'aba). In keeping with this body metaphor, the ceremonial centre of the domain (t'upu t'ana) is referred to as the navel (b'usa). This centre is located roughly midway between the mountaintop and the sea and is, therefore, congruent with the topographical centre of the domain. Finally, the southeastern and northwestern boundaries of the domain are referred to as its flanks or sides (k'ata) and their upper and lower sections as its elbows (hik'atu).

In this body metaphor, currents of blood are believed to be circulating beneath the surface of the domain. On Lu'a the appearance of a rainbow is commonly greeted by the exclamation "the blood is climbing upwards!" (la'alu ka recta). There is a conception of blood rising from the sea level up to the skies and this is interpreted as a sign that a person of renown has just died. Conceptions of blood also pertain to specific spots within the village of which it is said that the blood of the domain runs

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19 At the next higher level this metaphor is also applied to the whole of the island.
close to the surface. Because the proximity of this blood is thought to be harmful to human beings, such spots are considered unsuitable as sites for the construction of dwellings. And lastly the colours of the setting and rising sun are also termed laja. These instances point towards a conception of currents of blood moving below the surface of the mountain down to the sea.

In order to explore further the notion of the mountain as a living body, we need to consider one basic aspect of Lu'a concepts of the human body. According to Lu'a understanding, blood flows upwards through the spine and the back across the head and down the front of the body into the limbs. Disturbances of health are perceived at one level as disturbances in the flow of blood. Although notions of the dynamics of the flow of the blood of the domain remain largely unverbalized because they form part of knowledge restricted to the priest-leader and the healer-sorcerer, it can be deduced from the evidence cited above, that the currents of blood moving downhill into the sea rise again to the top through the inside of the mountain in the same way as human blood is conceived to circulate through the body.

In following the lines given by the Lu'a analogy of the mountain with the human body, it is possible to interpret the conceptual connection of death with the rainbow. In this light the appearance of a rainbow can be viewed as a major disturbance in the flow of the mountain's blood, as analogically death can be conceived as having been caused by an extreme disturbance in the flow of human blood.

Of people who commit incest it is said that their "blood will rise and cover their head" (laja tuka sok'o). Here the flow of blood is thought to be inhibited at the level of the head leading to swelling and eventually to death. As expressed in ritual speech in the myth from Cawalo dealing with brother-sister incest, a further result of incest is that "the sea rises and the mountain comes down" (t'ai tuka rét'a // Lī péré lau).

In this context the following series of events I was able to witness in the domain of Ko'a is enlightening. In 1985 the people of the domain of Ko'a purchased a water buffalo on neighbouring Flores as the main sacrificial animal figuring in their
ceremonial cycle. The animal died shortly after its arrival on Nua Lu'a. Divination revealed that one of the younger brothers of the priest-leader had had sexual intercourse with his classificatory sister. According to hada law such a couple are to be buried alive at the mountaintop, headfirst with the lower half of their bodies protruding from the ground, whereupon the members of the community take turns in impaling the bodies with their digging sticks, thereby drenching the soil with blood. Due to government presence, the traditional sentence was not carried out. However, new means were devised to avert the supernatural sanctions following a case of incest between a brother and sister of priest-leader status. The man was sentenced to return to Flores and purchase two water buffaloes. One of them was to serve as a replacement of the animal whose death he had caused by his breach of law, the other was to be sacrificed at the top of the mountain.

In Ko'a the water buffalo is ranked as the sacrificial animal of the highest order. Although this was never explicitly stated, its blood was meant to serve as a replacement for the human blood called for by hada law. Shedding it at the top of the Ili would cause the flow of blood beneath the earth to unblock, thereby stopping 'the mountain [from] coming down and the sea [from] rising upwards'. At the level of the individuals involved, the newly devised sacrifice would in turn also prevent their blood from 'rising and covering their head' and preserve their life.
Even though everyone on Lu'a is familiar with the concept of the island as a living body, specific knowledge of the ways of ritual manipulation of the sacral spots located at the head and the feet of Lu'a is secret and held only by the priest-leader and by the healer-sorcerer (*hat'ā pisa*). In order to influence the flow of blood in the person or group targeted, these practitioners conduct public as well as secret rituals at the head and at the feet of the domain. Here again, their ritual manipulations are based on the conceptual interrelatedness between the human body and the domain as a living body.

On Lu'a, rain is believed to rise from the inside of the volcano (*mut'ū hunê*) to the sky (*tegi luru*) where it is caught by the clouds and falls back down onto the island.

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20 Whereas all of the community participates in the priest-leader's ritual manipulations and is affected by them as a whole, the manipulations of the healer-sorcerer, who works on his own and in secrecy, affect only individuals or Houses.
In an essentially agriculturalist society receiving the right amount of rain at the right time is crucial for survival. If rain does not fall when needed then ritual manipulation of the domain along specific paths (lala) and at specific spots (hala) is resorted to.

This concept of rain rising from inside the volcano informs a practice referred to as 'to poke [with] a stick' (tegu k'aju). At a specific spot on the mountaintop inside a sacral forest there is a large rock containing a deep and narrow cavity. A male member of a Ko'a House of priest-leader status that is the traditional holder of the secret knowledge of tegu k'aju inserts into the cavity a bamboo pole of two armspans in length (rebo'a rula) that has been freshly cut from the sacral forest. If, upon retrieval, the end of the pole is found to be wet, this is taken as an indication that heavy rains are impending. In such a case those attending the ritual hurry back to the villages before the rains commence.

Another mode of ritual manipulation of rain which is based on a different notion is carried out by the priest-leader of the domain. According to this understanding a female supernatural being governs the rains. She is believed to be living in a specific tree at a place called Powo, the location of a ceremonial courtyard of a former Ko'a place of settlement. The woman has two large pendulous breasts and it is said that there can be no rain if her breasts are flung across her shoulders and that rain falls if they are hanging downward.

By conducting a ritual at the overgrown ceremonial centre of Powo the priest-leader can invert the position of pendulous breasts and provoke the onset of rains. All of the domain attends the ritual referred to as 'demanding rain' (ci hura). Dressed in ceremonial attire and accompanied by gongs and drums the whole population of the domain together makes a short walk from the villages up to Powo. There, after having made an offering of ceremonial rice kernels, the priest-leader smashes a young coconut onto one of the central monoliths of the former ceremonial courtyard. If the nut breaks open at the first go and spills its milk over the monolith, then rain is sure to come.

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21 On Lu'a this tree is referred to as rita. This (unidentified) tree is commonly also tapped for water.
In ritual speech rain (hura) is always coupled with wind (hangi). According to one Lu'a notion, winds are believed to originate at specific places outside the island. Thus, for instance, the wind blowing from the west is referred to as "wind from the west from Réo, wind from the west from Bºorºa" (hangi wa mai Réo // hangi va mai Bºorºa). Although Réo and Potta are both actual settlements located to the west of Lu'a on the Flores north coast, the places of origin of the west wind are not congruent with these settlements. They are imagined to be places of an order which is other than physical. The issue is, however, not further verbalized.

On Lu'a the crop most vulnerable to wind is maize (kºéºo). If strong winds blow before the stalks have become firm, the harvest is lost; the stalks fall to the ground and the ears rot away and are eaten by rodents. To a lesser degree tubers (uwi) are also vulnerable to strong winds. The poles their leaf vines are tied to can fall over, which in turn inhibits the growth of the tuber.

In the ceremony aimed at influencing winds (ci hangi, 'demanding for the wind [to abate]') the population of the domain walks along this line down to the seaboard to a place called Cira Luko. In getting there a number of maize fields are crossed. In this context people are meant to carelessly walk through the midst of these fields breaking off and bending maize stalks left and right, a notion that runs very much contrary to everyday practice, where even inadvertently harming someone else's crop (or in fact even one's own) is heavily sanctioned. Just a few metres above Cira Luko there is a cavity inside a large rock boulder. Inside this cavity a male member of a House of priest-leader status that traditionally holds the knowledge of influencing wind lights a fire of dry leaves and stalks of maize. This fire has a calming effect on strong winds.22

The ritual manipulation of winds requires offerings to be made along a line of specific spots leading from the ceremonial courtyard at the centre of the domain nearly all the way down to the beach, whereas for the manipulation of rain, offerings of

22 Out at sea, winds are called upon by means of blowing a perforated conch shell. To my knowledge there is no way to make winds abate at sea.
ceremonial rice are sprinkled at specific spots along a line leading from the ceremonial courtyard upwards to the mountain top. Thus the opposition indicated in the pairing of the two terms wind and rain in ritual speech is reflected in the spatial projection of their respective rituals onto the embodied domain.

The flow of the juice of the lontar palm is susceptible to strong winds as well. A practice connected with stimulating the first flow of juice 23 sheds some light on the nature of Lu'a winds and reveals their conceptual connection with specific currents flowing beneath the surface of the domain.

On the first day of stimulation the tapper sings a chant while squeezing the inflorescence called 'crying for the lontar juice' (tangi t'a). The chant is so named because it is important for a successful stimulation that the chanter be moved to such a degree that he bursts into tears while singing. In the chant he first invokes the powers of concentration needed to carry out his task by chanting 'may my inside not be two or three or four or five' (hunék mi rua, teatu, pa ko lima), implying that there should only be one voice speaking inside of him so that his 'crying for juice' can be performed with the force of his whole being. Then he addresses the west wind from Réo and Potta on the north coast of central Flores that is believed to be drawing the lontar juice beneath the sea away from Lu'a. 24 The wind is implored not to trick the tapper but to let go of the juice. Released onto the island the juice is thought of as moving beneath the ground. Through the chanting it is drawn towards the chanter's tree where it can rise up inside the stem and flow into the inflorescence. After having
dealt with the wind the tapper goes on to call upon the juice to flow from different

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23 The flow of palm juice is initiated by a procedure in which the inflorescence is squeezed (hibi t'a). For the squeezing two 50cm long wooden rods are employed that are loosely tied together at one end. The tapper pins the tube-shaped inflorescence with the tied end of the implement, and by holding one of the rods against his chest and pulling the other end towards himself, he gently squeezes the inflorescence, shifting from below upward all along its length. The procedure is repeated over three consecutive days and represents the most crucial stage in the process of obtaining a long lasting and steady flow of juice. On the day following the three days of squeezing, the tip of the inflorescence is sliced off. If at that stage the cut reveals a film of emerging juice the flow has successfully been activated and the tree is prepared for a season of tapping.

24 By moving the lontar palm strong winds can considerably reduce the amount of juice rising inside the stem. Continuous winds can eventually cause the flow of juice to cease.
locations on the island towards his tree. The names of neighbouring tapping sites worked on by other men of the domain are invoked following the four main directions and their juice is drawn towards the tree where the flow is being initiated through the power of the performance of the chanter.25

Attempts to influence wind are also made during volcanic eruptions (mut'u b'ek'o). There the aim is to influence the wind to carry ash and debris away from fields of the domain. During the two volcanic eruptions witnessed by myself the ceremonial gongs and drums of the domain were sounded immediately after the first explosions of volcanic gas had subsided. All senior women present in the village at that moment were standing in front of their dwellings pitching ceremonial rice kernels towards the volcano and calling out to the wind to blow in a direction that would cause the clouds of ash and debris to descend onto the fields of another domain.26 Thus, if the wind is blowing from the west towards the domain, the women cry out "to the west, to the west!" (éré wané, éré wané ).27

While the women are influencing the wind the adult men of the domain repeatedly make the exclamation "we are here, we are here!" (k'ami no'o, k'ami no'o). Although, according to Lu'a cosmology the ancestors are believed to be residing inside the volcano, volcanic eruptions are not conceived of as ancestral sanctions for breaches of hada. Instead, the commotion caused by the gongs and drums and the exclamations of the men are aimed at reaching a being upon whose back the island is thought to be resting. This being is believed to have forgotten about the existence of human beings living on its back and its movements are responsible for the eruption of the volcano as

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25 This conceptual connection of palm juice with the sea is exploited in the ritual manipulations of fish traps (wuwatu). In order to provoke the loosening of an anchored trap, palm juice is poured from the top of the tree along its stem.
26 During an eruption it is emphasized that it is best to stay close to the house because it is believed that the gases, ash and debris do not set fire to a house if its inhabitants are present. Therefore, if caught out in the fields during an eruption people hasten back towards their house. If thick clouds of ash obstruct the view of the path, a strip of the dried husk of a coconut is lit and tied to the tail of an accompanying dog. Dogs are thought to always find their way back to the house, and by following the glowing coconut husk which is fanned by its wagging tail, the house can be reached in spite of poor visibility.
27 A deposit of ash and small rocks on a field of tubers or green gram at an early stage of growth is detrimental to the crop.
well as for earthquakes. Once the being becomes aware of human presence it settles
down again and the eruption abates.28

The flow of eruptive material is referred to as blood (laja), whereas once it has
solidified it is merely called red rock (wat'u réa). This flow of blood moves in the
same way in which the flow of blood is conceived to circulate through the human
body. Against this background volcanic eruptions accompanied by the flow of lava can
also be interpreted as a disturbance in the
flow of the blood of the domain.

Apart from blood, a specific type of rock termed live rock (wat'u moré), is
believed to be moving beneath the surface of the domain. Such live rocks are selected
for the setting of mortuary monoliths for deceased individuals (ratê) and for the
monoliths of ceremonial courtyards (masê). Because the movements of these rocks are
erratic, divination or dreaming is resorted to in order to pinpoint the location where
they can be dug up at the time of their ceremonial setting (see Chapter 3, Section 3).

Another ritual practice connected with notions pertaining to the inside of the
domain is referred to as 'to sew up the mouth of the domain' (téi t'ana wewanê). Rat
pests (t'ê'u rivui) and infestation of the soil with a specific type of worm (hulé,
unidentified species) are believed to originate from a location called 'the mouth of the
domain' (t'ana wewanê). Ordinarily this mouth is thought of as being closed. Once it
is open (ngénga) rats or worms emerge from it in large numbers and invade the
domain.

Rats (t'ê'u) have a special position in Lu'a thought. Although it is clear that they
do cause harm to the harvest upon which the survival of the domain depends, rats
cannot be destroyed indiscriminately. There is an understanding that they are getting
their due from the harvest just as birds do. If caught out in the fields there is no

28 Unlike a number of eastern Indonesian societies, in which such a being is identified as a turtle
around which a snake lies coiled and where earthquakes are interpreted as a shifting of the turtle and
eruptions as the snake spitting fire upon being awakened, the Lu'a being is unnamed and not further
conceptualized.
restriction on killing them.29 Inside the house, however, rats may not be harmed no
matter how much damage they create. There they are not referred to as rats but as
'things of the night' (k'enna meréné). A close connection is believed to exist between
these 'things of the night' and the ancestors in that they are believed to emerge from
the inside of the volcano, a realm that constitutes one of the abodes of the ancestors.30
Because of this connection, rats that reside in a house are believed to be closely linked
to the ancestors of that House. They punish people for offences against hada by
destroying their goods and by causing physical damage. If a rat is harmed inside the
house and manages to escape, this rat will eventually return with other rats and take
revenge by wrecking destruction.31

Very rarely, and only when the rats are so numerous that they pose a serious
threat to the crops, the domain rids itself of the rodents by way of the ceremonial
'sewing up of the mouth of the domain'. This mouth is located at the western outskirts
of the main Ko'a village Nat'ena Cu. The spot is marked by a large monolith. In the
ceremony this monolith is lifted up and the priest-leader places a black cloth beneath it
into which soil gathered from the village grounds has been sewn.

For the next five days all the boundaries of the domain are closed. During this
period nobody is permitted either to enter or to leave the domain. Infringers are
apprehended and tied to a tree inside the village for the duration of the prohibition.
There they are open to physical abuse by children.32

29 In the domain of K'éli children are in the habit of catching rats out in the fields and roasting them
over a fire as a supplement to their diet, a practice that is frowned upon in other domains.
30 On Lu'a ravens (le) are equally protected. They as well are associated with the ancestors because
they nest inside the volcanic vents. Their appearance in droves indicates an impending earthquake or
volcanic eruption.
31 Lu'a rats may be aware of the prohibition. If left undisturbed, Lu'a rats tend not to be shy or afraid
of human beings. As long as their numbers are relatively small, there can be a tolerable coexistence
inside the house. If, however, efforts are made to destroy them inside the house, their numbers actually
appear to increase and so does the destruction they create. I have frequently treated people for infected
wounds from rat bites who maintained that a member of their House had previously tried to kill a rat
and because he had failed the rats were now taking revenge on them. These people sometimes were
forced to sleep with their feet stuck into baskets as a protection against being bitten, whereas during
the same period the inhabitants of neighbouring houses seem to have been able to sleep without
disturbance.
32 About thirty years ago during the 'sewing up of the mouth' of T'ana Cawalo the resident Dutch
missionary reportedly attempted to undermine this practice by entering the domain in defiance of the
At the ceremonial courtyard the priest-leader calls upon what is conceived of as the king and the queen of rats. A male and a female rat are lured to the ceremonial courtyard. There they are told that their stay on Lu’a is coming to an end and they are invited to gather their subjects and leave the island on a boat fitted with provisions provided by the priest-leader. The two rats are then placed in a bamboo container and carried down to the beach followed by the population of the domain and accompanied by ceremonial gongs and drums. The bamboo container is placed onto a model-sized sailboat along with tubers, green gram, maize and dried fish. Finally, the boat is brought out to the open sea and directed into a current that carries it away towards the west. Once the model boat has drifted well away, the chase on rodents in the domain is begun. The roofs of houses and granaries are beaten with poles and elders, men, women and children run about gleefully attempting to kill rats. Those rats that are caught are believed to be unfaithful subjects of their king and queen who refused to follow them on their trip and, therefore, it is permitted to kill them.

The ritually important lines and locations of the embodied domain discussed above are but a few examples selected to demonstrate a mode of ritual practice in which specific spots of this body are stimulated in order to influence the flow of specific currents both beneath and above ground. The socio-cosmologically most important set of locations in the domain of Ko’a are referred to as 'the names of the domain'. These will be discussed in detail in the following section.

SECTION 4: NAMES OF THE DOMAIN

Once every five to ten years, at the end of every ceremonial cycle the people of Ko’a recite a chant called ‘carry and drag the black patola stone’ (titi’i cëi waṭ’u mit’e p’u t’olā, henceforth referred to as the patola chant). This chant recounts the voyage of the regulation. The priest was apprehended and forced to remain inside the domain until the prohibition was lifted. Feeling wronged, he later attempted to gain satisfaction in the district court. There the right of T’ana Cawalo to carry out its ceremony according to customary rules was confirmed and the priest was reprimanded. He eventually paid a fine of one large pig to T’ana Cawalo.
first ancestors of the domain from a mythical place of origin in the distant west. At the beginning of the chant (couplets 3 and 4) these ancestors are identified as two named pairs, Tadi and Wenggu, and Roe and Ala (see Chapter 4, Section 4) who travel 'from the rim of the earth in the west' (wa mei t’ana heb’u lau wa mei t’ana heb’u raja)\textsuperscript{33} bringing along with them 'the black patola stone'.\textsuperscript{34} This 'black patola stone' represents the primordial substance from which the island (t’ana-war’u) has evolved. According to Ko’a exegesis, at the end of the voyage the stone grew in size and became the island and its constituent domains as we know them now. This process of growth is ongoing and every ceremonial cycle ultimately aims at enhancing it, thereby extending the territory of the domain.

In essence the chant consists of a series of some two hundred paired place names many of which cannot be identified as corresponding to any specific geographical location. Knowledge of the first series of names (couplets 1 to 34) is restricted to ceremonial officiants. Although they are publicly chanted at the central ceremonial courtyards, the community chants the refrains (A-I) only and the actual text which is chanted by the priest-leader or by one of his delegates is drowned out by the noise of the crowd and thus not clearly audible to the participants. Any chanting of these names outside the ritual context is prohibited. Knowledge of the second series of place names (couplets 35 to 112) is less restricted, but still not common and it is with these names that we are mainly concerned here. They are referred to as 'the names of the domain' (t’ana ngaranè). Of these places it is said that "people are living there" (har’a nodo), implying an ancestral presence. However, it is mostly left undefined as to who or what exactly these people may be. These 'names of the domain' represent places in symbolic space which coincide with actual places within the territory of the domain and which are of varying ritual importance. Some of these spots are referred to as

\textsuperscript{33} For the corresponding cosmological model see Chapter 2, Section 5.
\textsuperscript{34} In the version of the patola chant given below it is the earth, t’ana, the complement of stone, war’u, that is invoked in every couplet.
offering places (kala sombané), giving them a higher status amongst the other 'names of the domain'.

In its ceremonial context the patola chant is followed by a chant called niu pśiga. In this chant a complementary set of 'names of the domain' is invoked. At the most general level these two chants constitute a repository of knowledge that is central to Ko'a cultural practice. They are considered to be the two most important chants of the domain and are viewed as a blueprint of and for Ko'a life and thought. Viewed from this perspective every couplet ideally constitutes the point of entry to a specific corpus of knowledge of socio-cosmological nature which is signalled by the names of that couplet. According to Ko'a thought this vast repository of knowledge has an eternal quality that is associated with the ancestors in that it exists independently of living human beings who at any given moment in time may or may not have access to one or more of the various points of entry. To the people of Ko'a it is, therefore, no reason for concern, if at present only very few of these points can be accessed. To them this does not signify that the various categories of knowledge which each of these couplets stands for has been lost for ever. Rather, it indicates that at present the person has not been born yet to whom it is given to gain access to one or the other point of entry. A person is believed to receive knowledge, or access to knowledge through his ancestors by way of dreams or through a moment of inspiration. In such a case it is said that the person has received 'the mouth [of the ancestor]' (wiwi). Such a person is to some degree viewed as a reincarnation of specific aspects of an ancestor and as such this person also has access to any ceremonial office that may be associated with his natal House and its ancestors (see Chapter 4, Section 6).

The two chants are reproduced here in full, because it will be necessary to refer to various passages in subsequent chapters.\footnote{The texts represent a somewhat abbreviated version of a transcription of a recording made in its ritual context in that only the main chanter's lines are given and the refrain of the dancing community is just alluded to. Also, repetitions have not been indicated. As a general rule, every section between refrains is repeated five times. Finally, after completion of each section, a number of recreational chants may be inserted. The form chosen here is, therefore, modified for the sake of transparency.} We shall first analyse the patola chant
along these lines and then turn to the second chant, *niu p'o'iga*. (Reference is to places indicated in Map No. 2.1)

After having crossed the straits separating the island from Flores, which in the patola chant is referred to as 'the black *héma* skirt // the wide mouth', refrain E (couplet 34) marks the arrival of the ancestors on Nua Lu'a:

those that moved arrived at the elbow of the bow //
came dry at the end of the tail
they arrived at the bow of the wild rooster //
at the tail of the wild chicken
the rooster flew up screeching //
the wild chicken flew up squawking

Here the same composite boat and body-metaphor is applied to the domain as we have seen it earlier employed to denote the whole of the island, the term *hulu* (bow) referring to the mountain-top and *éko* (tail) to the seaboard. This composite metaphor is further combined with a body metaphor of another order in which the mountain-top is classified as the 'head' and the seaboard as the 'feet' of the domain. The term *hiku* translates as 'elbow' and in this metaphor it denotes one of the four corners of the rhombus-shaped Ko'a territory, indicating that the domain has been approached from the side, i.e. at the southwestern lower boundary (see Map 2.1, Point A).
Map No. 2.1
Spatial Projection of 'the Names of the Domain'

× = (ili) mountain-top
○ = (mut₂a) main volcanic vent
A - F; 1 - VII = points of change of direction
G/VIII = centre of domain
In the first couplet following the refrain this spot is identified as 'lontar of the
gun' and paired with 'boundary of the domain' (line 35: *tua mendi // tua lutu*). Its
location is at a rocky section of the Ko'a shores (see Map 2.1, Point A). The following
twenty paired place names (couplet 35 to couplet 65) roughly follow the shoreline in a
north-easterly direction up to the Ko'a boundary with T'ana Cawalo. All these place
names are linked with the directional adverb *lae*, indicating their location as being
'below' or 'down at', as viewed from the centre of the domain. In couplet 66, a
change in the directional adverb from *lae* to *lau* indicates the ascent to the mountain
(see Map 2.1, Point B). The ascent begins at a spot referred to as *nunu*, the 'waringin'
tree (*Ficus Benjamina*) which is located at the foot of a hill that rises steeply from
the seaboard to a height of two hundred and fifty metres (see Map 2.1, Point C). The
next thirteen names (couplets 66 to 73) indicate places in the vicinity of the narrow
footpath leading from the beach to the Ko'a villages climbing up the side of the hill and
continuing along a ridge to a point called *nunu ranggo*, the 'waringin' tree of *ranggo*
(see Map 2.1, Point D).

Here there is another change in directionals, this time from *lau* to *wa*. A series of
four names follow that again begin at the seaboard but have as their point of departure
a spot located in the north west close to the Ko'a-Cawalo border (see Map 2.1, Point
E). The succession of these four names (couplets 75 to 77) traces a line of ascent along
another ridge back up the mountain to a point located outside the main Ko'a village of
Nat'a Ca (see Map 2.1, Point F). The next twenty-seven names (couplets 77-94) are
once more followed by the directional *lau* and lead to the central ceremonial courtyard
of Nat'a Ca, one of the two main villages of the domain (see Map 2.1, Point G).

For the moment we shall defer the discussion of the final sequence of names in
this chant which pertain to the two ceremonial courtyards of T'ana Ko'a (couplets 95-
112). They will be dealt with extensively in the following section. We shall instead
now turn to another chant performed during the water buffalo sacrificing cycle
immediately following the patola chant. In this chant which is called 'Calling [the
ancestors] to the dish' \textit{(niu p\textsuperscript{q}iga)} the Supreme Being \textit{(couplet 1)} and the collective ancestors of the domain are called to the centre of the domain to take 'from the dish' what is offered to them by the living. \textit{Niu p\textsuperscript{q}iga} consists mainly of a series of paired place names. Here the names of the upper half of the domain are invoked and with them those ancestors that are associated with each of these places.

When in sight of the volcano, either in its vicinity on the fields or in the forest above the villages, or when passing by boat along the Lu'a south coast from where the volcanic vents are visible, it is prohibited to make any noise, in order not to disturb the ancestors residing inside the volcano. In such a context the volcano is not referred to by its name Mut\textsuperscript{q}a, but by the term of endearment 'the rattling betel basket' \textit{(pot\textsuperscript{q}é lo'o nggoroné)}, whereby a diminutive analogy is established between its eruptions and the rattling noise the various contents of the betel basket make when it is carried, by women, from a headstrap down the back. The volcano is not only not directly named but it is prohibited to even point in its direction. As a rule the ancestors can only be disturbed and addressed by the living if an offering is made to them. In couplet 2 the ancestors are invoked collectively as 'people from above, spirits of the origin of the mountain', which is paired with 'spirits of the offering pole in the west', referring to the other abode of the ancestors, the mythical place of origin in the west mentioned at the very beginning of the patola chant.

In Lu'a thought the ancestors are believed to reside inside the volcano. In this realm the whole of the island with all of its domains and all of its Houses is replicated. Outside the volcano in the immediate vicinity of its vents several large rectangular boulders are believed to be houses of the ancestors. In couplets 3 to 11 the names of these boulders are invoked, beginning at the southern boundary between Ko'a and Awa (see Map 2.1, Point I) and ending with 'the offering place up at the rim', and with 'T\={
\v}ir\={
\u}u's offering spot' which mark the northern boundary towards Cawalo located between the volcano and the mountaintop (see Map 2.1, Point II). It must be noted that the names of the boulders of couplets 4 to 9 are the very same names
invoked at the beginning of the patola chant, indicating a degree of conceptual mirroring of both abodes of the ancestors. In couplet 12 we return towards the south (see Map 2.1, Point III) to a spot inside the forest surrounding the main volcanic vents referred to as T'o'dopapa'a, which is also the name of one of the two main Ko'a villages.\(^{36}\) This is the location of the ceremonial courtyard mentioned earlier where Ko'a sacrificed a water buffalo to avert supernatural sanction following a case of incest in a Ko'a House of priest leader status. The chant goes on to name two of its ceremonial monoliths (couplet 13) masé b'oasé and sangga su, the former of which is usually employed as a name for the whole ceremonial courtyard. The next ten place names (couplets 15 to 20) follow a line that descends from the ceremonial courtyard along a ridge leading in the direction of the Ko'a villages and which ends at about half way down the mountainside (see Map 2.1, Point IV). Couplets 20 to 22 name a series of placenames, the first two of which are linked with the directional riβə, indicating a move across the mountainside (see Map 2.1, Point V). These are followed by two place names which again are linked with the directional rëtə, thus leading along a new line back up to the vicinity of the mountaintop (see Map 2.1, Point VI). Couplet 22 (see Map 2.1, Point VII) then names places below point IV and the following two names (couplet 23) indicate places still further downhill along the ridge mentioned earlier which leads to the Ko'a villages. The following nine couplets (24 to 32) contain the directional lé. The places mentioned there are located in the same direction (as viewed from the two main Ko'a villages) as couplet 22, however, because they are already close to the village T'o'dopapa'a the precise directional lé is employed rather than rëtə, the general reference for above or uphill. Couplet 24 names Powo, a former place of settlement of one of the groups of Houses of priest-leader status which takes its name after it. The chant goes on to name a series of ceremonial monoliths that make

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\(^{36}\) Because the version of the chant reproduced here was recorded from a performance given by a member of a House of priest-leader status from the village T'o'dopapa'a, only the ancestors associated with this village and its central ceremonial courtyard are invoked. A chanter from Nat'a Ca, the second main Ko'a village, would invoke that name instead.
up the ceremonial courtyard of this former settlement (couplets 27, 28, 29). Couplets 31 and 32 again follow the ridge down towards the Ko'a villages. Finally the change in directionals in couplet 33 from lē (east) to raja (south) marks a spot where there is a sharp bend in the ridge before the villages are reached (couplet 34). When performed in its ceremonial context the chant then proceeds to the two ceremonial centres of the domain (see Map 2.1, Point G/VIII) and invokes the names of their individual monoliths.37

When projected onto the territory of Ko'a the aligned spots roughly form two triangles (see Map 2.1).38 In the triangle constituted by the first set of place names the base follows the beach and the roughly equilateral sides cut across the territory to meet at the central ceremonial courtyards of the domain (t'ūbu t'ana). This centre coincides more or less with the topographical centre of the domain. The triangle formed by the place names of the second chant, niu pōiga, is of similar size to the first. Its slightly shorter base is formed by a line which follows the top of the volcano. Here again the sides meet at the centre. Thus, this point constitutes the apex of both triangles in the spatial projection of the series of 'names of the domain' chanted in the two ceremonial chants.

**CHANT NO. 1**
*Tir'i Cēi Wat'ū Mit'ē P'ū T'ōla: 'Carrying and Dragging the Black Patola Stone'*

1. Wat'ū wa mai t'ānca heb'ū
   wa mai t'ana mo'i
2. wa mai t'ana heb'ū lau
   wa mai t'ana heb'ū raja
A. é tir'i cēi o wat'ū mit'ē p'ū t'ōla

The stone from the rim of the earth in the west
from the land of mo'i in the west
from the west, from the northern rim of the earth
from the west, from the southern rim
carry and drag the black *patola* stone

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37 These names feature at the end of the version of the patola chant given below and, therefore, they are not repeated in the present version of niu pōiga.
38 The sketch-map does not indicate any topographical features. The projection shows open-ended lines rather than the two rough triangles the sequences of place names delineate on Ko'a territory.
3. wau wa mai t'ana roé
   wa mai t'ana ala
4. wa mai t'ana ladi
   wa mai t'ana wénggu
5. wa mai t'ana teb'iru'u
   wa mai céa wengi
6. wa mai t'ana b'odo
   wa mai kéna
7. wa mai t'ana kau inggo
   wa mai cu rango
8. wau t'ana kau wolo
   wa t'ana kau ngoi'í
9. wau wa mai t'ana cawa solo
   wa mai cawa wuré

B. puku t'êné t'aé po'o lengi t'ana
   mai hama t'ana pana wa mai
10. t'ana p'o lau laé
    t'ana wa na'a raja ré'a
11. t'ana pana wa mai t'ana
    wa mai t'ana wai, t'ana t'ai
12. pana wa mai nasa la
    t'ana wa na'a nasa lo'o
13. t'ana wa mai b'ë's
    t'ana wa mai céa wengi
14. t'ana wa mai ci calu
    t'ana wa mai hoko wó
15. t'ana wa mai ngéu t'u
    t'ana wa mai hoko t'o
16. t'ana wa mai kai léi lindi powo
    wa mai b'a'í ria palé
17. t'ana wa mai t'ana k'uní
    wa mai t'ana laja

C. puku t'êné t'aé awa t'onda t'ana
    mai hama t'ana pana wa mai
18. t'ana wa mai teb'iru'u
    wa mai t'ana céa wengi
19. t'ana wa mai kao ringgo
    wa mai cu rango
20. wa mai kao wolo
    kao ngoi'í

D. waé t'edin t'bek'u waé lavé holo
    wa taku loka holo
21. taku waé wa t'ana ca
    wa t'ana lo'o
22. wa t'ana teb'iru'u
    wa t'ana céa wengi
23. wa t'ana b'odo
    wa t'ana kéna
24. pana wa mai t'ana roé
    pana wa mai t'ana ala
25. pana wa mai t'ana ladi
    wa mai t'ana wénggu

the stone from the west, from the land of roé
from the west, from the land of ala
from the west, from the land of ladi
from the west, from the land of wénggu
from the west, from the land of teb'iru'u
from the west, from the land of b'odo
from the west, from kéna
from the west, from the land of kau inggo
from the west, from cu rango
the land of kau wolo in the west
the land of kau ngoi'í in the west
the stone from the land of cawa solo in the west
from cawa wuré in the west

my ancestors are on their way here to make the lengi offering to the earth
come father, the earth is coming from the west
the earth in the west descends northwards
the earth in the west rises southwards
the earth comes from the west
the earth from the west, the land of water the land of sea
coming from the large creek in the west
the earth from the small creek in the west
the earth from b'ë'u in the west
the earth from céa wengi in the west
the earth from ci calu in the west
the earth from hoko wó in the west
the earth from the rising pestle in the west.
the earth from the falling mortar in the west
the earth from kala lindi powo in the west
from b'ë'í ria palé in the west
the earth from the land of turmeric in the west
from the land of blood in the west
to get here my ancestors rowed bringing along
the earth
come father the earth is coming from the west
the earth is coming from the west
the earth from teb'iru'u in the west
from the land of céa wengi in the west
the earth from kao ringgo in the west
from cu rango in the west
from kao wolo in the west
kao ngoi'í

water which will bring me here, water on the ancient anchor,
in the west we scoop the ancient water out of tree holes
scoping up water in the large land in the west
in the small land in the west
in the west in the land of teb'iru'u
in the west in the land of céa wengi
in the west in the land of b'ë'u
in the west in the land of kéna
coming from the west the land of roé
coming from the west the land of ala
coming from the west the land of ladi
from the west the land of wénggu
26. pana wa mai k'usi
    wa mai laja
27. pana wa mai teb'iri ru'u
    wa mai c'ea wengi
28. wa mai t'ana toi
    wa mai soro
29. wa mai t'ana p'o lau lae
    wa mai t'ana t'uka raja r'ea
30. a'élé pana'u no'o mit'ë t'ië wa mei
    kerë no'o wiwi rewë wa mei
31. pana no'o t'ado wa mai
    no'o t'ori wa mai
32. pana no'o k'indé wa mai
    no'o lambo wa mai
33. pana'u ha'ëti'ë wa mai
34. no'o hëma mit'ë wa mai
    no'o wiwi rewë wa mai

E. laë mo tob'ë lae hulu hikunë
    toi lae êko éri
    tob'ë lae hulu hë ira toi
    lae êko éri wot'ë
    ha'ë lae éri t'ëekëkë
    ha'ë lae éri ngeri ngosi
35. to'u lae t'ëa mendi
    toi lae t'ana luda
36. to'u lae t'ak'ë lawa
    tei lao tak'ë k'ëmbu
37. tob'ë lae poa pis'i
    lae ojë ki'ëli
38. to'u lae wa cu
    t'erë lae wa r'ëa
39. to'u lae sika ruego
    t'erë lae wat'ë t'ëdo
40. tob'ë lae wat'ë t'ak'ë
    toi lae t'ëtë moko
41. wat'u pana'u ha'ëlë wa mai
    pana'u a'ë mai
42. k'o a'ë mai, no'o pa rek'ë lae mai
    wat'u mit'ë lae mai
43. cira luë'o lae mai
    koi'ë hik'ë lae mai
44. wat'u pana'u lae mai
    pana'u neb'ë
45. no'o k'ëtu pi lae mai
    këeu k'ëlé lae mai
46. pana'u nik'i nau lae mai
    malë b'ända lae mai
47. nik'i lae nau malë b'ända
    huru ru'u wa'ë tali
48. no'o badu wo lo lae mai
    t'ana tepa lae mai
49. p'ana langa lae mai
    t'ëb'o éntë lae mai
50. wat'u ka lae mai
51. nau ndaë lae mai
    no'o nau mungga lae mai
52. wa'ë pana'u ha'ëlë lae mai

coming from the west (the land) of ginger
from the west (the land) of blood
from the west the land of reb'i ru'u
from c'ea wengi in the west
from the west the land of toi
from soro in the west
from the land in the west that descends to the north
from the land in the west that rises to the south
down here they came with the black deep sea
they arose with the wide mouth from the west
they came with t'ado from the west
with t'ori from the west
they came with k'indé from the west
with lambo from the west
and that is the way they came from the west
with the black hëma skirt from the west
with the wide mouth from the west

those that moved arrived at the elbow of the bow
came dry at the end of the tail
they arrived at the bow of the dry wild rooster
at the tail of the wild chicken
the rooster flew up crowing
the wild chicken flew up chuckling
they arrived at the gun lontar
they came dry at the domain boundary
they arrived down at the long t'ak'ë
they stayed down at the round t'ak'ë
they arrived down at the hot pit
they stayed down at lontar valley
they arrived down at wa cu
they stayed down at wa r'ëa
they arrived down at the drinking place of sika
they stayed down at the rock of t'ëdo
they arrived down at wat'ë k'ëk'ë
they came dry down at t'ëtë moko
that is the way in which the stone came from the west
came from here
or from here, from down at pa rek'ë
from down at the black rock
from down at tear the ceremonial rice basket
from down at the fish wall
the stone came from downhill
it kept on coming
and from down at k'ëtu pi
from down at k'ëtu k'ëlé
came from down at the bat's house
from down at the short tamarind tree
the bat is down at the house of the short tamarind tree
the reddish spell-spoon, the rope rock
and from down at b'ëdu wolo
from down at the thrown earth
from down at the joint beach
from down at t'ëb'o écë
from down at the high rock
from down at the house of ndae
and from down at the house of mungga
that is the way in which the stone came from down below
and from down at cawa cek'a
from down at cawa mula
cawa set up stakes in the manner of the uwi-tuber
wound things in the way of the hura-tuber
and from down at the rudder
from down at the red ėra
that is the way the stone came from downhill
he planted things in the manner of the green gram
sowed things in the way of the long bean
he planted in the manner of the small white
green gram
sewed in the way of the long bean of black malé
in that way it came from downhill
and from down at the village of pajo
from down at the small village
from down at chase the weju
from down at welli nggolo
from down at bury ėrai'a
from down at sikà nita
in that way it came from downhill
from down at the short palm juice tree
from down at the stunted lontar tree
that is the way it came from downhill
from the nunu tree in the north
and from roki in the north
that is the way it came from the north
in that way the stone came from the north
from igé in the north
from the tamarind tree in the north
from the smelly wood in the north
from the tamarind tree in the north
from the mouth of the earth in the north
from the neja coconut in the north
from the coconut tree of wéra in the north
from the empty mortuary monolith in the north
from the trees of the threshing spot in the north
from the hot pit in the north
and from the nunu tree of rango in the north
from the tree of rango in the north
that is the way it came
and the stone came from the candlenut-wood mortar
in the west
from the sorcerer’s pestle in the west
from the fieldhat of mboka in the west
from the fieldhat of roja in the west
in that way it came from the west
it came from tira sëra in the north
from toa cawa in the north
from paka tai in the north
from pungi sëra in the north
in that way the stone came from the north
and from ask for rain in the north
from saw the wind in the north
and from nu a rako in the north
from the black loi-tuber in the north
in that way the stone came from the north
and from the gongs of ndeo in the north
from the drums of wëda in the north
and from cura lëndë in the north
and from the woman forbade in the north
from terribly wet in the north
from the small porch in the north
that is the way the stone came from the north
and from the sacrificial monolith in the north
from the forked offering pole in the north
and from the jawbone of kasi in the north
from the numu tree of wéru in the north
from the domain boundary in the north
from the stone of langi in the north
that is the way the stone came from the north
and from wisu walu in the north
and from kasi laq'i in the north
and from the father of siku in the north
and from the father of wéa in the north
and here from the house of singgi in the north
from woga lalu in the north
All the way here to the end
finally knocked here on the door
and then the dog barked here
the pig squeaked here
that is the way the stone came from the north
here at the house of the upturned turtle
here at strength of the earth
here at mbasi t'ana
here at wéka séra
here at woko wéla
here at raja toma
here at roki rolé
here at the short lontar palm
there at roki rolé father of paji
here at the short palm juice tree, the stunted lontar tree
and from hala lidi in the east
from hamé ceku in the east
the stone came from kaju malé in the east
from malé milu in the east
the stone restored its breath
and wiped dry its sweat
this is the way the stone here came from the north
and from the boundaries of the domain in the north
from wati'u langi in the north
finally it was here at t'ubu t'ola
(at) manggé b'asé
finally the stone arrived here at roda wula
here at numu somba
this is the way the stone came to the end
here to sab'elá
here to raja muku
here to raja muku father of met'í
here to sab'elá father of t'a'a
here to the whistling mast
here to the filled sail
here to b'at've k'unda
here to hamé ceku
here to hala kowo
here to l'évé huma
here to wui t'ob'ë
here to r'éngu k'unda
the two layers of wui t'ob'ê
the two or three t'engu k'unda
the stone came to the end at wui wio
at wui cuku
it was placed down at wui wio
and wui gathered ash
and the stone had arrived, finally it was here.

Chant No. 2:
Niú P'iga: ‘Calling [the Ancestors] to the Dish’

1. Mara ira ra wula rē t'a
   vatua t'ana lae
2. mara ira rē t'a b'aa b'au k'ēli
   nit'au wa sangga
3. mara ira rē t'a ora mut'u
   mara ira rē t'a ora nai
4. mara ira rē t'a cawc solo
   ira rē t'a cawa warē
5. mara ira rē t'a ngi'i o'i
   mara ira rē t'a ngi'o ora

Come you people of the sun (and) the moon above
the stone and the earth below
come you people from above at b'aa b'au k'ēli
at the spirits of the offering pole in the west
come you people from above at ora mut'u
come you people from above at ora nai
come you people from above at cawa solo
you people at cawa wared
come you people from above at ngi'i o'i
come you people from above at ngi'o ora

A. lak'âiero pîga somba t'ana pana mara hat'a rēt'a — refrain not translatable
come you people from above at kau inggo
come you people from above at cu ranggo
come you people from up there at the rising pestle
come you people from up there at the falling mortar
come you people from up there at toji
come you people from up there at lēso
come you people from up there at the large creek
come you people from up there at the small creek
come you people from up there at the offering place
at the rim
come you people from up there at the place of
ceremonial rice offering
come you people from up there at the offering
spot of t'iru
come you people from up there at the northern
offering spot
come you people from up there at t'odopab'aa
come you people from up there at the village centre
come you people from up there at the offering
monolith
come you people from up there at the offering pole
come you people from up there at huu lok'aa
come you people from up there at rab'aa mut'ē
come you people from up there at punji sēra
come you people from up there at iuda cau
come you people from up there at the forbidden
bamboo
come you people from up there at pio pavo
come you people from up there at weqé
come you people from up there at the upper wawo
come you people from up there at wekê
come you people from up there at the upper au
come you people from up there at t'ingga caua
come you people from up at p'cré mu'aa
come you people from across at t'ose
come you people from across at t'ose t'ongo in the west
come you people from above at pa rew
come you people from above at the turtle stone
come you people from up at k'ula wino
come you people from up at k'ula wino
come you people from up at k'ula wino
come you people from up at k'ula wino
come you people from the east at powo wawo
come you people from the east at powo wawo
powo wawo in the east father of paji
t'awa ndéwo father of wék'á
come you people from the east at k'éli b’lé
come you people from the east at k'élé b’lé
come you people from the east at k'élé b’lé
come you people from the east at k'élé b’lé
come you people from the east at k'élé b’lé
come you people from the east at k'élé b’lé
come you people from the east at ngéré hola
woko in the east pierced woko séra
lisé in the east báse
noni in the east ngéré the snake
come you people from the east from b'asa ngara in the east
from wawu b'anda in the east
come you people from the east from raju t'oka in the east
come you people from the east from raju t'oka in the east
come you people from the south from the narrow land
come you people from the south from ria rak'á
come you people from here at roki rolé
come you people from here.

SECTION 5: DUAL CENTRE

In its ritual context the patola chant is performed by the priest-leader and by the women of the domain who chant the refrains. A 'live' stone (wat'ú móré) that stands for the 'black pato:a stone', which has been unearthed in the lower half of the domain, is tied to a bamboo pole and covered with a patola cloth. During the chanting, the women shoulder this bamboo and perform a special dance step that imitates the rising and falling of the waves at sea, in allusion to the voyage of the ancestors.39

On the night before the sacrifice of the 'water buffalo of the earth' (k'arapau t'ana) this stone is placed on top of the ceremonial courtyard together with soil which

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39 The movement can also be interpreted as a symbolic representation of sexual intercourse.
Ko'a women shouldering the 'black patola stone' attached to a bamboo pole during the chanting of the 'names of the domain'.

'Black patola stone' covered in ceremonial cloth. In the background, Lak'imoso Lob'o, priestleader of T'upu Roda Wula. Note the position of his hand holding on to the bamboo pole from above.

Lengi énè ritual preceding the sacrifice of water buffalo. Lisé Simdu, the younger brother of the priestleader of T'upu Meno T'ana implanting a bamboo pole with an attached offering of pig meat directed at the Supreme Being.
is brought from the upper and lower boundary of the village. This procedure is referred to as 'erecting the ceremonial courtyard' (kota t'upu).

In structural terms the domain contracts during the chanting of the 'names of the domain'. By invoking the place names and the ancestors that are associated with them they are drawn (nala éré a'ééné) towards the ceremonial centre of the domain. In this 'drawing in' of the names of the domain, the t'upu is strengthened and though the sacrifice of the water buffalo on top of the ceremonial courtyard a potential for growth is stimulated that will allow the t'upu to grow, thereby enabling the centre to extend its ceremonial sphere.

Every t'upu t'ana on Lu'a has one monolith at its centre which is referred to as its 'head' (t'aba). The orientation of this monolith provides important insights into the history of settlement of the domain in that it is oriented towards the t'upu t'ana of a preceding and now abandoned site of settlement. Thus, by following the direction indicated by the inclination of the 'head'-monolith, successive stages in the history of settlement of a domain can be uncovered in an inverted chronological order, reaching from the present day t'upu t'ana all the way to the t'upu of the first settlement of a domain (t'upu holoné, literally, ancient t'upu). The 'head' of the t'upu of this first settlement is then oriented towards the mountaintop, which in turn represents the 'head' of the mountain. In this way two major focal points of Ko'a orientation are connected by means of a recurrent body metaphor. In the course of research the linking of ceremonial courtyards to a preceding stage of settlement was investigated in several of the domains practising the sacrifice of water buffalo. In every case there was evidence of at least one stage preceding the present settlement. It could be deduced that settlements generally had moved from higher locations to lower ones and that they had remained roughly inside the same area.40

40 Only excavations at these abandoned previous settlements (nat'a holoné, literally, ancient villages) would allow for dating the successive stages of settlement. Previous unauthorized digs are said to have yielded bronze artefacts, such as large-sized gongs and ceremonial weapons as well as Chinese tradeware, ancient: glass and ceramic beads and golden ornaments. They probably represent burial objects accompanying men killed in warfare as well as those of deceased priest-leaders. Most of the former places of settlement on Lu'a have been vandalized by Chinese merchants from Flores. In some
According to *hada* it is prohibited to disturb abandoned sites of settlement in any way. These sites are the only places on the island that are covered by mature secondary rainforest. The trees in these sacral forests are said to be inhabited by various types of spirits (*hat'a re'a*, literally, bad people) and felling them is prohibited and entails fines as well as supernatural sanction.41

According to one interpretation that has mythological ramifications the *t'upu t'ana* initially derived from a lontar palm juice gathering spot (*runga*). Every palm juice tapper has such a spot which is usually located at the foot of one of a number a trees he is currently tapping. Sometimes, depending on the location, several tappers share one *runga*. In the morning and in the evening this spot becomes an important place for socializing.42 When waiting for juice, those who have come to drink use palm fronds or sections of coconut husk to sit on. In the interpretation of the *t'upu* as an ancestral *runga*, the ancestors are believed to have used flat stones to sit on.43 These stones were arranged in a circle providing a sitting area for the ancestral tappers and their guests.

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41 The arms of anybody laying an axe to such a tree are believed to whither away and numerous examples of such deformities incurred after an attempt to log inside a patch of sacral forest are cited in every domain.

42 Anybody walking past that spot at the time of tapping can stop for a drink of lontar juice (*t'ua*). Usually the tapper is addressed by the question "is your juice plentiful?" (*t'ua mo tei?*). If indeed there has been a good flow of juice, the tapper cannot lie and respond "not yet plentiful" (*la'e tei*), whereupon the passer-by moves on. In Ko'a, it is considered bad manners to withhold palm juice if there is enough of it to share with others. It is accepted that the tapper retains a small bamboo container for his household and occasionally also one to give as an incidental presentation to a wife-taking House. Anything above that amount is expected to be shared with those who happen to be around the *runga* at the time of tapping. Tappers who withhold their juice and hide their full bamboo containers are subject to public slander (*ka'a ndoa*) and it is generally believed that slander can over time not only affect the flow of juice, but also cause misfortune to the House of the tapper. In recent times this obligation to share has changed in the areas in the vicinity of the administrative centre of the island. There palm juice is sold for money to households of civil servants and schoolteachers. Such a practice is regarded with dismay by the people of Ko’a. Visiting officials are aware of the proverbial generosity and hospitality of Ko’a and if they happen to be on business in the vicinity of Ko’a, they make sure that they can spend the night there rather than at the place where they have come to conduct business.

43 To some of these stones another stone was vertically added to provide a back rest, others also had small stones as *te's* (*wa'i*) upon which a larger slab was placed. This elevated type of monolith does not exist in Ko’a. The *t'upu t'ana* of the domain of Ndéo provides excellent examples of such monoliths. Three stone-chairs standing next to each other make up the central ceremonial courtyard of Ndéo.
According to one myth, the topos of which is widespread throughout eastern Indonesia but which on Lu'a is at present only held as a very fragmentary and brief version, the earth and the sky used to be linked together by a lontar palm tree. Through some unspecified event this link became severed and the skies, the stars and the sun and the moon rose up to their present realms.

In Lu'a thought the t upu t'ana is the place where, by way of ritual, access can be gained to the layers of the earth and of the sky. In allusion to the myth, the patola chant, immediately after naming all the individual ceremonial monoliths of the t upu, goes on to mention 'the short palm juice tree, the stunted lontar palm' (couplets 98, 99) that linked earth and sky. In light of this couplet, the conception of the t upu t'ana as an ancestral runga becomes meaningful.

In the patola chant (refrain F) the t upu t'ana is conceptualized as a house. As the ancestors arrive at the centre of the domain they 'knock at the door' of the t upu. The t upu is thought of as being the house of the original ancestors of the domain, and by extension also that of the Lu'a Supreme Being. In the chant, the dogs and pigs of the house react to the arrival of the ancestors by 'barking and squeaking', thereby alerting its inhabitants.

Every t upu t'ana has two points of entry referred to as its 'doors' (k oive). If, as is the case in Ko'a, the t upu consists of an elevated mound, a succession of stone steps leading to its top actually marks these points. In those t upu t'ana that are not elevated but where the monoliths are positioned at ground level such as the t upu of Ndéo or that of T omu, these 'doors' are not visibly marked. Nonetheless, there as well two specific spots represent the points of entry for specific ceremonial officiants. The orientation of these doors follows an uphill-downhill axis, whereby one door is

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44 In Flores versions of this myth, several types of trees and liana figure as the primordial link between earth and sky.
classified as the 'upper door' (kēivē rét’u) and the other as the 'lower' or 'northern door' (kēivē lae or kēivē lau).\(^{45}\)

The patola chant (couplet 95-97) then goes on to name the six most important ceremonial monoliths (masē) that are set at the four corners (hik'ua, literally, elbows) and at the centre (rorà) of the first of the two t’upu tana of Ko’a, which is located in the main Ko’a village Nat’ua Ca (literally, large village). The names of these monoliths are given as follows: kēéja lēnga, meno t’ana, mbasi t’ana, wēka sēra, woko wēla, raja toma. In referring to this ceremonial courtyard in everyday contexts the name meno t’ana usually stands for all of its constituent ceremonial monoliths. Meno t’ana can be translated as 'strength of the earth' or 'solidity of the earth'. This masē is paired with kēéja lēnga, 'the turtle turned onto its back', evoking an image of immobility of the centre, just like a turtle lying on its back cannot turn itself over but is confined to staying in that position. Thus the ceremonial courtyard is characterized as the central source of strength and stability of the domain. To my knowledge the names of the following three masē named in the chant are just so names. Finally, raja toma alludes to Raja Thomas da Silva, the last Raja of Sikka and Dutch appointed indigenous ruler of the Onderafdeeling Maoemere. Early in his period of administration Raja Thomas was involved in settling a boundary dispute between the two opposed domains Ko’a and Nit’u. In a ruling of the regency court, a specific boundary line was determined that was subsequently marked by means of large cement boulders. This attempt to give permanence to a boundary line that favoured the claims of T’ana Ko’a gave rise to the setting of a ceremonial monolith named after him. Here again the notion underlying the name of this masē is one of stability, strength and permanence.

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\(^{45}\) In Ko’a there is the dual division into two important groups of ceremonial officiants (see Chapter 3): the 'people from above' (har’u rét’u), and the 'people from the north' (har’u lau) employ the upper and lower door respectively to gain access to the t’upu. In order to avoid connotations of superiority and inferiority, emphasis is placed on referring to the latter as the 'northern door' (kēivē lau), rather than as the 'lower door' (kēivē lae).
Diagram No. 2.7
Structural Elements of the Dual Centre

CENTRAL CEREMONIAL COURTYARDS OF T'ANA KO'A

CEREMONIAL COURTYARD OF THE VILLAGE NAT'A CA
(T'upa T'ana Nat'a Ca, Mero T'ana)

CEREMONIAL COURTYARD OF THE VILLAGE T'O Dopab'a
(T'upa T'ana T'O Dopab'a, Roda Wula)

1. House of Water Buffalo / Goulhouse (Woga Ca)
2. Ceremonial House (Nua Puka)
3. 'Lower Door' / 'Door of the North' (K'wol Law)
4. 'Upper Door' / 'Door of Above' (K'wele Riti'a)
5. Head Monolith (Masé T'uba) Masé Mono T'ana
6. Masé K'ëjä Lëngä
7. Masé Mëna T'ana
8. Masé Wele Wëla
9. Masé Raja Toms
10. Ceremonial 'Ula' Bush
11. Drinking Shell (K'Tama K'rapou) → 'Path of Sun and Moon'

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2. Ceremonial House (Nua Puka)
3. 'Lower Door' / 'Door of the North' (K'wol Law)
4. 'Upper Door' / 'Door of Above' (K'wele Riti'a)
5. Head Monolith (Masé T'uba) Masé Roda Wula
6. Masé T'upa T'ola
7. Masé Mënggë B'ëse
8. Masé Numa Somba
9. Masé Raja Mak'u
10. Masé Lëvé Lëa
11. Ceremonial 'Ula' Bush
12. Drinking Shell (K'Tama K'rapou) → 'Path of Sun and Moon'
After naming the masé of the t°upu meno t°ana the mythical ancestors cross the boundary between the two villages Nat°a Ca and T°odopap°a, the location of the second t°upu t°ana of Ko°a (couplet 101). Again the six most important monoliths of the ceremonial courtyard are named: t°upu t°ola, manggé b°asé, roda wula, nunu somba, sab°é laé, raja muk°u. Here the monolith named roda wula is used as a name for the ceremonial courtyard in everyday discourse.

The term t°ola in t°upu t°ola is part of the composite p°a t°ola where it denotes a specific type of Indian trade cloth (patola) which is used as a banner in ceremonial contexts at the t°upu. The name manggé b°asé refers to a group of Houses holding an important ceremonial office at that t°upu (see Chapter 3, Section 4). The term roda in roda wula is only used in this context. It may be of Sanskrit origin where it has the meaning of roundness or disc. In such an interpretation the name of this monolith could be translated as 'the disc of the moon'. The name nunu somba refers to a type of 'waringin' tree (nunu) where offerings are performed to spirits that are believed to live in its crown. Such offerings are performed by the healer-sorcerer (hat°a pisa) and are generically referred to as sisa somba. Nunu somba can, therefore, be translated as 'the 'waringin' tree of spirit offering'. Sab°é laé and raja muk°u appear to be just so names for the last two masé of t°upu roda wula mentioned in the patola chant.

Indications of a classification of the two Ko°a ceremonial courtyards as opposites or complements are sparse. No classification in an idiom of relative age or opposed gender is explicitly applied and the associations made with their respective ceremonial monoliths show mixed characteristics. One important ceremonial object displayed during the water buffalo sacrificing cycle may, however, provide insight into a possible order of precedence between the two ceremonial courtyards. This object, an anthropomorphic ceremonial shield (hat°a ) is placed onto the t°upu to mark specific stages of the cycle. The shield of t°upu k°éja lénga features carvings of a pair of female breasts, whereas no indications of gender are apparent on the shield of t°upu roda wula. This association indicates a conceptual femaleness of t°upu k°éja lénga.
Furthermore, t'upu roda wula is thought of as being more 'dangerous' (cani) than t'upu kéja lënga, in that supernatural sanction for inappropriate behaviour on t'upu roda wula is believed to always follow without delay.\footnote{Thus, for example, when a junior member of a House of priest-leader status fell and broke his arm immediately after having behaved inappropriately during a ceremonial dance on t'upu roda wula, the incident was linked to the inherent male quality of that ceremonial courtyard.} In Lu'a thought this represents a conceptually male condition, an association that further supports the notion of its superordinate position with respect to its counterpart, t'upu meno t'ana.

At the t'upu t'ana connection can be established by way of ritual with the various layers of the universe. In ritual speech these layers are referred to by a boat metaphor as 'the mast of eight internodes' (mangu raru walu) 'the sail of seven units in width' (laja woda b'it'u). The eight internodes of the bamboo mast refer here to the eight layers of the firmament and the seven units in width to the seven terrestrial layers. In Ko'a thought it is not specified what kind of phenomena occur at what level of the universe (éne t'ana, literally, the one earth) except that the living are located on an eighth terrestrial level and that all sixteen levels are somehow suspended in space (see Diagram No. 2.8). Only healer-sorcerers and priest-leaders are said to be able to reach the individual layers and retrieve human souls gone astray through illness or magic. Knowledge concerning the individual layers is held exclusively by them.

Unlike 'the sun and the moon', the conceptually male manifestations of the Supreme Being that are visible to everybody, the conceptually female manifestation of the Supreme Being 'the earth and the stone' is personified and sometimes visible but only to priest-leaders. In this visible manifestation the Supreme Being takes the shape of two humanoids, a man and a woman. They are said to be of short and squat appearance with two teeth, one above and one below, covering the width of their mouth. This chthonic dual being is referred to as the 'mothers of the earth' (t'ana hinane). Its position within Ko'a cosmology is not further specified.

The orbit of the sun and the moon is viewed as these heavenly bodies pass visibly along one layer of the firmament. They set by entering a door (k'ivé) in the
Central masé monoliths on top of T‘upu Roda Wula. Upright head monolith (masé t‘aba) located at outer left.

Head monolith (masé t‘aba) oriented towards the mountain top at ceremonial courtyard of former place of settlement (Powó).

Ko‘a women in ceremonial dress performing circular dance with inter-linked arms (lago) at T‘upu Meno T‘ana.
distant sea and re-emerging again from another door located at the opposite horizon. The invisible section of the 'path of the sun and the moon' (lala era wulané) passes beneath the surface of the earth at one of the terrestrial levels. This path can affect those living at the eighth terrestrial level. Its course is not clearly described but it is said to pass through the upper and lower door of the t'upu t'ana. Dwellings inadvertently erected on other parts of its path (lala) obstruct its passing, and its inhabitants become ill, die or experience misfortune.⁴⁷

The passing of the sun and the moon along the sky is often conceptualized as the male sun going after the female moon and the moon in turn following the sun. Their orbit is couched in a theme of unconsumated longing for each other in which neither ever catches up with the other. According to one school of Ko'a thought they are brother and sister, and, therefore, they may never meet, another interpretation is that they are simply man and woman.⁴⁸

The passage of the moon through the night sky can be obstructed by Noa, the morning star. Noa is thought to hold a spear (t'umba) and to stab at the moon if it goes off course and crosses his path. During a lunar eclipse (wula mat'a, literally, the dead moon) the moon is fatally wounded by Noa. In dying it disappears from the sky. This is considered to be a moment of great danger specifically to members of Houses of priest-leader status and it is said that 'if the moon dies priest-leaders die as well' (wula mat'a lako'mosa keli mat'a). During lunar eclipses the adult population remains silent inside the house, whereas all the children of the domain run about the village grounds singing a chant to bring the moon back to life. The coveted ceremonial gongs and drums of the domain are taken out of storage and given to the children to accompany

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⁴⁷ Only recently a house of T'odopap'a was moved, having been recognized by way of divination as being located on the 'path of the sun and the moon'. The child of the young couple inhabiting the house had suddenly died and preceding the move the mother was experiencing dreams of anguish. To avoid further harm, the whole house was lifted up and carried to a new location at the entrance of the village.

⁴⁸ A number of sentimental Ko'a songs sung by young women deal with the longing of the sister for her brother who left her behind on Lu'a to make his living in the outside world. Here it might appear that the brother may in fact be another man only referred to as a brother for the sake of discretion.
their singing. The children continue to sing this chant until the moon comes back to life and is again visible in the night sky.

1. wula nggéri wula nggési
2. wulak'au mat'ano cala lala
3. po(a)lé p'at'a walu raja masé o
4. t'ua'o wula'o wulao
5. wula'é po mai ka lama pesa wawi é

nggéri moon, nggési moon
moon you are dying because you went the wrong way
descend the eight eastern layers to the masé in the south
o lontar palm, o moon, o moon
moon come down and eat rice and pig!

In this chant from Ko'a a number indications of cosmological nature are made. The eight layers of the firmament separating the living from the moon are mentioned (line 3). The moon is called upon to descend onto a masé located in the south. This is a reference to the t'upu t'ana of Powo, a former Ko'a settlement located above the present villages. In the invocation (line 4) the primordial lontar palm connecting heaven and earth is addressed together with the moon. At the end of the chant the moon is invited to come down and eat rice and pig. Here allusion is made to a specific type of offering performed at the t'upu t'ana.

Ritual practice at the t'upu t'ana gives us further indications about some general notions connected with the terrestrial layers and those of the firmament. The second refrain of the p'otola chant makes reference to an offering which the ancestors came to make at the t'upu (refrain B). In the chant the offering is called 'making the lengi offering (to) the earth' (po'o lengi t'ana). In everyday speech this offering is referred to as 'to perform the lengi (lengi éné) or as 'to dig into the t'upu' (po'o t'upu).

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49 The K'éli version of the chant to the 'dead moon' recounts the tale of the crossed paths of Noa and the moon:

Wula pana cala lala éé noa
noa pat'i alo k'au
pak'a mat'éné cala lala
wula lé rét'a nggéö
sé'i wula!

Moon by mistake went the path of Noa
Noa maimed you
narrow eyes wrong path
moon up in the east is crooked
wake up moon!
Diagram No. 2.8
Ko'a Model of the Layered Universe

1. Centre (mare)
2. Rim of the Earth in the North (t'ana heh 'u lau)
3. Points of Suspension in Voci (to ret'a mai / lae mai)

In ritual speech this offering is named after its ingredients 'to bury the lengi water, to put the p'éga pieces into the ground' (tumu lengi waéné, tavo p'éga wejané). The 'lengi water' refers to a mixture of grated coconut and water that is poured into the leaf of the conceptually cool ulé bush and buried beneath the ceremonial monoliths at the four corners of the ceremonial courtyard and beneath the one located at its centre.\(^{50}\) The pieces of p'éga refer to boiled small cuts of the sacrificial pig that are equally wrapped into such a leaf and buried beneath the masé.

These ingredients in turn refer to two categories of lengi éné. The most common of the two is generally referred to as the coconut lengi (lengi nio) which is mainly employed to mark stages in the agricultural cycle. Lengi nio only involves the burial of the grated coconut mixture (lengi wadé). It marks the beginning of a two day period of

\(^{50}\) For use as a cooling ingredient in ritual an ulé bush (species unidentified) is always planted either at the centre of the r'upu or on its outer periphery.
ritual prohibition on agricultural work. In addition to this prohibition no goods are allowed to be taken past the boundaries of the domain. This period is referred to as 'one defecation, one urination' (t'ar'i ha, mi'i ha). The lengi waé is buried beneath each ceremonial monolith in counter-clockwise fashion. These offerings take place after sunset and the restriction actually comes into effect only at sunrise the next day. On the evening of the second day a brief ritual is carried out by the priest-leader referred to as 'to ask for (the restrictions) to be suspended' (ci pi'i). Here the Supreme Being and the collective ancestors of the domain are asked for the lifting of the prohibitions on agricultural work applying, as it is put, to 'the tree tops as well as the ground' (re'ta ngalune, ceke'ula t'ana). On this occasion only ceremonial rice kernels are sprinkled onto the masé of the t'upu t'ana. The next day agricultural work can resume.

In the second category of the lengi éné ritual referred to as lengi wawi (lengi of the pig) where pig meat is buried beneath the masé the period of restriction on agricultural work and export of goods extends over three days and work can only be resumed on the morning of the fourth day. This type of lengi éné is employed in the context of the construction of houses and boats. However, offences against hada are also atoned for by means of the lengi wawi (see Chapter 3, Section 5).

Finally, a third category which is only carried out in the context of the sacrifice of water buffalo and which also involves the meat of pig and is referred to as lengi éné sara karapau, 'to perform the lengi offering in the idiom of the water buffalo'. In this type of lengi éné strips of the central part of the back of the pig are hung from long poles at the four corners of the t'upu. A restriction on agricultural activities and on the export of goods from the domain of the duration of five days follows the lengi éné sara karapau.52

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51 The prohibition on activity in the tree tops does not refer to the tapping of palm juice, the flow of which would cease already after one day of abstaining from tapping. It applies to any other activities, such as cutting of palm fronds or lontar leaves or the harvesting of coconut.

52 A period of restriction of five days also applies to the ceremonial 'sewing up of the mouth of the domain'.

Considering the nature of the ṭana as a living body with various currents flowing beneath its surface and considering the inside of the volcano being the abode of the ancestors where all the domains of the island and all of their Houses are replicated, the first two types of lengi ēné offerings appear to be a literal effort of the living to communicate through the membrane of the earth with the beings that are thought to live inside, whereas in the third type of lengi ēné offerings is oriented towards the firmament and thus towards the sun and the moon, the conceptually male aspect of the Supreme Being. The critical point of the lengi ēné ritual with respect to a definition of the ṭana is that its restrictions apply to a ceremonial sphere that encompasses the whole of the territory of the domain.53

SECTION 6: CEREMONIAL SPHERE AND BOUNDARIES

Domain boundaries (ṭana lutunē) mark the extent of the ceremonial sphere which emanates from the centre of the domain. Traditionally no specific markers delineate the territory covered by the ceremonial sphere of a domain, rather, a line determined by a chain of place names (ṭana lutu ngaranē) constitutes its boundaries at a given point in time. In keeping with the body metaphor applied to the domain, these boundaries are referred to as the sides or flanks (k’ō) of the domain.

Ṭana Ko’a is roughly the shape of a rhombus (see Map 1.5). Its lower end is bounded by the seaboard and its shorter upper boundary is made up by the crater fields of the volcano. Both sides or flanks roughly follow straight lines leading from the sea

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53 The high frequency of two and three day lengi ēné restrictions throughout the Ko’a agricultural year is responsible for a remarkable working habit the Hat’a Ko’a display during periods of intensive agricultural activity. Because work on the fields for reasons of timing often must be completed at a specific moment, people are forced to work a lot faster and longer during those days that are free of restrictions than normally would be case on comparable neighbouring islands. Visiting members of wife-giving groups from Flores frequently complain about the excruciating pace at which agricultural work is performed in Ko’a which they find very difficult to keep up with. During such periods the Hat’a Ko’a go out at dawn and work through the midday heat until dusk with only one brief interruption for a prepared meal. This long term exposure to the sun combined with the nearly complete lack of drinking fluid appears to account for the high incidence of kidney damage amongst Lu’a adults. The resulting discomfort is usually identified as ‘back pain’ (nisu tara) and is related to heavy agricultural work.
up to the mountaintop. All of its northwestern side borders on the allied domain T^oana Cawalo. The southeastern side borders on two domains, T^oana Nîtoko and T^oana Awa, whereby the boundary with T^oana Nîtoko makes up its lower and longest section.

The line of the Ko'a-Cawalo boundary runs from the seaboard to the mountain top along the bottom of a series of gullies. The lowest segment of this boundary is somewhat controversial. According to Ko'a reports, one generation ago a man named Cawa of a group of Houses called Sari Ko'a was accused of witchcraft (hatoko nuto moko) and driven out of Ko'a.\textsuperscript{54} It is reported that Cawa sought refuge in T^oana Cawalo, his mother's natal domain and, intent on creating goodwill in his new domain of residence, he sold part of the northwestern end of the Ko'a shores to the main priest-leader of Cawalo.\textsuperscript{55} Due to the widespread fear of Cawa's powers no objections against the sale were raised at that time. However, ever since his death, members of Sari Ko'a Houses have bitterly condemned this sale. This controversial part of the Ko'a shores now appears to have become an integrated part of the ceremonial sphere of T^oana Cawalo in that it is now subject to Cawalo periods of lengi éné-prohibitions.

Individual Houses of Ko'a have in turn in the course of the past three generations acquired a large number of fields in T^oana Cawalo. Payments for these fields were made in the form of pigs, ivory tusks and guns. These Ko'a holdings on Cawalo territory now amount to one long stretch of land located on the far side of the dividing gullies that reach from the vicinity of the seaboard nearly all the way up the mountain. These fields have, however, always remained within the ritual sphere of T^oana Cawalo and, therefore, they are still considered to be part of that domain.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{54} Cawa was believed, by way of witchcraft, to have caused the death of several Ko'a elders.
\textsuperscript{55} This beach constituted part of the landholdings of Sari Ko'a and the rights to its use were attached to the House of Cawa. However, other Houses of Sari Ko'a consider this transaction to be questionable because, at the time, the sale had not been approved by the most senior House of the group (see Chapter 4, Section 8).
\textsuperscript{56} In recent times there have been efforts on the side of Cawalo, instigated by its main priest-leader, to contest Ko'a ownership of some of these fields. In three recent court cases held in the regency court, Ko'a lost its titles to a number of individual fields for lack of documentation of rights of ownership. In all cases Cawalo maintained that the fields in question had been lent to the forefathers of the claimants for use only and that if goods had been given at the time, these were to be viewed as a form of rent and not as the price of an actual purchase.
From the main villages of Ko'a its southern neighbour, the domain of Nitöu is clearly visible across two deep gullies at a distance of approximately one kilometre as the crow flies. To many people of Ko'a this sight is a daily reminder of the loss of a large tract of their domain to Nitöu in 1968. According to Ko'a informants, at that time Nitöu had succeeded in annexating twenty-six connecting lots of farming land stretching from the sea up to the mountain, thereby alienating about a quarter of Ko'a's arable territory.

The details of the war between Nitöu and Ko'a of 1968 are intricate. Its origins are disputed and versions of the sequence of events vary according to the provenance of the reports. Both parties do, however, agree that Nitöu gained a decisive advantage by employing a ruse. Following initial skirmishes, the priest-leader of Ko'a conceded to a one day truce proposed by Nitöu, which would allow the men of Nitöu to attend Sunday mass in Kōēli. However, instead of attending mass, Nitöu warriors and their allies set fire to the villages of Ko'a before daybreak. In this fire Ko'a lost all of its dwellings, its livestock and its ancestral goods. Because of the truce, none of the Ko'a allies were present on that day and, therefore, Ko'a was not in the position to retaliate but had to accept defeat.

Following the hostilities, a court case was held at regency level in the course of which Nitöu was able to convince the Javanese judge ('hakim'), who had come to Lu'a to investigate the matter, of the legitimacy of the Nitöu claims over the fields in question. Claims of both sides were formulated in terms of place names pertaining to locations along the contested boundary line. The people of Ko'a as well as the people of Nitöu had their own names for these spots which they invoked during the court hearings. Ko'a claimants could, however, point to the fact that all of the coconut trees on the fields in question had been planted by their fathers or grandfathers, thereby documenting the longstanding use of these fields by Ko'a. Ko'a also insisted that the correct boundary between the two domains had already been marked by Raja Thomas,
the Dutch appointed ruler of the regency, following a boundary dispute some thirty years earlier.

The marking had been effected by means of four cement blocks positioned at roughly equal intervals along a line constituted by the far side of the twenty-six fields in question. Two of these boundary markers are still clearly visible today, whereas the other two have over the years been gradually dismantled. To commemorate this ruling, Ko'a set up a monolith at the centre of one of its main ceremonial courtyards. This monolith (masē) received high ritual status and has been honoured ever since. At the time Raja Thomas reportedly also drew up a document ratifying the ruling, a copy of which was given to both parties. However, in the court case following the hostilities of 1968, Ko'a was not in the position to produce this document that would have legitimized its claims. The document had been destroyed in the fire in which Nite'u had laid to ashes all of the Ko'a villages. Nite'u in turn denied any knowledge of such a document, and copies that should have been held by the administration at regency level were no longer to be found.

The regency court ruled against Ko'a and the boundary was shifted towards the inner side of the twenty-six lots, thereby including them into the territory of Tana Nite'u.\(^{57}\) According to Ko'a popular belief, the judge died shortly after the court case. The priest-leader of Nite'u is said to have died as well, soon after having pronounced the traditional formula employed in concluding a truce (t'ura caci) between the two domains, which stipulates that if one of the partners has lied he will die. Both deaths were interpreted by Ko'a as sanctions by the Supreme Being for their misconduct.

It is important to note that for several years after the ruling Nite'u respected the Ko'a periods of restriction on agricultural activities (lengi éné) on the twenty-six fields in question. In doing so Nite'u acknowledged that despite the ruling these fields were

\(^{57}\) Ko'a elders insist that the judge had been bribed by Nite'u with gifts of gold and ivory and that a young Nite'u girl had been made available for sexual services during his stay on Lu'a. It is also reported that preceding the court case Ko'a had been approached by the Kapitan of Lu'a to make a presentation of ivory to the judge in order to facilitate the investigation. At the time the Ko'a priest-leaders had refused to comply, allegedly because they believed employing bribes in matters pertaining to land might offend the Lu'a Supreme Being.
still subject to the ceremonial sphere of Ko'a. Poor harvests on these fields had shown
that they were still conceptually hot as a result of the dispute. An intermediary period
of cooling was indicated in which work on the fields needed to adhere to Ko'a
restrictions before the newly acquired fields could be fully integrated into the
ceremonial sphere of Nitūu.

On its southeastern side, in the immediate vicinity of the volcano, Ko'a also
shares a short boundary with the allied domain of Awa. The line of this boundary has
remained unchanged even after Nitūu had, in another instance of inter-domain warfare,
annexed part of Awa territory, including some of those Awa fields immediately
bordering on Ko'a.

In one origin myth the two neighbouring domains Cawalo and Ko'a are likened
to a coconut palm (nio) and in reference to this myth they are sometimes referred to as
'the domains of the coconut palm' (tōana nio bōu’unē). In this botanic metaphor the two
domains make up the two halves of a tree split lengthwise down through the middle.
Here Cawalo is classified as the left half of the trunk (bu’u hivi hiri) and Ko'a as its
right half (bu’u hivi pana). In their actual topographical reflection, both halves of the
trunk extend from the sea up to the mountain, whereby the mountaintop forms the
upper end of the Cawalo section of the trunk and the volcano that of Ko'a. The crown
or tip (ngalu) of this tree is in turn divided into two halves making up those territories
of Cawalo and Ko'a located on the southeastern and southern side of the mountain and
the volcano.
Map No. 2.2
Boundaries of T'ana Ko'a

- Present Domain boundaries
- 1 Former boundaries between T'ana Ko'a and T'ana Nit'u (pre 1968)
- 2 Former boundaries between T'ana Ko'a, T'ana Nit'u and T'ana Cua (pre 1950s)
- Ko'a holdings in T'ana Cawalo
The tip-territory of Ko'a is unnamed and shares its boundaries on the southwestern side with the allied domain of Awa and on the southeastern side with Ona, the tip-territory of Cawalo. At present no people of Ko'a are living on this side of the volcano, although some Ko'a individuals have in the past occupied temporary dwellings there. Most of the southeastern half of the territory is unsuitable for agricultural purposes, either because of its steep incline or because of its proximity to the volcano and its two main outlets (see Map 1.1). The tip-territory is classified as 'land of the priest-leader' (t'ana L'akimosa) and as such it is only he who can grant permission to settle or open up and work new fields. In the past such permission was given to Awa and presently much of the arable land of the tip-territory is worked by people from Awa. In recent years, due to increasing population pressure in Awa even the steepest slopes on the Ko'a tip-territory have been turned into fields.

The traditional ownership of Ko'a is, however, gradually being undermined. In 1986 two men of T'ana Awa gave permission to a freighter from Flores to fill its holds with sand and gravel from the shores of the Ko'a tip-territory. In return they had accepted a sum of money. They maintained that the tip territory was no longer to be classified as 'land of the priest-leader' but that in modern Indonesia such land was now classified as 'state owned land' (t'ana negara). Not only did they thereby challenge the rights of ownership of the Ko'a priest-leader but they also disregarded a fundamental Lu'a notion pertaining to the earth, that of the sacral and unalienable nature of the domain.

Claims of Ko'a over its tip-territory are presently also being eroded by a practice in which Awa names are being substituted for traditional Ko'a place names. For example, one location that until recently, in allusion to a deed of a Ko'a ancestor, had been referred to as 'the rock which Ndaé set' (Wat'u Ndaé mula'u) is now increasingly

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58 In 1982 its inhabitants were transmigrated to Flores.
59 In earlier times alienation of Lu'a soil would have been quite inconceivable. When an expedition of the Dutch Geographical Society landed on Nu'a Lu'a a hundred years ago and merely tried to collect rock samples on the beach, they were driven back to their boats by angry Lu'a men shouting 'pomal' and 'mati' and denied further access to the island (Wichmann 1891:197, 198).
referred to by the people of Awa as 'the rock that Rut⁹i set' (*Wat⁹u Rut⁹i mula'u*), purportedly in allusion to an Awa ancestor. Unlike the 'names of the domain' of the trunk-territory of Ko'a which are chanted during every ceremonial cycle, the corresponding names of the domain' of the tip-territory are only chanted during warfare.⁶⁰

This survey of the boundaries of Ko'a has indicated that the current domain boundaries are unstable and that this has been the case in the past as well. It has been shown that although boundaries towards non allied domains are especially unstable, boundaries that are shared with allied domains are to some degree unstable as well. Claims to territory are couched in an idiom of ancestrally informed place names that are cosmologically connected to the ceremonial centre of the domain. New territory acquired through warfare or by other means is integrated into the domain through a process of appropriation of such place names in which these are gradually replaced by names that are cosmologically linked to the central ceremonial courtyard of the domain. At the most general level it can be said that only the centre of the domain remains fixed and stable through time whereas its ability to maintain its ceremonial sphere fluctuates.

The following section will investigate some of the processes involved in a decrease or increase of this ability.

**SECTION 7: ALLIED CENTRES**

Once the process of growth and strengthening of the ceremonial courtyard has been stimulated through the setting of the 'black patola stone' and through the addition of soil gathered from the upper and lower half of the domain (see Chapter 3, Section 10), and once the connectedness of the centre with the Supreme Being has been

⁶⁰ In the course of the period of research Ko'a did not go to war and, therefore, these names could not be recorded in their ceremonial context. However, at the time the above-mentioned change of name was reported to Kr'a, its priest-leader in an initial fit of rage did invoke the 'names of the domain' of the tip-territory. Because they were only divulged by accident they cannot be cited here.
reinforced through the shedding of the blood of the sacrificial water buffalo, the ṭaupu  
ṭana is ideally in the position to expand its ceremonial sphere.

At the end of a three day period of mourning for the sacrificial animal, a final 
ritual is conducted that closes the ceremonial cycle of the domain. In this ritual, 
offerings of ceremonial rice kernels (sivé) and eggs (ṭelo) are set towards the non-
allied neighbouring domain along a line reaching from the sea to the mountaintop. This 
line indicates the extent of the new ceremonial sphere of the growing centre. By 
placing offerings to the Supreme Being along it the centre effectively claims the 
territory delineated by them.

This line may or may not be acceptable to the non-allied neighbouring domain 
and, depending on its current disposition, it may raise objections to infringements 
upon its own ceremonial sphere. Hostilities can arise at the moment of the setting of 
offerings and in the past officiants have been known to be wounded or even killed on 
such occasions. Following such an event there may be a series of retaliations from 
both sides until the boundary dispute has escalated into full scale inter domain warfare. 
In such a case both domains rally their allies and confront each other in skirmishes 
until one side, after having suffered a limited number of losses, gives in and seeks a 
truce or, as has been the case in recent years, until Indonesian troops move in and put 
a temporary end to hostilities. According to Ko'a thought, the period following a 
successfully completed ceremonial cycle is the most auspicious moment to go to war 
and expand the territory of the domain or to regain territory lost in previous instances 
of inter-domain warfare.

According to Ko'a priest-leader ideology the domain must be prepared to give 
away all of its resources during a ceremonial cycle in order eventually to receive an

61 According to Lu'a elders from various domains, in the past a truce was generally sought after one 
side had suffered the loss of no more than one or two people. Large scale destruction of property such 
as occurred during the war of 1968 between Ni'fu and Ko'a was unheard of.
62 In recent years inter-domain warfare has been restrained by the establishment of a permanently 
staffed police station next to Uwa on the east coast and by the installation of radio communications 
with the regency centre by means of which military support can be called in. Following military 
termination boundary disputes are usually directly referred to regency courts.
increased amount in return. In the course of the five-year ceremonial cycle, namely at its beginning during the purchase of the sacrificial animal and at its end, which culminates in the sacrifice of the water buffalo, the domain exhausts its own resources through large scale ceremonial exchange with allied domains and with individual Houses of non-allied domains (see Chapter 5, Section 5). At these moments its reputation as a whole hinges on the capacity of every one of its constituent Houses to reciprocate in exchange. During every major stage of the cycle, at the ceremonial purchase and at annually held dances that mark the passage of time since the purchase, as well at the final sacrifice, the domain also acts as a host to vast numbers of guests. Once the cycle has been concluded its resources have been virtually depleted; most of its livestock and cultivated crops have been consumed and financial funds gained in seasonal migration have been used up to cater to the guests. Following the conclusion of the cycle a period of restriction (bōijé kārapau) is enforced that pertains to any undertaking which may involve large expenses and extensive ceremonial exchange, such as the construction of houses or boats, in order to allow the domain to recover. This period lasts as long as it takes for the pole, to which the skull of the sacrificial animal has been attached, to decay and fall over.\textsuperscript{63}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Ceremonial Systems of Lu'a Domains}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Water Buffalo Blood & Pig Blood \\
\hline
1. Tō'ana Ko'a & 1. Tō'ana Malurivu / Umalue \\
2. Tō'ana Cawalo & 2. Tō'ana Edo \\
3. Tō'ana Tomu & 3. Tō'ana Woto \\
4. Tō'ana Kēdli & 4. Tō'ana Awa (formerly water buffalo blood) \\
5. Tō'ana Nīt'u & 5. Tō'ana Tē'o (formerly water buffalo blood) \\
6. Tō'ana Cua & \\
7. Tō'ana Nō'eo & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Not all of the twelve domains on Nua Lu'a conduct a ceremonial cycle that culminates in the sacrifice of water buffalo. Five of them employ pigs as their main sacrificial animals. They are referred to as 'domains of pig blood' (\textit{tana laja wawi}),

\textsuperscript{63} This period of restriction can last up to five years.
whereas the seven domains that practice the sacrifice of water buffalo are referred to as 'domains of water buffalo blood' (tana laja karapau). In the table above the domains of Nua Lu'a are listed according to their adherence to a ceremonial system.

Blood offerings that accompany every major ceremonial event are ranked according to the ritual potency of the blood employed. In such a ranking only the blood of the water buffalo is considered to be 'big blood' (laja ca), that is, of the highest ritual potency that can reach the Supreme Being. On the basis of this ranking the 'domains of water buffalo blood' consider themselves to be superior to the domains of pig blood.

Any one of the 'domains of water buffalo blood' can lose its ability to sacrifice the 'big blood'. When it does, a general decline in its prosperity is believed to follow. According to one myth the first water buffaloes were brought to the island by a domain called Awa located near the volcano. Awa had purchased eight animals from its allies in neighbouring Lio on the island of Flores. These yearlings were to be raised in Awa and then to be sacrificed. However, shortly after their arrival the animals fled and swam back to Lio. Since that time Awa has never again attempted to reinitiate a water buffalo sacrificing cycle but has restricted itself to the sacrifice of pigs. By supplying pigs and rice it now actively supports the water buffalo sacrifice of Ko'a, a domain with whom it stands in a relationship of younger to elder sibling (ka'el'hari). This classification by Ko'a is a metaphor for Awa's subordinate position within the political and ceremonial alliance between the two domains. Its population has remained small and its territory has continuously been encroached upon by its neighbours. Unlike Awa the domain of Téo actually used to sacrifice water buffalo, but when several animals died during the prescribed period preceding the sacrifice, Téo renounced its claim to be a 'domain of water buffalo blood' and has since only sacrificed pigs.65

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64 The blood of pigs and chickens, and in some cases the blood of dogs, is also considered to have ritual potency, but only to a lesser extent.
65 Raising water buffalo on an island without water can be hazardous. The sacrificial animals that are brought in from Flores often fail to adjust to their new environment and die. Their death is usually interpreted as a sanction by the Supreme Being for breaches against kada.
Like Awa, Téo has become small and insignificant and now supports in a subordinate position the sacrifice of the neighbouring domain of Ndéo. However, Awa and Téo are the only two of the five 'domains of pig blood' that actively participate in the ceremonial cycle of a 'domain of water buffalo blood'.

Within the system of ceremonial and political alliance and enmity that encompasses all twelve domains of the island the three domains, Ko'a, Cawalo and Tºomu make up the core of one alliance bloc. This core is set against three other 'domains of water buffalo blood': Tºua Nggéó, Ndéo and Nitºu.\(^{66}\)

Whereas among 'the domains of pig blood' Woto is loosely allied with Ko'a and thereby can be included into the alliance block of Ko'a, Cawalo and Tºomu, the domains of Malurivu (Umalue) and Edo are loosely allied to the alliance block constituted by Nitºu, Tºua Nggéó and Ndéo.

Ko'a, Cawalo and Tºomu are referred to as 'the domains of the three hearth stones' (tana liga telu). Their alliance is both political and ceremonial. It is political in that every appointment of a new priest-leader is subject to confirmation by the priest-leaders of the two allied domains and in inter-domain warfare, which is endemic on Palué, these three domains are ideally expected to lend each other unconditional support. Open warfare against each other is prohibited by a mutual non-aggression pact (tura caji).

\(^{66}\) The position of Cua, the seventh of the 'domains of water buffalo blood', is ambiguous. From the Ko'a point of view Cua used to be a traditional ally. However, during the last war between Nitºu and Ko'a, Cua did not support Ko'a but appears to have sided with Nitºu.
Map No. 2.3
Political and Ceremonial Alliance amongst the 'Domains of Water Buffalo Blood'

Alliance set A: Ceremonial and Political Alliance (tʻana wai-lakʻi)
'Domains of the three hearth stones'
1. Tʻana Koʻa
2. Tʻana Cawalo
3. Tʻana Tʻomu

Domains affiliated with alliance set A: Political Alliance (tʻana kaʻe-hari)
4. Tʻana Awa
5. Tʻana Cua
6. Tʻana Woto

Alliance set B: Ceremonial and Political Alliance (tʻana wai-lakʻi)
7. Tʻana Tʻua Nggéo
8. Tʻana Ndéo
9. Tʻana Nitʻu

Domains affiliated with alliance set B: Political Alliance (tʻana kaʻe-hari)
10. Tʻana Tʻeo
11. Tʻana Édo
12. Tʻana Maturivu / Umalué
The alliance between these domains is also ceremonial in that at all stages of the water buffalo sacrificing cycle the allies are the guests of the sacrificing domain. By their presence they enhance its prestige and contribute to the success of the sacrifice. According to popular interpretation, the designation of the three domains as 'three hearth stones' implies a notion of equality. It is said that 'no stone may be higher than the other lest the pot breaks'. At another level, this notion of equality is overridden by a system of dual classification. In a recursive and complementary mode each domain of an alliance set classifies the other as either conceptually male (laki) or conceptually female (watl). Here again categorical asymmetry is achieved by the definition of male as being superior to female. This form of male-female classification is relative in that the category a domain is assigned to varies according to the standpoint of the classifier.

An important criterion of maleness is the size of the population. Another one is the notion of the 'head' and 'feet' of a domain. Only if a domain has both 'head' and 'feet' is it in the position to exploit the whole range of ritual manipulations that are based on the concept of the domain as a living body. The actual size of the territory claimed by a domain at a given point in time may also be an important factor.

With respect to the criteria of number of population and size of territory Cawalo is clearly the first among these three domains. It has a population of approximately 1200 people and claims a territory of more than ten square kilometres. Ko'a, its southern neighbour has a population of only 380 people and at present its territory extends over less than eight square kilometres. Finally, the population of Tọomu to the north of Cawalo numbers approximately 600 people. Its population is larger than Ko'a but Tọomu claims a territory of only four and a half square kilometres.

Only the domains of Cawalo and Ko'a have both 'feet' and 'head', their territories reaching from the sea up to the mountaintop. The domain of Tọomu has only 'feet', the 'head' being occupied by the domain of Tọua Nggeío.

Cawalo and Ko'a are also known as the 'domains of the coconut tree' (t'ana nio bu'une). At one level this designation is an allusion to the shape they make up
together. Both territories run alongside each other from the sea up to the mountain, whereby the actual mountaintop is part of Cawalo and the neighbouring volcano part of Ko'a. Together these sections of their territory make up what is referred to as 'the trunk' (bu'u) of the coconut tree. Past the mountaintop and the volcano their territories stretch in two long strips again all the way down to the sea. The two strips represent the fronds or 'the tip' (ngalu) of the coconut tree. Implicit in this botanic metaphor is the same notion of equality as is contained in the image of the 'three hearth stones'. At this level both domains are considered to be of the same size, or as they put it, 'like the two halves of a coconut tree'.

On the basis of these main criteria, Cawalo, in the past years has regarded itself as conceptually male with respect to both of its allies, Ko'a and Tomu, thereby assuming a position of precedence amongst its allies. This view was not challenged by either of them and they largely accepted their conceptually female status with regard to Cawalo. In past times, however, the population of Ko'a used to be proportionally higher. Due to warfare, bad harvests and disease, numbers have declined, hence its smaller population in relation to Cawalo. Furthermore, Ko'a territory used to be almost identical in size to Cawalo until 1968 when Ko'a lost about a third of its 'trunk' in a war against Nitō. This was but the last of a series of wars which Ko'a had lost and until recently Ko'a had never really managed to recover. From the point of view of Ko'a, Cawalo was regarded as its conceptually male counterpart. However, some of the Ko'a elders who had seen better times maintained that this need not always remain so. Ko'a still had enough 'maleness' to maintain this position with respect to Tōmu and might by means of a new ceremonial cycle even be able to challenge Cawalo.

Tōmu, the third ally was never very explicit about its position with regard to Ko'a.
Table No. 2.2
Allied Centres: Categorical Asymmetry and Recursive Complementarity

(m = male, f = female; male > female)

Ko'a Perspective:
- Ko'a : Cawalo = f : m
- Ko'a : T'omu = m : f

Cawalo Perspective:
- Cawalo : Ko'a = m : f
- Cawalo : T'omu = m : f

T'omu Perspective:
- T'omu : Ko'a = m : f
- T'omu : Cawalo = f : m

The individual ceremonial cycles of each domain provide an arena for the creation and contestation of an order of precedence. By employing specific strategies aimed at enhancing its prestige a given domain can emerge from a cycle in a new position of precedence amongst its allies. Such a position finds its expression in that domain being regarded as conceptually male with respect to both of its main allies. The strategies employed by the priest-leaders of the allied domains have been described in detail elsewhere (see Vischer n.d.). Summarily it can be said that they tend to play on the concurrent notions of symmetry and asymmetry existing at various levels of the socio-political order, namely on those present at the intra-domain level (i.e., the notion of equality implicit in the metaphor of the three hearth stones as well as in the metaphor of the coconut palm) and on those existing within the domain between its two priest-leaders (see Chapter 3 Section 3). It is precisely at these levels that categorical inversion can be achieved during a ceremonial cycle, resulting in one domain taking precedence over its allies. This conceptual maleness in turn puts this domain in the position to rally its allies and expand the ceremonial sphere of its centre through warfare against its non allied neighbour.
Chapter 3

ORIGIN GROUPS

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

Individual groups of several Houses of a domain each make up a social unit of a higher order referred to as k 'unu..1 There are seven different k 'unu in the domain of Ko'a: K 'unu Powo Wawo, K 'unu Roda Wula, K 'unu Manggê B'asê, K 'unu K 'aju Malé, K 'unu Sari Ko'a, K 'unu T'onggê T'u'ané and K 'unu Roka Roi.

K 'unu is the term for the fibrous part of the husk of the coconut. The image draws upon two diametrically opposed notions. At one level the botanic metaphor of the husk invokes a notion of enclosure and unity. However, the same term also denotes a vertical section of the husk, such as is commonly used on Palu'e for the cleansing of teeth.2 At its upper and lower end it reveals a number of individual strands that are entwined only at the middle. As such, the term also implies a notion of openness and diversity.

Ideally every k 'unu is named. It takes its name essentially from one place or from a series of contingent places within the domain. According to Ko'a mythical narratives there was a time when each k 'unu constituted a separate hamlet. Although most of these hamlets were located at short distance from one another, they did not yet form coherent settlements. The narratives do not tell us about how long ago the seven k 'unu of Ko'a came to settle together in the two main villages of the domain, Nat'a Ca (literally, the large village) and T'odopab'a (literally, the threshing place of Pab'a).

1 See Chapter 4 for a description of the House as the basic Lu'a social units. There are a total of thirty-six Houses in Ko'a averaging 10.6 persons per House (within a range of two to eighteen persons).
2 The people of Lu'a pride themselves on having introduced the use of coconut fibre for the cleansing of teeth (cigi ngi'ti). According to them the practice has found followers throughout the archipelago but its origin is to be sought on Nua Lu'a.
This present form of settlement is said to have come about through internal and external pressure and through hostilities from non-allied domains. Having all the k'unu of Ko'a assembled in two adjoining large villages allowed for better defence and protection in times of inter-domain hostilities or incursions from outside the island.\(^3\)

The k'unu principally identifies itself with its name and with the place(s) of original settlement it represents. Thus, for example, a member of K'unu Powo in order to identify himself to a member of a different origin group will state that 'he is a person of Powo' (hak'u hat'a powo) and in a formal context he will add a string of place names which make up the complete name of the k'unu. Since all Houses of one k'unu ideally recognize a common place of origin which is different from those of all other k'unu of the domain, I shall refer to the k'unu as an origin group.

Individual Houses will refer to themselves in relation to their own k'unu as being lélé ha k'unu, 'of one and the same k'unu'. The human hand serves as a graphic image to emphasize the common origin of the k'unu as well as the diversity of its constituent Houses. Here the Houses are said to be 'like the fingers of one hand' (hama lima ranggané), only seemingly independent but united by the palm and the wrist of the hand.

Ideally all of these Houses can trace descent to a named pair of ancestors. This association with a pair of mythical original ancestors is, however, secondary to identification with the name of the origin group.

The k'unu is strictly exogamous. The members of its Houses are said to have 'the same look and traits' (ngé éla lélé). In line with the paternal emphasis in the ideology of conception and procreation (see Chapter 4) and in line with the notion of a common original ancestor it is believed that all members of a k'unu share similar physical traits by which they can be recognized and identified by outsiders. These

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\(^3\) Eventually two farther villages, Toké and B'auwawa (literally, mango ridge) were established at a short distance from the two main villages to contain the growing population of Ko'a.
traits are perceived to manifest themselves in facial features, skin colour and general physical constitution.\textsuperscript{4} Ngé ela is thus seen to constitute the visible evidence of the unity of the k’unu.

Within every k’unu one House holds a position of precedence with respect to the other Houses of its k’unu. This position is expressed in an idiom of elder versus younger sibling in that the most senior House is referred to as the 'elder brother House' (nua hat’a ka’ê), whereas all other houses of the k’unu can be referred to as 'younger brother Houses' (nua hat’a hari). In practice, however, only the position of the most senior House is explicitly marked. The seniority of the 'elder brother House' is based on its position within the birth order of the male offspring of the founding pair of ancestors, each of which is said to have founded a separate House. Among the junior Houses of a k’unu no distinction of relative seniority is made.

The senior House is said to be the 'trunk' (b’u’u) of the origin group, whereas junior Houses constitute its 'tip' (ngalu). As such it is the source of well-being and prosperity to the whole of the k’unu. Its seniority is manifest in virtually all matters involving the k’unu as a whole. The 'elder brother House' is the guardian of specific sacral ancestral objects relating to the k’unu, if a given k’unu is in possession of such. If any ceremonial offices are attached to a given k’unu, the senior House exercises the one that is considered to be the most important and most prestigious, whereas junior Houses only exercise minor offices. In all matters concerning the k’unu as a whole the final decisions as well as any representations towards other k’unu rest with the senior House. Ideally the senior House can claim the largest amount of land holdings within its k’unu. By virtue of its seniority and its guardianship of the sacral objects of the k’unu members of an 'elder brother House' are believed to be in more of a direct contact with the collective ancestors of the k’unu as well as with its founding ancestors. Because of this closer relationship with the ancestors of the k’unu much

\textsuperscript{4} The notion of ngé-èla lélé can at a superficial level be compared to our notion of a 'family look'. In some k’unu on Lu’a, specifically in those of priest-leader status, striking physical similarities can be observed.
ceremonial activity such as healing rituals (ka tio t'embo, literally, to eat and wash the body) or rituals of atonement (langa ber'tu \ b'iti't'ali, literally, 'to lay out the bamboo to attach the rope') and many of the crucial fertility related ceremonies, specifically the 'binding of the soul of the green gram' (lamit pu'et) and the first fruit ceremony (petu uwi muriné) are conducted either in the dwelling of the senior House or else in the presence of one of its members.

There are two categories of k'unu origin groups in every domain. 'Father people' (hat'a hama) and 'child people' (hat'a hana). According to their own narratives 'father people' represent the descendants of the first settlers of the domain, whereas 'child people' represent the descendants of those who arrived later and to whom the 'father people' assigned land for agricultural use, a place of settlement and specific ceremonial offices and privileges. On the basis of this claim of literal precedence the senior Houses of the k'unu of 'father people' provide the political and ceremonial leaders of the domain. These priest-leaders are referred to as Lakimosa (literally, large or great men).

Strictly speaking all adult men of Houses of 'father people' status can be addressed as Lakimosa, however, in practice only the senior male member of the most senior House of a 'father people' origin group is addressed as such. By virtue of his seniority and his relation to the original ancestors of the domain and that to the Supreme Being he represents the domain as a whole. He is responsible for its well being and for maintaining 'hada, the total corpus of ancestral knowledge and way of action.

In the domain of Ko'a there are three k'unu of 'father people'. In many respects they represent models for the four k'unu of 'child people' of Ko'a. In ritual speech these 'child people' are also referred to by the couplet wai walu / hana kalo. The composite term wai walu (women of eight [months]) highlights gender differences in relation the period of pregnancy (see Chapter 4). Hana commonly has the meaning of

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5 I owe the term priest-leader to Signe Howell who applies it to a similar and comparable office found in the Lio region of central Flores (Howell, 1990).
child, whereas in Sara Lu’a the term kalo is only employed in its composite form. An
Indonesian translation given for the couplet is ‘masyarakat’, which has the meaning of
population or society. Interestingly, the couplet which is also used throughout the Lio
region of Flores, there has the meaning of ‘widows and orphans’. This meaning
coincides with the Ko’a notion that when a member of a House of ‘father people’ dies
in Ko’a, all of the wai walu Houses of the domain go into mourning, as if a member
of their own House had died.

Every k’unu of ‘father people’ status has its own ceremonial idiom, whereas
most k’unu of ‘child people’ status share the same ceremonial idiom. This ceremonial
idiom is referred to as k’ua. The term k’ua represents another botanic metaphor. In
Sara Lu’a its primary meaning is that of the fruit of the papaw tree (Carica
Papaya). The oblong fruit which has a thick fleshy rind contains numerous small
black seeds embedded in the pulp. According to Ko’a elucidations the seeds represent
the individual Houses that practice the same ceremonial idiom. The image is clearly
one of unity and containment. By extension the term k’ua is also employed as the
generic term for any large scale ceremonial activity.

There are four k’ua in Tana Ko’a: K’ua T’ana, the k’ua of the earth, K’ua
Wet’è, the k’ua of millet, K’ua Méo Hut’a, the k’ua of the feral cat and K’ua
K’imalaja, the k’ua of the k’imalaja sea-shell.

6 Personal communication, S. Nakagawa.
7 Although papaw, a native tree of South America, was probably first introduced into Indonesia by the
early Portuguese, people on Lu’a ascribe a native origin to it.
8 In some domains on Lu’a such as in K’elì, k’ua is often interchangeably employed as a synonym
for the k’unu origin group. We recall the mythical tale (Chapter 2, Section 7) where five boats
arriving on Lu’a carried five different types of cultigens. According to the version of the myth held by
the priest-leaders of the domain of Keli the five boats represent five k’ua: Kimalaja, Suria, Loi Mite,
K’conde B’ima, Ndaru. According to this narrative each of these k’ua initially settled in a different
place. Migration of ‘younger brothers’ out from densely populated settlements is said to account for
the fact that most of these k’ua are now to be found dispersed and intermingled in various domains.
Although the myth of the seven boats carrying the main Lu’a cultigens, is known in T’ana Ko’a, the
Hat’a Ko’a do not fully subscribe to it. They do, however, respect the t’ara relationships that are
grounded in this myth. Only one of the five k’ua of the K’elì tale, K’ua K’imalaja, exists in Ko’a. It
is represented by two ceremonially insignificant houses who still acknowledge links to co-members of
their k’ua living in the village of Nara in T’ana Keli, even though they have been known to live in
Ko’a for many generations. In fact, for specific ritual purposes Nara co-members still have to be in
attendance.
All three k'unu origin groups of 'father people' status practice the ceremonial idiom of K'ua T'ana, the k'ua of the earth, whereby each of them has developed a slightly different interpretation. This K'ua derives its name from the prerogative of 'father people' origin groups as the guardians of the domain. By conducting rituals at the two t'upu t'ana, the ceremonial centres of the domain, their action affects the whole of the domain. Here again it must be remembered that their ritual practice ultimately stands as a model for all other k'ua of the domain.

Members of 'father people' say of the ceremonial idioms of 'child people' that "they are the same but lesser" (konéné hama hama wek'i kura) or that "they do it just any old way" (konéné puna k'ua tupu tané) and even that "they don't have any ceremonial idiom at all" (konéné k'ua ka'a). In saying so the 'father people' emphasize the fact that 'child people' do not have their own water buffalo sacrificing cycle, but support the 'father people' in celebrating the most crucial ceremonial cycle of the domain, the sacrifice of the water buffalo of the earth (karapau t'ana) to the Supreme Being.

K'ua Wet'é derives its name from millet (Panicum miliaceum), a graminaceous plant bearing a large crop of minute nutritious seeds. Millet has never been grown on Lu'a and in Lu'a thought the plant has always been associated with the Lio region of central Flores. In Ko'a, K'ua Wet'é is practiced by several 'child people', none of which, however, mention Lio as a place of origin preceding their crossing of the straits to settle on Lu'a. The association of these 'child people' with something from outside Lu'a as opposed to the direct association of the 'father people' with the domain itself further highlights the precedence of the 'father people'.

K'ua Méo Hut'a and K'ua K'imalaja, the k'ua of the feral cat and the k'ua of the kimalaja-shell are practiced by individual Houses of 'child people' status that trace their origin to domains outside of Ko'a. These Houses have been integrated into k'unu origin groups that practice K'ua Wet'é, the ceremonial idiom of millet.
At some point in time most Ko'a origin groups of 'child people' status had their own ceremonial courtyard (t 'upu). These t 'upu were modelled after the t 'upu t 'ana, the ceremonial courtyards of the domain held by the origin groups of 'father people' status. Whereas the latter were identified as the t 'upu of 'the large bow // the long tail' (hulu ca // éko lawa), a metaphor that stands for the whole of the domain and all that is in it, the former were considered to be t 'upu of 'the small bow // the short tail' (hulu lo'o // éko sut'I) in reference to the k 'unu and its place of origin.

These ceremonial courtyards of the 'child people' served as points of connection with the collective ancestors of the individual k 'unu. They were employed for ceremonies of atonement for breaches against hada regulations, for purposes of healing rituals, both involving the sacrifice of pig, and for assistance in bridewealth negotiations. Only in rare cases, severe infringements against hada also required the sacrifice of water buffalo.

In recent times the present priest-leader of K'unu Powo is said to have curtailed these ceremonial privileges of 'child people'. Angered by what had appeared as an attempt by K'uru K'aju Malé to outdo the ceremonial activities of the 'father people' of Ko'a by staging large scale water buffalo sacrifices at its own t 'upu, the Powo priest-leader is said to have singlehandedly lifted up its largest monolith and to have smashed it against the ground, breaking it in two, after which he threw the pieces into the undergrowth outside the village.

In Lu'a thought, any moving of a ceremonial monolith (masé), willful or accidental, entails the death of the offender by way of supernatural sanction. In the case of the Powo priest-leader disposing of the masé of K'unu K'aju Malé, no supernatural sanction followed. This was generally taken as proof that the priest-leader had rightfully acted in the name of the Lu'a Supreme Being. As a result of his wrathful intervention the various k 'unu now only rarely use their t 'upu for blood sacrifices and instead have these carried out on their behalf by the Powo priest-leader on the main ceremonial courtyard of the domain.
### Table No. 3.1
Status of Ko'a Origin Groups and Ceremonial Idioms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Father People’</th>
<th>‘Child People’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K‘unu Powo Wawo</td>
<td>K‘unu K‘aju Malé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K‘unu Rada Wula</td>
<td>K‘unu Roka Roi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K‘unu Manggé B’asé</td>
<td>K‘unu Sari Ko’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K‘unu T‘onggé T‘u’ané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K‘una T‘ana</td>
<td>K‘una Weté and other idioms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECTION 2: K‘UNU POWO WAWO**

K‘unu Powo Wawo takes its name from a place called Powo located approximately two hundred metres up the mountain from the present Ko’a main settlement of Nat’a Ca. Powo is marked by the ancient abandoned ceremonial courtyard K‘éli B’éó. Its ‘head monolith’ (*masé t’aba*) is oriented towards the mountaintop and thus identifies the *t’upu* as the ceremonial courtyard of an original first settlement (see Chapter 2, Section 5). The abandoned place of settlement is now overgrown with secondary forest and its ceremonial courtyard is only occasionally used by healer-sorcerers for specific healing rituals. On special occasions it is also used by the priest-leader of K‘unu Powo Wawo for minor rituals related to the water buffalo ceremonial cycle and for rituals aimed at influencing the rain (see Chapter 2, Section 3).

The formal and complete name of K‘unu Powo is Powo Wawo, T‘uwa Ndéwo, Haji Hok’a, T‘ana T‘ondo, Ria Rak’a, Paji Hama. This name is referred to as ‘the name [of the k’unu] that is called out’ (*kai ngara*). There are two types of *kai ngara* to each origin group; ‘the name that is called out on the top of the ceremonial courtyard’, and *kai ngara sara p’at’a wai hanané*, ‘the name that is called out during bridewealth

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9 See Chapter 2, *patola* chant, couplet 26-29.
10 A number of years ago the Powo *t’upu* was partially cleared for agricultural purposes by a member of the Powo ‘people from above’. After a succession of deaths had occurred in the House of the offender, a water buffalo was sacrificed by its members to atone for the offense and the forest around the *t’upu* was allowed to regrow.
negotiations' (kai ngara rét’a t’u pu ngaluné). The circumscription of the former indicates that this name is primarily employed in ritual contexts at the ceremonial courtyard of the domain. This name is also called out by guests from outside the domain in formal ceremonial contexts as a means of identification towards the Supreme Being and towards the collective and individual ancestors of the hosting House and its domain.

All except for the last element in this name are actual place names in the immediate vicinity of the ancient t’u pu. The last element, Paji Hama, Father of Paji, refers to the father of a female ancestor who was given away in marriage to a House of an origin group that is not specifically named. This last element refers to the original position of the first settling K’unu Powo as a wife-giver to subsequently settling origin groups and thus emphasizes its superordinate position.

K’unu Powo claims the chant ‘Carrying and Dragging the Black Patola Stone’ (see Chapter 2, Section 4) as its own myth of origin and claims the ancestral pairs Tadi and Wenggu and Roe and Ala, who figure at the beginning of this chant as the primordial ancestors of K’unu Powo Wawo. In doing so, this k’unu positions itself at the very origins of the whole of the island. This connection with primordial events substantiates its position of precedence in the domain. Having literally brought along the island to its present location and having tended to its growth by way of ritual at the t’u pu t’ana, K’unu Powo is identified by other Ko’a origin groups as one of the principal sources of fertility and welfare of the domain.

According to one Powo version of its history of settlement, which differs somewhat from the text of the patola chant, the ancestors arrived at the place called Wat’u Pou (see Chapter 2 Section 2), but instead of following the coast as indicated in the chant, they ascended the mountain on its southern side and moved across the fields of volcanic vents to its western side. Up there a first settlement was founded at the location of the ancient t’u pu Masé B’asé // Sangga Su (Patola chant, couplet 13). Only in a second step did they then descend from the mountaintop to settle at Powo. This
version of settlement history is employed by Powo to substantiate its claim over the 'tip' territory of the domain on the southern side of the mountain (see Chapter 2, Section 6).

K̕unu Powo is the guardian of T̕upu Meno T̕ana, one of the two central ceremonial courtyards of the domain. As such it guards access to the Supreme Being. The origin group is also the sponsor of the extended ceremonial cycle of the water buffalo sacrifice. For ceremonial purposes relating to the t̕upu t̕ana, the ten Houses of K̕unu Powo are divided into two subgroups. The two subgroups, each consisting of five Houses, are named according to the locations of their dwellings at the upper and lower 'door' of the ceremonial courtyard hat̕a rét̕a, 'people from above' and hat̕a lau, 'people from the north'.

Each Powo subgroup is associated with one half of the domain. In ceremonial context at the t̕upu t̕ana the 'people from above' stand inside the upper 'door' of the ceremonial courtyard facing downhill invoking the 'names of the domain' of the lower half of the domain, whereas the 'people from the north' standing inside the lower 'door' of the t̕upu invoke the 'names of the domain' of the upper half of the domain. Following the water buffalo sacrifice, when offerings of ceremonial rice kernels and eggs are made along the boundary line between Ko'a and the domain of Nitu, the 'people from above' make these offerings for the lower section of the boundary line and 'the people from the north' perform those for its upper section.

The dual ciation of this origin group into subgroups is most prominent at the initial and at the final stages of the water buffalo sacrificing cycle. There one subgroup makes up the party that purchases the sacrificial animal. They are referred to as hat̕a puané, 'shipping people' (pua, literally, shipping) because they cross the straits to Flores and there acquire a yearling buffalo from allies of the t̕ura type and bring it back by boat to Ko'a. In this context the other subgroup is referred to as hau̕u pāt̕iné, 'slashing people. They take their name from their position at the final stage of the

Son and daughter of Powo priestleader making an offering of ceremonial rice kernels at T‘upu Meno T‘ana. In the foreground the 'Portuguese' héma skirt and the female ceremonial shield with a string of kauri shells. Note the carved breast on the upper section of the shield.

Pali Waré, main officiant of T‘upu Roda Wulu (member of the 'people from above') holding male ceremonial shield (hʻata wuli).
cycle where male members of specific Houses act as officiants in charge of sacrificing the animal.

At this final stage of the cycle, rules of avoidance are in force between the two groups. During the five days preceding the sacrifice, members of opposite groups are not supposed to associate with one another in any way. It is believed that contact between those that have brought in the buffalo and have raised it for a period of five years, and those that will eventually kill the animal can have an irritating effect on the buffalo. The animal is believed to sense indirectly the presence of its slayer if a member of the 'sacrificing people' comes into contact with one of its familiars who have raised it. This brief period of ceremonial avoidance ceases after completion of the sacrifice.

In theory either subgroup during a given ceremonial cycle can act as the purchasing or the sacrificing party. In fact, according to the ideology of 'father people' Houses, it is desirable to alternate functions with every new cycle. In practice, however, the 'people from the north' have during more recent cycles exercised the position of 'shipping people'. During the last two cycles their economic position has been significantly stronger than that of the 'people from above', and, therefore, they have been able to act as its main sponsors. The ceremonial purchase, the raising and the preparatory steps leading up to the sacrifice are economically demanding for those Houses directly associated with it, whereas the 'sacrificing people' are only liable to make a small number of prestations and are not, to the same extent, obliged to provide hospitality for large numbers of guests. Consequently the prestige (ngara ca, literally, the big name) that the Houses of the 'shipping people' gain from their position during the cycle which is maintained beyond its closure is a lot greater than that of the 'sacrificing people'.

House No 1 (see Map 3.1) is the 'elder brother' House of K'unu Powo Wawo. As the most senior House of this origin group it provides one of the two priest-leaders of the domain.
The same House in its position as the most senior House of the 'shipping people' also provides the ceremonial virgin (k'ombi) who is in charge of raising the water buffalo from the day it sets foot on Lu'a to the day it is sacrificed, a period that usually extends over five years. Only an unmarried woman can be selected for this office, since she is conceptualized as being the 'spouse of the water buffalo' (wai é é k'arapau). In being the guardian of his welfare she indirectly also assumes responsibility for the welfare of the domain which is contingent on the successful completion of the sacrificial cycle. For the duration of the cycle she is, therefore, subject to a set of strict rules pertaining to food as well as to conduct, and after the conclusion of the sacrifice she goes into mourning as if her own husband had died. If she does get married at a later date, special additional prestations of ivory tusks and golden ear pendants are required from the wife-taking House in order for her to be released from her bond to the water buffalo.

The most senior House of the 'sacrificing people' also provides a ceremonial virgin. Her role is, however, relatively minor. Immediately preceding the sacrifice she takes charge of the animal as it is attached to the offering pole at the t'upu t'ana. She also is subject to food prohibitions and to special rules of conduct but these are significantly less restrictive than those applying to the k'ombi virgin of the 'shipping people'.

This senior House, which is identical with the senior House of the 'people from above' of T'upu Meno T'ana at present does not have an unmarried daughter, and, therefore, cannot provide a k'ombi virgin for the sacrificial cycle. Efforts to adopt a suitable child from another House of its origin group have not been fruitful. In fact, one adopted child died soon after it had taken on the k'ombi position. Her death reflected badly on the status of the adopting House and gave rise to speculations about the legitimacy of that House assuming a senior position within its subgroup.

The House in question derives its position of seniority among the Houses of the 'people from above' from the ceremonial office of 'slayer <of the water buffalo>'
(hat’a pai ’iné) to which it is attached. However, in matters concerning the origin group as a whole this House is junior to the House of the Powo priest-leader. In the recent past, relations between the two Houses have been strained because contributions of the former towards the ceremonial cycle have been minimal and there are now indications of the beginning of a process which may result in fission from K’unu Powo.

At a specific stage within the annual agricultural cycle, when it becomes evident that the harvest: of the main Lu’a cultigen, the green gram, will be successful, restrictions on the consumption of tubers are lifted in an important ceremony called ‘touching the new tuber to the forehead’ (pélu uwi muri). For this purpose the members of the individual Houses of a k’unu congregate in the dwelling of its ‘elder brother person’. In doing so they acknowledge its seniority and pay homage to its position as the source of fertility of the k’unu. In recent years, however, the senior Powo House of the ‘people from above’ no longer congregated at the Powo priest-leader’s house but carried out this ceremony on its own. Three other Powo Houses (one of which is a member of the ‘people from the north’) that for various reasons have been experiencing difficulties in their relations to its senior House have since followed suit and now congregate in the dwelling of the senior House of its ‘people from above’. This specific constellation appears to have the potential of creating fission within the origin group along the lines apparent in the new orientation of Powo Houses during the pélu uwi muri ceremony.

**SECTION 3: K’UNU RODA WULA**

K’unu Roda Wula takes its name from the second main ceremonial courtyard of the domain located in the village of T’odopab’a. Its complete ceremonial name, ‘the name that is called out at the top of the t’upu’, is Roda Wula, Nunu Somba, ‘Disk of the Moon, Waringin Tree of Offerings’ after a Waringin tree (*Ficus benjamina*) that used to stand below the t’upu. This tree is said to have marked the ceremonial
courtyard of a previous stage of settlement in the immediate vicinity of the present t’upu. At present, however, there is no visible evidence of the ancient t’upu.

The five Houses that make up this origin group claim the 'father people' status of original settlers and its senior House provides the priest-leader of T’upu Roda Wula, the second main ceremonial courtyard of the domain. K’unu Roda Wula subscribes to the same chant 'Carrying and Dragging the Black Patola Stone' as its myth of origin as does K’unu Powo. However, at the beginning of the chant the ancestral pair Ratu and Wolo is named as its primordial ancestors in place of those of K’unu Powo.

As all other origin groups of 'father people' status in the domain, K’unu Roda Wula practices the ceremonial idiom of the earth (k’ua t’ana). In terms of its orientation with respect to T’upu Roda Wula, its members are classified as 'people of the north'. Unlike T’upu Meno T’ana, where two subgroups of the same k’unu are associated with its upper and lower entrance, two different origin groups of 'father people' status, K’unu Manggé Basé and K’unu Roda Wula, represent their structural equivalents at T’upu Roda Wula.

In the context of the past ceremonial cycles of the water buffalo sacrifice K’unu Roda Wula has acted as the 'shipping people' purchasing the sacrificial animal, thereby mirroring the position of the Houses of the subgroup of the priest-leader of T’upu Meno T’ana. Its senior House provides the k’ombi virgin for the sacrificial animal and a junior House acts as the guardian of the ceremonial objects of the t’upu.

As with all other origin groups of 'father people' status, its members are also referred to as 'people with land' (hata no’o t’ana). The designation refers to its position as a first settling group that by virtue of its precedence could initially claim rights to large amounts of land in the domain. Village grounds as well as vast tracts of fields still remain part of its present holdings. However, according to priest-leader ideology, subsequently settling groups were assigned fields and places of settlement, thereby diminishing the original holdings of 'father people'.
K'unu Roda Wula has its own small harbour Mbabela Mbou, ('Spider Harbour'), located to the south of Pungé Harbour of K’unu Powo. This harbour is adjacent to a valley referred to as Ojé K’oli ('Lontar Valley'). The valley traces a line up towards the mountain that passes closely beneath the village of T’odopab’a. When seeking out monoliths employed in secondary mortuary rituals, members of Roda Wula usually concentrate on the ridge overlooking this valley, whereas Houses associated with T’upu Meno T’ana do so along a different ridge located to the north of it. This situation implies an initial lengthwise division of the domain into two halves superimposed upon the vertical division of the respective spheres of the ‘people from above’ and the ‘people of the north’ of both ceremonial courtyards. In contrast, however, restrictions following lengi éné ceremonies held at one t’upu pertain to all of the domain and not just to one half of it. The present landholdings of K’unu Roda Wula, no longer indicate such a lengthwise division into a southern and northern half of the domain associated with its respective ceremonial courtyards. At present Roda Wula owns several lots of land in the southern part of the domain but it also holds rights to a number of fields in its northern region and, conversely, the same also holds true for K’unu Powo Wawo. Because of the multiple ways in which titles to land can be acquired (i.e., acquisition by means of goods, as prestations from wife-giver to wife-taker groups, in lieu of payment of hada fines, as a result of lapsed pawnking arrangements), it is not possible to reconstruct an original situation that would allow for further insight into a former lengthwise division of the domain into two realms.
The origins of K'unu Roda Wula are somewhat obscure. The present Lakimosa holds only very little knowledge specific to his k 'unu and to ceremonial practice at his t'upu t'ana. According to elders of the village of T'odopab'a, his father, the previous priest-leader was equally ignorant of these matters. Much of ceremonial practice at this t'upu is delegated to a female representative of the most senior house of its 'people of above', an entirely different origin group of 'father people' status called Manggé B'asé.

Some members of the Powo origin group of 'father people' of T'upu Meno T'ana maintain that K'unu Roda Wula has unrightfully assumed 'father people' status and that this is the reason for the lack of knowledge of hada of the Roda Wula priest-leader. This is also taken to account for the fact that genealogical knowledge of K'unu Roda Wula is scanty and shallow. According to Powo reckoning, the grandfather (FF) of the present Roda Wula priest-leader was adopted into the senior House of the origin group from the loosely allied domain of Cua. Some members of K'unu Roda Wula in
turn claim that one of the male ancestors of the Powo priest-leader originally came from the allied domain of Cawalo, a claim that Powo strongly disavows. However, both claims do not directly imply a lack of legitimacy of priest-leadership, since adoption is generally considered to be an accepted form of recruitment to Houses of priest-leader status.

Another, more substantial objection to Roda Wula priest-leadership is grounded in the narrative that at some time in the past another Ko’ a origin group used to be the holder of the present position of Roda Wula. This origin group called Roka Roi is said to have been expelled from its position because members had been found guilty of incest within the k’unu. After its expulsion several Houses of an origin group of Nat’a Ca called K’aju Malé are said to have split off from their k’unu and to have stepped into the position of Roka Roi in T’odoab’a. This information on the origins of K’unu Roda Wula is scarcely ever openly mentioned. However, in the more recent past Roda Wula Houses have not been successful in their undertakings. Illness, death, stillbirths and poor harvests occurring at an unusual rate within this origin group are interpreted as indications that the Supreme Being does not accept the claim to priest-leadership of Roda Wula. As a result of this series of unfortunate events there have been covert moves from Roda Wula to renounce priest-leadership and reinstate Roka Roi to its former position. Senior members of Roka Roi maintain that they declined to follow suit because of the economic hardship involved in priest-leadership.

Dual priest-leadership is present in some form in all of the seven domains on Lu’a that practice the ceremonial cycle of the water buffalo sacrifice.11 The position of the two priest-leaders with respect to each other is not specifically marked and no classification of superiority or inferiority is explicitly expressed either in terms of

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11 In numerous eastern Indonesian societies, most prominently perhaps among the Atoni of Timor (Schulte Nordholt, 1966; Vischer, 1983), dual leadership is constituted by a conceptually female, immobile sacral leader and a conceptually male, actively outgoing, worldly leader. Dual priest-leadership on Lu’a is of a similar nature even though every priest-leader associated with his own ceremonial courtyard ideally unites in himself both of these aspects of leadership (see Chapter 3, Section 5).
gender or relative age as is the case in political and ceremonial alliance between domains. According to priest-leader ideology they are in all respects equal. Nonetheless, in all cases one priest-leader does take precedence over the other.

The position of the second priest-leader varies according to domains. In present day T'ana T'omu as well as in T'ana Cawalo, the two domains closely allied with Ko'a, both priest-leaders still conduct their separate ceremonial cycles. However, in all matters outside of ceremonial contexts one of the two priest-leaders remains silent and uninvolved, and decision making and representation towards the outside falls entirely to the priest-leader who has taken precedence.

The situation in the domain of Ko'a is very similar to that of T'omu or Cawalo. In every day practice as well as in ceremonial contexts the priest-leader of Ko'a Powo takes precedence over the priest-leader of Roda Wula. Thus, lengi éné ceremonies which affect the whole of the domain always have to be carried out first on T'upu Meno T'ana before they can take place on T'upu Roda Wula.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of the present order of precedence among Ko'a priest-leaders is the sequence followed in the handing over of the tether of the sacrificial water buffaloes of the domain (karapau t'ana). Upon arrival at the shores of the domain, the priest-leader of every 'shipping party' unloads his animal and hands the tether over to the senior member of an origin group of 'child people' status called

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12 In T'ana K'ëli evidence of the second priest-leader has all but disappeared. According to the present K'ëli priest-leader, two generations ago the priest-leader of T'upu Magasogé, the second t'upu tana of the domain located in the village of K'ajuk'éri, altogether relinquished the claim of his House to priest-leadership, reportedly because he was 'too shy and embarrassed' to conduct his own water buffalo sacrificing cycle any longer. Implicit in this statement is a lack of connectedness with the Supreme Being and the mythical ancestors of the domain and, resulting from that, the inability to carry the economic burden of priest-leadership. His ceremonial courtyard has fallen into disuse and no longer are any ceremonies on behalf of the domain carried out by the priest-leader's House. Instead, this House is now only occasionally called upon to make contributions towards the large scale ceremonies conducted by the priest-leader of the other ceremonial courtyard. All of its juridical powers have been transferred to the other priest-leader as well. Present day K'ëli therefore appears to the outside observer to have only one priest-leader. According to other reports, some K'ëli Houses in the outlying K'ëli territory of Woja have since this relinquishment made a bid for priest-leadership and have applied for the K'ëli priest-leader's approval to conduct their own ceremonial cycle. This right was not granted and K'ëli priest-leadership appears now bound to remain monophasic. In the K'ëli case the presence of the church may have had a hand in this development, in that in structural terms the church can be viewed as having taken the position of the second priest-leader in the domain, thus restoring a dual balance in priest-leadership.
Sari Ko'a that acts as a guardian of Pungé beach. As in every step of the ceremonial purchase, the Powo priest-leader's party goes first and only then can that of the Roda Wula priest-leader follow. Thus it is his party that lands on Lu'a first and unloads its animal after which the second party is permitted to land. The two animals are taken up to the Ko'a villages by the Sari Ko'a member along a specific path that ends at the ceremonial courtyard of Sari Ko'a outside of the village of Nat'a Ca. In the ascent, again, the Powo animal precedes the Roda Wula animal. At the Sari Ko'a t'u'pu the animals are handed over to the Powo priest-leader who proceeds to lead his buffalo to his ceremonial courtyard where it is attached to the 'House of the water buffalo'. Once the animal is installed he returns to the Sari Ko'a t'u'pu and takes charge of the Roda Wula animal. He leads this animal up to the boundary between the two main Ko'a villages of Nat'a Ca and T'odopab'a. He is awaited there by the Roda Wula priest-leader who is presented with the tether and proceeds to lead his animal to the 'House of the water buffalo' associated with his ceremonial courtyard. At each instance at which the tether changes hands the receiving party makes a prestation of gold, ivory or money. At later stages of the ceremonial cycle again, ritual activity always begins at the T'u'pu Meno T'ana and only then is the corresponding stage commenced at T'u'pu Roda Wula. If this sequence is not properly followed at all times, it is believed that the Roda Wula animal is in danger of dying.
Diagram No. 3.2
Order of Precedence in Handing Over the Tether

1. Unloading of Animal A
   Powo Lau
   (Shipping Party,
    People from the North,
    T'upu T'ana)

2. Unloading of Animal B
   Roda Wula
   (Shipping Party,
    People from the North,
    T'upu Roda Wula)

Receiving Tether
of Animals A & B
Sari Ko'a
(Senior House of K'unu,
Guardian of the Shores)

Receiving Tether
of Animals A & B
Powo Lau

Receiving Tether
of Animal B
Roda Wula

To highlight his precedence, the present Powo priest-leader likes to refer to himself colloquially as the 'Big Lakimosa' (Lakimosa Ca) and to the Roda Wula priest-leader as the 'Small Lakimosa' (Lakimosa Lo'o). According to him, Powo has always taken precedence over Roda Wula. However, the evidence of the female ceremonial shield of T'upu T'ana provides an indication that in the past the order of precedence among Ko'a priest-leaders may have undergone an inversion. It may be significant that this shield shows two female breasts, whereas that of T'upu Roda Wula does not. In Lu'a thought, the conceptually female is always subordinate to the conceptually male. The association of the t'upu t'ana of the Powo priest-leader with the conceptually female may, therefore, be an indication of a formerly subordinate position to Roda Wula. If that was indeed the case, it would be reasonable to assume that the present order of precedence came into being as a result of the expulsion of the Houses of the former priest-leaders of Roda Wula.

Section 4: K'unu Manggé Basé

The background and origins of K'unu Manggé Basé are nearly as obscure as those of K'unu Roda Wula. Here again there are no narratives of the origin group and only a few indications about its former place of settlement and about the way in which it reached its present position. The present opaqueness of both groups of 'father people' associated with T'upu Roda Wula contrasts markedly with the relatively
clearly defined situation at T'upu Meno T'ana. This contrast appears to reflect and reinforce the order of precedence among the two sets of 'father people' at this time.

The five Houses of K'unu Manggê B'asé claim the 'father people' status of first settling groups. With respect to the Roda Wula ceremonial courtyard they represent its 'people from above'. As such, they mirror the position of the Powo 'people from above' of T'upu Meno T'ana. During the last ceremonial cycles they also acted as the 'sacrificing people' in charge of killing the 'water buffalo of the domain'.

Manggê B'asé claims the same origin chant 'Carrying and Dragging the Black Patola Stone' for its own history of origin as do the other first settling groups of the domain. However, at the beginning of the chant, it does not insert a different original ancestral pair, but chants the names of the ancestral pair Tadi and Wenggu claimed by K'unu Powo. In doing so the origin group appears to emphasize close relations to the Powo origin group rather than to the Houses of K'unu Roda Wula, the 'people from the north' of its own ceremonial courtyard.

Currently it is not the senior House of Mangge B'asé that is in charge of ceremonial practice within the k'unu and of ritual duties related to the upper half of the ceremonial courtyard. It appears that the senior House has delegated its position to a junior House because of the outstanding knowledge in matters pertaining to hada held by the widow of the 'elder brother person' of this junior House. This woman was instructed by her husband's mother who is said to have reached an extraordinarily old age and who reputedly had knowledge that far exceeded that of any other member of the domain. For the same reason the present Roda Wula priest-leader also delegates much ritual practice to this woman. The measure of prosperity her House enjoys is in turn viewed as an indication that the ancestors and the Supreme Being are not opposed to her assuming senior status. It is, therefore, this House that supplies the k'ombi virgin of the 'sacrificing people' during the ceremonial cycle and who exercises the ceremonial office of 'slasher of the water buffalo'.
At T'upu Roda Wula it is also this House that maintains the ceremonial field of the 'rooster's foot' and not the priest-leader's House, as is the case at T'upu Meno T'ana. Again, exceptionally successful harvests confirm in the eyes of the Houses associated with T'upu Roda Wula that this House is rightfully in charge of the ceremonial field.

The situation in which a woman elder was in a position of maintaining a monopoly of knowledge in the domain is said to have come about as the result of a radical demographic shift. Over two generations ago a large number of Ko'a elders is said to have died in quick succession before they had the opportunity to properly instruct their descendants in matters pertaining to hada. There are speculations that this mass series of deaths was related to the change of the 'old land' to a new order heralded by the mission, the schools, and the local government of the colonial period. These elders were believed to have consciously decided to die and it is said that they 'stood up and left together' (keré t'ë pana hama hama) for the abode of the ancestors because their way of life did not suit the exigencies of the 'Christian Land' (T'ana Serani).13 Other Ko'a voices maintain that this series of deaths was related to the activities of the feared K'aju Malé sorcerer Waré.

Assessing the adherence of K'unu Manggê B'asé to a specific ceremonial idiom is somewhat problematic. As a first settling group of 'father people' status, it practices the 'ceremonial idiom of the earth' (k'ua t'ana). The acting senior House, however, appears to have also embraced the ceremonial idiom of several Houses now affiliated with other Ko'a origin groups. At one level these Houses, once again for lack of ritual knowledge, are said to have entrusted Manggê B'asé with the preservation of their own ceremonial idiom. The acting senior Manggê B'asé House has accommodated the ceremonial idiom of the k'imalaja shell by including it in its own ritual practice. In

13 The phenomenon of a mass series of deaths of Ko'a elders has recently repeated itself. Whereas during the entire period of research only one Ko'a elder died, twelve elders died in short succession during the rainy season in 1989, some only days, others only weeks from each other. In this case the people of Ko'a offered no explanation other than that elders missed the company of their deceased age mates giving themselves death in order to be able to join them.
doing so it appears to have integrated elements of K’ua K’imalaja into the ‘ceremonial idiom of the eart’r rather than keeping the two entirely separate and handling them in a parallel manner.

It is, however, significant that Manggé B’asé has specifically integrated elements of K’ua K’imalaja into its ritual practice and none of any other ceremonial idiom practiced by Ko’a Houses of external origin. At another level the significance appears not to lie with the present Ko’a Houses of K’ua K’imalaja who trace their origins to groups of ‘child people’ status from outside of Ko’a, although these Houses do profit from the ritual activities of Manggé B’asé. Even though it is never openly stated, Manggé B’asé is by this process of integration also linking up with the ceremonial idiom of a group of Houses that in the distant past resided at a place in Ko’a referred to as T’upu Tet’u (the flat t’upu). Of this group nothing is known apart from the fact that they were of K’ua K’imalaja and that they vanished a long time ago. Tales surrounding this location that at present belongs to the holdings of K’unu Roda Wula mention a dangerous and attractive female ancestral spirit who in the past lured Ko’a men to T’upu Tet’u and killed them by puncturing them with a long needle. By including the ceremonial idiom of her group into that of its own Manggé B’asé appears to acknowledge covertly its precedence as original first settlers preceding the period of establishment of the two t’upu t’ana of Ko’a.14

The complete name of the origin group is Manggé B’asé T’upu T’ola. There is no further meaning to Manggé B’asé, whereas t’upu in the composite T’upu T’ola

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14 Perhaps this covert notion of an original K’imalaja precedence in Ko’a accounts for the manner in which the Powo priest-leader, during a meeting in Uwa organized by the deputy district officer for the Department of Education and Culture, felt the need to counter the claims to precedence of the K’éli priest-leader of K’ua K’imalaja. Ignorant of the nature of Lu’a domains these officials set out to determine which of the twelve domains had established itself first on the island. When the K’éli priest-leader maintained that his origin group had arrived on Lu’a long before any other group and that K’ua K’imalaja was, therefore, the oldest ceremonial idiom on the island, the Ko’a priest-leader replied that although the k’imalaja shell (a type of giant clam shell) was a creature of the deep sea, it still rested on top of the seabed. It was, therefore, evident that K’ua T’ana, the ceremonial idiom of the earth of the Ko’a priest-leaders and not K’ua K’imalaja had been there first; otherwise, what else could the k’imalaja shell have rested on. The priest-leaders of all other Lu’a domains attending this somewhat farcical meeting applauded his argumentation and tongue-in-cheek, made a show of supporting his claim.
refers to the upper 'door' of the ceremonial courtyard that is under the guardianship of this origin group. The term t'ola makes allusion to p'at'ola, the sacral Indian trade cloth with which the 'black stone' is covered that is added to the t'upu at the closure of every ceremonial cycle.

The sequence in which the origin chant 'carrying and dragging the black patola stone' is chanted before the setting of these primordial stones at both ceremonial courtyards illustrates the order of precedence among the guardians of their respective 'doors'. The chanting, during which the stone, which is attached to a bamboo pole and covered with a patola cloth, is danced with by the woman of each ceremonial sphere begins at the lower 'door' of Tupu Meno T'ana. Once the complete text has been chanted, the stone is brought to its upper 'door' where the same text is chanted again. Only after its completion can this process begin with a different stone at T'upu Roda Wula. Here again, the chant is chanted first at its lower 'door' and only then at its upper door.

**Diagram No. 3.3**

**Order of Precedence in Chanting Sequence of Patola Chant**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Powo Lau</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>Powo Ret'a</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>Roda Wula</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>Mange B'asé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(T'upu Meno T'ana, Lower Door)</td>
<td>(T'upu Meno T'ana, Upper Door)</td>
<td>(T'upu Roda Wula, Lower Door)</td>
<td>(T'upu Roda Wula, Upper Door)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This order of precedence of T'upu Meno Tana over T'upu Roda Wula and that of its respective 'people from the north' over the 'people from above' is somewhat altered during the ceremonially significant cultivation cycle of the green gram. Here the sequence of *lengi éné* ceremonies begins again at the lower 'door' of T'upu Meno Tana, followed by its 'people from above'. At T'upu Roda Wula, however, *lenqi éné* is first carried out by its 'people from above' and then only by its 'people from below'. This inversion of precedence at T'upu Roda Wula is contextual and appears to take into account that there is only one ceremonial field associated with this *t'upu* and that this field is tended by its 'people from above'. Implicitly the sequence
acknowledges the present arrangement between the two origin groups where Manggê B'asé, because of its superior knowledge in agricultural matters, carries out ceremonial duties on behalf of Roda Wula.

**Diagram No. 3.4**

**Order of Precedence in Lengi Énë Rituals of Green Gram Cycle**

| Powo Lau (T'upu Meno T'ana, People from the North) | Powo Ret'â (T'upu Meno T'ana, People from Above) | Manggê B'asé (T'upu Roda Wula, People from Above) | Roda Wula (T'upu Roda Wula, People from the North) |

On one ceremonial courtyard we have a situation where, with the exception of the guardianship of the ceremonial house and its objects, two subgroupings of one single origin group exercise all ceremonial offices associated with the t'upu t'ana. On the other ceremonial courtyard two different origin groups occupy the positions of the 'people from above' and the 'people from the north'. At both t'upu the position of precedence of the northern half over the upper half coincides with the association of the former with the senior House and with its function as the 'shipping people' of the ceremonial cycle.

**SECTION 5: PRIEST-LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY**

Usually the first-born son (*hat'a ka'ê*) succeeds his father in the office of priest-leader. As with all other ceremonial offices, the successor is appointed by the office holder on his death bed. Only if the first-born son is not available or is inept is another son appointed. This appointment is subject to consensual confirmation by the priest-leaders of the allied domains.

Apart from the objects of the t'upu t'ana that are kept in a special ceremonial building (*nuau puka*) and apart from those that are part of the heirlooms of his House, few specific paraphernalia mark the office of priest-leader. On formal occasions he may often carry a cane (*sut'a*, literally, support) of tamarind wood or bamboo or a ceremonial sword (*t'opo*), although these implements are not exclusive to the priest-
leader. However, the wearing of a bright red headdress (lésu) is a privilege of male members of Houses of priest-leader status. The colour (réré) is associated with the blood of the sacrificial water buffalo. An affinity is perceived between this blood and the blood of priest-leaders and it is said that 'the blood of the Lakimosa is as red as that of the water buffalo' (laja Lakimosa réré hama laja karapau). It is understood that the 'blood' running in currents beneath the surface of the ground is of an equally red colour. This colour becomes visible in the wood of specific hardwood trees such as candlenut (k 'oja) whose roots tap into this 'blood' and take on its colour. Fireboxes are often made out of this type of resistant hardwood. However, in dwellings of priest-leaders it is prohibited to use such wood for the construction of fireboxes or in the preparation of meals. According to one interpretation, the heating of the red wooded firebox or the burning of such wood causes the priest-leader’s blood to heat up and makes him ill.

The affinity of the priest-leader with his domain is perceived in numerous ways. He is the one who can by way of dreaming (péla nip i, literally, to see thin) perceive the earth deities, 'mothers of the earth' (t’ana inané), a personified chthonic aspect of the Supreme Being. The priest-leader is the personification of the domain. When the domain is ailing because of lack of rain, storms, infestation with rodents, worms, or insects, the health of the priest-leader himself can be negatively affected. Conversely, if the domain is thriving, the priest-leader is healthy.

By making offerings of pig meat, blood or coconut at the t ‘upu t ‘ana the priest-leader can reach the Supreme Being. On Lu’a blood offerings are ranked, whereby the blood of water buffalo ranks highest, followed by the blood of pig and the blood of chicken. The latter in some cases can be employed as a replacement of pig blood. In fact, a small sacrificial pig is in ritual contexts referred to as a chicken (manu). The blood of water buffalo, however, cannot be replaced by that of a pig. According to some 'father people' the blood of water buffalo itself is a replacement for human blood which, however, has never constituted a sacrificial ingredient. The blood of water
buffalo is the highest ranking offering that can be made to the Supreme Being. It is periodically employed by the 'father people' origin groups of the domain to rid it of the negative influences accumulated by the conscious and unconscious actions of its inhabitants and to reestablish harmony throughout the universe.

Ultimately the priest-leader derives his ceremonial and political powers from his connection with the Supreme Being. Of a powerful priest-leader it is said that 'the sun and the moon are with him' (*era-wula laē hia*) or that 'he has the sun and the moon' (*hia no'o era-wula*) implying that he has direct access to the Supreme Being. The junior Houses of the priest-leader origin group as well as all groups of 'child people' status have access only indirectly through the mediation of the priest-leader at the main ceremonial courtyard. Only one other person in the domain, the healer-sorcerer (*kat'a pisa*), has similar access to the Supreme Being. On these grounds he is usually greeted with the exclamation 'the sun and the moon have arrived! (*era-wula maï'u!*) Next to the priest-leader he is the most powerful person in the domain.

Structurally the priest-leader and the healer-sorcerer represent a diadic pair. As the main source of their powers, both draw upon their relation to the Supreme Being. There is no cleavage between their respective realms of influence. It might be said that the healer-sorcerer deals with individuals rather than with the whole of the domain as does the priest-leader. However, there is a large degree of overlap between the two realms. They may also be distinguished according to their approach. The healer-sorcerer employs the aid of specific auxiliary spirits (*pu*) and 'follows the path of the night' (*pasa lala meréné*) in that part of his soul can travel at night and enter other people's dreams and influence them, whereas the priest-leader is traditionally associated with daylight and the sun, and operates by virtue of his connection with the mythical ancestors and the 'mothers of the earth'. However, such a categorization is somewhat unsatisfactory also, because here again there is in practice a large degree of overlap.
For our discussion of the authority of the priest-leader, it is of relevance that, according to priest-leader ideology, even the powerful healer-sorcerer's access to the Supreme Being must initially be granted by the priest-leader. Without his agreement, the healer-sorcerer is powerless. In Lu'a thought the powers of the healer-sorcerer which are personified as his auxiliary spirits are believed to be always present in a latent condition. They are thought to be waiting for the birth of an appropriate human vehicle through whom they can act. Thus, if in a domain at any time there is no healer-sorcerer it is said that 'he hasn't appeared yet' (hia la'ë sua), implying that the appropriate human vehicle has not been born yet. At present there are no healer-sorcerers in Ko'a, and throughout the island there are no more than two people that are regarded as such. One of the two healer-sorcerers resides in the domain of Ndeo. His relationship with the priest-leader is mostly one of antagonism and defiance, and his cooperation in domain-specific ceremonies, which mainly consists in providing protection against negative influences by other sorcerers during liminal periods, has in the past only reluctantly been given and on some occasions even withheld. The recent death at sea of the Ndeo healer-sorcerer was, therefore, interpreted as a sanction of the Supreme Being for having caused disharmony in the domain.

The priest-leader guards the 'doors' to his t'upu t'ana. In doing so it is believed that he can to some degree exercise control over the fate of the Houses of 'child people' status. Thus, if he has misgivings about the actions of a member of one of the Houses in his ceremonial sphere, he can 'close the door' (seb 'ë k 'ivë) to the t'upu, thereby effectively cutting the House off from the protective and beneficial influence of the Supreme Being. As a result, the undertakings of this House will be unsuccessful and its members will be prone to illness and sudden or violent death. In such a situation the priest-leader, in case of misfortune or illness, will not by way of ritual at the t'upu t'ana intercede with the Supreme Being on behalf of this House until it has made amends.
A ritual speech couplet often employed by the priest-leader says that he 'cradles [his wai walu] in the folds of his loincloth, he holds [them] on his hip' (tongo lae rongo // kai lae ka'i). This metaphor places emphasis on a notion of shelter and protection. It alludes to the priest-leader's ability to intervene with the Supreme Being and avert supernatural sanction or achieve healing in case of illness. It also makes allusion to the constant and general concern of the priest-leader for the well-being of the 'child people' in his domain.

The priest-leader is the guardian of hada. He mostly performs this function in a very indirect way. Unless he himself has witnessed a breach of hada he does not confront the culprit. Instead, in his own words, 'he sits silently "with folded arms" and waits' (nodo p 'élé eku téitéi). He remains inactive until the culprit himself comes to confess his offense and asks for his mediation with the Supreme Being and with any persons involved in a given issue. This period of inactivity with regard to a specific offence can greatly vary. It can extend over only a few days, sometimes over months and years, and in some cases even over several generations, well beyond the life of the offender.

In most cases, the culprit is moved to confess because of illness or misfortune occurring in his House. Such occurrences are interpreted by him as supernatural sanctions for his offense. If, for example, a member of a House that has committed a severe breach of hada dies, it is said the 'the sun and the moon have taken him'. Mostly it is other members of the House, often his children rather than the culprit himself, that are affected. The negative occurrences are believed to continue until amendments are made by way of ritual at the t'upu t'ana. Frequently the culprit also dreams about any persons he has offended or about a sorcerer who is thought to have been engaged by the offended to avenge an offence. Most often, however, he dreams about the priest-leader himself to whom, depending on his personality, similar powers of sorcery are accorded. The priest-leader is thus thought of as always being fully aware of an offence.
The anxiety caused by these forms of pressure finally drives the culprit to the priest-leader. In anticipation of the costs involved in the mediation which mostly involves a lengi éné ceremony he brings along a pig and ties it to a post at the 'House of the Water Buffalo' in front of the priest-leader's dwelling. However, even if the whole domain is aware of the offence he has come to atone for, he must actually face the priest-leader and verbalize the issue. In many cases, when courage fails him and he does not confront the priest-leader, the sacrificial pig is left untended for days, if necessary until it dies of thirst and hunger. The same can happen if the priest-leader considers the pig to be too small and inadequate for a lengi éné ceremony.

On entering his house and confronting the priest-leader, the culprit virtually 'cries until the tears fall' (tangi ca'i lu' u coga) 'as a child cries with his father' (hana hanané tangi no'o hamané). It is often the case that the priest-leader is in fact not aware of any offence or that he was perceived to have entered the culprits dreams, whereas the culprit assumes the contrary. In such cases the priest-leader, in order not to dispel the illusion, cunningly goads the person into verbalizing the issue.

Frequently, a person dreams that a member of another House is demanding outstanding goods from him. If the dream recurs and the person is not aware of being guilty of an outstanding prestation or payment, divination is applied to clarify the issue. For this purpose the help of the priest-leader or that of the healer-sorcerer is sought. If it can be established that the dreams are not influenced by a sorcerer attempting to cause harm, the practitioner focuses on the person's ancestors and on those of the person appearing in the dream. Further divination can bring to light a long forgotten and unresolved issue between these ancestors. Such issues are referred to as pat’a holone, ancient issues and the goods involved as ngavu holo, ancient goods. These dreams are viewed as a form of communication by the wronged ancestor in

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15 Forms of divination are diverse and specific to the personality of the practitioner. They may include the interpretation of dreams (pëta nip’è) and the application of the hand span across the arms and chest (k’ira p’aga), the reading of cracks in heated bamboo (kira bët’è), or pig liver augury (p’anda wawi hat’éné).
which he employs the physical appearance (sélo ruviané, literally, to replace the face) of his living descendant. In such a case the dreamer pays the outstanding goods to the unsuspecting person who appeared in his dream. If the interpretation has been correct these dreams cease to recur and no further harm will befall the dreamer's House.

In the case of the Ko’a priest-leader of T’upu Meno T’ana it can be said that he ultimately is able to assure adherence to hada in the domain by constantly maintaining a high level of threat of supernatural sanction. He comments that because of the sorcerer's qualities ascribed to him, the people of Ko’a often believe it is he himself who is causing death, illness, accidents or misfortune, whereas he maintains that these are the doings of the Supreme Being and that he is in no way actively involved.

His reputation as a strong priest-leader with magical qualities and that of his intimate connection with the Supreme Being is largely based on popular interpretations of biographical events in his life. Some of these serve to illustrate a number of important aspects of priest-leadership.

Over a period of several years as an adolescent he is said to have recurrently experienced bouts of physical and mental anguish. The healer-sorcerers that were consulted identified these episodes as moments of possession by the Supreme Being and he was singled out as a potential future healer-sorcerer. In an important dream ancestral auxiliary spirits (pu) offered to give him the powers of the healer-sorcerer. His father, the Powo priest-leader, was opposed to his son becoming a healer-sorcerer because he had already selected the adolescent to be his successor. Sexual intercourse with multiple partners is believed to decrease the powers of the aspiring healer-sorcerer and so, in order to keep his son from becoming a healer-sorcerer, the father strongly encouraged his son to have intercourse with as many girls as he wished. All fines from resulting mega cases were to be taken care of by the father.

16 According to his own account, strong winds would begin to blow and bend the palm trees and he would feel great surges of energy within him. His head would ache terribly and his thoughts would get confused. He would have to run up and down the mountain again and again, sometimes for a day and a night, until he had calmed down again.

17 In the dream numerous objects related to specific powers and their corresponding prohibitions and rules were laid out on a table in front of him and he was asked to choose one of these pairs.
Judging by the large number of his extramarital offspring in the domain, the adolescent priest-leader appears to have taken the advice to heart.

One remarkable event is said to have greatly changed the young man. One evening while tapping a lontar palm, the tree was split in half by lightening. Witnesses maintain that he was thrown by the shock over a distance of twenty metres and that when he came to, the bamboo container which he still was holding on to had remained full to the rim. As a result of this shock most of his hair and teeth fell out, which is held to account for his present appearance. However, after having been struck by lightning the painful periods of possession by the Supreme Being no longer recurred.

As a young man the Powo priest-leader was instructed in his dreams to enter a volcanic vent to retrieve ancestral treasures. He was to spend the night with seven unmarried girls on top of the mountain and in the morning to descend alone into the volcano. According to Ko' a reports, large numbers of visitors from all over the island came to Ko'a to celebrate the imminent wealth promised to the young man. In an atmosphere of general excitement most of the Ko'a livestock were slaughtered to receive the visitors. No restraint was exercised because everybody believed that Ko'a was standing on the verge of receiving immense wealth. The expedition took place as prescribed in the dream, however, no treasure was found inside the volcano. The episode testifies to what extent Lu'a people initially were prepared to ascribe the powers of a healer-sorcerer to the young man. People subsequently interpreted his failure as having resulted from his having had sexual intercourse with the young women accompanying him. Having failed to live up to the exigencies of a healer-sorcerer a new stage in his life commenced in which he moved away from the 'path of the night' and began to concentrate on becoming a priest-leader.

Tales surrounding this new stage are mostly informed by feats of bravado and fearlessness that impute protection by the Supreme Being. However, up to this day the stigma of possessing powers associated with the healer-sorcerer has remained with him. And so it is recounted how during the Nit'u attack on Ko'a he had calmly
removed ancestral heirlooms from burning Ko'a houses, apparently invulnerable to the hail of Nit'u arrows. Or it is recalled how, during a boat dragging when all ropes snapped as the boat was lowered down into a steep gorge, the priest-leader remained standing upright inside the boat and rode it like a sleigh to the bottom of the gorge. Other tales emphasize defiance and a strong sense of self commonly associated with the priest-leader. And it is told how, during a stopover on the island of Pemana in the Bay of Maumere, the priest-leader castigated four armed policemen who had been abusive towards the population by rubbing sand into their eyes, bending their rifles with his bare hands and upon returning them, giving his name to insure they knew whom they had been dealing with.

To this day, at communal meetings of the domain preceding large scale ceremonies, this priest-leader is known to experience possession by the Supreme Being (era-wula tamna, literally, the sun and the moon enter) during which he holds diatribes against those people who have failed to adhere to hada and have not given the support traditionally expected from them. These vehement sessions during which the members of the domain sit on the ground hiding their heads between tucked up knees can last from dusk to dawn.

At such moments nobody dares speak up or leave out of fear they might suffer the same fate as did the members of one House of K'unu Roka Roi a number of years ago. At the time the senior male member of that House had rallied around him the malcontents of the domain by promising that together they could overthrow the traditional order, do away with the priest-leader and open Ko'a up to a Christian way of life. At a memorable matching of wits the priest-leader apparently convinced the people of Ko'a of the necessity of priest-leadership and the maintenance of hada. Within a few years following this incident most members of the Roka Roi House had died either in accidents or from illness. As a result of this episode priest-leadership in Ko'a emerged from the crisis in a stronger position than it has in most other domains on Lu'a.
Most communal meetings of the domain (mai watu, literally, to come [as] a scrotum) take place without this form of possession. Ideally the ‘elder brother person’ of each origin group acts as a spokesman for its Houses or he can delegate this function to a member of a junior House. However, there are not always enough senior men sufficiently well versed in the form of ritual speech (pa’ē) in which specific issues are formulated to represent all origin groups. Because of this, until recently, one male elder of K’unu T’onggē T’u’ané usually acted as a spokesman for all origin groups of ‘child people’ status. As such he was referred to as the ‘mouth of wai walu’ (wewa wai walu).

Ideally, resolutions at such meetings are achieved by way of extended discussion and consensus. A saying often invoked in such a context emphasizes the mutual dependency of ‘father people’ and child people’. It is said that ‘the Lakimosa cannot exist alone, [but that] he needs the wai walu and the wai walu cannot exist alone, they need the Lakimosa’ (Lakimosa meane ka’a, tau no’o wai walu, wai walu meane keli ka’a no’o, tau no’o Lakimosa) in the same way as ‘a child needs a father and a father needs children’ (hana tau no’o hamane, hama tau no’o hanane). This mutual dependency is generally recognized and therefore, only rarely can the Lakimosa enforce his will against a unified wai walu. If he tries to do so, the people ask, ‘who then will come and celebrate the water buffalo sacrificing cycle? Will he be having a dance on his own?’ (Hai lek’a mai togo tio karapau t’ana? Hia ceku meane togo?), pointing out that in order to carry out the most crucial of all domain-related ceremonies he is dependent on the cooperation of all wai walu Houses.\(^{18}\) However, a general attitude of deference is always maintained towards the Lakimosa, even when a point is

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\(^{18}\) Only once, in the context of the implementation of a project for the construction of rain water tanks, have I witnessed the Lakimosa enforcing his will upon a reluctant wai walu. In order to get the men to return prematurely to Ko’a from their places of seasonal migration on Flores to assist in the project, the Lakimosa threatened to conduct the ceremony for the setting of the mortuary monoliths in the absence of the men. In such a case the more recently deceased of every House would not be given a monolith until the next ceremonial cycle had been opened and until then they would not find their appropriate location in the abode of the ancestors and their descendants would not be able to communicate with them. On this occasion the threat was effective and all men swiftly returned to Ko’a.
made that runs contrary to his. A speaker will thus make his point and then appear to defuse any antagonism by stating that 'we are but small ones, what do we know, you are the Lakimosa, and the decision rests with you' (kami lo'one, kami cu'u haba, kau Lakimosa, pat'a t'I'one lae kau).

In inter-domain warfare the priest-leader is again not in a position to enforce his will directly and mobilize all the men of his domain. If a boundary dispute arises in which a person of his domain is physically harmed and the priest-leader judges the moment to be auspicious for warfare, he first engages the services of a number of warriors of his domain to retaliate by killing a member of the enemy domain. To do so he has to 'buy' (peta) them with gold, ivory tusks or pigs. The actions of these warriors will in turn trigger a response by the enemy and only at this stage of escalation of hostilities will the men of the domain rally around him and ask that he conduct the appropriate rituals to commence full scale warfare. Depending on his age and disposition he will either plan and lead a raid himself or he will delegate leadership to a champion warrior.

Delegation forms an important element in the performance of the priest-leaders' tasks. The term for delegation is tu, which can be glossed as 'to order somebody to do something on your behalf'. Its connotations of authority and compliance only apply to the members of the priest-leader's own origin group. As the most senior member of the 'elder brother House' of his k'unu he can to some degree command obedience from the members of its Houses. The execution of important ceremonial tasks is often delegated to senior male members of junior Houses or else within his own House to one of his younger brothers.

It is perhaps significant that on an everyday basis the most important acting officiants at both t'upu t'ana of the domain are women. Two widowed elderly female members of 'father people' origin groups at present are the most knowledgeable persons in the domain with respect to ritual. Both of them received their knowledge from the same woman, the mother of the now deceased 'elder brother person' of the
senior House of the 'people from above' of T'up'u Meno T'ana. It was they rather than the priest-leader's own father who instructed the present priest-leader of T'upu Meno T'ana in ritual practice and oral tradition. However, this sequence of transmission of knowledge is rarely mentioned in public in order not to undermine the authority of the priest-leader. Although priest-leader ideology does not accord a position of prominence to such women, there are indications that the Ko'a situation is not unique and may form part of a pattern. In the allied domain of Cawalo the situation is similar in that one of the two Cawalo priest-leaders appears to be dependent on his sister's knowledge of ceremonial chants.

In ritual speech the priest-leader is referred to as the one 'whose breasts are large and whose loins are long' (t'usu ca // kati lawa). This metaphor of nurture and reproduction makes allusion to his position as the main officiant of the agricultural cycle as well as that of the water buffalo offering cycle. The couplet ultimately refers to his responsibility in maintaining the cosmic order. By way of ritual at the t'upu t'ana he periodically redresses disharmony in the cosmos resulting from conscious and unconscious breaches of hada in the domain. He sees to the proper sequence of the seasons and to the correct movement of the heavenly bodies and thus assures a plentiful harvest and the continuity and well-being of the domain.

As the head of the agricultural cycle the priest-leader initiates all major stages in the cultivation of the green gram (Phaseolus aureus) at a special ceremonial field referred to as huma manu wa'i, the field of the rooster's foot.19 Ideally the senior Houses of the 'people of the north' of both ceremonial courtyards have their own ceremonial fields and, according to some 'father people', the 'people from above' should have separate ceremonial fields as well. In present day Ko'a, however, only the priest-leader of T'upu Meno T'ana has a ceremonial field, whereas at T'upu Roda Wula the senior House of the 'people from above' has such a field but the senior

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19 The name makes allusion to the scraping of the top soil with a digging stick when, during the clearing of the field, clumps of soil attached to weeds are gathered into heaps for burning. This scraping is perceived as being similar to that of the rooster.
House of its 'people from the north' does not. All members of the domain cooperate in
the agricultural work at the ceremonial fields. Only after work at every subsequent
stage in the cultivation of the green gram has been carried out at the ceremonial field
can the members of the domain commence the corresponding stage of work on their
own fields. The ceremonial field stands as a model for all other fields of the domain
and it is believed that a successful harvest on it will in turn lead to a successful harvest
on all other fields of the domain. All Houses that participate in the clearing and
planting of the ceremonial field receive a small amount of seeds from this field, which
they in turn plant in the proximity of the garden altar located at the centre of each of
their own fields. In that way the fertility inherent in these seeds is believed to affect
positively all of the freshly planted seeds of each House.

For their ritual services at the huma manu wa'i both priest-leaders traditionally
received a token part of the harvest of every House within their ceremonial sphere.
This is not viewed as a levy but rather as an acknowledgement of the ritual services of
the priest-leader. The amount is not specified and, in the priest-leader's words, how
much people give 'depends on their affection' for him (linga é roané).

In conducting the lengi éné ceremony at his t'upu t'ana the priest-leader can
effectively control the pace of agricultural work in the domain. By the same means he
further exercises control over goods entering or leaving the domain. Thus, in the
immediate period following the harvest of the green gram, nobody can sell or trade
part of their harvest outside the domain until a member of the priest-leader's House has
done so first. Usually this task is delegated to a woman who goes down to the beach
and takes a small basket (réb'i) containing green grams with her which she sells or
gives to any member of the neighbouring domain of Cawalo who happens to be
present at that time. This action is said to 'open the path' (lala b'énga) for the export of
green gram.

The extended period of restriction following the completion of the ceremonial
cycle of the water buffalo (b'ijé k'orapau) is but one form of restriction pertaining to
the whole of the domain. Other forms include prohibitions on harvesting the coconut for the production of copra or the cutting of lontar palm fronds for the weaving of mats and baskets. The priest-leader may call such restrictions into force if the domain needs to recover from excessive harvesting and conserve these materials in view of approaching large scale ceremonies. They are announced by signalling the period of restriction by means of sounding the ceremonial gong at the i ūpu t'ana. The priest-leader and the local government cooperate on this issue and the jointly approved sanctions for breaches are considerable. They amount to a sack of rice, a large pig and ten bottles of palm gin; goods that are then used to offer a meal to the population of the domain.

Although the priest-leader is the first guardian of ancestral hada in the domain, he is also the one who has the power to change hada and to expand its limits. An important trait of priest-leadership is constituted by an ever-present striving to go beyond the limitations set by hada. If such efforts are not followed by supernatural sanction they stand as proof of the priest-leader's intimate connection with the Supreme Being and they thereby increase the powers ascribed to him by his people. Two examples of this kind, the removal of the ceremonial monoliths of K'unu K'aju Malé and the inversion of the orientation of the umbilical cord, have already been mentioned. On another occasion the Meno T'ana priest-leader cleared a section of sacral forest for agricultural purposes. The place named Hao B'ijé (the forbidden bamboo) was regarded as an abode of spirits of the mountain forest, and to disturb them was thought to entail misfortune for the House of the offender. Following a very successful harvest on this lot, several of the priest-leader's children died from illness as did one of his wives. It was recognized that the move to clear the hao b'ijé had met with the resistance of the earth deities and therefore, no further planting or clearing was attempted at that location. On the other hand, a more recent clearing of the ala kaoné, the place of disposal at the western boundaries of the village of Nat'a Ca was
not followed by negative occurrences and the land has now been included in the agricultural holdings of the priest-leader.

In spite of this striving to extend the boundaries of *hada*, the traditional *hada* fines for offences are considerably higher for members of Houses of 'father people' status than they are for 'child people'. Fines are generally codified but the form of payment as well as the amount may change over time. The most common offenses committed in the domain are theft (*sénggé ngavu*), slander of reputation (*kau k'ub*), destruction of property through fire or stray animals (*puna ndoa ngavu*), extra marital affairs, breaches of *lengi éné* restrictions, boundary disputes (*huku pa'ta t'ana*) and disturbances of peace in the community, either verbally or through physical violence (*k'io kau* and *p'alu rebéné*). Adjudication (*huku pat'a*, literally, the words of law) traditionally rested with the Lakimosa, sometimes in conjunction with domain elders. In severe cases, such as repeated practice of sorcery, the priest-leader had the power to ban an offender from further residing in the domain. Corporal punishment included flagellation or, in the case of female offenders, the cutting of the earlobe, and in rare instances also the death penalty. Since the introduction of Indonesian Desa administration, adjudication rests with government representatives at the various administrative levels, mostly in consultation with the priest-leader.

**SECTION 6: K'UNU K'AJU MALÉ**

K'unu K'aju Malé, an origin group of 'child people' status is named after the tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indica*), a dark hardwood tree bearing fragrant yellow flowers streaked with red and brown pods containing sour seeds. Its complete 'name which is called out at the *tu'upu* is *T'ua B'o'o, K'oli B'anda, Roki Rolé, Paji Hama, Ala Lidi, Ame Ceku, K'aju Malé, Malé Milu* (Short lontar, Stunted Borassus, Roki Rolé, Father of Paji, Ala Lidi, Amé Ceku, Tamarind Tree, Sour Tamarind). The name Short Lontar, Stunted Borassus makes allusion to the *tu'upu* of this origin group located at the
top end of the village of Nat'a Ca. The t ʻupu consists of two ceremonial monoliths (masê), one of which is upright, the other which is placed flat on the ground. A lontar tree is said to grow next to these which, according to Kʻaju Malé elders, can disappear altogether for a number of years only to re-emerge again at the same spot. In light of what has been said previously about the mythical lontar tree, this statement may well be a metaphorical allusion to past fluctuations in the degree of connectedness of this origin group with the Supreme Being. Before the intervention of the Powo priest-leader, Kʻaju Malé elders used to employ the t ʻupu for sacrifices for the atonement of breaches against hada and in healing rituals. Occasionally offerings would be made there to gain ancestral support in bridewealth negotiations.

The former place of settlement of Kʻaju Malé which used to be marked by a tamarind tree was located above the present subsidiary village of Toké. In its 'name that is called out during marriage alliance' the origin group refers to itself as 'the people of the stranded boat' (Hau r'a Pou Pat'a). Nothing more is known about its origins apart from that they arrived on Lu'a by boat after a long voyage from the west.

According to the mythical history of this origin group the people of Kʻaju Malé arrived at a time when only the Powo origin group had established itself in the domain. They brought along fire, metal and the knowledge of weaving, all of which were unknown on the island. At that time people did not cook their meals but instead warmed tubers under their armpits to prepare them for consumption. Coconuts were opened by splitting them apart with the elbow. The forest was cleared labouriously by means of stone tools and wedges, and people wore cloth made of tree bark. At first Powo children were attracted to the Kʻaju Malé camp by the scent of food being cooked at their hearths. They came to share a meal and wondered why the food was so tasty. Later at night Powo adults saw fire burning up on the mountain with which Kʻaju Malé was clearing the forest. They thought that what was shining brightly was gold and they rushed up the mountain and collected the glowing embers in their bark clothes, but they burned their hands and they burned holes into their clothes. In the
morning they saw how much forest had been cleared by burning and felling with metal tools and it was a lot more than they could have accomplished in months. So they went to K’aju Malé and asked them to share those wonderful things with them. But K’aju Malé would not part with anything. There followed a war between the two groups in which, according to some, K’aju Malé was victorious. A truce was established between the two groups in which K’aju Malé was granted the right to have its own ceremonial courtyard. It was, however, not allowed to own its own ceremonial drums and gongs (ma’a-ko).²⁰ Instead, Powo made K’aju Malé the guardian of the ceremonial objects of the t’upu t’ana which are kept in a small house called nua puka, the puka house, located next to the main ceremonial courtyard. K’aju Malé in turn agreed to part with the knowledge of fire, metal and weaving.

K’aju Malé consists of seven Houses, two of which are located outside of Ko’a in the allied domains of Cawalo and Awa. K’aju Malé elders speculate about these outlying Houses that in the past, men of their origin group had married women in these domains but had not been able to pay bridewealth and, therefore, they were forced to reside with their wives. This reasoning, however, does not agree with Ko’a hada regulations according to which children of marriages in which no bridewealth has been paid are affiliated with the mother’s natal House. More than likely the two Houses in the past broke away from their origin group due to conflict within the k’unu. These Houses still recognize ties with their Ko’a origin group and at large scale ceremonies such as the water buffalo sacrifice, they return to Ko’a and construct temporary shacks where they kill pigs and prepare meals for guests from outside of the domain.

An unmarried adult man and his aged mother representing one K’aju Malé House are the present caretakers of the ceremonial objects of T’upu Meno T’ana. They

²⁰ Owning ceremonial gongs and drums remained a prerogative of priest-leaders. They were referred to as ‘the loud voice’ (era ca) that could be heard by the Supreme Being. Inside ceremonial drums a candlesnut and a model bow are placed. The nut that is known to soothe sore throats is inserted to give the drum a clear sound and the model bow to allow for the sound to travel as straight as an arrow. The large ceremonial drum (naba ca) of T’upu Meno T’ana is said to have a sound that could reach across the straits to the Lio region on Flores, thereby alerting its inhabitants to ritual activity in Ko’a.
are the only inhabitants of the *nua puka* with the exception of moments at the beginning and the end of the water buffalo cycle when the ceremonial virgin of the priest-leader’s House comes to stay for a brief period of ceremonial retreat. Unless this House assures its continuity by way of child transfer from some other K’aaju Malé House, it will become extinct after its present members die. Present Powo priest-leadership openly resents the special position of the K’aaju Malé House and intends to retrieve caretakership of the *nua puka* once the House has become extinct. The present situation is interpreted by Powo as evidence that the Supreme Being is showing disfavour about the K’aaju Malé guardianship of the ceremonial House.

The current caretakers of the *nua puka* maintain that their House used to exercise a lot more ceremonial responsibilities than it does now and that these have been curtailed by the last Powo priest-leaders. Significantly, in the Powo origin chant the name of this origin group is chanted immediately following that of K’unu Powo. K’aaju Malé is the only other origin group affiliated with T’upu Meno T’ana which features in this chant. Its name appears at a crucial position at the end of the chant between that of the priest-leader origin group and those of the individual ceremonial monoliths of the *’upu t’ana*.

A sequence of ceremonial events at the beginning and at the end of the water buffalo sacrificing cycle appears to further support this claim. There the sacrificial animal is first led by the Powo priest-leader as the senior member of the ‘shipping party’ to the rear of the priest-leader’s dwelling. Senior male members of the Houses of the ‘shipping party’ hold on to the tether walking behind the priest-leader. The tether is passed beneath the roof through a crack in the bamboo wall-panel onto the House altar. Five randomly selected children sitting around the altar are given five pieces of pig meat to eat while the tether touches the altar five times. Then it is retrieved and the animal is led to the corresponding spot at the *nua puka* where the

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21 The only male member of this House is afflicted by a crippling disease that has earned him the reference ‘Ndæ the Lame’ (Ndæ Malune).
procedure is repeated. By eating at the House altar the meal is shared with the ancestors of that specific House who are informed by means of the tether about the arrival of the sacrificial animal or its impending sacrifice. In doing so at the altar of the K'aju Malé House, the truce between the first settling origin group and that of the subsequently settling group that brought technology to the domain is fully acknowledged.

The guardianship of the *nua puka* granted by Powo thus appears as an attempt of K'aju Malé to acquire 'father people' status at T'upu Meno T'ana. It appears to be the same striving that is taken to account for the K'aju Malé origins of the present priest-leaders of T'upu Roda Wula. In a similar vein individual K'aju Malé members have in the recent past gained a high reputation in ceremonial contexts as well as in local government administration. One senior K'aju Malé man in particular is known throughout the domains practicing the water buffalo cycle as an expert wielder of the ceremonial sword. In many of these domains the task of slashing the animal either at its throat (*pat i pok ene*) or at its shins (*pat i wit ene*) has often been delegated to him by the original holders of these offices, and his services have always been paid for with ivory tusks. Neither the 'shipping people' nor the 'slashing people' ever consume their own sacrificial animal. To do so would be considered to be 'as if you ate your own flesh and blood', in line with notions of the affinity of the animal's blood with their own. The K'aju Malé sacrificer, however, has never hesitated to eat the animal he has sacrificed, a trait that has earned him the reputation of being daring and fearless, much like the Powo priest-leader. As a young man he also exercised the colonial administrative office of Mandor or runner for the Kapitan in Uwa. During that period he was known to be physically aggressive towards people who had not paid their taxes. This office given to him by outside powers provided him with status in his domain that elevated him above the 'child people' and moved him still closer to that of the 'father people' of the domain.
One House of K*unu K*aaju Malé appears to be involved in a process of fission from this origin group. Disagreements with the senior House on matters of bridewealth redistribution among the Houses of the k*unu have led this House to merge with another origin group of 'child people' status called K*unu T'onggê T'u'ané. At present this merger only pertains to matters regarding newly established marriage alliances. Terms of address and reference within the k*unu have, however, not yet been extended to suit this new orientation. Also, for the important k*unu specific ceremonial activities such as the 'binding of the soul of the green gram' or the first fruit ceremony this House still congregates at the senior House of the K*aaju Malé origin group. It may, however, be only a matter of time until the House has fully oriented itself towards the new k*unu and participates in its ceremonial activities.

SECTION 7: K*UNU ROKA ROI

At some point in the past K*unu Roka Roi was an origin group of 'father people' status that constituted the 'people of the north' of T*upu Roda Wula. When K*unu Manggê B*asé, its 'people of above', discovered brother-sister incest in K*unu Roka Roi they expelled its three Houses, confiscated all of its landholdings along with the ceremonial objects of the t*upu t*ana. According to its narratives the three Houses were about to leave the domain and resettle in the domain of Woto with which they maintained traditional ties of friendship (huju b'aku), when the Powo priest-leader pleaded with them to stay within his ceremonial realm and become a member of his 'child people'.

According to Roka Roi elders, its Houses, prior to the eviction, were traditional wife-givers to K*unu Manggê B*asé. In the period following the eviction this position was inverted and Roka Roi began taking wives from Manggê B*asé. Instead of receiving the customary conceptually female prestation of red beads (t'upi réré méja) from its wife-givers, Roka Roi Houses accepted individual lots of land, a prestation
that can be made as a replacement if this specific type of ancestral beads is not available. In that way Roka Roi retrieved most of its former landholdings that had been confiscated by Manggé B’asé.

Although Roka Roi in recent times has rejected an offer by K’unu Roda Wula to reassume its former position as 'people of the north', its Houses made the concession that one of them would in the future support the ceremonial cycle of T’upu Roda Wula by killing its own pigs to entertain guests arriving at that ceremonial courtyard. At the time the House was not specified and, therefore, ceremonial affiliation with T’upu Roda Wula now rotates with every new cycle between different Roka Roi Houses. Thus it is said of Roka Roi that the origin group 'supports both sides' (lak’a hivi rua), whereby two of its Houses lend support to T’upu Meno T’ana and one of them T’upu Roda Wula.

One House from outside of Ko’a has recently merged with K’unu Roka Roi. The House belongs to an origin group from the domain of Woto called Nua K’aju, Waé Wéta, Ngà’a Pura. According to its origin myth its ancestors arrived in Ko’a magically flying on the leaves of the lontar palm. From there they flew on to look for a place to settle. They flew to the domains of Cawalo, K’éli, T’omu, Teo, Ndeo, Uwa and Edo until they reached a suitable place to settle in Woto at locations called Wae Weta Ngaba Pura and Nua K’aju.

The well known mythical warrior-sorcerer Woko T’oka is one of the venerated ancestors of this origin group. His ceremonial objects are now in the guardianship of this Waé Wéta House that has merged with Roka Roi. Although this House does not have 'elder brother' status within its former origin group, it is the present guardian of the ceremonial objects associated with Woko T’oka. According to its senior male member, the Houses of Woto were afraid of guarding the magical objects and, therefore, had asked him to safekeep them. At important ceremonial occasions such as the setting of mortuary monoliths he comes to Woto and brings the objects along to be placed on the monoliths of the recently deceased.
It is not clear for what reasons this House has moved away from Woto and settled in Ko'a. Apparently by doing so it was able to claim rights to land use in the domain that were derived from the mention of Ko'a in its mythical narratives as the place of arrival on the island. As a descendant of the warrior-sorcerer Woko T'oka and as the guardian of his ceremonial objects Ko'a was also interested in gaining access to its war magic. It has been mentioned earlier that Waé Wéta has its own ceremonial courtyard in the Ngada regency that is employed in the context of warfare.

This association of Waé Wéta with the magic of warfare is further exemplified during one of the final stages of the ceremonial cycle, when the allied domain that has been chosen as the guest of honour arrives in Ko'a and in a mock battle conquers the two ceremonial courtyards. For this confrontation Waé Wéta supplies a magical substance that is mixed into the ceremonial rice kernels with which the adult female members of Ko'a pelt the guests of honour in defence of their *t'upu*. The substance which appears by way of magic in a plate placed on a mortuary monolith of Waé Wéta has the effect of making those touched by it commit acts of sexual transgression.22

K'unu Waé Wéta practices the ceremonial idiom of the feral cat, K'ua Méo Hut'a. A large number of ritual ingredients stemming from the forest are used in the susu k'ua ceremony of this origin group. They include such objects as the tail of the civet cat, the wing of a specific jungle bird and the bark of a hardwood tree. Due to deforestation, these ritual ingredients have become rare on present day Lu'a. Because of the difficulties involved in providing these ingredients the 'elder brother person' of the origin group decided to rid his *k'unu* of the obligation to employ them in ritual. For that purpose he placed the ritual ingredients on a winnowing tray facing west. At sunset, just as the sun was disappearing behind the mountains of central west Flores he shot at the tray with his ancestral flintlock gun wishing in ritual speech for the sun to return all of these objects back to the place of origin of the ancestors in the west.

22 At the initial and final stages of the ceremonial cycle sexual restrictions on pre- and extramarital intercourse are considerably relaxed.
The procedure is referred to as b'asa k'ua, 'to shoot the ceremonial idiom'. Future events would determine to what extent this ceremonial severance had been successful and which of the ingredients would have to be reintegrated into the k'ua.23

SECTION 8: K'UNU SARI KO'A

According to its mythical narratives the ancestor of K'unu Sari Ko'a was on his way by boat travelling from the west to eastern Flores in search of a bride.24 When he stopped over on Lu'a the Ko'a priest-leaders asked him to stay and settle in the domain. They first offered him various locations near Punge Beach, then further spots in the vicinity of a place called T'upu Tetu, all of which he declined. Finally he chose to settle at a place referred to as Ko'a Ngalu, 'Tip of Ko'a', a ridge outside the present village of Nat'a Ca from where he could overlook from high above the beach at which he had landed. He called the settlement Sari Ko'a, Wolo Mara which translates as 'Mark of Ko'a, Hill of Dryness'. The myth implies that Sari Ko'a settled in Ko'a and took a wife from the Ko'a priest-leaders, rather than one from eastern Flores as had been its original intention, thereby assuming the subordinate position of wife-taker to the 'father people' of the domain.

Sari Ko'a has its own t'upu of the same name on Ko'a Ngalu. On ceremonial occasions Sari Ko'a members make offerings at a specific monolith in return for which they receive golden earpendants from their ancestors which magically appear to be worn for the duration of the ceremony. After the event they return them to this place and the ancestors take them back into their custody.25

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23 A few days after the b'asa k'ua a daughter of the House broke out in boils. Investigation brought to light that the girl had been present during the cooking of a dog at another house and that she was suffering from this exposure. The prohibition on eating dog meat (b'yfē sau) of K'ua Momo Hut'a, therefore, had to be reintegrated into the ceremonial idiom of the origin group.
24 The term for eastern Flores is lé Cawa, Cawa in the east as opposed to the island of Java that is referred to as wa Cawa, Cawa in the west.
25 A few years ago members of Sari Ko'a showed the t'upu to a Chinese merchant from Flores and told him about the magically appearing earpendants. Ever since they have failed to appear again.
A number of spots along the coastline of Pungé Beach and along a path leading from the beach in a nearly straight line up to their ceremonial courtyard are employed by Sari Ko'a as places of offering (*hala sombané*) to the ancestors of their origin group. It derives the rights to these places from their mention in the origin myth. On the same basis Sari Ko'a acts as the guardian of Pungé Beach, the main landing place of the domain. During the period of the 'ancient land' its senior House was entitled to levy fees from boats unloading goods at Pungé. It is due to this privilege of guardianship that Sari Ko'a takes charge of the sacrificial water buffaloes arriving in Ko'a. The initial payment made by each of the purchasing parties upon landing used to be an ivory tusk or a pair of golden earpendants. Presently this has been reduced to a nominal sum of money.\(^{26}\) Sari Ko'a leads the animals along a path referred to as *lala tét'a karapau*, 'the path on which the water buffalo is led', up the mountain past the offering spots to its ceremonial courtyard. At every one of these spots the 'elder brother person' of Sari Ko'a sprinkles ceremonial rice kernels to invoke ancestral protection for the animal.\(^{27}\)

With respect to the two *t'upu t'ana* of Ko'a, Sari Ko'a is said to 'stand in the middle', *tei rora*. Much like K'unu Roka Roi, although not for the same reasons, Sari Ko'a supports both ceremonial courtyards during their large scale events as it extends its protection during the ascent of the sacrificial animals to those of T'upu Meno T'ana as well as those of T'upu Roda Wula.

From its original position as a migrant to Ko'a to whom both Ko'a priest-leaders had assigned a place of settlement as well as rights to use of a small number of fields Sari Ko'a has gradually developed into the largest landholder of the domain. Its holdings presently include not only Pungé Beach, part of which was sold off to Cawalo (see Chapter 2, Section 3), and the fields adjoining the 'path on which the

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\(^{26}\) Usually about Rp.5000.

\(^{27}\) If a member of another *k'unu* does so the animal may die. According to a Sari Ko'a elder a number of years ago such a thing nearly occurred. A member of Powo was leading the animal up the mountain when it collapsed. It was only when a Sari Ko'a member took hold of the tether that the animal was able to arise again and continue its ascent. The episode is recounted to substantiate the ongoing claim of Sari Ko'a to its privileges.
water buffalo is lead', but also a number of fields along the Ko'a-Cawalo border and a large coherent series of fields extending from the beach up to the present location of its senior House in the village of Toké. These more recent holdings are said to have been purchased with guns, ivory tusks and pigs acquired through inter-island trading. Others formed part of the wife-giver's prestations in marriage alliance.

Sari Ko'a consists of only three Houses. The present 'elder brother person' of its senior House was adopted from Cawalo in order to ensure its continuity. A junior House is now headed by an adopted member of Powo origin. His position with respect to his natal origin group is ambiguous. He is on the one hand considered to be a member of Sari Ko'a; however, the Powo priest-leader still considers him to be a member of K'uru Powo and, therefore, expects his support in matters pertaining to this origin group. Another House is headed by an elder who used to reside with his mother's natal House in the domain of Cawalo and who as an adult moved back to Ko'a together with his younger brother, the feared sorcerer Ware (see Chapter Two). A third Sari Ko'a House is of Cawalo origin. It still practices its original ceremonial idiom which is different from K'ua Wet'e, the idiom of millet practiced by the other Sari Ko'a Houses. In line with the double orientation of the origin group, this House is located in the village of T'odopaba, within the realm of T'upu Roda Wula.

**SECTION 9: K'UNU T'ONGGE T'U'ANÉ**

One origin group of 'child people' status is surrounded by a similar obscurity to the two groups of 'father people' of T'upu Roda Wula. The 'elder brother person' of its senior House gives Wae Weta as the name of his origin group which is the same name employed by the House of Woto origin that was integrated into K'unu Roka Roi. Unlike this House he does not provide any history of origin and no indication of a former place of settlement.
One designation which is commonly mentioned in connection with this origin group is the name of a woman called Soli Awa from the Lio north coast on Flores. She is cited as a distant ancestor who married an unnamed man from this k'unu and from whom all of its Houses are said to have descended. The implications of the position of this k'unu as a wife-taker of Lio women are by no means clear. When referring to this k'unu members of other origin groups do not employ the name of this ancestral bride but that of its present senior male member, T'onggê T'u'anê (T'onggê the Elder).

It is this k'unu that has integrated one House of Kéli origin of a k'unu named K'unu Soli Awa which adheres to the ceremonial idiom of the k'inalaja shell. Again, we have no information on the reasons for which this House has moved to Ko'a. Attached to this House, however, is a corpus of ancestral knowledge about a special form of agricultural magic which may account for its reception in Ko'a and for its integration into this Ko'a origin group. Furthermore, another House, the senior House of K'unu K'aju Malé, is presently engaged in a process of fission from its own origin group and a merging into this unnamed k'unu.

Ideally the 'elder brother person' of every senior House of each origin group of 'child people' status can at collective meetings of the domain act as the spokesman for his k'unu. Presently the senior male member of this origin group at such occasions represents all Ko'a origin groups of 'child people' status. As such he is referred to as 'the mouth of weí walu' (wewa wai walu). He holds this position mainly due to his knowledge of formalized speech (pa'dé) which other 'elder brother persons' of 'child people' status presently do not share.

With its lack of name, place of origin and history and with the absence of any ceremonial offices attached to its Houses, this origin group represents a prototypical model of a k'unu of 'child people' status. With regard to these characteristics it constitutes one end of a spectrum, the other end of which is formed by K'unu Powo Wawo, the 'father people' of T'upu Roda Wula. It is perhaps also due to this low level
of distinction that a member of this origin group can act as a representative for all other
k‘unu of 'child people' status.

In the past, however, there have been efforts by the senior House to alter the
profile of its origin group. During the lifetime of its 'elder brother person' the k‘unu is
said to have undergone fluctuations in status. Whereas its senior House reputedly at
one time was relatively wealthy (nu‘a) and successful in bridewealth negotiations and
economic ventures, this no longer is the case. In addition to that, several members of
this origin group have been afflicted by various forms of disease or are otherwise
handicapped. This general decline is interpreted as an admonishment by the Supreme
Being and the collective ancestors for past efforts of the k‘unu to increase its status.
Generally it is said of such cases that 'if you aspire to be tall [so you can reach] to the
sun and the moon, it doesn't take long until they make you short again' (k‘au t‘éné ca
cai rét‘a era no‘o wula, ka‘a nai konéné puna kau b‘o‘o palu).

Having been reduced in status the 'elder brother person' now on occasions
resorts to ancestral possession (pu mori tamma, literally, the ancestors enter) in order
to voice his concerns and demands, specifically concerning issues related to the
distribution of bridewealth. In doing so, he removes himself from his present identity
and replaces his voice with the voice of his ancestors. In this way he can, to some
degree, prevent other origin groups from taking advantage of his presently reduced
status.
Map No. 3.1
Schematic Map of Ko'a Villages (indicating Ko'a Houses; subsidiary dwellings only represented in Toké)

To Cawalo

To Nit'u

Village of Toké

Heads of Village Na'a Na'a

Head of Village Tōdopapa

Tōpu Roda Wula

Woga Ca

Nua Puka

Feet of Village

Boundary marker

Village boundary

Mouth of the Domain

Place of Disposal

K. Powo Lau
K. K'aaju Malé
K. Roka Roi
K. Sari Ko'a
K. Manggē Basē
K. Tōnggē Tō'u'a

S = Senior House

actual distance reduced

footpath

water tank

feetpath

K. Powo Ré'a
SECTION 10: SOCIOTOPOGRAPHY

The body metaphor may apply at successive levels, first to the island as a whole, then to the domain and finally also to the house. This elementary metaphor is again applied at the level of the traditional settlement (*nat'a*).

As was the case at the level of the domain, each ceremonial courtyard also constitutes the 'navel' *p 'usé* of the main settlement surrounding it. Its upper section, which is oriented towards the mountain (*r'et'a*), is classified as its 'head' (*nat'a t'aba*) and its lower, seaward oriented (*lau*) section, as its 'feet' (*nat'a wa'i*). The sections adjoining the ceremonial courtyard to the east and to the west are referred to as the eastern (*lē*) and western (*wa*) 'sides' or 'flanks' (*k'ā*) of the embodied settlement.

It has been stated before that the origin groups of 'father people' status are divided into two subgroups, the 'people from above' and the 'people from the north'. This two-fold division is further differentiated according to the ceremonial offices held by their constituent Houses, a differentiation that is to a large extent also reflected in the location of their individual dwellings surrounding the ceremonial courtyard.

Thus, at T'upu Meno T'ana in the village of Nat'a Ca the dwelling of the Powo priest-leader, a member of its 'people of the north', is located at the 'foot of the village', beneath the lower 'door' of the ceremonial courtyard and the dwelling of the most senior Powo House of the 'people from above', at its upper 'door' at the 'head of the village'. Both dwellings have been constructed slightly askew with respect to the 'doors' of the *t'upu* because an orientation precisely aligned with the 'path of the sun and the moon' passing through its 'doors' is thought to expose these houses to too strong an influence by the Supreme Being. Such an orientation is thought to be potentially equally as harmful to its inhabitants as being entirely cut off from this influence.

Three important ceremonial offices are connected with the actual sacrifice of the water buffalo, that of the 'slasher of the throat' (*pat'i pok éné*), that of the 'slasher of
the shins' (*pat 'i wit éné*), and that of the 'guardian of the ceremonial sword' (*caga t épo*). On the day of the sacrifice, after the animal has been decorated and ritually purified by the Powo priest-leader, he leads it to a location at the boundary of the village of Nat'a Ca from where the sea can be seen. There the animal is oriented towards the west and allowed for the last time to see the sea and the island of Flores from where it originated. Only then is it led back into the village and its tether touched upon the altars of the priest-leader's dwelling and that of the guardian of the ceremonial objects of the *t épu*. During this process it is traditionally prescribed for the 'shipping people' holding on to the tether to show grief over the imminent loss of the animal and it is encouraged to shed tears. Finally the animal is led up the steps of the 'lower door' of the *t épu* to a centrally located offering pole (*masé*),28 where the priest-leader hards the tether over to the senior member of the senior House of the Powo 'people from above'. His House holds the office of 'slasher of the throat', a task that in practice is delegated to a member of a K'aju Malé House. He in turn receives the ceremonial sword with which the sacrifice is performed by the senior member of a junior House of the 'people from above' who acts as its guardian (*caga t épo*). During the killing of the animal which, according to Ko'a *hada* must be drawn out as long as possible, a representative of another junior House of the 'people from above' wields a ceremonial sword with which the tendons of the animal are severed (*pat 'i wit éné*). In cutting the animal at its throat and at its shins care is taken not to injure it fatally. Indeed, the two sacrificing officials attempt to keep the animal leaping around in an effort to avoid their blows as the crowd shrieks with delight. This leaping is referred to as the 'dancing of the water buffalo (*karapau coka*) and it is understood that the longer the animal suffers, the more effectively its sacrifice will clear the domain of its accumulated wrongdoings and ultimately restore cosmic balance and well-being.

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28 This pole is referred to by the same term *masé* as are the ceremonial monoliths at the centre and at the four corners of the *t épu*.
Two Powo Houses share the position of the 'eastern side' (k'ané lé mai). However, only the dwelling of one of them is actually located accordingly. The dwelling of the other House is located in the neighbouring village of Toké, a settlement that is constituted by dwellings originating from both main Ko'a villages, Nat'a Ca as well as T'odopab'a. They were erected there because of lack of space in their respective village of origin. At present there is a certain lack of clarity about which of the two Powo Houses rightfully holds the office of 'embracing the earth' (tongo t'ana). This office is exercised either by the senior male member of one House or by the widowed mother of the senior member of the other.

At a final stage of the ceremonial cycle preceding the water buffalo sacrifice, after the 'black patola stone' (wat'u mit'é p'a t'ola) has been brought to the t'upu and once the origin chant has been chanted, soil from the lower and upper half of the domain is collected by the members of the Houses affiliated with a t'upu. This bringing in of soil commences after sunset and must be completed before sunrise. Two large baskets (sab'â) which are classified as 'elder' and 'younger brothers' are placed at the centre of the t'upu. They serve as intermediary receptacles for the collected soil before it can be spread over the t'upu to reinforce it and to cover those stones that have been exposed by rains since the closure of the last ceremonial cycle. Once the t'upu has been fortified (kot'a t'upu) the newly brought in 'black patola stone' is equally embedded in this soil. During the whole operation which is marked by feverish activity of the participants to accumulate a sufficient amount of soil within the prescribed period, the Powo officiant sits on the central masé of the t'upu literally hugging the largest of the two baskets. His body and head are entirely covered with a woman's Lu'a loincloth and throughout the night he remains absolutely motionless and silent. This 'embracing of the soil' from which the office derives its name is intimately connected with the notion of a mother protecting and sheltering its child, hence the cover with a woman's cloth. Similar to the protection of a growing child the tongo t'ana protects the ceremonial courtyard from negative influences during this stage of
that they 'support the north' (*lak'a lau*) at Tupu Meno Tana. Again, no contributions have been made by this origin group in recent times and relations with the Powo priest-leader are, therefore, somewhat strained.

Strictly speaking no Houses outside the Powo origin group may make contributions to the ceremonial cycle. Even if Powo is economically strained it cannot accept any outside support lest their sacrificial animal dies.\(^{29}\) There are, however, a number of traditionally specified and named ways in which support can be given. During the course of the ceremonial cycle individual Houses of both of the above-mentioned origin groups of 'child people' status traditionally are expected to make specific prestations to either subgroup of K\(^*\)unu Powo. Although on such occasions no goods are reciprocated for these prestations that commonly consist of large sized pigs, they ultimately assure special supernatural protection for their Houses in future ventures.

No specific ceremonial offices are attached to K\(^*\)unu Roka Roi, the origin group that formerly had 'father people' status at Tupu Roda Wula. All but one of the Roka Roi Houses are located in Nat\(^*\)a Ca and their present primary affiliation is with Tupu Meno T\(^*\)ana. However, it is said of Roka Roi that it 'supports both sides' (*lak'a hivi rua*) in that in every ceremonial cycle at least one Roka Roi House also gives support to T\(^*\)upu Roda Wula.

K\(^*\)unu Sari Ko'a also supports both ceremonial courtyards. Of this origin group it is said that it 'stands in the middle' (*tei rora*), in a position where it is not directly affiliated with either T\(^*\)upu. During the ceremonial cycle half of its Houses give support to Roda Wula, the other half to Meno T\(^*\)ana. Dwellings of Sari Ko'a Houses are dispersed through all three Ko'a villages, Nat\(^*\)a Ca, Toké and T\(^*\)odopab'a. Apart from its position as the guardian of the beach and the 'path of the water buffalo' leading

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\(^{29}\) Thus, in order for the researcher to be able to lend support to the ceremonial cycle of K\(^*\)unu Powo he had to first be adopted into the House of the Powo priest-leader.
from the sea up to the Ko'a villages, no special ceremonial offices are attached to this origin group.

The basic constellation at Tupu Meno Tana is largely paralleled at T'upu Roda Wula, the ceremonial courtyard in the village of T'odopab'a. However, here the classification of 'head' and 'feet' of the village and the corresponding affiliation and location of Houses of 'father people' status is not as clearly aligned with the sea/mountain axis as at Tupu Meno T'ana, but somewhat shifted. This deviation is mainly due to the topographical situation of the village grounds.

Furthermore, only two of the Houses located on T'odopab'a ground are not of 'father people' status and the senior Houses of their origin groups are located in the villages of Toke or Nat'a Ca. All other Houses in T'odopab'a are either members of K'unu Manggé B'asé, the 'people from above', or of K'unu Roda Wula, the 'people from the north' of T'upu Roda Wula.

Another difference to the situation at T'upu Meno Tana is that here two different origin groups rather than one represent its 'people from above' and its 'people from the north' and that the house in which the ceremonial objects of the t'upu are kept is under the guardianship of a House of its 'people from the north' and not given into the custody of an origin group of 'child people' status.

At the moment of burial which generally is carried out on the same day that death has occurred, a small flat stone (wat 'u) is placed inside the ground in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the deceased, mostly at the bottom of its entrance ladder (nuat t'iga). The stone serves to feed the soul of the deceased by way of placing offerings at the s3ot where it has been buried. As a point of connection of the living members of the House with the deceased it is entirely provisional.
Usually in the rainy season preceding that of the closure of the sacrificial cycle, and sometimes, if a sufficient amount of goods are available to satisfy reciprocity in exchange, immediately preceding the water buffalo sacrifice, special mortuary monoliths are set for each of those who have died since the closure of the last ceremonial cycle.

These mortuary monoliths are referred to as rat’ê wawa. Rat’ê is a term used only in this context, whereas wawa also has the meaning of top side or surface. According to Ko’a thought every living member of the domain has his corresponding rat’ê located beneath the surface of the earth. The position of these monoliths is not constant, rather, they are believed to be in a continuous and unpredictable motion travelling from the seaboard up to the mountain-top and back down again.
Preceding the setting of these monoliths most of the population associated with one ceremonial courtyard sets out under the guidance of its priest-leader to locate and unearth the monoliths corresponding to the recently deceased of every associated House. These monoliths are believed to move in broad clusters, those associated with members of Tupu Roda Wula roughly along the southern half of the domain and those of Tupu Meno T'ana along its northern half. Its respective priest-leaders locate their position by way of visualisation in dreaming (pēla nip 'i). The population of the domain may be waiting for days to go unearth the monoliths until the 'right' dream has been dreamed in which they are seen as being located in specific regions. Ratō are only dug up when they are located in the lower half of the domain. Although these monoliths can also travel into the upper half of the domain it is not appropriate to unearth them there because they are thought to be all too closely associated with the settlement of ancestors.

Once the auspicious day has arrived the priest-leader leads his people to the approximate location he has perceived in his dreams. Men and women are dressed in ceremonial dress and adorned with beads and golden ear pendants. They descend the mountain accompanied by the sound of the gongs and drums of their ceremonial courtyard. A female member of every House in which death has occurred carries in her headstrap basket (porē lo'o) ceremonial rice kernels, betel and areca nut, tobacco of Lu'a origin and a patola cloth, or, for lack of such, a Lu'a tie-dyed ceremonial waistcloth (t'ama koa). Men and women of these Houses aided by anybody who cares to join in dig with digging sticks into the surface of the ground to uncover the monolith of a specific deceased member of each House (k'ōjo wat 'u, literally, to dig up stones). Once they feel they have found the appropriate stone they call out the name of the deceased and exclaim that he or she 'has been seen!' (pēla'u!). The monolith is covered with the cloth in order 'to keep it cool' (t'éne melu) and the above-mentioned ritual ingredients are placed upon it. Before the monoliths can be brought back to the
villages, the priest-leader, usually together with the healer-sorcerer, must assess the stone and determine if it is appropriate to the deceased.  

*Rat é wawa* can be of any size, ranging from small one foot long rocks to flat boulders, half the size of an adult. Different sections corresponding to the human head (*t’aba*) and body (*t’embo*) must be distinguishable. Furthermore, the stone must be of a dark and solid type that is considered to be 'alive' (*moré*) as opposed to light and brittle stones that are seen to be 'dead' (*mat’ad*).

Once the stones of all of the recently deceased have been positively assessed, they are carried back to the village with celebratory gongs and drums whilst the population at intervals exclaims in unison 'horol!' (literally, row!), the same joyful exclamation that announces the arrival of the sacrificial water buffalo in the domain.

In the late afternoon of that day, members of a wife-taking House of the deceased come to 'bury the rat é (*kali raté*) at a spot indicated by the senior male member of the House of the deceased. Immediately before burying the monolith the wife-taker, who has previously been nominated kills a pig of his and for the purposes of ritual cooling he applies its blood as well as the milk of a young coconut to the rat é. The killing, which is simultaneously carried out by the individual wifetakers of the various deceased beneath the two *t’apu* of the domain results in a pandemonium that is said to 'reach all the way up to the sun and the moon' (*ca’i ret’a era no’o wula*), thereby alerting the Supreme Being to the imminent burial of the rat é. The sacrificial prestation of a pig is reciprocated by the House of the deceased with the traditional counter-prestation of 'cloth and shirt' (*t’ama lambu*). After the rat é has been placed into the ground and covered with soil its female members 'throw down' (*pésa*) large baskets of harvest goods and fruit at the location of the rat é. This 'throwing down' of

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30 In some other Lu’a domains such as in T’ana K’éli these secondary mortuary rituals are not carried out at the same moment for all of the deceased members of the domain. The availability of goods for ceremonial exchange between wife-giving and wife taking groups effected on the occasion of these rituals largely determines the moment in which a given Houses chooses to carry them out on its own.

31 In line with the body metaphor applied to the domain as well as to the rate these subterranean mobile ‘living’ stones have their structural correspondents in Ko’a conceptions of the human body. There 'bad stones' (*wat’u raté*), ethnoanatomical organs which roughly coincide with the lymphatic system, are said to rise during illness towards the head and descend again when health is regained.
conceptually female goods is directed towards the deceased. However, the wife-taker in question is free to gather them and take them home, once the offering has been completed.

Once the rat'ē has been set it constitutes a point of connection for the living of a House with its deceased member and by extension also with the collective ancestors of all Houses of his own origin group. At virtually all ritual occasions offerings of ceremonial rice kernels are placed at the location of his rat'ē. In doing so, support is sought from the ancestor for whatever undertaking the House is involved in at a given moment.

The prayer that is silently invoked on such occasions begins with the formulaic address to the collective ancestors of the origin group: 'mother, father, venerated ancestors' (hina hama pu mori). Implicit in this address is the notion that the most recently deceased is still somewhat closer to the living members of his House than those who have preceded him and, therefore, their support is sought by way of his or her mediation.

It has been said earlier that the senior male member of a House designates the spot where the rat'ē is to be buried. Generally all Houses of one origin group bury their rat'ē in close vicinity to one another and ideally, at every cycle this is done at the same location.

As a rule the mortuary monoliths of members of origin groups of 'father people' status are buried according to their affiliation with the upper or lower half of the domain near the foot of the corresponding steps leading up the mound that makes up the ceremonial courtyard. Due to his close connection with the Supreme Being and the collective ancestors of the domain, the rat'ē of a priest-leader is usually buried on top of the t'upu (rēt'a t'upu ngaluné, literally, on the tip of the ceremonial courtyard) in the vicinity of its lower 'door'.

Origin groups of 'child people' status traditionally bury the rat'ē of their deceased members at specific spots located in the immediate vicinity below (lae t'ana,
literally, on the ground) the *t'upu* they are affiliated with. Their specific location does not, however, appear to reflect the constellation of their ceremonial offices with respect to the *t'upu*.

In the setting of these monoliths high status and prestige (*ngara ca*, literally, the great name) of a deceased is not expressed in the size of the *rat 'e*. Indeed, a large-sized *rat 'e* may well be judged to be appropriate for a child, and in turn, that of a priest-leader may be just a small rock. Rather, it is an idiom of relative closeness to the ceremonial centre of the domain in which any exceptional status of the deceased is expressed. The *rat 'e* of great warriors who have died in battle and those of renowned healer-sorcerers may be placed apart from the *rat 'e* of their own origin group at the top of the *t'upu* next to those of former priest-leaders.

According to priest-leader ideology it is up to the individual Houses to determine the location of its *rat 'e*. Two events during the most recent setting of the mortuary monoliths of Tupa Meno Tana at the time of the rainy season in 1987 illustrate this position.

Wife-takers of K'unu Sari Ko'a were burying a *rat 'e* of one of its deceased members at the traditional Sari Ko'a spot located beneath the upper left hand corner of T"upu Meno T"ana when its 'elder brother person' began digging up a monolith that many years ago had been buried on top of the *t'upu*. No indication could be obtained about the name of the ancestor or the reason for his having been given a *rat 'e* at this prominent location. A brief statement was made to the effect that 'it had been a mistake' and the ancient *rat 'e* was reburied at the foot of the *t'upu* next to the other Sari Ko'a monoliths.

At the same time, wife-takers of K'unu Roka Roi were burying the *rat 'e* of a man called Weki on top of T"upu Meno T"ana approximately midway along its right side just above the traditional location of the Roka Roi monoliths. Weki had been the man who a number of years previously had effectively contested Ko'a priest-leadership and the traditional order and whose House had subsequently suffered
greatly from supernatural sanction. Sari Ko'a members all maintained that because of his former prominence in Ko'a this was the appropriate spot for Weki's rat'ë. When questioned, the Pwö priest-leader merely commented that there was no way in which he could prevent this and that Roka Roi soon enough would realize its mistake, just as Sari Ko'a had come to do, and remove the rat'ë from the centre.

This occasional setting of rat'ë of members of origin groups of 'child people status' on top of the ceremonial courtyard can be viewed as an effort by its living members to achieve a position of precedence over other 'child people' origin groups and as a move towards 'father people status'. Although according to priest-leader ideology 'child people' cannot alter their status to that of 'father people', we have seen that in the past this has indeed occurred in Ko'a.

The t'upu is the point of connection with the multiple layers of the universe and the 'path of the sun and the moon' run through its 'doors'. It holds the central position of the 'navel' within the embodied domain. The 'doors' of the t'upu at which the rat'ë of the priest-leader is buried, therefore, represent the most important loci of cosmic conjunction in the domain and it is there that the principal source of the priest-leader's powers lies.

By imitating the priest-leader and setting rat'ë on top of the t'upu it appears that 'child people' can at least tendentially gain closer access to these realms from which they generally are excluded. Such a connection in turn is thought to influence positively the fate of the origin group and specifically that of the House of the deceased in a similar but somewhat lesser way than it affects that of the priest-leader. The same reasoning applies to such an effort in other instances. If the Supreme Being acknowledges the appropriateness of this move the undertakings of the House will be fruitful; if not, it will suffer death, disease and misfortune. In such a case the rat'ë will be removed during the next setting of monoliths and placed 'on the ground' (lae t'ana) next to those of is own k'unu. It is, therefore, entirely possible that a successful
setting on top of the *t'upu* and its subsequent beneficial effects constitute the beginning of a process in which 'child people' can acquire the centrality of 'father people' status.

**Diagram No. 3.6**
Locations of Mortuary Monoliths of Ko'a Origin Groups

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**T'UPU MENO T'ANA**
- Head of Village (Nc'a Cq)
- K'. Sari Ko'a
- K'. Tumagg T'ya
- Western Flank
- K'. Kajo Mōtē
- K'. Pevero Lau

**T'UPU RODA WULA**
- Head of Village (T'Volagp'āq)
- K'. Metag Mēad
- K'. Kopa Roi
- Eastern Flank
- K'. Roda Wula

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Clusters of Mortuary Monoliths (Rato'q)
- Ceremonial Monoliths (Ma'o)
Women pouring cultigens and fruit onto the location of a mortuary monolith following its setting for a recently deceased member of their House.

Wife-takers making an offering of ceremonial rice kernels and egg (sivé-t'elo) following the setting of the mortuary monolith (raté) of a recently deceased wife-giver. Note the gift of money for the wife-giving House of the deceased.

Standard offering of ceremonial rice kernels and egg (nëdë sivé-t'elo) placed by the senior male member of the House onto the mortuary monoliths (raté) of its ancestors. The monoliths have been exposed through erosion.
Chapter 4

HOUSE AND PERSON

SECTION 1: HEARTHS, LAND AND RITUAL OFFICES

The House (nuia) is the basic social unit on Lu'a. Its living members are male siblings, their unmarried or divorced sisters, their wives and children, and the wives and children of male children. At the level of the House, as at the level of the origin group, we encounter a confluence of place and name in that the House (nuia) as a social unit is ideally congruent with the house as a dwelling (nuia) and with its location within the village. This coherence of various levels of the socio-cosmological order also finds its expression in the application of the same terms to different levels in that the island as well as the House are both referred to by the same term nua.

Of a given House it is said that it consists of several 'hearts' (lap°o), whereby each stem family is counted as 'one hearth' (ha lap°o). Members of different 'hearts' of a House may or may not cohabit within the same structure, and if they do, they do not each maintain their own set of cooking hearths (see Section 2). A differentiation is made between 'old hearths' (lap°o holonê) and 'new hearths' (lap°o murinê). 'Old hearths' are hearths that have been established for over two generations, whereas 'new hearths' have been established for less than two generations. An 'old hearth' is always assigned to the elder brother (kaé). He is referred to as the the 'elder brother person' (hat°a kaé) of the House. His younger brothers (harti) are assigned 'old hearths' only if a given House has more than one of these, or 'new hearths' if this is not the case. The classification into 'old' and 'new hearths' has a bearing on the allocation of rights to land use.
Younger brothers are referred to as the 'young brother persons' (hat'a hari) of the House. In the House the 'elder brother person' always takes precedence over the 'young brother' and it is said that the 'elder brother' always 'goes first' (nolo), whereas the 'young brother' 'follows' (tetu). The saying refers not only to their relative age but has widespread implications in everyday life. The elder brother is the head of the House. In matters regarding the House as a whole the final decision is made by him. When guests are received and matters of hada are discussed, the elder brother acts as the host, whereas his younger brothers 'trim the lontar leaves and pass around betel' (ko 'k'oli, peli wua-mumu). He is the spokesman and representative of the House in its relations to other Houses and he is its main ritual officiant. If specific ritual offices are connected with the House, he is their holder. In exercising his rights and duties he often delegates to other members of the House, although it is always clear that these are ultimately acting on his behalf. They are said to be 'ordered' (ni) to perform specific tasks and they are expected to comply.

He is instructed by his father in matters regarding past bridewealth transactions in which his House has been involved. His father transmits knowledge to him regarding the ancestral heirlooms of the House and upon the father's death, their guardianship. He receives the knowledge connected with the landholdings of the House and he is instructed by the father in matters pertaining to ritual, and sometimes also in the art of ritual speech.

Rights for land use are allocated by the father to his adult sons. In this allocation the first-born son again takes precedence over his younger brothers in that he is assigned the most fertile land and the largest number of holdings. The moment in which the land is allocated varies according to the situation in a given House and according to the inclination of the father. Some fathers tend to hold on to their position as head of the House as long as they live and refuse to hand over responsibilities to their sons, others relinquish these relatively early. The father at some point when he feels he would like to let go of being the head of a House (hat'a ka'ae) allocates the
rights to use of individual fields to his sons. This process is referred to as 'dividing up the land' (mek'ê t'ana). The moment of allocation is not formalized and may best be viewed as the end of an ongoing process. Children, both male and female, are assigned individual plots in fields to work on, for which they are responsible. In the case of a girl, this moment may occur at the early age of six; in the case of a boy, often only when he approaches marriage in his early twenties. If a child has worked on one specific field (wo) during childhood and adolescence, this field will most probably be assigned to him for good at the moment in which the landholdings of a given House are allocated. In some cases a woman may receive such land as part of the prestations made by the wife-giving to the wife-taking House. This prestation is called 'dark red' (réré méja) and refers to the colour of a string of ancient beads that is given at a specific stage of marriage exchange. Only if such beads are not available is land substituted for them.

There is a tendency to associate specific fields of a House with specific 'old hearths'. In terms of older and younger brothers it signifies that an older brother will mostly work the same set of fields over generations. If a House has two 'old hearths' and there are consistently only two male siblings over time, the same also holds true for the younger brother. In such a situation the existence of a third brother requires the creation of a 'new hearth' and all landholdings of the House must be redivided to accommodate the needs of this 'new hearth'.

If, however, a given House has two 'old hearths', but in one generation only one living male sibling, the fields attached to the second 'old hearth' are vulnerable to being claimed by Houses of the same origin group who, for one reason or another, are experiencing a shortage of fields. Initially such a claim is informal and has the character of one House asking a closely related House for a favour. The term for such a request is ci (literally, to request, or to ask for), and implicitly a ci-type of request cannot be denied lest relations between these Houses become strained. However, once the rights to use are granted and the granting House does not reclaim the field in the
following generation, the field may go over to the custody of the House that has
initially only asked a favour. In order to avoid leaving parts of its land holdings
fallow, a House lacking 'younger brothers' will resort to adoption (see Section 7).

The allocation of individual fields to 'hearts' can, especially in the case of an
elder brother, also be viewed as those fields being attached to a specific name. In the
ideal case where the firstborn son takes the name of his father's father (see section 3)
this can actually be so only at every alternating generation. This link to an ancestral
name is sometimes emphasized. In a similar vein, a House is often referred to by the
name of an ancestral first-born son, and it is said that that House throughout
generations has always been the House of its living namesake.

The tracing of rights to use of a specific plot of land (wo) is often controversial
because of the number of ways in which land can be acquired other than by inheritance
from the father. Land can be given as part of marriage prestations to a wife-taking
House. Land can also be bought and sold. Although this is ideally prohibited by hada
it occurs frequently. Land can be pawned in lieu of a hada fine and eventually, if
payments in goods are defaulted upon, it changes hands. Fields can also be given as
a reward for aid in warfare or for dealing with threat by magic. Finally, individual
fields can also be exchanged for others to suit the needs of their owners. Knowledge
about how a given field has become part of the holdings of a House, which is
transmitted by the father to his firstborn son, is therefore crucial when dealing with
claims of other Houses over the same field. In recent times demographic pressure has
created shortages of land and, therefore, litigation over rights to use is increasing in
frequency. In Ko'a legal practice in matters of land (hukupatana, literally, 'the
words of sanction of the land') the final decision is made by the priest-leader. In
litigation both contestants, as well as the priest-leader, may all hold different views as

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1 Modern Indonesian agrarian law supports claims made by such a House on the grounds that this
House has worked a specific field over a long time span. Once a field has been worked by a House
over two generations it can legally be registered in the name of this House.
2 The current equation in litigation is Rp.200,000.- for a plot of land (wo).
to the origins of the rights to the land. In general, if the tracing (susun) of a succession of previous holders of the House by one of the contestants is more extensive, his rights to use are confirmed by the priest-leader. If, however, none of the litigating parties give in, they can resort to divine ordeal.³

Some Houses have several ritual offices attached to them, whereas others have none. Ideally ritual offices held by individual Houses are attached to a 'hearth' and, as was the case with rights to land use, also indirectly associated with a specific male ancestor's name. An office is ideally passed from father to firstborn son. Other than in the allocation of rights to land use, which can take place while the father is still alive, a successor to a ritual office is designated shortly before the death of the present holder, sometimes even on his deathbed. Several factors other than relative age influence this process. Suitability of the successor depends on metaphysical and political factors expressed in the successor's knowledge of ritual speech. It is asked, 'to whom did the lips go?' (wiwi laé hai). Implicit in this question is the notion that a male ancestor of the House gives the faculty of ritual speech to a chosen descendant and thereby is able to speak and act through his living namesake. This is believed to take place in a single moment of inspiration or in a dream. Practically, the father instructs the firstborn son informally, and in some cases the son is also taught by other specialists. Eventually the father may delegate minor ceremonial duties to him, so that by the time he dies, the firstborn son is equipped to take his place.⁴ The long term exposure to ritual practice

³ With respect to land, and this may concern either whole parcels of land, or as is more often the case, specific boundaries between individual plots, a procedure is carried out which is referred as 'to spit on the plank' (ngiru p'ap'ap'a). A wooden plank of half a metre in length is employed. The plank, which is kept in the custody of the priest-leader, has a number of horizontal incisions along its length. The priest-leader places the plank at a 90° angle onto the contested plot of land. In the presence of all members of the domain, and after the Supreme Being has been invoked at the central ceremonial courtyard and after the ancestors of the two Houses have been called upon to be witnesses, each contestant is asked to spit onto the upper end of the plank. If the saliva of the contestant can flow across the horizontal incisions all the way to the bottom end of the plank and touch the ground, then the claim of this contestant is recognized. The reasoning behind this is the belief that the earth turns conceptually hot if the land is rightfully claimed, and thereby prevents the saliva from reaching the ground.

⁴ The first-born son can, however, only 'hold the ceremonial rice kernels and the ritual egg' (kévé sivé-t'elo), a metaphor for ritual practice, once a major part of the bridewealth for his mother has been paid (see Chapter 5, Section 3).
and to the narratives connected with specific ceremonies doubtless has a cumulative
effect that leads up to the moment where the son 'receives the lips'. Once he has
received the faculty of ritual speech, it is said that 'his lips are large and his tongue is
long' (wiwi ca // lema lawa) and he is ready to succeed his father as the senior member
of the House. Ineptitude, unwillingness or unavailability of a firstborn son can lead to
another son being chosen for succession. Schooling, adherence to Christian values,
and more recently also circular migration to Malaysia can necessitate the choice of
another son or even the adoption of a successor.

SECTION 2: THE HOUSE AS A DWELLING

Fundamental ideas about life and about the cosmos are encoded in the house as a
dwelling. Some of these that have a bearing on the House as the basic social unit, and
that illuminate its relationship to the ancestors, shall be commented upon in what
follows. First, however, the general features of the dwelling are described.

The traditional house is called the 'indigenous' or 'human house' (nuə pi'i). It
has in recent times been contrasted with more modern types of houses (nuə murinę,
new houses) and is now often referred to as the 'old (style) house' (nuə holonę).5

What is visible of the nuə pi'i from the outside is its conically shaped roof
(hat'ë). The elephant grass (ci'i) thatched roof is up to seven metres high and reaches
nearly all the way to the ground. The rectangle delineated by its eaves (nuə t'iga) marks
the outer boundary of the house. In order to gain access one is forced to stoop beneath
a slightly raised section at one of its corners and climb along the side of the house up
the five steps of a ladder (t'angi) onto a small platform (woga lo'o). This platform
leads onto the main sitting platform (woga) which extends all along the front of the
house and which is slightly more elevated than the woga lo'o. Musical instruments,

5 In recent years most nuə pi'i have been replaced by so-called 'health houses' ('rumah sehat'), a type of
dwelling conforming to government regulations. Although these houses employ the same
construction materials, they are no longer raised on posts and feature a lower roof. The notions
connected with the nuə pi'i are largely applied also to the 'rumah sehat'.

such as drums (maba), tambourines (maba lo’o), ukulele (ngit’a) and flutes (wéko), are hung beneath the roof above the woga. Some houses may also have a platform running along the far side of the house and in some cases yet another one out back.

Weapons, such as spears (t’umba) bows (wu) and arrows (hup’è) are stored on hooks against the walls. From the woga access to the actual inside of the house (nu a hunéné) is gained through a low winged wooden door (k’ivé). The door is the only part of the house to which decorative carvings are applied, such as simple stylized water-buffalo horns which serve as loops on both of its wings into which a bolt can be inserted to fasten it (seb’è k’ivé) from the outside while the house is abandoned during the day. The nua hunéné consists of a single undivided chamber approximately six by six metres. Its walls (riti) are made of horizontal lengths of cracked bamboo pinned between frames of lontar or cocos wood. The flooring of the inner chamber and of the platforms is also made of such slabs (ta). There are two hearths (lab’o) located to the left and right sides of the door. The hearths consist of square wooden fireboxes containing a layer of soil and three hearthstones (liga). Above the hearths there are racks for the storage of cooking utensils (majo-léké). Jaws of pigs and goats are hung above these racks as testimonies of gifts by wife-taking Houses and of past sacrificial occasions. Two rows of shelves run along the four sides of the chamber, the lower ones protruding outwards between the top of the walls and the steeply slanted roof. They are used for the storage of household goods contained in square-lidded lontar leaf baskets (k’endá). On the shelf above the door, tools and agricultural implements are kept, such as the digging stick (rep’o) the bushknife (t’op’o) and recently also the modern hoe (sako). The high dome formed by the roof is used as a granary. Large lontar-leaf baskets (sab’o) containing tubers, green gram or maize are hung from horizontal beams or stacked on top of these on slates of cracked bamboo. Provisions such as bamboo containers with inners of fish or pig-fat, salt woven into leaves of the gewang-palm (Corypha saccarifera), or woven mats clutter the spaces between the baskets. A number of bamboo hooks attached to the horizontal beams allow for the
hanging of lamps, bags, bottles or gourds and clothing. In the right hand corner at the
rear is the house altar (hulu pitu), a flat stone placed on the floor boards. On shelves
above the altar ancestral reliquaries, objects of bridewealth and ceremonial implements
are kept. To guard against theft, valuables such as golden earpendants or strings of
ancestral beads are often hidden inside the roof between layers of thatching.

The space beneath the stilts (raka lai mai), upon which the whole structure of the
house is resting, is used to pen up livestock for the night. Coprophagous pigs and
dogs clean up whatever refuse falls through the cracks of the bamboo floors. Nesting
baskets for chicken are hung beneath the roof, and along the side of the house bamboo
water containers (b6éko) are stacked against protruding beams. Finally, the backstrap
loom and other weaving implements are tied beneath the roof to the outside of the rear
wall.

The ideal orientation of the house is toward the rising sun (lé) and the symbolic
coordinates deriving from this orientation are arrived at by the viewer sitting inside the
door facing outwards. In terms of directionals, the right hand side is associated with
the south (raja), the left side with the north (lau) and the back of the house with the
west (wa).

In ritual speech nua, the term for house is always paired with woga, the term for
sitting platform. When contrasted with the domain, the house is referred to as 'the
small house // the short sitting platform' (nua lo'o // woga b6'o'o) as opposed to 'the
large house // the long sitting platform' (nua ca // woga lawa) denoting the domain, and
by extension also the island.

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6 The association of parts of the house with directionals takes this ideal orientation as its point of
reference. Village houses are primarily oriented towards the ceremonial courtyard.
Diagram No. 4.1
Structural Elements of the House

wa

(House as boat oriented towards origin)

Point of entry

Front (wa)

10

left (wa)

right (wa)

9

13

17

14

16

18

13

8

11

12

left (lē)

right (lē)

19

15

13

7

6

5

4

1

2

3

Front (lē)

(House as body oriented towards rising sun)

lē

1-4 Main house posts (k'osē)
5  Main sitting platform (woga)
6  Small platform (woga lē'o)
7  Ladder (t'angi)
8,9 Subsidiary sitting platforms
10 Eaves of roof (nu a t'iga)
11 'Sound hearth' (lab o pi'), firebox and hearthstones (liga)
12 'Bad hearth' (lab o ra'a), firebox and hearthstones
13 Shelves (b qaja)
14 Ridge of roof (wuwu)
15 Door (wewa, k ivē)
16 Inner chamber (nu a lunænæ)
17 House altar (nu u pitu)
18 Male mast (mangu la k?)
19 Female mast (mangu wa l)
Traditional Lu'a dwellings (*nu'a pi'il*) in the village of K'ajuk'éri (T'ana T'ua Nggéo, 1979).

A traditional Lu'a dwelling in the process of being dismantled, exposing its structural elements.

Cooling ceremony (*niru siko*) held at sunset for the constructor of a modern dwelling. Note his red shirt and red headdress and the scrapings of cement and metal taken from the walls and the roof.
The house as a whole is conceptually female when viewed in its opposition to all
that lies outside (rak' a lik' u) of it. The large roof with its thick layers of elephant-grass
provides effective shelter from rain and wind, and protection from the midday heat and
cold nights. Only very little light is reflected from the narrow open space between the
evanes and the ground onto the sitting platforms, and virtually no sunlight penetrates
into its inner chamber. This dimness gives the nua pi'i a womb-like quality.

The sitting platforms and the inner chamber in turn constitute male and female
symbolic spaces. In everyday life the woga tends to be more of a male domain. This is
also the place where weapons and instruments are stored. Men meet there to talk and
smoke and chew tobacco or betel, whereas women more often meet behind the house,
where activities related to the production of textiles take place and the corresponding
implements are stored. Guests hardly ever enter the inner chamber. They are received
and catered to on the sitting platform.

If guests stay overnight, sleeping mats (tõepõé) are spread out there. The
unmarried adult men of the house sleep on the sitting platform as well, whereas
married men, women and children sleep in the inner chamber.7

The space inside the roof above the inner chamber is used for the storage of
provisions and harvest goods, the handling of which is an exclusively female domain.
The woman allocates what part of the harvest is set aside for exchange and what is
kept for consumption. No man has the right to interfere in these matters nor can he
himself go and remove anything from there.8

In addition to this concentric division of symbolic space into the conceptually
male woga and woga lo'o which partially enclose the conceptually female nua hunéné,
another set of oppositions connected with its two hearths in turn divides the front part
of the inner chamber into male and female sides. Two hearths are located at either side

7 As a rule, when sleeping the head should be oriented towards the sea.
8 Only one case is known where the senior man of a House claimed rights over the allocation of
harvest goods. In doing so he became the laughing stock of the village.
of the door. The one to the left is referred to as 'the bad hearth' (lapəo ra’ā) and the one to the right as 'the sound hearth' (lapəo pi’i).

On each hearth different types of food are cooked. This association of certain foods with the conceptually male lapəo pi’i and of others with the conceptually female lapəo ra’ā is informed by asymmetric values. Food collectively termed 'bad things' (ngavu ndoan̄e) or 'women’s things' (ngavu è’è hatəa wai) is prepared on the lapəo ra’ā, whereas 'men's things' (ngavu è’è hatəa lakəi) or 'good things' (ngavu mbolan̄e) are cooked on the lapəo pi’i. In this opposition all vegetables, greeneries, fruit, and beans, as well as sweet potato and cassava are assigned to the conceptually female lapəo ra’ā. Meat, fish, and fowl, as well as rice, tubers and maize are assigned to the male lapəo pi’i. In everyday life, women actually do more often tend to consume dishes that contain beans, leaves and vegetables. Meat and dishes containing rice, which is always imported, are considered to be prestigious and, therefore, fit for consumption by men and guests.

The terminology applied to a number of architectural parts of the house (see Diagram no. 4.1) draws on two different notions: the house in its conception as a human body and the house as a boat.

Two terms are commonly and interchangeably applied to the door, kəivé and wewa. The door separates the male public sphere from the private female inside. There is no further meaning attached to the term kəivé, whereas wewa also has the meaning of mouth. The term hatəé is employed for both the human liver and for the roof. In Sara Lu’a the liver is considered to be the seat of emotions. In the combined term hatəé wuwu it has the meaning of ridge of the roof. Wuwu is also the term for the human fontanelle.9 Wewa, hatəé and hatəé wuwu are the only terms for architectural parts of the house where body symbolism is explicit. However, the analogy is implicitly extended to the four main posts (kəosē) of which it is said that they are ‘like the legs’

9 In Lu’a body concepts lobo and lobo le’o which can tentatively be glossed as the soul leave the body through the fontanelle. This makes this part of the body the focus of special attention in life cycle rituals (see Section 6).
(hama no'o wa'iiñe) and to the wooden frame (k'ílu) which is 'like the bones' (hama no'o lujiné) of the house. Finally, the upper horizontal beams of the sides of the house (b'aja) are likened to its shoulders (hama no'o b'ajuné). Here a folk etymological connection is made between b'aja the term for these beams, and b'aju the term for shoulders.

A number of rules applied in the construction of the house are directly related to this notion of the house as a body. In principle any wood can be employed as construction material.\(^{10}\) Hardwood such as tamarind or candlenut is favoured because of its durability, but wood of coconut or lontar palm is used most often due to its greater availability.\(^{11}\) However, regardless of what kind of wood is employed, strict attention is paid to the rule that the same type of wood must be used for all structural parts of the dwelling.

Another important rule, which has a widespread application, involves the notion of the 'trunk' or 'base' (bu'u) and the 'tip' (ngalu). According to this rule, wood employed in construction must always be aligned in the same direction in which it has grown, in that the trunk or base-section is always followed by the tip-section. Thus, for instance, the house posts are always set into the ground trunk section first.

The rule of 'following the right hand' (pana lima molo) is applied throughout the construction of the house. Thus, for example, the setting of house posts always begins at the front right side and proceeds in a counter-clockwise direction.

In the construction of a horizontal frame, both rules, that of 'trunk and tip' as well as that of 'following the right hand' are applied simultaneously such that at every corner of the structure each tip-section is joined to a base-section in counter-clockwise fashion.

\(^{10}\) The dwelling of priest-leaders excepted, where no wood of tamarind (haja) or candlenut (k'íja) can be employed in the construction of the firebox. These trees are considered to be of 'big blood' which would conflict with the 'big blood' ascribed to priest-leaders.

\(^{11}\) In order to increase the durability of posts made of palmwood, the fibre of the enau-palm is wound around those sections that are buried in the ground.
The laying of floorboards begins equally at the front right corner with the base section of a board of cracked bamboo. The orientation of the subsequent board vertically aligned with it is then inverted and so forth, effectively alternating base and tip sections at each end of the flooring.

A third rule comes into play specifically in the construction of the roof. Here it is considered to be essential that the number of vertical rafters is even. This rule is encoded in an idiom of 'life' (mòre) and 'death' (matòa), where 'life' corresponds to even and 'death' to uneven numbers. The computation of the rafters begins with 'death' and must end with 'life', lest the occupants of the house be subject to misfortune, illness or even death.

In setting up the vertical rafters of the roof, once again both rules, that of 'following the right hand' and that of 'trunk and tip', are applied simultaneously in that the first vertical rafter is attached at the front right corner and subsequent ones are added in a counter-clockwise fashion going from right to left, and in that the 'tip' section of each rafter is always pointing upwards towards the ridge of the roof.

Finally, another rule states that things must be approached from below upwards (laé mai éré rétòané). This rule has a spatial as well as a temporal application. In the building of the house it implies that the sequence of the construction of its parts must be undertaken in a vertical progression. Thus for example, the wood for the posts must be cut and fashioned before that of the horizontal beams of the frame.

The rules for construction pertaining to homogeneity of material, alignment with direction of growth, counter-clockwise movement, evenness of numbers and vertical progression of stages of construction are all an expression of the notion that the house as a body is associated with life. In a sense it can be said that the house is alive in the same way as the domain and its ceremonial centre is thought to be alive and the island as a whole is alive. The notion of unspecified currents running through the structural elements of the house is implicit in these rules and becomes clearly apparent in the
ritual treatment of the new house. The house as a body is oriented eastward towards the rising sun and thus towards life.

Two long poles resting on top of the frame of the floor of the inner chamber midway along two sides of the house support the ridge of the roof. These poles are referred to as is masts (mangu). Significantly, and in contrast to the common Lu'a association of the left with the conceptually female and of the right with the conceptually male, the mast of the left side is termed 'male mast' (mangu laki) and that of the right side 'female mast' (mangu waï).

The left corner at the back of the inner chamber is the location of the house altar, (hulu pitu). This spot is the main focus of ritual activity in the house. As such we would expect that a position of prominence would be accorded to it and that it would be located in line with the 'rule of the right hand' at the front right side of the house. As it is, the position of the hulu pitu raises a number of questions. In ritual speech the house altar is referred to by the couplet hulu pitu // pitu bọali. The primary meaning of the term hulu is that of the bow of a boat. The term pitu is a name which is not used in any other context. The term bọali has the meaning of concave. It is part of the composite wara bọali where it signifies a large and flat type of stone (wara) employed for the sharpening of blades the upper side of which is slightly concave.12

The 'bow of pitu // the pitu sharpening stone' is a stone of Lu'a origin. It is said to be alive (morë) in the same way that the house is considered to be alive. It forms an integral part of the house, to the extent that a house without it is considered to be merely a physical structure without ceremonial significance and as such unsuited for long-term human habitation. The hulu pitu is oriented towards the place of origin in the distant west and by way of making offerings on it, contact is established with the origin of the domain and with its mythical ancestors.

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12 Sharpening stones are found in western Flores in the region of Labuhan Bajo and are traded throughout the Lesser Sunda Islands.
One important prescription in cutting down trees for the construction of houses or boats is that the crown must always fall towards the west (ngalu éré wané).\(^\text{13}\) An important chant performed during the ceremonial inauguration of the hull of a boat informs this orientation. This chant is referred to as 'the wood comes from the west' (kœaju pana va mai). The chant consists of the same sequence of paired place names that are contained in the patola chant (see Chapter 2), and as such represents its structural complement. However, instead of invoking the voyage of 'the earth and the stone' this chant refers to the boat the ancestors boarded to travel to the island. In ritual speech the boat is referred to simply as 'wood' (kœaju), a term that is also employed in the computation of numbers of houses. Thus, orienting the crown towards the west establishes already at the beginning of the construction process a connection of the house with the origins of the island and its mythical ancestors.

The house in its conception as a boat appears to be oriented towards the west as opposed to the house in its conception as a body which is oriented towards the east. Through this shift in the metaphor applied to specific parts of the house an inversion of its symbolic orientation is achieved. Thus the location of the hulu pitu at the left hand corner of the inner chamber which seems to run contrary to the 'rule of the right hand' is only an inversion from the point of view of the eastward orientation of the house as a body. In the westward orientation of the house as a boat the hulu pitu is located at its front right corner and is therefore in line with the 'rule of the right hand'. The assignment of the 'female mast' to the right side and that of the 'male mast' to the left side no longer appears to stand in contradiction to the associations established earlier with notions connected with left and right. In a westward oriented house left and right are equally inverted.

\(^{13}\) Special ideas apply to the felling of candlenut and tamarind trees. Of these trees it is said that they are of 'big blood' (laja ca) and it is feared that in felling them this 'blood' is released and can enter the person handling the axe through their mouth. The 'big blood' of the tree conflicts with the lesser blood of the craftsman and can create illness and swelling of the limbs. In order to avoid contamination the craftsman holds his breath during the first five strokes with his axe. In doing so he blocks the entry of the harmful 'big blood' released by the tree.
The number of houses in Ko'a is thought to be always constant and new houses are erected strictly on the locations of those they have replaced. Village grounds are termed 'land of the priest-leader' (rōana bō'u, literally, land of the trunk). Since settlements were established, sites were allocated by the priest-leader to the individual Houses of the domain and so, ideally, the settlement pattern in Ko'a villages has remained the same.\textsuperscript{14}

In ritual speech the actual construction of the house is referred to by the couplet 'to build the house // to dig the (posts of the) sitting platform' (ma'o nual/kali woga). Once all the constituent parts are prepared, the process of assembling is completed within a matter of days. If all the structural elements are prepared in advance, the house can be completed within three days. Two days are allocated to erecting the structure and one day to the thatching of the roof. In order to express the duration of this period, the metaphor 'mother, father and firstborn child' is employed (hina hana hana hulu wuanē), in which, by way of reference to the core of the Lu'a stem family (labō), the number three stands as a symbol of completeness.

The generic term for the consecration of the house is 'to eat [and] cool the house' (ka lali nua). The term ka, 'to eat', refers to the notion that during the consecration a large number of people are received, whereas the term lali is used only in ritual contexts, where it stands for a process in which a state of harmful 'heat' is ritually transformed into a state of beneficial 'coolness'.

The sequencing of the different stages of ritual cooling may vary according to the availability of resources. In an elaborate ka lali nua the houseposts and the structure are cooled in separate ceremonies. In such a case the cooling of the house posts is carried out at the beginning of the ka lali nua. The cooling is effected by application of pig blood to each post.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} The number and location of subsidiary dwellings erected around the main house for reasons of shortage of living space varies through time.

\textsuperscript{15} According to our understanding, pig blood is considered to be 'too sweet' (mengi, literally, tasty) to be employed in the cooling of the houseposts, because its 'sweet' scent has the potential of attracting witches (kai'a nat'und) who can then settle in the new house and create misfortune for its residents.
The second phase of consecration is referred to as 'to close the fontanelle of the roof' (*puwu haté wuwu*), in reference to the thatching of the ridge of the roof (*wuwu*). This phase is marked by ceremonial exchange between wife-giving and wife-taking Houses. In this process the ridge is first covered with a mat of woven palm leaves onto which a thatching of elephant grass (*muké ci'i*) is fastened. No special rules are connected with this stage. The second stage of *puwu haté wuwu* is referred to as 'trimming the roof' (*ketí haté*). Following 'the rule of the right hand' a male member of a wife-taking group (*hat'a weda*) trims the ends of the elephant grass roofing at the eaves and levels it. Before doing so he brings conceptually male goods (*ngavu*) consisting of money, gold or ivory. These goods are accepted by a male member of the house and taken into the inner chamber. The prestation is reciprocated (*pau* literally, covered) with conceptually female goods (*tsama lambu*) consisting of a cloth and a shirt.

The third phase is called 'to fill the hearth with earth' (*tana lab'o*). Here a female member of a wife-taking group, ideally the sister (*weda*) who has married out returns and ceremonially inaugurates the hearth. The firebox is laid out with banana leaves 'to keep it cool' (*t'ené melu*) and is then filled with soil. Finally the three hearthstones are placed on it. Once again in line with 'the rule of the right hand', taking the orientation towards life as a reference, the male hearth at the right side of the door is attended to first, followed by the female hearth at the left side. Water of a young coconut is then sprinkled into all corners of the inner chamber. The following stage consists in the preparation of a ceremonial meal which is referred to as 'to eat (from) the small cooking pot' (*ka legé lo'o*). Here the male hearth is lit for the first time by the female member of the wife-taking group.16 This person then takes the ceremonial meal.

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16 Some Ko'a Houses insist that this must be done by an unmarried but senior female member of a wife-taking House.
consisting of rice (lama) and dried fish (hik'a to'ine) or young chicken (manu hanané) back to her own house where she eats it by herself.

In the fourth phase of the consecration the orientation is shifted and the ancestral place of origin is taken as a point of reference. This phase is called 'to set the concave stone' (néé war'u b'ali), in reference to the setting of the house altar. The altar stone of the previous house is placed in its assigned spot at the hulu pitu in the right hand corner of the inner chamber. For new houses, or when a replacement is indicated, a new stone is provided by the priest-leader. At the setting the senior male member of the House makes an offering of ceremonial rice kernels. He begins sprinkling rice at the hulu pitu and proceeds in a counter-clockwise movement to the corners of the inner chamber. The offering is preceded by the following prayer:

\[ Hina hana pu mori \]
\[ era wula war'u t'ana \]
\[ miu ré'ë'ë nuu ée noa \]
\[ miu luu woga éé ni'ë'ë \]
\[ nuak'ë'ë hah'ë'ë pet'ë'ë \]
\[ wogak'ë'ë hah'ë'ë ciwa'ë'ë \]
\[ majok'ë'ë hah'ë'ë pelli'ë'ë \]
\[ b'du wo hah'ë'ë t'éé né majok'ë'ë ca \]
\[ wa'ë'ë wo hah'ë'ë t'éé né lek'ë'ë ku lawa \]
\[ t'éé né hah'ë'ë to lé wëd rio \]
\[ nangu lé nangu nanga \]

\[ Mother father ancestors \]
\[ sun moon stone earth \]
\[ you who are up there at the house of noa \]
\[ you who are down there at the sitting platform of nité'ë'ë \]
\[ I have bought my house \]
\[ I have paid for my sitting platform \]
\[ I have provided my serving spoon \]
\[ I have given my cooking pot \]
\[ pray for me that my serving spoon be long \]
\[ ask on my behalf that my pot be large \]
\[ so I [can] wash in the cool ponds of the west \]
\[ and swim in the fresh river of the west. \]

17 It is actually purchased (pet'ë'ë) with one ivory tusk of the length of an outstretched arm reaching from the tips of the fingers to the middle of the chest (pala ha tebu ca'la lé pok'é ninu né, literally, up to the drinking throat) and with one large-sized pig which takes four men to carry. Formerly the stone selected was also subject to the approval of the healer-sorcerer. A criterion applied by him to the stone was the measure of its 'aliveness'.

18 Hina hana pu mori refers to the totality of ancestors living in both abodes, the place of origin in the west and the inside of the volcano.

19 Era wula war'u t'ana stands for the abstract concept of the Supreme Being.

20 The house of noa // the sitting platform of nité'ë'ë is a metaphor for the ancestral abode inside the volcano.

21 To buy, pet'ë'ë and to pay, civa refer to the fulfilment of ritual duties involved in the construction and consecration of the house.

22 Majok paired with lek'ë'ë is a metaphor for harvest goods and livestock. The couplet refers to the offerings made to the ancestors during consecration as well as to the accompanying ceremonial exchanges with wife-giving and wife-taking Houses.

23 B'alu paired with wa'o can be glossed as 'to implore on behalf of somebody by way of prayer'. The long majok // the large lek'ë'ë represents a general metaphor for fertility.

24 The cool ponds and the fresh rivers of the west are a metaphor for life with positive associations such as health, longevity and birth of offspring.
In summary, the prayer calls upon the totality of ancestors, the mythical ancestors at the place of origin in the west as well as upon those residing inside the mountain. It ultimately also calls upon the Supreme Being through the mediation of these ancestors. It states that on the side of the living all ritual duties have been fulfilled and that the appropriate ceremonial exchanges with wife-giving and wife-taking Houses are about to be carried out. A plea is made for fertility, health, prosperity and numerous offspring.

The final stage of consecration is referred to as 'celebrating the house' (nggua nua). This is an occasion where the social network of the House is fully activated. Large numbers of guests from the domain as well as from outside attend and are catered to, and extensive ceremonial exchange is carried out with wife-giving and wife-taking Houses (see Chapter 5, Section 5). This phase is held in conjunction with the setting of the altar stone. In this context the pigblood is applied to the walls of the dwelling. The pig employed for the ceremonial cooling is then divided into individual cuts (ketôte) some of which are retained to cater to guests, but most of which are allotted to wife-taking Houses.25 At the ensuing communal meal at the house, the representatives of all attending wife-giving Houses make a gift of money, gold or ivory, and in return they receive a prestation of textiles (r°ama lambu), whereas the attending wife-taking Houses bring textiles that are reciprocated by the hosting House with cuts of pig meat.

Before the meal at the new house the women of those Houses that have participated in its construction, but are not taking part in the communal meal, are called upon to bring a dish of cooked rice (lama pi’i).26 The colanders are set inside the nua hunéné. Once they have been allocated cuts of cooked pig meat the women take the same rice dishes and the meat back to their individual houses.27 When setting the

25 In an elaborate nggua nua several large pigs are employed for exchange and for catering to guests.
26 Lama pi’i consists of a mixture of white rice, maize and often tuber.
27 The size of these allocations is made to match the prestations made by the receiving House on previous similar occasions.
colanders into the inner chamber of the house, the steam rising to its roof is believed to alert the ancestors of the House to the number of Houses participating in the inauguration.26

As of this moment the house is fully consecrated and fit for human habitation. Due to its dual orientation, towards the place of origin and the mythical ancestors and towards the rising sun and life, the house has a timeless quality. It is ever present at the same location to provide shelter and cosmological connectedness to the changing stream of the living members of the House.

SECTION 3: HEIRLOOMS, RELIQUARIES AND NAMES

Every House owns a number of ancestral heirlooms and reliquaries referred to as 'ancient goods' (ngavu holo). These goods are not separable from the House in that they cannot be sold or used in ceremonial exchange. In fact they form an integral part of the House. They constitute a point of focus that materially links the house and its occupants to the ancestors of the House. Supernatural qualities are ascribed to the ngavu holo and they are often named and traced to a specific male ancestor. Only very rarely are they seen in public and no one other than the senior male member of the House (hat^a ka'ed) is entitled to touch them. A temporary removal from the House requires special ritual manipulation including the offering of pig blood at the mortuary monoliths of the individual ancestors with whom each specific object is connected. Knowledge about the ngavu holo, such as their names, their origins and their supernatural properties is transmitted from father to firstborn son. He is the guardian of these objects and his knowledge legitimizes his position of seniority with regard to his younger brothers. From this position he derives the right to allocate the land holdings of the House and the right to exercise any ceremonial office attached to it.

26 The affinity of rats with the ancestors has been commented upon earlier. Because inside a house rats tend to inhabit sections of the roof, this part of the house is considered to be a locus of ancestral presence.
Because the Ko'a villages were burned to the ground in the war of 1968, there are only very few *ngavu holo* left in Ko'a Houses. In order to give an idea of a set of *ngavu holo* of a House of priest-leader status, which in any given domain represent its most varied and most valuable heirlooms, the *ngavu holo* of the House of the main K'o'éli priest-leader are listed below. As in Ko'a, this House is also the sponsor of the ceremonial cycle and, therefore, the list also contains a number of objects that are connected with ritual practice at the ceremonial courtyard.

The list was established in the context of a litigation between two Houses of priest-leader status in K'o'éli in 1979. The case is instructive because it provides insight into notions of succession to ceremonial office and into the legitimation of its holder.

The background of the case is as follows: because Waré, the former main priest-leader of K'o'éli, had no son to succeed him in his office he adopted a male child, Paso, from a House of his origin group. Ngaji, the younger brother of Waré had a son named Pio who was, as long as there were no sons to succeed his elder brother, a potential candidate for the office of priest-leader. The child Pio, however, was eventually perceived to be unsuited for succession because he lacked the personal and intellectual qualities necessary for the office of priest-leader. And so it was the adopted child, Paso, who was instructed in the art of ritual speech and who received the knowledge of matters concerning the office. On his deathbed the main priest-leader designated Paso to be his successor, and because the child was still too young to act as priest-leader, a classificatory brother of the priest-leader was designated to act as interim priest-leader until Paso had grown up enough to take office.
The choice was largely accepted by the people of Kédi and also by the priestleaders of its allied domains. However, Ngaji, the priest-leader’s younger brother, never came to terms with that decision. Wherever possible he, and later on his son Pio, contested the legitimacy of Paso as the rightful Kédi priest-leader. One way of doing so was to work those fields that were attached to the elder brother’s House. Eventually this infringement upon Paso’s fields led to a court case. The case was to be heard by representatives of the district government who came to Kédi to assess the situation in the presence of the priest-leaders of Kédi’s allied domains. The case was viewed by the allied priest-leaders as ultimately hinging on the legitimacy of Paso’s succession to the office of main Kédi priest-leader. It was decided that all the ancestral heirlooms of the House of the main priest-leader were to be laid out in public and that both contenders should attempt to name each object. Superior knowledge would be the criterion of legitimacy. The hearings drew large crowds from all over the island.\(^{29}\) At the hearing Paso was able to name all the objects, whereas Pio could name only a few of them and so the case was ruled in Paso’s favour. Pio died only a few

\(^{29}\) Many people attended because these ancestral heirlooms had never been on public display before. They expected to see unparalleled wealth and objects of potent supernatural qualities some of which were traced back to the famous sorcerer Waré, a Kéli priest-leader who had expanded the territory of his domain by way of sorcery.
years after the incident and his death was generally interpreted as an ancestral sanction for having touched the magical objects during the hearing. Table 4.1 details the sequence and the names given by Lakimosa Paso during the hearings.

The objects that will be commented on here are those commonly found in every House of a domain. Generally the ngavu holo of a House of priest-leader status stand as a model for those of all other Houses in the domain. They are considered to be essentially 'the same, but somewhat lesser' (hamhana, wek'Qi k'ura ha lo'o).

Item two of the inventory lists the fingernails and forelocks (k'uk'u-lolo) of four successive generations of ancestors of the House of the main Keli priest-leader. A clipping is taken from the nail of the little finger (kuku lima hanané) of the left hand and a lock of hair (lolo) is cut from the left side of the head of the deceased. Fingernail and forelock are put in a woven lontar envelope and placed into a lidded lontar leaf basket. These reliquaries are referred to as the 'fingernails and forelocks' (k'uk'u-lolo) of the ancestors of the House. The basket is stored on a shelf above the House altar.

These reliquaries are said to be kept 'so that the living members of the House do not forget their names' (téne k'ami mi telcévo ngara é'é konéné). The container is progressively cleared of the reliquaries of its most distant ancestors, as the most recently deceased members of the House are included. The reliquaries are disposed of by throwing the envelope towards the setting sun at the disposal site (hala kaone) of the village (see Map 3.1). They are said to be removed 'because they have become mildewed' (mewu'u). Significantly, in Ko'a only the reliquaries of three successive generations of ancestors are stored in the House. This practice is reflected in the depth of Ko'a genealogies, where only the names of two or three generations are retained. Beyond that level only the names of the senior male members of the House (hat'Qi ka'ê) are remembered. This three generational depth has a bearing on the issue of reversal of the direction of marriage alliance (see Chapter 5 Section 1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>wat'a pu'au ha tema</td>
<td>house altar, flat stone, hair and fingernails of patrilineal male ancestors,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ngaji B^a^at' (G+5), Waré T^a^a (G+4), Tala Lebi (G+3), Pio Meti (G+2),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ware Lanu (F. of Ego, Lakimosa Paso, main priest-leader of T^ana,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K^e^lî) and Ngaji Léga (F. of Pio, contender in litigation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>k'uk'u lolo</td>
<td>small black stone used as implement for agricultural rituals contained in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>small lidded lontar leaf basket, (t'nu'a lo'o ha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>t'opo tema p^a</td>
<td>four ceremonial swords associated with water buffalo sacrificing cycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>hok^it-cogi</td>
<td>pedestal and mortar, set for preparation of betel mixture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>héma p'a'ta rua</td>
<td>two pleated skirts, cotton, indigo, reputedly of ancient Portuguese origin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>part of male ceremonial dress textile: type of Indian trade cloth, for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ceremonial use two Patola textiles; Indian trade clothes, for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ceremonial use black ceremonial shirt, cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>lambu mit'ê ha b^a^a</td>
<td>waistband, cotton, embroidered, tie-dyed, for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>lambu réa (or lambu lak^a)</td>
<td>ceremonial use wooden ceremonial shield together with a string of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>ha b^a^a</td>
<td>Trochus shells on string, ceremonial implements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>sindê ha pu'ta</td>
<td>connected with water buffalo sacrificing cycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>huit'a wuli</td>
<td>ceremonial spear, wooden shaft, bronze tip,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td></td>
<td>connected with water buffalo sacrificing cycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ceremonial headcloth, printed cotton, Javanese, for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ceremonial use Chinese tradeware, five bowls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>t'unba ha k'aju</td>
<td>four strings of ancestral glass beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>lêsu ha p^a^a</td>
<td>one golden earpod originating from and named</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>mak'o t'ëma lima</td>
<td>after Ngaji B^a^at' (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>t'zipi sek't'al'ì p^a</td>
<td>golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2) named Waré Wuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>k'oma ha t'ëma bu'uné</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Wuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngaji B^a^at'</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa-T'onggge Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>k'oma t'ëma rua bu'uné</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waré Cawa</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>k'oma t'ëma ria bu'uné</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waré Cawa</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>k'oma tema ria bu'uné</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waré Cawa</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>kui holo ha t'ëma</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>manggarat'ê ha t'ali</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>hana ha weja</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>wat'a pu'au t'ëma ria</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>su'a ha</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>sikì laka ha p'at'a</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>pala</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>luko vive</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>hok'â</td>
<td>two golden earpods originating from Waré Cawa (see 2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 Initially the ivory tusks were not listed, as a preventative measure against officials requesting these. There are two categories of tusks, those that are employed for payment of bridewealth by the wife-taking House and those of magical qualities that are not separable from the House.
Because rights to land use and rights to exercise a ceremonial office are passed on from father to firstborn son, only the reliquaries of the male ancestors were included in the Këlî inventory. By naming these ancestors in combination with the names of their wives the existence of the reliquaries of women is implicitly acknowledged as well. Upon death unmarried women and women that have married into a House also become part of the stock of ancestors of that House. Their k'uk'u-lolo are, therefore, kept together with the other ancestral reliquaries as are those of any unmarried daughters. In Ko'a these reliquaries are equally discarded after three generations.

The war'î po (literally, descending stone) (item no 3), is a small black stone of mythical origin used by women in agricultural rituals to bind the soul of the green gram to the seeds, thereby ensuring a successful harvest. Upon completion of the major instalments of bridewealth by the wife-taking to the wife-giving House, the daughter receives such a stone from her mother. She in turn will pass the stone on to her own daughter upon marriage. Due to demographic fluctuations, a given House has a number of such stones in stock and different qualities are ascribed to each of them. A mother will always choose to pass on a po-stone to her daughter that is perceived to have an affinity with her.

In ritual speech war'î po is always paired with luko sivé, ceremonial rice kernels (item no. 25). The former is classified as conceptually female whereas the latter is conceptually male. Luko sivé consists of kernels of unhusked rice (lama) imported from the Lio or Ngadha region on Flores. These kernels are kept inside lidded pots or inside small lidded baskets together with ancestral beads (object no. 16), and ancestral golden earpendants (object nos. 17, 18, 19, 20), and are stored close to the House altar. By being placed together with these objects the supernatural qualities inherent in them transform mere rice kernels (lama wejané) into ceremonial rice (luko sivé). Such

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31 For example, Ngaji B'â: Husband's name, Ngaji; wife's name, B'â: 

transformed kernels then constitute the most important and ubiquitous ingredients in Lu'a ritual.

When employed for ritual occasions outside the House, luko sivé is always placed into specific bowls (object no. 15). These highly valued ancestral bowls are mostly tradeware of Chinese provenance. They may have reached Lu'a through trade or through piracy.

In ritual speech ancestral beads (t°upî) are often paired with golden earpendants (k°oma). They are in turn classified as conceptually female and conceptually male goods. Both constitute ancestral heirlooms as well as objects of bridewealth. To the people of Lu'a the origins of these ancestral glass and ceramic beads are mythical. Women employ them on ceremonial occasions as decorations for their headstrap baskets. On special ceremonial occasions they are also worn by men and women as necklaces or tied around the wrists.

The golden earpendants are shaped in the form of inverted lyres. They are mostly plain but are sometimes also decorated with golden filigree. Those employed on Lu'a are of a design found throughout central Flores. In Flores markets they are often referred to in Indonesian as 'model Lio', the type in use in the Lio region. The people of Lu'a have never worked metal of any kind, apart from fashioning arrow tips from scrap metal. Metal implements have always been traded from Flores and this also applies to gold and silver ornaments.32

On Lu'a golden earpendants are classified either as 'ancient gold' (k°oma holoné), or as 'new gold' (k°oma muriné). 'Old gold' is mostly named and trace back to an ancestor.33 Earpendants that form part of the ancestral heirloom are of that type. Items 18-20 of the inventory trace back to the sorcerer-priest-leader Waré Cawa who received them in payment for his services as a sorcerer. Similar objects of that category

32 Some of the older golden earpendants on Lu'a may be of Ndaonese manufacture. Such objects were produced on commission by these migrant eastern Indonesian gold and silversmiths, whereby the local buyer provided the metal and indicated the style of the object required (J.J. Fox, personal communication).
33 The current price of 'old gold' which is high in gold content is Rp.300,000.- on Lu'a.
of other Houses may trace back to an ancestor renowned for his feats of piracy. Others may be past payments of *hada* fines or tokens marking a truce in a past feud or an inter-domain war. In such objects some of the qualities for which a given ancestor was known are thought to be inherent. It is, therefore, rare that 'old gold' be employed in the exchange of bridewealth. For these purposes mostly 'new gold' is used, which is of the same shape but of inferior quality.34

Few Houses other than those of priest-leaders also own ancient Indian trade cloths (items no. 7 and no.8), some of which are of the patola type. They are highly valued and figure prominently in the water buffalo sacrificing cycle and in the ceremonial inauguration of boats. They are also used by individual Houses in the context of secondary mortuary rituals. These cloths are imbued with supernatural qualities and to some extent they are also thought to be alive.35 Individual threads from such cloths are employed as prestations between Houses of priest-leaders of allied domains.

Headcloths (item no. 14), waistbands (item no. 11), and more recently also black and red shirts (items nos. 8 and no. 9) together with traditional loin cloths (*tōama koa*) constitute the outfit worn at most ceremonial occasions. Headcloths are either plain cotton or coarse Javanese batik. Waist and shoulder bands produced on Lu'a mostly feature tie-dyed motifs borrowed from Lio. These items are traced to a specific ancestor and have for that reason been included in this inventory of ancestral heirlooms.

Some ivory tusks (item no. 27) form part of the ancestral heirlooms of every House; others are used as conceptually male goods in bridewealth. Their use in the Flores region was once widespread. In recent years most tusks have been sold off to Chinese merchants. Their origin in the region is still unclear.

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34 Such pendants can be bought for Rp.100,000-200,000.- in Flores markets.
35 This accounts for what are believed to be reversible processes of decay occurring during periods of storage between ceremonial occasions.
Finally, the ceremonial sword (item no. 4), the spear (item no. 13) and the shield (item no. 12), together with the 'Portuguese' skirts (item no. 6) are employed in connection with the water buffalo sacrificing cycle.

These reliquaries and animated heirloom objects provide the House with an ancestral focus that allows the living to maintain an ongoing connection with their ancestors. This connection is also provided by the ancestral names of the House.

A person's name is referred to as *ngara pi'i*, the 'indigenous name'. In Tana Koa approximately twenty different names are currently employed for men and about an equal number for women. Every House has its own stock of ancestral names. However, other Houses may employ the same names in reference to their own ancestors. Most of these names also exist in other Lu'a domains. Some of them, however, are found only in Ko'a.

In referring to an unmarried person the name of the father is usually added to the *ngara pi'i* thus specifying which House the person belongs to and avoiding confusion with the, at times, numerous namesakes in the domain. In everyday contexts a married person is referred to by the *ngara pi'i* followed by the name of the spouse, whereas in formal contexts a man's name is followed by his father's name. Generally a person is addressed by the *ngara pi'i*. If a specific relationship is emphasized the person is addressed or referred to by a kin term or a combination of the *ngara pi'i* and a kin term. With increasing Christianization, mainly younger people are also addressed and referred to by their Christian name, *ngara sat'ono* (literally, the name of the saint) or by an abbreviated version of it to which their own *ngara pi'i* or that of their father or spouse is added.

Names are chosen from the second ascending generation. A firstborn son generally receives the name of his father's father and subsequent sons, those of his male siblings, whereas names for daughters are ideally chosen from those of the mother's mother and her sisters. This mode of naming is also reflected in the mirroring of kinship terms by which the second ascending and descending generations address
each other. Grandchildren address their grandparents by the term pu and grandparents in turn address their grandchildren by this term (see Chapter 5 Section 3). In practice there is a wide: number of possibilities from which a choice can be made, as well as some restrictions.

Although it is not prohibited to call a child by the name of a living grandparent it is often viewed as improper or, as it is put, 'it is as though we wished him dead already' (kōira hamaco hia tau matō a hēlo). In such a case the child is either given another name from the stock of ancestral names of the House that have not yet been awarded to a living member or it may be ceremonially given its living grandparent's name but called by a nickname (tiké ndéro, playful tying [of the name] or ngara valéneé from kau valeé joking). The origins of such nicknames can be circumstantial. Such a name can often be kept in everyday use well beyond the moment of death of the grandparent in question.

Children are expected to 'live up to a name', however, in a somewhat different way than is suggested by the English metaphor. After having been awarded its name (see Section 6) an infant is continually addressed by it, first by its mother, then by the other members of the House and finally by the wider community upon encountering the child and its mother. What may seem to be a playful way of relating to the infant, when someone pronounces its name and then tenderly nudges or kisses or tickles it, is in fact the outward expression of a careful monitoring of the effects the new name has on the infant. In some sense the newborn is believed to be its ancestor or rather an affinity between the past, and the present holder of the name is a prerequisite for carrying a specific ancestor's name. If an infant falls ill, a pig-liver augury conducted on its behalf may reveal that a specific part of the liver referred to as its 'mouth' is unclean. This is interpreted as 'a mistake of the mouth', an indication that the child is not the appropriate living namesake for its ancestor and that, therefore, a wrong name has been awarded. Or a child may often break out in tears when its name is pronounced, hence the frequent calling of its name, which indicates that the name is
unclean. This is interpreted as 'a mistake of the mouth', an indication that the child is not the appropriate living namesake for its ancestor and that, therefore, a wrong name has been awarded. Or a child may often break out in tears when its name is pronounced, hence the frequent calling of its name, which indicates that the name is 'not right' (ka’a mole). In such cases a new name is found for the infant and the testing process repeated. Thus it can take several generations for a given ancestral name to find a descendant with an appropriate affinity to carry it. These rejected names are those that make up the stock of ancestral names of a House alluded to above that may be substituted for a name taken from the second ascending generation.

In the first years of an infant's life mothers are forever searching for indications in behaviour or physical features whether the child is seen to be 'just like' its ancestral namesake, as a confirmation for the correct choice of a name. This monitoring for clues to ancestral affinity continues to a lesser degree throughout a person's life.

SECTION 4: CONCEPTION, BIRTH AND GROWTH

Before proceeding to the description and analysis of the ceremonial integration of the person into the House (Section 5) it is necessary to consider some Ko'a notions connected with conception, birth and growth.

Ko’a ideas about conception are encoded in a number of couplets featured at the beginning of the patola chant. In couplet three and four the names of the first ancestors of the domain are cited: Roé and Ala, and Tadi and Wénggu.36

3. wat’u wa mai t’ana roé
   wa mai t’ana ala
   the stone from the west, from
   the land of roé
   from the west, from the land
   of ala

36 Although these names are not gender specific in that they can be applied to either sex, Ko’a specialists of ritual speech agree that the two couplets contain the names of two men and two women. Which ones are which and whether they are parents and children, siblings or spouses is left unspecified. They are, however, recognized as the mythical ancestors of the domain from which the members of three out of four origin groups of priest-leader status have descended.
4. *wat’u wa mai t’ana tadi* the stone from the west, from the land of *tadi*
   *wat’u wa mai t’ana wénggu* the stone from the land of *wénggu*

According to the exegesis of male specialists of ritual speech, further along in this chant (couplet 15) metaphorical allusion is made to the act of copulation that has produced the descendants of Tadi and Wenggu and Roé and Ala.

15. *t’ana wa mai ngejú t’u* the earth from the rising pestle in the west
    *t’ana wa mai halo t’oa* the earth from the falling mortar in the west

In this couplet the conceptually male pestle (*ngejú*) alludes to the penis (*hut’í*) and the conceptually female mortar (*halo*) to the vagina (*t’ét’ë*). The motions of copulation are referred to as their 'rising' (*t’u*) and 'falling' (*t’oa*). Finally, couplet seventeen signals men's ideas about conception.

17. *t’ana wa mai t’ana k’uni* the earth from the land of turmeric in the west
    *wa mai t’ana laja* from the land of blood in the west

In this context the term *k’uni* translated above as 'turmeric' is an organ which can loosely be glossed as 'afterbirth' or 'placenta', whereas the term *laja* can be glossed as 'blood' and, as shall become apparent, by extension also as 'semen'. In the male theory of conception, the woman carries the placenta in her womb. No indication is given as to where it came from. It is 'like a sleeping mat' (*hama no’o t’ep’ë*) upon which the man in intercourse (*nido énë*) drips his semen (*wu*). In this process semen is transformed (*sélo*) into conceptually male blood (*laja*). Both the 'blood' and the 'sleeping mat' are in constant circular motion (*pana nggili nggoë*) and it takes many instances of intercourse until the 'semen-blood' finally drips upon the 'turmeric-placenta'. When *laja* unites with *k’uni* conception occurs (*t’ak’ë*, literally, to meet). Once conception has occurred *kuni* acts as a receptacle for *laja*. Through every ejaculation the child is believed to grow in size. For this reason the frequency of
inserting 'semen-blood' up to the moment of birth the child is 'completed' (*puna savé*).

This theory of conception and growth inside the womb is a theory held by men. With regards to issues of conception and birth there is a distinction between the realm of woman's knowledge which is alluded to as 'their words' (*p'oat'a é'é konéné*) and that of men (*p'oat'a é'é hat'a lak'i*, literally, men's words). These two realms are mutually exclusive. A common saying in ritual speech states that 'women [are] of eight [months], men pay for the debts' (*wai walu, lak'ëi ciwa hut'a*). The couplet expresses the notion that it takes eight months until birth for a female to grow within the mother's womb and nine months for the growth of a male. In Sara Lu'a the term for the number nine is *hiva*. In this couplet the number eight, *walu* is paired with the term *ciwa*, 'to pay' rather than with *hiwa* for the nine months of gestation attributed to men. Implicit is a wordplay based on the similarity of sound in the two terms. The notion of 'men paying the debts' is connected with man's role in everyday life where he seasonally ventures out beyond the boundaries of the island to seek the means to pay for the debts his House has run up during the year.

Hiccups are perceived as the outward expression of an infant's growth after birth. Girls grow only during the night, whereas boys grow day and night. This is believed to account for their greater strength and size. The association of women with the time of night extends to their association with the moon. It is said of a young marriageable woman that 'her cheeks are as cool as the moon [reflected in them]' (*runáné melu hana wula*), whereas young men are said to be 'hot like the sun' (*b'ek'ë hama era*). This notion of male 'heat' is linked to a state of dangerous and uncontrolled

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37 Women, even elder women well past their menopause, showed incredulity and dismay when told about this theory by me.
38 Being a man, I consequently was not in a position to elicit information from women pertaining to a theory of conception held by women.
39 Expenses and debts typically include ritual costs, bridewealth instalments, court fines, *hada* fines, school money, clothes, and medical expenses.
physical aggression, a condition which is valued in warfare but must not be triggered off by marriageable women when encountering men. Because of this potential danger, present especially in young men, girls are admonished by their mothers not to look straight at men, but to keep their eyes lowered when working in the fields and to move off a path and go and hide in the bushes when encountering a man alone outside the village grounds.

The difference between female 'coolness' and male 'heat' accounts for the necessity of repeated intercourse before conception can occur. Through a series of acts of copulation an affinity is achieved between the opposed poles of man's 'heat' and woman's 'coolness'. This aspired affinity is expressed as both conditions 'being not too far from each other' (ka'a téu). Once this is achieved the movements of laja and kumì coincide and conception can occur.

The birth of twins (rab-ðë) of the same sex is considered to be auspicious. Their occurrence is ascribed to paternal inheritance. The birth of opposite sex twins is feared. The infants are believed to have had sexual contact inside the womb. In such a case passive infanticide is practiced on the female infant. It is breastfed less than the male infant or even not at all, and eventually dies of neglect. The practice appears to be socially acceptable, but is not publicly discussed.40

The main method of contraception is abstinence from sexual intercourse. Ideally a woman will try to avoid getting pregnant for two to three years after the birth of her last child. A close succession of pregnancies is felt to impair the mother's ability to carry out her domestic and agricultural chores, eventually leading to an increase in the

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40 Infanticide other than by way of neglect is rare. In one case which is said to have occurred a number of years ago the mother, shortly after giving birth, tied her unwanted child to the top of a coconut tree where it was left to die of exposure. People hearing the child cry would not climb the tree to retrieve it out of fear that the crying they had heard was in fact a spirit (mun'ù) luring them into a trap. Abortion is known and is resorted to in order to avoid giving birth to offspring resulting from pre- or extramarital sex. Against payment of a small fee (a suckling pig or Rp.5,000.-) abortion can be induced by the healer-sorcerer by means of secret natural substances (the generic term for which is wuuya k'ajù, literally, leaves of trees). The 'medicine' that is believed to be the most effective to induce abortion is obtained from Islamic specialists on other islands of the archipelago. The practice is prohibited by Indonesian law.
workload of other female members of the house. Such instances are frowned upon by the women of the community and the mother is accused of lack of restraint.41

Only specific aspects of the process of giving birth are known to men and these will be discussed here. Generally men are excluded from attending birth. Only in special cases, when difficulties arise that cannot be dealt with by any woman, a male healer-sorcerer may be called upon to attend.

Women work their fields up to the very day they give birth. It can occur that a woman commences labour unexpectedly and is forced to give birth in the fields. The calculation of the duration of pregnancy follows the eight-nine month gender specific rule mentioned above. A link between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy is recognized. Menstruation is conceptualized as 'blood rising' (loja tuka) and its rising is connected to the stages of the moon in a similar way as the change of tides of the sea is linked to the stages of the moon. Thus, when reaching menopause it is said that the 'blood (remains at) low tide' (loja met'i'u), whereas in pregnancy it is said that the 'blood is stable' (loja éré meno).

Giving birth takes place in the inner chamber of the house (nuu hunéné) behind closed doors. All men as well as women who have not yet given birth are excluded from attending. Furthermore, the pregnant woman's mother is prohibited from being present. All other women of the House can attend and sometimes an elder woman of another house who is known for her skills and experience in assisting in childbirth is in attendance as well.42

Although men know little about the actual process of giving birth it is meaningful that they do know something about the severing of the umbilical cord, since the instrument employed for the cutting is made of a splinter of the bamboo shaft of an

41 Some women also maintain that pregnancy cannot occur during the two to three year period in which they are breastfeeding their infant. This is, however, generally not believed to be a safe means of contraception.
42 There is no woman who is specifically specialized for that task, rather, a number of knowledgeable women standing in a friendship relationship (ka'ë-harti) to the husband's mother, his sisters or to his wife may be asked to assist if the need arises.
arrow (hubade) belonging to the husband of the woman in labour. After birth the husband takes the placenta to a specific spot at the boundaries of the village. He wraps it in leaves and hangs it from a tree. The umbilical cord (tali boshe) is disposed of in the same way. The tree employed is a ritually important tree called Rita (unidentified), the leaves of which are considered to be conceptually cool. The Rita tree from which all the placentae of the Ko'a village of Nat'a Ca were hung in the past was located at the western village boundary. The placentae were thus oriented towards the land of origin and towards the mythical ancestors of the domain. This is also the place where the primordial 'blood-semen and turmeric-placenta' originated from (see patola chant, couplet 17).

In recent times the orientation of the placenta towards the origins has been inverted. In 1972 a typhoon hit the island and destroyed a large number of trees, among them the Rita tree at the western end of the village. The main Ko'a priest-leader interpreted this as a sign to change the orientation of the placentae towards the east and in the future to hang them in a Rita tree at the eastern boundary of his village of residence. During prayers the east is always invoked as 'the cool water of life in the east, the fresh ponds of health in the east '(Ito] lé waquério, [nangu] lé nangu nanga). Behind this new and inverted orientation of the placenta towards life as opposed to its old orientation towards death and the original ancestors may lie the priest-leaders concern about the declining numbers of the population of the domain. His decision can be understood as an effort to increase these numbers by means of symbolic manipulation. However, the inversion is incomplete since the splinter of the arrow shaft used in the cutting of the umbilical cord, also associated by its original function with death and the ancestors, has not been exchanged for an object associated with life. Thus the act of symbolic reconnection of kuni and laja with the mythical origins of man and the island has been retained.

43 It is not clear if the severing is carried out after the afterbirth has emerged or before, nor by whom it is done.
44 Some people in Ko'a maintain that it should be buried in the ground outside the house.
For three days after birth the mother and child remain in ritual seclusion inside the house. During this period they are vulnerable to attacks by spirits and sorcerers. The period is referred to as '(the period of) prohibition of the turmeric-placenta' (b°ñjé k°uni). The prohibition not only prevents the woman from stepping outside her house but it is also applied to all the Houses of the origin group as a prohibition from all agricultural work 'on the ground and in the treetops' (laé ti'ana no'o rét°a ngaluné). If breached, the supernatural sanction turns all trees of the infringing House and all of its cultigens 'yellow like turmeric' (rédé hama k°uni). The prohibition exemplifies the conceptual congruence between the origin group and its land holdings.\(^45\) If a child is born in a House of priest-leader status, then, due to its affinity with the domain, the prohibition on agricultural work applies to all Houses of the domain and not only to those of the origin group.\(^46\)

During the b°ñjé k°uni period a married woman of a House that stands in a wife-taking relationship (hat°a weda, literally, sister people) to the House in which birth has occurred, performs a number of ceremonial services. This can but does not have to be the husband's sister. The hat°a weda constructs a firebox in the inner chamber of the House. The box is made of the lower parts of the ribs of four palm-fronds which are joined in counter-clockwise fashion. She prepares a ceremonial meal for the woman who has given birth consisting of a mixture of rice, tubers and green gram, referred to as 'indigenous rice' (lama pi'i). The hat°a weda gives the mother some of the dish as well as a drink of fresh coconut milk every time the infant is breastfed. The ceremonial firebox and the milk of the coconut come from a tree that is considered to be conceptually ccool. In this context the wife-taker employs these elements in order to 'cool off' the 'heat' generated by the act of giving birth. Here the rituals of the House and those of the person largely coincide. The ritual services performed by the hat°a

\(^{45}\) The same prohibition applies to the period following the death of a member of the House. However, there a breach is sanctioned by the field fruit rotting (pot°o) and is referred to as 'the prohibition of rotting' (p°ñjé pot°o) in analogy to the rotting body of the deceased.

\(^{46}\) On occasion I have observed women going to work their fields in defiance of this prohibition. I was told that because their po ston was aggressive (cani) their crops would not be affected,
wedā after birth are essentially the same as those performed during the ceremonial inauguration of the house.

On the third day after birth mother and child emerge from the House (po laē tōana, literally, step onto the ground) and confront the community (ngēro, literally, to teach). On this occasion a ceremony is conducted which is referred to as 'the milk of the ceremonial idiom' (susu kōua). This ceremony will be discussed in the following section.

SECTION 5: CEREMONIAL INTEGRATION

Three days after birth the restrictions confining the mother and her child to the House are lifted for the duration of the first lifecycle ceremony. In this ceremony called susu kōua the child becomes a member of its natal House and by extension also one of the village community and the domain. The primary meaning of the term susu is human breastmilk. In this context it has the connotations of traditional knowledge, lore or history. The term kōua is glossed here as the ceremonial idiom a given House adheres to (see Chapter 3, Section 1).

Elaborateess and details of the ceremony vary to some extent according to the status and ceremonial affiliation of the House (kōua). Furthermore, extensive ceremonial exchange between wife-giving and wife-taking Houses is mostly practiced only during the susu kōua ceremony held for the firstborn child.

After the three day period of seclusion following birth have passed, mother and infant 'step down from the house' (po nua) and face the community. The mother's hair is worn open as if she were in mourning, she wears no shirt but has a traditional Lu'a waist cloth tied above her breasts. In showing herself with her newborn child in front of her house public acknowledgement is sought for the existence of the new member of the community.
The susu kʻua ceremony takes place at the eaves of the House (nuʻa tʻigané). There the same woman of the wife-taking House who has previously assisted the mother and has provided ceremonial meals during the three days of restriction acts as the officiant of the ceremony. She first washes the mother's hair with a mixture of grated coconut and water, which is sprinkled onto the hair and then combed through with a wooden comb (cél lolo).

The officiant then places the child on the knees of her crouching mother. A winnowing tray (lida)\(^{47}\) is set in front of her containing ritual ingredients and implements related to the ceremonial affiliation of the House, and others related to the gender of the infant. Gender-specific implements for a female infant are a miniaturized version of the sow-shaped tool used in the removal of seeds and impurities from cotton (wū kab’a) as well as a swab of Lu’a cotton (kap’u pi’i). For a male infant these consist of a miniaturized axe (p’iu) and a small wooden model of a bushknife (t’o p’o).

Depending on the ceremonial affiliation of the House, different objects related to the idiom of affiliation are also placed on the tray. In the case of a priest-leader’s House, a small amount of soil and a small stone identifying the House as one that practices the ceremonial idiom of the earth (kʻua tʻana) are employed. Houses practicing a different ceremonial idiom employ objects specific to their affiliation, such as millet (wet’ē) for the kʻua of millet (kʻua wet’ē), or a specific type of clam (kʻimalaja) for the kʻua of the kʻimalaja-shell (kʻua kʻimalaja).

In addition to these gender-specific objects and to those related to the ceremonial affiliation of the House, the tray also contains the following ritual ingredients: a knife (ket’i), turmeric (kʻuni), betelpepper, areca-nut (wua-mudu), and lime (hok’u), and ceremonial rice kernels (siwē). The officiant chews a mixture of turmeric, betel, areca and lime, which she dips into the ceremonial rice kernels and then places onto the fontanelle (wuwu) of the infant. This is repeated five times.

\(^{47}\) Such trays are traded from neighbouring Lio. They are not made on Lu’a since the frame of the tray is tied with rattan, a vine lacking on the island.
If the newborn is male, she goes on to tell him to grow to become an adroit craftsman who knows how to build boats, houses and fishtraps (tau cu’u ravi pou-sobé, ma’o nua kali woga, tega ko’i wuwu). A female infant is told to grow to become an expert in dyeing and spinning and in weaving traditional cloth (tau cu’u poé kap’a, koa t’ama, nuju t’ama, noru t’ama).

The next phase of the ceremony is referred to as 'to pierce the ears and cut the forelock' (su t’ilu // logé lolo). The infant's earlobes are symbolically pierced by the officiant (su t’iliu) by applying some of the ginger-betel mixture to both earlobes.48 Then the officiant employs a ceremonial knife to cut a forelock off the forehead of the infant (logé lolo).49

The following phase of the ceremony is referred to as 'to tie the name' (tiké ngara). Here the officiant pronounces the name (ngara pi’i) of the child. Once the name of the child has been pronounced the mother rises and holds up the infant. The officiant in turn holds up an infant of the opposite gender from a wife-taking House.50 Both infants are made to join their right hands, the male infant from above and the female infant from below. This symbolic joining concludes the susu k’ua ceremony.51

Following the susu k’ua ceremony the doorframe and the inner chamber of the house are sprinkled with the water of a coconut. Then mother and child retire back into the house where they remain in ritual seclusion for a further three days. During that period the mother must keep as immobile and quiet as possible to the point of even

48 The actual piercing of the earlobes will be performed at a later stage when the child has reached the age of one or two. From that moment on the perforation is progressively widened by way of insertion of increasingly large rolled sections of the lontar leaf until it eventually allows for the passing of the traditional golden carpendant (k’oma) which requires an opening of approximately two centimetres in length. Nowadays it is rare to see children with ears pierced in the traditional way.
49 In recent times the susu k’ua ceremony has been de-emphasized in favour of a modern form of celebration which is inspired by the 'cutting of the forelock' ceremony (upacara cukur rambud') held on the Sikanese mainland.
50 According to some interpretations this does not have to be a classificatory spouse of the infant, but can also be a classificatory sibling; however, in recent years the classificatory term for sibling which is also applied to parallel cousins has been extended to the prescribed category of cross cousins. Therefore this statement must be appreciated accordingly.
51 In Tana K’éli I have observed this final stage being followed by a playful episode in which all attending women except for the mother are given freshly cooked rice by the officiant with which they pelt each other.
refraining from scratching herself when itching in order not to be detected by witches and sorcerers. Once the period of seclusion is over, she leaves the House to collect firewood and returns to cook the first meal since her delivery.

One of the important themes that pervades the susu k'ua ceremony is that of ritual cooling. As was the case during the three day period of prohibition following birth the officiant employs the water of coconut as a cooling agent at the beginning and end of the susu k'ua ceremony. First the mother and then the dwelling are rid of dangerous 'heat' accumulated during the process of giving birth. Such a ceremonial libation as is carried out after the mother and child have emerged from ritual seclusion is a measure applied at the end of a number of stages of liminality, notably in the construction of the dwelling and at one specific stage in the process of mourning for a deceased spouse.

A second theme of the susu k'ua ceremony is the manipulation of the female 'turmeric-placenta' (k'uni) and the male 'semen-blood' (laja), the conceptually male and female constituents of the person. The ingredient turmeric representing the ceremonial 'placenta' and betel-pepper, areca-nut and lime which make up the ceremonial 'blood' are mixed with unhusked ceremonial rice kernels and applied to the fontanelle of the infant. The fontanelle of an infant is referred to as the empty fontanelle (wvuu mo'a). In Lu'a concepts of the body the fontanelle is the point of exit of the soul at the moment of death. Hence, a dying person is forcefully tapped with the flat hand on the top of his head or spat at on that spot through the hollow of the fist in order to prevent the soul (lobo maé, literally, the shadow or current (lobo) from leaving the body.

On Lu'a issues concerning concepts of the soul are only minimally verbalized. We know that the soul consists of two halves that are 'like the younger and elder sibling' (hama ka'ē no'o hari). They are referred to as lobo and the small lobo (lobo

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52At this stage the skin of the infant is said to still be 'thin' (nib'ü) and therefore, vulnerable to attacks. As it grows up its skin becomes thicker (kab'ü) and can be exposed to the outside world.
Younger brother of the priest leader of T'ana T'ua Nggéo sifting through Indian trade cloths.

Woman of a wife taking House holding a newborn female infant during a ceremony of integration (susu k'ua). Note the orange mixture of tumeric, betel and ceremonial rice kernels applied to the top of the infant's head. On the ground, a winnowing tray containing ritual ingredients (knife, comb, turmeric, betel, areca, lime and ceremonial rice) and gender specific objects (Lu'a cotton and a device for the removal of cotton seeds).
On Lu'a issues concerning concepts of the soul are only minimally verbalized. We know that the soul consists of two halves that are 'like the younger and elder sibling' (*hama ka'ë no'o hari*). They are referred to as *lobo* and the small *lobo* (*lobo lo'o*), one of which can leave the body while we are asleep and dreaming, and which can be used to practice sorcery, and the other half of which leaves it only at the moment of death.

Given the paucity of verbalization in this realm we can only speculate about the ceremonial 'closing' of the 'empty fontanelle'. It appears that the wife-taker, by means of a symbolic application of the two constituents of the person that are involved in conception, fixes the soul to the body of the infant and thereby prevents it from exiting through its fontanelle. This parallels the procedure in which a member of the wife-taking group during the ceremonial inauguration of the house closes the 'fontanelle' of the house, thereby containing the unnamed 'life force' flowing through its constituent elements.

Following this ritual closing of the fontanelle, admonitions are made as to the proper way of leading one's life. The infant is pointed towards the tasks it is expected to fulfill which are specific to its gender. The model tools, together with the implements related to the ceremonial idiom of the House, make the allusion that life must be properly led by following the rules of the ceremonial affiliation. Although these are not explicitly spelled out during the ceremony, the *k'ua* specific objects stand for the totality of its lore (*susu*). Such an affiliation entails being subject to prohibitions pertaining mainly to food and to a set of rules for conducting rituals related to the life cycle, the House, to the agricultural cycle and to the ceremonial cycle of the domain. The symbolic perforation of the earlobes and the cutting of the forelock represent

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53 This does not mean to say that a man may not practice the art of textile production, or that a woman may not participate in the construction of houses. In fact there are examples of both in Ko'a. However, these persons are clearly regarded as exceptions to the rule, and more often than not they are teased and ridiculed by the children of their village for having inverted gender-specific roles.
external markers of the fact that the infant has passed through the *susu* *k'ua* ceremony and is now subject to the rules and regulations specific to its *k'ua*.

At the closing of the ceremony, once the infant has been given its name, it joins hands with an infant of the opposite gender of a wife-taking House. It is tempting to interpret this as a symbolic act of marriage in which the infant is linked to its prescribed spouse, the matrilateral cross-cousin. Should the infant be male, it is, however, not a member of a wife-giving House that is chosen to join hands with it and, therefore, this interpretation is not appropriate. Rather, the linking implies an affirmation of existing relations between partners in marriage alliance. By this enactment the fact is emphasized that no House of the domain can exist on its own, but only through its relation to other Houses.

The *susu* *k'ua* ceremony for a first-born child is accompanied by extensive ceremonial exchange and catering to guests from within as well as from outside the domain. Ceremonial exchange takes place not only with Houses of wife-givers, wife-takers and with affiliated Houses, but ideally and to a lesser degree also with all Houses of the domain.

It is significant that large scale feasting and ceremonial exchange takes place only on the occasion of the *susu* *k'ua* ceremony conducted for the first-born child, regardless of its gender. This indicates that the ceremony is as much a rite of passage for the parents as it is for the child in that they have now entered a stage in their life where the alliance between two Houses has born fruit, or as it is expressed in the term for the first-born child, where they have created 'the child of the growth of the bow' (*hana hulu wuané*). In this term the two orientations of the house are brought together again to designate the offspring of a House by employing the metaphor of the house as an ancestral boat in combination with a botanic metaphor expressing growth and life.
SECTION 6: STAGES OF LIFE

In terms of progression through the life cycle a person is referred to from birth to death by various terms. Thus when inquiring about someone's age, the following terms will be applied. A newborn is referred to as colo navu, 'just born'. As long as an infant is still breastfeeding it is referred to as tusu la'éné, 'still breastfeeding'. This stage can extend up to three years. After that, until reaching puberty it is classified as ira lo'o 'small person', or hana, 'child' and more recently, once it attends school, also as hana sikolané 'school child'.

There is no specific term for male puberty. Of a girl who has begun to menstruate it is said that 'her blood has risen for the first time' (laja tuka'u wunga mar'äné). Until she gets married she will be referred to as lo'o wai 'little woman'. A boy after puberty is referred to as nuwa muriné, 'the new growth'. As ira lo'o children are said to be 'still small' (lo'o la'ë) implying that they are too young to take on any responsibilities and cannot be expected to work regularly in the fields or help their parents with different chores. This stage I am told in the days before Independence used to last until children had moved well into the lo'o wai - nuwa muri stage. Children did not wear any clothes at all and only at puberty were they given rags and discarded loincloths to cover their genitalia. They were free to play (ndéro) most of the time and contributed little to the subsistence needs of the House. According to the memories of elders, life in general was a lot easier than today and therefore, less of their support was required. A House only worked one small field every year to obtain a sufficient amount of harvest to assure subsistence and cover the needs for ceremonial exchange. The fishing grounds around the island were rich and more than ample fish could be gathered by setting fishtraps every three days. Young people did not get married before the age of thirty mainly because it took that amount of time for the groom and his House to acquire the necessary goods for bridewealth exchange.
Nowadays, the elders felt, there were many more people to be taken care of and, even though all fields of a House were in nearly permanent cultivation, the harvest barely covered the needs for subsistence. Population increase and soil adat were recognized as the main reasons for this situation. Due to the influence of Christianity and schooling, the amount of goods exchanged for bridewealth has temporarily been deflated. In many domains the major instalments of bridewealth no longer have to be made before the couple can live together and thus young people tend to marry at a much earlier age (20-25 years).\(^54\)

The period of playful existence of *ira lo' o* and *lo'o wai-nuwa muri* has now been reduced to pre-primary school days. Up until the moment of entering school the *ira lo'o* are free to follow their parents around and observe them performing their tasks. Boys at the age of three often already drag along a bushknife that is longer than their own body. They imitate their father as he is building boats or houses or constructing fish traps. Gradually, by way of observation and imitation, and very rarely by way of actual instruction, they learn to perform the same tasks. By the time they are five years old they often accompany their father on one of his two daily tapping sessions. They assist in carrying his palm-juice containers and learn to climb trees. That way they are gradually initiated into the art of tapping. At the age of five boys band with age mates and explore the forest (*éné t'ú'é*) at the mountaintop. There they set traps for fowl, hunt down whatever they can catch by means of bows and arrows and forage for supplements to their diet. Girls of that age follow their mothers to the fields, often carrying a small headstrap basket into which they place firewood and leaves for the feeding of livestock, in imitation of their mothers. Already at the age of five and sometimes even earlier the mother assigns her daughter a plot in the field she is working on. This plot is then the child's own responsibility and on it she performs all the necessary agricultural tasks, with the exception of clearing. Every morning and

\(^{54}\) In recent years bridewealth has become inflated, mainly due to incoming funds from circular migrants to Malaysia.
evening daughters accompany their mothers carrying their own short bamboo container to gather water from banana stalks or from the distillation devices installed around volcanic fumaroles. Eventually, gathering water for the House becomes the sole responsibility of the lo'o wai. At the village they watch while their mother is weaving, and begin to weave themselves on small rudimentary backstrap looms (hat'ì ci'i), using elephant grass as a substitute for cotton thread. The task of child care is often delegated to the elder female sibling while the mother is performing domestic or agricultural tasks.

Primary schooling is compulsory and children tend to enter around the age of seven. Although there are only four grades, most children do not graduate before the age of twelve or thirteen, if they graduate at all. Parents say that it is as if 'the teacher had bought the children' (guru pet'a'u konéné ira lo'oné), because parents appear to have little say over what their children do after classes or during school holidays.55

Most male children upon leaving primary school participate in the annual seasonal migration to the Flores north coast. Only very few continue schooling at the secondary school in Uwa or on Flores. During the eight or nine month period of his first seasonal migration the ira lo'o becomes a nuwa muri. In the company of elder classificatory siblings he learns about the world outside Nua Lu'a and participates in whatever task the group of migrants he has joined is involved in. For the next ten to twenty years he will leave the island at the beginning of every dry season and only return at the onset of the rains. Initially the goods earned during those periods will contribute towards the payment of his bridewealth. Later on his income will have to pay for all the costs involved in having a spouse and children. A first-born son of a given House will usually only participate in seasonal migration until he is married and

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55 Even though their support is required for agricultural work at home, schoolchildren spend most of their time after classes performing tasks for their teachers, such as working their fields, cutting and folding palm-fronds or carrying rocks and sand for construction projects. Unlike in Sikka, where parents generally would not tolerate such behaviour, schoolteachers on Lu'a appear to indulge in using schoolchildren as unpaid labor, without being reprimanded by their parents who are weary of criticising the teacher, since to them he holds the key to a possible professional future for their child outside Lu'a.
has children. His position of seniority in the House ideally requires his presence during most of the year.

Traditionally women did not leave Nua Lu'a at all. The outside world was perceived as being too dangerous for them and only men were seen fit to survive. However, already more than thirty years ago, married Catholic women from Lu'a began to explore the outside world under the guidance of a Dutch missionary stationed on Lu'a. Women now regularly travel to Flores on motorized craft to shop in Maumere or to obtain medical treatment. During these stays most of them contract malaria. Presently a number of young Ko'a woman are engaged in secondary education on Flores.

Many lo'o wai when reaching marriageable age participate only very little in agricultural work. Instead they stay at home and produce tie-dyed cloth to be sold in Flores markets. The main reason given is that they avoid exposing themselves to the sun in order to keep a clear complexion, light skin being highly valued by young men as a mark of beauty. Once a person is married it is said that he 'has a woman' (wai'u) or that she 'has a man' (lak'i'u), and once a woman has had children she is referred to as 'with man and child' (lak'i'u no'o hanāne'u).

The following category applies only to men and is called 'men of the growth of the bow' (hat'a hulu wuanē). Its application is determined by circumstances rather than exclusively by age or even by birth order. As long as a father with married sons and

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56 These women formed a church group for married woman called 'Congregasi Santa Anna'. Every year the group collectively worked one field and sold the harvest with the help of the mission. Every few years, when sufficient funds had been accumulated they travelled together to Flores to visit churches and installations of the mission. The group is active to this day. Another more recent church group for unmarried young woman called 'Congregasi Santa Maria' works along the same lines. Visiting Flores, however, is no longer its main attraction. The money accumulated through the sales of harvest goods or handicraft now serves to pay for the expenses of receiving the local Indonesian priest in the village during his patrols. To date the women of Ko'a have only minimally participated in these groups and the Indonesian priest has only once visited Ko'a during his five-year posting on the island.

57 These cloths are produced in the styles of various Flores groups.

58 An elder remarked upon this recent phenomenon that in their days a man seeking a spouse first looked at a woman's teeth to see if they were stained from betel chewing. If they were dark, he could tell that the woman was not in the habit of eating a lot and that was considered to be a positive attribute. Also, he would see if her hands were black, which told him if she was capable of indigo dying.
grandchildren of the lo'o wai-nuwa muri stage still exercises all his rights and duties, he is referred to as hat°a hulu wua. The process in which he relinquishes his rights and obligations and transfers them to his first-born son is often gradual. Depending on the disposition of the individual, the process occurs around the age of sixty and sometimes is not completed until death. At some stage all sons become hat°a hulu wuané. At the level of the village community and the domain they are then regarded as its most senior active members. At meetings of the domain (mai wuu, literally, coming together as one scrotum) their voice carries more weight than at the stage when they were only 'with a woman'.

With increasing age and degree of relinquishing responsibilities a person is referred to as an 'elder' (ira t°uané). Woman often reach that stage somewhat earlier than men. Once they have entered menopause, depending on their health, they may tend to their gardens even more fervently than before. Finally, when sight begins to fail and feebleness and partial invalidity sets in, it is said in ritual speech that '(they) hobble along with a crutch // (they) totter ahead with a drinking cup' (teké no'o t°ek°éne // tat°a no'o lek°é), whereby the 'drinking cup' refers to the bald head of the elder. As long as an elder can still perform some tasks and contribute to everyday life in the House, such as watching over infants or feeding livestock, the members of the House tend to take care of them. As soon as senility, incontinence and invalidity set in the elder is moved from the House to a separate small dwelling. There the elder is increasingly neglected and often left to die in a state of destitution; dirty, ill and malnourished.

SECTION 7: TRANSFERENCE OF CHILDREN

According to the ideology of Ko'la priest-leaders, the number of Houses of the domain must remain constant, and it is in the interest of every House that each of its hearths is always occupied. One important purpose of the transference of children
between Houses is to secure the continuity of these Houses and the occupancy of all of its hearths. In a system of male continuity, if there is no son, or if the son is inept or unavailable, a man must be sought from outside the House in order to assure its continuity. Without the transference of children demographic fluctuations would soon cause the disappearance of a House and with it the loss of its system of relationships, its rights to land use and that of the ceremonial offices attached to it. 59

By not residing in the domain, and by not cultivating the land attached to the House and tending to its social relations, and by not contributing to its ceremonial and political obligations, a man looses his rights to succession by default. Furthermore, in some cases, if important ceremonial offices are attached to the House, schooling and the adherence to the Catholic church can effectively rule out succession. In addition to these recent phenomena another factor is gaining increasing importance. For the past ten years circular migration to Malaysia has begun to deplete the domain of its young men. It is still somewhat unclear how Ko'a hada is going to accomodate this situation over time but it is predictable that the necessity to assure succession through adoption in the near future will be greater than ever before.

Although the transference of children for the purposes of assuring the continuity of a House applies only to male children, securing succession to ceremonial office may also necessitate the transference of a female child. One important ceremonial office which is held by women is that of the kōmbi, the ceremonial virgin acting as a spouse to the sacrificial water buffalo. The purchasing and the sacrificing by Houses of priest-leaders of both ceremonial courtyards of the domain each provide a ceremonial virgin.

59 In recent times the need for successors has increased with the growing number of options for a man to seek his livelihood outside the domain. Such options include secondary and tertiary education outside the island and the resulting possibility of employment with the government or the Catholic Church, and even that of a professional career. There are only a few such cases in Ko'a. Three people, two women and one man are in the process of completing training as nurses on Flores. One man has completed agricultural studies and now works with the Department of Agriculture in the district capital; one man has graduated from trade school (SMEA) and is now engaged in tertiary studies and one man has completed training as a teacher and is currently without employment.
for the duration of every water buffalo sacrificing cycle. In cases where these Houses have no unmarried daughters to fill this position adoption is resorted to.

Other reasons for the transference of female children may be of practical nature. Parents without a female child may seek to adopt a girl to give them assistance in agricultural work or as an additional help with domestic chores in view of their reaching old age. Finally, it is also conceivable that a female child be adopted for purposes of marriage alliance, thus placing the adopting House into a wife-giving position; however, no such case has been recorded in Ko'a.

The most unambiguous and final form of adoption is referred to as *bposé t'uka*, literally, 'to insert into the womb'. The term implies that the transfer is conducted in such a way as to create the illusion that the child has actually been born to its adoptive mother. Immediately after birth the child is secretly brought to the house of its adoptive mother. If there is a woman in the adoptive House who can act as a wet-nurse (*hina tusuné*, literally, breastfeeding mother), be it that her infant child has recently died or that she has milk sufficient for another child, the child is breastfed by her. If such a woman is not available, the child is brought 'secretly and by night' (*meréne ka'a laè b'éengané*) to its real mother to be breastfed. The emphasis here is to maintain the impression that the child is not adopted. On the third day following birth a *susu k'ua* ceremony is conducted in which the child is ceremonially integrated into the House of adoption in the very same way as if it had been born from its adoptive mother. It becomes a full member of the adoptive House in that it receives a name of that House and is subject to rules and restrictions specific to that House. Its position as a full member of this House is expressed in the relationship terminology. It is regarded as a 'trunk child' (*hana bu'une*), a physical offspring of the House. The adopted child relinquishes all the rights and obligations connected with its natal House. It is incorporated into the system of relationships specific to the adoptive House and gains a place within its genealogies. No payments are involved in *bposé t'uka* adoption.
Generally children are transferred between Houses that belong to the same origin group. Ideally the process is initiated by the senior male member (hat'á ka'óé) of the adopting House who makes an informal request (ci) for a child to the spouse of a pregnant woman, should it be born male. The request is only made if the natal House in question already has one or more male children and, therefore, has secured its continuity. The spouse discusses the request with the mother and generally it is granted. It is considered to be very difficult not to respond positively to a ci-type of request lest one or both parties be shamed (puna méa). In order to avoid embarrassment, requests are only made if there is a high likelihood that there is a readiness in the natal House to give away a child straight after birth. Apart from the criterion of secured continuity this likelihood is increased if the pregnant spouse has had a close succession of pregnancies.

Every House also has a number of Houses with which it traditionally maintains a specific type of relationship referred to as 'bundle and heap' (huju-baku) (see Chapter 5, Section 3). These Houses are not of the same origin group and mostly not of the same domain. Although its members are not agnates, they are in many respects regarded as such. If the need arises, transference of children can also occur between Houses standing in such a type of relationship.

The boko ruka transference of children as described above represents an ideal process. In practice the transference of children from one House to another can involve various degrees of integration and variations in the duration, as well as the possibility of a reversal of the process. Furthermore, factors other than the securing of succession in a given House can play a part in adoption. The following case allows for insights into some of the elements that come into play in the transference of children.

In this specific case all Houses involved were of priest-leader status and of K’unu Powo Wawo. House No.3 consisted of only two living members; Waré and his wife Wékóa. During their marriage Wekóa suffered a number of miscarriages. Waré
died without having secured succession by having a son. About ten years before his
death he had attempted to adopt a male child from House No.1, the House of the main
Ko'a priest-leader with which his House stood in a relationship of younger to elder
brother (*hari-ka'ë*) and to which it, therefore, was subordinate. At the time the senior
House already had three male children and its continuity was secured. The process of
transfer was gradual in that the child was not transferred in the way that has been
described as the ideal *b'osi t'uka*. Rather, the two year old child Woko, who had
already received a name from his natal House, often took its meals at the hearth of
Waré and tended to spend nights sleeping there as well. Because the two houses are
located next to each other, the child spent an equal amount of time during the day at
both houses. Of such a child it is said that it is 'fostered and carried on the hip' (*lolup-
pib'ë*). If this situation had continued over several years the child would gradually have
been thought of as being the child of Waré, and as it grew up it would have come to be
regarded as his successor. Relations between the two Houses, however, became
strained because Waré did not respect the seniority of the main priest-leader's House
and did not support that House by making the traditionally expected contributions to
the ceremonial cycle. It may well be that initially the adoption was intended by the
natal House No.1 to reinforce ties between the two Houses and thereby guarantee its
future support. As relations between the Houses deteriorated and hostilities and
avoidance on a daily basis arose, the child Woko spent less and less time at the house
of Waré and finally ceased to frequent that House and returned permanently to its natal
House. The subsequent death of Waré was generally interpreted as having resulted
from supernatural sanction incurred through his lack of support for the senior House of
the origin group. Implicitly it was understood that the main Ko'a priest-leader had
interceded with the Supreme Being to obtain this sanction.

After Waré's death the continuity of his House was severely threatened. However, House No.6 offered a newborn male child, coincidentally also named
Waré, to be raised by Wék’a. Its mother had gone through an unbroken series of pregnancies in which she gave birth to a boy, a girl and finally to Waré within a period of three years. One aspect of this offer was tactical. Although all Houses involved were of the same origin group, there were a number of internal tensions related to the position of precedence of the main priest-leader's House. In this constellation the House No.6 was covertly antagonistic towards the House No.1 which holds the elder brother position of authority. By supplying House No.3 of the deceased Waré with a successor, the detrimental effects of supernatural sanction towards that House were to some degree lessened, and indirectly, defiance was expressed against the actions and the position of the House of the main priest-leader. Also, by supplying a successor to the House of Waré, the ties between the two Houses were implicitly strengthened in what might develop into opposition to the precedence of the most senior House of the origin group. Given that there now is no other male member of the House of the deceased Waré, other than the adopted child Waré, it is most probable that this transference will not be reversed and that the child will secure the continuity of its adoptive House.

Diagram No. 4.3
Transference of Children Within Origin Group
Generally the transference of children does not involve any payment. One specific type of b’osi t’uka adoption can however involve the payment of goods. Payments may become necessary if the bridewealth of the mother of the child has only been paid to a minimal degree. In such cases the wife-giving group retains rights over the children. Payments made by the adopting House are then called for in order for the child’s natal House to be in a position to make a sufficient amount of prestation to its wife-giving House for that House to relinquish residual rights on the child in question. Thus, such a payment is best regarded as support in the bridewealth payment of a House of the same origin group.

Finally, a child can be transferred between Houses of two different origin groups in lieu of payment of a debt or as a fine resulting from a transgression against hada. The term for this type of transference is 'to pull (in)' (coi) and the person transferred is referred to as 'the person who has been pulled in' (hata coiné). Here again, the transferred person becomes a member of the House to which he or she has been 'pulled into'. The degree of integration can vary greatly. The hata coiné does not receive a name of its new House. In the case of a man, he can never assume the position of the firstborn son (hana hulu wuané). However, rights to land-use can be allocated to him, and in marriage his House contributes to the payment of bridewealth as if he were a full member of the House. In the case of a coi woman the House accepts bridewealth for her in marriage. If the transferred person is already adult, it is difficult to fully integrate the person into the system of relationships and assign a place in the genealogy of the House. A coi child will in most respects be treated just like an adopted child.60

60 Only one recent coi case occurred a few years ago in the domain of K’éli. During the last stages in the contraction of a marriage alliance after the wife-taking House had already paid a large part of the bridewealth, the groom died unexpectedly before the marriage could be consummated. Because none of the classificatory brothers of the deceased were in a position to act as a substitute for the groom, and because much of the bridewealth had already been irrecoverably distributed within and beyond the wife-giving k’unu, it was decided to 'pull in' the bride. In lieu of returning the bridewealth she was to reside with an unmarried elderly woman of the wife-taking k’unu and help her with agricultural work and household chores. The former bride was classified as a daughter of that House. After a number of years she did, however, get married to a member of that k’unu who was strictly speaking classified as her
The affiliaion of children born outside of marriage is a controversial issue in Ko'a legal practice (*huku p°at°a*, literally, the words of legal sanction). If a father finds out that his unmarried daughter is pregnant, he asks her to disclose the name of the father. Once the father is named it is said in ritual speech that "he shoots off his gun // he sounds his drum" (*b°asa no'o mendi // tata ko*) to draw public attention to the issue. The process of disclosure of the father's name is referred to as *mega*. By extension, the term is also applied to the publicising of any case of pre- or extramarital infidelity.

Once *mega* has been announced 'the stench must be covered' (*pau wau*), or as it is often more coarsely put, 'the anus must be covered' (*pau wui*). The faecal connotations of these expressions refer to the negative effects that gossip about a given illicit sexual relationship has on the reputation (*ngara*, literally, the name) of the woman involved. Her name can only be cleared (*puna mbola palu ngarané*, literally, 'to make the name good again') by way of payment of goods.

Depending on the severity of the case, public shaming of the culprits can play an important part in the *mega* process.\(^{61}\) Throughout the island a fine of 'seven units of goods' (*ngavu ngara b°ir°u*) is imposed upon the House of the man involved in *mega*. Presently in Ko'a the 'seven units' for *mega* are calculated as two units of 'trunk goods' (*ngavu b°u'u ngara rua*) consisting of two large sized pigs each of which takes four men to carry (*tit°i t°a'u b°a*). The 'trunk goods' are followed by five units of...
'small goods', each of which are of different and decreasing size. With increasing monetarization these are mostly paid in the form of money and total Rp.150.000.-.\(^6\) If they are paid in natural goods, smaller pigs, dogs and fowl are each assessed as to their approximate value (see also Chapter 5, Section 2).

Public shaming of the woman and ostracising of the man's House continues until the fine has been paid and 'her name has been cleared'. From that moment on strict rules of mutual avoidance apply to the couple. Only in rare cases can the woman involved ever get married in the domain where mega has occurred.

The seven unit fine only clears the name of the woman. In case of a pregnancy the child is affiliated with the House of its mother's father and it is he who becomes the child's classificatory father. If the child is claimed by the House of the man then an additional three units of 'trunk goods' must be paid to its mother's House. It is significant that in most cases this option is taken by the father's House.

The ongoing crucial concern of assuring the continuity of the House stands behind the practice of transferring children between Houses of the same origin group as well as behind the issue of the affiliation of children born outside marriage. The next chapter will focus on the ability of the House to draw in women by way of marriage and thereby maintain its continuity and on its ability to give away women as brides.

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\(^6\) The first of these 'small goods' amounts to Rp.50.000.-, the second to Rp.40.000.-, the third to Rp.30.000.-, the fourth to Rp.20.000.- and the fifth to Rp.10.000.-.
Chapter 5

MARRIAGE ALLIANCE, BRIDEWEALTH AND EXCHANGE

SECTION 1: MARRIAGE AND ALLIANCE

*Lala*, the path is the generic term for marriage alliance. Implicit in the term is the notion that in contracting marriage alliance a lasting relationship is established between two Houses of two different origin groups in which persons, goods and services are exchanged. Every House entertains a number of such 'paths' in which it assumes the position of wife-giver or of wife-taker. Generally the 'paths' of two successive generations are recognized, those of ego's generation and those of his father's. Furthermore, every House also participates to a lesser degree in the 'paths' of the other Houses of its origin group.

Marriage on Lu'a is ideally domain endogamous. However, due to the currently depleted population of Ko'a marriage alliances are presently also contracted with Houses of other domains. One guiding thought underlying domain endogamy is the notion that the domain must conserve its goods and not give them out to other domains. This is especially true for non-allied domains and to a lesser degree also for allied domains.¹

¹ The maintenance of the wealth of the domain is the explicit reason for a regulation enforced a number of years ago by the local government of the domain of Niti'u, according to which Niti'u men are liable to pay several ivory tusks into the coffers of the administration if they choose to marry a woman from another domain. Conversely, the marriage of Niti'u women with men from outside the domain is encouraged because of the conceptually male goods that thereby enter the domain. In marriage of an outside House with a Niti'u daughter, Niti'u Houses usually insist on the payment of conceptually male goods, rather than allowing for money to be substituted for most of these goods, as is currently practiced frequently throughout Lu'a. Presently, the people of Niti'u sell any incoming gold and ivory at Foam markets and employ the money for the payment of education. In marriage between two Niti'u Houses these goods are replaced mostly by a fixed sum of money.
Within the domain a set of concepts connected with notions of blood constitutes an important idiom in the establishment of alliance. Here the blood of members of origin groups of 'father people' status is considered to have an affinity with the blood of the water buffalo that these origin groups purchase or sacrifice. Their blood is said to be as 'red' (réré) as that of the sacrificial animal. Ideally specific notions pertaining to the colour of blood are attached to each origin group. Thus, members of K°unu K°aju Malé are said to have blood that is 'as black as the tamarind tree', a notion that is expressed in their 'name that is called out in bridewealth negotiations' as: "I am K°aju Male, I am as black as the tamarind tree!" (haku k°aju malé wekik°u mit°é hama malé).² On a spectrum of Ko'a blood colouring the red blood of the father people of K°unu Powo, K°unu Manggé B°asé and K°unu Roda Wula constitutes one end, whereas the black blood of K°unu K°aju Malé constitutes its opposite end. It is, however, not clearly defined where on this spectrum the blood of other origin groups of 'child people' status is located, except that they are said to be situated somewhere between the two extremes.

Notions of matching blood colouring are established by the wife-taking origin group and may not necessarily be shared by the wife-giving origin group. Thus for instance, Houses of K°unu Powo maintain that their blood matches that of K°unu Roka Roi and, therefore, the former can successfully take wives from the latter. From the Powo perspective the blood of K°unu Roka Roi is said to be black but not quite as black as that of K°unu K°aju Malé, which can successfully be matched with Powo blood as well. On the other hand, the untimely death of a woman of K°unu Sari Ko'a, an origin group whose blood colouring is said to be close to that of K°unu Roka Roi, who was married to the Powo priest-leader, was ascribed to the fact that the Sari Ko'a blood is 'too different' (laja koti koti) from Powo blood.

² Polished tamarind wood does have a dark, nearly black appearance.
Essentially the notions of blood colouring pertain to the relationship of 'father people' origin groups with each other and to their relationship with 'child people' origin groups. On one hand, 'father people' do not marry each other because their blood is believed to be 'too much alike', on the basis of their shared affinity to the water buffalo, on the other hand they do marry with the blood of Roka Roi and sometimes also with that of K'oaju Malé which, as its structural opposite, is located at the black end of the spectrum. However, at the same time the blood of Sari Ko'a is considered to be 'too different' and, therefore not suitable. None the less alliances are also established with Sari Ko'a. The theory of blood colouring thus appears to be somewhat arbitrarily applied by 'father people' to substantiate the favouring of ongoing alliance relationships with two origin groups of 'child people' status over other origin groups of the same status. Significantly, in contracting marriage alliances 'child people' origin groups do not appear to place great importance on the respective colouring of their blood, except when taking wives from 'father people'. In such cases it is often feared that the woman's 'red' blood can be a negative influence. If negative occurrences take place that can be traced to the 'redness' of the blood of 'father people', special additional prestations of conceptually male goods by the wife-taking House are called for to neutralize that effect.

Diagram No. 5.1
Spectrum of Blood Colouring of Ko'a Origin Groups
(Origin groups 5-7 located between 1-3 and 4; exact locations undefined)

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RED                           BLACK

2. Roda Wula
3. Manggé B'oasé
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From the perspective of Ko'a origin groups of 'father people' status there exists a concept of an ideal orientation of Ko'a marriage alliance. In this ideal system Houses
of 'father people' status give women exclusively to the subsequently settling Houses of 'child people' status. In assuming the contextually superordinate position of wife-givers over wife-takers 'father people' reaffirm their position of precedence as first settlers.

In this context the origins of the goods exchanged between wife-giving and wife-taking Houses are seen to express the difference in origin of the groups in question. In contracting marriage alliances with the first settling origin groups of the domain, the wife-taking 'child people' make prestations of gold (kọma), ivory tusks (pala) and pigs (wawi), which constitute conceptually male goods, all of which, like the 'child people' themselves, originate from outside the island. Counter-prestations made in this context by the wife-giving 'father people' include textiles (tọma-lambu), ancestral beads (Ọpẹ) or land (tọana), ivory armrings (moné) and harvest goods (nalu), which constitute conceptually female goods that, like the 'father people', originate from or are closely associated with the domain.

Within this concept of an ideal orientation of alliance, 'father people' origin groups consider themselves to be 'of equal wealth' (nu'a hama hama). They maintain that on that basis their Houses do not act as wife-givers to each other. Moreover, in matters of ceremonial exchange in marriage they sometimes act as one origin group, pooling the resources of their constituent Houses (pọma tọba, literally, to join heads) and pitting themselves against individual origin groups of 'child people' status of the domain. Whereas the origin groups of 'father people' status thereby ideally constitute an exogamous grouping, the origin groups of 'child people' status do not. In this ideal concept of alliance Kọunu Kọaju Malé takes up a special position in that this origin group can both give to and receive wives from 'father people' as well as from 'child

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3 Although pigs are raised on Lu'a, the Ngadha regency on Flores is the main source of pigs employed for prestations of bridewealth on Lu'a.
4 No outside origin is ascribed to ancestral beads. Rather, they are thought of as having been part of goods owned by the original ancestors. Although ivory tusks are recognized as being of foreign origin, the armrings are cut from them on Lu'a.
people'. This position is also a reflection of its intermediate status between that of 'father people' and that of 'child people'.

Diagram No. 5.2
Ideal Orientation of Ko'a Marriage Alliance ('father people' perspective)

\[\text{Diagram showing domain endogamy and relationships between groups.}\]

'Father people' are aware of the demographic limitations of this scheme and that it represents an ideal construct in that they recognize that K°unu K°aju Malé is not large enough (konéné ka'a riwu, literally, they are not numerous) to provide continuously wives to all three 'father people' origin groups. The concept of an ideal direction of alliance is nonetheless retained, although often not adhered to, in order to substantiate the precedence of the origin groups of 'father people' status.

Five out of seven recent Ko'a marriages were contracted with women from Cawalo. Given the presently depleted population of Ko'a this orientation towards the allied domain is understandable. Unmarried Ko'a men maintain that having grown up with the young women of Ko'a, they tend to regard them as sisters rather than as potential spouses. In their eyes the young women of other domains, whom they meet during festive occasions and dances where the women are dressed up in their finest
clothes, are a lot more desirable than the young women of their own domain they encounter on a daily basis. This recent development is of concern to the unmarried women of Ko'a who increasingly find themselves without prospective spouses in their own domain.\textsuperscript{5} Ko'a elders call such outside alliances \textit{wai tupu ta}, which can be glossed as 'marrying any old way'. They frown upon the current tendency in young people to 'marry for love' (\textit{b\textsuperscript{\texttimes}u'\textmu\textit{roa}) and often outside the domain, rather than marrying in the traditional way within the domain, where the spouse is of the proper category and is chosen by the parents. The elders hold schooling and Christianity largely responsible for this development.

The matrilateral cross cousin constitutes a marked category with which marriage is prescribed. Such a marriage is referred to as 'the marriage of turmeric-placenta and semen-blood' (\textit{wai k\textsuperscript{\texttimes}uni laja}). In ritual speech contracting such a form of alliance is more fully described by the couplet 'to re-attach the turmeric-placenta // to rejoin the semen-blood' (\textit{nuku palu k\textsuperscript{\texttimes}uni // c\textscript{\texttimes}emo palu laja}). Here it is necessary to return to ideas touched upon earlier in the discussion of Ko'a theories of conception (see Chapter 3, Section 6). It was noted that in the patola chant the ritual speech couplet referring to 'turmeric-placenta' and 'semen-blood' preceded the paired names of the original ancestors. Although it is not explicit whether these names represent spouses or opposite sex siblings, we can for our present purposes assume the latter. From this assumption it follows that at some point the original brother and sister pair was separated by marriage. Whereas the brother remained, the sister moved out of the House and was integrated into another House. The underlying ideology of Ko'a prescribed marriage can, therefore, be identified as a continuous effort through time to regain the original sister who was lost to her natal House. In line with these notions of separated original opposite sex siblings, wife-giving Houses are referred to as 'brother

\textsuperscript{5} Ko'a women do not seem to be of special interest to the men of Cawalo, presumably because the large population of Cawalo offers a sufficient number of young women from within their domain for the men to choose from.
people' (hat’a najané), whereas wife-taking Houses are referred to as 'sister people' (hat’a wedané). These references are also an expression of the asymmetric relationship between wife-givers and wife-takers where, in formal contexts, the conceptually male wife-giver is superordinate to the conceptually female wife-taker.

Ideas held in Ko'a about the gender of heavenly bodies illustrate what amounts to a cultural topos of original separation and striving for reunification. Here the male sibling sun and the female sibling moon are perceived in their movement across the skies to be forever attempting to join each other and in their pursuit doomed never to meet up. Accompanying the telling of this tale there is always a sense of longing and of sadness at the futility of the endeavour.

The prescribed interval between two marriages of the 'turmeric-placenta and semen-blood' type is two or more generations (p’i rua’u), if it is between the same Houses of two origin groups that an alliance is renewed (MBSD/FZSS). Although this restricted form of matrilateral cross cousin marriage is valued on Lu'a, it is not especially sought. More commonly the individual Houses with which subsequent 'turmeric-placenta and semen-blood' marriages are contracted vary while remaining within a given origin group.

The restricted form of 'turmeric-placenta and semen-blood' marriage is referred to as the 'ancient kuni-laja marriage' (k’uni-laja holoné) and it is said that in such an alliance 'the ancient turmeric-placenta and the ancient blood-semen are rejoined', in allusion to the previous instance of alliance. However, if the two generational interval is not observed, the blood of husband and wife is thought of as being 'too close' (laja teni). As a result of such 'closeness' their blood is said to rise to their heads and make these swell up (laja tuka soko, literally, the blood rises and covers from above), eventually leading to the death of both spouses.

The two generational interval coincides with the Ko'a form of teknonymy where a first-born son takes on the name of his father's father and a daughter that of her
mother's mother. This coincidence further emphasizes the notion of an original brother and sister pair, in that by carrying a specific name a person is in some respects seen to be a reincarnation of the ancestral namesake (see Chapter 4, Section 3). Viewed from that perspective the marriage of 'turmeric-placenta and semen-blood' symbolically reunites the lost ancestral sister with her brother.

According to the Ko'a theory of conception held by men, where essentially male 'semen-blood' is joined with the female 'turmeric-placenta', some of the blood of the woman is retained. This blood is said to be of 'lesser strength' than male blood and it is believed eventually to dissipate. It would appear that the prescribed two generational interval in the restricted form of the 'turmeric-placenta and semen-blood' marriage would allow for such a dissipation, before two Houses can re-establish a marriage alliance.

Superior 'strength' of male blood is a prerequisite for a successful conception. It is said that "the husband's blood must be stronger" (laja é 'hatə łakə tau kesé langga) than that of his wife, and it is believed that if conception occurs in spite of a woman's blood being 'stronger' than that of her husband, the child is doomed to die at an early age. At a different level it is also thought that a dominant component of woman's blood leads to disharmony in the relationship between the two spouses in that the woman is believed to be likely to dominate her husband in everyday life. Although such mismatches do occur on Lu'a, they are considered to be out of the ordinary and undesirable.

In Lu'a body concepts, the flow of blood rises up the back of the legs and up the back and neck and over the head and descends again down the front part of the body. As a consequence of sexual intercourse between persons of 'close blood' this flow is believed to clog up at the head of both partners and lead to their death.

In a mythical tale from Cawalo, sexual intercourse between a brother and a sister caused 'the sea to rise up and the mountain to descend' (see Chapter 2, Section 2).
According to Lu'a thought this phenomenon can occur if the brother and sister are of the same House or even of the same origin group of 'father people' status. Because of the close affinity of the first settling 'father people' with the domain, the flow of the 'blood' of the domain itself can get clogged up at its 'head', thereby causing natural disaster.

Another sanction for sexual intercourse between persons of 'close blood' involving the sea is the notion that sharks will eat any transgressors, should they venture out to sea. In Lu'a concepts of afterlife, the soul of the deceased initially returns to the place of origin of the ancestors in the west (wa ṭaka ḳuni // wa ṭana laja). There it is assessed if the deceased has lived his life in accordance with hada, after which the soul returns to Lu'a. However, the souls of those who have committed major breaches of hada cannot return to the island but get caught up in the sea and turn into sharks (hiu), dolphins (lobu-lobu) or whales (puloga). These souls of the deceased who have turned into creatures of the sea are known to be both dangerous as well as beneficial to human beings. Lu'a seaman's lore abounds with tales of voyagers who have received assistance from whales and dolphins, and it is believed that when in distress at sea those living in accordance with hada generally are saved from drowning, whereas wrongdoers are pulled to the bottom of the sea and devoured.

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6 It is not specified whether this assessment is performed by the Supreme Being or by the original mythical ancestors of the domain.
7 The Powo priest-leader tells a tale about the time when his boat capsized midway across the straits and all of its crew and cargo went overboard. He recalls that to his astonishment the boat drifted across what appeared to be a dark sandbank at a location where the sea is known to be very deep. There everybody managed to find a foothold. After a while he had the impression that they were drifting towards the shores of Flores and he realized that they were actually standing on the back of a large whale. The whale allowed them to ride along to the vicinity of the shore and it was only when some of the crew members, exhilarated by the experience, began to joke among themselves that the whale disappeared, whereupon they were forced to swim to land while holding on to the semi-submerged boat. The interpretation offered for the disappearance of the whale was that by joking they had offended the ancestral creature of the sea.
8 The drowning of the Ndéo healer-sorcerer during an incident in which an overloaded boat was about to capsize when all crew members jumped off the boat and attempted to redress the boat at its outriggers, is interpreted as ancestral sanction. Although the healer-sorcerer knew how to swim and the sea was calm on that day he did not resurface after having entered the water. Excessively high fees...
The ritual carried out to avert the sanctions for sexual intercourse between people of 'close blood' plays on the theme of inversion indicated by the 'rising of the sea' and the 'falling of the mountain'. Thus, in order to avert natural disasters resulting from intercourse between 'father people' of 'close blood' the culprits are buried into the ground head first at the 'head' of the domain and then stabbed to death. In this manner the clogged flow of the 'blood' at the 'head' of the domain is released by the spilling the blood of 'father people'.

The appropriate ritual for dealing with sexual intercourse between 'child people' of 'close blood' is referred to by the couplet 'to hang the leg // to tie up the red pig' (tëo wa'i // tiké wawi rut'unë). It involves the sacrifice of a special type of pig that has a rust-coloured (rut²u) pigmentation. In Lu'a thought this colour represents the structural opposite of black, which is the common colour of Lu'a pigs. Although at the beginning of the ritual the pig is tied by its hind leg to the main house post of the dwelling of the two culprits, the first half of the couplet employs the term tëo, an unusual term from this procedure. Tëo has the connotations of attaching something to hang from above and thus, emphasizes the underlying notion of inversion. Once the pig has been sacrificed and offerings of its meat have been made at the ceremonial courtyard and at the mortuary monoliths of the House, the sleeping mat upon which sexual intercourse has taken place is burned and the culprits are free of supernatural sanction.

All members of the opposite sex of ego's generation within the same origin group are classified as sister (weda) or brother (naja). The same classification also applies to parallel cousins. They constitute a proscribed category within which sexual intercourse and marriage is prohibited. This classification is further extended to ego's generation within any further origin group that may, in the context of the exchange of

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9 In the case cited earlier (see Chapter 2, Section 5) the blood of water buffalo was employed as a substitute for the blood of the siblings of 'father people' status in order to achieve the same effect.
goods in the establishment of marriage alliance, have participated by contributing its resources to a specific instance of alliance (p'tama t'aba, literally, to join heads). Furthermore, members of ego’s generation of specific affiliated Houses from other domains (see Section 3) are also included in the proscribed category.

The notions of 'closeness of blood' apply within the House as well as throughout the origin group to persons classified as belonging to different generations. Marriage with a person of a different generation outside the origin group is strictly speaking prohibited as well. Such a marriage is, however, permissible if the actual difference in age between the two partners is negligible. In such a case the relationship terminology is adjusted to suit the situation (see Chapter 5, Section 2).

The prescribed category (MBD, FZS) is termed wai, woman or wife and lak'i, man or husband. Since the establishment of the Catholic Church on Lu'a this category has undergone significant semantic changes. In accordance with Catholic marriage law preceding Second Vatican Council, the Dutch SVD missionaries on Lu'a prohibited matrilateral cross cousin marriage within four generations. Given the shallow depth of genealogical knowledge in Ko'a this prohibition effectively ruled out the restricted form of the 'turmeric-placenta and semen-blood' marriage. In order to reflect the notions of incest of Catholic marriage law, cross cousins within the four generational span were gradually included into the Lu'a proscribed category and are now equally termed weda, sister, or naja, brother.10

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10 According to Ko'a elders, most schoolteachers and catechists of the pre World War II period were recruited from outside Lu'a. When registering the bride and groom for church marriage and in this context establishing their genealogies in order to assess their relatedness, these outsiders could be mislead by providing them with fictive genealogies. In that way it was still possible to contract k'uni-laja marriages. It was only after World War II, when Lu'a-born schoolteachers and catechists became increasingly available, that the Catholic marriage law was firmly enforced. These recent converts shared the view of the missionaries that k'uni-laja marriages were 'words of the devil' (p'au'a 'eu sían) and rigourously sought to expose any such planned marriages. It was during that period that the Lu'a prescribed category underwent semantic changes. Although in 1964 the Second Vatican Council, in an effort to integrate the idiosyncrasies of the diverse cultural backgrounds of the members of the church, reduced the proscribed genealogical span from four to two generations, thereby effectively bringing it in line with Lu'a notions applying to the k'uni-laja marriage, the new and adjusted Catholic marriage law was never applied on Lu'a. Only in recent years, has the Bishop of Ndon on Flores, in whose diocese the two Palu'e parishes are located, given his approval for the application of the new marriage
According to Ko'a ideology of alliance, inverting the direction of alliance between two Houses is considered to be like 'drinking your own semen-blood // [like] eating your own turmeric-placenta' (ninu palu lajamo // pesa palu k’aunimo), this same metaphor is sometimes also applied to cases of sexual intercourse between people of 'close blood'. Such an inversion is considered to be a serious offense against hada and the same supernatural sanctions apply as to the marriage between people of 'close blood'.

An inversion of the direction of alliance of one House of an origin group with a House of a wife-giving origin group with which this House has not recently contracted an alliance is also considered to be an offence against hada. However, such an inversion is considered to be far less serious an offence than that between two of the same Houses. It is frowned upon but nonetheless possible. This form of inversion in the direction of alliance is referred to as the 'inverted plank' (p’aap’a palo). The expression is derived from boat building where it is employed when the rule pertaining to the direction of growth of the wood has not been adhered to and a plank has been inserted the wrong way around. In Ko'a thought this type of inversion is merely classified as a 'wrong marriage' (wai cala), not necessarily entailing supernatural sanction or general negative influences for the spouses or for their children.

P’apa palo inversion is said to have always taken place between the origin groups of Ko'a. Thus for example, the 'father people' of Powo and Roda Wula not only marry each other, thereby going against the ideology of ideal alliance of 'father people', but recently the direction of alliance has also been inverted. Whereas the mother of the present Roda Wula priest-leader was a Powo woman, a Powo man has recently married a Roda Wula woman of this priest-leader's House. In such cases it is imperative for the two Houses to differentiate between the two alliances, and in

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law. However, now that kuni-laja marriage is permitted again on Lu'a it is genuinely frowned upon by many Lu'a Catholics because of its long history of prohibition and vilification.

11 In conversation a Ko'a graduate of the agricultural college in Boa'ao on Flores likened the effect of such an inversion to 'kortsletting' the Dutch term commonly employed in Indonesian for an electrical short circuit.
ceremonial exchange a statement must always be made that indicates to which instance of alliance a given interaction refers.

Although an inversion in the direction of an 'ancient k'uni-laja alliance' is prohibited by hada, such inversions none the less do occur. In such instances a specific rite is performed which severs the previous relationship and which informs the involved origin groups of the inversion. The rite is referred to as 'to disperse the turmeric placenta // to pour out the semen-blood' (mekê k'uni // p'ila laja). To mark this dissolution of the kuni laja relationship the wife-taking House makes a prestation of a pig to the wife-giving House (the former wife-taking House). The pig is prepared outside the dwelling of the wife-giving House and its meat is distributed to the Houses of both origin groups that are involved, with the exception of the wife-taking and wife-giving Houses who are not permitted to consume that pig.

P'apa palo between different Houses of two origin groups is common, and occasionally even the inversion of the direction of alliance between two Houses standing in an 'ancient k'uni-laja relationship' occurs, although this fact is only reluctantly admitted. In fact, it appears that given the notion of domain endogamy and the small number of Ko'a origin groups and their constituent Houses, periodic inversion is inevitable for the kuni laja mode of alliance to work over time. One pragmatic reason given for inversion is the notion that the conceptually male goods the wife-taking House gives to the wife-giving House can flow back.

The process of inversion is gradual, initially involving only one House, followed by another House until eventually all Houses of a given origin group have changed their direction of alliance. Once this situation has become realized the new direction of alliance no longer appears to be an inversion, but the proper orientation of this origin group towards the origin group with which alliances are established.
In this context it is significant that the people of Ko'a do not place emphasis on great depth in their genealogical knowledge.\textsuperscript{12} In Ko'a it is sufficient to know the original ancestors of one's own origin group and the names of those involved in alliances of ego's generation as well as those of the first ascending generation. Already at the second ascending generation genealogical knowledge often becomes vague and is largely confined to the agnates of the House, whereas as from the third ascending generation and beyond mostly only the name of the 'elder brother person' of a House is remembered.

This attitude is substantiated by the practice of keeping only the reliquaries of three successive generations of ancestors (\textit{p̄ë \i charu}) of a House in storage at any given time, whereby those of the most distant ancestors are progressively discarded, while those of recently deceased members are put into storage (see Chapter 4, Section 3). Those that are kept, are there, as it is put, "in order not to forget their names" (\textit{t̄ëné ni telëwo ngara ë lé konéné}).\textsuperscript{13} Thus by not retaining any detailed genealogical knowledge beyond the third ascending generation any past change in the direction of alliance is not retained as well.

With regard to the inversion of alliance direction the case of Sari Ko'a may prove to be special. Up until one generation ago its senior House was wife-taker to Powo. However, the same House a number of years ago in turn provided a wife to the Powo priest-leader. The relationship between the senior Powo House and that of Sari Ko'a has the potential of settling into a pattern in which the direction of alliance is inverted at every successive generation. At present no such phenomenon is occurring in Ko'a. However, in both domains that are closely allied with Ko'a direct exchange is

\textsuperscript{12} From the Ko'a point of view only Catholic priests, schoolteachers (as well as the visiting anthropologist) consider establishing extensive genealogies to be important.

\textsuperscript{13} A further practice involving this notion of 'three generations' (\textit{p̄ë \i charu}) pertains to the relationship between great-grandparents and great-grandchildren where a special ritual must be conducted in order for the former to be allowed to touch the latter (see Section 3).
practiced between the senior House of one group of 'father people' and the senior House of an origin group of 'child people' status.

At one level this phenomenon is an expression of the striving of 'father people' to go beyond the confines set out by hada (see Chapter 3, Section 5). In such a situation the position of the House of 'child people' status is considerably more vulnerable to supernatural sanction than the House of 'father people' status, because it does not have the direct access to the Supreme Being 'father people' have by virtue of their guardianship of the ceremonial center.

Although throughout the island direct exchange is very much frowned upon, the fact that it is practiced by these Houses without any ensuing supernatural sanction inspires awe in the general population and serves as proof that these Houses in some respect stand above all other Houses on Lu'a. This special status is reflected in the large amount of goods exchanged at every new contraction of such an alliance and in the number of Houses from throughout the island that participate in the accumulation of these goods.

In both domains the senior male member of the House of 'child people' status in question is referred to as 'mother person' (hat'a hina). This 'mother person' complements the 'father person' and his affiliated origin groups of 'father people' status in the realm of marriage alliance in that the 'mother person' when giving away a woman to 'father people' in turn becomes the centre of a large network of alliance relationships. However, instead of relying mainly on the support of affiliated origin groups of the domain, the 'mother person' also entertains a large number of relationships of mutual support with individual Houses throughout the island (see Chapter 5, Section 3). This network matches the extensive network a senior House of 'father people' status can draw upon in pooling the goods exchanged in establishing marriage alliance.
One of the characteristics of the 'mother person' is his involvement in a large and diverse number of marriage alliances. It is said of him 'that he has bought many people' (*hia pa pet'a rivu*), in allusion to his having sponsored numerous marriage alliances with goods apart from those contracted by his own origin group. In having done so over an extended period of time he has established relationships of indebtedness of a large number of Houses to his own. And at every instance in which one of these Houses acts as wife-giver he gets his share of the conceptually male goods this House receives.

It is not clear exactly how the *hata kina* initially accumulates the wealth and establishes the network of alliance relations that eventually enables him to practice direct exchange with the senior House of 'father people' status in his domain. However, once he has reached the high degree of centrality and prestige that earns him the reference of 'mother person' he continuously receives prestation from the Houses included in his network and he can also frequently make direct demands for goods from them. Ideally these prestation and demanded goods are subject to reciprocity. However, by placing himself above the rules that govern marriage alliance between Houses he sometimes also places himself outside the obligation of reciprocity. Once again, the absence of supernatural sanction for the failure to reciprocate reinforces his position of prominence, and this in turn fuels the flow of incoming goods.  

**SECTION 2: AGNATES, AFFILIATED HOUSES AND AFFINES**

Ko'a language of kinship makes do with a limited number of terms. Fifteen terms are sufficient to express relatedness in the social world of Ko'a. Although in the course of previous chapters most categories of relationships have already been touched upon they are all brought together here and briefly commented upon. For comparative

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14 This phenomenon does not at present exist in Ko'a and therefore the 'mother person' is not dealt with as a separate social category. However, a future investigation of the 'mother person' in one of the allied domains may provide crucial insights into the dynamics of marriage alliance on Lu'a.
purposes a table listing the Ko'a kinship terms and their minimal specifications is given below.

All men of ego's father's generation (G+1) within the same origin group are referred to and addressed as *hama* (m.s., f.s.), a term which can be glossed as 'father', whereas all women of ego's origin group of that generation are referred to and addressed as *hina*, 'mother'. Both terms are, however, also extended to the same generation throughout the mother's natal origin group.¹⁵

Within ego's generation the terms *ka'ē* and *hari*, are employed reciprocally to refer to the elder and younger sibling of the same gender within the same House. Both terms are extended in a classificatory way throughout the origin group. In practice, however, the criterion of relative age modifies the usage of these terms of reference in that they can be adjusted to take into account significant differences in age.

The terms *weda* and *naja* are employed to refer to and occasionally also to address all members of the opposite sex of ego's generation within ego's natal origin group. *Weda* is employed by male speakers and can be glossed as 'sister', whereas *naja* is employed by female speakers and can be glossed as 'brother'. These terms are also applied to parallel cousins. Together they constitute a proscribed category within which marriage is prohibited.

The matrilateral cross cousin (MBD) constitutes the category with which marriage is prescribed. Cross cousins refer to each other as *wai*, woman or wife and

¹⁵ On Lu'a the recent and increasing usage of modern Indonesian and Malay kin terms as terms of address or reference does, for instance, allow for a differentiation between M and FZ. Here the former is termed 'mama' and the latter 'tanta'. The same term, however, is also applied to MZ. In a similar vain the term 'baba' (from the Indonesian 'bapak', father) is increasingly applied to F as a term of address, whereas FB and MB are often referred to as *hama lo'o*, literally, 'little fathers'. This composite Lu’a term of recent creation is claimed by local specialists to draw upon the Sika term 'ama lotik' (literally, little father). In Sika this term is, strictly speaking, only applied to yFB (personal communication, E.D. Lewis). It is, therefore, likely that *hama lo'o* also draws upon an interpretation of the Malay term 'bapak kecil' (little father) which is generally applied to both lines and denotes the younger brothers of both father and mother (Echols and Shadily, 1989). It is, however, not clear exactly what specifications this term covers when used, as it frequently occurs, by Malay speaking Sikanese. *Hama lo'o* on Lu'a does not make any distinction of seniority but applies to the elder as well as the younger brothers of both father and mother. The complementary recent Lu’a term of reference, *hina lo'o* (little mother) is less frequently used and analogically denotes MZ as well as FZ.
lakɔi, man or husband. The application of the terms wai and lakɔi extends to members of ego's generation of the opposite gender of all Houses with which ego's House has in the past two generations effected marriage alliance. Ideally it further extends to all Houses constituting their respective origin groups and strictly speaking also to those origin groups that have contributed to a past instance of exchange of bridewealth or its counter-prestations. In practice this latter extension is only circumstantially applied. As terms of address they are only applied between spouses and between unmarried cross cousins of mature adult age. The term wai is also employed to refer to ego's (m.s.) brother's wife regardless of whether she is his cross cousin or not.

Hana, which can be glossed as 'child', is applied as a term of address to all members of the first descending generation of ego's origin group as well as to those of its wife-giving origin groups. When employed as a term of reference a specification of gender is added and male children are referred to as hana hatɔa lakɔi (male child person) and female children as hana hatɔa wai (female child person). Children of the same mother or father are referred to as hana bɔ̃u'ünë, 'trunk children', when a distinction needs to be made between them and any adopted children (hana bɔ̃osi tɔ̃ukɔanë). If an emphasis is indicated, children of the same mother can be distinguished as being 'of one and the same womb' (lélé ha tɔ̃uka), whereas children of the same father can be referred to as being 'of one and the same blood' (laja lélé ha).

Within the same 'hearth' group another term can be added to indicate the child's position within the order of birth. The term hana hulu wua, 'the child of the growth of

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16 Since a renewal of marriage alliance between the same two Houses within a period of three generations used to be prohibited by the Catholic Church the terms weda and naja were substituted during that interval for the appropriate wai and lakɔi, thereby including the matrilateral cross cousin into the proscribed category.

17 Strictly speaking it would be more appropriate to refer to G-1 as the first ascending generation since, according to Lu'a thought, ancestors are believed to be below, lăé, whereas the living are thought to be above, retɔa, rather than the other way around.

18 Hana is sometimes also employed in casual contexts as a term of address between unrelated adults of different domains (m.s., f.s.) regardless of gender and age difference. Finally the priest-leader, when emphasizing his position, refers to and addresses everyone within his domain as hana.
the bow', is applied to refer to the first-born of either gender, whereas the last born is referred to as hana t'o'usu heb'ouné, 'the one who has been the last [to feed at the] breast'. Depending on its position between the first and the last born, a child may also be referred to as hana tet'uné, 'the following child' or as hana rorané, 'the central child'.

The term pu is applied as a term of address and reference at the level of the second descending generation (G-2) to all members of ego's origin group as well as to those of his wife-giving origin group. In this application the term can be glossed as 'grandchildren'. Here again gender specifications can be added if necessary. Thus a female grandchild can be referred to as pu hat'a wai and a male grandchild as pu hat'a lak'i. The same term is further applied at the level of the second ascending generation to both lines where it can be glossed as 'grandparent'. Its application mirrors that of the second descending generation and here as well the gender of the grandparent can be added as a specification in reference. The mirroring of these two generations also finds its expression in the Lu'a mode of naming where the firstborn son takes on the name of his father's father and daughters take on the name of their mother's mother or that of one of her sisters. As holders of their grandparents' name, grandchildren are in some sense also thought of as being a reincarnation of their namesakes.

The third ascending generation, together with the third descending generation, represents another marked category referred to at both levels as pu k'uri, literally, 'the pu whose face is turned away'. Implicit in this term is the cultural rule that great grandparents are prohibited from cradling any of their great grandchildren. According to Lu'a thought the rheumatic pains (milu) of people of such an advanced age are bound to be transferred to their descendants by way of touch.19 This prohibition can

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19 Although it occasionally does occur it is rare for anyone on Lu'a to have a living great grandparent.
be lifted by means of a simple ritual in which betel mixture is applied to their respective foreheads.\textsuperscript{20}

Finally the term \textit{pu mori} marks a category that includes those of \textit{pu} as well as all members of and beyond the third ascending generation and those of and beyond the third descending generation. \textit{Pu mori} can, therefore be viewed as a generic term for 'ancestors', whereby with increasing distance more emphasis is placed on agnates. The same term can also be glossed as 'descendants', including both the living as well as the yet unborn.

Among affinal relations three categories are marked by separate composite terms. These terms are applied only to ego's immediate wife-giving and wife-taking Houses and do not extend to all of the constituent Houses of their respective origin groups. In matters of ceremonial exchange and in matters concerning ritual services it is, however, not specific persons of these categories that are targeted. Rather, male or female representatives of the wife-giving or of the wife-taking House as a whole are called upon to perform specific tasks, and as such they are referred to by the generic term for wife-givers or wife-takers as 'brother persons' (\textit{hat’\textdegree a najané}) or as 'sister persons' (\textit{hat’\textdegree a wedané}). It is appropriate to note in this context that it is the wife-taker and not the wife-giver whose services are called upon in rituals of the House (see Chapter 4, Sections 2 and 3). Wife-givers do, however, assume a prominent position in rituals connected with the agricultural cycle.\textsuperscript{21}

The term \textit{tu’a pabo} denotes all affines of the first ascending generation (G+1) as well as all of those of the first descending generation (G-1). The term is used mainly as a term of reference by male as well as by female speakers. When used as a term of address the shorter version \textit{tu’a} is employed.

\textsuperscript{20} This ritual procedure is reminiscent of the betel mixture symbolizing the ancestral 'semen-blood and turmeric-placenta' applied to the fontanelle of the neonate at its integration ceremony (\textit{susu k’uun}). Furthermore, there may be a conceptual connection between this prohibition and the inversion of the direction of marriage alliance that can take place at intervals of three generations.

\textsuperscript{21} Since, for reasons of space, the thesis does not deal with the agricultural cycle, an appropriate treatment of the position of the wife-giver in agricultural rituals will have to be carried out in a separate work specifically dedicated to the agricultural complex.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generational level</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Specifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G+3+x</td>
<td>āpū Mori</td>
<td>('ancestors')</td>
<td>general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-3-x</td>
<td>āpū Kēuri</td>
<td>('great grandparent')</td>
<td>general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G+3</td>
<td>āpū Kēuri</td>
<td>('great grandchild')</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-3</td>
<td>āpū</td>
<td>('grandparent')</td>
<td>CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G+2</td>
<td>Kē</td>
<td>('grandchild')</td>
<td>PP, FFB, FFZH, WFF, HFF, FMZ, FMZH, FMBW MMZ, MMB, MMBW (ref., addr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-2</td>
<td>Kē</td>
<td>('grandchild')</td>
<td>CC, BSC, BDC, ZSC (ref., addr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G+1</td>
<td>Itana</td>
<td>('father')</td>
<td>F, FB, MB, BZH, WFZH (ref., addr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G+1</td>
<td>Etina</td>
<td>('mother')</td>
<td>M, MZ, FZ, WFZ (ref., addr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Ka’ē</td>
<td>('elder sibling')</td>
<td>eB, eFBS, eFZS, eMBS, eWFZS (ref.: m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>eZ, eFBD, eFZD, eMBD, eHFZD, eHBW (ref.: f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Itari</td>
<td>('younger sibling')</td>
<td>yB, yFBS, yFZS, yMBS, yWFZS (ref.: m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yZ, yFBD, yFZD, yMBD, eHFZD, yHBW (ref.: f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Naja</td>
<td>('brother')</td>
<td>B, MBS, MZS (ref., addr.: f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Weda</td>
<td>('sister')</td>
<td>Z, FBD, FZD, WFZD (ref., addr.: m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Lakēi</td>
<td>('husband')</td>
<td>H, HB, HZH, ZH, ZHB, FZS (ref., addr.: f.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Wai</td>
<td>('wife')</td>
<td>W, WZ, WBW, BW, BWZ, MBD (ref., addr.: m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-1</td>
<td>Hana</td>
<td>('child')</td>
<td>Ch, BCh, ZCh, WBCh, WZCh, HBCh, HZCh (ref., addr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G+1</td>
<td>Tu’a Pebo</td>
<td></td>
<td>WF, WFB, WFBW, WFZ, WM, WMB, WMZ DH, SW, SBW, BDH, ZDH, BSW (ref., addr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G+1</td>
<td>Kōra Wé</td>
<td></td>
<td>ZH, MZDH, WB, WFBS, WMZS, ZHZ, MZDZH, WFB, WMZD (ref., addr.: m.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Hip’a Riu</td>
<td></td>
<td>HZ, HFBD, MBD, BW, FZD, FBZW (ref., addr.: f.s.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Within ego's generation Ko'a men address and refer to their male and female affines as kọéra wé. Finally, female speakers refer to and address the female and male affines of their own generation by the term hibọ a riu.22

Depending on their personality every man and woman entertains a certain number of friendship ties other than those established within the origin group or within affiliated origin groups and other than those that may have been established through marriage alliance. Such relationships extend to domains throughout the island and are referred to as 'elder-younger sibling relationships' (rebéné ka'ë hari). The term does not imply that in this relationship one of the two maintains the superordinate position of an elder sibling, implicit rather is the notion that both are as close to each other as siblings. This is expressed in mutual support in goods and services of a variable kind.

Men in an 'elder-younger brother relationship' typically undertake activities together such as hunting or fishing or the setting of fish traps and in some cases they spend their months of annual seasonal migration together carrying out manual labour on the Flores mainland or trading and fishing throughout the archipelago.

On the basis of an 'elder-younger sibling relationship' both partners also exchange goods on an everyday basis. In placing emphasis on the goods exchanged the relationship is more fully referred to as an 'elder-younger sibling relationship in the idiom of tobacco and betel, in the idiom of fish and clams' (ka'ë hari sara mbako wua mudu, sara hikọ a kọima). Thus, if the need arises one can ask the other for tobacco (mbako) or betel (wua mudu), or if a catch has been successful, part of it may be given to the other.

Women in an 'elder-younger sister relationship' may associate at the weekly market or help each other out if there is a need for tobacco and betel or for small goods

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22 Because the terms kọéra wé and hibọ a riu are only rarely used in everyday contexts there is a considerable difference of opinion about their proper application. According to some Ko'a elders both terms are composites, whereby men address and refer to their male affines as kọéra and to their female affines as wé. The same elders also consider hibọ a riu to be a composite term, whereby women address and refer to their female affines as hibọ and to their male affines as riu. Other Ko'a elders maintain that the term kọéra wé is the correct term of address and reference for male as well as female affines for a male speaker and hibọ a riu that for female and male affines for a female speaker.
such as cotton or indigo. In processing cotton thread for the production of textiles they may choose to carry out the various stages of tie-dyeing together, thereby keeping each other company and complementing each other's resources. Furthermore, if one of the two has had a surplus of fruit such as banana (mukəu) or mango (bəau) she may share it with her 'elder-younger sister relation'.

Most 'elder-younger sibling relationships' remain relationships of friendship which can last a life-time. However, by increasing the amount of goods exchanged, and by expanding them to include goods exchanged in bridewealth, an 'elder-younger sibling' relationship may over time develop into a different category of relationship. This relationship goes beyond the lifetime of the two initial partners and is maintained over generations between two Houses rather than just between two individuals, thereby including all of its members. In such a case it is said that the two Houses have known [each other] and have listened [to each other] for a long time' (cu’u te sa nai’u).

This category is commonly referred to as 'bundle and heap' (huju bəakəu) in an abbreviation of the ritual speech couplet: 'To tie into one bundle of wood // to place together into one heap of rocks' (nuju ha huju kəaju // pakəu ha bəakəu watəu). Here again the relationship is specified according to the types of goods exchanged. Thus, if in a 'bundle and heap' relationship, goods such as pigs or money are exchanged, the relationship is referred to as a 'bundle and heap relationship in the idiom of goods and pigs' (huju bəakəu sara ngawu wawi). If more valuable goods such as ivory tusks or golden ear pendants are exchanged, the relationship is referred to as a 'bundle and heap relationship in the idiom of gold and ivory' (huju bəakəu sara kəoma pala).

In a 'bundle and heap' relationship of either type either House may request the appropriate goods from the other if the need arises. On an everyday basis financial assistance in the payment of school or medical fees may be required, or assistance in providing sacrificial animals for rituals of the House, and if a House standing in a 'bundle and heap' relationship is in the position to give assistance it will always do so.
During large scale ceremonies of the House, such as in the consecration of a new dwelling or in the inauguration of a boat, or in ceremonies conducted simultaneously throughout the domain, such as in the setting of mortuary monoliths, in harvest ceremonies or during the water buffalo sacrifice, 'bundle and heap' Houses participate in the ceremonial exchanges of their partner Houses. On such occasions the amount and kind of goods given is always based on that given at previous occasions of a similar kind.

The most important realm in which this relationship is called upon is in the pooling of goods for the prestation of bridewealth. In this context the House of a 'bundle and heap' relationship will contribute towards the bridewealth of a House with which it shares this relationship. Hence the metaphor of 'the bundle and heap' in which a number of elements of one kind are put together to make up one single entity, that is, bridewealth or its counter-prestations. Depending on whether this House is acting as wife-giver or wife-taker, the 'bundle and heap' relationship will contribute either conceptually male goods such as gold, ivory or pigs or conceptually female goods such as textiles or cultigens (see Chapter 5, Section 3). The amount and kind of prestations such Houses make towards bridewealth is determined by whatever prestation its partner in this relationship has made on a previous occasion of bridewealth instalment. In the redistribution of counter-prestations of the wife-giving House, a House of the 'bundle and heap' category receives approximately the equivalent in conceptually female goods it has previously contributed towards bridewealth (see Chapter 5, Section 3).

In assisting with bridewealth or with its female counter-prestations, a House of 'bundle and heap' status takes on a position that is very similar to that of any of the contributing Houses of the origin group in establishing an alliance. This position is appropriately expressed in the same extension of the classificatory kin terms for agnates to any House of 'bundle and heap' status as is the case for all of the Houses of
the origin group. Furthermore, if a wife-taker requests a bride from a wife-giver on the basis of previous instances of alliance, the daughters of a House with which the wife-giver stands in a 'bundle and heap' relationship can, if the need arises, serve as an equivalent replacement for the daughter of the wife-giver. Conversely marriage between Houses standing in a 'bundle and heap' relationship is prohibited. Because members of such Houses can assume the position of agnates they can be viewed as quasi kin of the House of its counterpart in the 'bundle and heap' relationship and by extension also as those of the counterpart's origin group.

Potentially all Houses of a given origin group can join in and maintain a 'bundle and heap' relationship with the same House with which one of its constituent Houses has initiated such a relationship. In practice, however, not all of the Houses of the same origin group actually maintain a 'bundle and heap' relationship with that same House.

As with 'elder-younger brother' relationships, the relationship between partners of the 'bundle and heap' category is one between equals. Significantly relations between Houses of 'father people' status outside the domain and specifically between those Houses providing priest-leaders are based on 'bundle and heap' relationships rather than on marriage. In doing so such Houses can entertain close relations of mutual support without one being subordinate to the other, as is the case in marriage alliance.

During the water buffalo sacrifice at the end of the ceremonial cycle, nearly all 'bundle and heap' relations of a given House throughout the island participate in ceremonial exchange. Other than during the pooling and redistribution of bridewealth or of its counter-prestations where only the contributing 'bundle and heap' relations of just one wife-taking or wife-giving House are present (see Chapter 5, Section 3), nearly all of the 'bundle and heap' relations of every House of the domain are physically present on the occasion of the sacrifice. On this occasion 'elder-younger
brother' relations also participate in exchange. However, during the water buffalo sacrifice individual Houses of the domain that features as the guest of honour of the current ceremonial cycle participate in the position of 'elder-younger brother' relations as well.

Two days before the sacrifice both categories of relations bring baskets (tengé potëlé) of cultigens to their partner Houses and in return they receive cuts of raw pig meat. 'Bundle and heap' relations are traditionally entitled to larger cuts than 'elder-younger brother' relations. These include the legs (p³a), the ridge of the back and the tail (ndolé) and parts of the sides (ka), whereas 'elder-younger brother' relations each receive just one or two small cubes of skin and fat (ketëlé).23

According to the evidence gathered in the context of the most recent water buffalo sacrifice in December, 1987, Ko'a Houses of 'father people' status entertained a considerably larger number of 'bundle and heap' relationships than Houses of 'child people' status. The Houses of the three origin groups of 'father people' averaged approximately twelve exchanges with 'bundle and heap' relations whereas the Houses of the four Ko'a origin groups of 'child people' status averaged only approximately five exchanges with 'bundle and heap' relations. This evidence supports the notion of the greater economic resources of 'father people' origin groups upon which they base their ideology of ideal alliance.

The difference between Houses of 'father people' and 'child people' status with regard to the numbers of 'elder-younger sibling' relationships is not as marked. Here Houses of 'father people' status averaged seventy-eight exchanges whereas those of 'child people' status averaged forty-two. However, within the various origin groups of both statuses, some senior Houses effected exchanges with nearly twice the number of 'elder-younger sibling' relations than did their junior Houses. Because of the

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23 Even if the cuts have been very small, people returning from the sacrifice will exaggerate their size and spread the word that they were given large cubes of nearly the length of a hand (ketëlé lawa, long cuts), a size commonly indicated by pointing to the root of the thumb. This form of praise in turn increases the reputation (ngara ca, literally, the great name) of the hosting domain and of its individual Houses.
inclusion of the Houses of the domain acting as guest of honour on that occasion these numbers do not clearly reflect the number of proper 'elder-younger brother' relations. They do, however, indicate the general level of popularity of the senior member of each House in domains other than his own.

The number of 'bundle and heap' relationships the senior Houses of the three origin groups of 'father people' status entertained during the sacrifice varies only slightly. The senior House of the 'people from above' at T°upu Roda Wula of K°unu Mangge B°asé carried out exchanges with seventeen 'bundle and heap' relations, whereby an additional number of four 'bundle and heap' relations on that occasion were said not to have participated in exchange. The senior House of K°unu Powo Wawo at T°upu Meno T°ana only carried out exchanges with twelve 'bundle and heap' relations but maintains that a further fourteen 'bundle and heap' relations at that time did not participate in the exchanges. Finally, the senior House of K°unu Roda Wula of 'the people from below' of T°upu Roda Wula carried out thirteen exchanges with 'bundle and heap' relations. However, for this House no numbers of those 'bundle and heap' relations not participating in this instance could be obtained.

In all three origin groups of 'father people status' the numbers of 'bundle and heap' relations of their junior Houses were slightly lower than those of the senior Houses. This pattern also largely holds true with respect to the senior and junior Houses of 'child people' status.

However, one House among the Houses of 'child people' status stands out as entertaining a particularly high number of 'bundle and heap' relations. This is the senior House of K°unu Sari Ko'a mentioned earlier as presently also being the largest landholder in the domain. This House effected twenty-two exchanges with 'bundle and heap' relations, thereby bringing it well ahead not only of other senior Houses of  

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24 These fourteen 'bundle and heap' relations claimed not to have been able to raise a sufficient amount of goods to match the cuts of meat traditionally due to them and, therefore, abstained from attending.
'child people status but also of the senior Houses of 'father people' status. The same House also effected exchanges with one hundred and fifteen 'elder-younger sibling' relations, and here again entered the range of exchanges of that category for Houses of 'father people' status.

It appears that this senior House of K²'unu Sari Ko'a has now established a network of social relations involved in the establishment of marriage alliances that matches that of the Ko'a Houses of 'father people' status. It may, therefore, only be a matter of time until 'mother person' (hat'a hina) status is ascribed to the senior member of this House.25

Table No. 5.2
Exchange Relationships ('bundle and heap', 'e-y sibling') activated at water buffalo sacrifice Ko'a, 1987

Exchange Relationships (average/House): General

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Father People</th>
<th>Child People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bundle and heap'</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'e-y sibling'</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exchange Relationships: Senior Houses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>status</th>
<th>'bundle and heap'</th>
<th>'e-y sibling'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nua Pali Waré, K²'unu Manggé B°asé</td>
<td>father p.</td>
<td>17 (+4)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nua Ob°a Waré, K²'unu Powo Wawo</td>
<td>father p.</td>
<td>12 (+14)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nua Lob°o Paji, K²'unu Roda Wula</td>
<td>father p.</td>
<td>13 (+?)</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nua N Duke Nçu, K²'unu Sari Ko'a</td>
<td>mother cand.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 Following the example of the allied domains T°omu and Cawalo this House might in the future also choose to practice direct exchange with a Ko'a House of 'father people' status.
SECTION 3: BRIDEWEALTH, NEGOTIATIONS AND INSTALMENTS

Marriage negotiations are referred to as 'the words about women and children' (p\textsuperscript{2}at\textsuperscript{2}a wai hanané), thereby emphasizing that in contracting marriage alliance the dominant perspective is that of the wife-taking House. In ceremonial exchange, by means of which the contraction of marriage is effected and alliance is maintained, conceptually male goods are transferred from the wife-taking to the wife-giving House and these are reciprocated by the wife-giving House with conceptually female goods. It is, however, predominantly the amount of conceptually male goods that is subject to negotiations. All of these goods are named and their instalments marked, whereas the latter does not hold true for most of the reciprocal prestations by the wife-giving House.

The terminology employed for the various instalments of the conceptually male goods highlights the important notion that in making prestations to the wife-giving House, the wife-taking House is actually purchasing the procreative powers of the woman. Thus the transfer of these goods is referred to as 'to make wet and to buy the body of the woman' (pa peta tembo élé hat\textsuperscript{2}a wai) and the two major stages of instalment of goods are termed 'one half of the breasts and the loins' and 'the [other] half of the breasts and the loins' (t\textsuperscript{2}usu rongo ha hivi; t\textsuperscript{2}usu rongo ha hivi).\textsuperscript{26}

Implicit in the prestations of conceptually male goods is another concept which complements the notion of purchase and which is simultaneously applied. Here the conceptually male goods are thought to constitute a replacement or a substitute (sélo) for the woman who is lost to her natal House.

In view of this emphasis on the prestations made by the wife-taking House it is in keeping with Ko'a ideas about marriage to employ the term bridelwealth or

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\textsuperscript{26} The terminology varies according to domains while maintaining the same implications. The abovementioned terminology holds true for the three allied domains Ko'a, Cawalo and T\textsuperscript{2}omu, whereas in the domains N\textsuperscript{2}it\textsuperscript{2}a, K\textsuperscript{2}oelli and Uwa a less explicit terminology is employed. There the corresponding stages of instalment refer to the spine of the woman (luji keréné) rather than to her genital regions.
brideprice. The Lu’a term for these goods is welli hat’a wai; welli of the woman or bride. As a noun, the term welli has the meaning of price, whereas as an adjective it has the connotations of something being expensive.

The welli hat’a lak’i consists of goods associated with the outside realm. Golden ear pendants, ivory tusks and pigs were traditionally obtained through piracy, slave trade or inter-island trading. Until recently Lu’a men ventured every year into the outside world and returned to Lu’a at the onset of the north-east monsoon with goods, some of which are used in the payment of bridewealth.27

In the computation of bridewealth essentially two broad categories of goods are distinguished:28 'trunk goods' (ngawu b’u’u’uné) and 'small goods' (ngawu lo’oné). The characterization of size or quality of specific goods given below is, however, not absolute. Thus, for example, a pig, depending on the stage of instalment it features in, may not be of sufficient size to be counted as a 'trunk good' and, therefore, one or two 'small goods' need to be added to make up for its lack in size, whereas the same pig at a different stage of instalment may be estimated to be large enough to be counted as a 'trunk good' on its own. In enumerating 'trunk goods' and 'small goods' each unit is referred to as 'one name' (ha ngara). Thus, for example, ten 'trunk goods' are referred to as 'ten names of trunk goods' (ngawu b’u’u ngara ha pulu).

One category of goods given by the wife-taking House is termed ngawu wawi, 'goods [and] pigs'. In this context the term 'goods' refers to the fixed amounts of money that can be substituted for any of the conceptually male bridewealth goods.29 Conversion rates vary according to domains and are subject to fluctuations. Thus the monetary equivalent of 'trunk goods' fluctuates between Rp.200,000.- and

27 The recent phenomenon of labour migration to Malaysia (pana lau Malaisia) is beginning to show a marked effect on bridewealth in that returning men are for the first time in Lu’a history in the position to pay much of the bridewealth themselves without having to rely on the support of their natal House and its affiliated Houses or on that of their own origin group. The influx of funds from the outside world is likened by Lu’a elders to the wealth of goods gained through piracy in precolonial times. Due to this restored affluence the amount of conceptually male goods demanded by wife-giving Houses is now again on the rise.
28 The same categories of goods also feature in the computation of hada fines.
29 Depending on the context, ngawu can also refer to gold and ivory.
Rp.300,000.- and that of 'small goods', depending on their position within a given stage of instalment, between Rp.10,000.- and Rp.50,000.-.  

An important criterion for the size of a pig is that of how many men it takes to carry it. Only pigs that take four men to carry are, in the context of bridewealth instalments, considered to be 'trunk goods'. Such pigs are referred to as 'trunk pigs' (*wawi b’u’uné*) or as 'four men to shoulder' (*titiq* i*’a*’u p*’a*). Another criterion that may or may not be applied in this context is the height of the pig when it is lying on its side. A well-fed pig of that size that meets 'trunk good' standards must reach slightly below the height of the knee of a standing adult Lu’a man. Pigs that take two men to carry (*titiq* i*’a*’u *rua*) can only in exceptional cases, if a sufficient amount of 'small goods' is added, be counted as 'trunk goods'. Of such pigs it is said that they are 'of good size', (*ca mbolané*), whereas immature pigs (*wawi hanané*) are usually only counted as 'small goods'.

A further category of conceptually male goods is referred to by the couplet *k’oma pala*, 'gold [and] ivory tusks'. Tusks are classified according to their length and not according to weight. Here again the criterion of position within a specific stage of instalment determines which tusks can be counted as 'trunk goods'. As a rule, only tusks that are of, or exceed the length of, an outstretched arm qualify as 'trunk goods'. Such tusks are referred to as 'one side of the arm pit' (*k’élé ha hivi*) and if they reach to the middle of the chest, they are called 'to the drinking throat' (*ca’i laé pok’élé ninuné*). Presently tusks are used only rarely as bridewealth since only very few remain on Lu’a. Instead, they are commonly replaced by pigs of the 'trunk good' category or by Indonesian currency.

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30 The actual purchasing price of pigs on Lu’a is somewhat inflated compared to on the Flores mainland. On Lu’a a pig of the 'trunk good' category can fetch up to Rp.450,000.- and a pig of the size referred to as 'two men to shoulder' up to Rp.200,000.-.

31 For transporting from one village to another and, in the context of bridewealth instalments, even for moving them from one house to another, large pigs are shouldered on bamboo stretchers.
Golden earpendants are computed by pairs. Here the quality of gold and the age of the ornament determines whether a pair qualifies as a 'trunk good' on its own (see Chapter 3, Section 3), without the addition of 'small goods', such as cash or immature pigs. On Lu'a potential wife-givers and especially the young unmarried women take pride in stating that their marriage golden earpendants will need to be presented on winnowing lids (laé lida), in allusion to the large amounts of earpendants a wife-taker will be expected to provide. In this way they publicly signal the determination of their House to negotiate an exceptionally high bride price and thereby hope to deter any potential suitors who would not be able to accumulate a large amount of goods. Earpendants are indeed in some cases presented on winnowing trays, whereby the corresponding unit consisting of ten pairs is referred to as ha supu, one supu, a term which is employed only in this context. Further measures of ear pendants include one half of a pair, ha t'ema (literally, one piece), one pair, ha livu and two pairs, ha t'ai (a bastardization of ha t'ali, one string, in allusion to the Lu'a way of stringing coconuts together two-by-two for carrying).

The counter-prestations by the wife-giving House can, in a complementary manner be termed welli hat'a lak'ì; welli of the man or groom; in practice, however, they are not referred to by any generic term. Tie-dyed Lu'a textiles, tama koa,32 which in ritual speech are always paired with shirts or shouldercloths, lambu, constitute an important category of prestations made by wife-givers. Up until World War II33 t'ama koa 34 were highly valued by Lu'a men and women. With the availability of machine-spun thread and chemical dyes in Flores markets, very few women on Lu'a continued

32 T'ama is the generic term for tie-dyed cloths or blankets, whereas koa, literally, to boil, refers to a stage in the process of indigo dyeing in which lime is employed.

33 During the period of Japanese occupation the people of Lu'a, for lack of cotton, reverted to the ancient custom of wearing cloth made of tree bark. According to Lu'a elders, they applied the same designs to these as those featuring on traditional Lu'a textiles.

34 In K'o'a there are five different types of t'ama koa (only one of which is worn by men) all of which are basically very similar in that they use indigo dyed black (the exceptionally dark indigo dye is achieved by adding burned lemon seeds) as a background, divided by red vertical stripes (the red dye is obtained from the bark of the moroæ tree growing in Lio on Flores), whereby a limited number of reserved white or turmeric-coloured geometrical designs featuring between the stripes allow for the distinction between one type of cloth or another.
to produce textiles in the traditional way. In using the new materials, they did, however, continue to weave Lu'a type textiles. Presently, such cloths together with cloths featuring patterns from various Flores groups (Lio, Ende, Sikka) and commercially manufactured shirts of a western cut purchased on Flores are employed as bridewealth counter-prestations of the t'ama-lambu category. In the computation of counter-prestations a cloth is referred to as 'one word' (ha p'at'a).

In marriage the bride brings with her weaving implements (hati) and the knowledge of textile production (nuju noru romo) which she has received from the senior women of her natal House. The knowledge of agricultural matters is another form of specialized knowledge transferred in this manner from the wife-giving to the wife-taking House. The po-stone (see Chapter 3, Section 3) symbolizes both the pragmatic aspects of agricultural knowledge and the knowledge of agricultural ritual. Only once the second major instalment of bridewealth has been made (i.e., 'the other half of the breasts and the loins'), thereby completing the process of replacing the bride's body, does the mother give her daughter such a stone to be used as a potent implement for agricultural rituals related to the growing of green gram, the main Lu'a cultigen. By means of this stone she can then fully contribute to the subsistence of the House and in turn provide the cultigens (nalut) her husband's House requires as conceptually female prestations when giving away a woman in marriage. This category is referred to as ngalala réb'ì after the types of baskets that contain the counter-prestations.

Traditional Lu'a measures for prestations of green gram in the context of ceremonial exchanges consist of various shapes and sizes of woven lontar leaf baskets. T'utu, a small octagonal lidded basket can contain up to 1.5 kg of green gram. This measure is most commonly employed in every day contexts. Réb'ì, a square lidded basket contains up to 3 kg. It is mainly the seeds for next year's planting that are kept in such baskets. The same basket is, however, also employed bridewealth
counter-prestation and in post harvest prestation between allied Houses of priest-leader status. Poté, the ubiquitous seven-layered square headstrap basket commonly carried by women can contain nearly 10 kg of green gram. The measure most frequently employed in major bridewealth counter-prestation is the nggala, a large square basket with rounded edges. A nggala can be up to 1.5m high and contain up to 150 kg of green gram. When prestation of such a size are made, the nggala is carried by four to six men on a bamboo stretcher.

Pigeon pea (wéwé, Cajanus cajani), which in ritual speech is paired with green gram (pué, Phaseolus aureus) because they are usually planted together, also constitutes a counter-presentation in bridewealth. Pigeon pea is commonly tied together unhusked into wheel-shaped bundles. Such bundles (huju) weigh approximately 10 kg.

In ritual speech tubers (uwi) are paired with sweet potato (hura). Both of these are part of prestations made by the wife-giving House. They are computed by numbers, whereby ten tubers (uwi ko hura tema ha pulu) usually constitute a (unnamed) unit. Maize (k é’o) and rice (lama) can also be used in ceremonial exchanges. When unhusked the former is measured in poté baskets, whereas rice is measured in sacks (karu) containing up to 50 kg.

A further category of goods that feature as counter-prestations in bridewealth is referred to as upi moné, 'beads [and] armrings'. Highly valued ancestral beads represent the appropriate counter-presentation for golden earpendants, whereas ivory armrings are matched with the conceptually male ivory tusks. Although they feature as prestations from the wife-giving to the wife-taking House, both of these counter-prestation ideally are passed on through the female line in that the mother gives one set of each that is in her guardianship to her daughter upon marriage. If a specific type of beads is lacking they can be replaced by a gift of land. Because they are fragile and

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35 In Ko’a 24 different taxa of tubers are distinguished.
often break apart, it is rare that a given House owns more than one set of ivory armrings. If the need arises, they are usually cut from ivory tusks that are part of the holdings of the wife-giving House. Moné are worn by women on both arms in two sets of four rings. Following Sika fashion, two sets of three silver armrings are often worn together with them.36

Finally, household utensils, mainly implements for cooking, constitute another category of counter-prestations. The Lu'a term for these is majo lékóé, 'pot [and] ladle'. Presently the Indonesian term 'perkakas rumah' (house furnishings) is often employed to denote this category, thereby extending it to include western furniture such as bedsteads, chairs, tables and the like.

In the computation of counter-prestations approximations of the following equations are employed as a broad guideline: Every 'small good' (ngawu lo'one) is reciprocated with one potóe basket or one kalé tin of green gram (i.e., 15 kg), or one piece of tie-dyed cloth (tóama ha póatóa), or one bundle of pigeon pea (wéwé ha hujú), or ten tubers (uwi tóema ha pulu). Each 'trunk good' is reciprocated with either one nggala basket of green gram (10 kalé, i.e. 150 kg) or one string of ancestral beads (tupi kóunda ha tóali). These equations are by no means absolute or exhaustive. Counter-prestations of rice or maize, household goods (majo lékóé), as well as ivory armrings (moné) are made according to circumstances and their equations are subject to the individual negotiation strategies of the participating Houses.

The gendered goods exchanged exemplify two fundamental values at issue in the contraction of marriage alliance which can be identified as reputation and fertility. On the one hand conceptually male goods associated with the outside realm of men's exploits are passed from wife-taker to wife-giver, thereby enhancing the wife-giver's 'great name', whereas conceptually female goods associated with the inside realm of

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36 In Sika Natar ideally two sets of six ivory armrings (Sika, kalar) and two sets of five silver armrings (Sika, gelang péra) are worn. However, such complete sets are rarely seen and women mostly make do with less (personal communication, E.D. Lewis). A similar pattern can be discerned on Lu'a.
the island and with agriculture flow in the direction of the wife-taker, thereby ensuring the continuity of the wife-taking House.

The generic term for marriage is 'to ascend [into] the house // to descend [from] the sitting platform' (tuka nua // po woga). The couplet refers to a specific stage in the process of ceremonial exchange by which marriage alliances are effected where the bride leaves her natal house and comes to reside in the house of the groom's parents. Lack of space in the groom's natal house may sometimes necessitate the construction of a separate dwelling. Such subsidiary dwellings are, however, always oriented towards the natal house of the groom and are counted as constituting one of its 'hearthths' (lap o). Only in rare cases, when none, or only a minor part of bridewealth has been paid, does the groom reside with the bride's parents. In such a situation the bride remains a full member of her natal House and any children of the couple are claimed by that House, whereas the husband is considered to be a subordinate outsider who is expected to contribute to the economy of the House. His position is often precarious in that he is vulnerable to be held liable for any misfortune occurring in the House because of his inability to pay the bridewealth.

The amount of goods exchanged in marriage is subject to a series of negotiations that are usually conducted in the natal house of the bride. Ideally the two main negotiators are the fathers of the groom and the bride. Depending on their individual abilities and inclinations they may also choose to delegate the task of negotiation to a person of their choice. The person chosen is said to 'replace the lips' (sélo wiwiné) of the respective original negotiator. This person is generally a man of 'father people' status. It is, however, also possible that an especially gifted older woman could be asked to conduct negotiations.

Prestations are made in a series of named stages, and negotiations over the amounts of goods to be given occur at every instalment for the subsequent stage. At times, if changes in economic circumstances have occurred, incidental negotiations
may also be conducted between two stages. The composition of the negotiating parties varies according to circumstances. Both sides may or may not employ a sélo wiwi, whereby the fathers of the bride and groom and the groom himself can be present but do not necessarily have to be there as long as negotiations are conducted in the wife-giver’s house. Furthermore, members of Houses of the origin groups of both parties may be present along with their 'bundle and heap' and 'elder-younger sibling' relations if they are involved in contributing to a specific stage.

The basic orientation of the two negotiating parties is clear cut. For every stage the wife-giving party attempts to demand as many goods as possible while remaining within the general boundaries of hada, whereas the wife-taking party attempts to reduce these demands by way of negotiation. Aspects of behaviour displayed during negotiations also exemplify the contextual difference in status of the two parties. Generally, in this context superordinate wife-givers hold the floor and verbalize their demands, whereas the subordinate wife-takers remain subdued, sometimes even servile and often silent. Indeed, one of the major strategies a wife-taker can resort to is to remain silent and not respond to a specific demand. Skilled negotiators are known to have refused food and drink while remaining silent in response to a demand, thereby holding off the conclusion of negotiations for many hours and sometimes even for several days. This strategy of 'sitting, remaining silent, not eating and not drinking' (nodo b'élé, ka'a ka, ka'a ninu) is aimed at the wife-giving party taking pity on the wife-taker and renouncing excessive claims 'because they feel sympathy for him' (b'u'u roa hat'a wedané). If, however, the wife-taker does not live up to a previously negotiated arrangement and arrives at the wife-giver's house without the full amount of goods previously agreed upon, he can be subjected to humiliation and ill treatment. In such cases it is not unusual for the wife-taking party to be initially refused entry to the house and to be left standing in the harsh midday sun until one of its members returns with the outstanding amount of goods. Coercion can reach a level of physical abuse
which in other circumstances would warrant an aggressive response. Thus, it is not uncommon for a wife-giver to insult openly a faulty wife-taker and demand he open his mouth to be spat at. Again, the skilled wife-taker suffers the abuse and remains subdued and silent. Apart from silently suffering, the wife-taker can in turn exert pressure indirectly by stretching out negotiations for every stage over several meetings and at every meeting arriving in large numbers, thereby depleting the economic resources of the wife-giver who is obliged to provide tobacco, betelnut and palm gin as well as a sumptuous meal of pig, goat or dog, and steamed rice.

Negotiations and the major instalments of goods can take place within a period of just a few years. More often, however, they extend over a large number of years and can sometimes even exceed the lifetime of the bride or groom.\(^{37}\) It is, however, paramount for Houses to which ceremonial offices are attached that a major part of the bridewealth has been paid once the offspring of the alliance is ready to take up office. If major parts of bridewealth still have not been paid, the child cannot exercise any ceremonial office (kewé hada, literally, to hold the hada). In such cases it is possible to make a prestation of one ivory tusk and one pair of golden ear pendants to the wife-giver 'to inform him' (tēnē ngére) of the intention and further defer bridewealth instalments while the office is nonetheless being exercised.

In Ko'a two slightly differing modes of initiating marriage negotiations are distinguished. They pertain to two categories of marriage; the prearranged 'negotiated marriage', wai kauné, (literally, the addressed marriage) and the fait accompli marriage (wai p'aniné). Strictly speaking there is also a third category, the marriage 'by

\(^{37}\) In Tana Kéélí it is common for a man to be still paying goods that are related to the marriage of his grandparents. According to Kéélí practice, only a limited number of goods are paid in order for the bride to be able to reside with the groom. Subsequent payments of the major parts of bridewealth are made only reluctantly, when for instance the wife-taking House suffers from misfortune that can by way of divination be traced to issues of unpaid bridewealth. In this light it is symptomatic that Kéélí genealogies generally are of a greater depth than those of other domains, where most bridewealth is paid during the lifetime of the bride and groom. The long delays in instalments are one of the reasons that Ko'a Houses are reluctant to give a daughter in marriage to a Kéélí House.
elopement' (nedi laju). However, initial negotiations for this mode follow the pattern of wai pouniné negotiations.\(^{38}\)

In initiating the 'negotiated marriage' the father (sometimes also the mother) of the groom comes to the senior member of a House from which his House has in the past already taken wives or which forms part of an origin group which has in the past given wives to his own. In his request he metaphorically refers to the prospective bride as a betel basket and addresses the potential wife-giver by stating: "I have come here to request from you a betel basket, give me one basket to carry [away]" (Haku ha'été mai t'éne ci kaw potémo, potémo ha t'ééné peli hakû t'é tengé). This request is repeated twice and twice the reply of the wife-giver is: 'I have no betel basket' (Potékû ka'a). The groom's father then proceeds to emphasize the fact that his request is based on previous marriage alliances between the two origin groups if not between the same two Houses and states: "I have come to tie together the turmeric-placenta to rejoir the semen-blood, the ancient turmeric-placenta of the original semen blood" (Haku mai t'ééné nukû élé kûnikû cémo élé lajaku, kuunikû holone élé lajaku bu'ünè). This reference to a previous 'turmeric-placenta and semen-blood' marriage with his House does not allow the wife-giver to deflect the request further. According to Lu'a hada he cannot refuse a daughter for which this type of formal request has been made. If for any reason he disapproves of the groom or of renewing an alliance with his House he can attempt to make excuses by stating that his daughter is still too young for marriage or that she is still engaged in education. In such a case he is, however, obliged to point out the possibility of a marriage to a daughter of one of his 'bundle and heap' relations and participate in the position of the bride's father in any ensuing negotiations. Because 'bundle and heap' relations are considered to be

\(^{38}\) It should be noted here that the extended process of negotiation and transfer of goods has a bearing on the nature of the data pertaining to the various stages of instalment related below. In the following discussion an outline of an ideal sequence of events and instalments is given, rather than an abstracted version of one specific case. Although the outline is informed by observations made during various stages of a number of different cases, it does, in essence, represent an ideal version as it is conceived and adhered to as a guideline by those people of Ko'a that are known for their skills in bridewealth negotiations.
quasi-kin, a view that is reflected in the extension of agnatic kin terms to such Houses, such a marriage is still considered to be of the 'turmeric-placenta and semen-blood' type.

The groom’s father goes on: 'I have come to request [to plant] the banana stalk, to ask for [permission to plant] the sugar cane' (hakū mai tē ci kau mukū cawo kau tōewu). Whereupon the wife-giver replies: "If you really have come to plant the banana, then plant the banana properly, or [if you really have come to] insert the sugarcane, then insert it well" (kōkō oco kau mai tō mula īē mukū mula īē mukū tō’one). Once the wife-taker has affirmed that his intentions are sincere, and he has repeated that he has indeed come to 'plant the banana and the sugar cane', he makes an initial prestation of five units of conceptually male goods (ngawu ngara lima). The amount is formulated as 'one unit of trunk goods' (ngawu bu’unē ha ngara) and four units of small goods (ngawu lo’onē ngara bōa), whereby the appropriate 'trunk goods' must consist of one pair of golden ear pendants (kōma bu’unē ha liwu), whereas the type of 'small goods' can consist of money or immature pigs. Upon receiving this initial prestation the wife-giver hands him an empty betel basket which he then takes back home.39

Implicit in his agreement to 'plant the banana stalk // to insert the sugar cane' is the wife-taker's agreement to make the first lot of prestations that is referred to by the same name. This prestation again consists of five units of conceptually male goods computed in the same manner as those given at the betel basket stage. The prestation is made in the early morning (kebōa la’éné) at the wife-giver's house on a previously agreed upon date.

39 This initial stage of negotiations is presently often replaced by the initiative of the groom himself who delivers a letter to the prospective bride in which he declares his interest in her (peti sura). If the woman accepts the letter and does not return the accompanying small gifts of machine-spun thread, chemical dye-stuff or soap, the way is open for further negotiations. Conversely, by returning the gifts, the woman is in the position to decline the advance. In allusion to a similar modern practice on mainland Flores, delivering the letter is also referred to as 'bringing betel pepper and areca nut' (nedi wau mudu).
At the highest conceptual level the 'banana and sugar cane' is a male icon that in line with Ko'a theories of conception symbolizes the groom's power of procreation. At the next lower level, banana is considered to be conceptually male and sugar cane conceptually female. This opposition becomes transparent when the taste of both plants is taken into account. Here the sour (pahi) banana stalk that is sometimes used in cooked form as a vegetable contrasts clearly with the sweetness of the juice of sugar cane which is chewed by women and children as a refreshment when working on the fields. The notion of planting and subsequent gestation parallels the Lu'a view of conception where 'semen-blood' is dripped onto the 'tumeric-placenta' that acts as a receptacle, and where, by way of repeated intercourse, 'semen-blood' gradually forms a child. Here the conceptually male goods brought into the womb-like dwelling of the wife-giver effect a symbolic conception. By adding male goods over a series of instalments the social person of the bride is gradually constructed who exits from the house and joins that of the wife-taker once a sufficient amount of male goods have been given. Thus, female counter-prestations of the wife-giver that accompany the bride as she leaves her natal house are termed, 'to give birth to the itchy coconut, to give birth to the child' (nawu nio kerané, nawu hanané).\(^{40}\)

If the wife-taker, when being handed the betel basket at the initial stage of negotiations, is already in a position to rally substantial support from his 'bundle and heap' relations and from the Houses of his own origin group he may at that point agree to add a second instalment to the 'sugar cane and banana stalk'. These prestation which again consist of one 'trunk good' and four 'small goods' of the same type mentioned earlier are made in the evening of the same day. In making this second

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\(^{40}\) If the prospective bride is a ceremonial virgin (k'ombi) who during the ceremonial cycle acts as the caretaker of the sacrificial water buffalo, special prestation must be made at this point to release her from her bond to the House of the water buffalo. Once the prestation of one pair of golden ear pendants and one ivory tusk have been made it is said, in an analogical manner to the metaphor of 'planting banana and sugar cane', that 'the horns have been planted, the horns now have become large // the teeth have been drilled, the teeth have become long, the masé monolith has been set // the sangga offering pole has been erected' (mula'u t'aduné t'aduné ca'u // poe'u ngi'iné, ngi'iné lava'u, tado'u masé // embó'u sangga). Whereupon it is considered that there are no further obstacles (the 'path is free', lala b'énga) for the initiation of 'banana and sugar cane' stage.
instalment he states that with these goods 'he marks the maize // he claims the coconut' (pulu éé wulu / l'oró éé soro). The terms employed in the first half of the couplet refer to a procedure in which strips of elephant grass are tied to the outer row of maize (pulu wulu, literally, to wind the hairs) on a field that is either outlying or in the vicinity of a path, in order to signal ownership and keep any passerby from stealing the fresh cobs. The second half of the couplet refers to the tying of palm fronds to the trunk of a coconut palm (soro soro) to prevent people from climbing the tree and picking its fruit.\textsuperscript{41} Implicit in the name of this instalment is the notion of laying claim on the bride in question. At this point the wife-giving House is committed to the alliance and the bride can no longer associate with any other potential suitors.\textsuperscript{42} Considerable fines and the return of these goods apply if this agreement is subsequently broken by the wife-giving House.

Before proceeding with the exposure of further stages in the instalment of bridewealth for a 'pre-arranged marriage' it is necessary here briefly to address the second category mentioned earlier, the tait accompli marriage. In initiating negotiations for a tait accompli marriage the groom's father first must avert a mega case. Whether the wife-giver's daughter is already pregnant or not, the fact that it is admitted that she has had intercourse necessitates the 'clearing of her name' (see Chapter 4, Section 7) either by way of mega or by marriage. To preempt mega he therefore brings along a number of goods to the prospective bride's father and makes the following advance:

\textit{Ha'été haku rës so maba maba mi taku hak'u rës kale mendi}  

With this I wish to silence the drums may the drums not be beaten
With this I wish to seal the gun

\textsuperscript{41} The marking of crops and trees is widespread because of the high rate of theft at exposed or distant locations. Prevention of theft is attempted either by pragmatic means, such as the puįlu wulu, where often bamboo spikes or blades are inserted into the palmfronds to inflict wounds on a thief, or by means of special implements called huru (literally, spoons), which are produced by specialists for payment and which cause illness in those unrightfully removing goods. The Lu'a landscape is actually studded with both types of protective devices.

\textsuperscript{42} If the groom is about to leave Lu'a for a number of years to seek employment as a migrant labourer in Malaysia he can, by making this instalment, effectively 'reserve' his bride for marriage at a later date. The woman will, regardless of the duration of his absence, no longer associate with any men of the marriagable category.
mendimo mi b'asa
mabamo hak'ù éré céu

mendimo hak'ù éré ca'a
hak'umo mai [t'ë] so maba
hak'umo mai [t'ë] kalé mendì.

may the gun not be fired off
I [try to] prevent your drums [from being
beaten]
I shoulder your gun
it is my intention to come and silence the drums
it is my intention to come and seal the gun.

If the father of the prospective bride is not willing to accept the goods the
groom's father has brought along and to negotiate further bridewealth, it is indeed
appropriate for him to cause a commotion by shooting off his gun and by beating his
drums in order to draw public attention to the pre-marital association. Once this has
been done the procedures for a mega case apply. If, however, the potential wife-giver
accepts the goods he replies:

Nedi sai mai t'ë so maba
mabaku hak'ù t'ë mi taku
nedi mai t'ë kalé mendì
mendiku t'ë mi b'usa.

Go on and bring [further goods] to silence the
drums
so I may not beat my drums
go on and bring [further goods] to seal the gun
so I may not shoot off my gun.

From that point on it is a matter of negotiation between the wife-giving and the
wife-taking Houses to determine the precise amount and mode of initial instalments.
As a guideline the former aims at demanding goods that amount to the number of
goods given in the first three instalments of the 'arranged marriage' (i.e. five goods for
the betel basket stage, five goods for the banana stalk and sugarcane stage and five or
more goods for the maize and coconut stage). Once this is achieved the negotiations
and instalments follow the pattern of a 'pre-arranged marriage'.

There are two types of pulu wulu // soro soro instalments, either of which can be
made after the 'maize and coconut stage', 'the small wulu // the short soro' of five
goods and the 'large wulu // the long soro' (wulu ca // soro lawa) consisting of
approximately twenty goods which are computed as three or four 'trunk goods',
ideally three or four pairs of golden ear pendants or six large pigs, and a negotiated
number of 'small goods'. Either of these instalments is reciprocated by the wife-giver
by making prestations of a corresponding amount of conceptually female goods consisting at this stage of cultigens and tie-dyed clothes at the wife-taker's house.

Once the 'long soro' has been paid, or if the 'short soro' has been paid, once the same amount of additional goods have been given over time in a series of smaller instalments, the wife-taker initiates a process that is referred to as 'to shoulder one side of the breasts and the loins' (titi tōusu rongo ha hivi). The ritual speech couplet pertaining to this major stage of bridewealth instalment states that 'the breast [is] to breastfeed the child // the loins [are] to drape a cloth [and] cradle the child [in its folds]' (tōusu tōe tōusu hanané // rongo tōe peka tōamané tōe tongo hanané). The image of nurture and protection appears to de-emphasize the notion of purchasing the woman's genitals for the purpose of procreation, however, the terminology applied to the core objects given at this stage clearly expresses this notion. Tōusu rongo ha hivi essentially consists of two pigs the size of which must be greater than that of all other pigs given at other stages of bridewealth. One of the two pigs is actually referred to as 'one half of the breasts' (tōusu ha hivi) whereas the other is referred to as 'to expand the inside' (lodo hunē), in allusion to the shape of a pregnant woman's body. This prestation is meant to create the space in the woman's womb for the gestation of the child.

Of the 'one side of the breasts' it is said that 'it goes together with the mosa' (pana cu'u no'o mosa). Mosa in this context is a term employed in the computation of pigs. The pigs referred to here number ten large sized animals of the 'trunk good' category (wawi bō'unē mosa ha pulu).

To these twelve pigs of the titi tōusu stage another 'trunk good', mostly an ivory tusk, is added which is referred to as 'the one that puts to sleep' (tubanē). The term tubanē might also be loosely glossed as 'to top it off' and represents a category of prestations that on Lu'a marks the rounding off of any major transfer of goods.
In recent times a further prestation has been added to the *tit*ö*i *t*õ*usu* stage referred to as 'one [trunk good for the] warmth of the fire' (*hab*ö*i put*õ*uné ha*) in allusion to the bride's services in providing cooked food for her husband and offspring. This prestation consists again of one 'trunk good'. The 'warmth of the fire' prestation has replaced the traditional prestation of a large sized pig referred to as 'to divide up the *wulu* marker, to disperse the *soro* frond' (*mek*ö*é wulu, *bila soro*). This pig used to be immediately divided among the origin group and the *huju baku* relations of the wife-giving House alerting them of the immediate necessity to pool their resources in order to make the counter-prestations of conceptually female goods appropriate to the *tit*ö*i *t*õ*usu* stage.

The *tit*ö*i *t*õ*usu* prestation are made in two instalments. On the first day the wife-taker brings ten units of 'small goods' (*ngawu lo'o ngara ha pulu*) consisting of Indonesian currency or immature pigs to the house of the wife-giver. With this preliminary prestation he signals that the major prestation of this stage will be taking place the following day. On the next day the actual *tit*ö*i *t*õ*usu* takes place. All of the pigs and goods provided by the various Houses of the wife-taker's origin group and its 'bundle and heap' relations are assembled at the house of the wife-taker and carried in one large procession to the house of the wife-giver. The wife-taking party wearing ceremonial dress makes its way through the settlement surrounded by the onlooking population. Upon arrival the party is greeted by the wife-giver and before the stretchers are deposited in front of the house both parties break out in frenzied dancing and ululation, whereby the men present jump into the air and fire their guns to express the joy of the moment.

On the day following the *tit*ö*i *t*õ*usu* prestation the Houses of the wife-giver's origin group and those *huju baku* relations contributing to the marriage alliance come together at the wife-giver's house. In a process referred to as 'to divide the [male] goods' (*mek*ö*é ngawu*), the goods received on the previous day are allocated to the
representatives of the various Houses of the wife-giving party. Allocations are made strictly in accordance with the contributions these Houses have made in previous alliances in which the present wife-giving House has acted as a wife-taking House. In accepting these goods the wife-givers commit themselves to raising the goods for the counter-prestations of the tit‘i t°usu stage. Arrangements are made for each House to bring on a specific date the amount of conceptually female goods corresponding to the male goods they have received to the house of the wife-giver, from where they will be brought collectively to the house of the wife-taker.

Once the tit‘i t°usu stage has been completed the moment has come for the wife-taking House to carry out a procedure that is called 'to tie the rooster // to bare the blade' (tike manu celi ket‘engo), in allusion to sexual intercourse and to the male genitalia. Here the father or mother of the groom, or by delegation a person known for his skills in this procedure, approaches the house of the wife-giver only moments before dawn. The wife-taker carries with him a rooster, a knife, a small ball of Lu'a cotton and two pairs of golden earpendants. Taking care not to awaken the wife-givers, he enters their house and, climbing across their sleeping bodies he heads for the House altar at the rear of the inner chamber. There he ties the rooster to the House altar and lays down the objects he has brought with him. Still moving silently he retraces his path and exits. If anyone in the house awakens during his intrusion the door is barred and it is called out: "Who is it that climbs into the house during the night // who is it that steps down onto the sitting platform after dark?" (hai tuka nua meré ca // po woga meré ca?). The trapped wife-taker is then fined one 'trunk good' for having entered the house uninvited and during the night.

However, if the intruder manages to exit without being detected, he proceeds to 'call out the name [of the House] during bridewealth negotiations' (kai ngara sara

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43 Because it is very difficult for an outsider to approach a house at night without its dogs barking, special substances or protective techniques are employed. One method to keep dogs from barking is to hold a stone firmly in each hand with the thumbs turned inward.

44 This is the common fine for causing disturbances at night.
and he and any accompanying party begin to dance a specific series of steps (toja) performed only at this occasion, imitating the prancing and scratching of a rooster among his hens. By then the commotion has awakened not only the wife-giver who realises that the tiké manu has been performed without him having noticed, but the whole settlement awakens and young and old gather to watch the toja and hear the kai ngara. A wickedly playful mood spreads through the village incited by the otherwise rarely acceptable sexual explicitness of the dance and the calling out of the name. Unlike 'the name [of the House] that is called out at the top of the ceremonial courtyard' (kai ngara rét' a t³upu ngaluné) this name often has overt sexual connotations. Thus for example the name of one House of Këunu Manggé Bëasé goes: 'I am Waré father of Paji, my mother rubbed him up and my father raced off' (Hak³u Waré Paji hamané, hinak³u pojo, hamak³u laju). As the wife-givers emerge from the house, members of the wife-taking party playfully attempt to tear off their shirts (coi lambu) and grab hold of their sandals. These are both conceptually female goods which the wife-taker from this stage on will always be entitled to claim from them. The celí ket³i ends in the wife-givers protesting loudly against this mock aggression and in turn chasing the wife-takers around the settlement in an attempt to get back their clothes and sandals.

On the same day or sometimes also the day after the celí ket³i the wife-taking party comes to the wife-giver’s house for a meal. This stage is referred to as 'the left side climbs up [onto the sitting platform] to eat' (tuka ka hivi hiri).45 The party brings along an ivory tusk or its monetary equivalent and one large pig (ngawu ha wawi ha). Strung over his right shoulder the groom carries a bamboo container of lontar juice (t³ua ha b³ék³o) and over his left shoulder a string of ten dried fish (hik³a ha woko) which he presents to the bride. These prestations are reciprocated with one woman's cloth (t³ama ha pat³o) and one man's cloth (nae ha pat³a). After the exchange has taken

45 In line with the association of the left with the conceptually female, the wife-taker is referred to here as the 'left side' (hivi hiri).
place, the wife-taking party is asked to participate in a meal consisting of pig meat and rice.

Once the wife-giver’s counter-prestations for the ’breasts and the loins’ have all been assembled at the natal house of the bride, a process is initiated in which the bride is transferred from her House to the House of the wife-taker. From the wife-giver’s perspective this process is referred to as ’to give birth to the sister’ (nawu wedané) or as ’to give birth [and] send off’ (nawu tu), whereas the wife-taker refers to this same process as ’to give birth to the itchy coconut, to give birth to the child’(nawu nio kerané, nawu hanané). From these designations it is again apparent that in this process the wife-giving House places emphasis on the giving away of a sister, whereas the wife-taking House emphasizes the notion of the bride’s ability to rear children. Underlying both perspectives is the concept of the House acting as a symbolic womb that can by way of insertion of male goods give birth to a separable entity.

On the day of the nawu process all the Houses involved in the marriage alliance (i.e., the Houses of the bride’s origin group and its huju baku relations) gather at the bride’s house. After having taken account of the assembled counter-prestations the bride approaches the House altar and begins to cry. It is said that she cries because she is about to take leave from her natal House, but that she also cries because she has not yet received any ivory arm rings (moné) or any of the highly valued ancestral beads (tōupi kōunda) that form part of the wife-giver’s counter-prestations. She complains to her parents that without these objects the groom’s House will not receive her favourably and will begrudge her parents House for not having properly reciprocated the titéri tōusu prestations. She continues to cry until her parents take pity on her (hina hama hātené tara, literally, until her parents livers hurt) and provide her with the desired objects. If no ancestral beads are available, she goes on crying until her father allocates one of the fields of his House to her as a substitute for these (wo sēlo réré méja).
She further receives from her mother the *po*-stone together with ceremonial rice kernels (*wat°u po luko sive*) stored above the House altar that will enable her to carry out the manipulations of agricultural magic she has been taught by her. These are placed into a betel basket which the bride will carry with her together with some betel pepper and areca nut (*wua mutu*), a solidified lump of bee’s wax used in weaving (*héri wat°uné*) and a bundle of *ulé*-leaves (*ulé ha b°eb°a*) employed as a cooling agent in rituals. Out of the stock of the previous harvest of the House, her mother also prepares two *réb°i* baskets containing the two main cultigens, green gram and pigeon pea.

The bride then steps out of her parents house and is taken up by her brothers who carry her on interlocked arms to the wife-taker’s house. She is wearing traditional ceremonial dress, tie-dyed Lu’a cloth (*t’ama koa*), a set of golden earpendants (*k°oma*), a necklace of ancestral beads (*t’upi*), and spiral bronze rings (*mangga*) around her ankles. Preceding her the women of the wife-taking party carry the two *reb°i* baskets and the cloths and shirts (*t’ama lambu*) designated as counter-prestations. The men of the wife-giving party shouldering the large *nggala* baskets containing the cultigens on stretchers, follow the bride. Walking on her right side, her parents accompany her crying openly (*tangi tua*, literally, to cry and accompany). Ahead of the party stride two women (either two of her married sisters or two of her mother’s sisters), carrying the banana stalk containing its bright red flower and a length of sugarcane. The large procession slowly moves to the groom’s house accompanied by the sound of flutes and drums (*mabs wéko*) where it is awaited by the wife-taking party. With their banana and sugarcane the two women preceding the procession proceed to prod and tease a large male pig previously tethered by the wife-taker to the steps of the groom’s house, thereby causing it to become aroused.

Before the bride can formally enter the groom’s house (*tuka nua po woga*) she is ritually cooled by the groom’s mother, who sprinkles her with water while pronouncing the formulaic prayer to the collective ancestors of the House (see Chapter
4, Section 2) that ends with the couplet 'may you bathe in the life-giving waters of the east // may you swim in the cool ponds of the rising sun' (tôéné tio lé wae rio // tôéné nangu lé nangu nanga). By receiving this ceremonial bath the bride leaves behind the rules and restrictions of the ceremonial idiom (kôua) of her natal House. She then climbs into the house and sets down her betel basket on the altar of her husband's House. Standing at the husband's House altar she briefly invokes part of a prayer which is otherwise employed in the planting of tubers and she says: 'Lontar palm, may you be on my left shoulder // sugar palm, may you rest on my right shoulder' (kôoli kôau bôaju hiri // kôoli kôau bôaju lima pana),46 With this prayer, and by having placed the basket containing objects related to agricultural magic on the House altar, she effectively addresses the ancestors of her husband's House and asks them for support in providing the House with offspring and successful harvests. From that moment on she is subject to all of the rules and restrictions of the ceremonial idiom of his House.

Her husband's mother then exits from the house carrying one ivory tusk (pala ha tebu) and one pair of golden ear pendants (kôoma ha tôai) which she gives to the parents of the bride in order 'to stop the tears' (so'o lu'u) they are shedding over the loss of their daughter. The bride, who has now become a member of her husband's House, exits as well. In line with her new position she offers the betel pepper and areca nut to the members of the wife-giving party which she had previously transferred from her parents' House altar to that of her husband.

The next day the members of the wife-taking party come together for the distribution of the 'nawu nio kerané' prestations in a procedure referred to as 'piercing the breast' (paju tôusu). Implicit in this reference is again the notion of gestation and birth through the transformation of male goods. The mode of distribution and allocation of these goods follows the same pattern based on previous instances applied earlier by the wife-giving party in the distribution of the conceptually male goods.

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46 Because of its life-sustaining importance on Lu'a, the Lontar palm represents the concept of a 'tree of life' encountered throughout the archipelago.
The following day a final prestation concludes the *tit'i* *t'usu rongo ha hivi* stage of bridewealth instalments. After the two *reb'i* baskets containing the main cultigens have been emptied and their contents have been mixed in with the harvest of the husband’s House they are returned to the wife-giver together with a prestation of ‘two trunk goods’ (*ngawu ha, wawi ha*). This prestation is reciprocated with textiles or cultigens (*pué wéwé, t'ama lambu*). Interestingly, this prestation by the wife-taker is referred to as ‘to give birth to the *reb'i* baskets’ (*nawu reb'i*). Implicit in this inversion of the birth topos, which up until then was only applied to the wife-giving House, appears to be the notion of the continuity of the relationship of exchange established between the two Houses. This relationship goes beyond the formalized stages of bridewealth prestations and includes the realm of ritual services and exchanges as well as that of everyday necessities where both Houses are entitled to continuously make ongoing requests from each other for appropriately gendered goods.

The *nawu reb'i* and its counter-prestation mark the conclusion of the main portion of bridewealth installations referred to as a whole as ‘the large path’ (*lala ca*). From this stage on it is said that ‘the large path has been completed’ (*lala ca savé'u*) and that ‘there only remains the other half of the breasts and the loins’ (*b'oré wek'i* *t'usu rongo ha hivi*). This second half of *t'usu rongo* prestations roughly amounts to the same amount of goods as was given in the first half. However, instalments are no longer as strictly formalized as was the case during ‘the large path’. Individual prestations are made contextually, when a surplus of goods is available or when an exceptional need arises. Generally the former is the case when installations of bridewealth for other marriage alliances have been made which one of the Houses in question is involved in, or more recently, when a member of the wife-taking House has returned with funds from labour migration to Malaysia. The latter mostly arises in the context of litigation when, for instance, the wife-giving House is pressured to pay a large fine that exceeds its present abilities.
Wife-giving and wife-taking Houses keep careful account of these prestations over time in order to ensure reciprocity and also ideally in order to ensure the redistribution of goods to those Houses involved in a given marriage alliance who have until then not yet received their appropriate share. However, because instalments of the second half of 'the breasts and the loins' are made informally between the natal House of the bride and that of the groom, and because they are made largely without the support of the origin group and the 'bundle and heap' relations, it is difficult for these Houses to keep track of all of the prestations. In the absence of public knowledge only the threat of supernatural sanction may force a wife-giver to pass on goods to those Houses that have given support in providing counter-prestations. Of a wife-giver who fails to redistribute appropriately it is said that 'he eats lots of goods' (*hia ka ngawu so*). Violent death, illness or misfortune occurring in such a House are often traced by divination to an instance of failure to share the bridewealth of 'the second half of the breasts and loins'. In order to avert further supernatural sanction a defaulting wife-giver will then seek ways to make amendments and provide the outstanding goods.

It is, therefore, crucial for the 'elder brother person' of every House to have knowledge of the precise circumstances of past and present bridewealth transactions in which his House has been involved. This knowledge constitutes an important pragmatic part of *susu*, the 'lore of the House' which also includes knowledge of issues of land tenure, inheritance and ritual practice (see Chapter 4, Section 1). Only on the basis of such knowledge can claims to goods be made when a new alliance is effected within the origin group, or eventual claims by other Houses to goods held by his House be acknowledged or discounted. An 'elder brother person' will, therefore, make sure to carefully instruct his successor in these issues during his lifetime, lest his
House become vulnerable to demands by other Houses who are able to substantiate their claims by citing the exact circumstances they are based on.47

According to the ideology of exchange in the context of the establishment of marriage alliances it is not desirable for all of the goods of 'the second half of the breasts and the loins' to be given in one large instalment. Such a completion of the payment of bridewealth would be considered to amount to a cessation of exchange relations between the wife-giving and the wife-taking House. According to this reasoning exchange relations can only be maintained as long as at least a few prestations still remain outstanding.

Goods are only returned to the wife-taking House in case of divorce. Divorce is circumscribed as 'sending the wife back to her father and mother' (tu wainé tē palu lae hina hamanē), indicating that the husband can divorce himself from his wife, whereas the wife cannot do so. Divorce occurs infrequently, mainly if the wife has not provided any offspring and rarely, if the wife has been negligent in providing the nurturing services and the agricultural work expected from her. In practice, however, the goods can rarely be retrieved because they may have already been redistributed or reinvested in other instances of alliance, or because they may have been sold to pay for outstanding debts. In such a case it is said that 'the goods have already been eaten' (ngawu ka savé) and their return is regarded as a long term debt of the former wife-giving House which is unlikely ever to be repaid. In the case of incompatibility between spouses, a younger brother of the husband may agree to 'replace [the husband] and climb on top [of the woman]' (tuka sélo) and take on his brother's former spouse as his own. In such a case only a nominal amount of additional bridewealth is demanded by the wife-giver. This amount does, however, increase if the younger brother is not a member of the same House but only one of a House of the same origin group or of its 'bundle and heap' relations. Tuka sélo is also an option

47 In this context it remains to be seen if the long term absence of labour migrants to Malaysia can effectively exclude first born sons from succession to 'elder brother status'.
open to a younger widowed wife. In such a case, however, no additional payments of bridewealth are required.

In spite of the procedure of divorce which appears to favour the husband, the wife does have the option of returning to her natal House if, for instance, she has been wronged or ill-treated by her husband or by members of his House. In such a case it is said that 'she has run back to her father and mother' (laju palu laé hina hamané) and specific fines payable in 'trunk goods' apply if the husband wants to retrieve his wife from the protective custody of her natal House.

In conclusion, a brief comment regarding the influence of the Catholic Church on marriage and on bridewealth is indicated. Since the beginning of missionisation the Catholic Church on Lu’a has attempted to influence people to subject themselves to a Catholic wedding before the bride is transferred from her natal House to that of her husband and before there has been any cohabitation. However, people have only in recent years begun heed to this request. The local church holds special courses on Christian marriage and family life that the bride and groom are expected to attend before a church marriage ceremony can take place. Some priests have also attempted to have the amount of goods exchanged in marriage reduced because bridewealth and its counter-prestations are considered to be wasteful. As a leverage five percent of the value of bridewealth have been decreed to be the sum a couple has to pay to the Church as a fee for conducting the Catholic marriage ceremony. Parents can be forced indirectly to become Christians and subject themselves to a church wedding once their children have reached the age of school entry. If they do not comply, their children cannot attend school and, since schooling is compulsory, their parents find themselves in breach of Indonesian law.

Traditionally Houses of 'father people' status could draw upon a larger network than Houses of 'child people' status and therefore the former were in the position to bring together a larger amount of goods than the latter. Not only did the fusion of
several origin groups of 'father people' status for the purposes of bridewealth enable them to draw upon the support of a large number of Houses, but individual Houses of 'father people' status entertained 'bundle and heap' relations with numerous Houses throughout the island who could be called upon to make contributions towards bridewealth. In recent times origin groups of 'child people' status have begun to form alliance blocks with other origin groups of the same status, thereby increasing the number of contributing Houses. However, with the exception of the 'mother person', their 'bundle and heap' relations never matched the number of those of Houses of 'father people' status.

Within a given origin group the senior House can generally command more substantial support from its junior Houses than they can. Furthermore, issues of a personal nature, such as personality and popularity of the senior member of a given House can also have a bearing on the amount of support other Houses of the same origin group are prepared to give to a House of the origin group. Within the same House bridewealth paid on behalf of its 'elder brother person' is generally higher than that of its junior members. However, here again, personal elements can play a considerable role in how much bridewealth the senior member of a House will raise for the marriage of one of his juniors.

The following table brings together the various stages and instalments of bridewealth and its counter-prestations. It must be kept in mind that the amount of goods listed represents an ideal conception of bridewealth. In practice the number of goods varies according to origin groups and individual Houses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence/Stages/Instalments</th>
<th>Wife-taker → Wife-giver: Male Goods</th>
<th>Wife-giver → Wife-taker: Female Goods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Betel Basket'</td>
<td>1 Trunk Good (1 Pair Golden Earpendants)</td>
<td>Empty Betel Basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Small Goods (Immature Pigs and/or Money)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Horns and Teeth' (Ceremonial Virgin Only)</td>
<td>2 Trunk Goods (1 Pair Golden Earpendants, 1 Ivory Tusk)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Banana/Sugar Cane'</td>
<td>1 Trunk Good (1 Pair Golden Earpendants)</td>
<td>Equivalent of 1 Trunk Good (Textiles and/or Cultigens)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parm Fron'</td>
<td>4 Small Goods (Immature Pigs and/or Money)</td>
<td>Equivalent of 4 Small Goods (id.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Small Maize/Short' Palm Fron'</td>
<td>1 Trunk Good (1 Pair Golden Earpendants)</td>
<td>Equivalent of Approximately 20 Goods: Equivalent of 3-4 Trunk Goods (Textiles and/or Cultigens)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Small Goods (Immature Pigs and/or Money)</td>
<td>Equivalent of Approximately 11 Small Goods (id.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Large Maize/Long Palm Fron'</td>
<td>Approximately 20 Goods: 3-4 Trunk Goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3 Pairs Golden Earpendants or 6 Pigs)</td>
<td>Equivalent of Approximately 15 Goods: Equivalent of 2-3 Trunk Goods (Textiles and/or Cultigens)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negotiated Amount of Small Goods (Immature Pigs and/or Money)</td>
<td>Equivalent of Approximately 11 Small Goods (id.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Prestations Over Time Bringing 'Small Maize' up to 'Large Maize' level</td>
<td>Approximately 15 Goods: 2-3 Trunk Goods</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2 Pairs Golden Earpendants or 5 Pigs)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negotiated Amount of Small goods</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>'One Side of Breasts and Loin': Sequential Stages</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notification</td>
<td>10 Small Goods (Immature Pigs and/or Money)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'One Side of Breasts and Loin': Expanding the Inside</td>
<td>2 Trunk Goods (2 Large Pigs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'To Go with the Moso'</td>
<td>10 Trunk Goods (10 Large Pigs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'To Put to Sleep'</td>
<td>1 Trunk Good (1 Ivory Tusk)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'To Divide the Maize' or 'The Warmth of the Fire'</td>
<td>1 Trunk Good (1 Large Pig)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or 1 Trunk Good (Unspecified)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'To Divide the Goods'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Rooster and Knife'</td>
<td>2 Trunk Goods (2 Pairs Golden Earpendants)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Detection of 'Rooster and Knife'</td>
<td>1 Trunk Good (Unspecified)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>'To Eat at Left Side'</td>
<td>2 Trunk Goods (1 Ivory Tusk, 1 Large Pig)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Container of Palm Juice, 10 Dried Fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'To Stop the Tears'</td>
<td>1 Trunk Good (1 Ivory Tusk), Betel and Areca Nut</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>'To Pierce the Breasts'</td>
<td>Division of Female Goods</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>'To Give Birth to the Ribi Baskets'</td>
<td>2 Trunk Goods (1 Large Pig, 1 Ivory Tusk or 1 Pair Golden Earpendants), Return of the 2 Ribi Baskets (Empty)</td>
<td>Approximate Equivalent of 2 Trunk Goods (Unspecified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'One Side of the Breasts and Loin': Instalments over Time of Approximately 10 Small Goods (Unspecified) and 20 Trunk Goods (Unspecified)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Approximate Equivalent of 10 Small Goods and 20 Large Goods (Unspecified)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION 4: EXCHANGE

Although it is not explicitly stated that by making a gift you actually are giving part of yourself, this notion is implicit on Lu'a. When a wife-taker gives a pig to his wife-giver the former is prohibited from partaking in a meal prepared from the same pig. It is said that to do so is 'like drinking your own blood // like eating your own cuts of flesh' (ninu palu lajamo // pesa palu ketémo). Implicit is the notion that some unnamed, unspecified part of the giver has permeated the gift, and it is for that reason that its consumption is equalled to an act of anthropophagy, a practice that is abhorred on Lu'a but often ascribed to outside groups.48 And further, if for instance the pig in question has been requested (ci) by the wife-taker in order to conduct a healing ceremony (ka tio tsembo) for a member of his House, the ceremony cannot take place on the same day on which the prestation has been made. In this context it is understood that the pig still is 'too close' to its giver (teni) and would not yet be identified by the ancestors as a pig belonging to the House conducting the ritual. In such cases it is necessary to tie the pig to the main house post for a number of days until the affinity with its giver has worn off and a new affinity with the sacrificing House has been able to establish itself.

In healing rituals, which are referred to as 'eating and washing the body' (ka tio tsembo), the pig is believed to take on the illness of the ailing member of the House, thereby removing it from him. This pig is consumed first by the children of all villages of the domain, then by the the wife-takers of the House and eventually by members of other Houses of the same origin group. Although it is tempting to interpret this collective consumption as a process whereby the illness is absorbed by a large number of people and thereby rendered harmless, Ko'a specialists insist that in the act of taking on the illness the pig acts as a sublimating agent through which the illness is

48 It is, however, imperative on Lu'a to lick the blood of a slain enemy lest the head of the slayer swells up (t'uba paja) and causes him to fall severely ill.
dissolved. In fact, it is said, that the blood of the pig acts as a 'substitute' (sélo) for the illness.

In healing rituals, as in all rituals of the House, all of the participating Houses supply a pot of cooked rice which is placed inside the dwelling of the ill person (kép'ā lama). Once the sacrificial pig has been cooked and the cuts have been allocated, the same pot of rice together with the allocated piece of meat (kerē) is returned to each of the participating Houses. Here again every dish of rice has taken on something of the House that has prepared it. By placing it inside the dwelling of the sick person the ancestors of this House are alerted to the fact that members of other Houses are participating in the ritual. Implicit is this notion of alienable parts of the person of the giver where goods take on some undefined part of the giver and where, when given away, this part is then thought to be in motion along the lines of exchange traced by them.

At a more general level, the ideas underlying the practice of giving can be summed up as giving away all in order eventually to receive more in return. The prescribed prestations made in the context of the ceremonial events marking the green gram harvest are illustrative of the scope of the Ko'ā ideology of giving. Following the harvest every Ko'ā House first makes an offering to its ancestors by 'throwing' (pesa) as it is put, part of its harvest onto their mortuary monoliths. These offerings are made in order to express gratitude to the ancestors for their support during the agricultural cycle. As they are made, members of wife-taking Houses stand by and gather the cultigens into baskets to take them back to their home. It is believed that the ancestors have at that point already taken their part of the offering and, therefore, wife-takers are entitled to appropriate the goods. Following this offering to the ancestors, a large part of the remaining harvest is formally given as a conceptually female

49 Although on Lu's there is no specific term for 'soul substance' ('semangat') such a notion is implicit in the above-mentioned practice. It appears that part of the person who has prepared the dish which through that action has permeated it, rises to the roof of the house together with the steam emitted from the cooked rice.
prestation to the wife-taking Houses. It is said that 'the granary must be completely emptied' (*lo'a tau mo'a savé*) in order for the House in turn to receive even more plentiful harvest gifts from its own wife-givers.\(^{50}\) The saying is again an expression of the cyclical notion of alienable parts of the giver that can, through a process of circulation through sequences of exchanges, generate the return of an increased amount of goods.\(^{51}\)

In everyday contexts specific social relations are continuously drawn upon in a practice referred to as *ci*, a term that can be glossed as 'to ask for', or more emphatically 'to demand or request'. Generally *ci* requests are made for goods rather than services. If a *ci* request is made for a type of good appropriate to the category of relationships existing between two persons such a request cannot be refused without putting a strain on the relationship and attracting widespread criticism. Often the person to whom the request has been made must first inquire about the category of relationship a specific request is based on. This is due to the multiple ways in which relationships between persons and Houses can sometimes be traced. If, for example, due to instances of inversion of the direction of alliance, two Houses relate to each other in a wife-giving as well as in a wife-taking relationship, it is necessary to ask the formulaic question: "In the idiom of what [type of relationship] is this *ci* request being made?" (*kau ci sara hab'a?*). An ambiguous answer may necessitate a further formulaic query about the specific instance of alliance a relationship is based on, and the question is asked: "With respect to what path [of alliance] is this *ci* request being made?" (*kau ci sara lala e'e hai?*). Once the appropriateness of a request has been established and the goods in question are evidently available, the obligation to respond

\(^{50}\) In practice the amounts received from wife-giving Houses depend on the size of the individual gifts and on the number of wife-giving relations in which a given House is involved.

\(^{51}\) Achieving increase by way of transformation through ritual is a common *Lu'a* topos. Another example connected with the *agricultural cycle* serves to illustrate this. Once the green gram harvest has been brought in, the dried out bean pods are gathered on large mats for thresholding. In *Lu'a* thought the exact extent of the green gram harvest is, at this point, not yet determined. The beans are threshed in a complex manner, employing prescribed ritual manipulations which are timed to coincide with the waxing moon and the rising of maritime tides. In this way the final amount of the harvest can be increased.
positively is rigorous. Thus, for instance, a wife-taker completing work on a boat constructed over months and years is often forced to do so in a secluded place lest he be approached by one of his wife-givers who has a right to make a *ci* request for the conceptually male hull of the boat and the boat is taken away from him before he has had time to either use or sell it.

In relations between wife-givers and wife-takers, *ci* requests for conceptually male goods from the former or female goods from the latter are made on a daily basis regardless of the amount of bridewealth that has already been given in establishing an alliance. Smaller goods requested are not counted as additional payments towards bridewealth, whereas substantial goods such as boats and pigs or sacks of rice and large amounts of cultigens are counted. On an everyday basis it is mostly the married sister or the father's sister who returns to her natal House or approaches her agnates on the fields and makes *ci* requests for small goods such as tobacco or betel. Whereas a young woman may be somewhat inhibited and hesitate to make frequent *ci* requests, many women, once they are beyond the stage of child bearing, will have developed skills in making *ci* requests and will apply these frequently and without restraint. Some of these women are locally renowned for their obstinace and lack of restraint, and hiding from them is often the only way to avoid being accosted by them.

*Ci* requests are by no means confined to wife-giving and wife-taking relationships, although the amount and kind of goods that can be requested there exceeds that of any other category of relationship. In 'elder-younger sibling relationships' (*kae-hari*) *ci* requests can be made on an everyday basis for goods that lie within the confines of the idiom of a specific relationship (that is, the idiom of tobacco and betel, the idiom of fish and seafood etc; see Chapter 5, Section 3). 'Elder-younger sibling relationships' also allow for *ci* requests for the use of goods and resources. In such a relationship one partner can, for instance, ask the other for the temporary use of a specific field for agricultural purposes or for the use of a specific
lontar palm tree for the duration of one or several tapping seasons. In both cases a request will only be made if the partner is currently not making use of these specific resources. Although in such cases no actual payment or reciprocal gift is formally prescribed it is expected that a token amount of the harvest derived from such a field or an immature pig is eventually given, or occasionally a bamboo container of palm juice provided.

In 'bundle and heap' relationships (*huju baku*) ci requests can be made for similar goods as is the case in relationships between wife-givers and wife-takers. The main difference between the two is that no gender classification of goods applies to the former. Whereas a wife-giver can only request conceptually male goods and a wife-taker only conceptually female goods, requests in 'bundle and heap' relationships can be made for pigs or funds as well as for textiles or cultigens.

Within the House, and to some degree also within the origin group, it is ideally not necessary to make a ci request. Apart from harvest goods, livestock and ancestral heirlooms that are exempt from demands, most goods such as boats or tools, and even goods of a personal nature such as clothing, can be borrowed and eventually appropriated without a formal request actually having been made. Thus, for example, a man returning from the Flores mainland with a new shirt purchased for his own use may find this shirt being worn by a member of his House the next day. If he does not immediately raise any objections he may, on the following day, spot the same shirt worn by a member of another House of his origin group. At this stage he is no longer in the position to request the shirt be returned to him. Not only would he feel embarrassed (*mēa*) to do so, but he would expose himself to public criticism by other members of his origin group. This form of criticism is referred to by the term *kau ndoa* which can be described as being 'ungenerous' and 'hoarding'. Criticism about a person's 'ungenerous' behavior may reach a level in which that person's name is unfavourably mentioned by a large number of people during the same period. In such
a situation this person is believed to be vulnerable to misfortune, and any negative incident befalling that person or other members of his House is traced to the cumulation of *kau ndoa* criticism provoked by his objectionable behavior.

At first sight the obligation to respond positively to a *ci* request appears to be one that cannot be avoided. There are, however, a number of ways which, although they go against the basic tenets of the Lu'a ideology of exchange, serve to protect goods from being exposed to those that have the right to make a *ci* request. Although they are never publicly alluded to, they are generally practiced by everybody on Lu'a. However, the extent a person takes recourse to alternative strategies varies according to the domain of residence, their personality and their economic circumstances.

According to the ideology of exchange, all cultigens must be given away in order for a House to receive plenty in return. In practice, however, when a wife-taker comes to ask for tubers or green gram, the wife-giver often takes him to his granary, opens it up for everyone to see and reveals only a small basket of green grams and one or two tubers, while bitterly complaining about this year's outstandingly poor harvest. This demonstration of hardship is aimed at making the wife-taker feel embarrassed (*mēa*) about having made a request, and it is hoped that after having seen how destitute his wife-giver is, he will take his request to another House with which he maintains the same type of relationship.

Both he and his wife-giver are aware that most of the tuber harvest is stored in secret caches, the location of which is known only to the women of the House. These caches are located on or in the immediate vicinity of the tuber field itself. Although this practice is general, and therefore no secret, the exact amount of harvest on each field is in this way known only to the women of the House.

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52 During periods of famine pits located on fields at a distance from the villages are covered with human faeces in order to deter potential thieves. When digging up tubers a woman will first place these in her basket (*sib ʔt*) and while pretending to be searching for more, drag it to the spot where she has previously excavated a pit (*poa uwi*, literally, the tuber pit) which is covered with palm fronds, banana or paw paw leaves and finally with soil. She then places most of the freshly dug tubers in the pit and discretely covers up the small section she has uncovered for this purpose. Only then does she rise and carry the basket with the daily ration of tubers for her House back to the village.
Because green gram and pigeon pea must be stored in a dry place and regularly shifted and exposed to the sun in order to keep away insects, another strategy is employed to keep them out of sight of potential claimants. To do so a woman will place a number of baskets in storage in another woman's granary with whom she entertains a ka'e hari or an huju baku relationship. This woman may in turn store some of her harvest with her. In this way the wife-giver can honestly point out to a claimant that much of what is visible in his granary in fact belongs to someone else and thereby deflect the request.

In order to protect the conceptually male goods of which men are the custodians, more circumspection is necessary than is the case with cultigens. A man returning with his boat from the annual seasonal migration carrying with him pigs, fowl, rice, palm gin, kerosene, coffee, sugar and tobacco will take care not to arrive at the Ko'a shores during daylight. Instead he will, winds and currents permitting, attempt to first land at the shores of a domain in which he has 'bundle and heap' or 'elder-younger sibling' ties. There he unloads all of the livestock he wants to protect and places it in the custody of his relations.

Strategies to avoid claims of relations on goods are aimed not only at removing these from their sight but also from the sight of the ancestors. According to reports from Ko'a elders it used to be prohibited by hada up until World War II to unhusk rice on Lu'a. The prohibition ties into the general prohibition on planting rice on Lu'a. Men acquiring rice during seasonal migration first had to pound their rice themselves.

53 Furthermore, the approximate harvest of these cultigens on the main field of every House is known throughout the domain and, therefore, only the harvest obtained from smaller fields can effectively be protected from ci requests. The harvest of individual Houses is measured in large biscuit tins (kala'), whereby one tin of green bean is estimated to weigh approximately 15 kg.
54 Unaware of this strategy I initially used to unload all of my provisions during daylight at Pungé harbour. Within hours the people of Ko'a usually knew the exact amount and type of goods unloaded and would flock to my house to make the ci type of request their relationship with me entitled them to. Apart from this technique there is only one other possible way for a man to protect his livestock, namely his pigs. Whenever a domain is preparing itself for a new ceremonial cycle, those pigs that are intended for ceremonial purposes related to the cycle are earmarked and thereby exempt from exchange. The procedure which, in allusion to the main sacrificial animal of the cycle, is called sari karapau, 'the mark of the water buffalo', removes the animal from the realm of the living and their ancestors by declaring it to be reserved as a sacrifice to the Supreme Being.
on Flores and then ship it to Lu'a and unload it secretly after sunset.\textsuperscript{55} In bringing the rice to their village special paths following the bottom of gulleys were employed in order to keep the rice out of sight of the ancestors. Because of ancestral presence rice was not stored in the roof section of the house but in a special separate structure (lo'a). In a similar way goods acquired from Flores markets are often still brought in at night along these paths and stored at a distance from the house.

A returning seasonal migrant, especially when he comes to Lu'a before the end of the dry season when other Lu'a men have not yet returned, receives countless requests of the ci type from dawn until dusk.\textsuperscript{56} Requests cease only when it is public knowledge that all goods have been given away.\textsuperscript{57}

The rigorous obligation to reciprocate in exchange and respond positively to ci requests is one of the reasons why Lu'a markets (rega) are small and insignificant. Every Monday women from all Lu'a domains bring small amounts of surplus goods to the sub-district capital to offer them for sale in order, in the absence of their men, to obtain cash for things such as school fees or medical treatment. In order to avoid ci requests when passing through villages, and in order not to be seen by the ancestors, they leave their domains well before dawn. Selling and bartering behaviour is markedly subdued. Because the selling of goods effectively represents a breach of notions governing exchange, transactions are carried out in hushed tones and both

\textsuperscript{55} The men of Lu'a are unique in pounding their rice themselves. Throughout the region rice and maize are pounded exclusively by women.

\textsuperscript{56} Recent phenomena, such as savings accounts in banks on Flores, effectively remove goods from the system of exchange. Thus, a man can now bring back to Lu'a only those proceeds of his seasonal migration which he is prepared to expose to requests and can set aside money for specific purposes without anyone on Lu'a knowing about it. On Lu'a such behaviour is referred to by the Indonesian term 'pikiran ekonomi', economic reasoning, a behaviour that is frowned upon in traditional domains such as Ko'a but which is increasingly popular among Lu'a modernists.

\textsuperscript{57} Thus, for example: a man may hang an empty bamboo tobacco container upside down from the eaves of his house in order to indicate that all of the tobacco (which he was prepared to give) has now been given away. In doing so it is said, in allusion to the base of the container, that he 'shows the anus of the container' (ngéro b'éko wuîné) and only after this has occurred is he no longer bothered by any requests.
parties adopt a physical position that suggests they are only incidentally squatting next to each other, often even not facing each other at all.\textsuperscript{58}

On Lu'a various modes of reciprocity are practiced in ceremonial exchange. In the context of large scale ceremonies in which all of the Houses of the domain participate, reciprocity is ideally immediate. In rituals of the House, any counter-prestations should be made immediately as well. Here a delay of a brief period is acceptable. However, it is believed that if the period between a prestation and a counter-prestation exceeds a few days and if no arrangements have been made between the two parties as to when the counter-prestation will be taking place, the defaulting partner becomes vulnerable to supernatural sanction.

There is, however, one category of exchange which takes place between Houses of wife-takers and wife-givers where reciprocity must be immediate and where no delay is tolerated. Whenever a pig is sacrificed in Ko'a, the sacrificing House makes a prestation of the pig's head and neck (\textit{wawi t'abané}) and of a nominal sum of money (usually Rp.5000.-) to one of its wife-giving Houses. This prestation is referred to as 'the cut of the sword' (\textit{t'opo poro}). It is made by a daughter, wife, or mother of the House and is received by a male member of the wife-giving House at the entrance to his dwelling. Upon receipt it is immediately reciprocated with a counter-prestation of a cloth and a shirt (\textit{t'ama lambu}).

If the wife-giving House at that particular moment does not have any cloth and shirt in storage, it is nonetheless obliged to accept the prestation and is forced to come up with the counter-prestation the very same day. In order to acquire the necessary goods it passes on the 'cut of the sword' to a wife-giving House of its own. The counter-prestation received in this way is then passed back to the House that initially has made the \textit{t'opo poro} prestation. More often than not a \textit{t'opo poro} prestation

\textsuperscript{58} In most Lu'a domains notions pertaining to exchange have been sufficiently undermined by the Church and schooling to allow for the establishment of a kiosk that offers small goods such a soap, batteries and flashlights bulbs, clove cigarettes, coffee, sugar, kerosene and sometimes also Flores palm gin. In Ko'a until now every attempt to establish a kiosk (\textit{kios}) has been vetoed by the Powo priest-leader because of the subversive threat it represents to the ideology of exchange.
Daughter of a wife-taking House (senior House of Powo) making the prestation of the 'cut of the sword' (i'op'o poro, the head and neck of a sacrificial pig).

Senior male member of the wife-giving House (senior House of Sari Ko'a and potential candidate for 'mother person' status) reciprocating the i'op'o poro prestation with a woman's shirt and a Lio-type 'ikat' cloth (i'ana lambu).

Modern cement grave in the village of Lei (T'ana T'ua Nggéo) covered with a traditional Lu'a men's cloth (nâd romo) given as a mortuary prestation by a wife-giving House (roko).
changes hands three or more times until it is received by a House that is in a position to reciprocate immediately. In the course of such a sequence the pig meat may begin to rot. In such a case the accompanying gift of money has to be increased 'in order to cover the stench of decay' (tôéné pau wau potoné). Even then the head is not discarded but is actually handed to the wife-giver.

In order to honour the prescription of immediate reciprocity a sequence of t'opo poro prestations needs to be completed within the same day. In practice, however, completion can take up to several days, hence the likelihood of the meat beginning to decay. As a rule prestations of any kind cannot be made after sunset. This is because ceremonial exchange is considered to be an act that not only concerns the two Houses involved but is also conceived of as a public act that ultimately concerns all Houses of the domain.

Considerations of relative status also play an important part in giving, in that in Lu'a thought the giver is always superordinate to the receiver. This superordinate position is, however, only temporary and is reversed as soon as the gift has been reciprocated, only to change once more when a further prestation has been made or when another request has been granted.

Nearly every ceremonial event on Lu'a is marked by exchange. The amount and type of goods exchanged is codified and varies according to the occasion. During such events a House practices exchange with the wife-giving and wife-taking Houses of two generations, that of ego's father as well as ego's own generation. According to hada, obligations towards the latter must be honoured first and only then, if the appropriate goods are available, are exchanges carried out with the latter. In line with the rule of 'from below upwards' (see Chapter 4, Section 1), exchange obligations towards the wife-giving and wife-taking Houses of the first ascending generation are

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59 According to Ko'a elders it can also happen that the same t'opo poro prestation returns to the House that has originally made the prestation. Such an instance would appear to indicate the existence of closed cycles of alliance in Ko'a. Although such a phenomenon is said to be possible, it is incidental and does not form part of the ideology of alliance.
ideally fulfilled first, and only then can those towards the wife-giving and wife-taking Houses of ego's generation be attended to. In practice, however, the first ascending generation is not always given precedence.

Through instances of exchange the relations of a House with its wife-giving and wife-taking Houses and in particular cases also those with its 'bundle and heap' and its 'elder-younger sibling' relations are acknowledged and reinforced. Strictly speaking, the ancestors of a House are indirectly involved in every instance of exchange as well. They are kept informed of every ceremonial activity the House is engaged in by way of the offerings that are placed onto the altar of the House and through those that are set onto their individual mortuary monoliths (ratō).

By sanctioning breaches of hada and specifically by sanctioning breaches of reciprocity, the ancestors of the House are believed to be always exercising a guiding influence on the actions of their descendants. They appear to the living in dreams, in which these are admonished for omissions and breaches of hada, and occasionally they also take possession of a descendant (pu mori tama, literally, the ancestors enter). In such instances the soul of the descendant is believed to have left his body temporarily and to dwell with the ancestors, while a specific ancestor of the House employs his body to speak to the community. Significantly, the messages received from the ancestor in this manner mostly pertain to matters of exchange, and specifically to issues concerning the distribution or the pooling of bridewealth among the Houses of the origin group.

However, the strongest guiding influence of the ancestors upon the living emanates from the 'elder brother person' of the House himself. He is the living namesake of his father's father and by virtue of carrying that name he is perceived to be the reincarnation of specific traits of the ancestor (see Chapter 4, Section 3). This affinity with the ancestor ensures that the rights and obligations of the House are
handled in a similar way to what has been done previously by the father’s father and by all of those members of the House who have carried that name before him.

In mortuary rituals, which are held on the same day that death occurred, the ancestors are perceived to participate directly in exchange. Here again, wife-givers bring conceptually female and wife-takers conceptually male goods, and these are reciprocated with goods associated with the opposite gender. The goods received from the former by the House of the deceased typically consist of textiles. ‘Bundle and heap’ as well as ‘elder-younger sibling’ relations on such occasions make prestations of textiles as well. This type of mortuary prestation is referred to as the ‘wrapping’ (poko), a term used in everyday contexts for a kind of wrapping made of sections of lontar leaves used for prestations of pig meat. In the context of mortuary rituals the term refers to the custom of wrapping the corpse in multiple layers of textiles before it is buried.60 The conceptually male goods given on the same occasion by the wife-taking Houses are referred to as roko, a term only used in the context of mortuary prestations. By extension this term also stands for the male as well as for the female categories of mortuary prestations.

Roko goods consist of pigs that are usually used to cater to the guests attending the ceremony, or of money, both of which can also be used as counter-prestations for female goods given on that occasion. The same category also includes ivory tusks and golden earpendants. These tusks are placed beneath the head of the deceased and, if more than one tusk has been given, they are also placed alongside of the corpse. The golden earpendants are placed in the mouth of the deceased. According to hada, only ‘old gold’ (see Chapter 4, Section 3) may be placed into the mouth of the deceased and it is said that the deceased person refuses to open his mouth if the gold is of lesser quality. And indeed, if the wife-taker cannot pry open the mouth of the deceased as he awaits

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60 Presently, crude wooden coffins are often used for burial. Here the body is merely dressed in textiles. However, a number of textiles may be used to cover the coffin when it is lowered into the grave.
burial, he is obliged to return with a set of earpendants of higher quality and make another attempt to insert the prestation.61 The corpse is buried together with these objects.

According to Lu'a thought, these mortuary prestations are meant to accompany the deceased. He takes them with him on his voyage to the place of origin of the mythical ancestors of the domain in the distant west, from where he returns with these objects after a period of three days to take up residence in the ancestral abode inside the volcano. There he joins his ancestors and lives in the dwelling occupied by the deceased members of the House. The mortuary prestations made by the living on the occasion of his burial are believed to ensure his welcome as a new resident among his ancestors. It is understood that these objects in turn allow the ancestors to practice ceremonial exchange with the ancestors of wife-giving and wife-taking Houses, as well as with those of the 'bundle and heap' category. In fact it is believed that the life of the dead in many ways mirrors that of the living and that inside the volcano the ancestors practice ceremonial exchange and conduct the ceremonial cycles of the domain in the same way their descendants do in the realm of the living.

Preceding the closure of every ceremonial cycle, the setting of the mortuary monoliths (rat’ē) takes place for all of those who have died since the closure of the last cycle (see Chapter 3, Section 10). From that moment on the House is in a position to initiate communication with the deceased through the membrane of the earth which separates the realms of the living from the dead. By prayer and by setting offerings on the monolith, the ancestor can be addressed and his assistance sought. If the ancestor has been able to establish himself in the society of the dead (ira mat’ānē, literally, the dead people) by means of the gifts given to him by the living at his burial, he is in the position in turn to assist the living members of the House and ensure their health and

61 Depending on the economic situation of the House of the deceased, some of the textiles may be removed from the body before burial and some of the golden earpendants and some of the ivory tusks may be retrieved as well. If a House decides to keep part of these mortuary prestations, it must be done discretely. No mention of the retrieval of these goods should be made.
continuing success in all of their undertakings. In this way the alienable part of the giver that has initially permeated the gift can indeed return, after having passed through a series of transformations from the realm of the living to that of the ancestors and back again to the living and contribute to the well-being and prosperity of the House.
CONCLUDING REMARKS

In his foreword to Lewis’s ethnography of the people of Tana ‘Ai in east-central Flores (Fox in Lewis 1986:xii) Fox lists some of the general distinguishing features of the societies of eastern Indonesia which have emerged from the ethnographic studies that have been carried out in the larger region (i.e. Flores, Timor, Sumba and the outlying islands) over the past twenty years. Recognition of these features have been the subject of many of these investigations (some of which have unfortunately not yet been published and are only available as PhD theses) and indeed, still represent some of the major concerns in the anthropological study of eastern Indonesian societies. In the following section I review some of the issues dealt with in the present thesis by commenting on individual points on Fox's list of features.

The first distinguishing feature listed is:

1. A concern — indeed an obsession — with the specific knowledge of origins, which establish not only personal and social identity but the very foundations of cultural life.

Throughout this thesis I have endeavoured to identify this notion as something that features very prominently not only in the ideology of the first settling groups of Ko’a but also in the thought of subsequently settling groups. Although the ceremonial cycle, which is primarily sponsored by initial settling groups, contains a large number of diverse themes, it rests entirely on the notion of origin and periodically celebrates the connection with it. Precedence of the first settling groups is established by means of recitation of topogenies which trace the path of the mythical ancestors claimed by these groups from a point of origin in the distant west to the shores of the island, and from the four corners of the domain to its ceremonial centre. The text chanted by senior members of the first settling groups preceding the sacrifice of water buffalo not only represents a myth of origin but also a myth of creation in that these ancestors are said
to have brought with them the primordial substance from which the island and the domain developed. The 'black patola stone' of the chant, thus, is an icon of the notion of origin. By conflating the notion of origin with the notion of creation the first settling groups assume a position of centrality in the socio-cosmological world of the domain. As the guardians of the central ceremonial courtyard, which represents the point of connection not only with the origin(s) of the island and the domain but also with the multiple layers of the universe, they can by way of the sacrifice of water buffalo influence the Supreme Being. As such they are considered to be the exclusive mediators with the divine and closest to the source of life and wellbeing of the domain. This position in turn re-confirms their precedence among the origin groups of the domain.

The second distinguishing feature listed by Fox is:

2. An elaborate register of dual symbolic categories, focusing on complementary categories of gender, symbolic space and, and relative relation.

The Ko'a 'registre: of dual symbolic categories' has been listed in the introduction to this thesis and its applications have been demonstrated throughout this investigation. I shall here only summarily comment that in Ko'a, as indeed throughout the island, dual categories are all-pervasive in that they order virtually all levels of the socio-cosmic world from the conception of the Supreme Being down to the constituent components of the person. This pervasive mode of classification finds its richest expression in the canonical parallelism of ritual speech.

The third distinguishing feature is:


In Ko'a the term $b^u'u$ has not only the botanic meaning of trunk, but also stands for the abstract notion of source or origin. First settling groups are referred to as $t^ana b^u'u$ 'trunk or source of the earth', in reference to their position of precedence in the domain and in reference to their close identification with it. Implicit in this idiom is its
structural counterpart, the tip, ngalu, which designates subsequent groups. Thus the botanic metaphor contains a spatial as well as a temporal element, whereby the 'trunk' gives life to the 'tip' of Ko'a society. This is achieved in the ceremonial cycle, in the rituals of the agricultural cycle, and in marriage alliance where, according to first settler ideology, the former are meant to give wives to the latter.

The fourth distinguishing feature is:

4. A conception, symbolically developed in various ways of the person as composed of opposing elements of blood and flesh and/or semen and bone.

According to Ko'a notions about conception the person is indeed constituted by opposing elements. The Ko'a constellation does, however, somewhat differ from the possibilities listed above in that the person is constituted by the conceptually male element of semen-blood and the conceptually female element of turmeric-placenta. In line with the general paternal emphasis in first settling ideology, only male blood is transmitted from father to children.

The fifth feature listed by Fox is:

5. A variety of patterns of symbolic diarchy predicated on the delegation or usurpation of authority.

In keeping with the pervasive mode of dual classification, Ko'a has two priestleaders who maintain two separate ceremonial centres and carry out separate but parallel ceremonial cycles. Although in this diarchy they are ideally conceived of as being equal, one priestleader always takes precedence over the other. As I have extensively shown elsewhere (Vischer n.d.), the ceremonial cycle serves as the principal arena for the contestation of this position of precedence. Comparative material from other domains on the island indicates that the importance of the second priestleader can greatly vary.

The sixth feature on Fox's list is:
6. A social organisation based on the House as a primary descent group and on a variable clan system as an intermediate structure in the formation of larger political or ceremonial groupings.

The House is the 'primary descent group' in the social order of Ko'a. Groups of individual Houses together make up an intermediate structure which I have referred to as an origin group, rather than a clan, thereby reflecting the strong emphasis on a common place of origin (as opposed to one of descent) in the participant's model. In Ko'a political and ceremonial groupings are congruent and therefore, the distinction made by Fox is in this specific case superfluous. I have shown that the dwellings of individual Houses of first settler status, which hold ceremonial offices, are located at specific points along the circumference of the central ceremonial courtyards, whereby their respective location reflects their position within the order of precedence within their own origin group. I have furthermore demonstrated in the analysis of the location of the mortuary monoliths of all of the origin groups of the domain that the order of precedence among them is expressed in a spatial idiom of centrality with respect to the ceremonial courtyard.

The seventh feature is:

7. A reliance on marriage alliance as a means of linking Houses through the intermediation of the clan system.

The two major spheres within which the origin group as a whole operates are contrasted as 'the [sphere] of words at the ceremonial courtyard' (p³at³a réta r³upu ngaluné), in reference to its function in the context of ceremonial cycles, and 'the [sphere] of the words of women and children' (p³at³a wai hanané), in reference to its function in the pooling and redistribution of goods exchanged in the context of the establishment of marriage alliance. In the analysis of processes of fission of individual Houses from one origin group and subsequent merging with another origin group, it became evident that a given House can participate in the payment of alliance related
goods of an origin group other than its own and eventually cease to make contributions to alliances contracted by its own origin group while retaining an affiliation with this group exclusively for ceremonial purposes. Although in this process of fission and merging the reliance of a House on the former origin group for ceremonial purposes can lessen over time, it retains its prior ceremonial idiom (i.e. the way in which a House conducts its House related rituals and the rules and prohibitions it adheres to) over an extended period and possibly never altogether relinquishes it.

The eighth distinguishing feature is:

8. A conceptualisation of alliance as part of a continuing "flow of life".

According to first settler ideology, origin groups of first settler status do not exchange women but function as one large grouping in the sphere of pooling and distribution of goods in the establishment of marriage alliance. In line with their position as the principal source of life in the domain they ideally constitute superordinate progenitor lines (i.e. providers of women, see Fox n.d.:passim) to subordinate genitor lines which are constituted by subsequently settling groups as their genitor lines. This ideology (which is, mainly for demographic reasons, not reflected in social practice) is expressed in an idiom of blood colouring, where a different colour is ascribed to individual origin groups indicating a varying degree of compatibility for alliance with the first settling groups. The marriage with the matrilateral cross-cousin, which is ideally prescribed for at least one of the sons of a given House ultimately aims at reuniting the mythical ancestral brother with his sister who was originally given in marriage to a subsequently settling House.

The ninth distinguishing feature is:

9. An elaboration of life enhancing rituals initiated by the conjoining of male and female, and continued in an extended series of ceremonies joining predecessor to descendant in a cyclical translation of life.
The joining of male and female elements is a topos that is prominent in all Ko'a rituals. This topos finds its most literal expression in the joining of hands between a male and a female neonate in the ceremonial integration of the newborn into its House and origin group. In this ceremony the newborn receives its name which it derives from its FF or MM respectively. The male carrier of an ancestral name is from then on perceived as a reincarnation of his ancestor, thereby ensuring not only the continuity of the House but also ensuring that the manner in which the specific ancestor has attended to the social and ceremonial obligations of the House is maintained.

In concluding this section I shall briefly address two specific issues that call for further investigation. The first of these issues concerns the 'mother person'. Because at present there is no 'mother person' in Ko'a, this position could not be treated as a separate social category. The data on exchange gathered during the last water buffalo sacrifice of Ko'a (see Chapter 5 Section 2), the instances of marriage, the reversal of the direction of alliance (see Chapter 5 Section 1) as well as the relative size of land holdings of a specific Ko'a House (see Chapter 3 Section 8) indicate the possibility of a House of Ko'unu Sari Ko'a in the future being ascribed 'mother person' status.

As it is, the present description of this potential candidate to 'mother person' status is not satisfactory. Although the category of 'mother person' in the allied domains of T'o'omu and Cawalo is constituted by a House which is represented by its senior male member, the person himself stands in the foreground in my description of the Ko'a candidate. This is so because it appears that in the process of establishment, 'mother person'-ship is initially ascribed to an individual and only then to the House as a whole.

There are also indications that a House can lose its 'mother person' status after the death of its senior male member. The recent death of such a 'mother person' in T'o'omu, a man who was highly regarded throughout the island and who was commonly referred to and addressed by the honorific 'the wealthy one' (hat'a nu'anel),
indicates that this can be the case. Comments by some of the 'bundle and heap'
relations of this House about the firstborn son, who has now succeeded his father,
have been extremely negative. Doubt was repeatedly expressed about this son's ability
to conduct the affairs of his House and to attend to its social relations in the same
manner as his father had previously done. At the time, these 'bundle and heap'
relations were still waiting for further confirmation of their initial impressions. They
felt that these issues would become clearer in future instances of large scale ceremonial
exchange and during future bridewealth negotiations. Implicit in their attitude towards
the son was the notion that if, on those occasions, he did not perform to their
satisfaction, they would feel free to sever 'bundle and heap' relationships with this
House. Without its extensive social network made up largely of such relations, a
House cannot maintain 'mother person' status and joins again those Houses of the
domain that are of 'child people' status. Only a future study of the 'mother person' in
the domains of Cawalo and Tôomu will allow for a proper assessment of this category
in the context of marriage alliance.

Similar considerations hold true for the healer-sorcerer. The category of the
healer-sorcerer could also not be dealt with as a separate social category because of its
current absence in Ko'a. Although it is clear from the case of Ndéo, which up until
recently had its own healer-sorcerer, that the healer-sorcerer forms a dyadic pair
together with the priest-leader, this situation cannot be transposed onto Ko'a.
Unfortunately there are at present no healer-sorcerers in any Lu'a domain and,
therefore, there are no possibilities to study this category in the near future.

The fact that at present neither of these categories are represented in Ko'a may be
a reflection of the strong influence the Powo priest-leader has been exercising upon
Ko'a society. During his period of office the rights of individual origin groups to their
own ceremonial courtyard have been curtailed, the position of the priest-leader of
Tôupu Roda Wula has been reduced to a mere ceremonial position without political
influence in the domain and the domain has been cleared of witches. In a situation where one priest-leader draws to himself most ceremonial privileges and duties, it is doubtful whether a 'mother person' can emerge from among the Houses of 'child people' status, or that a healer-sorcerer can be born to take the place of a counterpart to that priest-leader who holds a position of precedence in the domain.

'Children of the Black Patola Stone' represents but one stage in the on-going study of Ko'a. In future field-trips, which will be undertaken at regular intervals, I shall continue to study Ko'a and its development, and deepen my understanding of this domain and its people.
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APPENDIX

EXTERNAL ALLIANCE

The panoramic drawing by Rodrigues of 1512-13 (see Chapter 1) which represents the first Western mention of Nua Lu'a also contains evidence of an outward orientation of the island. The drawing shows a settlement marked Village of Nusa Raja (Compeco Da Ihna de nuca RaJa) located on the shores of the Flores north coast. It depicts what appear to be two fortifications, a stone wall inside a row of palisades surrounding a building with a layered roof. Outside the fortification two further dwellings are shown as well as a number of people that are engaged in hunting and in climbing a palm tree. The architecture depicted appears to be imaginary rather than made up by observation. Nevertheless, there must have been a sufficient evidence of Lu'a presence on the Flores north coast for a fortified village to be ascribed to them and to be noted on the drawing. It is likely that the village to which the drawing refers is only a temporary settlement employed by men during the annual period of seasonal migration as a base for trade and fishing and possibly also for piracy and slave trade.

All Lu'a domains traditionally practise seasonal migration where most men leave the island during the dry season and seek their livelihood in the Flores sea and along the Flores north coast.¹ Links with different groups of that region used to be a prerequisite for any activities outside Lu'a. In the Lu'a oral tradition such links are conceptualized either as ties of origin or as alliances in warfare. Peaceful relations with these outside groups are generically termed t⁹ura caji. The term t⁹ura is used only in this context and can be glossed as peace whereas caji, possibly a loanword from a neighbouring Flores group, could be glossed as fighting.² Individual domains on Lu'a

¹ Tua Nggé is the only domain that is not involved in seasonal migration.
² Caji features in the combined term main caji which denotes a traditional whip-fighting sport practised in Manggarai and Ende.
stand in 'peace in fighting' relationships with various outside groups. In some cases, however, a tura relationship may be shared by all Lu'a domains. The mythical foundations of one such relationship which is based on the notion of a common origin are given below.

An origin myth that is primarily claimed by the domain of Tua Nggéo and its allies but is known and respected throughout the domains of Lu'a recounts the voyage of seven boats coming from the distant west. These seven boats were carrying water and rice as well as the island's main cultigens, tuber, sweet potato, green gram, pigeon pea and maize. According to the myth, the boats reached the shores of northern Lio where they anchored for the night. In the morning two of the boats had disappeared; their moorings had come undone. The boat carrying water had drifted all the way to the port of Ende on the south coast of central Flores where its crew settled in a place called Roja. The boat carrying rice landed on South Sulawesi where its crew settled in the kingdom of Bone. The remaining five boats crossed over to Lu'a and settled on the island.³ The myth is cited to account for the fact that there is no accessible drinking water on Nua Lu'a and that no rice is ever grown on the island. In commemoration of this mythical voyage, all the domains of Lu'a maintain a tura relationship with the people of Roja who on Lu'a are referred to as Hat'a Roja-Ende and with the people of Bone, whom they call Hat'a Bugis-Bone. This tura relationship is essentially a pact of non-aggression, of mutual assistance and hospitality. Thus, should a boat from Bone get stranded on Lu'a, the boat is repaired and hospitality is offered to its crew for the duration of repairs. This obligation is adhered to this day.

The association of Lu'a domains with a Bugis group becomes meaningful in the light of sources of the Dutch administration at the turn of the century (see Chapter 1, Section 3). According to these reports, Lu'a boats were believed to be involved in slave trade and piracy, carrying out raids together with boats of Sulawesi origin.

³ Although it is recognized on Lu'a that maize is of Portuguese origin, this ritually unimportant cultigen is included here in order to arrive at the number five. Throughout Lu'a the number five represents a notion of totality and completeness.
The people of Roja-Ende, like the people of Bugis-Bone, are always granted hospitality during a stay on Lu'a. The association of Lu'a domains with Ende may be based on trade. Up until this century Ende was the most important port of central Flores and Lu'a traders and seasonal migrants had ongoing contacts with Ende. Before the establishment of roads on Flores, Lu'a traders had to circumnavigate the island to reach it. The trip by boat is long and arduous and crossing the straights between Flores and Komodo Island is dangerous because of frequent whirlpools. Since the inclusion of Lu'a into the Regency of Sika, which on Lu'a is traditionally referred to as Sika-K'iva, its ties to Ende have greatly decreased (see Chapter 1, Section 3).

The mythical tales concerning t'ura relationships with outside groups draw upon notions of common origin as well on instances of alliance in warfare against a common enemy. In some cases rights to land use or the privilege to establish a ceremonial courtyard in the allied domain on Flores have been derived from such relationships. In recent years claims regarding links to Flores have become important in the context of plans of the regency government to transmigrate the Lu'a population to Flores. The location of the two transmigration villages Nangahure and Waturia at approximately thirty kilometres to the west of the regency's administrative centre Maumere was chosen by the government partly because specific Lu'a groups could refer to a link of origin or alliance with those Flores groups holding land rights in that region. In practice, however, it is not necessarily only those Lu'a groups involved in a specific t'ura relationship that find themselves being transmigrated to a such a location.

According to Ko'a reports, in the mid-fifties the entire population of Ko'a and Cawalo was transported by cargo boat to central Flores. The government had decided to transmigrate these populations in order to protect them from volcanic eruptions.

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4 Roja, which used to be a separate settlement, is now part of the township of Ende.  
5 In the domain of T'omu a number of Houses trace descent directly to the Hat'a Roja-Ende. They call themselves Hat'a Roja and set themselves off from most other Lu'a groups by adhering to the prohibition on eating dogs. A recent speculation on Lu'a is that the Hat'a Roja may be of Islamic origin. This is questionable since, at least one other Lu'a group which claims a different origin is also prohibited from eating dog. Furthermore, the prohibition is quite frequent among individuals who show adverse reactions after consumption of dog meat.
region in the vicinity of Mount Lipembutu was chosen because, according to Lipembutu oral tradition, some Houses of the domain of T'o'ua Nggéo had originated from there. The Ko'a-Cawalo transmigration was a failure. The region was found to be inhospitable and was not recognized by the migrants as a place of origin of Ko'a or Cawalo. Both groups eventually returned to their domains on Lu'a and have since refused to be involved in any further transmigration project.6

Some groups of Houses in the domains of T'o'ua Nggéo and Ndeo claim descent from a group in eastern Flores referred to as Igo-Enga.7 In this case it is not quite clear if the alliance of these Houses is based solely on assistance in warfare or also on mythical common descent. It would appear that both links could be emphasized according to need.

Other Ké:ô: Houses maintain connections to Maurole on the Lio north coast. T'o'ok'a, a Ké:ô:li warrior-sorcerer is reputed to have assisted Mari Longa, the leader of a Lionese resistance movement, in a battle against the Dutch at the beginning of this century.8 The descendants of T'o'ok'a now hold land rights in the Maurole region which they trace back to the final battle where Mari Longa was killed by an overwhelming force of Dutch military.

T'o'ok'a's name is always proudly evoked together with the names of three other warrior-sorcerers whose mythical feats of magic and warfare are part of treasured lore in all Lu'a domains. In ritual speech their names are paired as Woko-T'o'ok'a // T'o'imu-Céma. Wheras T'o'ok'a is claimed to have been from T'o'ua Nggéo, Woko is said to have been from the domain of Woto but originally from Ko'a and T'o'imu and Céma are claimed by the domains of Nit'o'u and Cua.

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6 Tales surrounding that period tell of government warehouses containing large amounts of rice and agricultural tools that were taken back to Lu'a.

7 According to Vatter (1932) Igo and Enga were two mythical warring brothers from eastern Flores who became the Raja of Larantuka and Adonara. They are said to have waged war all the way into central Flores.

8 Mari Longa has been accorded the status of a 'hero' of Flores (pahlawan'). His descendants are now in the business of providing charms for warfare consisting of the hairs of what is said to be a conserved leg of Mari Longa. Many Flores soldiers serving in East Timor had such a hair which they had bought at Mari Longa's grave site tied around the barrel of their rifle.
In Woja, the tip-territory of T'ua Nggéo on the southeastern side of the island, a specific rock overlooking the sea is said to have been the spot where T'ok'a used to sit and attract passing boats by magically waving them towards the rocky shores where they would get stranded and could be looted. The ancestral heirlooms held by the descendants of his House consist of large ancient ivory tusks and Chinese tradeware that are traced back to these activities.

Woko, the warrior-sorcerer of Ko'a and Woto, is reputed to have been able to put the crews of boats anchoring offshore to sleep by blowing a magical substance at them, after which he would safely board and rob them of their cargo. Again, some of the heirlooms held by his descendants are traced to Woko's looting.

The domain of Ko'a stands in a t'ura relationship with a region called Lio-Lambo. The term refers to a number of domains along the Flores north coast extending roughly fifty kilometres on both sides of what is now the regency boundary between Kabupaten Lio-Ende and Kabupaten Ngadha. According to a Ko'a myth the region used to be united under the rule of a female raja living on the small island Pulau Sindé to the west of what is now the port of Kaburea. In Sara Lu'a this island is referred to as Nua Welu.

The t'ura relationship with Lio-Lambo is based on assistance in warfare against the Hat'a Lanu. The descendants of Woko tell a tale in which Wok'o was asked to help the Raja of Nua Welu fight these Westerners who had come to wage war in Lio-Lambo. Employing his magical qualities Woko flew across the straits to Flores holding onto the frond of a coconut palm and there he fought victoriously against the Hat'a Lanu. After his victory the Raja offered to recompense him with gold, ivory and slaves. Woko is said to have declined all of these gifts, and when asked what he really wanted he pointed to a small hill on the coast where he intended to set up a ceremonial courtyard (t'upu).
The *t'ura* relationship with Lio-Lambo is encoded in an idiom of coconut and areca palms. After having erected the *t'upu* Woko planted a large number of coconut palms and called the place Coconut Creek (*Nanga Nio*). Until that time no such trees had grown in all of Lio Lambo and up to this day it is said that only trees planted by the people of Ko'a can survive there.\(^9\) Conversely it is said that only the people of Lio-Lambo can successfully plant areca palms in Ko'a.

The milk of the coconut and the juice of betel are two important ritual ingredients. The former is employed in the ritual 'cooling' of dangerous states of conceptual heat such as those generated by warfare and the latter is employed in the ritual manipulation of human blood (see Chapter 4, Section 5). On the basis of these associations the situation of mutual dependency created by the notions connected with the planting of coconut and areca can be interpreted as symbolizing the aspect of non-aggression of the *t'ura* relationship.

The relationship is also one of ceremonial alliance connected with war and with the Ko'a sacrifice of water buffalo. The *t'upu* of Nanga Nio is employed by Ko'a as a source of war magic. Before Ko'a goes to war, the senior male descendant of Woko crosses by boat to Nanga Nio and sacrifices a ram at this ceremonial courtyard. He returns to Ko'a with a magical substance that is said to have suddenly appeared on the *t'upu* during the sacrifice. This substance renders the Hat'a Ko'a victorious in battle.

Every five to ten years, at the beginning of each new ceremonial cycle, Ko'a also purchases sacrificial water buffalo in Lio-Lambo. On such occasions a small offering of an egg and of ceremonial rice kernels is made on the monoliths of the Nanga Nio ceremonial courtyard to assure the safe return of the purchasing party to Ko'a. In one of the prescribed chants sung by the purchasing party during their crossing to Flores the *t'ura* relationship with Lio-Lambo is invoked:

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\(^9\) During visits in that region my Ko'a companions could point out a large number of coconut trees which had been planted by themselves or by their forefathers.
1. E raja langamo  piki t'ura raja
2. e raja langamo ci ka'ë t'ura t'ë piki
3. t'ë t'ura raja langamo
4. ho t'uramo piki
5. i hoko ho hoo o'élé lélé t'uramo piki
   t'ura raja langamo
   i hoko ho hoo o'élé lélé
6. e raja langa kuë langa t'ura
7. raja é e raja langa kuë lak'i
8. t'uramo piki t'ura roa raja langamo
   t'uramo piki
9. i hoko hoo o'élé lélé t'uramo piki raja
   langamo i hoko hoo o'élé lélé

[You] over there in the south at your beaches
may the t'ura relationship be complete
[you] in the south at your beaches [we] ask
from our elder brother to make the t'ura
relationship complete
may there be a t'ura relationship over there in
the south at your beaches
your t'ura relationship is complete
(refrain, first line not translatable)
your t'ura relationship is complete
the t'ura relationship over there in the south
at your beaches
at the kuë beaches in the south at the t'ura
beaches
in the south at the male kuë beaches
your t'ura is complete, love at your
beaches in the south, your t'ura is complete
your t'ura is complete over there at
your beaches in the south

In line two of the chant the relationship between Ko'a and Lio-Lambo is
cconceputalized as a relationship between younger and elder brother, whereby Lio-
Lambo is accorded the position of seniority. On Lu'a the elder-younger brother
classification is applied to domains with whom Ko'a maintains a political alliance, but
who do not carry out their own water buffalo sacrificing cycle. The Lio-Lambo
alliance conforms to this criterion.10

Special rules of interaction apply to the t'ura relationship between Ko'a and Lio-
Lambo. Any physical contact, let alone actual fighting, is prohibited between the two.
Furthermore there is a prohibition on addressing each other by name. Instead an ally in
the t'ura relationship is addressed by the word t'ura. Finally, marriage is traditionally
proscribed between Lio-Lambo and Ko'a.

On present day Lu'a there is still a lot of fear of some of the groups of central
Flores. This fear is expressed mainly during the months of July and August as a fear
of headhunters (hat'a, hat'a ngeminé or hat'a kap'ené).11 At that time most adult men

10 However, in line seven reference is made to Lio-Lambo as being conceptually male. In this case
maleness is not an idiom of ceremonial alliance. The ceremonial purchase of water buffalo is
conceptualized as a purchase of a woman that is brought back to Ko'a for purposes of marriage. In this
context Lio-Lambo figures as a superordinate wife-giving group, which on Lu'a is referred to as
'brotner people' (hat'a naajené). This group is conceptually male with regard to the wife-taking 'sister
people' (hat'a vetané) represented by the Ko'a purchasing party.
11 In fact the island is prey to thieves both from inside and outside during the months following the
harvest of green gram.
have left the island for purposes of seasonal migration. In recent years several of these outside intruders have been caught and killed. Their bodies are said to have been cut up and fed to the dogs.\textsuperscript{12} Despite the fact that in living memory there has never been direct evidence of head-hunting, although ancestral heirlooms reportedly have been stolen, the fear of head-hunters persistently flares up every year during the height of the dry season. Against this background a \textit{t'ura} relationship with groups that claimed territory along a vast stretch of the central Flores north coast appears to be a means of protection that allows Ko'a seasonal migrants and traders to operate in the area and that on Lu'a increases safety from outside thieves and possible head-hunters.

In recent years a shift in the emphasis of the \textit{t'ura} relationship between Ko'a and Lio-Lambo could be observed. With increasing government presence, schooling and Christianization of central Flores, the threat of outside raids on Lu'a has virtually been eliminated. Knowledge of oral tradition has decreased and the Ko'a parties enacting the ceremonial purchase of water buffalo are greeted with bemusement at the coastal settlements of Lio, the population being mostly unaware of their historical significance.\textsuperscript{13} From this changed situation a change in emphasis in the alliance with Lio-Lambo has begun to emerge.

During the past ten years the prohibition on marriage between Ko'a and Lio-Lambo has become eroded. At least three Ko'a men have married women from that region and groups of Lio-Lambo wife-givers regularly come to Ko'a to assist with agricultural work. On such occasions they bring along welcome gifts of pigs, which according to Lio-Lambo \textit{hada} form part of the wife-giver's prestations, whereas on Lu'a pigs constitute highly valued conceptually male prestations made by wife-taking Houses. In the most recent development in this relationship, about thirty Lio-Lambo

\textsuperscript{12} Tales about the killing of 'head-hunters' on Lu'a must be appraised carefully. There is always an element of exaggeration involved when young men returning from a supposedly successful sortie boast about such feats to the excitement of the young women of the village.

\textsuperscript{13} Formerly Lionese villages were not built in coastal areas but on ridges in the mountains. Dutch and later Indonesian administration have enforced the movement of settlements to more accessible and more controllable lower locations. The \textit{t'ura} partners of Ko'a do, however, still reside in the mountains.
men of wife-giving groups came to visit Ko'a at the beginning of 1990. They stayed for a few months, assisted in agricultural work and then joined a group of fifteen Ko'a men on a voyage as circular migrants to Malaysia. Significantly, before leaving the domain every Ko'a man received a small parcel from the main Ko'a priest-leader consisting of a sample of soil sewn into a piece of cloth. The soil had been gathered by the priest-leader at the original places of settlement of every Ko'a House from which a member was departing for Malaysia. This soil was meant to enable these Ko'a migrants to maintain a connection with the places of origin of their individual groups of Houses, thereby placing upon them the protection of their mythical ancestors and that of the Lu'a Supreme Being.