Research Report No. 5 February 1965

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Figure 1. Typical Balinese wood carving.

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II. General Factors in Eastern Indonesia

A. General

"Eastern Indonesia" includes all the islands of the East Indies Archipelago that lie east of the Greater Sundas (Java and the six other large islands), except Irian Barat. For this study, they will be grouped as the Lesser Sundas and Timor and the Moluccas.* The Southwestern Islands are treated here as part of the Moluccas because they were once a part of the far-flung Malukan "Spice Sultanates" of Ternate and Tidore; and whatever slight political, commercial, or sociological orientation they may have is in that direction.

The islands will be treated from Bali eastward to Timor, then around the Banda Sea along the double curve of the Southwestern Islands, and lastly northward through Molucca to Halmahera. (For a preview of island groups and island names, use the Table of Contents.)

Eastern Indonesia accounts for 15 percent of the total land area of Indonesia (some 2,000 islands according to the Indonesian Government) and 7 percent of the population. (1961 population estimate: Lesser Sundas 5,558,000; Molucca, 790,000.) Population density of the Lesser Sundas is 80 and of Molucca 11 -- compared to Java's 451 -- per square kilometer. Population density would be sharply lowered (and more representative) if Bali's 1,700,000 were excluded.

Information about the peoples of these unnumbered islands is thin, spotty, and self-contradictory. Anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, and particularly statisticians are inclined to give specifics on Java and perhaps some data on the other large islands, but either avoid mention of the eastern islands or generalize irresponsibly.** Accounts of travelers (botanists, zoologists, and collectors) have been useful, as they include a few detailed reports on a few specific villages.

* Gaps and overlaps in the endless groupings and toponymy (with numerous spelling variations) make statistics and other data in this area difficult to assess and apply. Place names have been coordinated with Board on Geographic Names spellings.

** Most disturbing is the repetition -- often verbatim and without acknowledgement -- of statements from Wallace (1883), Webster (1898), and other early explorers.

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No attempt has been made to evaluate available information. On the contrary, details from pertinent studies have been relayed at length and where information is lacking or contradictory, the lack or inconsistency has not been camouflaged.

Many of the smaller -- and the interior of some of the larger -- islands are uninhabited or inhabited only parts of the year. Many East Indonesians have practically no contact with the outside world.

B. Racial Characteristics

It is said that 130 separate East Indonesian tribes could be enumerated, many of them so large that they could be called nations or "people."* Most writers escape this dilemma by using island names (Wetarese, Kaians, etc.) even though there may be many groups -- different and sometimes antagonistic -- on the same island. (Berzina and Bruk, whose ethnic map is a major source for this study, often do this.)

These islands form a transition zone, culturally, linguistically, and anthropologically, from Western Indonesia (Java) to Irian Barat. From Bali to Timor the people are mainly proto-Malay, representing early immigration from southeast Asia. They are like the interior people of the large islands and are less Mongoloid than the coastal people who are descendants of later immigrants (deutero-Malay). They are shorter and darker-skinned with wavier hair and stockier physique, but they do not have a slant to the eye or prominent cheek bones. Papuan traits begin to appear in the Flores and increase, though not in regular or dependable proportion, as one moves eastward.

In the islands nearest Australia, the earliest people were probably Australoid -- coarse-featured, beetle-browed and hairy-bodied. Pre-Malay traces remain. Pure or almost pure Papuans are found in parts of Molucca and, of course, in Irian Barat.

Four other archaic types can be found in eastern Indonesia. (1) The Negroid type has two branches. One, the Melanesian, is

* Kennedy, The Ageless Indies. The term "tribe" is a misnomer, for in most of this area there is almost no intervillage (or tribal) relationship and no common culture as, for instance, there is among the Dayaks of Borneo.

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tall and spare-framed and has almost disappeared except in Timor and in the Flores zone. The second branch, the Negritoes, are dwarfish and frail; traces of them are found in Timor and Alor (as well as in Sumatra and New Guinea). (2) The so-called Veddoid type are also dwarfish and frail (like the Negrito) with brown skin, wavy hair, prognathous face, and receding chin -- probably a stunted version of Malay-Austroloid mixture. This type is found in Ceram, and traces of it occur in a few other islands. (3) The Papuan type is probably a hybrid of the Melanesian and Negroid races. It is characterized by a lanky, long-limbed body, dark skin, narrow and angular face, thin lips, long nose, hairy body, frizzy head-hair, and, frequently, by beards. Sometimes the nose is fleshy and hooked and has been called Semitic. (4) The Alfur type is a mixture of Papuan and proto-Molucca*. Alfurs are common in Molucca and also occur in other of these islands.

In addition there are Chinese, Arab, and other foreign traders. Immigration -- or rather drift, for there has been no official movement of groups -- is continuous, especially of Buginese, Makassarese, Minahaoese, and Javanese. It is estimated (1963) that there are 20,000 Javanese in the Moluccas alone. Eastward from Java a gradual, but not regular, change of character from the reserved Malay to the excitable, vociferous, and less-restrained Papuan is marked. Kennedy says in Inlands and Peoples of the Indies that the difference is probably not biological but due to divergent training and rules of behavior. In general the eastern islanders are friendly, helpful, and courteous. In many islands they are gay, devoted to dancing for exhibition, and hospitable.

C. Attitudes

The greatest gap in information is about the native's political attitudes. For most of the people on these tiny islands, national politics has little or no meaning. The government, both before and after the revolution, has done little or nothing for them but has always required taxes. Since the village chief, acting for a native rajah, has been the collector for both governments, political change is hardly noticeable.**

---

* Casual writers frequently use "Alfur" to mean all those who have preserved their pagan beliefs. This troublesome definition is not used here.

** Tax rolls which should clarify population and other statistics simply muddle them. Not understanding the purposes of taxes, the people misrepresent size of their family (a large family is a symbol of wealth), the amount of income, and even many items that would not affect the tax.

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On some islands nativistic movements, organized to revive or perpetuate certain aspects of aboriginal culture (and encouraged by the Dutch for divisive purposes), may serve as a barrier against Western culture and the new Western-oriented Djakarta intelligentsia. On islands where the Dutch used severe methods, the attitude of the people toward whites (to most Indonesians every white man is Belanda, Dutch) is likely to be unfriendly.* On other islands, Dutch administration was negligible, acceptable, or even pleasant. The same seems to be true of the present Indonesian Government. But the latter has the advantage of appealing to the basic Indonesian feelings of most of the people, even in the remotest islands. "One people, one country, one language" exerts a great force when and where it is propagated.

In these matters only the rajahs, chiefs, and their associates are interested; but what the leaders understand, the people understand. It is important to note that the native aristocracy as we know it today belongs to the group who chose to adapt to European masters. Such leaders became westernized and were alienated from the indigenous culture, developing a sort of dual personality. But, of crucial importance, they meanwhile preserved Indonesian culture among the people and upheld the adat (common law).**

At the present time the old ruling class is having difficulty fitting into the new political structure where the old system of class and privilege has disappeared. The Djakarta government often assigns non-local, Western-educated administrators who have not developed any administrative judgment and who have no idea how to deal with non-Western-oriented peoples to administrative posts.

For the native non-leaders the highly valued family life has always been an authoritarian village structure, and the state, if considered at all, was imagined as an extended family with a Big Father. The present administration blurred that image. Sukarno, however, is so representative of the Indonesian ethnos, summing

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* Sometimes the Dutch policy of non-interference broke down. In Timor and Bali, for instance, military operations took the form of punitive expeditions. In the second and third decades of the 20th century, Dutch authority was harshly imposed on Sumba, Lombok, Flores, Timor, and Ceram.

** Soemardjan, Selo (or Selosumardjan), "Some Social and Cultural Implications of Indonesia's Unplanned and Planned Development, Review of Politics, 1963.

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up their virtues as well as their shortcomings, that he is usually received as an even Grander Father. As time goes on, he has become more "sultan-like". Efforts are being made to spread his name, his picture, his military glory, and his ambitions for the Indonesian peoples, but there is no indication that this propaganda has reached many, or any, of the smaller islands.

D. Languages

There are somewhat more than 200 languages spoken in these islands. Little study has been done on them, and they are not satisfactorily classified, although various groupings have been made. Probably the most useful here, since it is tied to areas rather than technical linguistics, is a division into five sub-groups: (1) Bali-Sumbawan, spoken by Balinese, Sasaks, and Bodhas, and peoples of western Sumbawa; (2) Bima, spoken in eastern Sumbawa, Sumba, and western Flores; (3) the Sula-Batjan Group; (4) Ambon-Timor, which includes all the languages of Molucca except; (5) South Halmaheran, a Papuan language spoken in south Halmahera and small nearby islands. Some of these languages are written, and in a few places they are used to teach reading and writing. The Ambon-Timor languages are strongly influenced by Papuan.

Malay, or Bahasa Indonesia, is the trade language of most of these islands. (Since Sukarno regards it as a prime unifying device, it is being spread as fast as slender means and slight attention can manage.) In Portuguese Timor the native Tetum language is the official language. The few Europeans there speak Portuguese. No pidgin is spoken in Eastern Indonesia.

E. Education

Information about education on specific islands is not available.* Mission schools continue to operate and are planning to widen their operations.

Modkherji ("Problems of Education in Southeast Asia", Eastern World, 1962) reports that Indonesia has raised literacy from

* The Statistical Pocketbook of Indonesia (Bire Pusat Statistic, Djakarta, 1960) reports for Nusa Tenggara: 2,042 schools, 9,100 teachers, 335,000 pupils in primary schools, 12,500 pupils in general secondary schools, and 154 libraries with 67,000 books. Molucca and Irian Barat as reported together have: 570 schools, 1,800 teachers, 68,000 pupils in primary schools, 4,500 in general secondary schools, and 223 libraries with 22,000 books. No clue is given as to location or type of school.

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6.4 percent to 66 percent in ten years. He says the colonial education policy was to create a small class of "colonial elites" -- not to provide incentive for or growth of nationalism, but to insure a steady supply of low-paid, white-collar workers for government and semi-government establishments. Help given to outer-island education by the Djakarta government is inspired by political expediency and is for that reason spotty.

Results of education have not always been satisfactory. Kennedy says that here, "Where life depends upon tradition, Europeanized education tends to disinherit the young from the traditions and put nothing in its place." The conversation of a recent American visitor with Pandi, artist and member of the Bali, confirms this dilemma. He said, "We are creating the first juvenile delinquents Indonesia has ever known. When a boy gets the kind of education we are giving him, he is not willing to go back to his village and help with the farming. He expects a white-collar -- preferably a Government -- job. We don't have the jobs. He is not prepared for such jobs. We must change the character of our education or manage to create jobs for our educated youth."

F. Dress

The costume for men is sometimes a loin-cloth but usually is a sarong, sometimes worn with a shoulder or upper-body piece and sometimes not. Western shirts are often seen on men of the larger towns or villages. "Malay shorts" are common for boys and are often worn by men of shore villages. The men wear a headgear, mostly on special occasions.

Women wear kains (lengths of cloth wrapped as skirts) and usually something above the waist, such as a kobaja (a jacket-blouse) or a cloth wrapped underarms. Both men and women carry a small wallet for their betel, money, and other valuables. Jewelry -- earrings, rings, necklaces, and sometimes anklets and feather decorations -- are worn for special occasions by both men and women.

Tatooing is practiced in nearly every island except Bali and Lombok. In some of the islands of Molucca, scars are burned or cut into the flesh. In the Kais, the Babars, and Tanimbar, hair is often bleached with lime.

G. Weapons

In most of these islands the bow is the important weapon. (Exceptions: Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, Sawu, eastern Wetar, Buru, and Sula, and some of the smaller Southwestern Islands.)

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Except in northern Halmahera, poison arrows are not used. Aru islanders are the only people who use the sinew-backed bow. The blowgun, used on many islands, is more important where the bow is rare or absent. It is presently used on Bali, Lombok, parts of Sumbawa, Timor, Lomblen, Roti, and the Babars. The Tobaru of northern Halmahera use unpoisened darts for hunting birds. Clubs as weapons are rare. On Buru they are used for striking and on Sumba and Aru for hurling or striking.

H. Villages and Housing

On almost every island villages were once built on high places and were surrounded by walls for defense -- usually intertribal. Gradually they are being moved to lower ground in the interiors and to the coastal areas.

Most houses are rectangular in shape, but they vary according to island. Oval-shaped or round structures, which are more archaic than the rectangular ones, are common on Timor, Flores, Lomblen, Sawu, and in north Halmahera. Often the village still consists of a large group of closely related families living in a cluster of small, clay-sided, thatch-roofed structures in a walled enclosure. Everywhere houses are poor and usually dirty.

There are beehive dwellings in western Flores and a portion of Lomblen. Unique houses with octagonal ground plans are built in Halmahera. Stone construction from the Hindu period is a thing of the past except among the Balinese.

Rectangular structures are usually set on piles, but in parts of Adonara, and in Lomblen, Ambon, and the Ternate-Tidore group they rest directly on the ground. On the smaller Southwestern Islands and on Ceram Laut, Goram, Buru, and Halmahera, rectangular dwellings with and without piles are built side by side.

Only in western Timor are round houses built directly on the ground. Oval structures, invariably on piles, prevail in Sawu.

Villages in almost all areas have a central section where there is an altar, a dwelling for spirits, a sacred waringin tree, a temple, or something else of central religious significance.

I. Occupations

These island people with few exceptions are independent, non-wage-earning, and self-employed. They live in poor,

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self-sufficient communities based primarily on subsistence agriculture. There is a saying to which there are few exceptions: in western Indonesia, rice; in central, corn; in eastern, sago. Only in Bali and Lombok is rice the main crop. Rice-farming becomes less and less productive, and more and more laborious to the east. In some places there is no rice. Besides corn, almost all islands grow tubers and sugarcane. Everywhere diets are supplemented and trade goods are acquired by gathering forest products. Where crops are undependable (as in Timor) and are supplemented by food-gathering, the people possess an amazing knowledge of the flora of their habitat and know how to adapt it for their survival.

Sago for many of the islands of Molucca is the main food. The sago palm, as well as bananas and coconuts, may be wild or cultivated. Although the natives do not participate in timbering operations or the spice trade, they are able to gather and take to market on a small scale damar resin, sandalwood products, coconuts, and sapan (dye-wood). Palm wine and betel-nut are universal.

Hunting and fishing are sometimes said to be the chief occupations. Although that seems doubtful, fishing, primarily for turtles and trepang, is important in most islands to supplement diet and for trade. Pearl-fishing is in the hands of foreigners, but the natives are able to get a few pearls, some pearl shells, and other shells for trading. After the monsoon season has passed and the crops harvested, the men of most of these islands hunt wild pigs, buffalo, dogs, deer, and certain marsupials for food. On many of the islands exotic birds, which are becoming scarce, are sold to collectors.

Animal husbandry is at a low level on most of the islands, although pigs, chickens, buffalo, dogs, and cats are almost universal. Ponies are kept on most of the islands and on a few, Sumbawa and Sumba for instance, breeding is of the best. Bali cattle are famous and have been introduced onto a few of the other islands.

Kennedy says that the most significant handicrafts are pottery, weaving, and iron-smithing. All three handicrafts are lacking among natives of Wetar, Kai, central Ceram, Buru, and Halmahera. Pottery is not made by the Do Dongo (Sumbawa), Aru, Ceram, Babar, Leti groups, and Sula. There is no weaving on Sumba, eastern Lomblen, Alor, and Aru. Iron-smithing is not known in western Flores and Ceram.

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Woodworking and plaiting of basket and mats are common to all.

The export trade and other businesses are in the hands of foreigners. Spice, which has decreased in importance, is still the main export in the Moluccas.

J. Advice to Foreign Visitors

Anyone wishing to work with the peoples of Eastern Indonesia (the Lesser Sundas or Nusa Tenggara and the Moluccas) should have a speaking knowledge of Malay. Malay-speaking interpreters who are familiar with loca dialects are usually available, and in most of the towns some of the inhabitants speak Malay. Moreover, since all dialects are of the Malay group (except in South Halmahera and a portion of Alor), anyone who has a basic -- preferably technical -- knowledge of Malay can quickly learn dialects that have been incomprehensible between neighboring tribes for generations. No English is spoken on these islands; only a few older Indonesians speak Dutch, while the Portuguese of Timor speak Portuguese. (Suggestions for finding interpreters are given for specific islands.)

Before a visitor goes to work in a community, he should learn all he can about it. Cultural factors are not defined by tribal or geographical boundaries; they differ from island to island and often from village to village. An Indonesian can tell with one glance from what island a native comes; a stranger who is able to recognize island types (or refrains from revealing his "ignorance") gains.

Authority is understood and desired. The Westerner, however, democratic-minded, should never try to circumvent it. Even in past guerilla wars, each unit was closely attached to its chief, much as children to a father. Everyone who tried to reorganize them -- separate them or change prestige levels for administrative or military efficiency -- hurt his cause, usually beyond remedy. Also, any news of changes in government or army officials has been upsetting, for these people are accustomed to a "headman" who serves for life.

The stranger's first contact in a community should be with the chief, for his attitude will determine that of all his people. His prestige is enhanced by visits from outsiders. He should be shown official papers seriously and promptly; no comment should be expected or questions asked to force him to admit that he is illiterate or that the papers are in a language he cannot read. If the visitor wishes to be respected and trusted, he should never try to

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be "one of the boys," for that would subtract from the prestige of the host-chief. Back-slapping or head-patting is out; such chummy gestures are out of harmony with Malay dignity. Worse than that, they endanger his soul-substance. Indonesians -- of whatever sophistication and whatever religion -- regard the body, especially the head and shoulders, as too important (sacred) to be touched.

Appearances are deceptive. Like bright children these isolated peoples know both more and less than they seem to know. They have areas of knowledge abutted by areas of utmost unsophistication or even primitiveness. Just because a man wears a "skirt" or even a loin-cloth, he is not necessarily a "savage." On the other hand, a man can not be judged to have Western or Christian attitudes because he wears a shirt and trousers. Native tabus, religious rules, and social usages are not separable. Even Christian and Mohammedan converts retain their inherant beliefs in pantheism and animism. Various forms of stone cult are prevalent and a stranger should not move or treat carelessly a stone on some casual-looking pile in a field. The same is true for a stake in the ground, a branch placed in a certain way, or anything else that is not a stranger's affair. Any one of a multitude of things may be a form of <u>pemali</u> (taboo).

Since many Balinese usages are Indonesian rather than Hindu, one should study their elaborate customs. In general, girls and women must be treated with respect -- or considered "invisible" -- by a stranger. Even men of the village do not approach a girl in public. Anywhere in Indonesia, one should not point with an index finger, but with the thumb, the rest of the hand closed. Verbal direction rather than pointing should be used if possible. Objects must not be handled with the left hand but always with the right. Waving with the wrong hand does not seem to break a taboo, but it can be confusing. The usual Western wave means, to any Indonesian, "Go away," or "I don't need you." The opposite carries the simple greeting.

Life and work in the Indonesian islands are completely cyclical. A visitor, therefore, should be informed about the seasons, not only for his own health and comfort, but for his reception. A villager who may be unfriendly in the season of grueling work and empty storage bins, may in his long season of full bins and relative leisure be a receptive and helpful host.

Presents are acceptable in these islands, if properly presented. Toys are always appreciated. Toy balloons -- especially those decorated with animal faces -- delight both children and adults, and recommend themselves to the giver because of low

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price, light weight, and small bulk. Plastic items have the same advantages and are appreciated almost everywhere.* Head-scarfs (slendangs), flashlights, combs, chopping knives, plates, and fountain pens please and often excite. All fabric is acceptable, especially the glazed ones like chintz and "cotton satin." A gift fit for a chief is a shaving mirror that enlarges on one side and reduces on the other. (The chief's beardlessness is not of moment here.) As in Bali, it is preferable in most islands not to remove the price tag. The recipient will not say thank-you but, if unusually polite or pleased, may say something like, "I like it," or "It's good."

No report was found of natives wanting tobacco, as in the large Indonesian islands. Tobacco is raised on some islands; and in others, the universal betel takes its place. (If a visitor is up to it, he should partake of betel with his host.)

One traveler, remembering needs in interior Borneo, made the mistake of carrying salt to these people who all live on or near the sea. It was refused (without resentment in this case). Quinine and asperin are wanted, but are not counted as presents.

Money is sometimes acceptable as payment for labor, sometimes not. Money payment in a non-monetary village may be viewed as a symbol of subordination. This attitude is probably a carry-over from gotong-rojang (mutual help) or perhaps from unpleasant relations with foreign masters. Moreover, there may also be little understanding of values measured in money. The visitor should determine the local attitude towards money and the value of barter items to take its place.

Mileage on a map is not a clue to travel time. Three miles may take three days, rather than the estimated three hours. Roads are bad or non-existent. Marshes, head-high lantana grass, and rough terrain make trails difficult. There are almost no navigable rivers. Shore travel, however, especially by prau or launch, is often pleasant and informative. Guides are usually needed for interior travel. (Anyone wishing to try this kind of "travel" should read Banner's A Tropical Tapestry, 1929, and Fairchild's Garden Islands of the Great East, 1943. The dates of these

* Plastic is good because it is not an imitation, but a new material. Most islanders would appreciate jewelry, but "plated" items are often offensive where people are accustomed to pure gold and silver.

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experiences do not invalidate the information, for little has changed along these shores since Wallace, 1883.)

A visitor who wishes to complete his job has to take certain precautions. A mosquito net is indispensable for health or rest (mosquitoes in some of these islands are not malarial). Water should always be boiled. For raw vegetables and fruits, the advice of a doctor of tropical medicine is perfect: "Cook it, peel it, or throw it away." Natives claim they are immune to most diseases; meanwhile typhoid, dysentery, and cholera are common. Elephantiasis, leprosy, certain skin diseases, and other infections are common, but seldom attack white people.

On almost all islands, forest fruits are available as foods for survival -- bananas, citrous fruits, coconuts, and mangoes. But the sap and the skin of the mango, especially of the pekel mango, is poisonous. Also, many people are allergic to mango sap on their skin. The cashew is deadly poison until processed.

Tribal history has taught the Indonesian that no inch of water is safe from sharks, barracudas, and other dangers. They do not like to swim -- or play -- in the ocean. Inland waters harbor snakes or crocodiles. Raymond Kennedy, a noted authority on these islands, advises extreme care before bathing, laundering, or attempting to cross any stream.

At every point, the one indispensable qualification for a stranger is awareness. The success of his mission, and his very life depend upon this quality.

III. Lesser Sundas and Timor

A. Bali and Penida

1. General

Bali, lying some three miles east of Java, has an area of 2,300 square miles and a population of almost 1,700,000. Most of the population lives in the fertile eastern half of the island where rain on the volcanic fires makes the land a veritable hothouse. The lowlands in that area have a density in places of more than 1,500 people to the square mile. The west side of Bali lacks rain and is wild and practically uninhabited; tigers, deer, wild hogs, lizards, and jungle cocks roam there almost unmolested. The Tefelhuk Peninsula, below Denpasar, is arid. People go there only to visit the very sacred temple of Uluwati.

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An automobile road crosses the island from Singaradja to Denpasar, the capital, and motor roads fan out from Denpasar to beach resorts and such tourist-type villages as Ubud, Gianjor, and Karangasem. Other villages are approached by trails leading off the motor roads or away from the towns.*

2. People

a. Ethnic Groups

The major ethnic group on Bali is the Balinese, who are a complicated mixture of aborigine (deutero-Malay) with overlays of various cultured races. These include pure Indonesian, the noble Hindus of Java who were also Indonesians, northern Chinese, Indian, and traces of Polynesian and Melanesian. The result is a picturesque variety of features. Some Balinese have sleek hair, high nose bridges, cream-yellow skin; some are dark and curly-haired; some have large almond eyes, perhaps with Mongoloid fold, convex noses, and fine mouths; others have concave, flat, broad noses, squinty eyes, bulging foreheads, and prognathic jaws of the aboriginal Indonesian.**

The Balinese found in Nusa Penida, like those in Lombok and in small settlements in East Java, are exiles from Bali for violation of some serious social tabu.

The other native ethnic group is the pre-Hindu Bali Aga.*** They are a distinct people and all phases of their culture will be discussed separately.

In addition to the native groups, there are Chinese (about 10,000 before the expulsion began in 1959), Arabs and other Mohammedans (about 3,000), less than 500 Europeans, (most of whom

* Superficial -- if interesting -- information available in tourist guides, travelogues, and popular books, will not be relayed here.

** Covarrubias, Miguel, The Island of Bali, 1937.

*** Berzina, M. Ya. and S.I. Bruk, Population of Indonesia, Malaya, and the Phillipines, show no symbol for Bali Aga. The Balinese call themselves Wong-Madjapahit to distinguish themselves from the Bali Aga.

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Figures 2-7. Scenes of Bali.

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are actually Eurasians), and a few Indian shop keepers. Most of the above peoples live in Denpasar and Singharadjah.

b. Characteristics

The Balinese are descendants of noble and high-caste refugees who fled from Java when the Madjapahit Empire collapsed and who look much like the Javanese. They have been influenced by progressive waves of Hindu, Buddhist, some Chinese, and some Mohammedan culture. Bali is the only Indonesian island where the Hindu cult -- which influences every phase of life -- remains. Bali is, even today after excessive and often erroneous "promotion," a kind of museum piece from the 14th century.

The Balinese are agriculturalists in a fertile land, are self-employed, not wage-earners, and are individual entrepreneurs but responsible for helping each other when necessary. They are well-fed and satisfied but not lethargic and use their considerable time and freedom for spiritual relaxation, enjoying poetry, dancing, music, and the pleasure of craftsmanship. They place "style" before mere physical speed or efficiency in everything, even in their vital rice culture. Plowing is a festive occasion with decorated oxen and racing events. Covarrubies finds the Balinese people elegant, decorative, and sensitive like their fertile land. Although they are courteous, hospitable, and gentle, they are high-strung and can become very intense and extremely angry. In some of their religious rites they can work up a dangerous frenzy. The Balinese are also gay and witty; they like jokes, especially off-color jokes in which even the children indulge. Their native sense of humor carries over even into religion and death. They have resourceful, intelligent, quick minds and are eager to learn.

The Balinese are great gamblers, not only on their ever-present cock-fights but on many other games. Riding through the country night, one can see a ring of gamblers on almost every verandah -- many times young children -- crouched around a candle-lighted circle and hear the splatter of bones, woods, or other gambling devices.

Children, who are considered gods as gods are considered children, are subjected to dominance-submission cycles or what has been called the "startle" system. A mother will go from tenderness to sudden harshness or pretended abandonment. Discipline consists of assured safety in freedom, instead of a Western system of limitations. Fear belongs to the Balinese system. The Balinese go to sleep readily, especially when

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frightened. They call it takut-pules (fear-sleep). Servants sent off to do unfamiliar work or to work with unfamiliar tools will all fall into takut-pules. During a serious trial, the accused sleeps if he is especially afraid.

The Balinese practice formalized narcissism based on a fantasy that the body is made of separable parts. The visitor should know enough of the basic beliefs to beware of offending. The head is the most important part of the body and not to be touched, except by privileged persons. Body functions are divided into two categories: (1) Eating meals and defecation are invested with shame (at a feast, the two rows on opposite sides of the table face in different directions); (2) drinking (because water purifies), urination, and snacking are without shame. For instance, suckling a child is open because it has no fixed time (when a European doctor succeeds in putting the baby on a schedule suckling becomes "formal" and hence private). Prechewed food stuffed at a fixed time into the baby's mouth is private. Betel is chewed to plug the mouth. Food is stuffed into the mouth with the hand cupped so as to hide it, for there is shame in the mouth-anus association. A cult of cleanliness is practiced among all classes.

The common people acknowledge Balinese aristocracy but are unservile. Europeans say they make bad servants. No begging is permitted, although -- lamentably to a true Balinese -- this ban is threatened by tourists who pay loiterers for permission to take pictures and for other small favors.

The Balinese are generous and will make gifts to new friends, but a gift must always be reciprocated. The choice of a return gift is a ticklish matter which is best managed with Balinese advice.

C. Attitudes toward Outsiders

The Balinese readily accept small details of culture or technology that can be absorbed without altering their basic tenets, but they are utterly unable and unwilling to go beyond that. Even in the capital, professional, educated, or commercial Balinese retain the same customs, beliefs, and attitudes as their relatives in the village. For centuries they have been resistant to Chinese influences and to the demands of the high centers of Hinduism. They were the last to come under Dutch rule, and when they did, it was on their own terms. Dutch influence was checked by characteristically Balinese limited compliance and by the self-restraint of the Dutch who utilized native structures, did not support missionaries, and were not arbitrary about social behavior.

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The introduction of Dutch money and cheap consumer goods influenced Bali's outward appearance and its economy. Today a regent's prestige is reckoned by his automobile, not by his patronage of the arts.

The purchase of pictures and carvings by tourists created a sort of renaissance of art guided in part by serious European artists. Today some phases of art have deteriorated in the effort to satisfy a fast, easy market. Dancing, too, has become commercialized in some areas but, because of its religious significance, still retains a religious spirit and fire. The commercial influence, however, touches only a few directly. Relatively few natives have ever seen a tourist, and fewer have had contacts with them. Tourists never visit villages off the motor roads.

d. Dress

Balinese can be distinguished from Javanese not only by their better-balanced features and more graceful carriage, but by their dress. Men wear a distinctive head cloth. Like Javanese men, they also wear sarongs, pajamas (for street), or trousers with or without shorts.

The women can be distinguished by large well-known "turbans."* Their traditional costume is bare-breasted, the kain rising only to the waist. Missionary insistence and a civil ordinance against "bare breasts in the public eye" have resulted in coverage for the upper body. The most formal is a length of cloth wrapped just under the arms, leaving arms and throat bare. Much more popular with the village women when they come to town is a blouse or sweater with the sleeves tied around the neck, letting the rest flop down in front like a large bib. Older women, accustomed from birth to the comfort of bare breasts, pay no attention to the "silly law." Most women remove the upper garment as soon as they

* Turkish towels have almost entirely replaced the women's native headcloth; a colorful bath or hand towel would be a treasured gift for any "non-sophisticated" Balinese woman.

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are out of the city and never wear it when working.*

e. Languages

Malay is the lingua franca and is the common language among shop-keepers, taxi drivers, artists, and villagers who sell to tourists along the motor roads.

The modern Balinese scholar requires five languages for social and cultural intercourse: high, middle, and low Balinese, Kaui, and Bahasa Indonesia. Spoken Balinese is based on distinct, unrelated Malay languages -- one high, one low. It has three meticulously graded levels to indicate differences in cast, status, and degree of intimacy. These gradations require substitutions from widely different vocabularies. Low is spoken at home, at work, and in the market. The use of the wrong form is a serious offense. If a person meets a stranger, they both use the "safe" polite address (djero), and talk in the middle-caste language. One will ask the other, "What's your place (caste)?" Then each speaks in the other's language. Only a few Balinese speak high well and fewer (priests, seers, scribes, clerks) are literate in it.

The fourth language, Kaui (or Kawi), is used exclusively for rituals, poetry, and classic literature. It is archaic Javanese, nine out of ten words being Sanskrit, and has a syllabic Sanskrit script.

The fifth language, Bahasa Indonesia, is actually Malay made "respectable" by adoption as the official language and requirement for teaching in the schools. When it has had time to spread, it will simplify the language situation, for it has no caste rules and is beginning to have a literature.

f. Education

Bali probably has the lion's share of the educational facilities in the Lesser Sundas. It is here that a member of the board lamented the jumble of Western-oriented curricula that pointed a boy's ambitions toward jobs that he could not fill(which

* Covarrubias, op. sit., (perhaps seriously) traces most of Bali's present troubles to the Christian Missionaries' drive for foreign morals. He says the ban on bare breasts led, in the latter 1930's, to "ugly" blouses; that to growing contempt among the young for Balinese ways; to complaints about poverty; to lower prices paid for Balinese goods; to the rise in price of Dutch gold; to lands being sold for taxes; and to movement of too much of the population into Denpasar.

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did not exist.) There was, and perhaps still is, a project to give Bali 100 new schools a year for 10 years.

g. Health

Bali has long been plagued with leprosy and venereal disease; goiter is common. Health, however, has improved with universal smallpox and cholera vaccination and strict quarantine rules, measures to prevent epidemics, and the US malaria eradication program. Some think that consumption of wine and opium has been reduced. Very little has been done for individual ailments because of conflict with mores and religion. Sanitation is poor, and dogs are the only scavengers.

h. Religion

Balinese life and character cannot be considered apart from Balinese Hinduism. It is a complex religion with a large pantheon of impersonal, polynomial gods, some of whom can be equated with Hindu gods, and temples with a strong Polynesian flavor. It would take volumes to detail its meanings for the Balinese and its traps for the insensitive visitor.

The gods are worked into all village calendrical feasts and work rituals. The whole pantheon (as well as the special god of the village) may sometimes be invoked by village religious heads, shrine or family temple keepers, seers, diviners, and Brahman priests. No rites or offerings are exclusive, and Balinese ceremonies are a conglomeration of different influences from various villages, cults, and degrees of Hinduism and Buddhism. Everything has religious significance: high things (mountains, temples, etc.) are good; low (sharks, barracudas, snakes, etc.) are magically evil. There is fear of many things: mountain tops, which belong to the gods; the depths, which are for underworld spirits; and the sea and the "unholy loneliness" of the whole coastline, which is under the influence of the Fanged Giant who lives on a tiny peninsula at the southeast point of Bali.

The witch play, Rangda dan Barong (The Widow and the Dragon), dramatizing progress through ecstasy, agony, and recovery, is said to throw much light on Balinese character.

Trances have much influence on everybody and act as a sort of catharsis. A trance can be brought on by trance doctors, diviners who practice going into trances, ceremonial practitioners, impersonators in Rangda dan Barong, a child, and by the folk themselves. Fighting, self-stabbing, or other emotional high points may also

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Figure 8. Cremation ceremony.

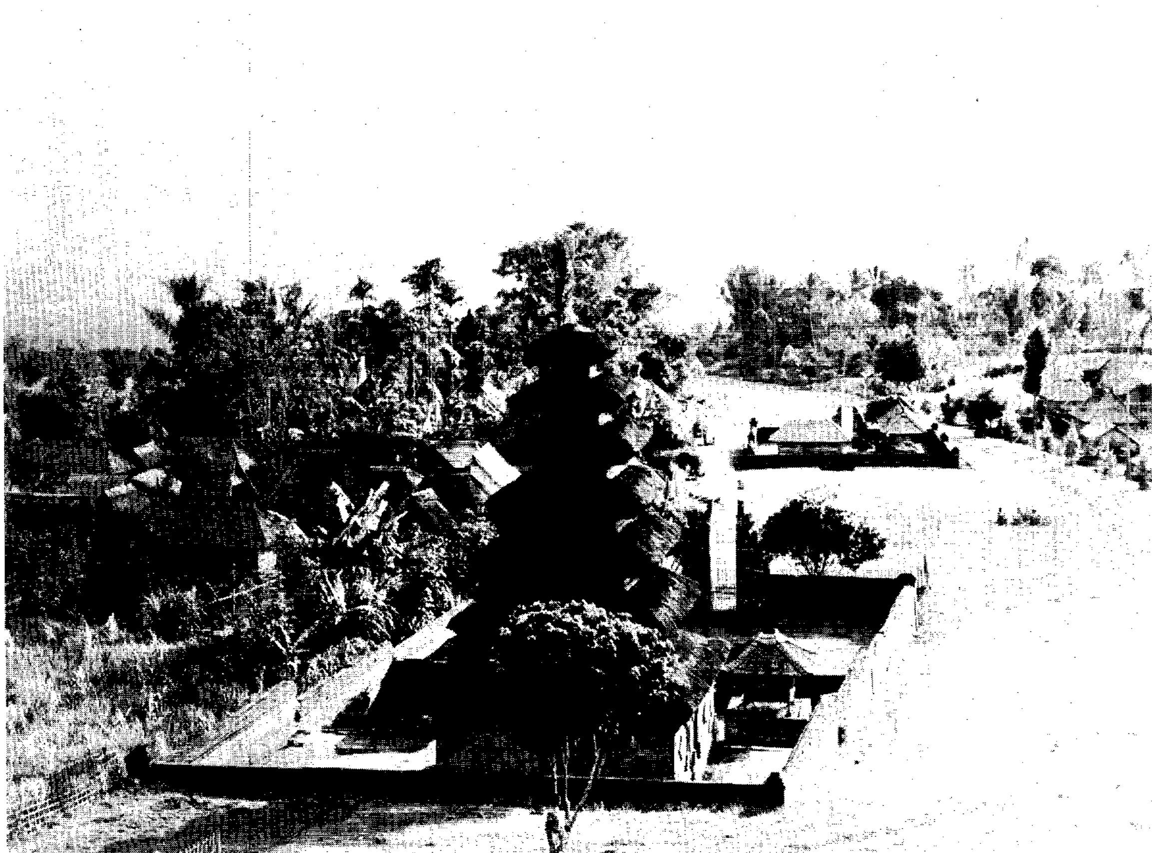

Figure 9. Village temple on Bali.

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bring on a trance.

The black arts of witchcraft are also highly charged with emotion. The Balinese have a body of beliefs about the ways in which witches go around looking for situations that will make them angry enough to practice their arts. A witch has the power to harm or kill. She is shunned in society but causes little disruption of social life for she fits into the desire to be frightened and to be reassured.

Offerings consist of a continuous series of pleasant but very mildly emotional acts. They call for a conspicuous consumption of food and the performance of theatricals. Women are kept busy much of the time making offerings (banten) with endless, rigidly prescribed detail. The same repetitiveness and superabandance characterizes other rituals: purification, birthdays, tooth filings, and marriage. Mortuary rites are never completed.

Cremation rituals are described in all tourist materials. What popularized stories do not tell is that the body -- after it may have lain in the ground from three to twenty-five years -- is transported to the crematory platform by men who boast that they can endure unclean smells and handle the unclean without nausea, and use the horror as a stimulus to exhibitionism.

A priest is not tied to any local organization, except for the routines of the households in his village. Historically, he owes secular allegiance to the radjahs and respect to his teacher-priests. He serves as a religious center for his own extended family, families from the other two castes, and constellations of casteless people. Priestesses may go into trances, and they may take the lead in many minor rituals. They, as well as senior villagers, must avoid all contact with death. Buddhistic Brahamans, however, are so holy that they may handle the dead, and they emphasize their freedom to contact the unclean. They eat beef and may have a house in the cemetary. Older people and girls may take part in many rituals.

To Westerners who look for a system of purposes and ends, Balinese culture values often seem negative: (1) they know the day of the week they were born but not their age; (2) climax is absent from the sequences of love and hate; (3) they are insensitive to interruption; (4) they place a strong emphasis on finality; but (5) no mortuary service is final. What appears negative is for the Balinese two continuous cycles. Souls of the dead are babies who must be taught to pray; babies are souls of

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the dead. The great-grandfather is reincarnated in his great-grandchildren. In some villages, if a man lives to be a great-great grandfather, he loses his citizenship. Every person holds his place in the great circle of life. Infancy and old age are considered close to supernatural.

i. Caste

Caste is still an obsession in Bali. There are three recognized Balinese castes: Brahman, the highest; Kesatrya, the middle; and Vesia, the lowest. Everybody else is a djaba (outsider) or is casteless. The great bulk are casteless, their allegiance to the village being their strongest tie.* Their secondary tie is to the larger patrilineal family which often becomes the membership of a temple. (A person may also have membership in other temples than that of his village.)

The forms of caste etiquette remain despite the diminished power and prestige of the overlords. In addition to language the other key to caste is level. After five centuries of feudal domination and a few years of "guided democracy," there is still much squatting and stooping. A low-caste person, to address a superior, must squat on the ground clasping his hands in front of his chest or over his left shoulder. To retire he walks backward, hands still clasped. A servant may not sleep in the attic and thus be "above" his superiors. Other examples of "level etiquette" are endless.

The aborigines had castes of their own before the Hindus came. (See Bali Aga below.)

Trade castes also exist on Bali. Blacksmiths (pandes) are a separate caste because they make the family krises, the symbol of family virility. Even a Brahman must use the high language to a pande who has his tools in hand. Certain professions are "unclean" -- indigo-dyers and palm-sugar, pottery, and arak makers. If they practice inside a village, they pollute the village. They belong to the low, low caste and may not have a proper cremation bier.

* Covarrubias, ibid., says 93 percent of the population of Bali is low caste. This discrepancy comes about by the superimposition of Hindu castes on Balinese patriarchal communalism. The nobility are the real "outsiders," having no voice in village management.

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Figure 10. A Balinese dancer. Her dress is made of batik; the headpiece is composed of fresh flowers and leather.

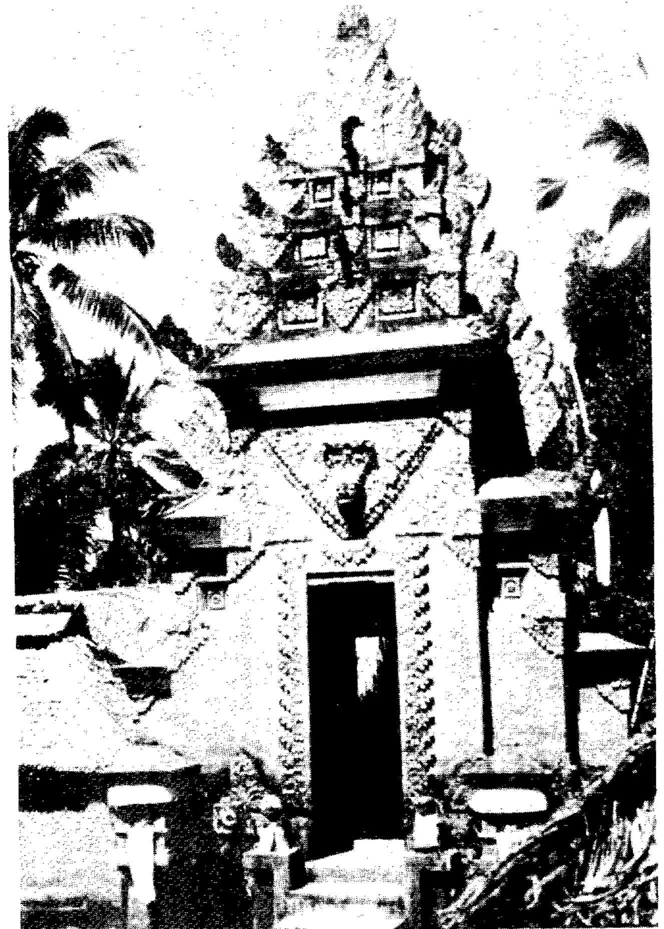

Figure 11. Entrance to shrine compound near Denpasar.

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j. The Family

For all practical purposes the family is bilateral. The son-in-law may take his wife's family name and their children will enter her family continuum. The order of birth in sets of four determines the position and the mode of address within the family. If there are several sons, the oldest and the youngest have more power than the others. The youngest is given this importance, because after the others have left home he usually inherits the house and most of the family land. If a man has no son, he may adopt a prospective son-in-law.

The strongest restrictions have to do with inter-caste marriages. Hypogamy (marriage into a lower caste) is permitted to males of all castes, the wife being raised to the husband's caste. The reverse is a serious offense, to be punished by denunciation by the offender's family and exile from the village. The most heinous offense is for a casteless male to marry a high-caste female. Parents try to make their children marry cousins and the high-caste families are fairly successful in this. Rules of incest vary from district to district.

The average Balinese (but not Bali Aga) gives no great importance to virginity. Divorcees, widows, or adultresses find it easy to marry. The Balinese men are discreet in their intimate affairs with low-caste girls.

3. Villages

The Balinese village is a unified organism called the Tree of Life. In appearance, villages are all alike -- an interminable array of settlements, each enclosed by identical mud walls broken by narrow gates. These walls begin at the outskirts of town and line all roads and trails. As one goes further up the mountains, houses grow scarcer, air grows colder, tourist read-stalls become fewer, and only a few people will be seen (some of them "wild-looking") wrapped in blankets and riding on small ponies.

To enter a village one must walk across the ever-present irrigation ditch on a bamboo bridge. The village consists of family kampungs (compounds) each completely surrounded by walls with thatched gates decked out in mysterious signs. In the village, cardinal directions are supreme; the crossroads in the center are magic. The temple occupies the most prominent place. Many things in the village are sacred, especially the waringin (banyan) tree in the center. There are public baths in the outskirts. In a few larger villages there are markets and tin-shops run by Chinese and Arabs, but villages prefer only the

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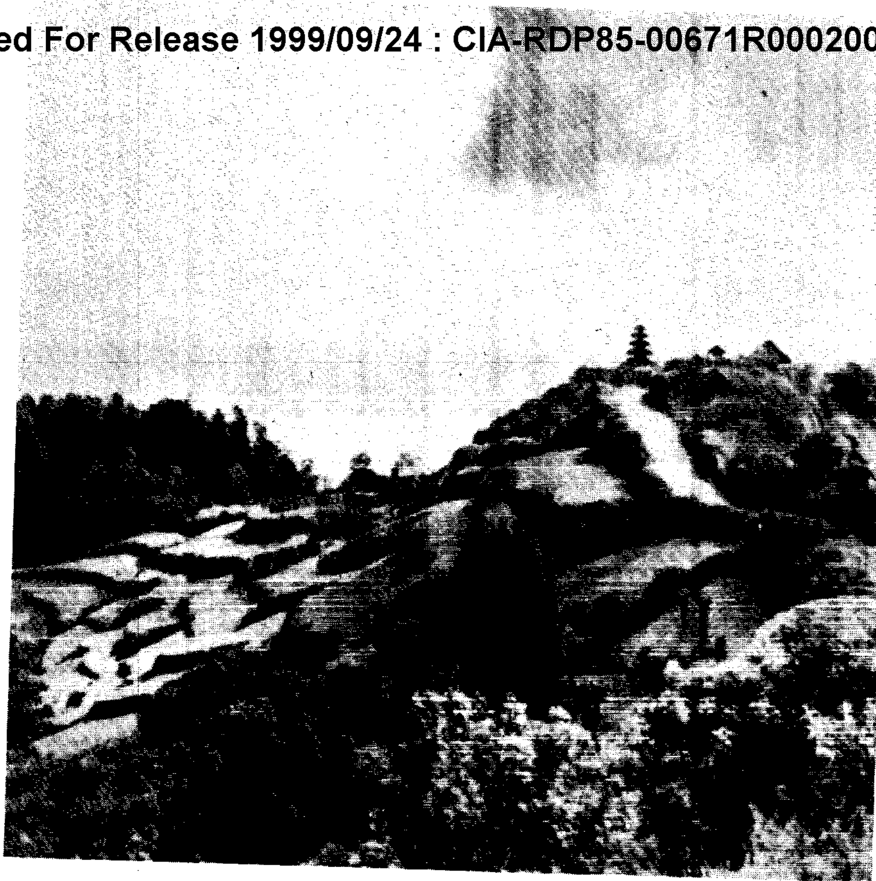

Figure 12. Terracing in northern Bali.

Figure 13. Balinese fishing village.

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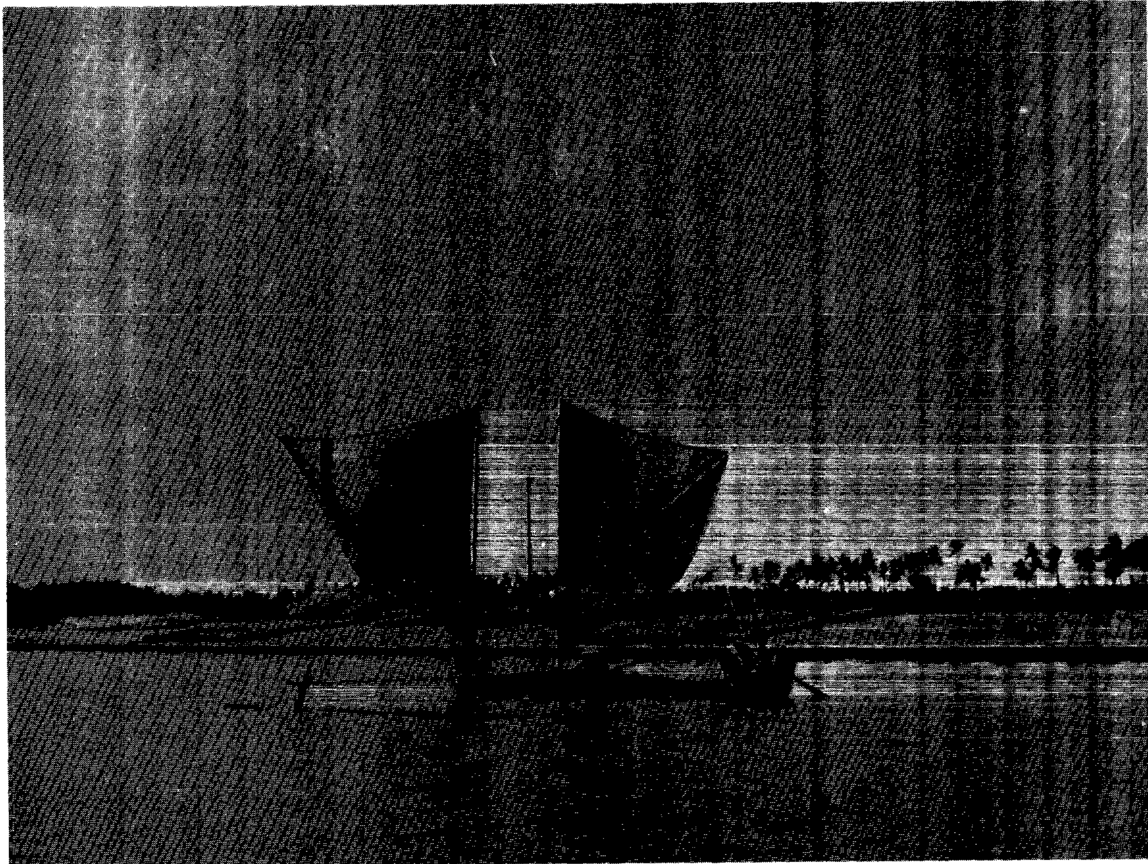

Figure 14. Balinese fishermen.

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number of shops that can "rest under the shade of our waringin.)

a. Village Organization

The basis of village organization is the adat (common law). (Villages are independent of each other.) In each village the council, composed of every married man in the village, administers the adat, the village temples, and the elaborate calendrical system of feasts. Cooperation is a physical and moral obligation.

When anyone needs help, he is assisted by his neighbors. The villagers seem to aid him willingly, for assistance is a village duty. There is no reward except return help when it is needed. This means that paid labor with boss-coolie overtones is at a minimum. The community is the villager's world, where his standing depends upon his social behavior. Membership in the village organization and in the numerous voluntary associations such as rice clubs, temple clubs, orchestras and dancing groups carries obligations and privileges. They make for harmony and cooperation.

The transgressor does not have a chance in the village system. Punishment runs from fines or boycott from all desa (village) activities to total exile. If he is exiled from his village, he is declared dead and can enter neither his own nor any other village. The most serious crimes are those that would impair the well-being of the community and especially those that would weaken village magic. Other punishable crimes are failure to perform village duties, refusal to pay fines, theft of village property, incest, and trampling a planted field. The council tries to settle all disputes by the direct method, leaving no stone unturned to keep from asking for legal court procedure or from appealing to any supra-village authority.

4. Occupations

Except in the most mountainous regions where dry rice is cultivated, the Balinese economy is based primarily on the wet-rice crop. The wet-rice field on which water buffaloes are used and the elaborate irrigation systems are managed by a social organization that sees to it that ditches are kept in repair, supervises the flow and distribution of water, and controls all the complex activities of rice farming. Crops are staggered by an inter-village arrangement so that some districts are harvesting while others are planting, and so on around the cycle. Every inch of space to which water can be brought is thus used fully. The Burbank-like selection of seed used by the Balinese could not be improved by modern science. If rice production and

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consumption are discrepant, rice is bought with cash at the market. Rice is treated with reverence, for not only the body but the soul is built from it. This fertile land also produces many other cultivated or uncultivated products: coconuts, breadfruit, mango, mangosteens, papaya, many types of citrus, bananas, and many kinds of valuable forest products (teak, satin wood, sapan, and dyewood).

The artist, diviner, priest, and gambler are regarded as pursuing a vocation. So are pursuers of many other individual specialities; tuning orchestral instruments, making masks, fine weaving, teaching dancing, carving tufa, translating ancient texts, providing magic amulets, making "books", fanes, musical instruments, and many items from the lontar palm. Such craftsmen are paid fees. Formerly radjahs kept large entourages of specialists who were outside the village organization; remnants of this practice remain today.

Animal husbandry is on a higher level here than in most of the islands. Bali cattle and the water buffalo are important in the economy. Except for sacred herds, herding is an individual occupation. Other animals are the famous sway-backed pig, ducks,* chickens, and the scavenger dog. Everybody from prince to peasant owns fighting cocks and songbirds. Horses are used only for transport, not for farming. The cities, beach resorts, and nearby areas are thick with delmans (two-wheeled carts). The island does not use any kind of rickshaw -- man-drawn, pedaled, or motorized.

Because of the fear of water, there is only a small amount of fishing -- mostly for turtles -- usually done with casting nets from the shore or from praus.

The diet of the Balinese is adequate, about two and a half times that of the Javanese. Occasionally, famine strikes, but, because of the system of social organization and land use, nobody is allowed to suffer. It has been said that the people can live off the land, but under present Indonesian economic policy and with the recent volcanic disasters people are known to be starving or suffering from malnutrition. The government continues to encourage immigration to west Bali; results have been negligible.

* Ducks are taken to the paddies by a boy or an old man who sticks a flag-tipped bamboo pole into the mud; the ducks, trained not to wander far from the flag, gather there in the evening to be taken home.

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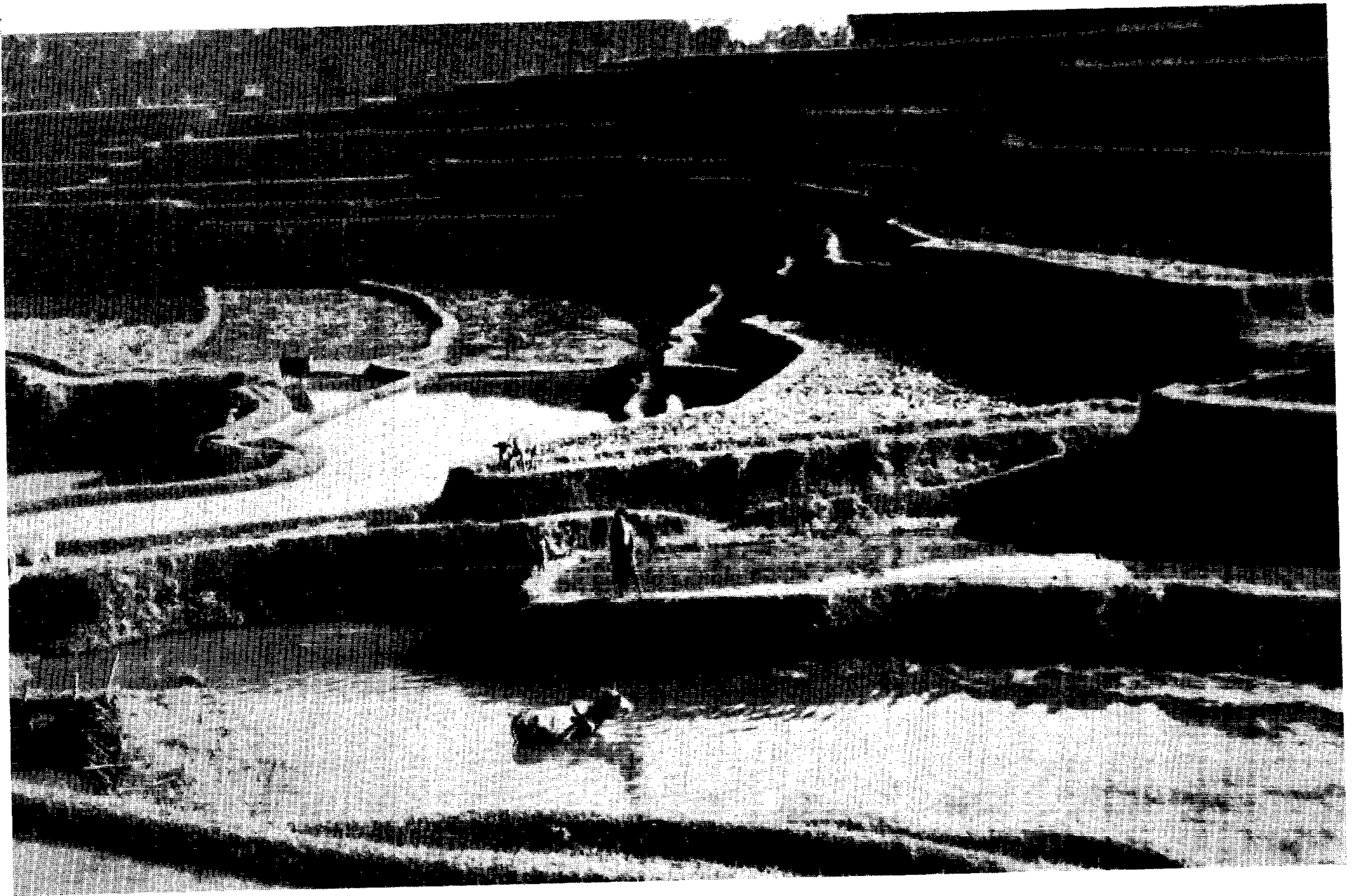

Figure 15. Rice fields of Bali.

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Distribution of labor between male and female is sharply defined: men plant rice, care for the cattle, sew, and perform most of the individual specialties. Women lay brick, break stone, do road work, control the home finances, manage the village market, and are the money changers for the markets "under the shade of a banyan tree."

The pursuit of money (trading and lending) is regarded as a vocation, and Bali has a lively system of cash exchange. Periodic markets are held in the large centers. The farmer is likely to buy rice at one period of the year and sell it at another. Wares are brought by professional vendors and vegetables by individual peasants. Cash is important to young and old. A two-year-old knows he needs it to buy peanuts; the adult must have it to pay fines and levies and for all purchase of goods. (Chinese currency was the only money before the Dutch; now the Indonesian rupiah is the only cash used.)

Land tenure varies, especially in the mountain regions. Generally a man may personally own land cleared by his ancestors, bought, or acquired on a lapsed loan. Many men own no land and live as migratory laborers for a share in the crop and/or room and board.

5. The Bali Agas

The Bali Agas (also called Bali Mulas or Original Balinese) are said to be pure descendants of pure Indonesians, pre-Hindu remains of the race that once inhabited all of Bali who took refuge in the mountains from inperialistic strangers. Today a few thousand Bali Agas live in remote, independent mountain villages. A primitive aristocracy prevails, and there is no recognition of Hindu castes. Tributary districts mixed the old caste systems with the Hindu. The result was a great scale of confused ranks muddled by inter-marriage. Tenganan, the most conservative village a few miles south of Karangasem, furnishes a prototype.

a. Tenganan

The people of Tenganan are tall, slender, and, due probably to continual inbreeding, are aristocratic-looking in a rather ghostly, decadent way. They have light skins and refined manners. Most of the men wear their hair long. They are intensely proud and even look down on the Hindu-Balinese nobility. The Balinese respect them and leave them alone.

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The village of Tenganan is thoroughly isolated. Socially and economically separated from the rest of Bali, it is almost a republic in itself. It has solid walls and only four gates. The main gate is so narrow that a stout person has trouble getting through. After the visit of any outsider, an official sweeps the streets to wipe out the intruding footprints. (Yet these people made friends with Covarrubies because he was sociable.)

There is no vegetation around the houses, which are arranged in rows on each side of stone-paved streets. In the central place there is a 10 by 70 foot council house, where the elders meet. (A large meeting house forms the heart of every Bali Aga village.) There is also a mill for grinding kenari (nuts) for oil and a ferris wheel in which women revolve for hours in a ritual. The use of some public buildings is secret.

The houses of a Bali Aga village are, in plan and measurements, exactly alike; even the head man's is identical to the rest. A house is entered by ascending a flight of steps and entering a small gate. Inside is a court with sleeping quarters, kitchen, and a small empty shrine where spirits may rest when they visit.

A Bali Aga may not marry outside the village; family caste rules. If a person violates these laws or breaks any tabu, he is exiled from the village. Exiles have formed villages just outside the main gate; they may never enter the main village again.

The Bali Aga village is a patriarchal-communalistic system. There is no individual ownership of property. The village owns tracts of fertile cultivated land which fill their every need.

The Bali Aga economy is agricultural. They hire Balinese to do their farming and go to the plantations themselves only to make tuak (beer) from sugar palms.

Very little is known about Bali Aga religion. It is pre-Hindu paganism of the Polynesian type and thus akin to the majority of native religions in Eastern Indonesia. The only place of worship is a small, low-walled enclosure under a banyan tree. The purpose of the wall, the stones inside it, and the names of deities may not be divulged; it is suspected that the basic religious concepts may be obscure even to the Bali Aga. They do, like the Balinese, worship the mountain Gunung Agung, and as a rule they live by the eternal principle of Bali orientation: high-low, right-left. Burial rites are unusual. Because of them, the Bali Aga have been accused of practicing cannibalism and human sacrifice to get blood to dye

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their famous scarves. (These burial scarves are much in demand.)

There are associations of virgins (seka daka) -- all females who are untouched by the "magical impurity" that comes from sexual intercourse -- and of adolescent boys (seka trune). A ceremonial meeting is held once a year.

Other Bali Aga villages are much like Tenganan. Sembiran, a village in northern Bali on the slopes of Batur above Tedjakula, has a temple like Tenganan's in a jungle near the edge of a deep ravine. There is a bamboo platform for offerings, consecrated water, and belongings of the deceased. (If they are not taken by the spirits within three days, they are thrown without ceremony into the ravine for the wild beasts.) The daily language here is different from any other. Trunjan, on the shores of Lake Batur, has the largest statue in Bali -- Ratu Gede Pantjung Djakat, the powerful patron-guardian of the village. Taro is the home of Kbô Iwa, fearful giant of pre-Hindu days. Because the people never had enough food to satisfy him, he ate the people. To give him a proper place to sleep, the villagers built the longest council house in Bali. The Taro villagers carve monuments and sculpture caves with their fingernails. There are also the villages of Selulung, Batukoang, Tjatur, and many more in the central mountainous area. They all have ancient, primitive monuments, stone statuary, and small pyramids -- some pure Indonesian, some early-Hindu influenced, and some perhaps Buddhist-influenced.

6. Advice to Foreign Visitors

A visitor must be prepared for inconsistencies, for Bali is a fast-changing, divided, even shaky, culture. Superstition is under attack by educationalists, the Department of Health, and the Denpasar newspaper. Young people have become sensitive about the old rituals and other Balinese peculiarities. Heretofore, they have been able to absorb what they wished of foreign culture and leave the rest, but now modern (Western) education, football, jazz, and the cinema are threatening the old ways. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of resistance to change from villagers, peasants, and oldsters.

Like all "new" Indonesia, administration is in the hands of young men, who try to make up for their ignorance and inexperience by zeal for reform and strong nationalist patriotism. (Even some of the sons of the old radjahs have become nationalists who are Indonesians first, Balinese second.) At present the rulers are doctors, professors, high officials, and technicians -- a "new caste" whose common belief is that technology can solve all human ills. The radjahs are the only Balinese experienced in

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administration, and they are identified with the Dutch.

Much of the rigid etiquette of the old days remains, however, and the visitor will have to be sensitized to the old, the new, and the in-between. He should know how to accppt from his host a drink of sick-coconut milk -- or soda-pop or coffee -- and a betel nut package containing sirih, betel, and lime. He should also be prepared for a host who eats only after the guest has finished and expects a loud belch of appreciation. On the other hand, if the visitor expects any of these, he may offend his host -- or be taken for a person of ignorance. The stranger is always in a squeeze between the old and the new.

B. Lombok Island

Lombok is a high, volcanic island surrounded by a number of small uninhabited islands, lying just east of Bali. It has a population of about 1,257,000 in an area of 2,000 square miles. Its coasts have many good anchorages, and there is therefore more opportunity for shipping than on Bali. Together with Sumbawa, the island comprises the XIIIth administrative district of Indonesia. The capital of the district is in Mataram, on Lombok's west coast.

The island is divided by two mountain ranges which run its whole length. Several roads provide travel routes from Mataram through the center of the island to the east coast; the rest of Lombok is accessible only by trail.

1. People

There are three cultural groups on Lombok, all predominantly proto-Malay, although some Veddoid traits appear among the non-Balinese.* First, there are the Balinese who are said to be decendants of people exiled from Bali for violation of the rule against marriage with a woman of higher caste or some other serious social offense. They colonized, conquered, and now, together with a few recent immigrants from Bali, live in a sort of semicircle of land cut out of the northwest part of the island. As the master race, they have a history of long domination. Today, the Balinese culture is largely like that of their kinfolk across Lombok Strait in Bali. Next, there are the much more numerous indigenous people, the Sasaks, who occupy almost all the rest of the island. They were vassals of the Balinese princes until they were taken over

* Berzina and Bruk, op. sit., show only two, Balinese and Sasaks.

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Figure 16. Coastline of northwestern Lombok Island.

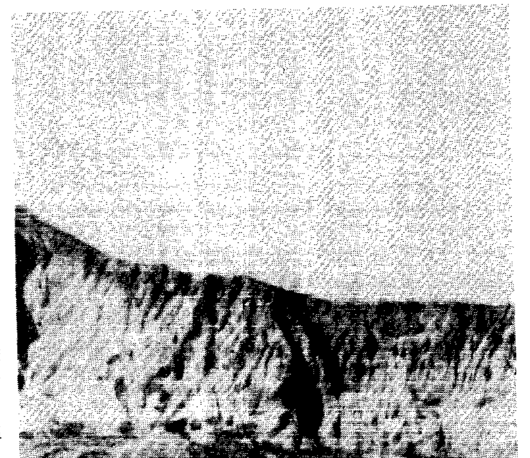

Figure 17. Rindjani Mt. (08°20'S-116°20'E) on Lombok is one of the highest volcanoes (12,300 feet) in Indonesia.

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Figure 18. Arid terrain on the north coast of Lombok. Vegetation is restricted to villages which are located where the ground water table is high.

Figure 19. Terraced rice fields on Lombok.

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by the Dutch (1894) in a long bloody war. In addition, there is an enclave of several thousand Bodhas "tucked in among the Sasaks" just north of the Balinese area. They are like the Sasaks but have a higher degree of Veddoid traits and a different religion that keeps them isolated.

a. Characteristics

The customs, morals, and general characteristics of the Lombok Balinese are the same as those of their relatives in Bali. Industry is at a high level. Balinese women are forbidden to marry Sasak men; there was a time when such a marriage meant the death penalty for a high-caste woman.

Sasaks are somewhat less developed than the Balinese and are intellectually inferior to them. They resemble the people of western Sumbawa. They are described as industrious, patient, docile, and of very primitive culture. The women wear kains, white headdresses, and long, dark, sleeveless jackets. The Sasak kris is longer than that of the Balinese.

b. Religion

The Balinese of Lombok like those of Bali are Hindu. The Sasaks are Mohammedans but do not adhere strictly to all of its tenets. Although they were once ruled by the Balinese, rarely is a Sasak converted to Hinduism except in the case of intermarriage with a Balinese, at which time he is supposed to become Hindu. The Sasaks are said to be the only example of Mohammedans ever being ruled by a people professing an older religion. The Bodhas are sometimes called pagan; their religion is close to Hinduism, but not close enough for Balinese acceptance.

2. Villages and Houses

Sasak villages and houses are built on the Java pattern; Balinese use the patterns of Bali. Sasak premises are said to be cleaner, because they are not defiled by herds of pigs.

3. Language and Literacy

The Lombok Balinese and Sasaks speak mutually incomprehensible languages. The Balinese speak the language of their mother-island. Sasak is more like the language of Western Sumbawa, with an addition of many Malay and Javanese words -- acquired probably through religious contacts. All Sasaks of status can also speak Balinese.

Literacy is low throughout the island.

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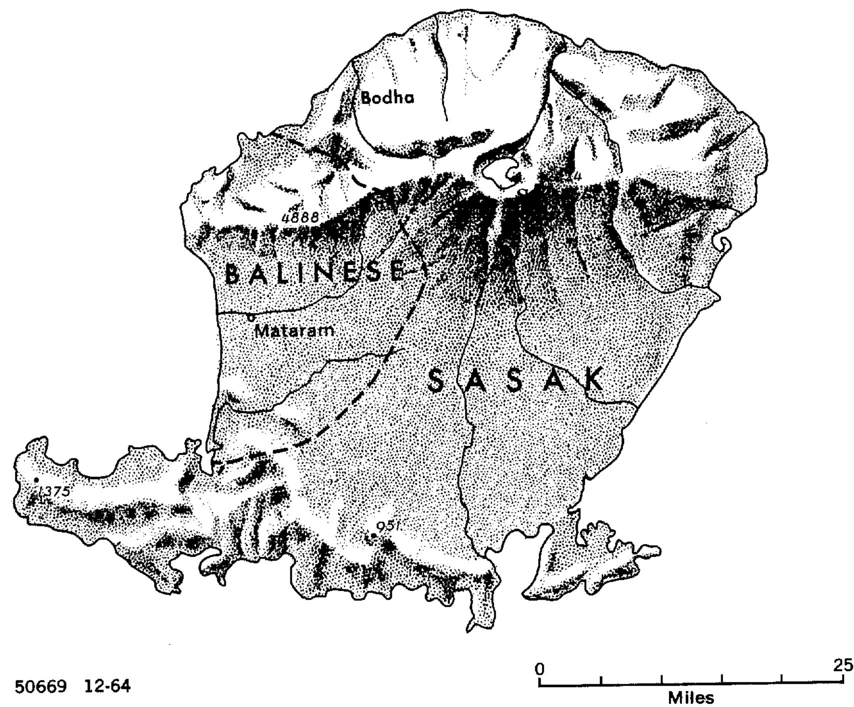

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Figure 20. Sasak woman on Lombok.

Figure 22. Native women on Lombok.

Figure 21. Sasak men and children.

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4. Occupations

Agriculture is common in all parts of Lombok. Rice, cotton, tobacco, and a variety of vegetables are raised. Copra is a valuable export crop. Most of the tobacco is sold to native markets.

Sasak industry has developed, but slowly, under Balinese influence,yet remains at low level. They weave cloth and mats and work as gold and silver-smiths.

Export trade is in the hands of foreigners. Inland trade is mostly carried on by the Lombok Balinese.

C. Sumbawa Island

Sumbawa lies less than 10 kilometers directly east of Lombok and is visible from there. Including a small coastal island, it has an area of some 5,240 square miles and a population of something between 400,000 and 490,000. (Encyclopedia Britannica estimated, 400,000 in 1960; Berzina and Bruk, op. sit., 490,000 in 1961. Census figures for this island are extremely unsatisfactory.) With Lombok it comprises the XIIIth administrative district and has three of the six administrative regencies (Sumbawa, Dompu, and Bima). The capital is not on Sumbawa, but on the west coast of Lombok. Raba, a few kilometers from Bima, is the capital of the Bima regency and the largest town on the island. Sumbawa Besar is the capital of Sumbawa regency.

The island consists of two large land masses connect by a long isthmus; the central portion of both peninsulas are mountainous. The only first-class road hugs the north coast of the Sumbawan peninsula, crosses the other, skirts Bima Bay, runs by the capital, and on to Sape Bay on the east coast. There are only a few miles of "second class" roads and no marked trails.

1. People

There is no systematic anthropological information on the people of Sumbawa. The natives (Sumbawa) of the western peninsula are related to the Sasaks (Lombok) and are proto-Malay; those of the eastern peninsula (Bimans, Sanggarai, Dompos or Do Dongos) are said to be Malay-Papuan.*

* Ibid., utilizing peninsula names, show only Sumbawans and Bimans.

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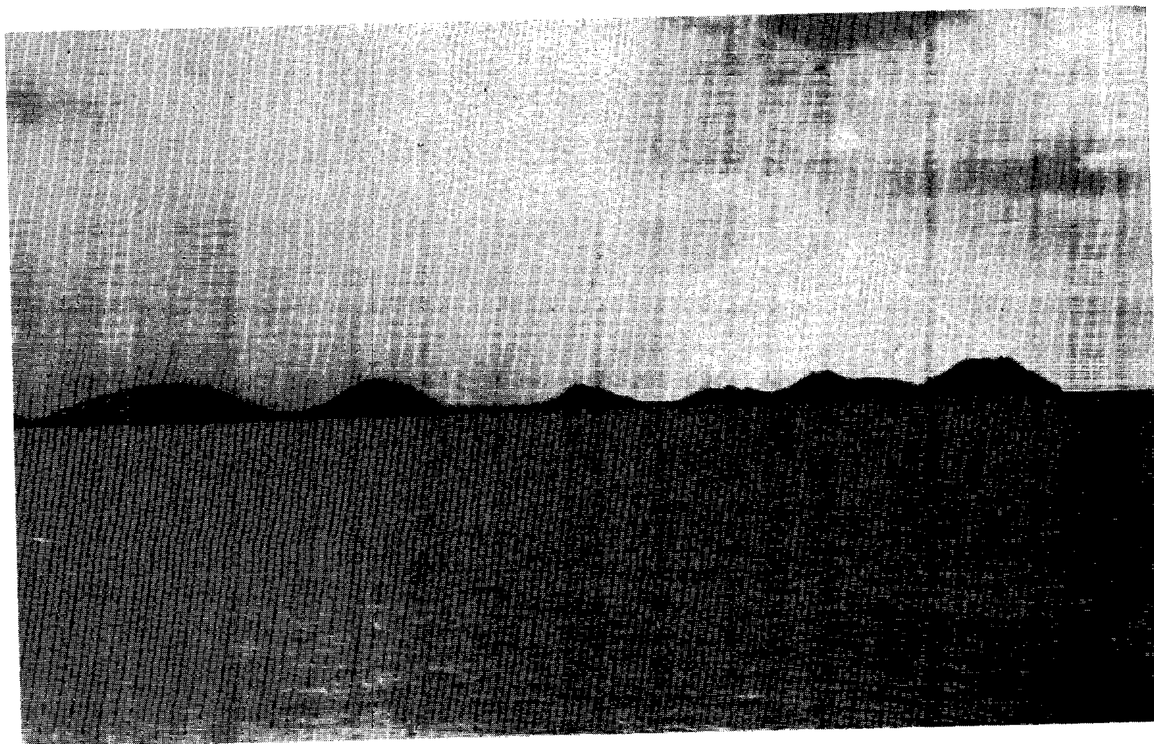

Figure 23. West coast of Sumbawa.

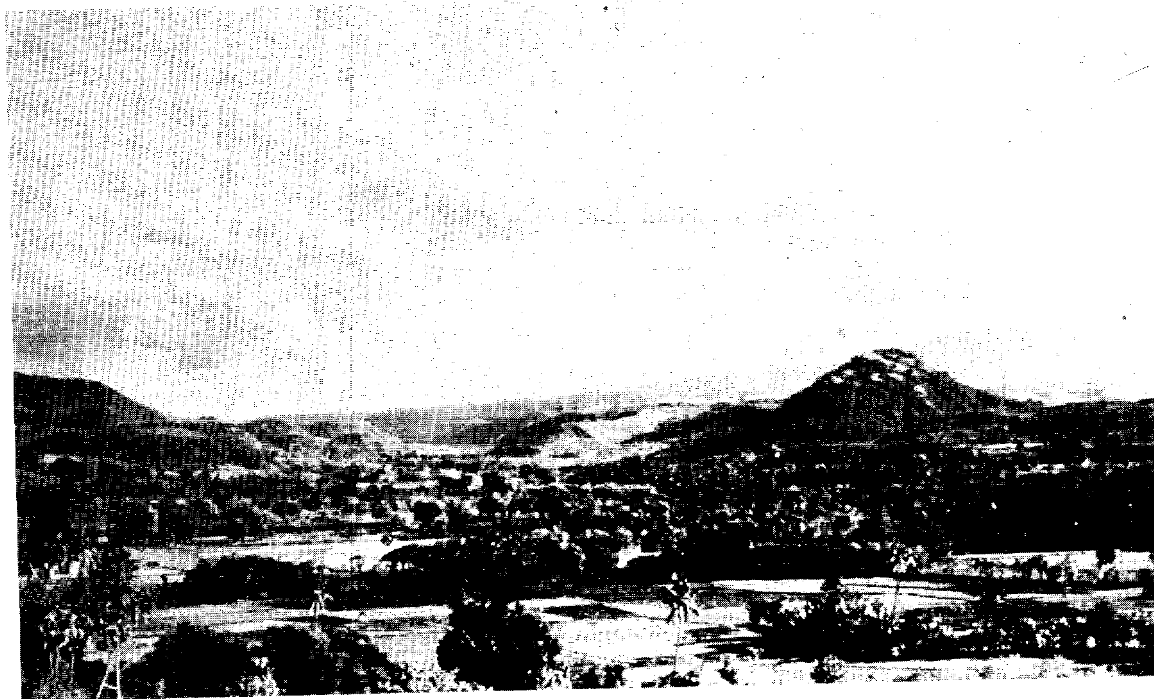

Figure 24. Terrain outside of Sumbawa Besar.

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In coastal settlements, particularly in the east, and in the capitals, there are Makassars, Buginese, Chinese, Arabs, Bajaus, and a few Europeans. (Much of the island once owed allegiance to peoples of the Celebes -- Gowans and Makassarese.) According to a 1961 estimate, there are 170,000 people on the larger (Sumbawa) peninsula and 320,000 on the Bima peninsula; this serves as a rough estimate for racial groups.

The truth is, the extreme mixture of peoples on this island has never been ethnically placed or enumerated, and population movements of the last century and a half have only exaggerated the confusion. For instance, the volcanic eruption of 1815 forced survivors to seek fresh land in the distant uplands of the interior. At that time, they took to dry rice culture in semi-automomous new villages, producing a new culture but not a new "race." Later in the century there came a gradual resettlement of a new laboring population from other islands to the coastal areas. Chiefs were imported, many from the Makassar area, and the laboring immigrants became their virtual slaves or heavily indentured laborers. Gradually their condition has been bettered, and today they occupy the coastal villages where mixed dialects and mixed adat are characteristic. These and other "intrusive" peoples have never been enumerated separately.

a. Characteristics

The proto-Malays here (Sumbawans and some of the interior people) are said to resemble the Sasaks. They have relative roundness of head, a greater range of stature, and no Mongoloid fold. (For details about typical Sumbawans, see "Rarak, A Sumbawan Village" at the end of this section.)

People with Negroid and Veddoid traits live in the mountains.

Contradictions about people of the eastern peninsula result from the greater mixture of people there. The Netherlands Handbook says that they all resemble each other, and are short and thick-set; the women are good-looking and fair-skinned; all are characterized as somewhat stupid, timid, and weak.

Most of the Bimas seem closer in physical characteristics to the natives of Flores than to the Sumbawans; they are darker, broader-chested, and shorter-necked.

Coastal settlements of the islands are centuries-old melting pots, mostly of Indonesians from other islands. Their characteristics are a mixture of their origins, environment, and occupations.

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Sumbawa Islanders have an old reputation for political instability. The Dutch found it impossible to find responsible political leaders with whom to negotiate and attempts at conferences always turned into a "hornet's nest of political intrigue." In general, these conditions forced Dutch contacts with the Sumbawans to be only nominal or underhanded. After the period of Dutch intrigue and neglect, native ways were further upset by the Japanese occupation and the Revolution.

During these last twenty-five years, many cultural changes have come, especially to the people in the coastal towns and villages. The adat has declined and in some areas concepts from the outside are seeping in; the coast is becoming more and more a palimpsest of cultures. Nevertheless, the villages of the interior still prefer their cultural isolation.

b. Languages

The dialects can be divided into two major language groups, both of them Malayo-Polynesian. First, the Sumbawan dialects are used generally thoughout the western peninsula; they are related to the Sasak language of Lombok which is the common language of Bali. Bima languages are used on the eastern peninsula; they are related to the languages of Sumba, Sawu, and western Flores. The many dialectal differences, especially on the Sumbawan peninsula, are so great that people of one village cannot understand people of another. But a person who is well based in Malay or Bahasa Indonesia will be able to "learn" any of them rather quickly.

Written literature is scant but does exist. There are numerous set songs, but few of them are written.

c. Religion

Sumbawa Islanders are almost completely Islamized. A few Christians can be found in Bima, and a few Do Dongo pagans dwell in the mountains to the west and northeast of Bima Bay.

Dry-rice villages (see "Rarak Village") participate all year round in the rites of the Islamic calendar and, just as faithfully, in those of the agricultural cycle. Religious officials headed by the lebé provide leadership for the major feasts. They direct ceremonies for non-Islamic and agricultural rituals and do it skillfully feeling that it "solidifies an important social horizon."

The Fifth Pillar of Islam (that is, the preparation for someone's pilgrimage to Mecca) opens up a still larger horizon, for

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Figure 25. Water buffalo grazing on a field near Bima ($08^{o}28'$S-$118^{o}43'$E).

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Figure 26. Native Sumbawan couple.

Figure 27. Typical Bimanese people at Raba (08°27'S-118°46'E) on Sumbawa.

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people come from other villages with offerings to be taken to Mecca and gifts for the traveller. When the pilgrim, a Hadji now, returns, he has new prestige and leadership stature beyond his own village.

2. Occupations

In general Sumbawa Island has a dry-rice subsistence economy. The western peninsula suffers from the drying winds of the southeast monsoon that blow up from the deserts of Australia. The eastern peninsula is even dryer for its rainy season last only two months. Much of the time the land here is dry and baked, and the trees are bare -- scorching heat bares the bushes like winter winds in Europe. There are many kinds of trees and bushes, but no undergrowth. Westerners report that the dryness "feels healthy" after the mugginess of much of Indonesia. (For techniques of dry-rice farming, see Rarak Village.)

Wet-rice farming is practiced on Sumbawa, especially in the coastal regions beyond Sumbawa Besar. Corn, onions, and fruit trees grow well. There are also wild and cultivated coconuts, bananas, oranges, and other fruits. The favorite food gathered from the forest is honey.

Tobacco is cultivated, and the "foot-long" native cigarettes wrapped in tobacco leaf are famous. Enough coffee is raised for home consumption.

The lowlanders raise ponies and buffaloes; their wealth is reckoned not by rice fields but by the number of horses the individual owns. Horses of the eastern peninsula are lighter-built and more suitable for riding than those of the western. The Dutch considered horsebreeding so important that they kept a good veternarian at Sumbawa Besar and sometimes at other government posts to oversee the buffaloes and ponies that were to be exported. There was always strife between the incumbent veternarian and the Sumbawan. The native rajah was suspected of killing a veterinarian and his wife; when he was questioned, he merely answered: "I do not like Europeans."

Hunting furnishes an important supplement to the diet, but the wild pigs that infest the jungles and raid crops cannot be eaten by these Mohammedans. Even when a bounty was placed on them, there was no response. If a pig is killed by some visiting hunter, prisoners or someone from the small group of pagans has to carry the game, for no one else will touch it. Fishing is an unimportant occupation.

Forest products are gathered on a large scale in some parts of the island. Sapan (dye-wood), teak, and lumber trees are important to the economy.

Cloth, mats, and weapons are fashioned for home use and for sale or trade in nearby towns.

3. Villages

Houses in all areas are small and raised on low piles. They have a large living-room, two sleeping compartments divided by a low wall, and an open verandah. Cows are kept in stables separate from the dwelling, but housegrounds are dirty anyway. There are numerous small barns for storing rice.

(Rarak Village, Section 5, furnishes a detailed description of a "typical" Sumbawan village.)

4. Organization

a. Extra-village

Like the peoples of all Eastern Indonesia, Sumbawa Islanders have no tribal concepts and no tribal organization. Here probably more than anywhere else, the dominant concern is the unique cultural individuality of the village. Though they all have a common Indonesian base, and most of them have a common religion, cultural homogeneity stops at the village edge. Neighboring villages are conscious of differences, not similarities.

Each village expresses its individuality in proud sub-cultural traditions, in local hero tales, community history, local skills such as housebuilding, weaving designs, styles of story telling, and special vocabulary and accent.

b. Inter-village

Personal and social relationships have a wider and more fluid scope. For example, the highland dry-rice farmer is usually aligned with six to ten neighboring villages of a similar subsistence pattern. On the other hand, he is set apart from the wet-rice lowlander by the latter's wealth of irrigated fields and gardens and capital of draft animals and tools. The lowlander feels superior, not only economically and socially, but also in knowledge of and devotion to the Koran. He may have a cousin or two in the upland, but his upland cousins would be thought coarser in speech and dress and lacking in social graces. He dislikes for his

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daughter to marry an uplander, unless the new son-in-law can assume an actual, productive role in the lowland family household. If the girl stands to inherit irrigated land, house property, or buffaloes, she attracts attention beyond her own village. The uplander man is not reluctant to marry such a lowland girl.

Such inter-area social barriers may be overcome with luck and skill, but usually uplanders say wistfully that they prefer an upland girl and the upland life. "Swidden farming is easier, better," they insist, claiming to be happy that they have no plows and no buffaloes to worry about.* "Besides, upland rice has more taste. Move to the lowlands? Tidah mau! (Don't want!)"

c. Widening horizons

Roads are slightly better than they were at one time, and trips to town cost less time and effort. (In 1945-49 -- the Federal Period -- auto travel was said to have penetrated within a mile of Rarak.) A few visitors travel them to hunt and induce villagers to help in deer hunts by offering them a share of the kill. Other travelers come to try to buy lumber; most of them are from other islands -- Java, Flores, Sumatra, and Bali. Sometimes a visitor leaves a newspaper or magazine; even though no more than a dozen villagers can read, all enjoy "reading the pictures."

There is a new faint interest in the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. More and more children -- eight or ten -- leave the home village and board in another where they can go to school; occasionally a teen-ager goes to town to middle school. People are beginning to show an awareness of national affairs that seems to belie their presumed illiteracy and lack of interest beyond the village. In 1955 the women sometimes walked to town with their menfolk to attend political ralles; and the excitement of the 1955 elections was in the air. This seems eloquent evidence of the widening of village horizons; political innovations of later years have probably broadened them even further.

d. Civil Organization

The Japanese, who occupied Sumbawa Island from 1942 to 1945, started some new trends in leadership qualifications. Ignoring

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* A swidden is a parcel of land used for dry farming. See The Wet Season Sec. 5 c.

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Figure 28. Native houses on Sumbawa.

Figure 29. Road through a typical Sumbawan village.

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traditional patterns, they appointed several new headmen in quick succession, trying to find cooperation and obedience in support of Japanese interests. Then, during the Federal Period (1945-1949), old ways were further changed, and popular interest was aroused by news and rumors. Young men who could read and write Indonesian were needed to cope with the new situation, and young men -- some in their 30's -- were appointed as kepala (village chief) for the first time. Also, for the first time, names of national political parties became familiar. This, on top of the Japanese occupation, did much to shatter the traditional image of the paternalistic (often tyrannical) kepalas of advanced years who had a lifetime of experience limited almost entirely to one village and the sole literary ability to read Arabic Scriptures.

e. The Village Union

The most important political innovation came in 1951-52: the establishment of an administrative unit, the gabungan, or village union. By this arrangement, several neighboring communities were put under a hitherto unknown type of administrator, the kepala gebungan. He was elected by the vote of all eligible male household heads of the village union to act as intermediary between the district head and the village headman. The existing village headman was reduced to wakil (deputy) kepala, but was expected to carry out the same duties as before and to act as adat leader.

The new kepala gebungan, or union head, may live in the most important village of the union, but wherever he lives, he is hard to assimilate into the villages that he administers. There is always village animosity toward him. He has no generation level, no kin ties, and does not know the local agricultural problems and techniques. He has usurped the prestige of the village head; he stands between the village and district, but he is no patriarch.

His duties are difficult to define, but they are generally jural and executive. His jural duties are: (1) adjudication of all civil (adat) disputes between members of different villages in the union and those between members of any of his villages with someone outside the union; and, (2) referring unsettled civil cases to the district head (demong), that is cases involving loss or theft of migrant livestock, rights to cutting village timber, or rights to swidden parcels. His executive duties include: (1) supervision and maintenance of records (basic data of the union); (2) monthly report to the district head; (3) special reports, for example, veterinary and medical reports; and, (4) dissemination and enforcement of village instructives on control of disease, voter registration, livestock breeding, and extension of hospitality to all visiting government employees.

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Many things militate against the kepala gebungan making a success of his job -- the most important is that he is forced to deal with dual control, his and the lebé (priest). The lebé, who has the traditionally required family background and leadership ability, inherits control over large sectors of village property. His traditional marriage with the daughter of the hukum (group leader of the village adat) and his study under a guru in the lowlands, learning how to read and quote the Koran, give him authority. Although he and the union head may have about the same education and background, they differ temperamentally and intellectually. The lebé is quieter, pedantic, solemn, and more impressive in making decisions. He has usually been trained, simultaneously with his other studies, as a shaman and can place magical protection over the settlement and guard it against supernatural dangers. He also receives training in the magical protection of hunting dogs and medico-magical treatment of certain diseases. He has powers of augury. He has learned the adat, and his career equals that of the old village kepalas. There is covert rivalry between these two polar personalities -- union chief and lebé. Tradition is on the side of the lebé.

The wakil kepala, who used to be the village chief: (1) collects annual taxes and keeps village records; (2) acts as chairman of the village neighborhood association; and, (3) assists the kepala gebungan. There seems to be no established avenue of remuneration for him. One wakil kepala said, "Though it is the duty of the kepala gebungan to provide salary for me, I have not received a single rupiah." He did not know what became of the tax money. He "thought" the kepala was supposed to keep 10 percent -- five percent for himself and the other five percent to be divided among the wakils. The district head said that he "thought" the kepala should use his own discretion in paying the deputies, but in his "opinion," the ten percent was not even enough for the kepala gebungan himself. Some village deputies simply pocket ten percent of the tax collections and turn the rest over to the union head. Nothing is regular. Although the wakil has always found records and reports (his old job) a heavy chore, he resents giving up the prestige value of such white-collar work and especially resents not being responsible for receiving government visitors. The union head is generally condescending to the wakils and complains that they do not follow his order (the wakils feel that he has no right to give orders). Irritations are many, but wakils make few official complaints.

f. Junior Members of the Civil Government

Assistants to the union heads are really messengers, and the villagers look down on them. Officially, there is a village

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foreman (mandur), but the job is often not filled; it seems to be a sort of honorary title. The duties are not known. The inspector of community lands (malor) is responsible for inspection, measurement, and supervision of swidden parcels. He reports -- theoretically at least -- to the district office. The job properly done would require time, care, and judgment, but usually the work is neglected and the reports are either not made or are poorly done. His pay is supposed to be bundled paddy from each household.

g. The District Head

The district head is conceived as (and in the old days often was) a benevolent patriarch. Actually, performance in the office varies from complete neglect through paternal care to oppression. Done properly, the job would be arduous. The role has become increasingly clerical as the district head feels more and more the impact of reorganization and bureaucratic expansion. Today he is kept busy reading new regulations and procedures, training his office force, writing reports, and so on. But villages want him to continue his traditional duties which were: (1) personal contacts with village leaders; (2) attention through difficult periods, persuading the government to help; and (3) advice and assistance to local leaders.

h. Village Organization

The household is the basic unit of the village; it consists of unmarried siblings, parents, and perhaps a grandparent. With every marriage a new household is established. The hierarchy within the village is a matter of personal identification with village families, ranging from descendents of the first person born and raised there to the last newcomer. Duties and rank are thus fixed.

Outside the family the importance of biological connections varies. For the stranger there is much confusion because persons call others of no kinship brother, grandfather, aunt, mother, etc., as a matter of friendship and respect. But in the assignment of each person to his level of generation, rules are strikingly specific. Comparative ages are not sufficient to fix official generation. By intricate tracings each person in the village becomes affiliated with a particular generation in his own village, and the assignment may also hold in other villages. Generational status is made explicit from earliest childhood, and many patterns of behavior are geared to it. For instance, one of lower generation must stand while a member of an older generation is passing, must allow the other to go first, and must follow many other stringent etiquette demands.

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Economic cooperation and interdependence, which in the main abide with the family, vary with the seasons. In the wet season men help each other with the common work but are less sociable because of general debilitation from toil and hardship and because the shift to swidden houses gives them different neighbors. In the dry season people are more individualistic and there are fewer shared tasks but they have time, energy, and food to be more sociable.

i. Authority -- Two Spheres

The Sumbawan village has two traditional paramount leaders. First, there is the village headman (now deputy) who administers the adat and runs the community civil government. He is usually literate (can read and write a little), is well married, and has a good public presence. Second (but not in importance), there is the lebé, who is chief of hukum law (Islamic doctrine as locally taught and enforced) and holds several administrative jobs in the village mosque. Each leader has a group of associates in his sphere who are selected by the concensus of the village.

The village head (now deputy) is chosen freely by community caucus and must perform satisfactorily in order to hold his job. His traditional duties (which have been emasculated by the kepala gebungan) were to protect the village from external commitments and administrative oppression and to administer internal village matters.

Islamic Sumbawans (which includes almost all but the pagan Do Dongos) pay two kinds of taxes: civil and religious. Civil taxes include property (house and livestock), rice raised and harvested, and road tax (or work in lieu). The religious tithe (djakat), required by Islam, is divided between leading members of adat and hukum, unsalaried members who spread the word of Allah, and the poor and needy. If there are no unsalaried teachers of the Word attached to the home mosque, that portion of the tax goes to the mosque in the capital city. In addition, there is the pitera, a small Ramadan contribution for alms. This last is required, but its disposal is highly personalized: it may go to the poor inside one's own family.

5. Rarak -- A Sumbawan Village

Rarak, according to Peter Goethals,* is a village generally

* Aspects of a Sumbawan Village, 1961. Dr. Goethals research is the basis of this section and strengthens much in the section on organization.

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typical of upland villages both in Sumbawa and Lombok (also Celebes). It is about eight miles (a long day's travel) from the west coast and the same distance from Sumbawa Besar, the western peninsula capital. More than 400 people live there in 60 weathered wooden houses enclosed by broken sections of a low stick fence. The village is typical in that the houses are closely clustered within the clearing, and a square-shaped mosque sits under an enormous waringin tree. Nine miles beyond on the sloping side of the foothills, lies the wet-rice country, and from these tilted uplands -- rising to 1000 feet elevation -- the people draw their subsistence. The method of farming is slash-and-burn.

Radiating from the village there are innumerable footpaths connecting Rarak with other settlements. On several footpaths about one-half mile from the central village there are a half-dozen small fenced settlements consisting of a cluster of dwellings and rice storehouses. In some of these small, removed homesteads individual families of Rarak live permanently and cultivate fruit trees, sugar-cane, and root crops, but they till rice in Rarak territory and are complete members of Rarak village. They have no mosque but gather as one family in the mosque below.

a. Houses

The typical family dwelling is large, slope-roofed, rests on piles about 5 feet high and is self-built. The interior is reached by a ladder. Two or three compartments, connected by doors cut through bamboo partitions, extend the entire width of the house. The living-room opens onto a small verandah. The cooking compartment is at the rear and has a square hearth (wooden frame filled with tamped clay) where a wood fire smoulders. A rough tripod for the rice pot is made of three stones set in the clay. There is no flue; the smoke rises through the chinks in the frame or bamboo shingles.

Rarak houses contain no furniture. Clean mats and pillows are offered to the guest on which he is to sit and sleep. At night cotton kains (lengths of cloth of the kind used for sarongs) are used for cover, but the chill of the uplands makes attempted sleep miserable. Mosquitoes may add to the misery. Sometimes a guest is offered a piece of old torn netting for protection.

The family divides its time about equally between its two houses. During the dry season (May to October), it lives in the permanent house in the village (or nearby on the footpaths); during the rest of the year (the wet season), it lives in shacks by the sloping rice fields.

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b. The Dry Season

The dry season begins with gorging and resting, continues with miscellaneous pleasurable or profitable activities, and often winds up with anxiety, scant food, and the work in preparation for the wet season. When the dry season begins, the rice has just been harvested, and cracked rice is in the barns or stored above the rafters. The men now have time to hunt meat (with or without dogs, weapons, or equipment), gather forest products, and catch shellfish from the upland streams. It is the only time when everyone has a full belly and can delight in the unaccustomed meat and sweets. After a while the villagers settle down and begin to work, trading or selling some of the hunting products at the town market, for extra income or for town foods. They also do timbering for town carpenters, work in the lowland villages, and cut and bundle rice in exchange for bundles of rice. In this last activity the whole family participates.

This season is also the time for housebuilding. The men cut the lumber and with the help of the village shaman select the location. There is then a house-building party and a noon-time feast to which relatives and neighbors are invited. If the family is rich, there may be goat meat or cakes. All the village women help the owner's wife with cooking and the work.

This is also the season for the festivals which were postponed from the wet season when there was no time for anything but work. There are festivals for house-blessing, circumcision, funerals, "showoff" Koran reciting, and other Mohammedan celebrations. At this time betrothal and marriage are celebrated as lavishly as possible, and after lengthy negotiations between the two families involved the shaman gives protection to bride and groom.

c. The Wet Season

Wet season problems appear before the dry season actually ends. By July swiddens -- where each family is to cut and burn -- must be decided. Every villager maintains disposal right to from five to eight land parcels scattered throughout the community tract. Each year he selects for cultivation one that has lain fallow the longest (usually from three to five years). His land rights are inherited. The quantity of his holdings reflect family history; they depend on how long he has been in the village or on how well he has married. The very few spots of level or gently rolling land belong to the descendants of the earliest villagers.

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For the year's swidden, contiguous parcels are usually chosen so that villagers can help each other, especially in maintaining the common fence. After the choice comes the clearing, which must be completed by the end of August. Shrubs and lantana are cut early so that they will be dry enough to burn just before the western monsoon (late October or early November). Timing of the burning is crucial, for if it is burned too long before the monsoon, an unmanageable crop of weeds will spring up.

While waiting for the rains, the villagers build the fence (which is a communal job) and construct swidden houses with poles and small timber collected during the clearing. The swidden house is small and rickety compared to the village house, consisting usually of one room about 8-by 10-feet with gabled roofing of palm leaves. In one corner of the room is the hearth. There is a large, floored verandah -- sheltered by a trellis of long poles covered with squash vines -- that is the focus of family life. More importantly, it is the watch tower, built to command a wide view.

This is the nervous time, for planting must be before the rains but not too much before. Yet, if the rains come before planting, it is disastrous; swiddens have to be abandoned until the next year. Timing of the planting, therefore, requires numerous rituals and the best judgment -- or the best guessing -- available.

When the planting time has been decided, there is a formal declaration with prayers, and the _lebé_ announces an auspicious date to begin. Initiation of planting is sponsored by the _lebé_ and takes place at his swidden house. Families arrive early in the morning and begin planting. At noon there is a feast and prayers. After the feast everyone relaxes. The young men chant and beat drums. The people may then plant the _lebé's_ swidden. Late in the day, they attend to their own swiddens.

The growing season is grueling. The crop is threatened by damage and destruction from many quarters; the swift growth of lantana and other weeds, voracious pilfering by birds and monkeys, and the constant danger that livestock -- water buffalo, horses, and goats -- may break down the fences. Worst of all are the wild hogs of the highlands that can root under the fences. The farmer feels helpless. Firearms are completely lacking; the farmer throws stones, sets snares, and puts out poison, but to little avail. He has at least found out that he can keep ants localized by feeding them coconut pulp. A 24-hour vigil is kept. There are long sleepless nights and noctural sallies with torch and spear. The farmer walks the fence, keeping small fires smouldering beside bamboo platforms, where he may try to warm himself against the highland

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chill or take short naps. Sometimes he may share the watch with a neighbor and manage to get two or three hours sleep.

Marauders are not the only danger. Heavy continuing rains may wash out the entire hillside. If there is no sun for an extended time, ripening is delayed and the kernels rot. By December his food supply is low, and the time of empty bellies begins again. Everything to destroy the man's morale descends upon him -- fatigue, anxiety, and malnutrition increase. Drafty, damp houses, cold night watches, and scant cover, bring pleurisy, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. The wet season has increased the mosquito population and brings on malaria. His diet of boiled rice and field weeds is protein deficient. As he awaits the harvest, debilitation increases, and his natural sociability gives way to drowsiness, resignation, and inertia.

At last the crop is harvested, the dry season arrives, and the cycle begins all over again.

6. Visitors

Travel in the interior of Sumbawa is difficult, and almost impossible in the central mountain regions. There are no cross-country roads and few cross-country trails. In the eastern peninsula, all trails except two or three follow the coastline; in the western peninsula, there are five or six cross-country trails radiating from Taliwang and Sumbawa Besar. The single "primary road" can take automobile travel. A traveler may cut some of the misery of road travel and shorten the trip across the length of the island by crossing Saleh Bay in outriggers or other boats for hire.

On the trails,ponies are used for luggage carriers, and the traveller can ride -- at the pace of something like 20 miles a day if he has good luck. This kind of travel in the dry season leads through stony, dry river beds spotted with green-slimed water holes, across bridges made of palm matting (frightening but probably safe), and through untidy villages palisaded against wild pigs. Often the road has been rooted up by jungle pigs, stones thrown up and deep holes left.

In the dry season, the heat may rise to above 100°F., but it is the season to go if satisfactory contact with dry-rice villagers is desired. In the wet season, these farmers have no time or energy and are crabbed and unfriendly (see Rarak Village, above). The dry season brings out their hospitality. Moreover, hunting -- or pretense of a hunting trip -- for deer or pig would not cause a great deal of comment for a sprinkling of Westerners have for many

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years hunted on Sumbawa. (Mohammedans should not be expected to touch any pigs that are bagged.)

Among the non-town natives, a stranger should take nothing for granted. He will strike areas where the natives are amazingly ignorant of the world, and others where they have a jolting knowledge -- and opinion - of what is going on.

It goes without saying that the traveler should speak Malay and have an interpreter who can speak -- or "get along in" several of the dialects. He will have no trouble getting a Malay-speaking interpreter in Sumbawa Besar, Raba, Bima, or most of the other coastal towns. Many of the educated people speak Dutch. It would be difficult to find anyone who speaks English. Interpreters have been reported to be temperamental and likely to desert in the middle of a trip, but that is no different from interpreters in any of Eastern Indonesia.

D. Flores Island

Flores Island lies east of Sumbawa with only tiny Komodo (Dragon) Island between. It is the most important of the islands that, clustering around the Savu Sea, make up the XIVth (Nusa Tenggara Timur) administrative district. Historically and commercially, it is associated with the Solor-Alor group which stretches eastward from it. Sumba lies to the south.

The island is 220 miles long, only 37 miles at its greatest width and less than 10 miles at its narrowest. In its 5,600 square miles, there are 803,000 people (1961 estimate; 500,000 in 1930). It is mountainous and extremely volcanic, having seventeen active or lately active volcanoes.

1. People

Ethnically, Flores belongs with the Timor group, but unlike the peoples of Timor there is some tribal coherence. Eastward from the west coast, dwell a series of bewildering mixtures of racial stocks. Besides the proto-Malay peoples of the west, Melanesian, Negroid, Papuan, and Austroloid strains are clearly evident. Flores is the first frontier between the Malay and Papuan races, and there is no pure Malay or Papuan strain on the island.

Named from west to east, there are five racial sections: Manggarai, Ngada, Sika, Endeh (Ende, Endekh), and

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Figure 30. Crater lakes on Flores. Each is a different color.

Figure 31. One of the many covered bridges common only to Flores.

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Figure 32. Native men of Flores wearing banana leaf hats. The cloths over their shoulders are characteristic of the Lesser Sundas.

Figure 33. Team of women dancers. (Flores Island).

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Larantuka.* The Manggarai (on the west) have predominantly Malay traits: they are small, lightly built, have light brown skin, smooth or wavy head hair, and very little body hair. In central and eastern areas more Papuan traits show up: skin gets darker, hair curlier, and frame stronger. In the far east the Larantukas have wide noses, very dark skins, and fuzzy hair. The dialects are all of the Malay-Timor group.

Coastal people are mostly immigrants (Malay type) from other Indonesian islands who through the years have pushed the natives back into the interior. They include people from Makassar, Sumba, Sumbawa, Solor, and many more. The people along Todo Bay (north central coast) are thought to be descendants from Minangkabau settlers; on the Endeh (south) coast, the inhabitants are said to have originated with ship-wrecked Chinese from Madjapahit. There is also the usual sprinking of Chinese and Arab traders in all of the towns. Malay is generally spoken in these coastal towns.

a. Characteristics

The people differ from tribe to tribe and from coast to interior in the same tribe. The Manggarais and the Endehs (in spite of their reputed mistrust of innovations) are said to be the most developed of the natives except those who are Christian. The Endehs have their own script which is like the Makassars. The people of east Flores, the Larantuks, are said to be "good-tempered and willing" (See Religion, below). Those of the interior are shy. The tribes of the central area (mostly Ngadas and Sikas) are, like the Solorese, warlike and insolent; they are also great drinkers and gamblers.

Since the "Pacification" of 1907, the people of the east and south areas wear trousers, head-covering, and often a jacket and sarong. They always carry a bag for sirish, betel, and other necessities. For ceremonials, the men wear elaborate garments with many rings and bracelets of gold, silver, copper, and sometimes ivory and shell. The women wear knobs of metal, coral, or decorated bamboo in their ears. Necklaces are worn by everyone in east Flores (and by everyone in the islands to the east).

* Berzina and Bruk, op. sit., show (1961) 280,000 Manggarais, 60,000 Ngadas, 160,000 Endehs, and 50,000 Larantuks. (That includes members of these groups living on other islands.) They also show "Solorese" living on the tip of the northeast peninsulas.

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The people of the hill-top settlements, where water has to be carried up the slopes, are dirty -- according to an official report of a few years ago -- "so that absence of water does not distress them." More than one traveler reports unhappy faces which are attributed to crops which for seasons on end are disastrously bad, seiges of epidemic after epidemic (there have been some improvements in health conditions), and the knowledge that the ancestral spirits are angry. Yet they have moments of gaiety, and song and dance are popular everywhere.

b. Religion

On the coast are a few Mohammedans. Many coastal dwellers, mostly among the Manggarai and Endeh, claim to be converts to Mohammedanism. On the eastern end of the island, there are some Catholics who are a remnant of Portuguese missionary work.* The number of Christians among these people is uncertain.

The great majority of the people are pagan, especially those of the interior who hold the souls of the dea in high honor. Each rice field has a sacrificial pillar; each village has its pemali house. Banner (1929) describes the "Great Sacrifice of the Buffaloes,"** the extreme in sacrificial ceremonies that gives an

* Kennedy, Raymond, Islands and Peoples of the Indies, 1943. Includes a photograph of eight Catholic missionaries strolling informally in the plaza of a "central Flores village" amidst conical fethish houses (pemali) of the pagan ancestor cult.

** Banner, H. S., A Tropical Tapestry, 1929. The "Placation" consists of processions, dances, religious posturings, and a mob-fight to the death, lasting several days, between buffaloes and men that would make a Spanish bull-fight seem as tame as a Boy Scout Jamboree. "It is an inferno. Men, women, children become demons. Some get killed, and his brothers must take vengeance. They kill the animal, slash it open, snatch the liver, dance wildly around the arena, and tear at the liver with their teeth." Livers of the slain animals are read to find out the temper of ancestors. If the reading is good, there will be no more poor crops, no more diseases, no more calamities of any kind. After all the buffaloes are killed and the square is slick with blood and filth, there is a great feast lasting until everyone has eaten until he can eat no more.

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exaggerated view of the temper of the people. The government has since limited it to a token number of buffaloes because of the great waste it entailed.

2. Villages and Houses

Villages differ from tribe to tribe. Some are built on hill-tops where water is a problem and are visible a long way off but difficult to reach. Most are built in the form of a hollow square. A few villages like Boa Wae, just below the cone of Ambulombo, are set in serried rows of steep-roofed huts. Where European influence has been felt, villages are built on flat ground. (The Buffalo Sacrifice takes place in such a square.)

Houses in the hilltop settlements are larger and fewer than those of plains villages. They are grouped around a square that contains a big waringin tree or a round platform, which represents the father of the tribe. Feasts are given in the square. The houses in these settlements are dirty and dilapidated. The houses of the Ngadas are built on terraces, regularly arranged, and neat. They are surrounded by bamboo thickets, and the barns are outside the thicket. Manggarai multi-family dwellings are conical with roofs that reach to the floor. They are divided into separate rooms for the different families and have a passage where bachelors and strangers sleep. In eastern Flores the houses are smaller and are occupied by only one family. The farmers may live permanently in the rice field and come to the village for feasts. Endeh houses are square, often roomy and well-built. Here, as in nearby islands, there is a pemali house, an open shed in which stand carved sacrificial stakes. Some houses are built on piles and have high roofs that extend down below floor level, making the interior dark and stuffy. Most houses on Flores are decorated with carvings. Each village has barns built on piles.

a. Organization

The village is ruled by family elders and, though many villages are joined to form a district and tribal relations are recognized, the real power lies with the village chiefs. A village usually has four elders, the tuan tanah (land master) is one, who manages religious and communal duties. Among the Endeh, where society is more highly developed, there are noble, middle, and lower classes. The nobles are never seen without their armed following. (This may have changed somewhat.) In Ngada, there are two classes since slavery was abolished -- descendants of the founder, and the commoners. A woman of the first class may not marry a man of the second.

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Figure 34. Main road on Flores is almost obscured at this point by encroaching jungle.

Figure 35. Main road at a point near Aitokalak (08°36'S-122°30'E) is innundated for 100 yards.

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b. Land Tenure

The system of land tenure differs in different parts of the island. Throughout almost all of Flores, the ground is owned communally by the tribe. The village is represented by the tuan tanah, usually a descendant of the man who first cultivated the ground. He is "ex-officio" one of the four elders of the village and has the ability to avert calamities and illnesses. (In many areas, the influence of the tuan tanah is waning.) Only members of the community have the right to products of uncultivated land. Cultivated land belongs to the man who first breaks it up; sons and brothers inherit this property.

3. Marriage

Marriage is patriarchal. The woman has no choice in the matter, and arrangements are made by the family or the community. The wedding is an occasion of great festivities. In Manggarai the husband stays a while in the bride's home before taking her to the room he has added to his family home. A large dowry is paid for the wife. The husband is bound to care for and assist his parents-in-law and to live with them until the dowry is fully paid up. For that reason, the possession of a daughter represents riches. In Ngada, if there are no sons, the husband often lives and works permanently for his wife's people (this is seen as a remnant of matriarchy); no dowry is asked. Polygamy is rare, but child betrothals are common. Morality of married couples is high; in Ngada, in particular, divorce is very rare.

4. Burial

For most funerals, the body is wrapped in linen and buried, but the well-to-do put the corpse in a wooden coffin and let a period elapse before burial to give time to collect the wherewithal for the burial feast. In Ngada, burial is made within the village except in case of violent deaths. In central Flores the body is not buried but exposed on scaffoldings.

5. Occupations

The great majority of the people of Flores are subsistence farmers. Some of them lead a semi-nomadic life, clearing and cultivating land and then vacating it after a season. They raise mostly corn but cultivate rice where the ground is favorable. Early in the century the Dutch, as an experiment, introduced cotton culture into east Flores. There is now a small export of cotton to neighbor islands. Coffee grows in the Manggarai and Ngada areas. Most of it is exported to Makassar.

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Copra is probably the most valuable product of Flores. It became so profitable in the Endeh district that the dominant Makassarese let out most of their ground to former slaves for other types of agriculture, while they themselves grew coconuts.

Animal husbandry is important; cattle and horses are the leading stock.

Most people of Flores live on a poor diet. They eat little meat except at festivals, when pigs, dogs, hens, cats, and rats are devoured. The Manggarais are fond of locusts and earthworms.

E. Sumba Island

Sumba lies about 40 miles south of Flores across the Sumba Strait and is another of the islands that make up the XIV administrative district. It has an area of 4,600 square miles. Population figures are uncertain; 1930 and recent estimates differ widely. Highest recent estimate is 280,000.* Waingapu (pop. less than 2,000) on the north coast is the island capital. An airline stop connects it with Kupang-Makassar to the east and with Sumbawa Besar-Denpasar-Djakarta to the west.

Sumba is a non-volcanic island of low mountains (peaks 2,000 to 3,000 feet) and plateaus. A road traverses it from west to east; there are several roads in the western half and only a coastal road on the east. East coast bays form several good anchorages. The best is at Waingapu. Rivers are unnavigable.

1. People

The natives of the island are proto-Malay and have been dubbed "Sumbanese." Only the western part of Sumba is thickly populated, and most of the inhabitants are Sumbanese. In and around the capital live Sumbawans and immigrants from Sawu (Flores). Hard-working, enterprising immigrants from Endeh and Roti have swarmed into the eastern end of the island and have grasped economic supremacy over the natives.

* The 1964 Encyclopedia Britannica ventures no further than a 1930 estimate -- 182,354. The official 1930 Dutch census shows 100,000. Berzina & Bruk give 176,000 for 1930 and estimate 280,000 "Sumbanese," showing the symbol only on the island of Sumba.

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Figures 66-68 Natives of Sumba

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a. Characteristics

Sumbanese native are Malayo-Papuan, are a little larger than the Javanese, and have fine, neatly made bodies, and long straight hair. The women are often handsome.

The Sumbanese language, consisting of many dialects, is allied with the Sawunese. It has no written form. Malay is spoken by a few people in the capital and by coast traders.

The Sumbanese are said to be dirty, lazy, dishonest, cruel, and cowardly, while their chief virtue is hospitality. The Sumbanese like feasts, music, dancing, and horseplay. Their mock combats on horseback or on foot have been called hilarious. The golok (heavy, machete-like knife) dance, done by girls in costume, is famous. Many dances have religious significance.

The men wear loincloth, shawls, and a head covering. In the interior they may wear only belts and hats. The women wear sarongs. Both men and women wear bracelets, gold chains, and earrings. On Sumba, as on all other islands, the people around the towns have added certain pieces of dress, especially the "Malay shirts" and [illegible] shorts.

b. Religion

The Sumbanese are pagans. They construct no temples but build stone altars upon which baskets of offerings are hung. Officials called hatus are important in the frequent offerings of sacrifices.

c. Marriage

Marriage in Sumba is more easily dissolved than contracted. It is arranged by parents with the payment of a large dowry or by elopment. Polygamy is common among the upper classes.

2. Villages and Houses

Except in the east -- where Rotinese and Sawunese influence is dominant -- the villages are small, consisting of a few houses. The houses are primitively constructed, set on piles, and protected by strong palisades or high stone walls. Each village has a burial area. The individual grave consists of four upright stones in a square with another laid across them. The stones are carved.

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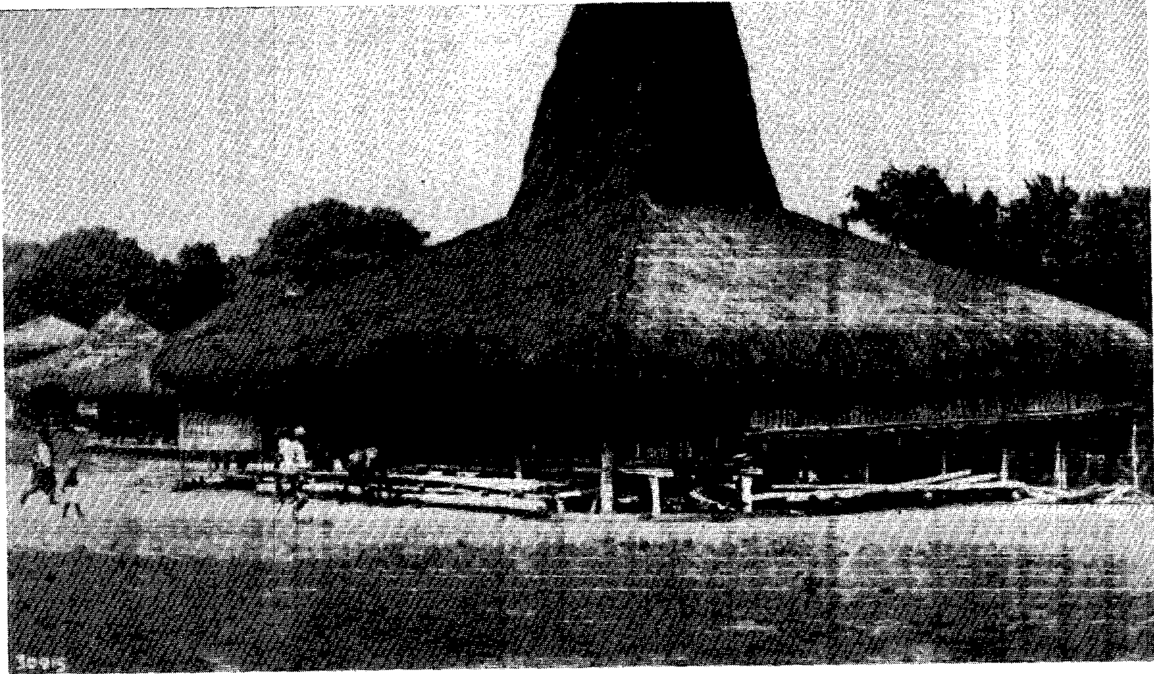

Figure 39. Typical native house on Sumba.

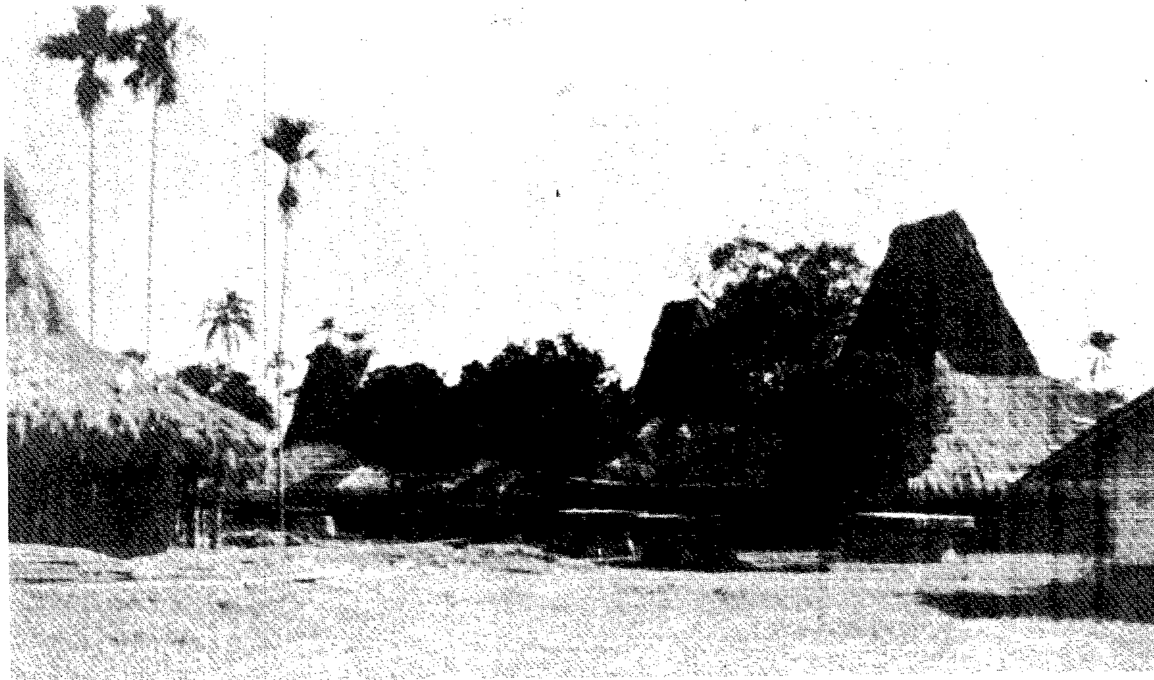

Figure 40. A primitive village on Sumba Island NE of Waikabuak (09°38'S-119°25'E). The high ridges in the roofs are to hold offerings to ward off evil spirits. Cattle are penned in the center of these houses.

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3. Occupations

Sumbanese soil is fertile, and the annual rainfall of about 63 inches produces good grazing grounds, forests, and crops. The subsistence occupation of the native is farming: mostly corn and vegetables with some rice, coffee, tobacco, coconuts, and fruits. Sumbanese have several specialities that are widely known. Sumba cloth is famous throughout Indonesia. Women do every phase of the work -- carding, spinning, and weaving the cotton. The cloths are more decorative than those of some other islands. (No weaving is done in the interior.) Women also make pottery and baskets.

The sandalwood breed of horses (Sumba is sometimes called Sandalwood Island) is the best known, and it is thought by some to be the best breed in Indonesia. The largest type run to more than 12 hands (48 inches). Horses constitute about the only item of export and as many as 20,000 have been exported in some years.

The Dutch government in the 1930's imported Bengal breeds of cattle into Sumba and helped to develop the industry; cattle breeding has met with some success.

Sumbanese are averse to sea-faring and fishing. When they do fish, it is in the rivers, never in the sea.

This island was early known for its export of sandalwood. Also sapan (dyewood), coconuts, wax, and wild cinnamon are exported. The islanders gather forest products, bird's nests, and turtles. They work in iron and copper and do stone sculpturing -- the only Indonesian stone sculptors except the Bataks of Sumatra and the Minihasas of Celebes -- principally for mausoleums for dead chieftans. It is said that many live by theft which, among some, is a sort of profession.

Trade is largely local and mostly by barter with such items as kitchen knives and cotton cloths, but money is also used. (Coins are desired to decorate the little boxes that a Sumban always carries for his charms and other valuables.)

F. Solor and Alor Archipelagoes

1. General

Solor, Adonara, Lomblen, Pantar, Alor, and numerous tiny coastal islands which make up the Alor-Solor group lie in a chain stretching eastward from Flores toward northern Timor. They have a combined area of about 2,000 square miles, and a population of

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about 125,000 (100,000 in 1930 census).* They are mountainous and volcanic and are often said to be the least known in all Indonesia. (There is hardly a group of Eastern Indonesian islands that has not had that epithet applied to it.)

Most of the people are Malay-Papuan and are, in general, much alike. Those of Solor, Adonara, and the western half of Lomblen more nearly resemble the inhabitants of the eastern tip of Flores and are usually all called -- by writers, not by themselves -- "Solorese." They have dark skin, curly hair, and a strong frame. Those of eastern Lomblen, Pantar, and Alor more resemble the natives (Atoni) of Timor. They are likely to be taller and stronger than the Alorese.

Farming (rice, corn, vegetable, and fruit) is the mainstay occupation. Fishing and hunting supplement the diet. Some weaving for home use is done.

In all the islands women do all the farm labor. Marriage is by dowry, and women have no freedom of choice. Women are so highly prized -- mostly as work animals -- that bride-napping is common, especially in Solor and Adonara.

Coastal villages are built on steep hillsides almost overhanging the water. Inland villages are larger and are grouped about a square in which stands a large waringin (banyan) and sometimes a round platform where feasts are held. Under European influence, defensive sites have tended to grow fewer, and houses are being built flat on the ground; some old villages have been moved by the government down into the valleys. Each village has barns and a pemali house.

Almost all the people of these islands are pagans. There are a few Christians, and a few Mohammedans.**

* Berzina and Bruk, op. sit., show 160,000 "Solors" and 150,000 "Alors." These figures may intend to include immigrants to other islands, but no such symbol is shown. The 210,000 total seems excessive.

** For detailed description of culture, village life, and characteristics of the people who live in the Alor-Solor group, see Five-Village District, under Alor Island, below.

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2. Solor Island

Solor is a small, (about 5 x 20 miles) hilly island just off the eastern extension of Flores. The people who live there are of the same type as the Larantuks of the nearby Flores coast.

Villages, like those of east Flores, are ruled by the elders of the families. Each village, irrespective of size, has four elders to manage religious and communal matters. A tuan tanah (land master) is one -- probably the most important -- of these. Coastal villages are perched on the mountain side overhanging the water.

The people who formed the first Portuguese settlement (at Ocussi) in Timor are said to have come from Solor.

Farming methods are like those of eastern Flores. People of Solor are well known for hunting sharks and fish with harpoons, and renowned as smiths.

3. Adonara Island

Adonara lies just off the eastern tip of Flores and just north of Solor. It has a volcano (peak 5,446 feet) in the southeast and a plateau ringed with hills of about 3,000-foot elevation. Its greatest length is 25 miles; its greatest width is about 12 miles.

The people are of the same racial stock and have the same characteristics as those on the extreme eastern peninsula of Flores and on the west side of Lomblen.

The small, one-family houses are like those of eastern Flores. A family may live permanently on the rice field and come to the central village only for feasts, but most families have both village house and rice-field house. Dwellings of the well-to-do have inner and outer walls to prevent anyone from being struck through the wall by a lance or arrow. The passage between these walls is used to store household goods and to keep elephants' teeth which were imported in earlier times and represent the riches of the Adonaran.

Occupations are the same as those of eastern Flores. Many coconuts are found on the island. The people are noted as smiths. One of the most lucrative occupations, however, is said to be bride-snatching.

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4. Lomblen Island

Lomblen lies just east of Solor and Adonara and has a peninsula extending toward each. There is a secondary road along a few miles of the north coast but only one or two trails across the mountainous interior. Its greatest length is 52 miles; its greatest width is about 15 miles. An almost-disconnected peninsula reaches another 5 miles northward.

The people on the west side of Lomblen are in racial stock, characteristics, and customs like those of the two small islands to the west and those of the eastern tip of Flores (they are usually called Solorese). The people of the west side are like those of Pantar across Selat Alor (Alor Strait) to the west and of Alor (they are usually called Alorese).

Villages are built on steep hillsides. Most of the villages are on or near the bay shores and almost overhang the water.

Lomblen's specialty is spinning and weaving sarongs. Spinning is an almost continuous task for the women who walk about the village carrying baskets, mats, or other loads on their heads while they continue to spin.

The men fish in the excellent, nearby bays, build their own fishing boats, and do metal work. The common domesticated animals are horses, buffalo, and chickens.

Some of the people of western Lomblen are Christians, and there are a few churches which resemble the small, white churches of New England. Nevertheless, most natives are pagan and have generally the same religious practices as the pagans of eastern Flores. In some of the villages the head of a corpse is dug up some time after burial and laid in the pemali shed. This seems to be a departure from the customs of eastern Flores. In the east the religion is also pagan, but the practices are similar to those of Alor.

5. Pantar Island

Pantar, between Lomblen and Alor, has an area of about 360 square miles and a population of some 8,000 that live mostly in the northern part of the island. The island has a low rugged coast, no roads and only a few marked trails which criss-cross the island.

The people, generally like those of Alor (and Timor), are tall and strongly built. A few inhabitants of Pantar are of a

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Figure 41. Lomblen fishing village.

Figure 42. Native boys surf riding on Lomblen.

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remarkably heavily bearded type and are probably Australoid survivals.

Pantar natives are mostly pagan. A few Mohammedans dwell on the coast.

Many dialects are spoken; one is the same as an Alorese dialect. Among the coastal Mohammedans, there may be some who speak Malay.

Farming furnishes an even poorer subsistence than in Alor. Natives sometimes migrate to Timor to escape starvation.

Villages are small, scattered, and unfenced. Almost all are located on the coast.

6. Alor Island

Alor, the eastermost of the Alor-Solor group, is a small (50 by 30 miles), obscure island less than 17 miles across Ombai Passage from Timor. (Alor was once called Ombai Island.) Population is now estimated at about 70,000 (1930 census, 51,523).

The coast of Alor is rocky and has few indentations. Kebola Bay, the one deep cut, divides the northeast peninsula from the rest of the island. Deep and often steep ravines plus few and difficult trails and a total absence of roads make the highlands difficult to cross. The whole island is covered with low trees and alang-alang.

a. People

The principal racial elements are Malay, Melanesian, Papuan, and Negrito.* The people can be roughly divided into coastal and mountain people. The coastal people, especially in and around Kelabahi, are Chinese shop-keepers, Arab traders, and settlers from Java, Solor, and other Indonesian islands. The mountain people -- by far the greatest majority of the population -- resemble the Timorese (Atoni) in appearance and culture. In a small, high central mountainous area and a small corner of the northeast coast are Papuans (probably not pure); in the far eastern area are found dwarf tribes of apparently pure Negrito

* Berzina and Bruk, op. sit., show only "Solors" and "Other Papuans."

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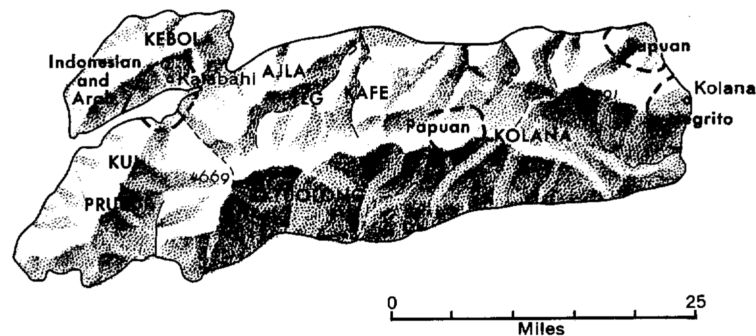
stock. The thumb-nail map below shows distribution of the various peoples, and how precipitous terrain has forced a diversity of cultures upon them.

PULAU ALOR: ETHNIC GROUPS



The interior people are well-built and strong, for conditions in the mountains are healthy. (Small pox was conquered early in the century.) Normally, the mountain natives wear nothing or, sometimes, one garment. These people have a warlike past, but in spite of it they are not known as a brave people. Instead, they are reputed for killing by stealth, and their chief weapon is the bow and arrow. They have a history of hostility to strangers and were late in beginning to trade with the coastal people.

The Dutch divided the island into four radjahships that cut across culture, language, and religion and gave the coastal people control over the interior peoples who had never before been ruled by outside forces. This arrangement aggravated the long-abiding mutual distrust between the two regions. The struggle to bring the interior peoples under control was rough, and progress was slow. It was still going on at the time of the

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Figures 43-44. Alorese natives.

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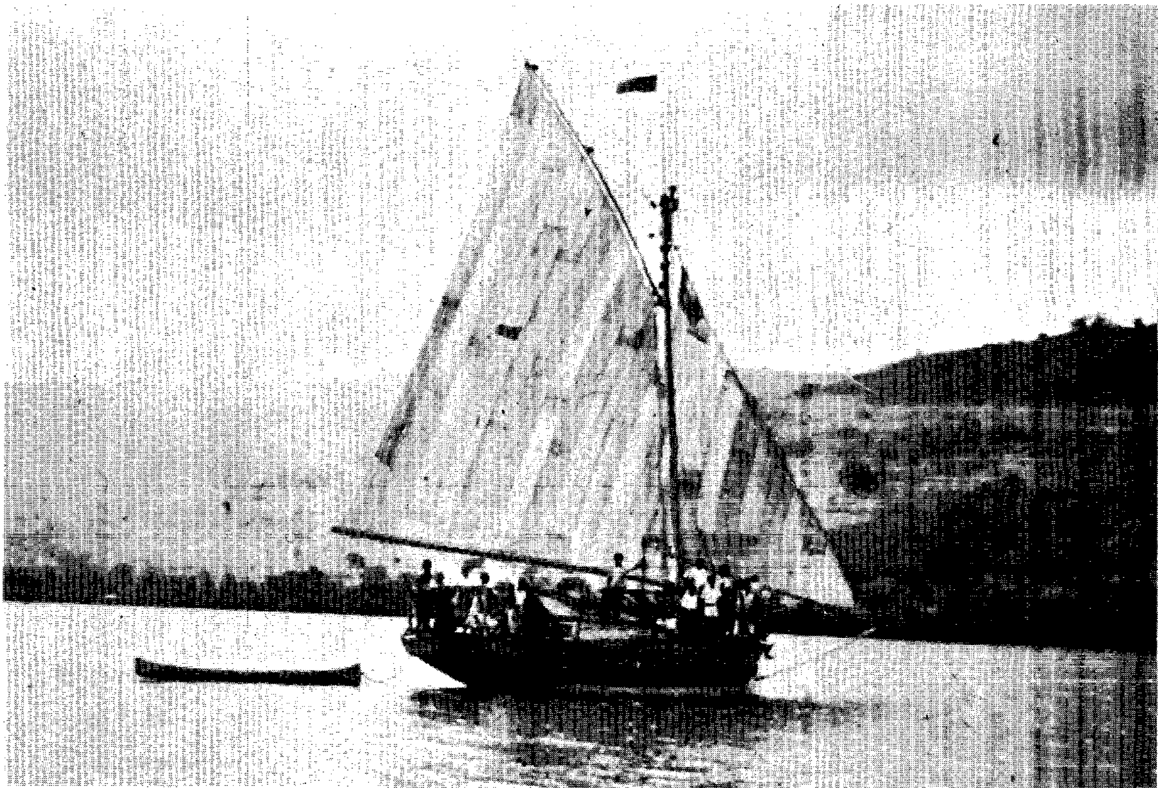

Figure 45. A 25-ton native sailboat off Alor Island.

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Revolution. Today, there is a brisk trade between the interior and coastal people, but de facto control still remains with the village and kinship groups.

Most of the peoples of Alor are animist pagans, their religion consisting of a system of prohibitions (pemali). There are about 10,000 Mohammedans, mostly on the Kebola (northwest) Peninsula; most of them are Malays (from other Indonesian islands) and Arabs of the coast, but there are also a few native converts in that area. (Converts continue to observe the pagan pemali.) Religious variance tends to bolster the animosities between coastal and interior people.

Early in this century, a protestant missionary whose function was largely administrative went to Alor. Under him were a few casually educated missionary teachers, most of them from other islands, who established actual proselyting contacts with the mountain peoples. They gave rudimentary instruction in Malay and the three R's and established twenty-five schools scattered throughout the high country. Most of the schools disintegrated because of hostility to new teachers. Since 1933, there have been only a few wandering preachers. Their influence is minimal, for they do not know the local languages. Today, almost 100 percent of the interior population is still illiterate.

On Alor, there are at least eight -- some linguists say 20 -- distinct languages and innumerable dialects. Dialect as well as culture changes from village to village. Some of the coastal Mohammedans speak Malay.

b. Occupations

Agriculture, hunting, and fishing are the chief occupations. Rice, corn, tobacco, fruit, and vegetables are grown, and pigs are kept. During the dry season, hunting provides a means to supplement diet. Fishing is the major occupation for the coastal people. Cotton culture was introduced early into the central part of the island; it is traded to coastal people for weaving sarongs.

c. Villages

Villages of the interior are small (150 inhabitants would be considered large); they are built on mountain spurs or crests, in spots as inaccessible as possible, and surrounded by bamboo fences or stone walls. Houses are small and set on piles. Coastal villages are sometimes set on cliffs overhanging the water, but

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there is much more variation and more modernization. Houses are comparatively more spacious and better constructed than those of the interior. They are built flat on the ground.

Hilltop locations make the water supply a problem, since springs are below the village. But the people are reluctant to change the old patterns. The Dutch moved a few villages into the valley; the present administration continues to put pressure on the villages and has been successful in moving a few.

d. The Five-Villages District

A village -- or better still, a group of villages -- that was moved off the hilltop tells the whole story of the Alorese (and most of the people of the Alor-Solor group), for they took all their old customs and attitudes with them. No better idea of the culture of the interior peoples of Alor could be had than through the account of Cora Alice Dubois who spent two years in the Five Village District among villagers who, in the most serious war of the "Pacification" (1928), were forced to descend to the valley.*

This complex of villages is about five direct miles from Kelabahi, but fifteen miles by trail. It takes 6 to 8 hours to walk to town. The altitude of the valley is 2500 feet; the hills where the villages formerly perched is 500 to 700 feet higher. Temperatures range from 59° to 86° F. The villagers, who go naked, suffer from cold from June to October.

(1) The Villages

Each of the five villages has from one to seven dance places according to the number of patrilineal groups in the village. In each dance place there is at least one large lineage house (kadang) occupied by one branch of the lineage. Arranged around the dance place are the flat gravestones of the dead. A narrow trail runs from one dance place to another, and other houses may be located along it.

Each village has a "tail" and a "head" with a carving of the village guardian spirit at each. The fields run to the very eaves

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* Dubois, Cora Alice, The People of Alor, 1944. The 1960 edition contains a new preface that tells of the fate of these villages.

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of the houses. The corn and tobacco grow so high that a person can't see from one house to another. These fields spread to a distance of an hour or more from the village. Abandonment of headhunting practices made this spread possible.

The guest-house, spirit houses, and other buildings cluster around the lineage houses and dance places which indicate primarily patrilocal residence.

There are three kinds of houses, all of which are perishable: (1) the village house which lasts five or six years; (2) the field house which may last two seasons; and, (3) the kadang which lasts a little longer than either. The village house is the residence of from one to eight persons. The lineage house is a pyramidal, thatched structure raised on four piles and protected from rats by massive discs fitted around the piles. Beneath the house there is a low veranda used for lounging or feast-cooking. Under the eaves is the pigpen. Entrance is made to the house by means of a ladder from the veranda through a hatchway and into a corridor that leads into the main living room. The living-room is divided by a long, rectangular hearth of earth enclosed in a wooden frame which is placed down the middle of the room. The right half is called the women's half; the left half, the men's. The men's side is set on slightly higher piles, and there is, therefore, a slight downward slope toward the women's side. In actual use, no difference is made in the two sides.

Along the two sides of the living-room are shelves under the eaves that are used for storage or sleeping balconies. The room is so dark that one has to adjust his vision when he comes in from the sunlight. Usually both cooking and sleeping take place in the living-room. There are pandamas (sleeping mats) that are spread out at night in such way as to leave one end free for cover. The nights grow cold; the people try to keep warm by keeping the fire going and sleeping together. The air is close with smoke and body odors; the walls are blackened. Above the living-room there are two lofts used for storing rice baskets, corn bundles, and other valuables.

(2) Family

There are three major, patrilocal kinship groups. In direct address all of the same generation are equated. The stressed relationships are with mother's brother and his male offspring. Each person has six "male houses." The patrilineal is the most important; the bilateral group is next. The third group includes all those "kin" who are not in these first two. In the Five

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Villages, there is an absence of formal structure in interpersonal relationships. For example, there is no brother-sister avoidance. The system is flexible; expediency and interpersonal relationships outweigh theory. It is not known if this is common among the Alorese or is a result of Five-Village "sophistication."

Inheritance is flexible and is determined by expediency and the industry of the child. Every child is given a garden plot when he is very young as a sort of test and incentive. Both men and women own fields inherited from their mothers or fathers.

(3) Occupations

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Alorese. Dry-rice is the oldest crop raised on the island, but corn has replaced it as the daily food. Rice is largely reserved for feasts. The Alorese say, "Rice makes you fat; corn makes you strong." They also raise millet, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, taro, and a variety of tubers. They cultivate or collect mangoes, oranges, papayas, breadfruit, jackfruit, and numerous kinds of bananas.

(4) Financial Management

The chief business of the men is to control the highly complex financial system which is basic to ceremonial procedure. There are three types of currency: pigs, gongs, and mokos (metal kettledrums). Arrows are used for small change. Though there is no tabu against pigs, they are rarely eaten except at feasts. They are kept so that their value can be added to the "wealth," and their value is highly inflated in relation to their consumption worth. Mokos are the coin of the realm. There is an official list of eighteen types of moko, and each is assigned a specific value. Values were stabilized in the 1920's; they now run from one rupiah to about 3,000 rupiahs. The mokos are not of local manufacture but were formerly brought in from Java by Makassarese traders in exchange for goods. Since the Dutch stopped this importation in 1900, the supply has been inadequate and the value constantly rising.

Currency is used for: (1) The purchase of a wife (in a series of complex exchanges that lasts as long as the marriage); (2) A series of burial feasts (that may drag on for several generations); and (3) Building lineage houses (involving financial elaboration that may delay completion and take several years). Pigs, goats, and chickens are used for many minor investments and

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for sacrifices on numerous occasions. Examples are: when the guardian spirit is trapped, dragged, and forced into the carving made for it; when it is necessary to placate personal familiars ; when gardens are cleared; and when sacred lineage hearths are fed at harvest time.

The financier plays his game with gusto. He understands the basic concepts of profit, interest, credit, and reciprocity. Since no currency except the mokos is standardized or commensurable, there is ample play for endless bargaining. These activities take all the men's time. Debts are rarely paid except after many dunnings.

In summary, men are responsible for financial deals, the prestige occupation. Women, however, have a functional power and status in the economy that is not evident in the ideological system. Actually, the two fields of activity are not completely divorced. Many men have horticultural interests and many women have financial skills. Both are honored, not blamed, for any supplementary skill.

(5) Hunting

Grass fires are set during the hunting period. The men live in hunting camps, and the women remain at home.

(6) Religion

Alorese paganism stresses the negative features of religion. It does not give the spirits housing, idealized form, or worship. Sacrifice for appeasement or propitiation is the chief religious activity. Death, disease, or financial disaster are predicted by prophets. Witchcraft, magical poisoning, curses, oaths, and ordeals are all present but unstressed.

Five or six forms of divination are practiced. Each person has familiars which are inherited or acquired through visions. New familiars are imported by women who marry into the Five Villages.

The whole countryside is populated with genii loci, spirits which are good or evil depending upon personal relationships. They are represented by carvings of crocodile-like figures set on poles, on platforms, or kept in sheds. There are also nala kangs (good beings) who have human form and are associated with either the sea or the sky. Persons who disappear or children who are lost are invested as nala kangs.

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The village guardian spirit is a vague and confused concept. Its image is connected with the Milky Way, whose presence insures crops and wealth. Sometimes the guardian is called Tuan Allah and is equated with Allah (by the Moslem converts) or with the Christian God (by Christian converts). It is represented by an immense crocodile-like carving. Every year or two sacrifices are made to him. At that time, the oldest male of the village searches him out (he lurks underground near the dance place) and drags him to the carving to be fed. (There may be two guardians to a village, one at the head and one at the tail.)

Various sacred hearths belonging to the village are kept in the lineage house. They are "fed" once a year, usually in February or March, when the new corn crop is about to be harvested and while the owner fasts. At the same time, four minor ceremonies are held. The descendants of the male line are responsible for these.

Quiet and tabu periods of from one to four days are observed when vigorous work, shouting, and quarreling are not allowed. These come at the end of the dry season just before the communal hunt. Garden rites are held for the souls of former cultivators or, if new plots, for the genius loci who might be disturbed. These may be more or less elaborate for gardens near or far, small or large. Death feasts to dismiss the souls of the dead from the vicinity last about ten days. They are largely financial shows and are closely correlated with prestige. Gongs beat all night during this period. For a violent death there is a special ceremony in which a spirit bird is used. Obligations created by these feasts are repaid over periods of years with other feasts.

(7) Growth and Development of the Child

The age of a child is counted not in years but in states as, for instance, from birth to first smile, from first smile to crawling, and so on. The mother counts age backwards through the number of gardens she has made.

Childhood, the period from walking to about five or six years of age, is the time of the greatest stress for the child. During this period he faces a new type of feeding, toilet training, and the cold bath instead of a warm bath. At this time he is also faced with chores, discipline, and a deliberate system of shame, ridicule, and teasing from older children and adults. This stage can last forever for the less assertive person. The child must also become accustomed to mobility of residence. Heretofore, his mother has carried him with her in a carrying shawl on her left

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hip.* Now she goes to the fields and the gardens, and he is left alone, subjected to hunger, desertion, and discomfort. As a result, the child resorts to frequent temper tantrums.

The next "systematic" period begins with the child's assuming the loin-cloth (prior to this they have been naked) which is considered the first step toward "thoughts of marriage." At this time -- and in adulthood -- the ripping off of another's loin-cloth is considered an act of extreme aggression. Tantrums disappear, for they have been found ineffective, and acts of aggression begin. Those of this age have meals at home morning and evening but must forage for themselves in between. Disciplines assume their harshest forms, ranging from stronger ridicule to threats of violence or actual violence -- whipping, twisting of the child's mouth, tying him up, and so forth -- by any irritated adult. Both the cruelty and the inconsistency of adult behavior creates distrust.

Girls are trained to search for food. Thus, their lives are less privileged than those of the boys but are more consistent with the needs of the future. Boys receive no training for adult male roles. They are not even taught to search for food. There is, in fact, no provision for feeding them, and they are given the less desirable pieces of meat. The treatment given to boys is balanced by their having fewer duties, fewer restrictions, and a privileged position. They are underprivileged compared to men, but not compared to girls and women.

(8) Adolescence, Marriage, Sex

Neither ritual nor crises rites are held for either boys or girls. But girls are tatooed, boys have to let their hair grow long, and both boys and girls must have their teeth blackened and filed. Adolescence for boys is more prolonged and more difficult, for they must enter the financial system.

In marriage, boys search for sexual gratification, status in wealth and children, and a "mother-provider." Girls may undertake the sexual aspects in marriage unwillingly, for children mean more economic responsibility, more work, and less status. Each child increases the girl's labor load but offers no reward.

The woman is absorbed into the man's lineage and village. Theoretically, there is a mutual division of property between the sexes, but many personal factors and other discrepancies

* A shawl is also used to carry the sick, the injured, and the old.

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exist between theory and practice.

One of the major functions of marriage is to establish a series of financial exchanges that last as long as the marriage. If financial arrangements are in dispute, the girl may refuse to have sexual relations with her husband. Some girls are offered for marriage while they are still too young. If so, the boy usually objects and demands a wife old enough to sleep with. In the dissolution of a marriage, men are said to be less secure than women. Polygamy is allowed, but if a man marries more than one woman he must maintain separate households for them.

A good deal of continancy is required of men: for example, during the period before financial ceremonies and from pregnancy of the wife to the child's first smile. Homosexuality is absent. It is not disapproved, but it seems to be a complete puzzlement to the people. Incest is condemned. No financial arrangements are made in marriages to "improper" kin..

Brides are expected to be virgin, and adultery is tabu. Frequently, jealousy battles break out between the women; they serve as emotional outlets.

(9) Personality Determinants in Alorese Culture

What kind of personality may a life of teasing, ridicule, lying, and chicanery produce and how may it affect strangers? Dubois says that since there are no great subsistence difficulties, one must look for clues in the life cycle.* Frustrations about food in young childhood produces greediness and envy; the great discomforts in the male position in the adolescence, marriage, and sex stages make for frustrations and distrust (the induction of the girl into adulthood is more practical than that of the boy); prestige and wealth become paramount motivations. Wealth contests (when a man's money is brought and displayed) are important. The value of wealth lies in the control, not buying power, that money gives. One man may get a "lien" on another, making him or his child work out the debt. The financial system is used instead of overt methods to channel enormous amounts of intra-social hostility. Finally, there is always a general stinginess with food which contrasts strongly with the eagerness of most Indonesian people to share.

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* Dubois, <u>op. sit.</u>

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e. Visitors

Despite their forbidding temperament, the Alorese did allow an American woman, Mrs. Dubois, to live in their village for two years. They talked with her, gave her biographical information, and submitted to tests -- Porter's, Rohrschak, maze, and word-association. They were especially taken by the cash money she paid to her five "boys" (one from each village). She reports a carefree domestic experience.

When her house was finished, the natives assisted in the house-building feast and gave the house a (very significant) lineage name. Having been told when asked her lineage that the new village resident came from America, they called the house Ham Merica: that is to say, Your Merica, for "ham" in the local (Abui) language means "your." The trust that Mrs. Dubois gained among these people will smooth the way for any other visitor who belongs to the "Ham Merica lineage."

Mrs. Dubois held daily clinics. Her first patient was the seer (doctor). She healed his ulcers and afterwards the two professionals exchanged "recipes." As months went by, she bathed infections, dispensed quinine, castor oil, and aspirin. Finally she was accepted. The people forgave the whiteness of her skin, her "huge" size, blue eyes (which looked blind to them), clumsiness in handling a betel quid, and her awkward dance steps. Since respectable women never wear their hair long, she followed the advice of a neighbor woman to cut her hair. Life became familiar and intimate as it will in any village.

The level of intelligence was surprisingly high, though women did not do as well as the men. In general, the people, fearing for their prestige, showed dogged determination to succeed. For instance, if they failed the maze test, they would cut across lines to find an opening even when they knew it was not allowed.

The Japanese used Ham Merica as a patrol station for small groups of troops. Village leaders, who had never heard of America until Mrs. Dubois lived among them, boasted that Ham Merica would win the war. The Japanese heard about this, and it increased their nervousness. Fearing a rebellion, they arrested five of Mrs. Dubois's friends and decapitated them publicly in Kelabahi as a warning.

Dialects on Alor are of the Malay-Timor group. Malay is spoken in the coast towns, especially in Kelabahi. There will be no difficulty finding a Malay interpreter who can speak one or more of the dialects.

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A stranger should not venture into the brush and alang without a guide. Travel is difficult, since there are no motor roads and few horse trails. It is said that a native can walk 50 miles of the best mountain trails in four days; an official on horseback may be able to make it in five.

G. Timor Group

1. Timor Island

Timor is the largest and eastermost island of Nusa Tenggara. The eastern half of Timor, the small enclave of Ocussi (Okusi) on the north coast, and two small coastal islands belong to the Portuguese. The Portuguese lands have an area of 8,996 square miles and a population of about 450,000. Dili, a town of 7,000 people on the north coast, is the Portuguese capital. It has long been called a "miserable, unhealthy town" noted for crimes and disorder. Ocussi is the chief town in the enclave.

The remainder of the island belongs to Indonesia. Indonesian Timor has an area of about 9,000 square miles and a population of more than 882,000 (350,000 in 1930; 441,675 in 1949; 806,000 in 1954).* The capital of this area is Kupang, a town of about 15,000. Kupang is a well-kept, busy town, and some of the neatness and industry of the Dutch is still evident.

Mountain ranges, with backbone elevations up to 9,000 feet, traverse the entire island. An inactive volcanic peak in the middle of the island is also a part of Timor's rugged terrain. Mud geysers attest to the island's volcanic past.

Only one primary road, leading from Kupang to Atambua on the Portuguese border, has been built in Indonesian Timor. A secondary road runs along the north coast of Portuguese Timor to

* Ormeling, The Timor Problem, 1955. Ormeling, who is probably better informed than anyone about this island, suspects all population figures. All estimates are extremely divergent. Ormeling could never be sure what a population figure included. When the Portuguese increased taxes and instituted rigid labor laws, people emigrated (unreported) to Dutch territory from the east and from Ocussi (he estimates no more than 4,000 in the biggest year); there is a continuing wash to and fro across the border at all times. More than that, taxable males under-report dependents, for a large family indicates a certain degree of prosperity. All too often, Rotinese, and even Sawus and Ndaos are included without notification to the reader.

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Dili and on to the westermost tip of the island. There are marked trails; a few cross the island from one side to the other. Rivers are usually not navigable, because during the wet season they are torrents, and during the dry season they dry up. Dili and Kupang are the only important ports. The south coast is seldom visited by ships.

Because of continuing dissension about the border, Timor has been better mapped than most of Indonesia's outer islands. In 1949, one-fourth of Timor was photographed from the air, furnishing valuable information as to land use and settlement patterns. Detailed information is scarce and hard to get for the Portuguese sector.

a. People

Timor's racial history has produced the most mixed racial composition in the Indies Archipelago. Nearly every racial stock that has ever lived in the Archipelago -- and many others -- is represented on Timor. For centuries, Timor was on the road to everywhere. Captain Bligh (Mutiny on the Bounty) and his castaways as well as the avenging ship with the captured mutineers landed on Timor. Numerous smugglers, Australian absconders, Papuans from New Guinea, and islanders from all directions made for the island. Some of the travelers came to stay and settle; some stayed perforce. The result was a vast mixture of humanity.

The basic racial strains are proto-Malay, deutero or Mongoloid-Malay, Melanesian Negroid, Papuan, Negrito, and Australian aborigine. They are found in differing degrees in various areas. The aboriginal, non-Indonesian (probably nomadic) substratum is more prominent in the far interior mountain regions of the Portuguese area. These people, still speaking a non-Malay language, are thought to be the actual aborigines.

In spite of Timor's heterogeneity, it is possible to loosely divide the island into distinguishable cultural groups, each with more or less similar racial traits. There are three major native groups (Atoni, Belunese, and Kupangese), numerous minor native groups, and several immigrant groups sufficiently large to warrant description.

The Atonis occupy most of the western and central portions of Indonesian Timor but are not found in Portuguese territory except

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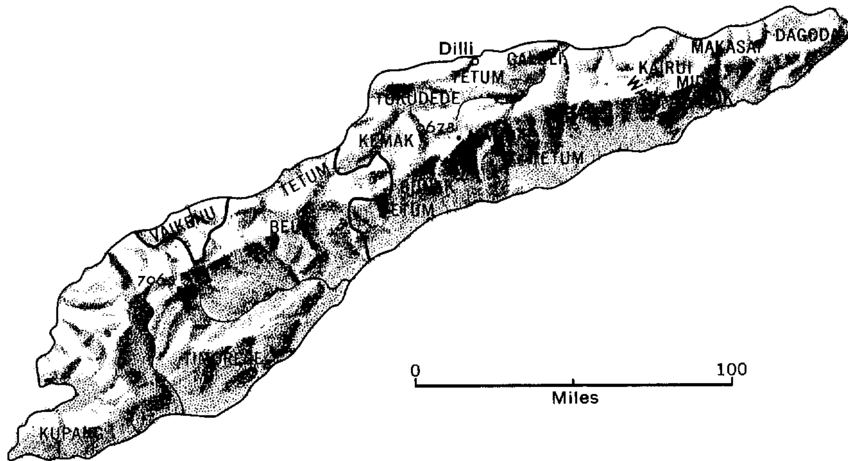
TIMOR: LANGUAGES



INDONESIAN TIMOR: ETHNIC GROUPS

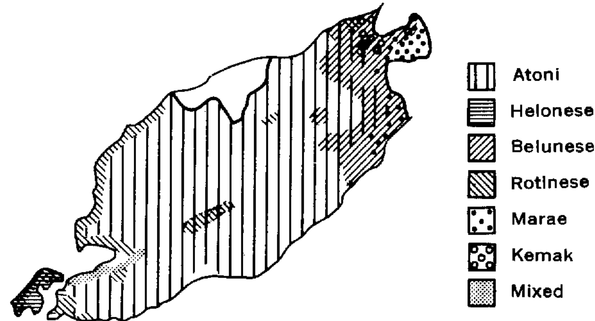


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Figure 46. Belunese woman of NE Timor.

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Figure 47. Timorese man with home-made, muzzle-loading rifle. A parang (local sword-like knife) hangs on the man's right shoulder.

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Figure 48. Belu men.

Figure 49. Typical Chinese cattle buyer.

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in Ocussi.* They are the most numerous people in the Indonesian section (estimated at 370,000). The Atonis are Negroid with frizzy hair and dark skin. The type is not uniform; some show more Negrito characteristics, some more Melanesian. In general, they have a cruder civilization than the Belunese and were pushed by the Belunese in an east-west migration. Since 1941, Atonis have been seeping back into Belunese districts.

The Belunese, who call themselves the Ema Tetum, first lived in central Timor at its narrowest portion. They then moved eastward from this "Belu Isthmus" over the rest of what is now Portuguese Timor and settled primarily in the areas of the hudjan timur (eastern rains, or eastern monsoon). There are about 150,000 of them.

The Belunese are a complexly mixed racial group. Their Melanesian traits have yielded to the more recent Malay element, but they also show Austroloid and Negroid strains. They have narrow heads, long faces, and broad noses.

Tribal stories trace the origin of the Belunese to Malaya, telling how they sailed past Celebes and Flores Islands and landed on the south coast of Timor. Other myths mention Ceram and Serau Islands as their place of origin. When the Belunese arrived on Timor, they conquered the original people of Belu, (the Ema Melu) and still consider the Melu as "owners of the soil." Even now there are people in North Belu who claim to be descendants of the Melus.

The power of the Belunese increased more through matrimonial arrangements than by conquest. Their influence reached far, and there are radjah families elsewhere on the island who trace their descent to former rulers on the south Belu Plain.

The Belunese shut themselves off from foreign influences by maintaining guards at the passes of their fortress mountains. Missionaries, even into the twentieth century, had to report to a sentry post. The Dutch at Atapupu expedited the slow breaking down of the insularity of the Belunese. Finally, during the last half century, the Belunese "kingdom" was broken down into

* Atoni means man or commoner. They are often called the Timorese, as distinct from Belunese, etc.; this causes confusion since all inhabitants of Timor are often called Timorese. Not even the same writer can be trusted to be consistent.

smaller principalities whose heads pay little attention to the rulers on the south plain, where today Belu culture is most nearly preserved in its original form.

The Belunese engage in more commercial activity than the Atonis but less than the immigrant Rotis and far less than the Chinese. Their excursions into the commercial world are not planned to fit commercial demands or opportunities but are seasonal. During the dry season, they swarm out of the interior to work as laborers for Catholic Mission stations, with the Chinese, or in the government service. They make trading voyages all over the island, often to sell their own tobacco which is in demand everwhere on Timor. In Kupang, there is a separate Belunese quarter with a floating population of from 200 to 300 living under their own temukung (group head).

In physical type, the Kupangese or Helonese, is a hybrid mixture of native Timor people and many outside elements. They may have been the original inhabitants of Timor but have been squeezed out by later comers until now they occupy only a narrow strip at the southwest point of the island. Most of them live on Semau Island, just off the tip of Timor, and on Roti and Ndao Islands. They have a noticeably lighter color, slenderer build, and wavier hair then the Atonis.

Among smaller native groups are the Bunaks, who dwell on either side of the Portuguese-Indonesian border. They speak a non-Indonesian language and show Papuan features. At one time, they paid tribute to the south Belunese kingdom.

The Maraes constitute a small ethnic group in the Lanaknen mountain area. Most of them live on the Portuguese side, but a few spill over into the extreme northwest corner of Indonesian Timor. They differ from the Belunese in language and culture. During the last two decades, the Maraes have been spreading more into Belunese districts. Today there are Marae settlements outside Lanaknen, at Banho,and in the south Belu Plain.

Kemaks, another remant of an earlier population, live in some 20 separate villages mostly in Portuguese territory in north Belu's border districts. They are probably closely akin to the Marae, although their speach is related to the Bunak language.

Waiwiku and Waihele, an old double kingdom with two rulers, once held authority in central Timor. One ruler claimed descent from the gods and held decisive power; the other held worldly executive power. These princes established the Likusain domain

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in Portuguese Timor and the kingdom of Sonbai on the mountain slopes. Remmants of their civilization still remain.

The Sonnabuits occupy the portion of the southwest peninsula not occupied by the Kupangese.

The Ocussis, or "black Portuguese," are historically the chief enemies of the Dutch. Most of them live in the Portuguese enclave that bears their name. They were originally based on Solor; the fort they built is still there.

The most important immigrant group is the Rotinese constituency that stretches along the north coast from Kupang Bay almost to Ocussi. The Rotinese have also established a few interior settlements, the most important being at the towns of Soë, Kefa, and Benu in Atoni territory (see Roti Island, below).

A few Javanese from Djakarta, mostly civil servants, live in Kupang and other Indonesian government posts. In the coastal cities there are Buginese and other "Malay" traders.

Probably less than one percent of Timor's population is non-Indonesian. The major part of the less than 5,000 Chinese are collected around Dili; others are found in Ocussi, Villa Salazar, Kupang, and a few villages of the interior. (They are said to get along well with the natives.) There are fewer than 2,000 Portuguese, who all live in the Portuguese area. The few Hindu and Arab traders and shopkeepers are almost all in Kupang and Atapupu.

(1) Organization

There is no tribal cohesiveness or overall tribal organization in Timor as there is, for instance, among the Dayaks, Bataks, or Minangkabaus. Instead, numerous small districts or kingdoms are ruled by hereditary nobles of a rigidly exclusive class, and subdistricts and villages, which are as rigidly controlled as the districts, are ruled by lesser nobles.

On the Portuguese side, there are five classes of people: (1) greater chiefs or kings; (2) lesser chiefs or nobles; (3) village chiefs (leo rai); (4) commoners, and; (5) slaves (ata) and cattle keepers (luntun). On the Indonesian side, classes are less rigid, yet numerous small kingdoms and minute district chieftanships persist. To the Belunese and other Timorese peoples, all Atonis are considered commoners.

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(2) Characteristics

Though there are cultural differences, the similarity of their way of life has given the peoples of Timor similar characteristics.* In general, they are unskillful and lazy by Western standards, especially the Atoni and other tribes of the same racial makeup. Their needs are minimal. They have never worked for -- and will not work for -- a surplus of anything. Wages do not tempt them. Some exceptions are the Belunese of the more fertile South Plain and some of the immigrant coastal tribes.

They chew betel, smoke tobacco, and drink all the palm wine they can get. Their unhygienic habits and dangerous drinking water are hard on the traveler. The peoples of Timor have an amazing inherited knowledge of flora -- uses of leaves, shoots, berries, fruits, seeds, flowers, roots, tubers, bark, and pith for medicines, dyestuffs, fibrins, binding materials, glue, preservers for food products (especially meat), insecticides, oil, soap, and of course for food itself.

They are constantly involved in internecine hostilities; Kennedy lays this constant involvement to their centuries of observance of -- and sometimes involvement in -- the continuing conflict between the Dutch, Portuguese, and English. Other dislocating factors must be added. First, invasion of the island by the lantana (a shrub of the verbena family) has forced every farmer into a never-ending round of grueling work. Second, the influx and activities of the Rotinese have caused distrubance and jealousy. Third, the uncontrolled plunder of the sandal-wood forests destroyed the most valuable asset of the island. There was an artificial replanting in 1923, but the old yield has not yet been and probably will never be restored.** Finally, the Japanese occupation (1942-45), the English occupation (1945-46), and

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* Ken Nilsson ("Rival Proprietors Threaten Forgotten Eden," Washington Post, May 24, 1964) says, "Crossing from Portuguese Timor to Indonesian Timor, one of the first things one notices is the difference in the attitude of the natives. Though polite and often respectful, Indonesian Timorese are proud and show no fear of foreigners. Even in remote villages, the natives seem to know the meaning of their independence." (He had noted that Portuguese Timorese are respectful or even obsequious.)

** A Dutch scientist on a research trip says he was limited "on pain of dismissal" to Kupang and Atapupu for fear (he assumes) that he might dig up the old sandalwood scandal or prospect for gold. In 1920, it was decided that there is no gold or other mineral riches in Timor, but the sandalwood scandal has never been cleared up.

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the Indonesian Revolution, with its installation of a new administration, have kept the natives in a perplexed stir for more than a half century.

Soon after the "Transfer of Sovereignty" a succession of badly prepared projects for improvement, initiated by Zaman Baru (the New Era), have usually upset more than helped the lot of the people. For instance, the introduction of Balinese cattle has produced little gain, but has caused dissension. The people do not use the cattle for transport or tillage as they do the buffalo; they drink little or no milk and, except for a few people near Kupang, they do not eat the meat. Most of the cattle are killed in Kupang slaughterhouses. Those that are killed in the desas are subject to a troublesome slaughter tax and require a slaughter certificate. The meat is dried and exported.

Another of these ill-conveived programs involved road building. Amateur road-builders, inspired by Zaman Baru, began a road-building program in Timor. They lost sight of the relationship between roads and erosion and have almost invariably ruined many acres of hertofore tillable land.

The Sekon Project, probably the most ambitious of New Era projects, best exposes the character and attitudes of the Atonis who were involved in it. Soon after the Japanese expulsion from Timor, some pro-Sukarno Dutchmen initiated a plan to better the food situation by improving ladang rotation, uneven population densities, and distribution of stock. The budding Indonesian Government agreed that the spirit of Zaman Baru demanded the development of long-neglected Timor and decided to set up a project on the Sekon Plain, which is in Isana between Kefa and Ulolok. They began with the premise that tillage requires too much labor and too many man-hours and that mechanized tillage would remove that problem. They estimated that if land were cleared by motorized plough, then planted, weeded, and harvested by hand, cultivated acreage would be expanded by several-fold, and yield per acre would be large. The plans were for 500 families to leave their steep ladangs and settle on the plain (the uplands could be reforested while they were away), and enter into the spirit of the New Era. The Government would finance the activities until the project became self-supporting.

Machinery arrived in 1947. The dry climate and alkaline soil, however, were unfavorable. Also, the terrain, full of gullies, hollows, and buffalo wallows, was unfriendly to the machinery. In this area the digging stick was faster. In addition, weeding

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time had been underestimated, and fewer farmers than expected would consider leaving their hill ladangs. Only when forced would the Atonis maintain the plains cultivation. Cooperation among Kampungs -- no! None of the Atonis liked the idea of joint harvesting.

Moreover, the isolated location of the project hampered the supply of implements, accessories, and repairs. Unskilled labor, especially repairmen and tractor drivers, proved crippling. In the end, insects and mice got the crops.

The project was liquidated after two harvests. The Atoni breathed a sigh of relief and returned to the life of their forefathers. True, the project was hampered by insufficient knowledge and inadequate preparation, but the Atoni declared that they would not have liked it if it had been successful.

Differences in culture persist despite the similarity in the Timorese way of life. The Dawan language of the Atonis differs from the Tetum of the Belunese. The adat is also different, as is the form of housing, marriage, customs, and attitudes toward work. Especially notable are the differences in the rate of adjustment to environment. The Malay type utilizes natural resources more fully and enters a greater variety of economic activities than the earlier inhabitants. The Rotinese and Belunese are more mobile, more enterprising.

Men of the interior wear two pieces of patterned cotton, decorated belts, a "sort of shawl," and turbans, and they always carry a cloth wallet. The women wear sarongs and shawls. Tatooing is common; many believe it necessary for making the proper adjustment to spirits after death (or as Westerners would express it, "a passport to heaven").

(3) Language and Education

Most of the languages belong to the eastern section of the Indonesian group which is practically Melanesian in structure. More variation is present here than on any Indonesian island. Linguists have long struggled without success for satisfactory classification of them. Their languages fall into three divisions: (1) Tetum (Belu), spoken in the eastern part of Indonesian Timor and in the major part of Portuguese Timor, is the official language in the Portuguese sector; (2) Kewak, spoken in most of the rest of the island; and (3) the Atoni. (The language of Atonis includes not only the languages of Timor, but of Roti, Wetar, Leti, Kisar, and -- less closely -- the

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Sika language of Flores and Solor and shows kinship with Seara Island.) In the interior, there is a non-Indo language. (Timor and Halmahera have the only recorded non-Indo language in these Eastern Indonesian islands.)

No English and no pidgin English is spoken. In the towns, those educated before the Revolution speak Dutch; the educated on the Portuguese side speak Portuguese. Malay is spoken in the vicinity of Kupang and in Atapupu, but very little Malay is spoken in Portuguese centers. It is less a lingua franca on this island than anywhere else in the whole of Southeast Asia.

Since the Revolution, great effort has been made to extend the use of Bahasa in Indonesian Timor by increasing the number of schools and requiring its use in teaching.*

The education of natives in the Portuguese area has long been better than in the other part of the island. Due mostly to Catholic efforts, some two to three percent of the population on the Portuguese side have long had a minimum of elementary schooling.

b. Religion

Seventeen percent of the population of Portuguese Timor is nominally Christian (Catholic), and 70 percent of Indonesian Timor is Christian (both Catholic and Protestant, because to keep down conflict the Dutch assigned the western portion to Protestants and the eastern to Catholics). A few Moslems live in coastal settlements, mostly around Kupang. Their numbers may have increased since the Revolution. The various proselyting movements have left the native confused. The Moslems taught him to pray five times a day, took away his pork and his wine, gave him several wives if he wanted them, and demanded little in the way of doctrinal understanding. The Catholics gave him back his pork and wine, took away his extra wives, and made him eat fish on Friday. The Protestants, mostly Dutch Lutheran, let him eat pork even on Friday, took away his wine and his extra wives, and forced

* Ken Nilsson, (op. cit.), says, "The virtual elimination of illiteracy in Indonesian Timor is a signal success of the Sukarno government. Several years ago, an army of teachers descended on the island and young and old were urged to learn to read and write. The drive was totally effective though the means at times were unorthodox. . . . Except for the literacy program, few reforms have gotten off the ground.

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upon him strict tabus and doctrines that he didn't understand at all.*

The native religions of Timor recognize one superior being and two lesser -- one of them accusing humanity and one protecting. On the west end of the island, the pantheon is richest. The Belunese feel that the supreme beings are too far above humanity to bother with man's troubles, but they use the name Usi Neno (Sun Lord)in making solemn vows. In general the animism of Timor, like that of all the archipelago, consists of respect, fear, and work to conciliate the spirits of man, animals, plants, and stones rather than gods. They do not make idols of any kind.

The most important element of this faith is the absolute belief in soulsubstance (semangat) that resides partly in the hair and partly in the blood. Visitors should be aware that this soul-stuff is all around them and must be treated with respect or at least reserve. In the center of the Indonesian area, there is formal belief in seven souls -- four good and three bad. If one of these leaves the body, the person becomes ill; if all leave, he dies. After he is dead, the four good ones go to heaven, and the three bad ones stay on earth and become evil spirits.

As in many parts of Indonesia where the body is sacred, two men can become blood brothers by drinking each other's blood. Lovers pull out seven hairs and exchange them. Each winds the lover's hairs around a small wooden spindle; if he neglects to oil or otherwise care for it, the other person's head will ache and he (or she) will know of the neglect. A jilted lover can use the hair to work magic. After a death, it was once a custom -- which still prevails in varying degrees of strictness -- for all members of the family to cut their hair. If a ruler died, all people of the kingdom cut their hair.

Plants also have soul-stuff and must be treated with respect. When winding yarn, a woman should place rice on the loom, so that it would not become sick or lazy or run away and make the weaving a failure. Belunese of the Portuguese area place a stone in the middle of the rice field to represent the soul of

* A Protestant minister complained that (on Timor), few of his congregation had prayer books and fewer could read. He felt he needed hymns suited to Indonesians; there was not, he said, a single song of Asian or African origin in the hymn-book. Also, Sacraments -- for example, Baptism -- were often confusing and embarrassing to natives. He asked for a less stringent liturgy.

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rice; at sowing time, sacrifices are offered to it. Also, offerings are made to the "navel" of the sandle-wood when the tree is cut. There are other fetish uses of stones. A stone or pile of stones should not be disturbed by a visitor, for it or the neighborhood is likely to be holy. Many other things are lulik (sacred). It may be a grove or only a pile of twigs.

Certain animals, varying according to area, are spirits. In certain central mountain regions (especially among Marae) the eel is sacred. It is the spirit of water with power to keep streams from drying up. Along most of the south coast the crocodile is sacred. The gecko, which is found almost everywhere in Eastern Indonesia, is the messenger of the nitu (spirits of the dead); its call presages death. Certain species of monkey are lulik.

The Timorese animist takes good care of his ancestral spirits. If they are not properly buried, they take vengeance. All objects that have belonged to the dead are respected and are kept in a sacred house (Uma Lulik or Bahasa Rumah Lulik). For every family cluster of houses, there is an Uma Lulik; and near the residence of the priest (leo-rai), there is a larger one which serves as a sort of religious center for the whole district. It sits on a high, cleared space within a grove and is surrounded by a heavy fence. No twig or branch may be cut or broken within the enclosure; no tobacco, horses, or buffalo are allowed inside. The building is made of bamboo, set on piles, and decorated with buffalo skulls. A cooking-pot containing gold and silver, or perhaps baskets of stones, roots, rice, or hen-eggs is probably inside the building. The stones on the altar were given to the Timorese when the world was first made.

There are two levels of priests: dato lelo (heavenly chief) and -- more common -- dato lulik (sacred chief). He is drawn from the ranks of the commoners and, except when he conducts rituals, wears the same clothes as they and pursues the same way of life. He is neither doctor nor diviner. His only business is to conduct rituals.

There are at least three magic persons in Timorese life: the medicine man (matan dok, far seer, in Belunese or mnani, doctor, in Atoni); the sorcerer; and the werewolf.

The medicine man can see the future, solve mysteries, and discover criminals. He is called in to ratify oaths and to hear the judgment in a crime. He is a healer of diseases, using grasses, leaves, and other forest products. He is believed to be on vacation from the spirit world and bears himself with suitable dignity when he comes to restore crops, diseased gardens, or to eliminate other blights. Martinho (1943) says, "He is a clever

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charlatan who manages to eat, drink, or dress at the cost of the simple, and even gather enough for his old age. He never cures." The medicine man has been outlawed by both the Portuguese and Dutch Governments, but this magic is still practiced all over the island.

The sorcerer (buan) is found throughout the island. He and the medicine man are sworn enemies. If the doctor's patient dies, it means that the sorcerer has cast an evil eye on him, especially if the person was of rank of influence. The sorcerer "hangs like a bat" to the lower branches of trees, looking for souls of the living to steal. Or he may bury medicine under a threshold and wait for it to have its effect on all who pass over. He can take on animal form and behave like a werewolf (the two are often confused). The sorcerer's whole family is classed with him. Traditionally, if he fell out of favor, the whole family was put to death, generally by impaling or live burial. Their only chance was to escape to another kingdom and take a new family name.

In Timor, as in most of Indonesia, there is a strong belief -- with many variations -- in werewolves (or were-tigers, etc.). The Malay (or Bahasa Indonesia) word for werewolves, suangi, is widespread. In many villages, there is one person who becomes a suangi or can summon a suangi at will. These powers are sometimes ascribed to old people peculiar in manner and appearance. The suangis are usually respected, but if illness breaks out, the suspect is put to death without trial. In central Timor "werewolfism" can be inherited through contagion, marriage, or just by eating at the same table with a werewolf. A werewolf may take the shape of a dog, snake, centipede, owl, or other animal; he seizes the soul-stuff of his victim. A person seen standing on his head, stark naked, unaware of what is going on, or one who cannot be wakened is identified as being in the power of a werewolf. If you are kind enough to turn him around, his soul-stuff comes back, perhaps in the shape of a mouse, much too fast for the rescuer to see.

There seems to be no particular concepts about after-life, but funerals are important. The coffin is the hollowed out trunk of a tree, the deceased is dressed in his best clothes, coins are put in his mouth for business deals in the other life, and his implements are buried with him. Burial is made not in a common cemetery, but either close to or in the village or sometimes in the dwelling of the deceased. Before the burial, there is a night of orgy by friends and relatives, accompanied by improvised lamentations and displays of emotion. A buffalo

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is sacrificed, Chinese fireworks are set off, songs are sung, and wine is consumed. In the old days before the Dutch and Portuguese Governments set a limit to them, these ceremonies could last for weeks, and hundreds of buffaloes and dozens of pigs -- and perhaps a human being -- might be sacrificed. For the funeral of a ruler, two or three slaves would be buried alive. Today, the law says the funeral must take place 24 hours after death, and to stop the big drain on herds the sacrifice must be limited to one buffalo. In the Indonesian area, there is a tax on aku mate (Bahasa Indonesia, permission to kill). Most of the old spirit, however, persists.

c. Villages

In Timor, there are really no villages, only hamlets. The natives live in clusters of a few houses (usually about 18) within an enclosure. (On lower land where there is a larger population, a village may run to as many as 50 houses.) The village has no regular plan.

Villages, in the interior, are located in inaccessible and defensible places, preferably in the steep hills. They are surrounded by stone or wooden barricades. In the center of the village is a common council house (uma bo) decorated with heads, which everyone helps build. Here the chiefs and old men deliberate and converse; on festive occasions villagers eat there. In the old days -- and perhaps even now -- travelers rested there. In the Atoni village, there is a lopo, which is a village reception room, storehouse, and working place; it does not occur among the Belunese. (For description of the Sacred House, see Religion above.) Belu villages of the Plain, as well as the Atoni mountain villages are bare and treeless. Houses are close together with no crops or protective or ornamental growth between them. Dogs and pigs comprise the only sanitation force.

(1) Houses

Houses differ less among tribes than among localities (coastal or mountain).* They are constructed of wood or bamboo according to locality. The normal coastal or non-mountain house is usually square with a pointed roof. People of rank have large planed pieces of wood covering the point to keep the rain off; these pieces are decorated with bird and fish designs, seemingly in

* In general, however, Belu houses tend to be rectangular and Atoni houses beehive shaped.

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Figure 50. Village meeting at Nikiniki (09°49'S-124°28'E) on Timor.

Figure 51. Typical Atoni family on Timor.

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Figure 52. Beehive houses and coral road on the dry terrain of central Indonesian Timor.

Figure 53. Beehive houses in central Timor.

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imitation of a prau. (Since the Timorese are not great sailors, the decoration is thought to be a race memory.) The coastal house is entered by ascending steps (oda) and entering through a door (mata). The ensemble is called oda matan.

In the mountains, houses are generally round or beehive-shaped. This construction is unusual in Indonesia but common in the Philippines. The houses are small and simple, constructed of wood, bamboo, and thatch, and are usually said to be foul and flimsy. Most of them are built directly on the ground and have no floor. These houses look like big tortoises with their feet hidden in the eaves. Sleeping places (lantens) are marked off under the eaves or the whole family sleeps without barriers around the fireplace. In mountainous Lamantenen, houses are solidly built, but they get flimsier as one descends toward the South Belu Plain.

In Kupangese villages on Semau Island, there are a few round, thatched-roofed huts made of sticks about three feet high driven into the ground. Also a few (in Bibisusu, for instance) beehives are built on piles like the square houses and entered through the floor by means of a movable ladder.

(2) Family Life

The building of a house begins with a ceremony in honor of the family spirits. The good spirits are asked for protection; the bad are extended rituals for placation. The whole family gathers to listen anxiously to the rai lulik's incantations.

Most people have no furniture, except sleeping mats made of palm fiber. They have pots of earthenware or iron for cooking their food, wooden plates or dishes, and spoons usually of shell or coconut husk. Large serving spoons are made of coconut husk strengthened by the midrib of a kelapa (coconut) leaf and fastened with bamboo. In addition there are utensils for special ceremonies. For example, the family keeps very old china pots which are used by the dato lulik to receive the blood of victims when special offerings are made.

The infant mortality rate on Timor is high, although there are special rules for the pregnant woman and for the new-born. The baby's name may be changed to confuse the evil spirits, if bad luck threatens or to suit the child's characteristics as he grows older. (This does not help the census taker's accuracy.) Some of the coastal people practice circumcision.

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Timorese children are educated like those of Bali by formal, ritualistic imitation. Also as in Bali, the Timorese are very fond of gaming, especially cock fighting. Card playing, next in popularity, is judged to be of late introduction, since its name, djuga surat, is part Portuguese and part Malay.

d. Occupations

The various ethnic groups of Timor have become very much alike in their material culture, for they all live by agriculture. Except for the farmers in the South Belu Plain, the Timorese rotate their fields and live by the cultivation of dry fields.

Irrigation channels are built with communal labor for wet-rice cultivation. The water is distributed through the fields with pots. Then, after the buffaloes have trampled the water padi, the women transplant the young rice shoots from the germination bed.

An entirely different method is employed for raising dry rice and corn. During July, August, and September, the lantana and undergrowth is cut. During October the dead grass is fired, the ground is cleared of tree trunks, and the trees are piled and burned or used for building palisades to keep the beasts off the crops. This Timorese fence (pagar or luntun) is famous. It is very strong, nearly man-high, and made of thorny wood or of stone. The building of this fence requires a great deal of work and time. It is necessary -- and never really effective against predators -- especially when the dry season sets in, and there is no food for the stray cattle on the savannahs. Indonesian extension officers have studied the problem of reducing the number of man-hours needed to construct fences by testing different kinds of construction. They have found no answer. After the fence is built, sometime in November, the women of the family do the transplanting. A month later comes the first weeding. Two more months elapse before the second weeding.

The main crop, varying with locality, is corn or rice. The peoples of Timor also raise millet and sugarcane and have mixed gardens of tuberous vegetables, cassava, gourds, legumes, and sometimes bananas. Except on the Belu Plain, the soil is poor, the rainy season is short, and the dry season is long and severe. Much of what might otherwise be farm land is overgrown with the unconquerable lantana. In many places, other vegetation has all but disappeared. In others, erosion is severe on account of shifting cultivation.

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Figure 54. Native herdsmen on the high rolling plains of Timor -- about 6.8 miles from Soe.

Figure 55. Timorese people.

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Cultivation methods are primitive. There are no plows, and tillage is still done with pointed sticks (about 54 inches long) or by using buffalo to trample in sawahs (wet-rice fields). The patjul (a heavy, wide-bladed tool resembling both a chopping hoe and a grubber) is used in some areas. No fertilizer is used except the ashes left from the annual burning off of the fields. The natives plant only what they "guess" they will need. If cultivated food runs scarce, they eat wild sago, coconuts, and coconut milk. In certain areas there are citrus fruits. In South Belu the coconut palm hedges, planted to separate the fields, have grown into useful groves.

Coffee grows well in Timor. The Dutch Government made several serious attempts to promote the industry and planted a great many coffee trees, but the radjahs were not interested. In 1930, these trees were destroyed. Demonstration sawahs also have had little or no effect.) The Portuguese are better acquainted with agriculture under semi-arid conditions than the Dutch and paid more attention to soil conservation. Results on their part of the island were better, and erosion has been decreased.

Generally, the diet on Timor is poor. The people drink no milk, have little access to fish, and their food crops are undependable.

Most natives own horses and water buffaloes. They do not use them for farm labor, except for sawah trampling, or for obtaining fertilizer. Pasturage is poor, and the natives are inefficient at animal husbandry. The Portuguese, unlike the Dutch, did not import cattle (water buffalo) into their territory. Since they are a mark of social status, cattle-stealing is common on the frontier. Cattle were freely transported across the border only during the Japanese invasion. The horse is used as a pack animal and mount but not as a draft animal, since carts are unknown. The Timorese rider and his horse are said to be without equal.

As among Australian natives, men, women, and children take part in the hunt, using spears, lances, and bows and arrows. (In some areas, guns are known but not used for hunting.) Mounted on special hunting horses, they distribute themselves in groups around the circumference of the area to be hunted and fire it. Trained hunting dogs are also used and are unleashed only when it is time for the wounded animals to be dispatched. The hunt may last for a week. During this period, hunters may be killed, horses lamed, and dogs slain by wounded animals. After the hunt the meat is cut into strips and dried over fires or in the sun. This meat sells at good prices in the Chinese markets or trades well in regional bazaars.

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Both Atonis and Belunese are unfamiliar with the seas; the coastal waters of Timor -- unlike those of other parts of Indonesia -- are poor in fish. No inland fisheries have been constructed because rivers are dry during the dry season. As a result, little fishing is done except near Kupang. In the sea arms which penetrate deep into the island, however, the coastal people have built twig dams for fishing traps. Any fishing that requires "elaborate technology" is left to people from the neighboring islands. Fishermen from Solor, Badju, and other islands have settled sporadically along the west coast of Timor.

The main crafts on the island are weaving, plaiting mats, and making ornaments and weapons. People living near the coast sell copra, damar resin, and other forest products. They manufacture toak, "the strongest drink on earth," and coit for cable-making. The only industry is a meat canning factory in Kupang.

Timorese have long since lost the art of prau building. Today no local-made, sea-going crafts are found anywhere on the Timor coast. All trade goods are moved in foreign vessels. Trading is mostly conducted by Chinese, Arabs, and Buginese.

e. Marriage

Wide differences exist in marriage customs, especially in areas influenced by Christianity. Generally, four types of marriage arrangements can be defined: (1) parental selection; (2) request -- the youth chooses his mate, but it is she who seeks approval of the elders (if they agree, they accept the youth's gifts); (3) elders choice on the basis of cross-cousins, this sometimes results in a man of forty marrying a girl of thirteen or fourteen; and, (4) by theft or elopement. The fourth type varies in two ways: (a) the youth arranges with the girl to accept him, and his own villagers either come with him to get her or come to an appointed spot to receive her (either his parents pay the bride price or he has to work out the fine by serving in the girl's house); and, (b) pretended theft, the girl's parents are aware of what is happening.

Bride price is customary among the patrilineal cultures but does not occur among the matrilineal. After the contract has been completed and the amount and kind of payments decided, the fiance may frequent the girl's home and even sleep with her. The parents exchange visits, and payments begin. Buffaloes, horses, and jewels are paid by the boy's father. In return, the girl's father gives clothing and pigs to the value of one-third

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of payments received. The difference represents the actual value of the bride. The bride price may take years to pay and, until payments are completed, the groom is at the beck and call of his parents-in-law. Usually, the girl's father asks the same bride price for her as was paid for her mother.

In most areas cross-cousin marriages (marriage of a child of a brother to a child of his sister) are mandatory, but in some inland districts of Belu marriages between children of brothers or of sisters as well as marriages to aunts or uncles and to sisters or brothers (both full and half) are permitted. In addition, a man may marry his daughter-in-law or mother-in-law; sometimes a father marries his daughter.

Marriage is usually patrilocal, but, if the couple quarrel or the girl is ill-treated, she may go home and take the children. Children are considered as assets, and, therefore, the girl's parents may incite her to leave her husband's home. In case of divorce, the children go with the mother -- one or all, according to the status of the marriage payments. Levirate is practiced. If the girl refuses to marry her dead husband's brother, she must stay at her parent-in-law's house. In Annas, a Belu district close to the Portuguese border, there is a matrilocal type of marriage. The man brings to the parents of the girl practically nothing, but he takes a subordinate position in their household. He cannot move his wife to his village. Only one of the children is sent to his parents. The children take the father's name at first, but as soon as they are introduced into the family magic they take the mother's family name. If she dies first, he and the children stay as part of her parents' family. If the husband dies first, the widow and children go to the husband's family home "to make a fire." In cases where the marriage was barren, the widow must share her goods with her husband's family; if she refuses, she must send a younger sister as a slave in their house. It may be that this is a vestige of matriarchy. In some areas, villages are definitely grouped for intermarriage.

Monogamy is normal for these people, but a man may have a second wife if his first is sterile. Divorce is allowed. In areas where no bride price has been paid divorce is not uncommon. Sometimes the offender is driven out of her home with nothing, not even her clothes. Adultery is another ground for divorce, but only when the woman is the offender.

Though child-bearing is the true purpose of marriage, abortion sometimes occurs. Application for an abortion must be made to the <u>leo rai</u>, or a lesser chief. It is current among the

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Figure 56. Road maintenance on road to Ocussi, Timor.

Figure 57. Typical Timorese road.

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unmarried and is done without scandal but with precautions. Permission is more easily obtained if the girl has been seduced and doesn't want to bear her first child out of wedlock.

Prostitution exists chiefly in the areas where there are Europeans, Arabs, and Chinese. In some mountain areas with a strictly native population, however, temporary "unions" are paid for by a coconut, a handful of tobacco, or a small bit of money.

f. Visitors

No English and no pidgin English is spoken on Timor. In the towns those who were educated before the Revolution speak Dutch or on the Portuguese side, Portuguese. Little Malay is spoken in Portuguese towns, but in Kupang and other Indonesian towns Malay is common. If the visitor is to get along, he should speak Malay. The visitor will be able to get a Malay-speaking interpreter who speaks Atoni and Tetem. An Atoni who has been to school in Kupang is an excellent choice. Best of all, perhaps, would be to secure the services of one of the few remaining English-speaking Dutchmen who knows some of the local dialects.

The whole island is considered unhealthy; malaria until recently was the scourge of the coastal regions and diarrhoea is rife in the higher land. Food is not sanitary; all water should be boiled. The weather is either very wet or very dry.

Travel is difficult; information on routes is hard to get. There are two earth-beaten "highways," which accomodate auto vehicles with great difficulty. All other travel has to be done by horse or on foot. Sea travel is limited, since it is difficult to land on the island.

Because of the plethora of sacred and taboo places and objects, any visitor should -- to avoid numerous and continuing offenses to his host country -- study the basic religious culture. (See Religion, above.)

Never have there been more than a few hundred whites on Timor, and all of them have been engaged in missionary or government work. Most natives have never seen a white man. Here a visitor is on his own. These tribal people have no preconceptions to appeal to. The average native does not identify with any nation, not even Indonesia. He has never heard of communism, the United States, or the United Nations. His attitude toward a white visitor will be colored only by local and personal events, past and present, and will not even extend to Timor in general.

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2. Roti Island

Roti Island lies off the Kupang peninsula about 10 kilometers from Kupang, Timor's capital. It has an area of about 450 square miles. Population figures for the island and for the numerous Rotinese who have immigrated to Timor are undependable and often confused. Discrepancies are so great that no confidence can be placed in any figure. It is estimated that the Rotinese throughout the Archipelago total about 120,000.

a. People

The origin of the Rotinese is unknown. It is assumed that they are Belunese with a stronger Malay strain. According to a Rotinese myth, they came from Serau, bringing with them rice and coconuts. (The Belunese have a similar myth of Serau origin.) Later, the story continues, they imported corn, sirih, penang, and domestic animals (horses, buffaloes, pigs, and goats) from Timor. This legend has not been evaluated. It is clear, however, that they are one of the transitional peoples who have moved from the Malay Peninsula to Papua. They are lighter-skinned and less Papuan then the Atonis of Timor.

They are more influenced by Western Indonesians than by the Timorese and had close and continuing contact with the Dutch at Kupang. The Dutch, observing Roti's development, long coveted it as an isolated outpost. With the help of Timorese warriors, the Dutch undertook several armed invasions to force an alliance.

Christianity found easier acceptance on Roti than on any other island of the Timor group and teaching went hand in hand with mission work. Many schools were established on Roti in the 19th century. Generations of schooling have made the Rotinese suitable for white-collar jobs. For decades, Rotinese government officials, teachers, and preachers have been familiar figures all over the Timor Archipelago. As a result of their education and experience, they are culturally advanced, able to cope with their environment, show an understanding of the soil, and are enterprising and mobile.

b. Occupations

The environment of Roti is harsh, and the climate and vegetation resemble that of Timor. The dry season is worse on the north coast, but the weather of the south coast is unfavorable in any season. Rainfall is unreliable all over the island. Because of the tricky climate, farming is a risky business.

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Nevertheless, Roti's economy is based on a mixture of advanced and primitive agriculture. The basic crops are dry and wet rice. Food-gathering is common. The system of agriculture is basically like that of the Atoni, except that there is no uncontrolled burning-off, and abandoned ladangs are reforested. Also, the Rotinese are more economical with the wood they remove from the fields.

The Rotinese engage in fishing, salt making, collecting bebak and lime, and charcoal burning. They concentrate on growing the lontar palm, the tree of life for Roti (and Sawu also). This tree is used for everything. From it they get food and drinks (tuak, gula air, gula lemping, laru, and sopi). If there is a crop failure, the lontar furnishes an unfailing supply of additional food. It is a guarantee against starvation. A Rotinese, even an urban Rotinese, may drink eight or ten bottles of tuak (wine) a day. He claims it sustains him.

The lontar also furnishes raw material for consumer goods. Almost all articles for the household are made of lontar -- from cradle to coffin. The tree also furnishes commercial products to be exported to nearby islands. Deep in the interior of Timor (in Insana, Amonubau, and the South Belu Plain) gula air (sugar water, or syrup) is used in Chinese distilleries for making sopi. Rotinese manufacture and export some of their own sopi; Rotinese sopi has been banned in Kupang.

Every lontar tree is privately owned. A man may own from one to one hundred trees, but the majority of Rotinese have none.

c. Migration

The so-called Timorese soldiers of the Royal Dutch East Indies Army were partly Rotinese and Sawunese, who had been systematically brought to Timor to protect Dutch territory. These soldiers were assigned settlement areas all around Kupang Bay. They found a broad, almost unpopulated virginal plain intersected by numerous small rivers and surrounded by lontar and gebang savannahs. Moreover, they could collect tuak and raise rice on the land and take fish and salt from the bay. More and more Rotinese came looking for an opportunity to better their condition and to escape from certain social factors on their own island. The 1930 census estimated 17,000 Rotinese in the area; the less reliable 1951 census gave 22,000. This immigration data is also suspect.

From the first, the immigrant Rotinese settled close to existing Timorese villages because most of the wells and springs were

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near Timorese settlements. The pattern has not changed and, today, Rotinese and Timorese villages are located as sort of "twin kampungs." The sex ratio among the Rotinese shows a surplus of women (1,041 to 1,000 men); the Timorese ratio is the opposite. The Rotinese (as well as the Sawunese) in the valley have little to do with original inhabitants or their twinned kampungs on the bordering hills. They are not inclined to follow Timorese ways and continue to live in rectangular bebak houses.

The Rotinese on Timor generally follow one of three professions -- civil service, retailing, or farming (the vast majority). In 1930, the Rotinese made up one-third of the population of the town of Kupang; it is estimated that the ratio has doubled since. Other government centers (Soë, Kefa, Atambua) also have kampungs of Rotinese, most of whom are minor civil servants. Rotinese retailers live in Kata as well, and a few are scattered throughout Timor. Small groups of these industrious, ambitious people are found throughout the Lesser Sundas.

3. Ndao Island

Ndao is a small, lonely, rocky island off the southern tip of Roti and is most often associated with Roti. The inhabitants are Kupangese (Helonese) and probably belong to the same group of Kupangese who live on the west side of Roti and on the neighboring island of Semau.

The Kupangese of these three places are the only people of the Timorese group who have made themselves partly independent of the soil. They are the silversmiths of the Timor Archipelago. At the end of the wet season they leave the island to wander from area to area and from kampung to kampung offering their services. They have only the simplest of tools and usually work for keep, lodging, and wages. They usually return home at the end of the dry season, but, in prosperous areas such as the South Belu Plain or the Rotinese coastal area in Timor, they may stay longer.

A few permanent Ndao natives live in some Rotinese villages on Timor and work both as silversmiths and lontar tappers. The excellence of the craftsmanship of these people was known at least as early as the early 1800's, but no one knows where or how they learned and perfected their craft. Some 30 families have established the village of Molo with their own chief.

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4. Sawu Island

Sawu is a small island (200 square miles) in the Savu Sea between Roti and Sumba. It is the most isolated island of the Timor Group -- about 60 miles west of Roti and 75 miles east of Sumba. The closest point of Flores Island is over one hundred miles northward and nothing but the ocean lies for hundreds of miles southward. It has a low-lying coast and a hilly interior. A 1954 estimate gives the island a population of 78,785. Like the Rotinese, the Sawunese are also scattered over the Timor Archipelago.

The Sawunese are probably a mixture of Timorese, Rotinese, and immigrants from other neighboring islands, this classification being an over-simplification of a much more elaborate ethnological system. They, like the Rotinese, are a busy, mobile people. The original inhabitants have emigrated in great numbers. The Dutch used some of them as warriors and settled them with the Rotinese on Timor. They are also to be found on Sumba, Flores, and many other of the Lesser Sunda islands.

The Sawunese are like the Rotinese (with whom they are historically associated) not only in physical traits but in attitudes and characteristics. Their main business is the cultivation of lontar palms.

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IV. Molucca

A. General

For the purposes of this study, the Moluccas cover a combined land area of about 35,000 square miles and include an estimated (1950) population of nearly 800,000 (425,000 in 1930). The more than 1,000 islands were once known collectively as the Spice Islands. They comprise Indonesia's XXIst first-level administrative division, or province, that sprawls across seas more than 1,000 miles from north to south and 700 miles from east to west. (A curious extension of the XXIInd -- Irian Barat -- province loops into part of Halmahera.)

The only sizable islands in the province are Ceram and Halmahera. Size, however, has little or no relation to importance in the Moluccas.

All settlements are found on the coasts except on the larger islands. Each of the major island groups has at least one town which is a port of call for steamships. The only truly urban center is Amboina, on Amboina. Other towns have declined as the spice trade has disintegrated. Roads are non-existent on most of these islands.

As the islands circle eastward and northward, Papuan traits grow more prominent. Coastal populations around towns that have been trade centers for centuries are so mixed that it is impossible to disentangle Buginese, Makassarese, Javanese, Malay, Portuguese, Dutch, and the indigenous people. Intermarriage accounts for much of this confusion.

Proselyting has been common on all of the islands. The Portuguese tried to expand their power by Christianization; local princes tried to strengthen their position by Islamization. Many traces of Portuguese influence remain, but culture has changed little. In general the inhabitants are content to live on easily gotten products and to practice old cults. Even for converts, the old religion lies very near the surface.

Location accounts for the type of diet the natives enjoy. Fewer and fewer rice crops are seen the further away from Java and Nusa Tenggara one travels. Sago takes its place as the basic, indispensable food and as a supplementary food where rice crops are scant or fail. Sago is relatively tasteless, but wholesome, plentiful in many places, and indestructible. It will stand rain and age but is best when fresh. Sago meal not only makes nourishing bread but furnishes the base for good desserts. (The famous Pudding of the Three Palms is made with coconut milk, grated coconut, and pal -- syrup with a base of sago meal.)

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Common to all the peoples of Southwestern Molucca -- and necessary to an understanding of or dealing with them -- is the importance and the degeneration of caste. It pervades mythical and historical tradition, religious and social organization, and the economic and political life of the present day. The three castes are Marna (highest), Wuhru (middle), and Atau (descendants of slaves). In theory the system is real and endogamous, but in practice castes are degenerating into status groups that are not dependent on heredity. On some islands the family line is patrilineal, on others it is matrilineal, but on most it tends to vacillate and swing with social and economic circumstances.

As soon as endogamous rules slackened, and infractions were either connived at or expressly allowed, problems began to arise about the offspring of the resulting mixed marriages. Which of the two castes ought to prevail? At first solutions were incidental and inconsistent, but they have gradually crystallized into a systematic compromise between deep-rooted feelings and modern trends. Ethnologists have found their informants unable or unwilling to sort out the class mixtures, and they believe that everyone is afraid of offending. The most serious sympton of decay for the endogamous system is for the offspring of mixed marriages to promote themselves. Newly made Marnas are snubbed as ridiculous upstarts. In general, an influential father may try to override certain rules of heredity, but it is claimed that few try to raise themselves or their children to higher castes.

Except for a few of the port towns, the islands of Molucca are not well known. A traveler should go to Makassar for up-to-date, first-hand information on travel, availability of guides, condition of wharves, epidemic areas, temper of the inhabitants, and other travel information.

If an island is called peaceable, it usually means only that there is not record of conflict with the Dutch. In areas of continuing conflict with the Dutch, there is probably still a feeling of animosity toward whites, for to an Indonesian all whites -- especially blondes -- are Belanda (Dutch).

B. Barat Daja Archipelago

1. Wetar Island

Wetar, the westernmost island of the northern chain, is a sizable island (about 1200 square miles) some 40 miles off the north coast of Portuguese Timor. The terrain is difficult -- hilly or swampy -- and hinders communication and socialization.

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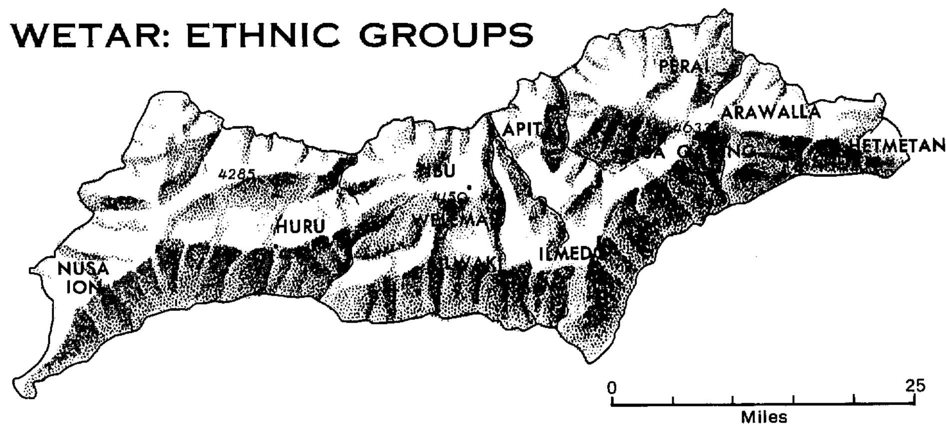
a. People

Wetar illustrates the cultural splintering, common to many of these islands, that has caused investigators to toss their inhabitants into a hodge-podge classification with those of other Moluccan islands. The census estimate (50,000 for 1961; 28,000 for 1930) includes the people not only of Wetar, but also of Leti, Romang, and the Moa, Damar, and Babar groups. The thumbnail map of Wetar makes clear the troubles the ethnologist has in all those islands.



b. Organization

The villages are ruled by a hierarchy of chieftans of a rigidly exclusive class. They in turn are under a radjah who wields only vague powers. The Dutch paid little attention to this island (and others of this group), and the people were left to handle their own affairs. It is likely that the same political isolation or neglect prevails under Indonesian rule.

Houses on Wetar are small, rough structures made of wood, bamboo, and thatch. Education is minimal. About 45 out of every 1,000 can read and most of these are concentrated on the south coast. The few Moslems and Christians on the island are also located on the south coast. The great majority of natives are pagan.

The peoples of Wetar speak an assembly of mutually incomprehensible tribal dialects. A Malay-speaking interpreter might be found on the south coast. Anyone who wishes to travel into the interior would be well advised to obtain the services of an Alorese who knows the Tobu Tibu language.

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2. Romang Island

Romang Island, about 35 miles east of Wetar, is surrounded by seven small uninhabited islands. Together they have a combined area of about 200 square miles (about 100 square miles on Romang proper). Romang is sparsely populated, having about 3,000 inhabitants.

Grass covers all of Romang with the exception of the thickly wooded southwestern section. One first class trail crosses the interior from north to south. There is no port of call. Occasionally, Kisarese make temporary visits to Romang when their own island is suffering from drought.

There are five villages. Each has a chief, and all are under the leading chief who has his residence at the village of Djerusu. The inhabitants are an Alfur hybrid. They are primitive, completely isolated, and, except for a few hundred Christians, pagan. Their language is of the Ambon-Timor group, but the dialect is distinct from that of neighboring islands. One might find a Malay speaker among the Christian community.

The staple crop is corn. Sago, which supplements the corn diet, is abundant. Useful forest products and fruits also grow on Romang.

3. Damar Group

Damar Island (and several nearby tiny islands -- Noora Terband, Zuid Terband, and Nusaleur among them) is usually grouped with Teun, Nila, and Serau, even though miles of water separate them.

a. Damar Island

Damar is a somewhat larger island than Romang and lies about 75 miles northeast of it. An active volcano dominates the island, and earthquakes are an occasional reminder that the land is not stable. The west side of Damar is low, but the other coasts rise steeply from the sea. Damar has one good bay, Selat (Teluk), which is deep and runs about 4 miles inland.

The inhabitants are of the same general racial stock as those of Wetar and the other islands of the northern chain. Their language belongs to the Ambon-Timor group. Two dialects are used on the island. Few, if any, inhabitants speak Malay.

The people are pagan. It is doubtful whether any Christians or Moslems live on the island.

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There are eight or nine villages perched on hilltops. Most of them are surrounded by stone walls. Wulur, the main settlement on Teluk Bay, is not walled. No "high chief," similar to the one on Romang, rules on Damar. Several independent chiefs, who wield little power, govern the separate affairs of the islanders.

Agriculture is the main occupation on this fertile island. Corn and tubers are grown as the main food crop, and sago fills in as a dietary supplement. Sulphur deposits are abundant, and some sulphur is exported.

b. Teun, Nila, and Serua

These three islands are identified either as part of the Damar group or sometimes as the end of the Romang chain. They stretch out northeasterly from Damar into the open seas and are spaced from 30 to 50 miles apart. Together they comprise an area of about 100 square miles. Each consists of one large volcanic mountain.

The people are all pagans and are of the mixed-Alfur type.* Their language is very close to Damarese. Few, if any, persons speak Malay or any language except their own dialect, for these islands are off the regular shipping lanes.

Five villages, each under an independent chief, are located on Teun. The main settlement, Lajoni, is on the west coast. On a small bay of the south coast of Nila are two villages.

The soil is very fertile. Once these islands were rich in clove trees, but they were destroyed by the East India Company. Today the people grow coconuts, hops, and chickens and gather forest products. Mangoes are grown on Serua (perhaps on the other two also).

C. Banda Archipelago

The Banda Islands are made up of Bandalontar (Great Banda) and ten smaller islands -- Gunungapi (Volcano Island), Kapal (Boat Island), Pisang (Banana Island), Run, Ai, Nailaka, Rozengainm, Krakak, and Suanggi (Werewolf Island, which is uninhabited). They lie more than a hundred miles out in the Banda Sea toward Ceram. The combined area of these ten hilly and volcanic islands is about 100 square miles; they are credited with a combined population of about 6,000.

* Berzina and Bruk, op. sit., classifies them with the people of Wetar, etc.

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Figure 58. Bandaneira, capital of the Banda Islands ($04^{o}32'$S-$129^{o}54'$E).

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Bandaneira, the largest town and a port of call, is situated on the north point of Bandalontar on one of the finest harbors in the Indies. There is a fair-sized town (Ai) on Ai Island, where half of the natives of the island -- as well as twenty to twenty-five Europeans -- live. Several of the islands have passable roadways, and travel is comparatively easy. These islands were once called "the garden spot of the Moluccas."

1. People

The Bandas lost all of their aboriginal population in the late nineteenth century during and following a bitter war between the English and Dutch for possession of this territory. The Dutch won the war, but so much trouble still existed on the islands, that the Bandarese were either exterminated or forced to flee. Some 14,000 were killed; about 1,000 escaped (see Sec. IV-J, Kai Archipelago). The Dutch then imported slaves and laborers -- Javanese, Buginese, Makassarese and others -- from less recalcitrant Indonesian islands.* The population is now primarily composed of their descendants and a scattering of later immigrants. Their integration has been almost complete, and with one exception the racial makeup today is fairly uniform. The Butonese, from an island of the Celebes, live on the coast of Gunungapi and preserve their own language and customs. Both Butonese and Timorese preserve their own cultures on Run Island.

In 1941, a National Geographic traveler found Chinese shop-keepers and traders in the towns, selling a great variety of imported goods from cigarettes to tennis shoes as well as a multitude of Hadramaut Arab shop-keepers selling New York newspapers and women's fashion magazines.

a. Characteristics

The people of the Bandas have long been "civilized" by contacts with Europeans. They are accustomed to whites and seem friendly to them. Since their days of wealth are gone, a certain decadence pervades the culture; they have been called lazy and unambitious. Perhaps economic conditions and colonial treatment have fathered those attitudes.

b. Cultural Factors

Except for the Butonese (on Gunungapi) the peoples of the Bandas speak Malay of the Malukun variety (similar to standard Malay or Bahasa Indonesia). Linguistic contact is thus relatively easy.

* Ibid., Berzina and Bruk show only Javanese and Buginese.

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The Bandas have more schools and a higher degree of literacy than are usually found in Molucca. Almost no paganism remains. A high proportion of the population is Christian; all the rest of the inhabitants are Mohammedans.

2. Villages and Housing

Since there are no streams on the islands, villages have to depend on springs, wells, and stored rain for their water supply. Village locations are partially determined by this factor. Councils and chiefs of the noble caste rule these villages.

Houses are built of bamboo and thatch and set in shady gardens of fruit trees.

3. Occupations

In general, conditions are decadent; the soil is fertile and could contribute to a higher standard of living if the natives were more enterprising. The Bandas produce most of the Oriental nutmegs. Extensive nutmeg parks cover Bandalontar and grow on several other of the islands. Coconuts are plentiful. Some teak and other natural products also thrive in the Bandas. Except for coconut, nutmeg, and tapioca, few crops are cultivated.

The Chinese and Arabs have long been the most prosperous people of the islands. Native peoples work on nutmeg, coconut, and tapioca plantations and cultivate their own gardens. The Timorese and Butonese on Run Island and the mixed natives of Ai Island specialize in nutmeg cultivation.

4. Visitors

A Malay-speaking traveler would need no interpreter. The people are comparatively sophisticated, being accustomed to foreigners and friendly to whites. Offers of money or a chance of bettering themselves might appeal to them.

In the middle of the Banda Sea are the Schildpod Island (Binghudu, Kadola, and Mai), Lucipora Island, and the Dkaro Reef. The inhabitants of these areas are about the same as those on Wetar.

D. Kisar Island

1. General

Kisar, 25 miles southeast of Wetar and 15 miles north of the east point of Timor, marks the beginning of the southern chain of

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the southwestern islands. It has an area of 50 square miles and a population of 10,000. The soil is infertile; the terrain is hilly and barren.

2. People

The native stock of Kisar is mainly proto-Malay. In addition, two intrusive groups live on the island.* The first comprises a group of about 200 (some report 300) half-breeds -- so-called Dutch Heathen -- descended from native girls and Dutch soldiers. They do not mate with full-blooded natives and are differentiated from the other islanders by their fair skin, blue eyes, and Dutch names. In religion they also differ, for they are Christians (although as such they apparently leave much to be desired).

The other intrusive group lives in Oirata, an enclave in the east coastal plain.** This settlement furnishes a useful example of the surprises to be found in these islands and a warning to the visitor not to take anything for granted.

a. Oirata

Oirata is composed of two parts or two "villages": Oirata Timur (East) with 831 inhabitants and Oirata Barat (West), with 397. It was founded by Timorese in 1725. Even after two and a half centuries, relations between Oiratans and native Kisarese are quite strained. Oiratans show many cultural and physical differences and are considered by the Kisarese to be supernaturally dangerous. Intermarriage is quite unusual.

Oiratans are divided into clans that are not strictly patriarchal or matriarchal; for example, sons belong to the father and daughters to the mother. People from the West and East sections may intermarry but are more likely to marry within their own section.

As to the caste system, Oiratans are still in a phase of flux. Caste is rapidly losing ground in the strife of conflicting social forces. Compared to the people of other southwestern islands,

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* Ibid. The authors consider them with the other inhabitants of the northern chain. They make no mention of the other intrusive groups.

** de Jong, Josselin, Oirata, A Timorese Settlement on Kisar, (Amsterdam: Uitgevers-Maatschappis, 1937). A Rockefeller study made on the Oirata group.

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they tolerate much change in caste grouping. Many lineages have managed to promote themselves to a higher caste. When questioned, one is willing to designate specific people as to caste. The result is that the three castes are on the way to becoming status groups without fixed rules of heredity or strict marriage prohibitions. However, strong preference for the old ways and for in-group marriages, still exist in the Marna (highest) group.

The children of mixed marriages usually follow the mother's group. Distinctions are made between adopted children, who are treated the same as "fathered" children, and foster children who do not belong to the foster father's clan and have no hereditary rights.

Native Kisarese consider the Oiratans interlopers. The Oiratans, however, have a myth that establishes their birthright on the island, going back to pre-history to prove that they are not immigrants. The Oiratans probably originated this myth.

b. Cultural Factors

The languages of the Kisarese are of the Ambom-Timor group and Romanese (a dialect understood in Timor and Romang Islands). The Dutch half-breeds speak Malay and also know Kisarese.

Most of the people are pagan; approximately 10 per cent are Christian. No Moselems are known to live on Kisar.

3. Villages and Houses

In the past, villages were built on hilltops (which may account for a report that the natives are hostile). Gradually, they have moved to valleys and the coastal areas. Their houses are generally small and flimsy.

Each village is ruled by a chief who is under a district chief -- all chiefs belong to the exclusive noble class. A hereditary radjah, who is still recognized by the villagers and the district chiefs, presides over the island.

4. Occupations

The land is infertile, drought conditions prevail most of the year -- sometimes the entire year. Few trees or forest products and no sago grow on the island. Despite this, the chief occupation is agriculture -- the cultivation of corn, beans, tubers, melons, and sugar cane. Rice is not grown. Goats, buffalo, sheep, hogs, and horses are raised. When a complete drought strikes the island, the Kisarese migrate to Romang Island. They always return to their own island as soon as possible.

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The Kisarese make and trade fishlines, straw hats, mats, and cloth and build boats of wood imported from other islands. They are expert sailors and fishermen, but the fish are as scarce here as around Timor.

5. Visitors

The island is encircled by naked cliffs over a hundred feet high which are broken only by a few narrow beaches and openings. The only feasible anchorage is at Wonrail.

A Malay-speaking visitor will not need an interpreter. Visitors should be warned that the water is reportedly filthy.

E. Leti Archipelago (Leti, Moa, and Lakor)

1. General

This island group lies southeast of Kisar, the nearest island (Leti) by some 25 miles. They have a combined area of about 350 square miles and a combined population of about 20,000. Leti and Moa are hilly, rising to about 1,350 feet in their centers; Lakor is flat, and cross-country movement is easy there. All are volcanic and considered infertile (Moa is a bit more fertile than Leti), except when compared to Kisar's extremely poor soil. No streams or good ports exist on Lakor. The shores of these islands resemble a coral bank raised about 20 feet above the level of the sea and marked by only a few patches of sand.

2. People

Natives of these islands are proto-Malay and are similar to the people of Wetar, Kisar, Romang, etc. They are relatively civilized, peaceful, and reasonably friendly to outsiders. The Lakors are said to have many small personal quarrels, and they often insist that the visitor settle them.

The population is almost entirely native to the island. A few Riaus, Jakartans, and Malays from other islands live at Pati on the south coast of Moa.

The language is of the Ambon-Timor group. Although dialects are very similar for the three islands, that of Lakor is somewhat different and difficult.

About half the people on these islands profess Christianity. Since practically none of the natives are Mohammedans, most of the other half are pagans.

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Figure 59. Native dancers on Moa Island (08°06'S-127°48'E; Leti Group).

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3. Villages and Houses

Settlements are small, surrounded by high walls, and almost all arelocated along the shore (except for the two Christian villages of Serawaru on Leti and Serai on Lakor). The houses are closely packed, raised on coral blocks, and simply constructed. Drinking water must be drawn from wells.

The caste system works about the same on these as on other neighboring islands. The chief of a village is of the noble class, and chieftanship is hereditary. On Moa, a high chief lives at Pati and rules the other chieftans as well as his own local subjects. On Leti and Lakor, village chiefs are likewise of the noble class, but there is no supreme chief on either of these two islands.

In the archaic village of Touwawan on Moa, a peculiar high caste lineage is made up or orang kaya (rich men). A village chief of any other lineage has no real authority.

4. Occupations

Conditions in these islands are much like those on Kisar; that is, the land is relatively treeless, and droughts are a constant threat. Occupations, therefore, are much the same with some variations because of somewhat better climate. The natives cultivate corn, beans, rice, and other vegetables. They also grow coconuts and mangoes. Moa has the advantages afforded by wild sago (during the dryest years, Letinese migrate to Moa), but the disadvantage of hordes of wild pigs that destroy the crops. In Lakor, farming can be carried on only during the southeast monsoon (December to April) and then only along the north coast.

Stock-raising, primarily of buffalo, sheep, goats, and pigs, is of considerable importance. Moa and Lakor have practically no horses, but Leti has some. Pits filled during the rainy season provide water for the livestock. Surplus animals are shipped to Kupang (Timor). Dogs are a favorite food.

Neither the Letinese or Lakorese do much fishing, though the waters are rich with sea turtles. The natives of Moa are better fishermen.

5. Visitors

A visitor might have trouble getting a Malay-speaking interpreter on Lakor, but should have no trouble finding a native who has learned it in school on Moa or Leti.

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F. Sermata Archipelago (Sermata, Kalapa, and Luang)

1. General

Some 35 miles east of the Leti Islands lies the Sermata group of islands. Sermata, the main island, is about 5 miles by 10 miles at its extremities and is dominated by a mountain ridge rising to some 1300 feet and running through the central portion of the island. The archipelago also includes Kalapa (Coconut Island), Luang (Empty Island), and numerous other smaller islands and reefs. Because of their meager economic importance, these islands have seldom been visited.

2. People

The natives are a smooth-haired, proto-Malay type. They have been placed in the same racial classification as the peoples of the islands that circle the Banda Sea. but do not seem to have had the same tendency to absorb Papuan traits.*

The people of these islands used to be headhunters, but they have given up their warlike customs and are now relatively peaceful. They seem generally friendly and cheerful; visitors report them as hospitable and good-natured. They are more industrious than most of their neighbor islanders and are fond of song and dance. Only one garment is worn by these people, and they are considered to be still in a low stage of development.

The language of Luang-Sermata, like Letinese, Kisarese, etc., is of the Ambon-Timor group. It and that of the Babars are so closely related as to be mutually comprehensible. Because of trading activities, Malay is commonly spoken, especially in Luang.

About one half of the Luangese profess Christianity. Most Sermatans practice a religion based on sun-worship and a belief in evil spirits. Souls of the dead, especially that of the founder of the village, are honored as intermediaries. The founder's soul dwells in an image which, with the holy waringin tree and an altar, forms the center of the village. Each house has its own protecting spirit -- an image set in the front wall. Even the few Christians have this image on their houses.

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* Berzina and Bruk, op. sit.

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3. Villages

In Sermata, villages lie along the coast; each village is enclosed by high stone walls. Luang has six small villages, perched on cliffs and surrounded by high walls. Houses are built on low piles and are crowded together on top of steep rocks.

These people have a feudal aristocratic social system based on three classes: (1) noble and landowning, (2) common, and (3) descendants of slaves. Each village is ruled by two chiefs, who must be nobles. No bride price is given when persons of the same class are married. Inter-caste marriages, however, require payment; in mesalliances, children are given the mother's status.

4. Occupations

Sermata's soil is fairly fertile, and subsistence comes mainly from farming. Sermatans produce corn, beans, tubers, and some rice. Any surplus is exported to neighboring islands. Luang's soil, on the contrary, is infertile, Luangese produce the same crops as Sermatans (excepting rice), but quantity and quality is low. They import food from Sermata.

The chief occupation on Luang is stock raising: buffaloes, goats, sheep, and pigs. For Sermatans, stock is secondary.

Fishing is good around all of these islands. The reefs are rich in turtles and trepang. The men are good fishermen and skillful navigators. They go on trading expeditions as far as Kupang (Timor).

The principal articles of trade on Luang are woven cloth and iron products. Workmanship is excellent, and the articles are much in demand on neighboring islands.

5. Visitors

The visitor who wishes to be well received would be wiser to buy cloth on Luang -- not to take it as a present. Plastic goods might be an acceptable alternative.

G. Babar Archipelago

The six Babar islands (Babar, Dai, Dawera, Daweloor, Wetan, and Masela) are all inhabited. They have a combined area of 250 square miles (the largest, Babar, is 220 square miles in area) and a combined population of about 16,000. They are non-volcanic, with high rugged terrain. Babar's mountains, rising to over 2700 feet, are fertile and thickly forested. The small islands have an average elevation of about 900-1000 feet. The islands lie about halfway (55 miles each direction) between Sermata and the Tanimbar groups.

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1. People

The people of these islands are of the Alfur Hybrid physical type.* That is, they are a cross between proto-Malay and Papuan -- in this case they are predominantly Malay. In appearance the Babar peoples very much resemble the people of Tanimbar, for they are relatively taller than Malays and are very dark. Immigrants from the large western Indonesian islands can be found in the towns of the north coast.

a. Characteristics

The Babarese are relatively untouched by outside influences. They have had very few contacts with whites, live primitive lives, and are much like the people of Tanimbar in customs, dress, and appearance. Once the Babarese were warlike headhunters but now are peaceable peoples.

Other than in Tela (a town on the southwest coast of Babar) and in a few villages on Wetan, the natives wear only a strip of bark. They are very dirty; skin diseases and head disease are rife. Incidentally, they are great drinkers of palm wine.

b. Language

The language is similar to that spoken on Luang and Sermata. In Tela, the port of call, Malay prevails, but little Malay is spoken elsewhere.

c. Religion

The people are pagan. No Christians or Mohammedans are known to live on these islands.

2. Villages and Houses

Villages are built on hilltops and are surrounded by high stone walls. Houses are flimsy and unsanitary.

Each village has an independent chief of the noble caste. No supreme chief rules on any of the Babar Island.

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* Berzina and Bruk, op. sit. The authors assign them to the same group as Letinese and peoples of the northern chain.

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3. Occupations

Subsistence is from agriculture -- corn, tubers, and other vegetables. Pigs, goats, and some sheep are raised. Fishing provides an important food supplement. Pots are made on Dai island. On Daweloor, some rude iron work is executed.

H. Tanimbar Archipelago

1. General

The Tanimbar group encompasses at least sixty-six islands, including Jamdena, Molu, Maru, Itain, Namwaan, Malah, Lailabar, Wotan, Wuliaru, Selu, Selaru, Ngolin, Larat, Fordate, and Sera. Seven of these (Jamdena, Molu, Maru, Wotan, Wuliaru, Selu, and Selaru) are said to be inhabited. (Larat, Selaru, and Fordate are sometimes called Timorlaut, and the rest of the islands are referred to as the Timor chain; but the names Timorlaut and Tanimbar are used interchangeably and inconsistently.) The combined area of the whole group is 2,150 square miles; the total population is between 30,000 and 35,000.

These islands are non-volcanic, low-lying (at the highest about 200 feet), and made up of impenetrable swamps. The interior sections of the largest islands are uninhabited. Jamdena is the largest of the Tanimbar Island; its main town, Saumlako (Fastboy), is one of three regular ports of call in the archipelago.

2. People

Natives of the Tanimbar group are of the Alfur type with predominate Papuan traits. They are taller and darker than Malays, have dark skin and fuzzy hair. They have been called Taymbars, but not by themselves. These people are excitable, warlike, and heavy drinkers of palm wine. They still cling to their primitive, traditional culture.

Formerly, they fought savagely among themselves, took heads, and ate parts of the slain enemy's body. Probably because of the strong police force the Dutch kept there for many years to check such disturbances, they hold a long record of hostility to whites. Finally, the Dutch tried, with little success, to inculcate them with Dutch attitudes and give them some education. Their hatred may have lessened or even disappeared.

The language of the Tanimbar Islands is of the Ambon-Timor group. In these islands, five sub-languages are spoken, but they are thought to be mutually comprehensible.

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Figure 60. Native woman in traditional dress on Larat Island, Tanimbar Archipelago.

Figure 61. Natives of Jamdena Island, Tanimbar Archipelago.

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The natives are mostly pagan, although Christianity has made some headway in Jamdena and Selaru. A good many alien traders are Mohammedans.

3. Villages and Houses

Villages are small, usually no more than 60-80 houses. All except the new ones are stone- or coral-walled. They are overgrown with heavy shrubbery -- defense relics from former fierce wars. Houses are built on piles and have high-pitched roofs extending to the ground. The dwellings are flimsy and dirty.

The headman is from the noble caste. Descendants of former slaves make up the low class.

4. Occupations

These islands are not fertile. Subsistence comes from agriculture: corn, tubers, and other vegetables. The cultivated crops are supplemented by sago gathering. Coconut palms are plentiful. An enormous potential in timber has not yet been exploited.

The natives of these islands raise pigs, goats, and water buffaloes; they also hunt and fish. Formerly, these people practiced piracy and are still good sailors. The islands are visited by traders from other islands, especially Makassar and the Celebes.

5. Visitors

Many natives in the ports of call speak Malay as well as local dialects. Interpreters are easy to find.

There are no inland roads; overland travel is difficult. One should use trails along the coast or travel by boat.

The interests of these islanders is confined generally to their own local affairs, and their attitude toward the Djakarta government is probably passive and neutral at best. Visitors should be careful, slow, and tactful in dealing with them, for their previous acquaintance with white men, the Dutch, was not amicable.

I. Aru Archipelago

1. General

The Aru group is the farthest east of the Southwestern Islands. They are about 300 miles north of Australia and less than 75 miles south of Irian Barat. The group consists of six large islands (from north to south, Kola, Wokam, Kobroor, Maikoor, Koba, and Trangan) and more than 100 smaller islands. The large islands are

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close-packed -- divided by ocean channels (sungi) no wider than large rivers and less than three fathoms deep. Together these six are called Tanah Besar (Big Land), and are often considered one island. The sungi are lined with mangroves and are marked by many impassible swamps. In fact, these islands lie so low, that they form almost a continous swampland. The combined area of all the Arus is about 3,350 square miles; the population numbered about 27,000 in 1956 (three times the 1920 estimate). Virgin forest covers most of the islands.

The trading center and regular port of call, Dobo, is on a tiny island (Warmar) just off Wokam. Its inhabitants are very mixed but include few natives. Parts of the Arus are unexplored.

The Dutch called the west coat of Tanah Besar the Voorwal and the remainder of the islands the Achtervaal (Hinterland).

2. People

In general the west coast has a mixed population of natives and outsiders and the Achtervaal remains native. The west coast is one of the few places in the Indies where Japanese were numerous before 1941. (The Japanese occupied part of the island in 1942.) Most of the resident Japanese are pearl-fishers or traders in pearls and live on Wamar Island, other islands off the coast of Wokam, and Wokam's western peninsula. Chinese, Arabs, Indians, Makassarese, and Buginese, also dwell in these areas. Trade for all of the Arus is concentrated here and is in the hands of Chinese and Makassarese. The Buginese live on the coasts of Kobroor and Trangan as well as in the above areas.

The natives of the Achtervaal are of mixed (Malay-Papuan) stock. They resemble the people of Tanimbar but are darker and less fierce looking. Their appearance is characterized by smooth hair, thin lips, and a lighter skin than Papuans.

The Gungai tribe of the interior of Wokam is most representative of the original inhabitants. They are a nomadic people who have never been seen by white men and are seldom seen by other natives.

The natives of the west coast are somewhat civilized, while those of the towns are often completely so. The rest are among the least civilized peoples in all Indonesia and are almost untouched by alien influences.

The Aruans rarely fight, even among themselves, and can be characterized as willing, gentle, and friendly, except when drunk. The crime rate is low, and warfare is almost non-existent. Slavery and kidnapping are unknown. In contrast to Taymbars and Bagarese, the Aruans willingly carried out the orders of the Dutch Government. Apparently, they harbor no enmity toward whites.

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The people of the west coast were, and still are, more industrious than those of the Hinterland. Men wear a single cotton garment -- the chief's garb is more elaborate. Some may still wear leaf and plaited-fiber skirts. Women garb themselves in very tight, short sarongs (usually woven by the wearer), many bright-colored bead necklaces, thick belts, anklets, bracelets, and earrings of copper and plaited leaves. In their hair they wear combs of wood and bone decorated with wood or shell. They have many marks on their upper arms, but tatooing is rare.

The language is of the Ambon-Timor group, but the Aruan dialects are quite distinct from those of the other Southwestern Islands. Thirteen closely related dialects are used. Malay is rarely spoken except on the west coast.

Some Christians and Mohammedans dwell on the west coast, but they are mostly outsiders. All the rest of the people believe in a pantheistic religion resembling that of the Ceramese Alfurs, although they do not have priests. The basis of the religion is belief in the powers of evil spirits.

3. Villages and Houses

Villages on the west coast lie mostly along the sea and are often hidden in clumps of trees. In the east they are built high on rocks. Settlements are small and are built around a small hut, with dishes placed in its center as an offering, where the protective spirit of the community lives.

Houses are poor, filthy, and flimsily built huts of wood and atap* which are crowded together on piles. Entrance is made to them through a door in the middle of the floor.

If many deaths occur in a village, the people desert it and flee far into the interior. Beginning about 1920, the Dutch distributed vaccine and worked to bring the people back to their villages.

The Arunese are divided into six realms, each presided over by a chief. Village headmen are under these chiefs. The adat and old customs are still in force. Wives are purchased, the husband is an absolute master, and his brother has the right of levirate.

Uncultivated ground is owned communally, while cultivated ground is the property of an individual. Land tenure is relatively unimportant, since little ground is tilled. Most of the gardens belong to the Christian and Mohammedan population. Frequent quarrels, however, erupt over ownership of the community-owned pearl-beds on the uninhabited islands.

* The nipa palm.

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4. Occupations

The land is infertile, and agricultural methods are primitive. Corn, tubers, rice, sugarcane, and tobacco are raised. Food also comes from coconut palms, sago trees, and in some areas from kanari (nut) trees.

The natives eke out a subsistence by hunting -- generally wild pigs -- and fishing. Birds of paradise from the interior forests, pearls, pearl and tortoise shell from reefs around the islands, and trepang are sold to Arab and Chinese (usually at Dobo) for export or bartered with west-coasters for sago. Birds of paradise are extremely scarce. (Chiefs still use the plumes for ornament.)

Arunese build a few fishing boats but not so skillfully as the Kai Islanders.

5. Visitors

No Malay-speaking visitor will need an interpreter along the west coast. In other areas he will need a guide who can speak the language of the area to which he is going. Native guides are desirable for any trip away from towns and are necessary on Trangan. There are no roads, but the paths are not too difficult, since the country is flat. The whole interior, however, is covered with swamps, forests, and alang-alang. Trips along the inter-island channels (sungi) are feasible.

A visitor might well take items of jewelry with him as gifts, since the Arunese women love decoration.

J. Kai (Ewab) Archipelago

The Kai group lies about 75 miles northwest of the Arus and marks the turn northward of the southern chain of the Southwestern Islands. Its largest and most eastern island, Nuhutjut, is often called Kai Besar or Great Kai. This extremely mountainous island is some 65 miles long and at its widest point no more than 6 miles wide. Nuhurowa, Kai Ketjil (Durao or Kai Dulah), and numerous smaller islands make up the rest of the group. Nuhurowa encompasses about 20 by 15 miles of swampland.

Sometimes the Kai Islands are grouped with the Tajandu and Kur Islands to form what is called the Ewab Islands.* The combined

* Ewab may be divided into four sections: (1) the Great Kai or Nuhutjut; (2) the small Kai cluster, including Nuhurowa, Kai Ketjil, Nai, Warbal, Manir, Ur, Uter, and Kai Tanimbar; (3) the Tajandu chain, including Tajandu, Walir, and Taän; and (4) the Dur pair, Dur and Kaimeir. All divisions include small islands too numerous to mention.

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area is about 545 square miles; the population is about 37,000 (1956 estimate; 30,000 in 1930), almost half of it on Great Kai. (After the introduction of smallpox vaccination the population increased rapidly.) All the islands are densely populated. Well-trodden paths but no real roads criss-cross many of these islands, and overland travel is easier here than on Tanimbar or Aru.

The principal town, Tual on Kai Ketjil Island, is the regular port of call and the center of trading and shipping for all these islands. There are several coastal settlements on Nuhurowa and a sizable village on Tajandu. All other settlements are very small coastal villages.

1. People

Natives of this whole group of islands are of the Alfur physical type.* They are taller, darker, and more bearded than Malays. They seldom have wooly hair.

For centuries, a large number of immigrants from Ceram, Makassar, and New Guinea and a fair number of Chinese have lived in Tual. As a result, coastal towns exhibit a great inter-mixture of races. Small Kai, home island of Tual, has the most muddled population. The mixture is said to be so complete -- with Makassarese, Ceramese, and New Gunieans -- that the indigenous type is almost non-existent.

Three large villages in the center of Great Kai are peopled by descendents of refugees from the Banda Islands (see Banda Islands). These immigrants are all Mohammedans and work as smiths and potters, making vessels of great beauty. They have borrowed many customs from the Kais.

The natives are primitive in culture but are not stupid. They are gay, boisterous, dirty, addicted to palm wine, and friendly toward strangers. In general, they lead simple, somewhat poverty-stricken lives. They used to carry on bloody wars with each other and, in spite of Dutch efforts, are still quarrelsome among themselves. Bloody disputes between Christians and Mohammedans persisted up into the 1930's and perhaps into the present. On Kai Tanimbar and Ur, natives are reportedly completely uncivilized.

Mohammedan influence has led to the gradual appearance of jacket and sarong instead of the loin-cloth, particularly on festive occasions. Earrings and bracelets are worn, teeth are filed, and

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* Berzina & Bruk, op. sit., call them "Kai and Banda" and show no other type.

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hair is sometimes bleached with lime. On Tajandu, women wear rings on their toes.

The language of these people belongs to the Ambon-Timor group. Several dialects are spoken, some of which -- on Ur and Kai Tanimbar, for example -- are quite divergent. Banda refugees speak old Bandarese. The various alien groups speak their own languages. Malay is common in Tual but is rare elsewhere. The few schools use the Kaian dialects, but they teach Malay.

Unlike the practice in most of Molucca, marriage here is endogamic, but since tribes are widely spread, a man usually takes a wife from another village. He makes a large downpayment -- provided by his whole village -- for the woman, who does not come to live with him until all is paid. After payment is completed, she joins his tribe completely; the husband's brother then has the right of levirate without further payment. A man may not marry above his class; if he marries below it, he and his children assume the wife's rank. Polygamy is allowed (women are far more numerous than men), but because of the expense involved, it is rare. Divorce, on the other hand, is common.

Christianity and Mohammedanism have both spread widely around the larger towns, and great rivalry has existed between the two for a long time. The quarrelsome, warlike Kaians entered with gusto into the many bloody battles of these religious wars. Violent quarrels also erupted between Catholics and Protestants, even though they are lumped together statistically as Christians.

Varying statistics on these imported religions and paganism are reported. It is most often -- and easiest -- said that the inhabitants are one-third Mohammedan, one-third Christian, and one-third pagan. More recent reports give more than half the population to the Mohammedans, who have made many converts through persistent propaganda. These later reports say there are only a few Christians and the rest of the people are pagan. The islands of Kur and Tajandu, among others, are entirely Moslem.

2. Villages and Houses

Villages used to be heavily walled, located in high places, and supplied with ladders which could be drawn up during war. After the Dutch ended the wars, villages were moved to the shore. Many of the old fortifications still stand but are in disrepair.

Houses are very large (up to 150 feet long), multi-family, made of bamboo and atap, and raised on piles. Each house has its own

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little garden. Houses of pagan villages are clustered around a holy stone and several roughly carved wood and stone images, which represent the protective spirits of the village.

Each village has a chief from the exclusive noble class. Caste is of extreme importance for social position. The aristocratic caste, Memel, probably originated in the islands to the west; the people of this caste have pride in their ancient lineage. Almost all the people of Dulah and Nuhurowa are Memels. The second caste, Rinrin, is composed of people who were probably conquered by the incoming Memel. They now live in the interior of Great Kai. Members of the lowest caste, Iri, came from New Guinea and were traded to Kaians as slaves. Slavery was banned, but it continues on a voluntary or patriarchal basis. Classes are further divided into tribes.

In spite of caste, position is connected with possession of land. As in the Arus and Amboina, untilled land is owned by the community and cultivated land by the individual. The right to land is never alienated; a new-comer can never own land unless he marries into a land-owning family. Actually, little land is cultivated.

Fishing plays a larger part in the native economy. Each village owns that part of the sea on which its community land borders.

3. Occupations

The soil of these islands is infertile; Nuhurowa and other of the smaller islands are less fertile than Great Kai. The natives cultivate sago, corn, tubers, sugarcane, coconuts, and a little tobacco and rice. Sago, their principal food, is abundant. One tree may yield 600 pounds of sago meal, which is said to provide enough food for one person for one year. From it, they also make palm wine.

The natives raise pigs, goats, buffaloes, sheep, and a few horses. Hunting provides an enjoyable way to supplement the diet. Fishing, especially for trepang and turtles, supplies another important element in their diet.

Some lumbering activities are conducted in the Kais. Ironwood is the most valuable natural resource on these islands. It provides a profitable export whether fashioned into the famous native boats or shipped as raw lumber.

At one time, the Kaians were renowned sailors, but now they seldom venture beyond the reefs. Nevertheless, the ironwood boats

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built in the Kais are still the best constructed in Molucca. Such praus are built and exported to other islands.

Formerly the articles of daily use were beautifully decorated, and basket work and carving were highly developed. European influence is said to have caused the decline of these native arts.

4. Visitors

Malay is spoken in and around the trading towns, especially by the Mohammedans. A visitor would need an interpreter in the remote sections.

If a visitor is careful to observe caste distinctions and to honor religious sensitivities, he will not find the Kaians hostile. They never revolted against Dutch rule and seem to have no dislike for whites. As everywhere, the visitor should learn whether or not the Djakarta regime has had time to spread its propaganda.

K. Wautubela Islands

The Wautubela group, a few miles north of the Kais, is made up of six small and many tiny islands. Three of them are known to be inhabited: Kasiui has the most inhabitants, Wautubela fewer, and Tioor the fewest. These islands, now isolated and commercially unimportant, were once notorious pirate hideouts. The climate is unhealthy.

1. People

The people are a very mixed Alfur type, who speak a language of the Ambon-Timor group -- the dialects are related to those of the Gorong Islands. A few Malay-speakers may possibly be found among the traders.

Most of these islanders are pagan, but a small number of Mohammedans live among them.

Contact with outsiders is rare. The Dutch reported no troubles with them.

2. Villages

Villages are small and were once all located on hilltops. The village chiefs are nobles and are independent of each other.

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3. Occupations

The soil on the Wautubela Islands is not very fertile, but it is good for coco palms. Agriculture is primitive and yields are scant. The people barter the sago and coconuts they raise for cloth, metal articles, and pottery. Handicrafts do not amount to much.

The natives are skillful sailors. In praus which they build themselves, they sail to the Banda, Kai, and Aru Islands.

L. Gorong Islands

The Gorong Islands are scattered over some 70 miles of sea between the Kais and Ceram. (They, as well as Wautubela, are sometimes considered a part of the Ceram Archipelago.) There are six islands; three of them (Gorong, Pandjang, and Manawoka) are inhabited. The total area is about 200 square miles; the population is about 6,000.

Though the islands have no regular port of call, the natives have considerable contact with outsiders. The climate is healthy, except in the swamps and some of the coastal sections.

1. People

About 1,000 of the inhabitants are aliens. Some 500 of them are Papuans from New Guinea, and the remaining 500 come from other Indonesian islands. A few Chinese and Arab traders are included in the above figures. The estimated 5,000 natives are Alfurs of the same general racial traits and cultural characteristics as the Kaians. Those of the northwestern islands are more like the Cerams; the others are more like the Kaians. Almost all the natives are Moslems.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Dutch had a great deal of trouble in this area with piracy and slave-raiding. Recently, conditions have been peaceful, and the people are not antagonistic to outsiders.

The two, well-marked dialects spoken on these islands are of the Ambon-Timor group. A visitor, however, would have no trouble finding Malay interpreters.

2. Villages

Villages were formerly built on high places, for defense against pirates and local enemies. Today they are nearer the shore. Four fair-sized villages and a few smaller ones are located on the islands. There are no towns. Chiefs of the exclusive noble class rule the islands.

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3. Occupations

Sago and fish are the most important articles in the diet. These people, like those of Buru eat dogs to acquire bravery.) The land is fairly fertile and rich in timber. The natives raise corn, tubers, and other vegetables. The famous ironwood praus of Kai are purchased as fishing boats.

The men are experts in iron-working, and the women are famous for weaving. These goods are traded both locally and with other islands.

M. Ceram

1. General

Ceram, the largest island of the Moluccas, has an area of 6,700 square miles and a population of 96,796 (1957 estimate; 60,000 in 1930). Geographically, the island is located between Celebes and West Irian and is less than 100 miles from West Irian at the nearest point. The western three quarters of the island is mountainous; the eastern fourth is covered by low swampland, broken by hills. Most of the island is densely forested.

Movement overland is difficult. Because Ceram's rivers disappear during the dry season, they are useless for water transportation. Small praus can operate near the mouths of the rivers, however, and while the dry season is in progress, stream beds provide good travel routes to the interior. Several rivers on the eastern side of the island extend up to 30 miles into the interior. These include the Bobot with its mouth on the south shore, and the Masiwang, Kobi, Sapulera, and other rivers which empty into the sea on the north shore. No roads have been built on Ceram, and land travel must be pursued by trail. Only one trail crosses the mountainous central portion of the island. Elsewhere, footpaths are good, especially in the western bulge of the island.

Ceram has a few harbors but no large towns. The largest are Piru on the west coast, Wahai on the north coast, and Geser on Ceram Laut (a speck of an island off Ceram's easternmost point).

2. People

An heterogeneous array of Chinese, Arabs, Ambons, Javanese, Makassarese, Minangkabaus, Minahasese, Butus, and Sumbawans dwell on Ceram's coasts. Ceram Laut reflects this same population diversity as one-sixth of its inhabitants are alien.

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Sizable settlements of Chinese occupy communities across the isthmus from Piru, near Wahai on the north coast, and on the south coast near the Bobot River. The people of the west coast are similar in culture to the Ambonese and are largely Christian. Those of other areas, especially near the towns, are relatively advanced culturally.

Although the interior tribes have been collectively dubbed Cerams, they are split into numerous tribes and sub-tribes.* Facial and tribal differences are complicated. Villages only a few miles apart have widely divergent cultures and naturally regard themselves as distinct.

a. Characteristics

The tribes of Ceram differ widely in their attitudes as well as in their racial make-up. At the time of Ternate domination they aligned with different political parties: the western people became known as the Patawiwa Hita (Black Patasiwas); the central as the Patawiwa Putih (White Patasiwas) and the eastern as Bonfias.

Western: The mountain people of this area are tall, dark-skinned, excitable, fiercely individualistic, extremely interesting, and excessive drinkers. They have Melanesian or Papuan physiques. At one time, they were the most ferocious headhunters in the Indies. The Dutch finally quelled, but failed to civilize them.

The only full-fledged secret society system in the Indies -- the famous Kakian Brotherhood or Kakian League -- is operated by these mountaineers. It is religious, anti-Christian, and was anti-Dutch. (Now, the tone of the League seems to be milder; missionaries report a few converts from its numbers.) It was, and still is, of such importance as to deserve detailed description.

Kakian territory begins on the eastern side of the Elpaputih River. It has endured for centuries as a politico-religious society; its membership includes pagans, Alfur Mohammedans, and nominal Christians. All Alfurs belong to the society, for only through the Kakian initiation can an Alfur boy enter manhood and become marriageable or participate in tribal councils and head-hunting ceremonies. Secrecy is real and total. At one time, the penalty for breaking the oath of silence about the society's activities was a particularly horrible death. Silence is further ensured by the fear of nitus (ancestral spirits), and the effects

* Ibid. The authors show 25,000 Cerams in the Manipa group, the northwestern Gorongs, and Ceram.

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Figure 62. Native of Ceram.

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of initiation at an impressionable age. When boys are initiated, women and children are sent deep into the forest. For two days the initiates are fed just enough to keep them alive. After that they are blindfolded and put through a terrifying ritual. One by one they are told the oaths and penalties. Blindfolds removed, they repeat their sacred obligations, go into another siege of fasting, circumcision, and hair-cutting, and the Kakian symbol is tatooed on their breasts or foreheads. More fasting follows until the boys are emaciated and dazed. At last they undergo a probationary period, and then, finally, enter into full membership. Only by reading the entire gruesome and impressive performance is it possible to realize that the initiate will never betray the Brotherhood.

Central: The Alfurs of the central region are smaller and have lighter skins. They are more tractable.

Eastern: The eastern people are shy, unwarlike, and very primitive. They are mild-mannered, subdued, and do not drink to excess.

b. Dress

The dress of the Ceram tribes has been affected by traders, visitors, and the two alien religions. Coastal people may be found wearing Malay shirts with trousers or sarongs. Some of the interior people, almost untouched by the culture of the outside world, still wear leaf and plaited-fiber skirts. Others wear their own traditional dress; it can be seen, elaborated in their dance costumes (dances, especially war dances, are still popular). The men, bare to the waist, wear a breechclout of bark cloth which hangs down like an apron, and either turbans of turkey-red cloth trimmed with small shells or headdresses of cockatoo, parrot, or bird-of-paradise feathers. The women wear hand-woven sarongs, kebayas (jackets) of printed red and white cotton, silver and seashell bracelets, bead necklaces and belts, and headdresses made of rings of brass and nickel.

c. Language and Education

The Ceramese speak at least 35 separate languages with well-marked dialects belonging to the Ambon-Timor group. In western Ceram, the languages are closely related to Ambon's. The eastern dialects are extremely complex and have not been entirely classified. Malay is spoken in the coastal regions and is taught in the schools. Some progress has been made in educating the coastal peoples. A large mission school is located at Piru.

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d. Religion

In the coastal districts, some 13,000 natives have become Christians and more than 17,000 have become Mohammedans (mostly in the eastern district of Waru). Both of these religions are said to be gradually spreading. Most of the converts are people who have intermarried with aliens. Christianity is reportedly only skin-deep, and many converts are spoken of in rising order of disdain as rice-Christians, coconut-Christians, and sago-Christians. The remainder (more than half of the population) are pagan. In the west, the Kakian Brotherhood is a sort of religion. Little is known of their beliefs and practices.

3. Villages and Houses

Only a very few sizable villages are located in the interior; most are small, scattered, and isolated. Traditionally, villages were built on hill-tops and barricaded by high walls. Many of them still are.

The construction of houses varies by area. They are mostly small bamboo, wood, and thatch structures raised on piles. A few districts have enormous, multi-family longhouses.

The system of chieftanship is complex, for it is a survival of the sultan system of Ternate. In some districts, the descendants of a local prince are the noble regents. (They were incorporated into the Dutch system and are thought not to have been entirely vitiated by the Djakarta administration.) Numerous grades of chiefs rule in small geographical sections, and every village has a chief. In western Ceram the chieftanship system is further complicated by the Kakian Brotherhood, wherein local political rulers wield priestly influence.

4. Occupations

Interior tribes have a low subsistence economy. Agriculture is primitive. Most foods are gathered from the forests -- sago (which is abundant and the main food), coconuts and coconut milk, and an excellent grade of large bananas. Hunting and fishing add substantially to the diet.

The natives collect forest products to trade with the traders on the coast. They gather, for instance, damar resin, cloves, nutmeg, coconuts, and kajuputih (whitewood) oil. Oil wells have been drilled on Ceram, and timber, cloves, nutmegs, copra, and kajuputih are exported. The native's benefits from these products, however, are marginal.

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Figure 63. Wharf and beach on Ceram.

5. Visitors

The visitor will need a guide for interior travel, especially in the eastern swamps. The best choice of interpreter when traveling would be a Malay speaker from the coast who has traded with the eastern tribes. A local form of pidgin English has been developed in the mixed language districts.

Perhaps the most important point for a traveler to remember is that the peoples of Ceram vary drastically from area to area in temperament and general culture. In general, the eastern people are "easy to handle -- and easy to frighten away." The western people are difficult politically and religiously, in both their secret society bonds and their natural temperament. They make forceful friends and deadly enemies.

In spite of their (sometimes fierce) political alignments, the natives have no real ideological concepts. They are, indeed, capricious, although Kakians do abide by Brotherhood decisions.

Attitudes of non-town natives toward whites is probably little different today than in 1938 when a National Geographic expedition visited Ceram. As the visitors sailed up to the west coast, there was no sign of life along the waterline, but as soon as they moored,

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the natives came down. The strangers rowed to shore and found a small village with a native market and Chinese shops. The expeditioners went a few miles toward the interior on rented bicycles and then on foot. The natives came to them in numbers and brought anything that they though would be paid for. They are accustomed to foreigners collecting fauna, flora, etc. If a visitor will collect and pay for some of these, he may avoid suspicion.

N. Amboina Islands

1. General

Amboina includes Amboina (Ambon) Island and the three Uliaser Islands (Haruku, Saparua, and Nusa Laut).* They lie south and immediately west of Ceram. Amboina consists of two parallel, oblong peninsulas (Hitu and Leitmor) united by a narrow isthmus which is not more than a mile long. The city of Amboina is located on the Leitmor Peninsula. The combined area of these islands is 500 square miles (Amboina is 300 square miles), and they have a combined population of about 85,000.

Amboina is the largest city east of Makassar, has two-thirds (56,000) of the total population of these islands, and is the only truly urban center in Eastern Indonesia. Its size has more than doubled since 1930. About 2,000 Europeans (Eurasians) and 2,000 foreign Asiatics dwell in the town; the remainder of the urban population is native. It has long been the area's commercial and administrative center and is now the center of Indonesia's immense XXIst administrative district. The Dutch had their largest naval and air base here; it was the strongest Dutch center in Indonesia.

Roads are few and narrow; in fact, they are really sections of roads which are connected by footpaths along the roughest portions. Even these are restricted to parts of the coast of Amboina and the north coast of Haruku. On all Amboina Islands, most foot-trails hug the coast lines. Except for the Waelu, which can be ascended by native praus for a short distance, streams are not navigable.

The climate is comparatively healthful and not unpleasant. Heat is most intense during February; the wet season falls during June and July. Annual rainfall averages 135 inches.

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* Statistics for this area sometimes cover all of the old Amboina Residency (Amboina, Buru, Ceram, and the Banda Islands), sometimes not. This study intends to include only the figures for Amboina and the Uliasers.

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2. People

The alien population is large. The small peninsula, Leitmor, contains the most concentrated number of people in all of Indonesia, and it is almost entirely populated by outsiders -- Indonesians from other islands, Chinese, and Arabs. The largest concentrations of Chinese are on Hitu, the larger peninsula. Other Indonesians also have sizable enclaves on Saparua.

Natives are of mixed Alfur blood and, compared to the slender Javanese, are stocky and well-built. They have dark skin, curly or wavy hair, flat noses, and thick lips. These people differ from most Eastern Indonesians, because a great many of them live in -- and make up a large and active proportion of -- the city of Amboina and other towns. They are also scattered in rural communities throughout all the four islands. A large part of the native population is a mixture of Portuguese, Malay, Papuan, and -- less often -- Chinese and Dutch.

a. Characteristics

The city people are mostly descendants (mixed) of employees of the East India Company who have long worked for European enterprises. They put themselves in a high social bracket and look down on the country folk. Such people are prominent in government, in the clerical service, as teachers, and as foremen of native workers. They had a deep and long-standing loyalty to the Dutch, and many of their numbers enlisted in the Colonial Army. In sum, they are different from most East Indonesians in that they have some knowledge of the outside world. In 1949, when sovereignty went to Indonesia, the Amboinese refused to be incorporated. They revolted in 1950, and were quelled only after fierce fighting.

Most of the land is owned by natives who live outside of the towns. They were probably as loyal -- if not as politically sophisticated -- to the Dutch as the city folk were.

Because Amboinese have been described by Westerners who have profited by, or who approve of, their loyalties, they have perhaps been over-praised. They have been called strong, intelligent, obedient, and brave. Though most of them are poor marksmen, they are anybody's equal with their klewangs (cold steel). They are proud and will rebel when affronted.

City Amboinese wear shirts and slacks or shorts. Country Amboinese wear their native costume, a sarong, but are likely to put on a shirt -- and perhaps even exchange sarong for shorts -- when they come to town. In short, Amboinese have, comparatively, a great deal of external sophistication underlaid by native custom and tradition.

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Figures 64-66. Ambonese people.

Figure 67. Movie house on Amboina.

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Figure 68. Approach to temple on Amboina.

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b. Language

The native language is of the Amboina-Timor group, and the dialect is close to that of Ceram and Buru. Malay is the common tongue, not only in the towns but in most parts of all the islands. Some people speak Dutch but none speak English. Education is wide-spread; the schools teach in Malay.

c. Religion

Most Amboinese are Christians, and the greatest part of them are Protestants who were converted by the Dutch. The greatest concentration of Christians is in the southern peninsula of Amboina.

3. Villages and Village Organization

Amboinese villages are tidy and well laid-out. The largest settlements lie along the coast. Houses are attractively constructed of bamboo, wood, and thatch. In most villages, there are schools, council houses, and churches.

Pela (institutionalized friendship) is practiced in Amboina, especially in Saparua. It involves agreements of mutual aid between villages and peoples. Even on far away islands, if one person from a pela village meets another he will help him. The custom is still very strong; even the modern Amboinese have no idea of violating it. In spite of Christianity, the belief in black magic sanctions concerning breaking pela vows is still strong. An outsider cannot marry into a pela village.

4. Occupations

Land owners cultivate corn, sugarcane, rice, coffee, fruit, and vegetables. Spice trees and coconut palms are also grown. The main article of diet is sago, most of which is imported from Ceram. Some sago is planted on the lower slopes near Amboina.

Goats, sheep, and pigs are kept, and fishing supplies an important part of the native diet. (Seven hundred varieties of fish are reported in the Bay of Amboina.) The natives weave baskets and collect shells for trading.

Trade has always been in the hands of outsiders -- Europeans (Dutch before the Revolution), Chinese, Arabs, and Indonesians from other islands. Cloves, copra, tin, rubber, and oil are the main exports.* So-called Amboina wood is imported from Ceram and exported; it is very hard and of great value for ornamental woodwork.

* Spice does not yield fabulous wealth here because the soil and climate are unfavorable.

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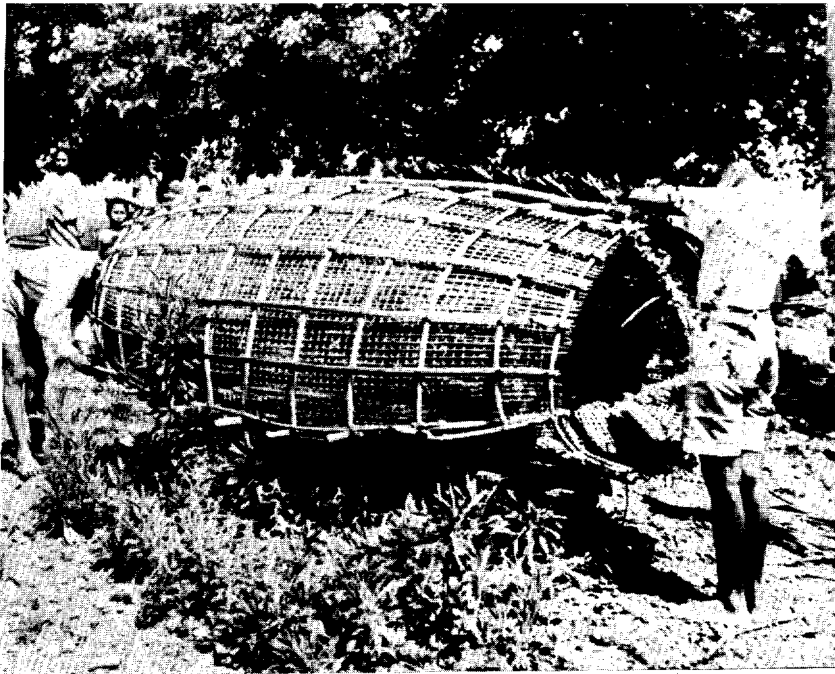
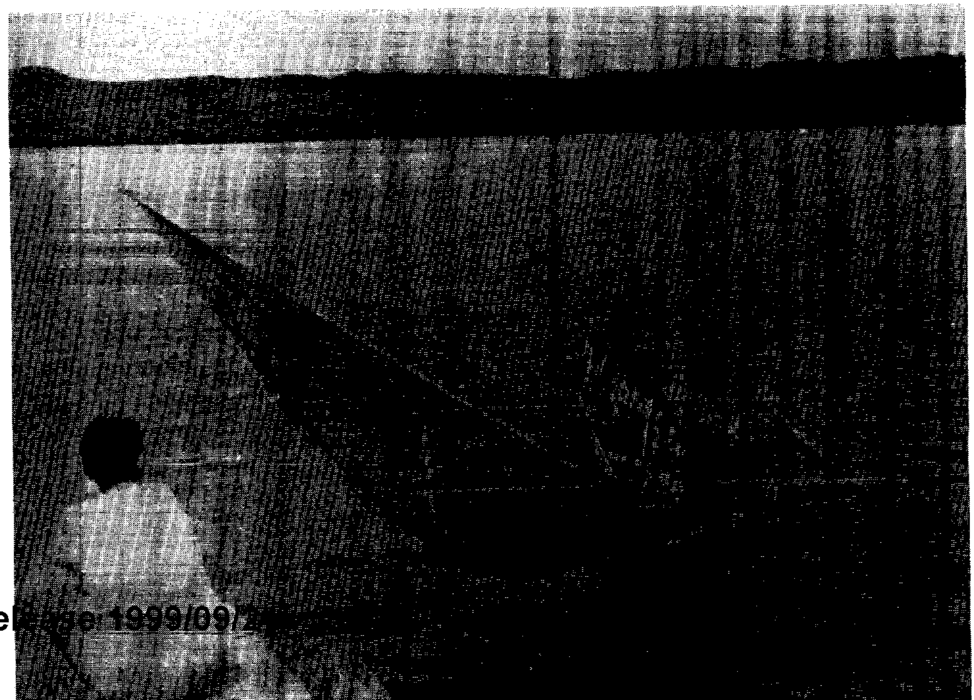


Figure 69. Fish trap used by Ambonese.



;ure 70-71. Ambonese
;hermen.

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5. Visitors

Language contact is no problem to a Malay-speaking visitor. Many of the older city people were educated in the Dutch language and still can use it.

If the visitor should be lucky enough to win the friendship of one person in a pela, it would likely yield introductions and further friendships in the same pela.

The visitor has to fight mold. Moisture ruins films, camera lens, typewriters, and any leather goods; it rusts tools and can turn a pith helmet to pulp. When the sun is out, everything should be spread out to dry. (This applies to many other East Indonesian islands, especially in the wet season).

O. Manipa, Kelang, and Boano Islands

1. General

These three islands, lying between Ceram and Buru, have a combined area of less than 150 square miles and are sparsely populated. Numerous tiny, uninhabited islands surround this group. They have rocky, sharp-angled coasts that are difficult to climb. The terrain is generally swampy, with tangles of mangrove.

2. People

The people are of the same stock as those of western Ceram.

These natives are pagans who construct little platform shrines (made of sticks and palm leaves), with bits of dried fish, sago meal, and other offerings placed on them. The shrines one author saw were on the beach, barely out of reach of the water.*

P. Buru and Ambelau Islands

1. General

Buru is a large (3,400 square miles) oval-shaped island directly west -- across the Manipa Straits -- of Ceram, with a population of 29,700 (1957 estimate). The native population shows little or no increase because of the popularity of abortion. The mixed population, on the contrary, shows a brisk increase. Namlea, on Kajeli Bay, is the chief port. Leksula, on the south coast, is

* Fairchild, David G., Garden Islands of the Great East, 1943.

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Figure 72. Buru Islanders at Namlea (03°18'S-127°06'E).

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another port of call. Population is densest around Waeputih on the north coast and around the Bay of Kajeli. Buru is practically uninhabited in the west-central area and in a smaller east-central area. Most of Buru was unexplored until the 1940's. Ambelau is a small island of approximately 1400 inhabitants and less than 20 square miles that lies about 10 miles southwest of Buru.

Buru is a mass of non-volcanic mountains, especially high in the northwest where Mt. Tomahu rises to almost 8,000 feet. The coast provides a sharp contrast of flat and marshy lands and sheer, rocky cliffs, obscured by overhanging branches.* The only road on the island follows the north coastline. Interior travel must be done by footpaths, unless the chosen route lies along the Waiapu River which is navigable by small boats.

2. People

Most aliens make their homes in the coastal areas of Buru. A number of Javanese have settled on the west, north, and east coasts. The Chinese dwell primarily in Namlea. Amboinese have settled on the southside of Kajeli Bay and on the southeast coast; Sulas dwell on the north coast near Waeputih and inland off the Kajeli Bay. A few Halmaherans, Butonese, and Arabs also can be found around the coast towns.

The well-built natives of Buru and Ambelau are of Alfur stock, predominantly Malay, and bear some resemblance to the Alfurs of central Ceram. (They are said to be related to the Melanesian-Papuans of western Ceram, but their quiet, easy-going natures make that doubtful.) They occupy the entire island of Ambelau and all of Buru except the urban areas of the coasts.

The inhabitants divide themselves into Gebmelia (Interior People) and Gebmasin (Coastal People). Gebmelia, who are the indigenous natives, are predominantly proto-Malay and pagan. The Gebmasin, to the contrary, are a mixed folk (generally a combination of Butonese, Sulas, Galelarese from Halmahera, Ambonese, Chinese, and Arabs). To the Gebmelia, the coastal folk are almost entirely

* Fairchild said that one cannot mount these cliffs from the shore. He pushed aside branches to get close in with his boat and occasionally found streams running into the land. He traveled up them as far as he could and found himself in the midst of mango swamps. He also discovered cold, fresh springs.

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alien; they hate, fear, and perhaps envy them. All the interior peoples are fearful of the magic of the radjahs (all radjahs come from the Gebmasin.)

a. Characteristics

The native culture is primitive. The people are poor and perennially live at or near starvation level. (Kennedy reports one village where nearly all inhabitants died of starvation; the few left drifted away.*) They are also dirty and disease-ridden. Some of the worst cases of malaria, filariasis (worms), and framboesis (yaws) in Indonesia are found among them.

The men are evidently lazy, suspicious, liars, and cowards, but they are basically peaceful. Because the men are lazy, the women are overworked. Consequently, they do not want children. Many abortion methods are practiced, and child-birth deaths and abortions are kept secret. The native population thus increases only slightly or none.

b. Language

The native language is of the Ambon-Timor type. Four separate dialects are spoken on Buru and another on Ambelau -- all are mutually incomprehensible. Malay is common on the coast.

c. Education

Missionary elementary schools are active, especially along the coast, but there are no provisions for secondary or advanced schooling. The new Indonesian Government has, as yet, done nothing to remedy this situation.

d. Religion

All inhabitants of Ambelau and about one-third of those of Buru are Mohammedans. In Buru, most Mohammedans are concentrated in coastal villages around the mouth of the Wai Mala River (south coast); the rest live in villages on the north coast.

About one-sixth of the population is Christian. Missionaries have been quite active along the coast. They are not liked by the native radjahs, government men, or the Burunese, however, because they bring new ideas and try to promote education.

* Kennedy, Raymond, Report on the Eastern Netherlands East Indies.

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The remaining one-half of the population has avoided conversion to either faith and has retained their primitive religion. They believe in a supreme being who is too great to concern himself in the affairs of man.

3. Villages and Houses

Most of the larger villages are on the coast, but a few can be found along rivers or on a lake. Inland villages are generally very small, consisting of no more than ten widely separated houses.

The houses are small and poorly constructed of bamboo, wood, and thatch. Where there is too much illness or other bad luck in a village, the people desert it and move toward the coast. One may find many pairs of kampongs (villages) with the same name -- one in the interior (old) and one on the coast (new).

Each tribe and village has a chief whose powers vary according to circumstances. During Dutch times the many tribes were divided into regencies with elected native rulers. These offices have descended through certain families, but no exclusive noble class has developed. The interior people consider all government men, including native radjahs, as parasites.

4. Occupations

Subsistence in the interior is based on agriculture. Farming methods are simple and produce for local consuption only. The natives raise millet, rice, tubers, tobacco, and coffee. Coconut trees and mango swamps also yield food. Sago grows wild and is plentiful on Buru but sparse on Ambelau. The Ambelauns own groves of sago palms and coconuts on the south coast of Buru. Periodically, they collect the produce (making, they boast, many Mohammedan converts among the pagans there).

Hunting is more important on these than on most islands -- more important even than agriculture. Deer, wild pigs (many on Ambelau), cuscus (a marsupial), and birds abound. Buru has two very interesting mammals -- the pig deer and the black-crested baboon. Bird species are many, including the beautiful sunbird and a rare species of mound builder.

Fishing is important to the diet, especially for Ambelauns.

The natives also gather forest products -- rattan and damar resin, for example -- for trading. The most important product is the famous kajuputih (white-wood) oil. Over 500 small oil distilleries

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are operated by the Chinese and Sulanese. This production is also important to the natives. They gather the leave of the kajuputih tree and sell them or make their own oil. The distilleries will buy all they can gather. The oil is used for everything, by everybody -- as a drink, a medicine, or an ointment.

5. Visitors

Interpreters are easy to get, for many coastal people speak Malay and also have a good knowledge of some, or all, dialects.

The only road was built by van der Wiligen, but its present condition is not known.* Interior trails are poor. One may use the stream beds for trails, but they are slippery because of the lime in the water (it comes down from the cliffs). From Wa Mlana on the north coast, a trail leads into the interior and then on to the lake area -- about a three day trip -- and then on to the south coast. From the lake area, another trail leads eastward to a large area of native concentration.

The climate is not healthy, especially in the coastal swamps. The region around Kajeli Bay is especially unhealthy.

The Burunese eat dogs to acquire bravery; a visitor would do well to treat dogs with respect.

As in the other islands, the natives accept gifts. If any services are rendered, the natives will expect gifts in return.

Q. Sula Archipelago

1. General

The Sula group consists of three larger (Taliabu, Mangole, and Sanana or Sula Besi) and several smaller islands. They lie about halfway between Buru and Celebes but have always been a part of the

* There may be useful implications in the van der Wiligen story (told by van der Wiligen to Kennedy, Field Notes in Indonesia, 1949 to 1950). He was the son of a Dutch father and an Amboina mother, owner of a kajuputih estate (his wife is the author of Laaste Huis van der Wereld, Last House on Earth). The radjahs had laid a pemali (curse) on the Burunese, preventing them from coming to the coast. The older van der Wiligin broke this pemali; the grateful Burunese gave him a mountain of damar trees. The bad feeling between van der Wiligen and the radjahs persisted. So, young van der Wiligen built a 65-kilometer road along the coast west of Namlea. He said the Burunese continued to come to him for help in selling their products. He reports that they are good people but a stranger must first win their hearts.

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Ternate Residency. All are sparsely populated, except Sanana which is well populated and widely cultivated. These islands extend about 135 miles from east to west and have a combined area of 5,000 square miles. The total population is about 30,596 (1956 estimate).

These are one of the least known of the Indonesian island groups. Almost nothing is known about Taliabu, the largest island. Its flora and fauna have much in common with that of Buru, the deer pig and crested baboon both being found here. Sanana, a town on the north end of the island of the same name, has a good harbor and is a port of call. This island used to be the haunt of pirates.

The interior of these islands is hilly, while the coastal regions are swampy.

2. People

A few Javanese live on the northwest coast of Taliabu, and a few can be found on the southern point of Sanana. Heavy concentrations of Ternatese are located in all parts of Sanana, except the central, and a few Butonese dwell in and around the capital city.* Probably, less than one hundred people of other races -- Europeans and Chinese -- live on these islands.

Except for the few Javanese, the natives are sole occupants of all the islands except Sanana. These natives, who resemble the people of Buru and southern Ceram, are mainly proto-Malay with submerged Papuan and Veddoid strains.** They are primitive, although those on Sanana are comparatively more advanced, and many live nomadic lives.

The natives of these islands speak numerous dialects of the Malaysian language. On Sanana, many speak Malay and would be willing to serve as interpreters.

Most of the natives are pagans, but Mohammedanism is making converts, especially on Sanana.

3. Occupations

On Sanana, the natives cultivate rice, corn, tobacco, and sugarcane. Farming methods there are far superior to those of the other islands, where many of the people are nomadic or semi-nomadic. The sago palm is common, and sago is the staple food on all islands except Sanana.

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* Berzina and Bruk, op. sit., refer to them as Sulas.

** The Butonese (Butus) come from the southeast peninsula of Sulawesi. They are inclined to travel and trade.

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Natives collect damar (Eng. dammar -- a resin used for making a colorless varnish.) in the forest for trading, and do some lumbering. The islands produce good timber for ship-building (the timber is both made into ships and sold). The natives are good navigators.

On Sanana, they weave sarongs and plait mats.

R. Obi Islands

1. General

The Obi group consists of one large island (Obi or Great Obi), five smaller islands (Obilatu, Tapat, Bisa, Gomumu, and Tubalai), and many tiny islands. The combined area is about 1,000 square miles. These islands are mountainous, non-volcanic, and densely wooded. Laiwui, on the north coast of Obi, is a port of call.

2. People

The aborigines of the Obis have long since disappeared; for a long time, the islands were uninhabited or were the secluded haunt of pirates. The first new population was of a floating character -- people who came, temporarily, to fish, pearl dive, cut sago, and collect forest products. In 1945, Obi and Gomumu were repopulated by a mixed people, predominantly Tobelorese from Halmahera. It is estimated that the settled population today could total no more than 2,000. All the rest are still migrants, and their number has not been estimated. The tiny islands ranging 35 to 50 miles westward of Obi are inhabited by people from New Guinea.

3. Visitors

The Obi Islands are graced by wide sandy beaches and low shores. From June to September, however, the islands are hard to approach, especially towards the east and south coasts; from December to March, the west coast is dangerous. The north coast is safe all year.

The "transient" character of the population renders any traveler -- even white ones -- comparatively unremarked.

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fn. Berzina & Bruk, op. sit., shows concentrations of Chinese around Kawassi on the west coast of Obi and around Laiwui and Sesepo on the north coast; Batjanese in the center of Obi and on the outer islands; and Javanese, Orang Lauts, Punans, and Ambonese on Obi.

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S. Batjan Islands

1. General

The Batjan group consists of Batjan, Mandioli, Kasiruta, Latalata, Muari, Obit, and up to 86 smaller islands. They lie some 10 miles west -- across Patinti Strait -- of the southern peninsula of Halmahera. Kusu and other smaller islands are placed like stepping stones across this narrow strait.

The Batjan Islands are volcanic, hilly, and forested. They have a combined area of slightly less than 1,000 square miles and a population of 21,489 (1956 estimate). Batjan was once a powerful sultanate. Today, Labuha, the old capital city, resembles a sleepy fishing village consisting of the sultan's palace, a church, fort, and school, surrounded by poor huts. It is still a port of call. A few poor roads have been reported across the Batjan isthmus. If they are still there, they are so poor that most travelers do not find them. Several foot paths wind through the hills and forests across Batjan; two run across Kasiruta, but none are shown for the other islands. Batjan has a number of small streams; some are navigable for a short distance by small boat.

2. People

Only about 1,300 of the inhabitants are native, and they are not the aborigines. The rest are transients as on the Obis. These visitors are from other Indonesian islands -- Sulawesi, Ternate, and Tidore. Makassars and Malayans come to fish and to gather damar and other forest products; Javanese come to work as coolies on the plantations of the Batjan Exploitation Company. Orang Lauts and Bajaus prowl the less frequented coasts; and a few Chinese and traders are about.

The natives are supposed to have come originally from Halmahera; today they show signs of intermixing. Another group is the Serani, or Nazarene Christians, who are mixed descendants of the Portuguese, and a tribe that originally fled from Celebes. All of the above peoples are mixed with each other and with the stocks of the floating population.

The traits, both physical and temperamental of the native Batjanese are as varied as their backgrounds -- Alfur, Malay, Portuguese-mix, and others. All are accustomed, however, to adjusting to each other and to the strangers who are continually coming and going. Fairchild found the people whom he discovered in Mandioli to be charming. The younger ones had never seen whites but were not afraid of them.

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The language belongs to the Sula-Batjan group but is partially mixed with Malay. In fact, the old dialect is disappearing, and Malay is taking its place. Almost everyone, including the natives, speaks Malay.

Most of the natives are Mohammedans; some (about 700) are Christian, the rest (mostly on secondary islands) are pagan.

3. Villages

The interior of Batjan Island is practically uninhabited, and the other islands are reported to have no permanent or native settlements. However, on Mandioli Fairchild found what he took to be permanent native residents and some maps show a village on the side of Mandioli toward Batjan. In any case, all villages are on the seashore, and none is more than a fishing or trading village. The best known of these are Palamea (west coast of Kasiruta), Dong (east coast of Mandioli), and Labua, Jaba, Raputusan, Silang, and Tutupa on Batjan.

Most of the houses are the poorest kinds of huts constructed of wood and thatch.

Though the sultanate has long since decayed, the rigid class structure remains. Chiefs are ranked on various levels from the sultan down.

4. Occupations

The Batjanese residents who originally came from Halmahera and those who are descendants of the refugees from Celebes comprise the island's agriculturists. They raise vegetables, rice, tobacco, and coconuts. They also fish, make baskets, and gather sago and other forest products.

The main occupation of the Ternatans and Tidorans is collecting forest products, especially nutmeg, cloves, and damar.

Batjan has fine trees, including the screw pine. Labua is the port for trading in damar, spices, copra, timber, and mother-of-pearl. Most of the Javanese work here in menial jobs connected with trading activities.

5. Visitors

Fairchild found Mandioli's coast wooded and rocky but was able to land his prau. As he circled this island, he often found it difficult to see the mouths of rivers that come down through the mangrove swamps. He found a kampung by following the sound of drums. The people were friendly, though they had never before seen a white person.

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Fairchild found his toy balloons, which he carried for presents to children, greatly appreciated.

The natives habitually carry a long stick, cut from a tree, to protect themselves from snakes and other dangerous animals.

T. Ternate-Tidore Group

1. Ternate and Tidore Islands

a. General

Throughout history, Ternate and Tidore Islands have been more important than the surrounding larger islands.

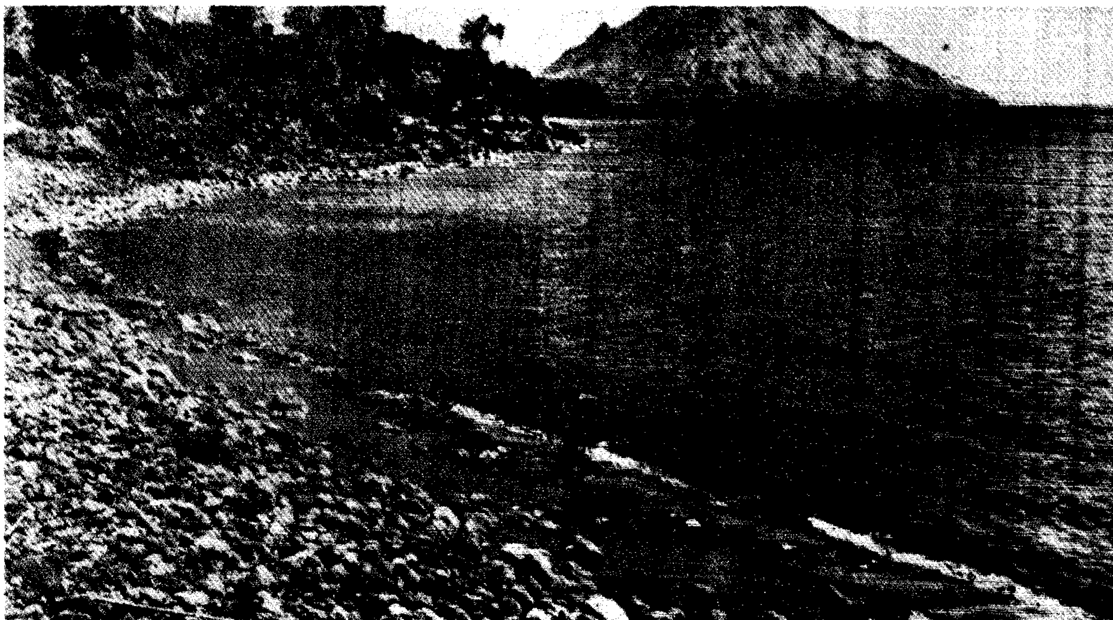

Figure 73. Coast of Ternate Island.

Figure 74. Ternate waterfront.

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Ternate, the northenmost island of the chain that stretches along the coast of Halmahera southward to the Batjan Islands, has an area of only 25 square miles and is occupied almost entirely by a high, active volcano. It has a population of 58,629 (1957 estimate) of which 23,500 live in the town of Ternate. This town, once the center of a great sultanate -- second only to Amboina, is today of much less importance but is still a port of call with a fine harbor and a beach of black sand. Copra is its staple export.*

Tidore, slightly larger in area with a population of about 25,000, lies to the south of Ternate, but so close that it helps to form Ternate's harbor. The southern portion is occupied almost entirely by an inactive volcano. The town of Tidore, which was also once a capital of a large empire rivaling that of Ternate, has a good harbor but is not a port of call. Today this island is part of the residency of Ternate.

A second-class (reportedly good) road runs around the island, connecting the eight coastal settlements. In the north, it leaves the coast for a few miles and cuts inland across the hills.

b. People

The people of the two islands are alike in physical type; basically, they are of the same stock as the Alfurs of north Halmahera. They have become so mixed, however, especially in Ternate town, that the type has been obscured and Malay appears to be predominate. Besides the mixed types found in the towns, a large proportion of Chinese and some Arabs, Europeans, Eurasians, and other Asiatics dwell there. One can also find Indonesians from other islands, particularly from Java, who came for cloves and stayed. Tidore has a smaller proportion of aliens than does Ternate, but the number is still larger than is usual in eastern Indonesia.

The inhabitants of these islands developed an enterprising spirit during the commerically exciting times of the Empire, but according to present-day reports, they are now lazy and work only for immediate needs. Tidoreans, however, are considered more enterprising than Ternateans. Many of the people feel themselves descended from the old nobility and would resent casual treatment.

* Ternate was the center of spice cultivation and export, until the Dutch destroyed the nutmeg groves. Today, untended nutmeg trees sprawl over crumbling ruins that were once great warehouses. The old clove gardens are planted with coconut palms.

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The non-Malayan language is related to the north Halmaheran group of languages and is the one used as the <u>lingua franca</u> in Halmahera. It is written in Arabic characters. Malay also has wide use, especially in the towns. A Malay-speaking visitor will find language contact easy.

The people of both islands are said to be Mohammedans. A few descendants of natives converted to Christianity by the Portuguese have retained the faith of their forefathers.*

Ternate and Tidore have more schools and higher levels of literacy than any other islands in eastern Indonesia. This level, however, is still not high by western standards.

c. <u>Villages</u>

Most villages or settlements are located along the coast. They consist of planted fields, with houses interspersed among them. A settlement may run up the side of a mountain to 500 feet elevation, if the slope is gradual. Water for home use is scarce, as there are no streams and few springs.

Class lines in these islands are complex and rigid, seeming to be a mixture of castes brought from Halmahera and remnants of nobility from the old sultanates. Village chiefs are graded in rank.

d. <u>Occupations</u>

Except for the northern half of Ternate (which is repeatedly devastated by volcanic eruption), agriculture is good, for the land is fertile. Rice, corn, and cotton grow on the flat stretches between old lava ribs. Bananas, coconuts, sugarcane, coffee, pepper, nutmegs, cloves, beans, and tubers grow well on the slopes.

Tidore's agriculture, though of the same type as that of Ternate, is better, and the Tidorese export agricultural produce to Ternate. Mangoes and durian grow on both islands.

The principal food, sago, is imported from Halmahera, although some sago grows wild on Ternate. Fish is important in the diet. The Tidoreans especially are expert fishermen and sailors. They take salted fish in their own boats to Celebes.

* When Portuguese power waned (end of the 16th century), the missionaries' work was destroyed, and the inhabitants were forced to renounce Christianity for Islam. The Portuguese aided the Christian radjah, but when the radjah was killed, his son accepted Islam so that the conqueror would recognize him as successor to the radjahship.

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As expert blacksmiths, traders, hunters, and buyers of forest products, the Tidoreans travel all over the eastern islands as far as New Guinea.

2. Other Islands of the Ternate-Tidore Group

Numerous islands complete the Ternate-Tidore chain. The best known are Mare, Moti, Makian, and Kajoa Islands. Several other islands with about the same sort of peoples and cultures round out the chain.

a. Mare Island

Mare is three or four miles south of Tidore. It was once part of the Tidorean sultanate; the people are the same as the Tidoreans. One village, Kafa, is located on the southwest coast. The inhabitants are all Mohammedans. Fishing and pottery-making are their specialties.

b. Moti Island

Moti is about five miles south of Mare. It was once fairly well populated, but today it has no permanent inhabitants. Four settlements (with transient populations) can be found on Moti, one on each coast. A road around the island connects them. One village, Kata, on the north shore reportedly has a fairly constant population. People from other islands (especially Makian, Tidore, and Ternate) come here to live temporarily and cultivate the soil which is very fertile. Moti was a part of the Ternatean sultanate and was once a battleground for Portuguese and Dutch. It is surrounded by coral reefs and can be reached only by small boats. The people are almost all Mohammedans.

c. Makian Island

Makian is somewhat larger and lies a few miles south of Moti. It was also a part of the Ternate sultanate. It has an area of about 50 square miles; population figures range from 5,000 to 10,000. Makian is covered with hills which are dominated by an active volcano. Numerous wells supply all water needs, as the island has no rivers.

The inhabitants of Makian are similar to the Ternateans and Tidoreans and are said to look and dress like the Ternateans. The language is of the south Halmaheran group (not of north Halmahera as in Ternate and Tidore), but Malay is widely spoken as a trade language.

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Makian's four large and twelve small settlements are all on the coasts. Houses are solidly built and are surrounded by fruit trees, corn, sugarcane, and pisang (banana) trees. Only a little rice is raised in the gardens. Three of the large villages recognize the fourth (at Ngotakiaha) as superior.* (Nothing is known of the organization of the other settlements.)

The Makians are hard-working Mohammedans who live by agriculture and fishing. The soil is infertile, and neither sago nor coconuts will grow there. The chief food, sago, must be imported from Halmahera. The main trade crop is tobacco which is marketed in Ternate, Tidore, and Celebes. Some weaving is done.

d. Kajoa Islands

The Kajoa Islands lie south of Makian. They are Kajoa, Laluin, and several islets which were once a part of the Ternate sultanate. The composition of the population is difficult to determine, since much of it is transient. Probably the best estimate of permanent population is less than 500. The island has one main settlement on the west coast, Guruapin, and several other coastal settlements. Guruapin has a chief; the others, serving floating populations, may not have. A few villages are located in the interior.

Kajoans are related to Makians and speak of themselves as either shore Makians or land Makians. They speak the same language as the Makians. People from Makian Island have gardens on the north coast. A good man "Sea Gypsies" -- that is, boat-dwellers found in many remote parts of Indonesia -- are also found in the islands.

Kajoans are said to be all Mohammedans.

Fishing is the chief means of subsistence. Rice is cultivated, but cultivation is careless and crops often fail.

U. Halmahera and Morotai

1. General

Halmahera is 200 miles (240 miles if measured along the curve of the west coast) long and is made up of four sprawling peninsulas in a form remarkably like that of Celebes Island -- a dead starfish.

* Op. sit., Fairchild found the superchief at Ngotakiaha polite and gentlemanly. The people were excited to see a visitor and were quite friendly. They especially liked to be photographed. The village has a school which teaches music (each boy makes his own flute), rope-making, weaving, and basketry.

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The peninsulas are densely forested mountain chains that meet at a narrow center isthmus. (At the narrowest point, it is no more than three miles across from Dodinga Bay to Kau Bay.) Halmahera's peninsulas form four huge bays (Dodinga, Kau, Buli, and Weda). Much of Halmahera is uninhabited and unexplored. Numerous tiny islands (Tobelo, Galela, Toburu, Rao, etc.) lie along all of the bay shores, except on Weda Bay. Morotai, lying 10 miles east of the north tip of Halmahera, is a sizable island (an oval about 40 by 70 miles).

Halmahera has an area of 6,500 square miles and a population, including Morotai, of about 84,000 -- less than nine to a square mile. It has no good navigable rivers and no roads at all. Travel by trail is arduous. Patani, on Weda Bay, is the chief town (population about 3,000 in 1956) and the chief port of call for Halmahera, though there are several other ports on the west coast. Morotai has several rivers that are navigable by small boats. Wajabula is the port of call on this island.

2. People

a. General

Halmahera lies on the fringe of the Malay world, where in some areas the Alfur strain merges into almost pure Papuan. Thirty distinct tribes, which differ little in culture and way of life, inhabit Halmahera. None of them has been substantially investigated.

Tribal names are important, because each tribe considers itself a separate people; also these names keep popping up among wanderers and inhabitants of other islands. The northern tribes are Galela, Loboda, Tobelo, Tobaru, Waiola, Sohy, Kau, Djilolo, Sidanjoli, and Dodinga; the southern tribes are Faya, Saketa, Wasi, and Gane. All these tribes of the north and south peninsulas were nominally under the rule of the Sultanate of Ternate.

The central area and the eastern peninsulas were under the Sultanate of Tidore. In the central part are the Oba, Geta, Pajoli, Maidi, and Weda tribes; on the eastern peninsula are the Ekor, Buli, Malawalameli, Lolibata, Bitjoli, and Buli; and on the southeastern peninsula are the Maba, Sagea, Mesa, Gotowasi, Wadji, Doti, Bitjoli, Spo, Sakana, Muriala, and Patani.

The northern ribes belong to the Alfur strain and are tall, strong, and quite light-skinned. The southern tribes are less robust and look like Papuans of New Guinea.

The people of Morotai are Halmaherans. Those of the northern half of the island are Tobelorese; those of the southern half and those of Rao are Galelarese.

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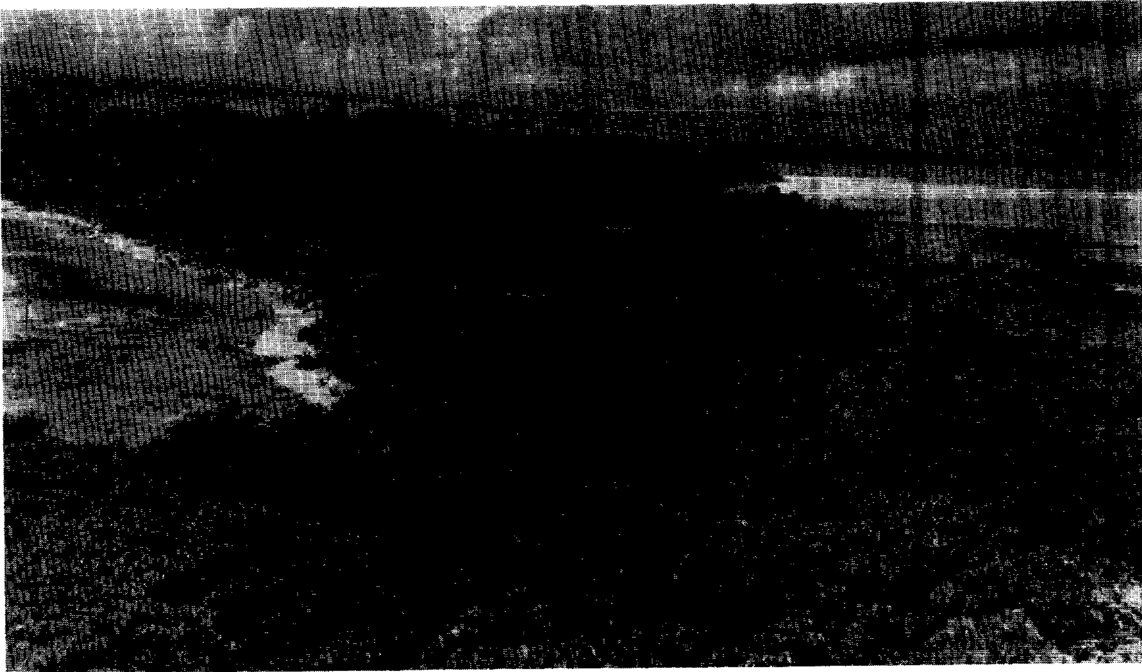

Figure 75. Peninsula on the SW side of Morotai Island looking south.

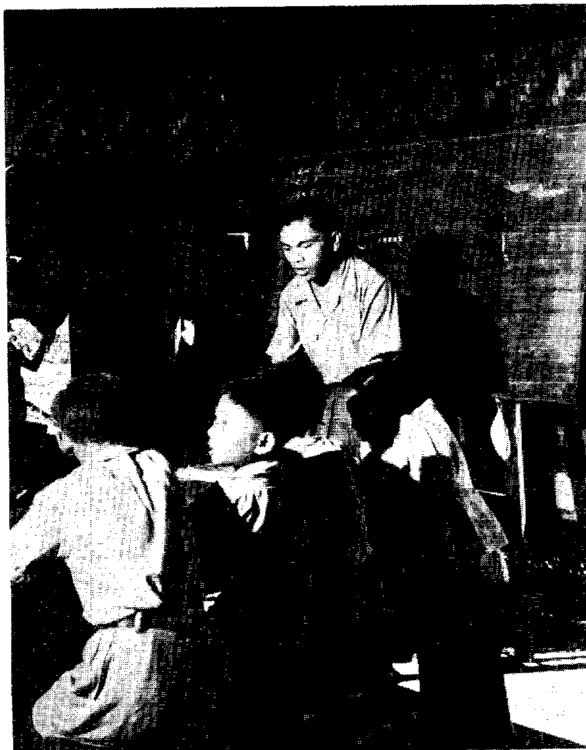

Figure 76. Morotai Island elementary school.

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Figure 77. Native fishmonger on Halmahera.

Figure 78. Irianese men from Gebe and Pattani Islands east of Halmahera.

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Many immigrants from Ternate and from Tidore live in the corresponding areas of sultanate rule. Halmahera also contains a few Javanese and people from other Indonesian islands, as well as a negligible number of Chinese and Arab traders.

b. Characteristics

Halmaherans are nomadic or semi-nomadic. They roam the land to collect sago and other forest products and to hunt game; they prowl the bays to fish and trade; and, they wander the sea in locally built praus, settling temporarily where fancy strikes.

The northern tribes are boisterous and excitable. They have loud, challenging voices, quite different from the Malay's quiet restraint. Opinion varies about the southern tribes. The visitor probably creates his own reception. Primitive as they are, they -- at least the bay-roamers and sea-rovers -- are accustomed to outside contacts and trading deals with other Indonesian peoples. (Piracy has been common in this area, and the natives indulged in it.)

In general, Halmaherans have scarcely been touched by European civilization, except for a few contacts with missionaries. They had no contact with Dutch government and business except in port towns and, it is thought, have had even less with the present administration. The Ternatese-Tidorese rivalry led to their exploitation; they have been ruthlessly killed, kidnapped, and enslaved. In the mid-nineteenth century they rebelled, and in 1903 the Dutch military put them under semi-military rule. But the Ternateans and Tidoreans constantly stirred them up against the Dutch. In 1914, the Dutch deposed the sultans, and substituted rule by councils. Resentment smoldered for a long time.

c. Language

Extreme diversity characterizes the Halmaheran languages; dialects correspond roughly to tribal classification. Tobelo, a northern language, is widely spoken in Halmahera.) Thirteen distinct languages exist in the northern peninsula; they are non-Malay (unusual in Indonesia) and are related to the Papuan. Dialects for the rest of the island are Malayan. This leaves a linguistic puzzle. How does it happen that the south Halmaherans with Papuan physique speak dialects of the Malay group, and north Halmaherans with less Papuan likeness, speak dialects of the Papuan group? Also note, above, that their temperaments pose the same puzzle.

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The Tidore and Ternate languages each spread in its own sultanate. Ternatean is the lingua franca in much of north and in the extreme south of Halmahera. Tidorese is fairly familiar in parts of the central area. Standard Malay or Bahasa Indonesia is very little spoken except in the larger harbor towns.

d. Religion

Christian missionaries came to Halmahera back in pre-Dutch times. When the Spanish and the Portuguese left, Christianity disappeared but returned with the Dutch in 1866. The precise numbers of missions and missionaries on the island is unknown. However, there are villages that are Christian, and the number of Christian converts is estimated at 10,000.

Despite conflicting reports, there are probably not more than a few hundred Mohammedans who are concentrated in a few coast towns. In Morotai the estimated number of Moslems is about 700, while there are four Christian communities accounting for about 300 converts. About three-fourths of the Morotais remain pagan.

The great bulk of the Halmaherans are pagan. Banner's description of the Feast of the Dead -- to insure grand entry into the village of the spirits of those who have died during the year -- reveals not only basic religious concepts and rituals, but much of temperament, customs, dress, and personal characteristics of the natives.

> Village elders, while unseen drums pound ceaselessly, decide the duration of the feast -- it must be five, seven, or nine days. The decision made, a procession appears through the fruit-tree fring (of the village), led by the head priest in rich regalia, uttering spells. Behind him are the musicians with drums, cymbals, gongs; novices with bamboo tubes filled with sea-water; another priest smiting with a long staff trees and shrubs as he passes, asking each for its own kind of occult influence; women plucking from each smitten shrub as many leaves as there are to be feasted. They all go into the temple where the priest makes the magic fluid -- with the sea-water, enchanted leaves, soured palm wine, citron juice, pepper, and "other biting ingredients" -- to cleanse priests and novices. At the next step, he dashes this fluid into the eyes of each novice (and priest) and, gongs and cymbals making an uproar, rotates in a spirit dance, in which priests and novices join. The crowd is excited, for the celebrants have become clairvoyant. (Anyone of them who cannot endure the burning eyeballs is unworthy and is sent away to hide in shame in his hut.)

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The dance grows wilder until at last the priest spins, falls into convulsions, and is lifted to a bench where he falls into a coma. One by one others follow until all celebrants are stretched out on benches. This means that good spirits have entered the village.

After a time, the stupor is shaken off and the celebrants are given a little food. Then the entire population alternates eating and wild dancing for three days and nights. By the fourth day, all guardian spirits have come. Celebrants, in a procession, cleanse themselves in the sea, and the true Festival of the Dead begins. Wooden puppets are moved to the temple and fed, ancestral spirits being invited. After a respectful wait for spirits to finish eating, the others feast, carouse, and dance, for as many days as are left of the Festival.

The last supreme day is "most picturesque"; then come the biggest feast and the bizarre grand masquerade. Believing that a show of wealth will impress the spirits, they dress up in everything they have that is "impressive": discarded gold-laced jackets from olden days, a pair of long, winter drawers, colored ribbon, top hat, flowered parasol, officer's shako, a single epaulet worn on string around the neck and a pair attached to loin-cloth, stars cut from gold or silver paper, a sabre without a blade (satisfactory because, in the scabbard, and the spirits could not seen the lack of blade). Representatives of the evil spirits -- tall, somber, draped in palm-fiber robes to the ground, and wearing hideous masks -- try to call the dead out of paradise.

The abandon goes on, getting wilder and wilder, until everyone drops to the earth. Recovering, they eat and drink. At sunset comes the final phase. Celebrants go into the temple, carry the puppets out, set them on the table, and implore them to eat and drink, the priest meanwhile doing the maddest dance of all, until finally he signals that the spirits are gone. Follows a long-drawn-out dirge, a farewell to the dead.

The festival is over. The villagers begin to eat and drink pal, wine. The "guests" leave, and the villagers go to their houses and continue eating, "tanking up" for another long, monotonous year in the distant foothills.*

* Banner, H. S., A Tropical Tapestry (London: Thorton Butterworth, Ltd.), 1929.

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3. Villages and Houses

Villages are small and clustered along the coast, but they are hidden from the shore. Most of them are on the north peninsula. Coastal villages are deserted a great deal of the time, while the inhabitants hunt or farm in the interior hills. The interior is mostly uninhabited and the few villages that are there are very small -- a bit larger on the river -- and isolated. In Morotai, small village complexes are located along the coast.

In the middle of the village is the temple, its largest building. Old men whittle out furniture for the guardian spirits, who will soon be called there. Tiny houses close to the dwelling are the permanent homes of these spirits, who are represented by wooden puppets, surrounded by a jumble of sacred objects.

Houses differ throughout Halmahera. Both individual houses and multi-family dwellings are common. Some are octangular in construction.

The leading chief of each district is the vassal chief in his area. Under him are the sub-district, tribal, and village chiefs. On Morotai, the village chiefs are under the rule of the Galela and Tobelo head chiefs of the mainland. The main -- and probably only -- interest of the Indonesian regency officials is taxes, for which the hierarchy of chiefs is responsible.

4. Occupations

Agriculture is primitive. Rice, tobacco, and vegetables are grown. Dry-rice fields are in the uplands, where the people from the coastal villages go to live in isolated groups of primitive dwellings, to farm, and to eke out an existence. After harvest, they go back to their coastal villages for the great annual Feast of the Dead.

Gathering forest products is an important occupation -- sago (and coconuts in some areas) for food, and rattan, copal, and damar to trade with Chinese, Arabs, and Indonesians from other islands in the coast towns. People of Morotai collect and sell damar, rattan, coconuts, and timber. Their main food is sago.

Fishing is important, and coastal people trade fish to interior people for sago. Many kinds of shell fish are caught.

Hunting is important for supplying food and trade goods; there are many deer, wild pigs, marsupials, and birds of exotic (saleable) plumage.

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5. Visitors

Malay-speaking visitors will be able to communicate in the larger coast towns and will have no trouble getting an interpreter. Many Ternateans living in the Ternate area of Halmahera speak both Malay and some of the local dialects. Fewer Tidoreans of their area speak Malay, but they speak the local dialects better. Valuable informants and guides can be found among the Ternateans and Tidoreans.

Any visitor who would like to go around these islands in a prau, or other small boat, should read Banner (A Tropical Tapestry) and Fairchild (Great Islands of the East). Both these men successfully wandered around these islands, found landings along "impossible" coasts, found out a great deal about means of survival, and made friends among the natives. They report that a boat along these coasts is not very visible. (Conditions have changed little or none in the ensuing years.)

Fairchild found easy anchorage on Rau, a tiny island off Morotai, and witnessed preparations for a celebration. He communicated in sign language with a friendly native, and went with him back to the village and there witnessed a sort of tourney of "show-off" dances, which seemed to be Papuan influenced. It went on all night. He also went up many small rivers in several islands. He found the north Lolodos (Doi and Dagasuli) sparsely settled with fisher-folk who had seen but few Europeans. They were friendly, following him around and joining him in his search for shells.

Visitors can make good use of gifts here. On the Lolodos, for instance, the natives did not ask for anything but accepted toys that were offered. After that, they asked for quinine because they said, they had a great deal of fever there (presumably malaria). Toy balloons make excellent presents here. Tiny bottles of perfume are "exciting" gifts. On the east coast of Halmahera, Fairchild paid for a prau -- for exploring the coasts of smaller islands -- with perfume.

Anyone planning a visit to north Halmahera should study the costumes of the Grand Masquerade (see Religion, above) for clues to what kinds of things are most highly prized; those not available from the forest would make especially effective gifts.

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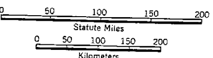
EASTERN INDONESIA



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