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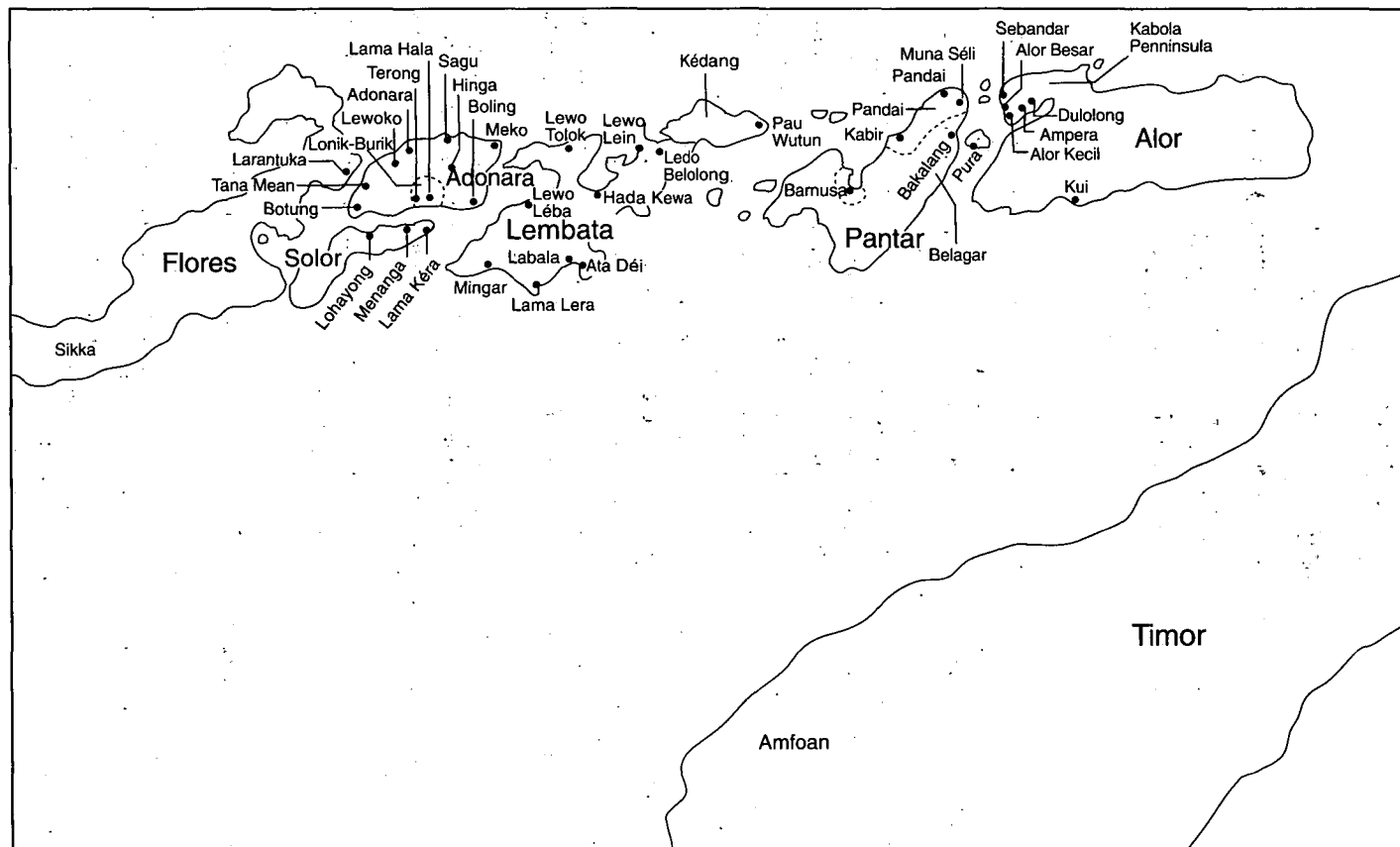
Alliance and Warfare in an Eastern Indonesian Principality Kédang in the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth was a period in which officials of the Dutch East Indies were gradually and often reluctantly drawn into the affairs and disputes of the many small states of eastern Indonesia. At the same time, it was the last period in which these states could contend for sovereignty. Resink writes that the image of the Netherlands being able to claim sovereignty over all Indonesia at the end of the nineteenth century can be 'turned all but completely upside down'. Rather than a single Dutch sovereignty, there was a 'dust cloud of sovereignties' – and 'not one sovereignty [...], but many sovereignties of many states in a rich variety, including Dutch sovereignty over Government territory under direct rule'. Moreover, the understanding of sovereignty on the part of Indonesians 'was more a sovereignty of the ruler than of the state' (Resink 1968: 334-44). In the Timor Residency, furthermore, there were communities with which the Dutch initially had little or no contact. Sovereignty over these was often contested by local powers. Some of those which claimed sovereignty for themselves could only with difficulty establish these claims. This article explores the history of a fairly typical example, namely the principality of Kalikur in Kédang, Lembata, which was involved in several wars with outside competitors and with the very peoples over which it maintained its claims to rule.¹

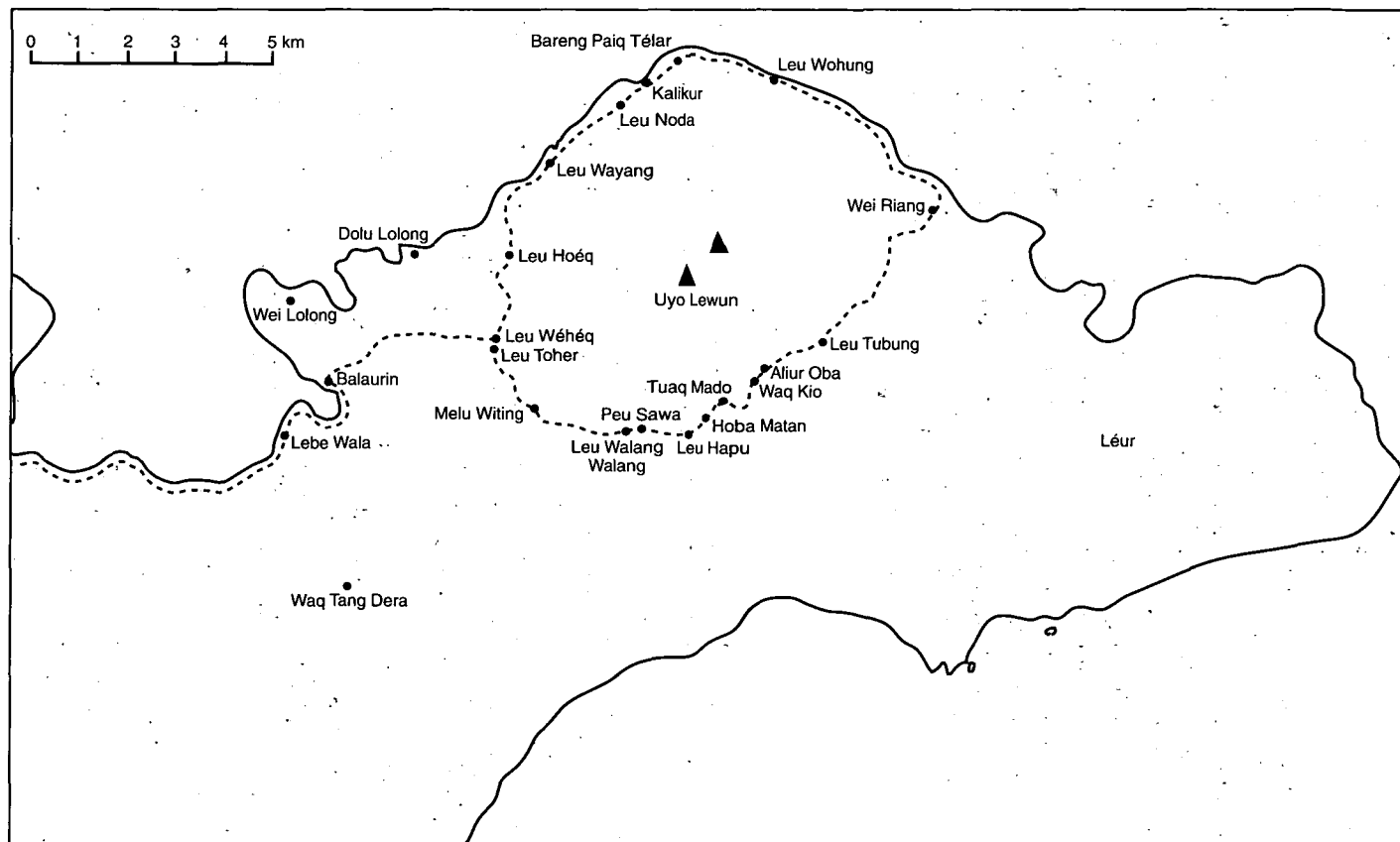
Fox (1971) has shown what can be done through comparing accounts of local history on the island of Roti with the rich documentation of the island

¹ For a similar consideration pertaining to Timor, see McWilliam (1996:129), and to Sumba, Hoskins (1996).

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The Solor-Alor Islands



Kédang

in the archives of the Dutch East India Company. For historical reasons Kédang on Lembata was late in coming into effective contact with European powers, and there is very little European documentation, such as does exist for Roti and other eastern Indonesian peoples, on this region (see Barnes 1987, 1995). Over the years, however, copies of various locally produced documents have been supplied to me by various benefactors.² It is now possible to exploit this material to describe how the rulers viewed their own position within the context of regional competition and alliances during a period from around 1850 into the early twentieth century, when the Dutch East Indies was gradually transforming its attitudes and policies toward local powers, leading eventually to their pacification and consolidation in the Dutch East Indies State. In the process, it is possible to explore ethnographic themes in relation to political alliances that have heretofore remained obscure. Kédang lies in the extreme east of the small island of Lembata (Lomblen), north of Timor and east of Flores, in the newly created Lembata Regency, but until September 1999 was located in the East Flores Regency.

Background

Dietrich has prepared the ground for a consideration of this local history with two studies on colonialism in the Flores region in the nineteenth century (Dietrich 1983) and the early twentieth century (Dietrich 1989). For most of the period in question, the Dutch East Indies government pursued a non-interference policy in the Timor Residency, which it replaced with interven-

² These documents include a collection of materials brought together in August to October 1979 by Krisnam, a native of Kalikur of Chinese extraction with family ties to the ruling family. He was asked by Abdul Salam Sarabiti to put these in order and to ensure their safety. Krisnam has given the collection the title 'Sejarah Kedang dan Silsilah Sarabiti Lawé', or History of Kédang and Genealogy of Sarabiti Lawé. They include a handwritten history of the rulers of Kalikur by Abdul Salam Sarabiti dating to the 1950s and 1960s, a genealogy of the ruling family by the same hand, a history of the founding of the village of Lewo Lein, a brief account of a group which fled Pantar and settled in Kédang, a typed copy, made in 1979 by Ahmad Abdusalam Sarabiti, of 'Cuplikan Sejarah Peperangan Kedang', or Fragments of a History of Wars in Kédang, by Abdul Salam Sarabiti, and a brief record of interviews conducted by Krisnam with four elders in Kédang on 2 October 1979. I met Krisnam in Balaaurin, Kédang, on 27 August 1979, when he told me of this document and promised to send me a copy. I never received the copy, but he seems to have given one to Guru J. Bumi Liliweri, from whom Ursula Samely obtained a photocopy, which she then let me have. I wish to thank the three of them. Additional materials include 'Sedjara Kedang', or History of Kédang, by Liliweri, which he allowed me to copy in June 1971, a testimony drawn up by Mas Abdul Salam Sarabiti on 4-7 September 1961, and carbon copies of 'Pemandangan Umum Mengenai Kejadian Sekitar Haminte Kedang', or General View Concerning Events Around the District of Kédang, and 'Lapuran Mengenai Peristiwa-Peristiwa di Haminte Kedang', Report Concerning Incidents in the District of Kédang, both anonymous and both supplied to me by Liliweri, whose assistance in this case I also appreciate.

tion at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth (see à Campo 1980).

Before the new material may be addressed, it is necessary to review some familiar and some less familiar information. The language spoken on East Flores and the islands immediately to the east (Adonara, Solor, Lembata) is Lamaholot, except for the Kédang language. The languages spoken on Pantar and Alor, to the east of Lembata, belong to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, except for the so-called Bahasa Alor or Alor language (also called Coastal Alorese in the literature), which is spoken in enclaves on Pantar and Alor, particularly in the villages of Bernusa (Barnusa, Baranusa), Kabir, and Pandai on Pantar, and Dulolong, Alor Kecil, Alor Besar, and Sebanjar on the Kabola Peninsula of Alor. The Alor language is a dialect of Lamaholot, and people who speak it always say they have no trouble conversing with people from farther west using Lamaholot. Indeed, Gomang states that the speakers of the Alor language can communicate with speakers of Sikka in east-central Flores (west of the Lamaholot region) and Tetun on Timor (Gomang 1993:35-6). Samely (1991:5) has calculated a percentage of 70 for related lexemes between Lamaholot and the Alor language, and of 61 for shared cognates between the Kédang language and both Lamaholot and the Alor language.

The linguistic situation provides the background to the political events to be described in this article. Culturally, all the relevant groups have some form of patrilineal descent. The Lamaholot and the Kédang practise asymmetric marriage alliance, while speakers of the Alor language have symmetric marriage alliance (Barnes 1973, 1974, 1977). The Lamaholot-speaking region was divided into groups which were labelled Demon and Paji (Arndt 1938). In myth these groups were founded by two brothers who turned against each other. The Demon came to be associated with the Raja of Larantuka, while the Paji were associated with a group of petty principalities called the Solor Watan Léma, or Five Solor Coasts (Solor Lima Pantai in Malay). Solor in this usage is to be taken as a regional designation, rather than the name of a specific island. The alliance included either Lohayong and Lama Kéra on Solor and Lama Hala, Terong and Adonara on Adonara, or Lohayong, Lama Kéra, Lama Hala and Terong and Labala on Lembata. Dietrich (1983:54, n. 15) tells us that people in Lama Hala, Terong, Lohayong and Lama Kéra stress that the rajas of Adonara were latecomers from Seran and were not originally part of the Watan Léma, the real fifth member of which was Labala, on the southern coast of Lembata. The Raja of Labala himself claimed membership in the Watan Léma (Beckering 1911:187). Beckering (1911:170) lists Adonara, Terong, Lama Hala, Lawayong (Lohayong), and Lama Kéra as constituting the Solor Watan Léma and refers to a treaty of 1867 in which Adonara assumes the first place. Originally, he says, there must have been a sixth, but which one this was, was no longer known with cer-

tainty; some named Watang Pau, a village which lay west of Terong, in this connection.³

Events in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries led to the Demon being associated with the Portuguese and the Solor Watan Léma with the Dutch. The rajas of Larantuka accordingly eventually became Catholic. The rajas of the six villages associated with the name Solor Watan Léma were all Muslim from an early date. Headhunting and warfare took place across the Demon and Paji divide. On Adonara and Flores these wars were known in Malay as *tikar bantal*, or 'wars of the sleeping-mat and pillow' (Kluppel 1873: 394).⁴ In 1870 the raja, on a visit to Adonara immediately after a smallpox epi-

³ Dietrich was told in Terong that Watang Pau (Watan[g] Pao) was the predecessor of the settlement of Terong, supposed to have been situated about 4 km to the west of present-day Terong. Leyn (1979:37) also places it on the south coast of Adonara. Leyn (1979:32) collected the following list of members of the Solor Watan Léma in Lohayong: 1. Lohayong, 2. Lama Kéra, 3. Terong + Lama Hala, 4. Labala, 5. Kédang. In Bubu, a sub-village of Lohayong, he was told of five men who established the Solor Watan Léma at Labala, Bubu, Menanga, Malakalu (near Lama Kéra) and the Bajau Laut village of Meko on the north coast of Adonara. Thus Menanga supplants Lama Hala and Terong, while Mekó replaces Adonara (Leyn 1981:71-2). The Menanga account of the founding of this alliance is that Sultan Sili Pertawi (an historical figure) lived in Menanga. He formed the Solor Watan Léma in alliance with the Dutch and in opposition to the Portuguese. The relevant princedoms were Labala, Menanga, Bubu (later moved to Lohayong), Malakalu (later moved to Lama Kéra), Terong (later moved to Lama Hala), and Watan Pao on Adonara (Leyn 1979:35-7).

Hens has yet another version. According to him, the Paji are divided into two groups, the Paji Abang and the Paji Wurieng, descending respectively from Abang and Wurieng. Terong and Adonara belong to the Paji Abang and together are the Abang Nara Lipu Kae, while the Paji Wurieng or Wurieng Watang Léma are Lohayong, Lama Hala, Menanga, Lama Kéra, and Labala. Markalu (see below) belonged then to Lama Kéra. Liwu, the former Raja of Lama Kéra, told him that Menanga can be regarded as the ancestral house from which the Wurieng Watang Léma sprang, consisting of Lohayong, Lama Hala, Markalu (presumably Malakalu), Lama Kéra and Labala. The supremacy of Menanga was indicated by the fact that when war was declared, the heads of the other five princedoms would take the head of a sacrificial animal to Menanga. After the Portuguese left, Markalu no longer had a raja and was absorbed into Lama Kéra (Hens 1916:156-7).

It is of interest that Dutch records of 1645 mention the Sengajis of Lama Kéra and Serbite (Sarabiti), a deputy of Lohayong, and three sons of the heads of Terong, Lama Hala and Adonara arriving in Batavia to negotiate a strengthening of the old alliance with the Dutch (Tiele and Heeres 1895:314-6). Kota Sau in northern Larantuka is known as Panté Sarabiti or Kota Sarabiti Gege Waihalí (Dietrich 1997:119, 156, n. 138 and n. 139; Leyn 1979:28).

⁴ Beckering (1911:182, 188) mentions the *perang tikar bantal* on Adonara and the *ohong* (properly *ohang*) *beloné* on Lembata. For a summary discussion see Downs (1955:53-4). Abdul Salam Sarabiti states that the *tikar bantal* wars were called in Lamaholot *meit ohang baloné* and in Kédang *nu napa luni*. Of these words only *meit* is untraceable, unless it is *méi*, meaning 'blood' (Arndt 1937:52; Pampus 1999:248). The Lamaholot word for 'war' is properly *nuho*. Pampus (1999:278) translates *ohā beloné* as '1. punishment for adultery with another person's wife; 2. mutual killing'. *Ohang* means 'mat', while *beloné* means 'pillow'. In Kédang, *napa* means 'mat', while *luni* means 'pillow'.

Arndt (1938:6) mentions the *nuho katang ohan beloné*. *Katang* cannot be identified, unless it is the

demic, told Kluppel that his people were very tired and wanted a mat and pillow. Kluppel told him to go and rest, but later discovered the true implication of the comment. In order to cleanse a district, the *rajas* usually ordered heads to be taken in a neighbouring district. The Resident of Timor reported that the Muslim Solor *rajas* carried out such assaults on neighbouring districts in response to the smallpox epidemic of 1870 and that these were called *balik bantal*, or 'return the pillow' (Caspersz 1870). The Demon and Paji were mentioned in Portuguese documents already in the early seventeenth century (de Sá 1956:484). Whether Kédang was counted as Paji is controversial. Kédang people I have spoken to generally deny this. However, because of claims to suzerainty over Kédang advanced by the Raja of Adonara, some Lamaholot speakers do regard it as such. So far as I know, the Demon and Paji division is not relevant on Pantar and Alor.

Galiau Watan Léma

Van Fraassen (1976) drew my attention to the need to identify the location of a place mentioned in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama, in a list of dependencies of the fourteenth-century Javanese empire of Majapahit. A survey of early Portuguese documents and maps suggested that the toponym in question, Galiyao, referred to a place located between Alor and Lembata (Barnes 1982), that is to say, to the island of Pantar. Ethnographic reports by Dietrich (1984) and Rodemeier (1995) confirmed this identification. Furthermore, they revealed the existence of a Galiau Watan Léma, comparable to the Solor Watan Léma. The fullest information, however, is that provided in an M.A. thesis by Gomang (1993), himself a native speaker of the Alor language and of Belagar. According to Gomang (1993:17), Galiau Watan Léma consisted of Alor (Besar), Belagar, Kui, Pandai, and Barnusa. Two of these villages (Belagar and Kui) do not speak the Alor language. In July 1996 the former ruler of Pantar, Raja Tahir Noke Salama, in the village of Bakalang in the Belagar region of Pantar, gave me the same list. From this coincidence it may be inferred that this list represents the Belagar view of things. In August 1999 Guru Amos Sir in Kalabahi, Alor, said that Galiau Watan Léma consisted of Barnusa, Kabir, Pandai, Alor Besar, and Alor Kecil, that is to say only Alor-language villages. However, according to Gomang, Kabir and Alor Kecil were not Watan in terms of traditional domains. Alor Kecil was associated with Alor Besar, Kabir with Pandai.

same as *gatang*, 'to wish to take revenge, to be vengeful' (Arndt 1937:9). He translates the phrase as 'Enmity because of the mat and pillow = because of the marriage bed'. He then says that the phrase is explained by two myths of the origin of the Demon and Paji division turning on fights over women.

According to J.A. Adang, who sent me a note on these matters via Rodemeier and with whom I spoke in September 1999, the people of Pantar regard Galiau as referring to that island, but they do not know the meaning of the word, which does not occur in any Pantar language. He told me that a local theory is that it is made up of *gali*, 'to call', and *hau*, 'from landward', in the Alor language, but presumably this is merely a folk etymology. Gomang specifies that *gale/gali* means 'to beckon with the hand'.⁵ According to Amos Sir, Galiau is the name only of Pantar. It is also used as the name of the interior of the earth there, he said. Parents warn naughty children that Galiau will get them.

Appolonius Schotte, after capturing the Solor fort from the Portuguese for the Dutch in 1613, stated that the natives of Gallejau had come under the Dutch as a result of the Dutch taking the fort and had been in truce with the Portuguese when the Dutch first appeared (Tiele and Heeres 1886:19). Before the Dutch arrived Solor engaged in a lively trade with Galiau, importing provisions from there (Tiele and Heeres 1886:88; Dietrich 1984:319). Dietrich (1984:319) draws attention to a letter of 1682 from the Raja of Buton informing the Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company that Solorese had requested assistance in countering Portuguese harassment. The Solorese were from Adonara, Lama Hala, Lama Kéra, Louliang, Terong, Bermoussa (Barnusa), Blecker (Belagar), Pandaija (Pandai), Alor, and Malua. Dietrich interprets Louliang (in fact, probably Lohayong) as a mistake, but notes that the other names coincide with the memberships of both the Solor Watan Léma and the Galiau Watan Léma. Rodemeier (1995:441) mentions that Malua is the same as Kui on the south coast of Alor, which coincides with the list of Galiau membership given by Gomang and Tahir Noke Selama. Gomang writes about Solorese, people from Lewohayong (Lohayong), Mananga (Menanga), Lamaholo (presumably Lama Hala), and Lamakera (Lama Kéra), who have integrated into Alor Besar on Alor. All of these villages except Lama Hala, in Adonara, are on Solor. Gomang also describes an alliance between the Solor Watan Léma, led by Labala, and the Galiau Watan Léma, led by Alor (Gomang 1993:88-9). This alliance was sealed by vows of brotherhood and the drinking of blood mixed in *arak*. This ritual brotherhood

⁵ Gomang states that 'According to Raja Tohir Noke Selama of Belagar, when the people from Galiyao and Solor wished to establish the alliance between the Solor Watan Léma and the Galiyao Watan Léma, people from Solor collected together in Pao Wutung in Kedang and the people of Galiyao collected together in Dola Wutung in Pandai. There each party started with a *perahu* to meet halfway between Dola Wutung and Pao Wutung. On their way to meet each other, they gave signs by waving hands, asking each other to come closer to express their happiness. This is the real meaning of Galiau. After the oath of Béla Baja, people from Solor said: "You the people of Galiyao are our real brothers", and the people of Galiyao said: "We are like one man with two hands and each with five fingers".' (From a letter of 1 March 2000.)

was called *béla baja*. Any future conflict between the two parties would end in calamity. Thereafter people from either side travelling in the territory of the other were permitted to take coconuts or bananas without asking permission. In 1969, Gomang accompanied his uncle to Wei Riag in Kédang, where his uncle took some coconuts. 'When the owner came we told him that we were from Belagar, and he welcomed us and then went away' (Gomang 1993:90).

Tahir Noke Selama related that two *perahu*, one from Solor and one from Pandai, agreed to meet halfway between the peninsula Pau Wutun in Kédang and the peninsula Dola Wutun in Pandai. There they each filled a glass with blood and gave it to the other to drink. This formed the alliance between Solor Watan Lema and Galiau Watan Lema, called *sumpah béla baja* (the *béla baja* oath). They became *kakak/adik* (brothers) and were never to have hostilities. This alliance continues to this day, he said. Galiau is the elder brother, Solor the younger. Gomang (1993:88) dates this alliance between the two groupings to 'the era of Selasang Bakolaha of Alor, in the seventeenth century'. This dating may be compared with a reference by the Sengaji of Lohayong, Solor, to Sengaji Bakolaha of Alor in 1702 (Dietrich 1984:319).

Muna Séli

The documents mentioned above provide accounts of a series of wars in which the rulers of Kédang, the Rian Baraq⁶, were involved. It is useful, before taking these up, to mention two passages that do not directly relate to these rulers. The first of these concerns the founding of the village of Lewo Lein and the eventual expansion of its territory by refugees from Muna Séli, Pantar, as a consequence of a war between Pandai and Muna Séli. The refugees fled to Solor Lima Pantai, that is, Solor Watan Léma, where they hoped to be taken in, but were rejected, which caused them to come back to Hada Kewa on the north coast of central Lembata. The other details may be left aside here. The Rian Baraq would have an interest in this history because this Lamaholot-speaking village marks the extreme eastern border of Kédang. Travel by foot or horse to or from Lewo Léba, the capital town, takes two days and Lewo Lein is a convenient place to overnight. Despite its linguistic affiliation, Lewo Lein was regarded as part of Kédang, hence subject to the Rian Baraq. The second, briefer, story concerns refugees from the same war, in which Muna Séli was defeated and its inhabitants scattered. Several refugee families from Muna Séli came ashore at Wei Lolong, on the north

⁶ *Rian* means 'large, great', while *baraq* means 'heavy'.

coast of Kédang, and were eventually given land near the original village of Dolu Lolong (usually pronounced Dulolong or Dololong) by the clan Leu Werung of Kalikur.

Muna Séli is a place at the tip of the northeastern part of Pantar, which according to legend was once a powerful kingdom until it was destroyed by Javanese allied to Pandai.⁷ Local legend speaks of a colony of Javanese who settled on Pantar five or six hundred years ago, that is, between 1300 and 1400 (Anonymous 1914:77). Before they could take peaceful possession of the land, they had to fight a battle with Muna. They won, and the inhabitants of Muna fled to the east, where they re-established themselves in places on Alor. Lemoine (1969) published versions of this legendary material collected on Pantar by A. Talib during World War II. The first of two stories recounts the founding of Pandai. Two Javanese brothers, Aki Ai and his younger brother Mojopahit, sailed to Pantar, where Aki Ai treacherously abandoned Mojopahit. Mojopahit's descendants eventually colonized Pandai, Barnusa, Alor Besar, and Lembata. Vatter's version of this story has it that three of the five sons stayed on Pantar, while one went to Alor and the other to Labala on Lembata (Vatter 1932:24). The second story tells of Javanese in alliance with Pandai killing the Raja of Muna Séli and destroying the kingdom. The people of Muna Séli fled, never to return. Many of their descendants are now settled in various places on Alor. Dietrich (1984:317) reports that the story of Raja Majapahit and his (in this case, younger) brother Aka Ai is known in Terong, Adonara. The sons of Majapahit were said to have founded the Galéau Watan Léma. One of the sons, following a disaster, left Pantar and came to Terong, where he founded the clan Waimahing. Oddly enough, this clan is said to have come direct from Muna Séli.

⁷ Gomang says that Lewo Lein is another name for Muna Séli and that it is probable that the refugees from Muna Séli named their new village by this other name for Muna Séli. In a poem from the community of Helang Dohi the connection between the two names is made.

Kamé Selang Dosi (Helang Dohi) kéti lodo
Tobo Léwo Kotong
Mo Aring Ata Jawa Lali Sakeng
Mo tobo Lewo Leing

We Selang Dosi (Helang Dohi) came down from the sky
We live at the head of the village
You, young brothers, the Javanese, came from far away
You live at the feet of the village.

Name	Wife	Date
Wujo Lewung	Kaya Tene	
Raja Wujo	Ili Kura	
Pitang Raja	Wato Weli	
Pulo Pitang	Wa Tawang	
Suban Pura	Peni Pura ¹	
Raja Pitang ²	Rua Mengi ³	
Buja Suri	Ome Suri ⁴	
Lojo Buja		
Lia Lojo ⁵		
Matur Lia ⁶		
Puda Matur		
Hawang Puda		
Retung Hawang		
Abe Retung		
Buja Abe ⁷		
Ai Buja		
Roman Ai		
Raha Roman ⁸		
Erung Raha		
Lawe Erung		
Dato Lawe		
Bapa Lawe	(from Adonara) ⁹	
Sarabiti Lawe	(from Adonara) ¹⁰	1850
Musa Sarabiti	Meme Bota (Adonara)	
Lawe Sarabiti		
Sarabiti Musa Abdul Salam		until 1936
Adul Musa Sarabiti		until 1937
Abdul Hakim Sarabiti		until 31 December 1937
Abdul Salam Sarabiti	Halima (Adonara) ¹¹	1 January 1938 until 19 March 1954
Mas Abdul Salam Sarabiti		19 March 1954 until early 1960s

Figure 1. Rian Baraq of Kédang

¹ Suban Pura and Peni Pura are brother and sister. Oddly, their second name is not the first name of the father, according to Kédang custom, but that of their father's brother, Pura Pitang. An accompanying diagram does indeed indicate that they are the children of Pura Pitang.

² With Raja Tawida, he emerged from the top of the mountain and formed an alliance with the descendants of Suban Pura. The accompanying diagram indicates that he is the son of Pulo Pitang, but this is not in conformity with either the naming system or the myth.

³ From Bubun Sina, Bubun Sawa, to the east. The name translates as 'fragrant bee'.

⁴ Buja Suri and Ome Suri are brother and sister and the children of Raja Pitang, which is not what their names suggest.

⁵ Lojo Buja (White Sun) and Lia Lojo (Morning Star Sun) are names of God.

⁶ This is the point, or just before the point, where names may become historical.

⁷ From him derives the clan Leu Tuang. He acquired the rank of Rian Baraq. His brother Oka Abe is the ancestor of the village heads of Aliur Oba.

⁸ Moved to Kalikur. His brother Ribu Roman remained behind in Aliur Oba.

⁹ This marriage initiated the marriage alliance between the Rian Baraq and the group of the Kapitan of Adonara.

¹⁰ His second wife was Kidi Sinu of Kalikur, the Hada Pura clan. His third wife was Kene Bota of the village of Adonara in Adonara, the Lewo Belung clan. The third marriage is, like his father's, into the clan of the Kapitan of Adonara.

¹¹ Hagenaar (1934:50-1) gives this wife's name as Ama Tedung. In either case, she is the daughter of the Raja of Adonara, Arakiang Kamba.

Rian Baraq

The Abdul Salam Sarabiti documents contain a discursive account of the descent line of the Rian Baraq and a genealogical chart (see figure 1). In the beginning a set of brothers descended from the sky. Of these, Wujo Lewung⁸ dwelt on the top of the Kédang Mountain, while the others went elsewhere. He married a woman from the sky named Kaya Tene (more properly Kayaq Téné). Successive descendants married other women from the sky until the birth of a brother and sister pair named Suban Pura and Peni Pura. Since at this time there was no longer any connection with the sky, these two married each other. Peni Pura gave birth to a fruit of a *wukak* (silk-cotton) tree, which she raised as a child. Eventually it burst and seven male and seven female children emerged. Sometime after that the mountain erupted and two males, named Raja Tawida and Raja Pitang, emerged from it. Following them, people with horns and tails and red-coloured bodies emerged. These were covered with a boulder to keep them from getting out. The two males established a relationship of brotherhood with those from the sky. Raja Pitang sailed to a country in the east named Bubun Sina, Bubun Sawa⁹, where he married a woman whose name in the Kédang language means 'fragrant bee' (Rua Méngi). He paid bridewealth to her father and in return received honey-bees. When they returned to Kédang, they anchored at Grass Sea (Uru Tahiq), near the village of Peu Sawa. At that period this location, now far in the interior, was still sea. The bees flew away looking for nesting-places; so that to this day there is wax in Kédang, which belongs to the Rian Baraq.

Unfortunately, there was an octopus living in the sea which had a human form and looked like Raja Pitang's wife. His wife found Raja Pitang having sexual intercourse with the octopus, and she killed it with a sharp bamboo.

⁸ This is the name of the Kédang Mountain, usually pronounced Uyo Lewun or Uye Lewun.

⁹ *Bubun* are the narrower sides of a roof, hence this name could be translated as 'the China side of the roof, the Java side of the roof'.

After two or three days, the octopus smelled so bad that the people could not stand it any longer and fled to live in places around the mountain. Suban Pura and Peni Pura and their fourteen children sailed away in the direction of Buton (thus removing the line descended from the sky from Kédang). Some people lived in the village of Aliur Oba. Raja Pitang's wife gave birth to a boy, Buja Suri, and a girl, Ome Suri¹⁰, who married each other. An eventual descendant named Buja Abe is the first mentioned in the document as holding the title of Rian Baraq. At this point the document claims that this position is equivalent to that of raja, which was an important issue in local politics in the period covered in this article. Buja Abe is also identified as the ancestor of the clan Leu Tuang.

Eventually the narrative arrives at a pair of brothers named Raha Roman and Ribu Roman and their sisters Bui Hene and Wato Hene. The eldest in his turn became Rian Baraq. Later an octopus which lived in a hole in a rock near the edge of the village of Aliur Oba caught and ate children playing nearby each day. One day many children were playing there and the octopus ate all but one, who escaped and reported what happened. The Rian Baraq and the population conferred and decided that the next day some would cut and sharpen bamboo, while others would cook millet in a pot and others again would bring lime in a basket. The next morning they brought these materials near the place where the octopus stayed and ordered the children to play there. Before long the octopus appeared. Some stabbed it with the sharp bamboos, others poured the hot millet and chalk on it, killing it. After two or three days the animal swelled up and began to stink badly, causing people to flee. The two sisters fled and settled on the shore at Kalikur.¹¹ The brothers searched for them and before long found them at Kalikur. The brothers tried to persuade their sisters to return, but they refused, saying they preferred to live at Kalikur. Hearing this, the Rian Baraq wanted to live at Kalikur with his sisters.

He and his brother returned to Aliur Oba, where they called together everyone living around the mountain. The Rian Baraq told them that he was going to move to Kalikur, while the population would stay on the mountain with Ribu Roman, who became the head of Aliur Oba. He then set forth the

¹⁰ Usually pronounced Buyaq Suri and Ome Suri. These names today are used as the names of the two Kecamatan or sub-districts of Kédang.

¹¹ At this point, it needs to be explained that the local pronunciation of Kalikur is actually Aliur, just as the local pronunciation of Kédang is actually Édang. I have no translation for *aliur*; however, there are important implications in the name. After the founding of Aliur, there are henceforth two Aliur. One is on the north coast of Kédang, in a convenient place for trading with passing shipping, and another in the interior, on the south side of the mountain. The latter is Aliur Oba or the Aliur associated with the octopus, *oba*. In a sense, therefore, the Aliur of the interior moved to the shore, while the Aliur associated with the sea remained in the interior.

following stipulations, which were to be the basis of a promise and oath.

I, the Rian Baraq, am the father and the people are the children.

I, the Rian Baraq, will live at the shore in Kalikur in order to study weaving of clothing for the population to wear, trousers, blankets, and so on, and to take responsibility for people arriving from outside as well as from the interior.

The whole population will live on the mountain to work the fields and fill the granary to guard against my hunger, in other words for my food.

I, the Rian Baraq, as father will lead all of you.

Our unity is a firm unity, a complete unity, a tight tie which is not one-sided...¹² or, in the regional language: *ihin pulu teteq neteq udéq, maten pulu uoq udéq, witing pulu loing udéq*, 'ten blades pounded into one hilt, ten corpses one grave, ten goats one lead rope'.

Whoever opposes the command of the Rian Baraq may be tried and fined one large pot of areca nut juice.¹³

The author explains that the significance of the statement about weaving is that the people of Kalikur would in future weave clothing for the people of the interior, who from ancient times were under a sacred prohibition against weaving. Further, the Rian Baraq would live in Kalikur to take responsibility in respect of both the outside and the interior. What is not mentioned here is that this arrangement corresponds to a regional pattern, in which an official deals with outsiders, while another, superior figure, namely the lord of the land, stays out of view (see, for example, Beckering 1911:173-4). It is also not stated who the lord of the land might be. The requirement to plant and har-

¹² Two or three words are illegible at this point.

¹³ This notion of a fine which it is impossible to meet is commonplace in the wider region. By an agreement between the village of Leuwayang, Kédang, and villages on the other side of the mountain, in which permission is given for people travelling outside their own territory to take a coconut or bananas for refreshment without asking permission of the owner, this is sanctioned with a fine of a goat whose horns reach from the tip of the fingers to the armpit, a gong large enough for its sound to be audible on the other side of the mountain, enough liquid from the fruit of the *lontar* palm to fill a large earthenware pot, and enough areca nut juice to fill a similar jug (Barnes 1974:57). When the Javanese destroyed Muna Séli, they demanded from Pandai a large bowl full of areca nut juice and gave in return a gong called 'The Earth Trembles' (Lemoine 1969:22).

vest and then bring the proceeds to the Rian Baraq goes by the name *obor hore*, 'to enlarge and fill up [a storage basket]'. From this point on, the narrative lists a series of apparently historical names, down to the author himself.

War with Leu Wohung

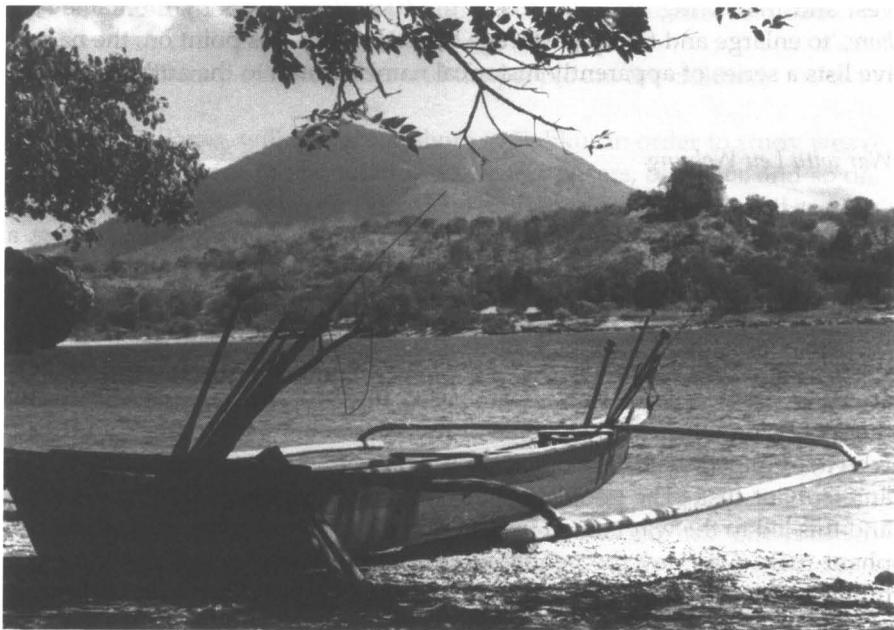
The first war which Abdul Salam Sarabiti mentions is with Leu Wohung, a village a short distance to the east of Kalikur; during the time of his great-grandfather, Raja Sarabiti Lawé. His explanation of the cause of this war is that people of Kalikur had fields on the land of Leu Wohung, which produced extraordinary yields. As a result the people of Leu Wohung became angry at the people of Kalikur and used unrestrained language, accusing them of being witches. The people of Kalikur complained to the Rian Baraq, who determined that the people of Leu Wohung were at fault and fined them an elephant tusk. The people of Leu Wohung did not accept this decision, and this led to the war named *nu iwater bala*, or the 'war of the maize and elephant tusk'. One day the people of Leu Wohung succeeded in killing two brothers from Kalikur named Tikung Roda and Lawé Roda. On a market day at Wua Lewang, about a kilometre from Kalikur, people of Leu Wohung went to market bringing trousers and shawls taken from the Kalikur warriors, which they hung from a flagpole as a flag in order to shame the people of Kalikur. The widow of one of the fallen, named Kidi Sinu, happened to be at the market. She returned and complained to Raja Sarabiti Lawé, promising to be his slave and requesting revenge.¹⁴ He thereupon called a meeting, in which they decided to call for assistance from Pura Island (Pulau Uma Pura), adjacent to Alor. Then boats were sent to bring the soldiers from this island. Unfortunately, Leu Wohung managed to kill all of these people of Pura except one.¹⁵

Kalikur then took the decision to call for assistance from the Méo of Amfoan, an Atoni-speaking region of Timor on the north coast of the island just east of the Portuguese enclave of Oékusi. According to Schulte Nordholt (1971:340), the word *méo* means first 'cat' and secondly a warrior who has taken at least one head. Raja Sarabiti sailed to Alor Kecil accompanied by a translator named Ipar Weter.¹⁶ From Alor Kecil, they sailed to Amfoan,

¹⁴ Kidi Sinu of Kalikur and the clan Hada Pura is mentioned as the second wife of Sarabiti Lawé.

¹⁵ Nene Bebe testified in October 1979 that the people of Leu Wohung spread candlenuts on the path, causing the warriors from Pura to stumble and making them vulnerable.

¹⁶ In this name we can see the Malay word for an in-law and the word Feter, a title often applied to princes in Timor, especially by the Portuguese. What significance may lie in this name, however, is unclear.



Pura as seen from Alor Besar, Alor

where the head of the Amfoan agreed to help and, together with his troops, returned with them to Kalikur. The Méo succeeded in defeating Leu Wohung. Subsequently the unnamed head of the Amfoan contingent married Nona Biri, the sister (actually brother's daughter) of Sarabiti Lawé, thereby establishing a lasting political alliance. When he wished to return to Amfoan, Raja Sarabiti gave him gold in payment. The head of the Amfoan promised to return and help if there were wars in the future. The two groups swore an oath of allegiance to each other; henceforth Kédang Kalikur would be named Amfoan, and Amfoan would be named Kédang Kalikur. It was also agreed that, if disputes arose in the future, Kalikur should call on the Amfoan for help.

Liliwiri relates that the Méo closed all the springs in the interior. Only Leu Tubung succeeded in repelling the Méo, inflicting many deaths. The village still retains Méo skulls. Liliwiri also states that the Méo took the heads of their victims back to their camp, where they roasted them so that fat dripped out. Underneath these drippings they roasted maize, which, once soaked in the fat, they ate.¹⁷ They took all of the skulls home with them to be stored in

¹⁷ For the roasting of heads in Timor see Heijmering (1846:220) and McWilliam (1996:135), and for ritual cannibalism associated with headhunting see McWilliam (1996:142-3, n. 7).

their temples and to show those who stayed behind that they had been successful in the war (see Barnes 1974:12-3).

In his testimony transcribed by Krisnam on 2 October 1979, Ahmad Kiri, said to be a hundred years old, gave a rather different account of the cause of this war. According to him, the dispute erupted because a man of Kalikur borrowed maize from a man of Leu Wohung and then failed to make the necessary repayment.

In the beginning a person named Wata Nama possessed a harvest of maize. Lawé Rodā from Kalikur came and borrowed some maize belonging to Wata Nama, with the promise that he would replace the maize with an elephant tusk. The agreement to repay within a year, it is said, was not kept by Lawé Rodā. The return was delayed for three years, so that steps were taken to murder those responsible according to the agreement between Wata Nama and Lawé Rodā. The murder was carried out secretly, by inviting the victim to eat and drink palm wine together, and then by sly and vile means to kill him. After the killing, the privates of the victim (Lawé Rodā) were cut off and turned into a sheath for a spear as a form of mockery. The testicles of the victim were divided and turned into a betel basket, an act which under customary law is regarded as very insulting and injured the feelings of the people of Kédang. Thus the 'Nu Watar-Bala' war just mentioned broke out.

For comparison, attention may be drawn to the report that the King of Muna Séli turned to the war leader Tali Bura in his war with the Javanese and Pandai. The King of Pandai and his troops surprised Tali Bura and skinned him alive. They stretched his skin on the door of the King's house. The skin of his genitals they used to cover a betel basket (Lemoine 1969:21).

A warrior from the village of Leu Wayang, Boli Talé, led troops from that village to assist Kalikur in the assault on Leu Wohung. He shot and killed the war leader of Leu Wohung, Manoor, after which the Kalikur contingent successfully attacked Leu Wohung and defeated it. Boli Talé was appointed Fetor in honour of this action. Since this post was to be held in Timor, however, he declined the honour and sent his father's brother's son, Leraq Nara, in his place.¹⁸

This war can be approximately dated from the following incident. During Raja Sarabiti Lawé's reign, a group led by Libu Kaliba from the Demon village of Lawoko (Lewoko) on Adonara, then engaged in the so-called 'sleeping mat and pillow wars' with the village of Adonara, entered the village of Adonara on a market day, when it was nearly empty, and surprised the Raja of Adonara, Begu Ama, and killed him. The Resident of Timor reported this incident, which he dated 28 July 1850 (Van Lynden 1850, 1851a). The Raja's

¹⁸ From 1969 until 1971, I lived in the house of Peu Langün, a great-grandson of Leraq Nara in the male line and a member of his clan Apé Labi.

son Pela (or Pelang) requested powder and troops, which the Resident promised. According to Abdul Salam Sarabiti, the Kapitan (district chief) of Adonara, Sarabiti Kotak, turned to Raja Sarabiti Lawé for assistance. Sarabiti Lawé responded by arranging for Méo to go to Adonara, where they defeated Libu Kaliba. It is not clear to what degree there may have been collaboration between the Resident and the Rian Baraq, or to what degree these may be incompatible accounts.¹⁹

In any case, in view of subsequent events, this connection between the Raja of Adonara and the Rian Baraq is an important one. On Adonara, Dietrich learned that the clan Letuang used to intermarry with Terong and Adonara; it was also suggested that in the context of this close relationship the members of the *suku* [clan] Letuang had assumed the name of Sarabiti, originally a place-name of great importance in the oral tradition of Adonara (Dietrich 1983:54, n. 16). This information is correct. Leu Tuan ('Old Village') is the name of the clan to which the successive Rian Baraq belonged, as we saw above. Abdul Salam Sarabiti says that Sarabiti Lawé's father, usually called Bapa Lawé, married a woman belonging to the clan of the Kapitan of Adonara²⁰ and that this marriage initiated the marriage ties between Adonara and the Rian Baraq. Thus the Kapitan of Adonara was turning to his wife-taker in asking for assistance, which is perfectly proper according to local custom. It should also be remembered that in local culture wife-givers are superior to wife-takers. Sarabiti Lawé's third wife was from the same clan. His son Musa Sarabiti married a woman of Adonara as well, and because of that marriage became the first Muslim of Kédang, according to Liliweri. It is not clear, however, that any of these marriages were with women in the clan of the Raja of Adonara. The clan to which the wives of Bapa Lawé and Sarabiti Lawé belonged was Lewo Belung.²¹

¹⁹ Beckering (1921:136) states that Adonara's power on Lembata spread to Kédang in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Kalikur asked for help against Dolu Lolong and the mountain population, whereby Timorese and the inhabitants of Lama Hala appeared as allies, that is, on opposite sides. It is not clear whether this statement supplements the above information or is a conflation of later events with the above.

²⁰ 'Kapitan' is the title which was given subordinate chiefs in the territories allied to the various rajas of the Solor Watan Léma. 'Kakang', a term which will be encountered below, is the equivalent term in the territories allied to the Démon Raja of Larantuka.

²¹ The genealogy of the descendants of Begu shows various granddaughters and great-granddaughters in the male line married to various *kapitan* of Adonara, including Kotak. There are only two marriages with men from Kédang indicated. One is between Ama Oolkan and Bebe, which produced no offspring. This person may have been Bebe Lawé, son of Rian Baraq Lawé Sarabiti (see below). However, Ama Oolkan is the daughter of a *kapitan* of Adonara and Begu's granddaughter Ama Bélang, which means that she belonged to the *kapitan*'s clan, not the raja's. Ama Tedung, daughter of Begu's grandson Raja Arakiang, married a certain Dida, son of

Alliance with the Galiau Watan Léma

Abdul Salam Sarabiti continues with brief accounts of two wars with Demon villages on Lembata. In the first of these, Sarabiti Lawé's forces destroyed a village called Nepa Bele, which then disappeared. Secondly they defeated Lama Lera, who promised to give the Rian Baraq two whaling boats, called Tapo Lolong and Boko Lolong, as well as the heads of any whales they captured and a gold chain. To this day, no payment has been received.²²

During Sarabiti Lawé's period as Rian Baraq, the Raja of Barnusa was at war with the Kapitan of Barnusa in the interior (at Ilang).²³ The people of Ilang entered Barnusa, causing everyone to flee to other islands during the night. Sarabiti Lawé's son Musa Sarabiti was in Barnusa at the time studying with his Islamic religious teacher, Kopong. Both he and his teacher also fled. Having been nearly defeated, the Raja of Barnusa sent messengers to Sarabiti Lawé, who was angered at the news of what had happened to his son. Sarabiti Lawé sailed to Barnusa, where he defeated the Kapitan and then made peace between him and the Raja of Barnusa. When he returned, Musa Sarabiti stayed behind and continued his religious studies.

Some time after that, Raja Sarabiti Lawé desired to form an alliance with the Galiau Watan Léma. He therefore sailed with his troops to Alor Besar and announced his intentions to establish *béla baja* between Kédang and Galiau Watan Léma. This approach was welcomed and the deal was done. One of the stipulations was, indeed, as Gomang claimed, that people from Galiau Watan Léma travelling to Kédang could take coconuts, bananas and other food according to need without asking permission, and vice versa. Another part of the agreement was that someone from Alor Besar who happened to be in Kalikur might marry a widow if he wished, and vice versa. Further, the regions were to exchange names. From then on Galiau Watan Léma would be named Kédang Kalikur and Kédang Kalikur would be named Galiau Watan

the Kapitan of Kédang. Dida might be Bapa Dia, that is, Abdul Salam Sarabiti, who did marry a daughter of Arakiang Kamba according to his own account. In any case, these marriages are too late to have figured in the events described in this paper (Hagenaar 1934:50-1).

²² The gold chain was called *aba goe namang*, 'my chain as long as a dancing field is wide'. Petrus Hidang of Lama Lera has provided the following information about this incident. Méo had demanded the village's wealth, or else they would attack. People of Lama Lera cut a gold chain in half and gave it to them, saying that was all they had, having thrown their wealth away in the sea. Petrus had never heard that Tapo Lolong or Boko Lolong (Boko Lolo) or whale heads were to be given to the Rian Baraq, nor had he ever even heard of a boat named Tapo Lolong ('Coconut Leaves'). He also said that the Méo had waited at the market place Wulan Doni, because they were afraid to come ashore in Lama Lera. Instead they had sent envoys ahead with their demands.

²³ This Raja of Barnusa would have been Achbar, whose dates of office are 1848 to 1877 (Van Dijk 1925:530). I have not been able to locate Ilang.

Léma. A representative from each side pricked a finger and pressed out a drop of blood and mixed it in palm wine. This was drunk with an oath cementing the flesh and blood relationship. At this point the author lists the membership of the Galiau Watan Léma as comprising Alor Besar, Belagar, Pandai, Barnusa, and Lewo Bala, that is, Labala on the south coast of Lembata, significantly just to the east of Lama Lera. This list of course bears comparison with that given by Vatter as cited above.²⁴ As Raja Sarabiti Lawé and his people were leaving the shore at Alor Besar, the people of Kédang Kalikur sang while rowing: *Sarabiti rae lewo, Rua gélu narang*²⁵, meaning 'Raja Sarabiti Lawé is left in Alor Besar and we have both changed names'. Raja Sarabiti Lawé also went to Belagar, Pandai and Barnusa to establish the same sort of alliance.

Abdul Salam Sarabiti presents a poem written in Malay to commemorate this alliance.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Karangan syairku dari Béla Baja
Bukan dongeng bukan sengaja.
Mendengar berita dari nenek moyang,
Kepada turunan mendapat lumayan. | My poem about Béla Baja
Is not a fairy-tale, not an invention.
Listen to the news from the ancestors,
Which just about reaches the descendants. |
| 2. Nenek Sarabiti gagah perkasa,
Tinggi derajat sampai di angkasa.
Telah tanam budi bahasa
Kepada turunan dapat merasa. | Grandfather Sarabiti the heroic,
His rank as high as the heavens.
He formerly established proper behaviour
For his descendants to experience. |
| 3. Nenek Sarabiti telah berkata,
Sekarang bukti dapat ternyata.
Persatuan kita adil merata.
Berpegang teguh ta bisa patah. | Grandfather Sarabiti said,
Now the proof is clear.
Our unity is just and equitable.
We hold it firmly, it cannot break. |
| 4. Dari sejarah kepada masa
Telah tanam budi bahasa.
Bagus dan indah semua merasa.
Inilah bukti menjadi dasar. | From the past to this moment
He established proper behaviour.
Which is good and beautiful for everyone.
This the proof which becomes the
foundation. |
| 5. Dari zaman dahulu kala
Persatuan kita kedalam-dalam. | From ancient times
Our unity is deep. |

²⁴ Gomang is of the opinion that Lewo Bala refers not to Labala, but to Belagar. However, in that case Belagar would have been mentioned twice in this list.

²⁵ Lamaholot for 'Sarabiti is in the village, the two changed names'. It should be remembered that the people of Alor Besar speak a version of Lamaholot, while the Sarabiti line had Lamaholot family connections. The name of the Raja of Alor Besar is not given. According to Van Dijk (1925:529), it should be Bai Lolong, who was in office from 1844 to 1876.

Bukan main alang kepalang.
Tetap teguh sedia kala.

Very extraordinary.
Always solid as of old.

6. Zaman sekarang demokrasi.
Persatuan kita sudahlah aksi.
Walaupun moderen tidak di sangsi,
Persatuan kita sudahlah aksi.

The present period of democracy.
Our association is already in action.
Although modern, not in doubt,
Our association is already in action.

7. Galiau, Kedang Kalikur.
Beban yang berat bersama pikul.
Bergandeng tangan bahu memikul.
Persatuan kita harus di ikut.

Galiau, Kédang Kalikur.
Heavy burdens we carry together.
Arm in arm on our shoulders.
Our unity must be followed.

8. Perjanjian sumpah daging darah,
Galiau Kalikur persaudaraan.
Persatuan kita bukan sembarang.
Kuat dan teguh sampai sekarang.

Alliance an oath of flesh and blood,
The brotherhood of Galiau and Kalikur.
Our unity is not for nothing.
Strong and firm until now.

9. Sejarah ini nenek berpesan.
Ta di buku hanyalah lisan.
Kudrat Tuhan yang Maha Esah
Kepada turunan mendapat kesan.

This story is grandfather's testament.
Not to be written, only recited.
The will of God the Great
Down to the descendants made an impression.

10. Sejarah ini yang baik jitu,
Kepada nenek telah di bentuk.
Berpegan teguh demikian itu,
Bukti sekarang itu tertentu.

This history which is good and true,
To the grandfather it was made.
Holding firmly like that,
The proof now is certain.

11. Bahasa daerah Béla Baja,
Perjanjian itu bukan sengaja.
Jika mungkir dapat bahaya,
Tidak bisa dapat lumayang.

In the regional language Béla Baja,
That promise is not an invention.
If disavowed there will be danger,
Which cannot be in moderation.

12. Nenek Sarabiti sudahlah Béla.
Galiau Watang Lema senang dan rela.
Kepada turunan ta pecak belah

Grandfather Sarabiti already Béla.
Galiau Watan Léma ready and willing.
It will not break or split down to descendants

Sampai di hari kemudian kelak.

In future times.

13. Sarabiti sebagai dewan keamanan.
Pembitjara beliau sebagai amanah.
Kepada turunan jangan chiyanat
[khianat].
Jangan mendapat kutuk laanat
[la'nat/laknat].

Sarabiti as council of peace.
His speech as an instruction.
To the descendants, do not betray it.
Do not receive a curse and malediction.

14. Riwayat Sarabiti dahulu zaman.	The story of Sarabiti in earlier times.
Galiau Kalikur hati bersama.	Galiau Kalikur are of one heart.
Béla Baja beramah-tamah.	Béla Baja are on intimate terms.
Di masa itu di ganti nama.	At that period they exchanged names.

Béla Baja

Scarduelli (1991:84) defines *béla baja* as a pledge, bond, establishing a tie of brotherhood which excludes marriage. Gomang (1993:89) writes that *béla baja* means 'ritual brotherhood'. He contrasts the Galiaú Watan Léma, which was based on descent from a common ancestor, with the Solor Watan Léma, based on establishing this ritual brotherhood through the mixing of blood. When I first encountered the expression in field research in Lama Lera, I had difficulty obtaining a clear explanation. For example, there are stories concerning a giant octopus, *koba ina*, which poses a danger to fishermen and passing boats. When they encounter it, they should offer it betel, for it is *béla baja*. *Béla baja*, I was told, exists where trouble has already occurred and one has to be very careful not to give offence, so that it may not happen again. Both the districts of Ata Déi and Mingar are *béla baja* to Lama Lera because there were wars in the past. There have been agreements to end hostilities and to regard each other reciprocally as *béla baja*.

This description does not exactly fit the previously given examples, but does not contradict them either. In Lama Lera, *béla* means 'large' and *baja* means 'to promise' (Kerap 1978:25, 46). Arndt (1937:6, 25, 78) renders *baja* as 'to swear to, to form an alliance, to put a spell on, to promise' – all highly relevant senses (see also Pampus 1999:56). The Kédang *béla bayan* translates as 'treaty between villages or regions'. This phrase is a borrowing from Lamaholot, however, and its proper Kédang synonym is *saying bayan*, which means 'agreement of friendship between villages or regions so that the people of the two regions may take food and drink from fields in the other region without asking permission when they are travelling'. Taken together, the institution of *béla baja*, *béla bayan*, or *saying bayan* in the Lamaholot and Kédang region closely resembles the alliance with the Galiaú Watan Léma, indeed, it is the same institution – an agreement signalled by an oath, sanctioned by a ceremonial mixing of blood, mystically dangerous when broken, which precludes hostilities between the parties involved. According to J.A. Adang, related institutions are common in the Moluccas as well. Bartels (1977) presents a very useful discussion and comparison of *pela*, *bela* and *bel* alliances in the Moluccas. Valeri's survey of moiety systems in the Moluccas also touches on many themes dealt with in this paper (Valeri 1989).

Belae Saraka

Some time after forming the alliance with Galiau Watan Léma, Sarabiti Lawé died and was replaced by his son Musa Sarabiti. A few years later a war broke out in Kédang, instigated by an individual from Lama Hala named Belae Saraka. Belae Saraka is a shadowy, but obviously turbulent figure. In 1866, disturbances began in Kédang when two functionaries of Lama Hala, who had been dismissed following a conflict between Lama Hala and the local Posthouder²⁶, retreated to the Lama Hala dependency of Dolu Lolong in Kédang (Dietrich 1983:45). These men were Sengaji Adi and Temukung Blai (Dietrich 1983:54, n. 18).²⁷ Later, Belae seems to have been brought back as a temporary replacement for Raja Mangu, for he attended as acting Raja of Lama Hala a conference of the rajas of the Solor Watan Léma held by Resident Ecoma Verstege in Larantuka on 25 August 1876. Also present here were two rajas and their *kapitan* from Alor, as well as Mangu (Dietrich 1983:47, 55, n. 24). In 1888, Kapitan Blay led an assault on the village of Boleng Adonara on the southeastern coast of Adonara, where he killed 47 people and took 62 prisoners. Raja Kamba of Adonara complained to the Dutch, who demanded the surrender of Kapitan Blay and his son, Serakan, which Lama Hala refused. On November 6th, the Dutch bombarded Lama Hala, and then went on to do the same to Boleng Adonara, Lama Kéra and Menanga on successive days. 'The destruction of the villages of miserable huts with heavy ship's weapons was like shooting sparrows with cannon. But the moral effect cannot be overestimated.' (Wichmann 1891:265-6.) Blay lost all his possessions, including the elephant tusks which represented his wealth, in the bombardment. Unable to find shelter on Adonara, he fled to Lembata, where he hid for a while. However, he could not count on permanent shelter there. Eventually, suffering from dysentery, he gave himself up in January 1889 (Wichmann 1891:269). The Resident subsequently banished

²⁶ Presumably J.M. Muller, whose dates in office were 30 June 1865 till 19 June 1866 (Hage-naar 1934:109). Dietrich (1983:45) writes that his successor, Civiël Gezaghebber C.G. Kluppel, convened a conference at Kalikur on 5 October 1866 in order to settle a dispute over the claims of Adonara and Lama Hala to Kédang, but before he could announce a decision in favour of Adonara, Resident Coorengle sent him a sharp letter instructing him to keep out of purely local disputes. 'When the Resident himself appeared in Larantuka he resolved that such conflicts on an island as unimportant as Lembata were better ignored and that the settlers from Lama Hala might well remain at Dulolong under their own Raja'.

²⁷ The older title *sengaji* was slowly replaced by *raja*, and *temukung* by *kapitan*. Sengaji Adi must have had a very short term in office, as there is no mention of him in the *Almanak van Nederlandsch Indië*. His predecessor was Pehan, who served from 18 June 1858 to 1864. His successor was Mangu, in office off and on from 25 July 1865 to 1877 (see Dietrich 1983:45-6). There was another Raja Adi (or Adie) from 29 January 1892 to 1926.

Bleij Seraka and his son Seraka to Java (de Villeneuve 1889; *Koloniaal Verslag* 1889:22-3).

The Salt War

It was perhaps in 1866 that Belae Saraka stirred up the salt war in Kédang. According to Abdul Salam Sarabiti, he arrived at Balaurin and secretly called the heads of the forty-four villages of Kédang to a meeting without informing the Rian Baraq.²⁸ In the speech which Sarabiti attributes to Belae Saraka, he told the village heads that the farmers of Kédang lacked farming implements (*towa*, dibbles). In order to buy them, they needed to sail to Lama Hala, while the people behind the mountain who could not do so had to buy them at a high price from itinerant traders (*papalele*). The people of Kédang also needed weapons, including rifles, spears, knife blades, and field knives. Furthermore, they needed clothing, since they were forbidden by a religious prohibition to weave, but instead had to trade with the people of Kalikur for clothing. If the villages of Kédang would submit to Lama Hala, he promised that people would come from Lama Hala to manufacture farming implements to divide among the population of Kédang, ironsmiths from Lama Hala would manufacture rifles to distribute among the population, and women would come from Lama Hala to teach the women of Kédang weaving. The heads of the villages of the interior agreed to this proposal. Belae Saraka then gave each of the heads salt, which they accepted as a sign of their submission to the Raja of Lama Hala. Liliweri tells us that this salt was sweet, that is, was granulated sugar.²⁹ Soon war broke out with Musa Sarabiti, which has been remembered as the *nu atan tequ* ('salt war').

Kapitan Kotak Kaya of Adonara brought troops from the village of Botung in Adonara to assist his *opu* (wife-taking affine), Raja Musa Sarabiti. Kalikur was suffering shortage of food because its enemies had closed all the markets. One evening Geronggo, from the Bajau Laut village of Meko on the northeast coast of Adonara, showed up with the news that the next morning Belae Saraka would arrive with two war boats (*kora kora*), named Tena Burang and Pandar Lima, with weapons and soldiers in order to attack Kalikur. Musa Sarabiti announced that he would surrender his post as raja

²⁸ Although Abdul Salam Sarabiti speaks of the forty-four villages of Kédang opposing his ancestor, Liliweri writes that the villages which did not eat the salt, and thus remained allied to Kalikur, were Bareng Paig Têlar, Leu Noda, Leu Wayang and Leu Hoéq (all near Kalikur, on the north coast), and Aliur Oba and Waq Kio in the interior.

²⁹ Belae Saraka told the leaders: 'If you eat this salt and it tastes sweet, then you must submit to the Raja of Lama Hala'.

temporarily to his Kapitan Duli³⁰, Ratu Holi, while he and Geronggo would each take a sampan (small, two-man boat) fitted with a cannon to face Belae Saraka. Perhaps these were the only boats available, but in any case they constituted a smaller target for Belae Saraka's cannon than the latter's *kora kora* did for the Kalikur weapons. The next morning, Belae Saraka's barrage failed to even touch the two small boats. Geronggo then fired his cannon and hit a plank on one of the *kora kora*, although his second shot fell into the sea. Belae Saraka then retreated. When he was at some distance, Musa Sarabiti fired his cannon. The cannon ball 'travelled across the surface of the sea between the two boats like a flying fish', apparently striking a mast and causing the flags to fall. Belae Saraka then fled, and his troops on land retreated.³¹

Musa Sarabiti then requested the Raja and Kapitan of Adonara to send for assistance from the Méo of Amfoan.³² A messenger from Adonara went by boat to Amfoan, where the Raja of Amfoan, Raja Welem³³, rejected the request on the grounds that he did not yet know the Raja of Adonara, but said that he would respond positively if envoys from Kédang Kalikur came, because they knew each other and were in alliance. Receiving this answer, Musa Sarabiti sent an envoy from Alor Kecil named Bapa Aur with a boat to go to Amfoan.³⁴ The Raja of Amfoan, accompanied by seven officers and seven hundred men, then went to the village of Napo Ulung, in the region of Lewo Tolok (Lembata), because of a dispute there. There they attacked the village of Lewo Tolok, defeating it so that it submitted to the Raja of Adonara.

³⁰ A traditional office in Kédang, associated with the responsibility of guarding the gate to the village.

³¹ Liliweri tells us that there is a clan named Ata Muar (People from Muar Island) in Kalikur whose members are descendants of refugees from Lama Hala. They had intended to seek refuge in Alor, but were detained at Kalikur by the Rian Baraq of the time. In Kalikur, they gave instructions on how to build boats, how to weave textiles with resist-dyed decorations (*ikat*), how to make rifles, and how to forge knives and field knives, spears, arrowheads, and so on. Liliweri describes them as coming from the same descent line as Belae Saraka, but gives no indication of the period in which they arrived. That is to say, we do not know if they were already in Kalikur at the time of Belae Saraka's attack on it, or if perhaps they fled Lama Hala after his final downfall and banishment. Dietrich learned in Lama Hala that Belae Saraka 'belonged to the clan "Gorang" and held the post of "kapitan bélang" ["Great Captain"], heading the "10 clans" of Lama Hala (which exist next to the 3 clan-branches of raja-descent). The clan "Gorang" was the "foreign" element which met the "indigenous" clan of the raja's ancestors, a meeting which led to the organisation/formation of the rajadom Lama Hala.'

³² Abdul Salam Sarabiti's account suggests that the subsequent events followed on directly from the conflict with Belae Saraka, but as will be seen, their actual date is 1874. Thus, either Belae Saraka's attack took place later than 1866, or there was a period of unresolved conflict between 1866 and 1874.

³³ In October 1979 Nana Bebe, described as eighty years old, testified that Raja Welem's full name was Welem Nongtei.

³⁴ Gomang says that there are many stories in Alor and Belagar about how the Alorese and Belagarese helped Kédang in wars against Demon.

After that the Méo were taken by boat to Kédang Kalikur, where they attacked the forty-four villages of the interior, which they defeated.

The Lewo Tolok episode began with a reported robbery of a Butonese ship and the killing or capture of its crew of eight by people from Lewo Tolok in November 1872. Three of the prisoners escaped and complained to the Raja of Adonara, who eventually turned to Resident Humme of Timor for assistance. In September 1874, Humme sailed with the steamship *Anjer* to Larantuka, where the Civiël Gezaghebber (Civil Administrator) informed him that the Rajas of Adonara, Terong and Lama Kéra, with their contingents and 600 Amfoan troops requested by the Raja of Adonara, were bivouacked near Lewo Tolok awaiting his arrival.³⁵ He then went to Lewo Tolok, accompanied by the Méo, two other rajas (Lama Kéra and Terong), and 1000 to 1500 of these rajas' troops. The Amfoan troops quickly captured the principal village. The next day they found a higher-lying village evacuated. The Méo took 132 heads in this operation and killed many defenceless people. Humme was eventually dismissed because of this action and his successor was ordered in future not to use Timorese again, but the less barbarous Rotinese and Savunese. Because of shortage of coal, the *Anjer* took the shortest way back, arriving in Kupang on September 22nd (*Koloniaal Verslag* 1873:26, 1875:26-7, 1877:37-8; Humme 1874; Colijn 1907:129; Dietrich 1983:41, 53, n. 6).³⁶

³⁵ Liliweri reports that the people from Kédang brought the Méo in seven *kora kora*. It is relevant that the government withdrew the Timor garrison in either 1867 or 1869 and that Timor remained without its own garrison until 1882 (Colijn 1907:129, n. 2; Riedel 1885:3).

³⁶ At the same time, the Raja of Alor was engaged in conflict with mountain villages. With the agreement of the Resident, 150 Amfoan went to his aid. The savage Amfoan took a number of heads and made 27 people prisoner. The Raja wanted the Amfoan to go on to a larger village, but the Resident refused permission because of their barbarity. The government ordered the Resident to see to it that the prisoners taken as slaves should be delivered to him (*Koloniaal Verslag* 1875:27).

A few years later the *Koloniaal Verslag* reported that the situation in the Solor and Alor Islands, including Pantar and Lembata, had generally improved since it had been forbidden for rajas of the coastal villages to summon auxiliary troops from Timor to assist in subjecting the mountain populations (*Koloniaal Verslag* 1880:14).

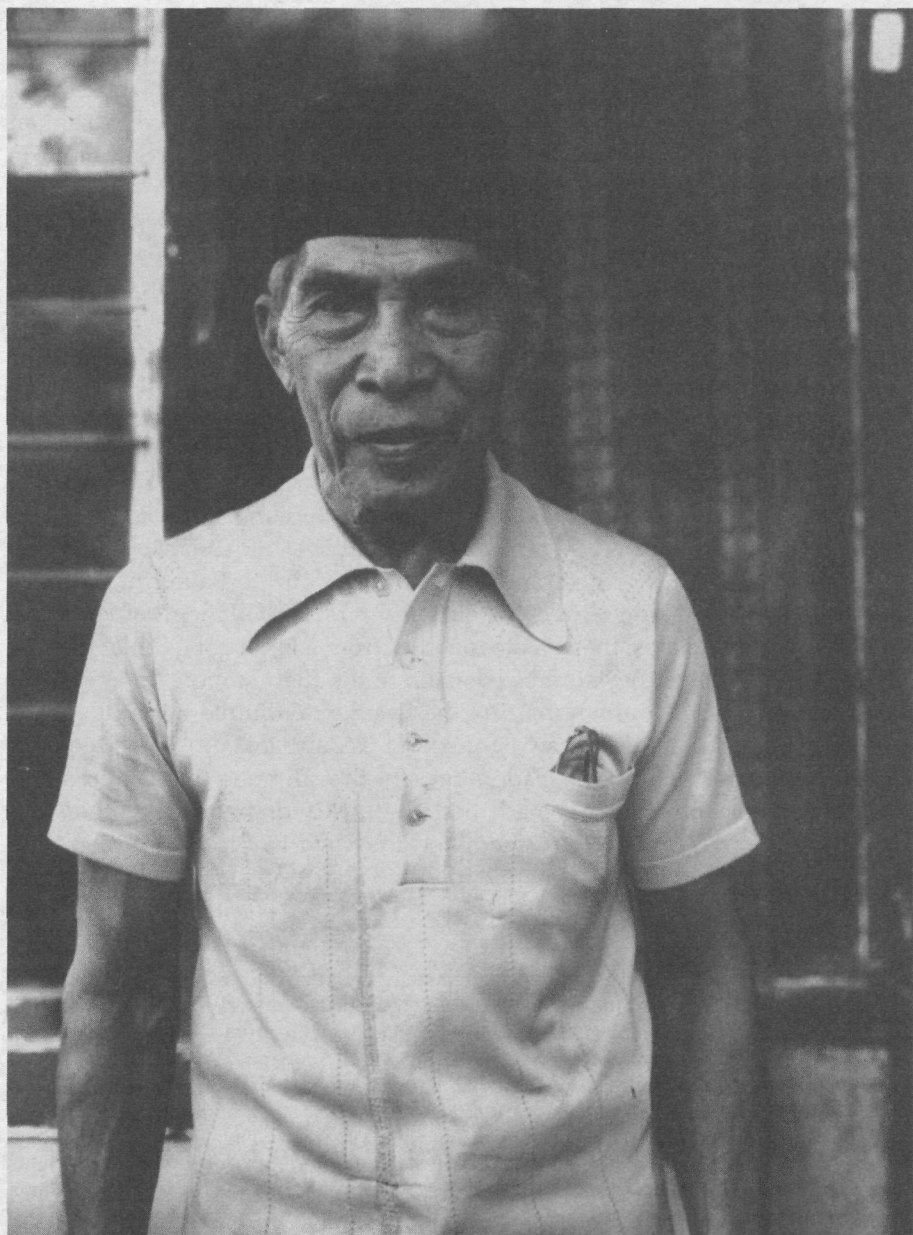
Dietrich makes the following comments: 'According to my notes of 1981/82 claims over parts of Lembata are made by other Lima Pantai as well. These claims may be, in part at least, very well triggered by Dutch recognition of Adonara authority over Kédang, Lewo Tolok and Kawela, all on Lembata while perhaps there was no traditionally recognized authority over those parts. In Lama Hala it was claimed that Lama Hala had the special right to call the Méo (according to a Lama Hala account, there was a snake on Timor who ate humans, and a Boli Malakalu from Lama Hala killed that snake). In the war between Adonara and Lewo Tolok the raja of Adonara asked Lama Hala to fetch the Méo, with the promise that if they won Lama Hala would get the western half of Kédang. The raja of Adonara did not keep his promise. This same Boli Malakalu, it was claimed as well and not quite in accordance with the first version, went to Kédang to organize the "44 villages", and since then Dulolong would belong to Lama Hala, and Kédang would be its "sphere of influence". In Terong the claim was that Terong would have authority

The Méo went from Lewo Tolok to Kédang. On reaching Kalikur, according to Abdul Salam Sarabiti, the Méo attacked the villages of the interior. They pursued the fleeing villagers, killing them mercilessly. Those who escaped gathered together, hiding in a cave. From there they secretly sent an envoy named Robi Léa to plead for mercy from Raja Musa Sarabiti. He begged the Raja to recall the Méo, who otherwise would kill everyone. In response, Raja Musa Sarabiti and the Raja of Adonara, Kamba Begu³⁷, quickly recalled the Méo. Liliweri gives a somewhat different account of the end of this war. According to him the defeated villagers gathered in the mountains near the present village of Lebe Wala, at Waq Tang Dera ('Placing the Ladder Rock'). Although the war was over, they refused to return home. Because they were in need of food and water, some suggested that they move to Ledo Belolong, a village just across the western border in the neighbouring Demon district, and submit to the Demon Kakang of Lewo Léba. A resident of Dolu Lolong named Dou Lolo Hogo informed Musa Sarabiti that they were suffering famine and that they were thinking of fleeing to Ledo Belolong. He then ordered the villages from Bareng Paiq Télar to Leu Napo to put provisions in readiness and then sail with him to Balaurin. He summoned the people taking refuge in Waq Tang Dera. Half of them came, whom he fed. Instead of plates, they all ate together from a large gong. Then he held a ceremony in which they submitted again to the Rian Baraq.

During a visit to Amfoan in 1876, the Resident enquired about the well-being of the prisoners from Lewo Tolok and Kédang taken by the Méo, and received the answer from the leaders present that all but a few children had died of hunger and that they had died so quickly one after the other that there had been no time to bury them and they had had to throw them into the sea. However, he subsequently reported that this claim was not com-

over "Suban Wutung Léur Wutung" (Kawela, Kédang [that is, the south-western tip of Lembata, also called Naga Wutun, and the eastern tip of Lembata, Léur Wutung]). This was because of conquest: in one version, Terong aided the raja of Adonara with the promise of dividing the conquered territory. In another version Terong aided the raja of Adonara to subject the territory of northern Adonara; reciprocally, Adonara aided Terong to subject Kédang and Kawela. Later, Terong lost a war against the raja of Adonara and in consequence its rights on Lembata. In a variant on this latter point, it is said that Adonara under Raja Arkian Kamba connived with Tana Boleng and Kiwang Ona, which went to war against Terong; Terong lost the war and its rights on Lembata. It was explicitly added in Terong that Lama Hala had no rights over Kédang ("Lama Hala has no land"), and that Dulolong was a quite recent settlement. In Lamakera there is a story concerning its original rights over Kawela. As I said initially, these reports sound as if construed in competition with Adonara which had, after all, gained the upper hand with Dutch assistance, including the recognition of rights over parts of Lembata.' (Dietrich, letter of 29 February 2000.) Malakalu on Solor was founded by a brother named Boli and a sister named Malakalu (Leyn 1981:71).

³⁷ Kamba Begu's dates in office are 10 May 1869 to 15 September 1894.



Raja Tohir Noke Selama of Belagar, Pantar



The monument in Sagu, Adonara, to the memory of Sea Lieutenant Van den Borg

pletely true. Reliable sources informed him that many had actually died of cholera and that many more were still alive than had been admitted (Ecoma Verstege 1876a, 1876b). Later Ecoma Verstege reported that he had managed to free 20 of the Kédang prisoners of war from the Amfoan.

Abdul Salam Sarabiti remarks that all of the Méo returned to Timor except Raja Welem, who remained behind and married the sister of Musa Sarabiti, Perada Beng. According to Liliweri, Raja Welem was the son of Nona Biri, who had returned to Timor as the wife of the Raja of Amfoan at the time of the first coming of the Méo to Kédang. Although Perada Beng was described as the sister of Musa Sarabiti, the relationship was somewhat more distant, though of the same categorical type (father's brother's son's daughter). Liliweri says that Raja Welem wished to marry a maiden of Kalikur, but wanted to inspect the candidates himself. The Rian Baraq had to order the young girls to dance, and Raja Welem pointed out the one he desired, namely Perada Beng. We may wonder if it was mere coincidence that this young woman was not only a close relative of Raja Musa Sarabiti, but apparently also Raja Welem's mother's brother's daughter, and thus in a relationship to him which was highly desirable in the marriage systems of both Kédang and the Atoni. Raja Welem remained until Perada Beng bore a son. He then went back to Timor, promising to return to Kalikur. When it eventually became clear that he would not, Perada Beng remarried.

Dietrich (1983:46) says that after the attack on Lewo Tolok, Humme called a conference at Kalikur 'aimed at bringing about a residential separation of the Lama Hala settlers [at Dolu Lolong] and the "subjects" of Adonara'. The leaders of Dolu Lolong refused to attend, having allied themselves with a group of Kédang villages. Dolu Lolong had built fortifications to defend itself against Adonara. In October 1874, the Raja of Adonara won a victory over Dolu Lolong. At a meeting in Larantuka on 25 August 1876, Resident Ecoma Verstege again supported the rights of Adonara over Kédang (Dietrich 1983: 47). It is an interesting fact that, despite these interventions by the Resident, the Kalikur documents make no mention of the Dutch.³⁸

³⁸ The Residents repeatedly supported the Raja of Adonara's claim to Kédang from 1865 on (see *Mailrapport* 1877; Dietrich 1983:45). Arndt (1938:48) relates a strange story about an unmarried and childless immigrant from Lama Hala at Adonara, named Laasang, who replaced the original inhabitants after they fled because of a feud. He left Lama Hala because he was accused of being a witch or corpse eater. At about this time people from Seran arrived. Laasang told them that he had all the power there, but because he had no children, he would be at their service. Laasang then went on a campaign of conquest, accompanied by some of the people from Seran. In this way, the people from Seran acquired Lewo Tolok and Kédang. After the death of Laasang, one of the people from Seran became the ruler.

Further war on Pantar

Following the return of the Méo, war broke out again between the Raja of Barnusa³⁹ and the Kapitan of Barnusa, Ama Garang, of the interior. Ama Garang sought shelter at Kalikür. Before long Ere Jawa, an envoy from the Raja of Barnusa, arrived with a challenge to Raja Musa Sarabiti to return with Ama Garang and confront the Raja of Barnusa in the Marica Strait, between Lembata and Pantar. Musa Sarabiti answered, 'I, Raja Musa Sarabiti, am the son of Raja Sarabiti Lawé, who once aided the father of the Raja of Barnusa during the war with the father of Kapitan Ama Garang, who is now in my hands. If my father had not helped at that time, the Raja of Barnusa would not fly like a bird.' He then promised to take Ama Garang back to Pantar and invited the Raja of Barnusa to meet him in the Marica Strait within a week. When the time came, Musa Sarabiti left with the armed *kora kora* Tonga Ile. In the strait, the Raja of Barnusa met him with the *kora kora* Susun Barat. The Raja of Barnusa lost this battle and asked for mercy. Musa Sarabiti then returned Ama Garang to his people. Ama Garang gave him a piece of land, which people of Kédang could farm, but if people of Pantar did so, they would give a percentage of the yield to the Raja of Kédang. The author then states that his own father had received a share of rice from this land. Furthermore, Ama Garang's people submitted to the Raja of Kédang, saying that if in future they heard gongs from Leur Peninsula in Kédang, opposite Pantar, it would be their Raja Musa Sarabiti and they would come to meet him, but if they heard gongs from Kewaka Peninsula, on Pantar, it would be the Raja of Barnusa and they would not go. Sometime later Musa Sarabiti died and was replaced by his brother, Lawé Sarabiti, as acting raja.

During Musa Sarabiti's lifetime a trader with a Chinese father and Makasarese mother was based at Barnusa and Alor Kecil, where he married a woman from Alor. This man, named Abdullah Hakim, Baba Hakim, and Baba Cina, was a Muslim who could read Arabic, and therefore also the Koran. For this reason he bore the title *jou* for a Muslim religious instructor. Musa Sarabiti knew him and sent his son Abdul Musa Salam Sarabiti (Sarabiti Musa Abdul Salam or Bapa Riang) to study with him. Later, when Abdullah Hakim returned to Makasar, Abdul Musa Salam Sarabiti went with him. There he stayed for three years, studying the Koran and learning to read Bugis script.

³⁹ This would have been Achbar's successor Baso, who held the office from 1878 until 1895 (Van Dijk 1925:530).

Submission to Adonara

During Lawé Sarabiti's regentship, war broke out between the adjacent villages of Peu Sawa and Leu Walang Walang in the interior, because Sili Laka of Peu Sawa killed a man from Leu Walang, which turned to Kalikur. According to Liliweri, Sili Laka organized the interior villages from Melu Witing to Peu Sawa against Lawé Sarabiti and attempted to form his own government, assuming the title Raja Sili Laka. He told the villages that if there was a raja at the shore, there must be a cave in the interior. This allusion is explained by testimony from the last Rian Baraq that the Rian Baraq was like a leafy banyan providing shade and was regarded as a cave providing shelter. Elsewhere, Liliweri writes that the villages from Leu Toher to Leu Hapu allied themselves with Sili Laka, while those from Leu Wéhéq to Tuaq Mado remained loyal to Lawé Sarabiti. After a period of warfare and burning villages, Lawé Sarabiti ordered both sides to come to Dolu Lolong. Liliweri writes that the intention was to capture Sili Laka. Both sides appeared fully armed. Sili Laka, it seems, was allied to Lama Hala, which was preparing to supply his navy in an attempt to overthrow the Rian Baraq. Negotiations at Dolu Lolong came to a dead end. By agreement a secret phrase meaning 'grab him at once' had been prepared by the Kalikur party to use in case Sili Laka refused to give in. The head of the Kalikur war party, Rahaq Datoq, uttered this phrase and the battle began. Sili Laka escaped, but he was mortally wounded by Nana Lebe, a man from Terong, Adonara, using a revolver bought in Dili, Timor. Two days later he died, and the rebellious villagers submitted. In another place Liliweri says that Sili Laka was stabbed with a kris and died at once, his supporters fleeing with his body, which they placed in a tree in the forest, where the next day his enemies cut off his head and took it to Kalikur.

In time, however, the defeated villagers secretly prepared another rebellion, hoping to establish as their own Rian Baraq the son of Sili Laka, Suban Sili. They fought a continuous guerrilla war. During this period the son of Musa Sarabiti, Abdula Musa Salam Sarabiti, sometimes accompanied the Kalikur troops and sometimes sailed by *kora kora* to Dili, in Timor, to trade. The war became official when Hering Lupang of Waq Lupang killed a buffalo belonging to the Rian Baraq which had escaped from its corral.⁴⁰ Suban Sili Laka divided the flesh of this animal among fifteen villages. Suban Sili refused to pay for it on the grounds that the animal was wild, and war broke out, which Kalikur eventually won after burning Hoba Matan and Peu Sawa.

⁴⁰ When Kalikur returned the second Méo contingent to Amfoan, they gave Musa Sarabiti some buffaloes, which thrived in southern Kédang and developed into a large herd.

Abdul Salam Sarabiti writes that a nephew of Lawé Sarabiti, Butu Pati Sarabiti, carried false tales concerning this war to the Raja of Adonara, Arakiang Kamba.⁴¹ Arakiang Kamba brought troops from Adonara and Lewo Tolok to Dolu Lolong. From there he sent a delegation of five to Leu Hoéq, where the Rian Baraq then was. Lawé Sarabiti arrested them and sent them to Kalikur. The Adonara force then attacked and burnt Leu Hoéq, but were forced to retreat, which turned into a rout after their leader, Subang Sugi, was shot and killed. The troops from Lewo Tolok left without asking permission from Arakiang Kamba. Many of the Adonara troops died at Liang Buyaq ('White Cliff') because they did not know the path and fell. Arakiang Kamba then returned to Adonara in his boat the *Cangkir Mas* ('Golden Cup'). All his envoys were executed except Baja from Boleng, who escaped to Barnusa and eventually made his way to Sagu, where he reported to Arakiang Kamba.

Arakiang Kamba then, without the knowledge of Kalikur, turned to the Dutch Civil Gezaghebber, whose name Liliweri gives as Misroop. This is a garbled version of the name of J. Misero, who held this post from 24 March 1892 until 29 January 1908 (Hagenaar 1934:109). The Gezaghebber contacted Kupang. Meanwhile the Rian Baraq, his nephew Abdul Musa Salam Sarabiti, and several other leaders went to Tana Mean, on the west coast of Adonara, with their kinsman Keser to collect Keser's wife Samoi. Two days later they were captured by representatives of the Raja of Adonara and the Gezaghebber and were temporarily detained in Larantuka for around a month before being taken to Arakiang Kamba at Sagu, where they were kept another month. Finally the two gunboats *Prins Hendrik* and *Bengkulen* arrived with the Resident. The captives were loaded onto the boats, which then took them, the Dutch officers and the Raja of Adonara to Kalikur. Arakiang Kamba then asked that Kalikur be bombarded. Abdul Salam Sarabiti responded, 'Bombard Kalikur, but wait. Let me evacuate my people. After Kalikur has been bombarded, we will submit to the Company (the Dutch East India Company), but we will not submit to the Raja of Adonara.' However, the Resident was opposed to bombarding Kalikur. Finally Abdul Musa Salam Sarabiti agreed to submit to the Raja of Adonara, and Kalikur was not bombarded. Lawé Sarabiti was deposed as raja and he and five other leaders were subsequently jailed in Kupang, Timor. Abdul Musa Salam Sarabiti was appointed Kapitan of Kédang. Their standing as independent rajas was effectively at an end, but their claims for the control of Kédang were now backed by Dutch power. After five years in prison in Kupang, Lawé Sarabiti returned and adopted the name Kupang Wala ('He of Kupang').

The costs of bringing troops and the Resident from Kupang were put at Rp 1000 in silver and charged to Kédang. Since Kédang could not pay, this

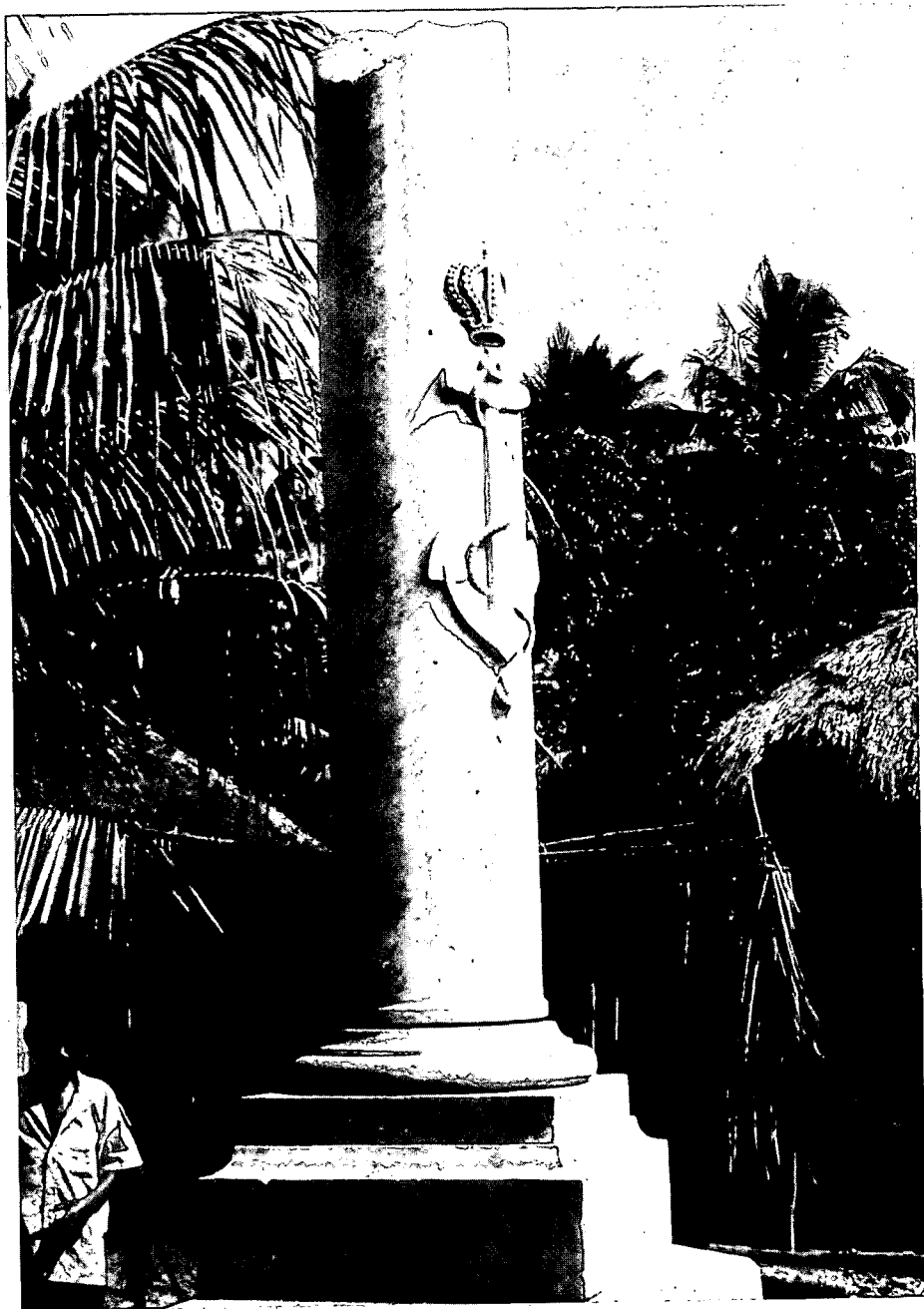
⁴¹ His dates in office were 15 September 1894 to 1930.



The mosque in Barnusa, Pantar

claim was met by the Raja of Adonara, but the sum had eventually to be repaid by the Rian Baraq's clan Leu Tuang. This clan also had to give the Raja a golden chain. Every village in Kédang was fined a large elephant tusk and two large gongs. This booty (forty-four tusks and eighty-eight gongs) was taken to Sagu in the boat *Sirin Totoq*. The villages of the interior from Leu Wayang on, as well as the villages along the coast, had to deliver their harvest of copra, candlenuts and tamarind every three months. These products, too, were then taken by boat to Sagu.

The troubles at Dolu Lolong began in 1902, and the gunboat intervention at Kalikur took place in 1903. According to the *Koloniaal Verslag* of the time, the head of Kalikur, who claimed independence from Adonara, 'although his district was always considered a dependency of this kingdom', was deposed and taken to Kupang together with his son and several others who had resisted the Raja of Adonara and condemned to forced labour. His nephew was appointed on probation (*Koloniaal Verslag* 1903:104, 1904:105). Munro later reported that, despite the consistent support of the Dutch officials for the claims to Kédang of the rajas of Adonara, Kédang was a self-sufficient rajadom before its subjection to Adonara, and Bapa Riag (Abdul Musa Salam Sarabiti), who exercised great influence on the population, was still, in accordance with older custom, addressed as raja. After the conquest of Kédang by



The monument in Sagu, Adonara, to the memory of Sea Lieutenant Van den Borg

Adonara, Dolu Lolong remained for a considerable time under Lama Hala, and only became a possession of Kédang after a border dispute led Kédang to defeat and burn it. In 1913 the heads of Dolu Lolong did not want to acknowledge the supremacy of the Raja of either Kédang or Adonara, but insisted that they came under Lama Hala, whereas the Raja of Adonara insisted that they had been subject to him from of old (Munro 1915:1-2). On 8 August 1904, troops from Kédang participated in an assault by the Raja of Adonara and the Dutch on the village of Hinga in Adonara, which would seem to have been the last military activity involving Kédang. Sea Lieutenant Van den Borg was killed in this action. A statue erected to his memory by his fellow soldiers still stands at Sagu (Hagenaar 1934:113; *Kolonial Verslag* 1904:105-6, 1905:79-80; Van Eerde 1923:98-105; Arndt 1938:50).

In 1910, Beckering and a column of infantry collected weapons on Adonara and Lembata, thus consolidating Dutch control – an event known in Kédang as *papal bedil*, or 'the breaking of the rifles'. Liliweri says that many of the rifles had been bought from Binongko or Bugis traders in exchange for slaves. Powerful people would capture those of their subjects who were guilty of small offences, or even were accused of offences they did not commit, to sell into slavery in exchange for weapons and powder. This would seem to confirm Sutherland's generalization that 'Indications are that rulers in Nusa Tenggara, for example, did tend to discover a number of wrongdoers liable for punishment by enslavement around the time that the trading *perahus* were due' (Sutherland 1983:271). Beckering reported that of the around 1400 rifles he collected in Adonara, half were from Paji regions, and most of these were from the district of Adonara. Of the around 1400 rifles he collected in Lembata, 1100 were from Paji regions, in which he included Kédang (Beckering 1911:180-96).

Liliweri says that around 1927 and 1928, Bapa Riag (Abdul Musa Salam Sarabiti) appealed to a Bestuursassistent (government official) of German origin, known locally as Butur Duis (that is, Bestuur Duits, 'the German government official'), for help in requesting the Governor-General and Queen Wilhelmina to overturn Kédang's subjection to Adonara. Despite his help, this attempt eventually failed. In 1936, Abdul Musa Salam Sarabiti resigned and was replaced by his son, Abdul Musa Sarabiti, who resigned for health reasons the next year. He was replaced by his younger brother Abdul Hakim Sarabiti, who resigned at the end of 1937, because he was too young for the office. He in turn was replaced by a brother whose age was somewhere between those of the other two, Abdul Salam Sarabiti or Bapa Dia, author of the history on which much of this article is based, who lived from 1906 until 1977 and held the post between 1 January 1938 and 19 March 1954, when he stepped down. An explanation for why he was initially passed over may be provided by the fact that he married the daughter of Arakiang Kamba in

1925. A condition of this marriage was that he would remain in Sagu for the rest of his life, a stipulation which evidently was eventually waived. He was replaced on 19 March 1954 by his son, Mas Abdul Salam Sarabiti, who won the first ever election for the post in a three-cornered race, in which Liliweri was one of the candidates. The post was abolished in the 1960s and replaced with that of a government-appointed *camat* ('District Chief'). Today Kédang consists of the two *kecamatan*, Ome Suri and Buyaq Suri, there is no Raja of Adonara, and the issue of subjection to Adonara is no longer relevant.

Conclusion

None of the events described here are in any significant sense unique. The *Koloniaal Verslag* and documents in the archives are full of similar material (see also Riedel 1885). Hagenaar (1934) summarizes a good many more wars over the decades in the immediate vicinity to the west of Kédang. He writes (1934:106-7) that the whole period from the time the Dutch took over the region from the Portuguese (1851) until the twentieth century was marked by numerous local wars, slave trading, piracy, and plunder on land. As Dietrich (1983:39) remarks, colonial policy towards the 'Outer Islands' in the nineteenth century was officially one of 'non-interference', although this policy could be suspended if circumstances demanded. Lulofs writes that there was perhaps no region in the outer islands where this policy was enforced to such an extreme degree as in the Timor Residency. As Lulofs comments, under the 'non-interference policy' the archipelago remained what it was, 'a confusion of numerous small states, living with each other in periodic discord'. With non-interference the watchword, the interior of the islands remained *terrae incognitae* to the officials. Anarchy ran rampant. Due to the lack of security, the peoples of the interior lived on steep hilltops, while the immigrants living on the coast exploited and cheated the mountain people. These in turn from time to time attacked, plundered and murdered the coast dwellers in revenge (Lulofs 1911:282, 292).

In the Solor Islands, Adonara claimed Kédang as an ancient possession. Its claims seem from time to time to have been supported by the Rajas of Terong and Lama Kéra. At present, however, we have no information about the basis for Adonara's claims apart from the information provided by Arndt (1938:48). Lama Hala contested these claims and tried on more than one occasion to overthrow the Raja of Kédang, exploiting its own colony of Dolu Lolong for this purpose. Lama Hala consisted of only a single village and had no subjects in the interior of Adonara. Kédang was a fertile and tempting territory for expansion. The Dutch put their trust in the Raja of Adonara and suppressed Lama Hala, which was also in conflict with neighbouring Terong

during this period.

Whatever the basis of the Raja of Adonara's claims, they were not accepted in Kalikur. The Dutch seem never, or rarely, to have bothered to listen to the views of the Rian Baraq. On the other hand, Abdul Salam Sarabiti never mentions the Dutch, the only sign of their presence being the reference to the two gunboats which forced the final submission in 1903. This indifference may have had several causes, including the very hands-off policy itself. The Rian Baraq may have known relatively little about what the Dutch were up to. If they staunchly defended their claims to independence until finally frustrated, it is plain that in turn the Rian Baraqs' claims to the interior villages were not accepted and had to be enforced again and again by military means.

Van Lynden writes that in the mid-nineteenth century the peoples along the coasts lived entirely by trade and fishing, leaving agriculture up to the mountain dwellers. Most of the coastal dwellers were foreign conquerors, exercising limited authority over the peoples of the interior. He also remarks that Lembata was very little known (Van Lynden 1851b:321-2, 328; Barnes 1996:3). The *Koloniaal Verslag* states that conflicts between coastal and inland peoples were not rare in the Solor and Alor Islands. The mountain dwellers regarded themselves as the original inhabitants, but the coastal peoples, through their contacts with traders, were more advantaged (*Koloniaal Verslag* 1875:27; see also Riedel 1885:4-5). As has been seen, these contacts allowed them to turn to similar powers elsewhere for assistance in suppressing peoples of the interior when these people resisted attempts to subordinate them. At the same time, some of these similar powers, with whom they might be allied from time to time, posed potential threats.

We have seen that there were shared cultural patterns in forming alliances, and that these alliances were sanctioned by blood oaths and the threat of mystical retaliation. Although said to be eternal and having, as the evidence shows, some real effect, these alliances not infrequently seem to have been broken. For much of the latter half of the nineteenth century, Lama Hala in particular was at loggerheads with other members of the Solor Watan Léma.⁴² His father's alliance with the Galiau Watan Léma did not prevent Musa Sarabiti from defeating the Raja of Barnusa and forming his own alliance with the Raja's enemy, the Kapitan of Barnusa. One of the most common cultural themes in the area is the opposition between the peoples of the interior and those of the shore.⁴³ One reason for its appeal is that it fits the geography and social circumstances. But it is not just practically relevant. It

⁴² Indeed, there were numerous hostilities among members of the Solor Watan Léma from the sixteenth century on. By the same token, alliances were sometimes formed across the Demon and Paji divide (Arndt 1938:49-50).

⁴³ For related considerations, see Dietrich (1995:138).

also has a symbolic effect. The legend of the founding of Kalikur turns on it, especially as regards the image of a sea in the interior and the transfer of the seat of the rajadom to the shore. Even the story of the role of the sea creature in the interior in this transfer has parallels with legends of the founding of the rajadom of Adonara.⁴⁴ This opposition suggests symmetry, however. If there is a raja of the shore, should there not be also a raja of the mountain? Just such logic was used by the leaders of the various rebellions against the Rian Baraq. These claims might seem to recall the arrangement of dual rulers of Barus, in Sumatra (Drakard 1990), or the various forms of diarchy found in Timor (Cunningham 1965; Schulte Nordholt 1971). However, what was involved here was actually a full-scale attempt to supplant Kalikur rather than a form of complementary governance. Finally, we have seen that historical accounts often substantiate each other. In the sources surveyed here, Galiau has emerged from obscurity as an unknown place mentioned in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama to become a known location associated with an alliance of considerable significance, which in turn was allied to an alliance of similar significance and character, which, because of the nature of European involvement in the region as a whole, is much better documented. As a result, we now have a much better understanding of the local history and political process.

⁴⁴ According to legend, the ancestor of the lineage of the Raja of Adonara came to Adonara from Seran, landing on the hill named Kamiker, near Sagu. While living there, one of their number disappeared every day, being dragged away by a sea monster, which is why they accepted the invitation of the inhabitants of the village of Adonara to move there, on the condition that their leader become Raja. From there, they undertook a war of conquest over the whole of the island, which, however, took a peaceful course and led to the division of the island. Some told Beckering that Adonara had considerably expanded its power at the time of Arakiang Kamba's grandfather, Begu. It was at this time that the enclaves Lonik-Burik and Botung came into existence (Beckering 1911:171).

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