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The people of Alor and their alliances in Eastern Indonesia: a study in political sociology

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The People of Alor and Their Alliances
In Eastern Indonesia:
A Study In Political Sociology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirement for the award of the degree
M.A. (Honours)

from

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

Syarifuddin R. Gomang

Sociology Department
1993
DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated this thesis is my own work

Syarifuddin R. Gomang

July 1993
ABSTRACT

Alor is a unique community in Indonesia. While most ethnic groups in the nation are hierarchical in social structure and modes of social interaction, the Alorese see their community as more egalitarian. This ethic of egalitarianism is a product of how clans are organized, and how the division of status and power roles between them are conceptualized.

The ideology of egalitarianism is connected to the way in which the Alorese have established alliances with many other ethnic groups in Eastern Indonesia. Together their principles of social organization and alliance provide an alternative model of political organization relevant to national integration in Indonesia.
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Syarifuddin R. Gomang,

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Alor is a coastal community living in the northeastern and northwestern parts of Cape Kumbang and Kabola Bay on the Island of Alor in Eastern Indonesia. As coastal dwellers, the Alorese have had intense contact with other ethnic groups in this region, and through this have developed into a mixed community. From early times, internal community integration has been achieved by maintaining extended family affinities, while social conflicts were prevented by establishing local alliances with other ethnic groups. In many cases these outside affinities, are often stronger than internal onesa, and were developed through trade relationships and also through Islamic transformations in this region.

This study mainly focuses on the people of Alor and how they have conceived the nature of their alliances. The people of Alor are the people who call themselves Alor hire or are called by other ethnic groups on the Alor and Pantar islands orang Alor in Bahasa Indonesia (meaning “the people of Alor”). In this study the term "the Alorese" is used to indicate the people of this particular community, whereas the concept of "alliance" is understood as relationships of affinity between two or more groups or communities based on mutual interests, mutual fate and mutual concerns (Lenin, 1959; Marthin et.al, 1980; Smith, 1986 and Phillips, 1988).
A number of reasons make the position of the Alorese and their alliances in Eastern Indonesia a worthwhile focus of study. Firstly, geographically and historically, the Alorese inhabit an area that has had local conflicts over many centuries. Wars between ethnic groups and between local people and Europeans occurred intermittently. Wars between ethnic groups have mainly been over resources, such as forests, grasslands, and territorial boundaries, while wars against the Europeans were mostly over political and economic domination. To the west on Lomblen island other groups were often involved in wars with each other, as the island is small and the land limited. Further west on the other Solor Islands, ethnic conflicts combined with wars against Portuguese and Dutch domination during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To the north, Makassar was in conflict with the Dutch over domination of the spice trade with the Maluku islands (Boxer, 1967), as were the people of Ternate and Tidore. To the south on Timor, there have been many wars between tribes and with Europeans and the Topasses or "black Portuguese" - dominant mestizo families (Schulte Nordholt, 1971; Metzner, 1977). On nearby Pantar island there were also many wars between tribes. On the island of Alor itself groups such as Kui (a non-Alorese group) used to wage war with Mataru and Kelong and managed to subordinate them.

In such situations the Alorese developed a different pattern of relationships. They developed a concept of brotherhood in term of kakari (elder and younger brother) to forge links with immediately neighboring groups such as the people of Adang in the adjacent hills, and also used the concept of kakari to resolve their conflict with immediate neighbors, such as with the Belagarese on nearby Pantar island. Again on the basis of kakari the Alorese
established alliances with the Solorese, Makassarese and other people with whom they were in trading relationships.

Except for the period after the Dutch strengthened their control over Alor in the early part of this century and through a "divide and rule" policy made the Alorese wage war with Atimelang (Kelaisi) in 1918, in its long history the Alorese community seemed mostly to adjust by establishing good relationships with their immediate neighbors. Only in this very short period between 1912 and 1918 were the people of Atimelang given three different domains (*kerajaan*) by the Dutch to rule. The first was the domain of Batulolong (1912-1916), the second the domain of Kui (1917) and the third Alor in 1918. Malielehi, a woman of Atimelang who was known as a charismatic leader by her people, felt that she was considered unimportant by the Dutch and so protested the situation by asking her people to kill the *raja* of Alor Bala Nampira. In response to the murder, Alor attacked Kelaisi (Stokhof, 1984; Du Bois, 1961, p.165).

However the ideology of brotherhood (*kakari*) impelled the Alorese to become involved in many of the conflicts in order to help their allies wage war against more distant groups and against Europeans. For example, to help the people of Solor wage war against the Portuguese in 1613 and against the Dutch in 1614, and in the war between Manututu and Laklubar in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Alorese were asked to help (1). From a sociological point of view to understand this situation requires a reexamination and reconsideration of some of the basic concepts of political sociology - consensus and conflict, or integration and antagonism (Duverger, 1981).
Secondly, even though the formal alliances have lapsed with the change of government from local traditional to Dutch colonialism and then to an independent Indonesia, the idea of alliances is reproduced in Alorese rituals and narratives and thus the alliances still exist as statements about a social order which still has validity in Alorese society today. The cohesive power of alliances is still relevant in preventing and handling contemporary social conflict. In my own observation of five events of mass fighting amongst ethnic groups between the 1970s and 1990 in Kupang, the capital city of East Nusa Tenggara province, none occurred between ethnic groups which were traditionally allied. No single conflict occurred between Alorese and Solorese who were traditionally allied in what were known as Galiyao Watang Lema and Solor Watang Lema alliances. In addition no conflict occurred between the Ti people of Roti, Savunese and Belunese who were allied in what is known as Ti Mau, Sabu Mau and Belu Mau. More interesting is that groups from Alor Island which are mostly Protestant fought against people from Sumba who are also Protestant but not against the mainly Catholic Solorese. In most cases the situation was exacerbated by people who simply involved themselves in the conflict because they saw that one of the parties in a dispute was historically allied with them. In contrast, people already in conflict who have been reminded that they are in relationships of alliance, have immediately stopped fighting and in many cases have embraced one other and wept in contrition. My previous study (Gomang, 1983) concerning social distance amongst ethnic groups in East Nusa Tenggara Province, also indicated that ethnic groups which were historically allied are close to each other (indicated by scores on a social distance scale) and vice versa. For example Rotinese and Sabunese are close to each other but distant from Solorese, whereas Alorese and Solorese are close to each other but distant from Sumbanese.
Thirdly for a multiethnic society such as Indonesia, studying such alliances is necessary because it contributes to bringing examples of cohesive social values to the surface, which may be used to strengthened national integration. Cohesive forces are vital both to ensure the continued existence of the nation state as one political unit and to provide the political stability that can help economic development to take place. Without some measure of integration, both the human and material resources will instead be diverted toward coping with the centrifugal forces of regional disaffection or rebellion which Indonesia has experienced since independence (Drake, 1989 p.2). This study is carried out in the light of this national preoccupation.

1.2 Previous Studies

So far no specific study concerning traditional alliances between different ethnic groups in Indonesia, especially in Eastern Indonesia, has been carried out. Most anthropological studies about alliances have focussed only on marriage relationships within one ethnic group. Forth (1982, pp 282-295) for example, discussed the alliance that resulted from marriage relationships in the Rindi community in Eastern Sumba. Barnes (1973) did the same for the Alor and Barnusa communities. In the *The Flow of Life* (Fox, 1980), Fox, Barnes and Forman discussed such alliances for the Roti, Kedang and Makassae communities respectively. Political alliances are only mentioned in passing by Schulte Nordholt (1971, p.171), when he described cooperation between the Dutch and rulers in Timor against the Portuguese and Topasses (Black Portuguese) in the seventeenth century. Fox (1977) mentioned the collaboration between the Topasses and the ruler of Melolo in Sumba, the collaboration between rulers in Timor and the Dutch and the alliance between the Dutch and the Solorese, Rotinese and Savunese against the Portuguese and Topasses.
A study concerning the forms of alliances, the basic ideas and norms of their foundation, the rights and obligations of allied parties and their social and political impacts has never been undertaken. From the point of view of political sociology such a study might help to explain how a political community is created and maintained and how its conflicts are expressed and resolved.

In this study the Alorese have been selected because they have broad social and political relationships with many different ethnic groups in Eastern Indonesia. According to oral histories and traditional poems, the Alorese allied with the Muslim Ternateans, Makassarese and Solorese to wage wars against the Portuguese, the Dutch and Topasses, and also allied with the Christian Timorese to wage war against other local ethnic groups. Alorese discourse about alliance included other groups who were incorporated into larger alliance clusters which extended over larger parts of Eastern Indonesia.

As a result of these broad relationships, the Alorese were anti-colonialist during the Dutch period. Of the seventeen independence struggle pioneer heroes (*tokoh perintis kemerdekaan*) recognized by the national government for the whole of East Nusa Tenggara Province, six - Umar Bara, Lensu Nae Kamahi, Haji Abdul Syukur, Haji Dasing, Samiun Boli and Muhammad Thahir - were from Alor. They were regional leaders of the *Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia* (Indonesia Islamic Association Party), the largest political party in the 1920s-1930s with its base in Java. These six leaders were often sent to jail because of their opposition to Dutch colonial government. Given the fact that Alor is located far from Java, which was the center of the struggle against the Dutch, the lack of communication, and the strict control of the Dutch over Timor and its surrounding area at the time, in that this area was
a place for political exile, the survival of political action against the Dutch in the Alor community was interesting and calls for explanation.

1.3. Theoretical Perspective

This study adopts an inter-disciplinary approach based on political sociology, using a variety of intellectual traditions. One approach is to use historical materials to formulate a model of the process of nation building. Many excellent studies have applied historical materials to explain current situations or political life, such as Marx's second volume of Das Kapital, the corpus of Weber's sociological studies, Mosca's wide ranging volume on elites and Lipset's study of the nation building process in the United States (Dowse and Hughes, 1975 p.10; see also Rush and Althoff, 1971 p.10).

In the process of nation building, the main focus is on building a collective consciousness as the basis of social order. The concept of social order is one of the central concerns of political sociology (Eisenstad, 1971, p.21), and may be defined as "the process whereby the interactions of members of social groups become patterned, that is to say the interactions are relatively stable over time and the form they take from time to time is relatively predictable" (Dowse and Hughes, 1975 p. 16). In Parsons' terminology, this condition is known as a state of equilibrium (Parsons, 1964).

The leading theories in sociology mostly focus on these stable and predictable interaction patterns. Coercion or force theory for example, with its basic assumption of human beings as power seeking individuals, has stated that it is by force that social order can be established. Machiavelli and Hobbes are founding fathers of this school. Although Marx is included as a leading figure in this theory, he has a different outlook. Unlike Machiavelli and Hobbes, who emphasized human nature in formulating this theory, Marx
oriented his idea around human behavior as reacting to inherited circumstances. According to Marx, community is characterized by "constant conflict between capitalists and proletariat. The proletariat attempted to drive the most favorable wage bargain while capitalists sought to depress wages to maximize their profit margins" (Reynolds, 1991, p. 120). Marx argued that social order came to exist by using the "judicial system to enforce legislation through the rule of law and used the coercive mechanism of the state with recourse to fines, imprisonment and execution" (ibid). According to coercion theory, "order exists in society largely as a result of the employment or threat of employment of the power that some men possess and can use to command compliance. Men do what is expected of them because if they fail to comply they may be threatened with some sort of physical punishment, deprivation or sanction. Men obey because failure to do so may result in punishment; in this view the basis of social order is force" (Dowse and Hughes, 1975 p. 20).

The limitation of this theory is that it fails to explain the ordered nature of pre-industrial societies in which "there is no centralization of authority, no specialized and differentiated administrative machinery and no central monopoly of power" (Dowse and Hughes 1975 p. 25). The coherence of such a society "may be seen as the result of a balance of opposed local loyalties, and of divergent lineage and ritual ties" (ibid). Dowse and Hughes quote from Nadel's study of the Nupe community in central Nigeria which indicated that, "the unity of people is based upon a store of tradition referring to a common origin, to certain characteristic forms of social structure, to religious beliefs, to a number of seasonal rituals which give to their life's cycle its inner hold, its deeper meaning and its sacred anchorage in the supernatural" (ibid). Commenting on this finding, in opposition to the coercion theory,
Dowse and Hughes argue that "such societies appear to hold together and to have structure, not because of a centralized monopoly of coercion but due to some sort of common religion and mythology, together with marriage outside the immediate kin groups which may be used as a conflict inhibitor" (ibid). Regarding the problem of obedience as another limitation of coercion theory, Dowse and Hughes argue that people obey some laws not simply because the consequence of failure to obey is punishment but also because positive benefits are derived from obedience, for example in traffic safety (ibid).

Although Marx himself was a leading figure in coercion theory, he envisaged an ideal community which was not based on a centralized monopoly of power by the state, similar to Dowse and Hughes' criticism of coercion theory. He argued that "once the stage of proletarian development had been achieved, the state apparatus with its bureaucratic structures and complex procedures, could be done away with and the social order would be transformed into a classless society with its own procedures for self management. With the attainment of this ideal society, there would be no need for either a ruling class or mediating state. Such a society would then govern itself according to practical manifestations of need, with those who possessed freely distributing to those who lacked, and where the output from the means of production, distribution and exchange would be freely available to all" (Reynolds, 1991, p.124).

However the criticisms of coercion theory are still limited. It is true that not all communities are controlled through a centralized monopoly of power but it does not mean that power is equally held. There should be some individuals or groups more dominant than others, and in many cases those dominant individuals or groups have the means to control and maintain the
socially cohesive and ritual ties of different communities. Dumont's (1972) basic argument is that hierarchy is a universal condition. The same idea was developed by Pareto and Mosca who stated that the rule of elites is a universal, unvarying, and unalterable fact of social life. They argue that although historical change can influence the composition of elites and changes in the relation between rulers and ruled could occur under the influence of various social forces, the elites will always exist to represent different interests in society (Bottomore, 1979 p.11).

Value consensus theory, with its emphasis on social order, attempts to explain social order by referring to a general commitment to common values. According to this theory "values and norms of society give it its characteristic culture and structure and are the necessary ingredients of social order and cohesion" (Dowse and Hughes, 1975 p.40). Dowse and Hughes indicate two limitations of this theory. The first is that it has difficulty in observing behavior in relation to value systems. According to them behavior is a state of mind while value is an action of some sort. They argue that it is difficult to measure value consensus to some extent because individuals may act differently. Such a difficulty according to them, "has caused some psychologists to drop the concept of mind altogether from their intellectual apparatus and concentrate purely upon a stimulus-response model of behavior" (ibid p.41).

Parsons' concept of behavior in regard to social order is collective behavior, not individual behavior (Parsons 1964). Value consensus can be seen from the action of a collectivity of actors who show the same pattern of behavior in a given situation. In other words in a given situation we can predict a collectivity of actors, performing the same pattern of action, and this by definition is social order. Individuals who hold different values may act
differently but it can still be predicted that other individuals who hold the same values will act in the same way. In a given situation an individual who holds the same value as a collectivity may react differently, but this is what psychologists and sociologists call deviant behavior. While it is true that a large community with differing values will display contradictory behavior of actors, which according to Dowse and Hughes, makes value consensus difficult to measure, this is what Parsons termed the contradiction between action and order (see Munch, 1987).

The second limitation of value consensus theory, according to Dowse and Hughes is that it has difficulty in explaining "how any particular system of values and norms was adopted in any particular society" (Dowse and Hughes, 1975 p.40). Although this study is not designed to test this theory, data from my fieldwork allows me to discuss this in more detail in Chapter Four.

There are some other theories concerning social order such as interest theory, exchange theory and system theory, each with its own strengths and limitations. However they are not discussed in this study.

This study is not based on a specific theory. One of the reasons is that no theory provides a complete explanation of social phenomena. Almost all the leading theories in sociology are now being criticized due to their limitations. Parsons' theory of functionalism was pronounced dead in the 1970s (Munch, 1987 p.116) and structuralism and post-structuralism have also been criticized as "a dead tradition of thought" by Giddens (1987, p. 73). Meanwhile Giddens' own theory of structuration, and his willingness to apply this theory to the development of social theories in different national traditions is now being sharply criticized as well. John Urry from the United Kingdom, stated that
Giddens' formulations of structuration "are highly frustrating in the sense that they index some important issues but do not provide the basis for developing a really worked out position" (Bryant and Jary, 1991 p.160). Whereas for French social theory, after assessing Giddens' critique of functionalism, structuralism and post-structuralism as well as Giddens' structuration theory itself, Roy Boyne concludes that "Giddens' theory of structuration is unacceptable" (ibid p.53). For Boyne, Giddens' critique of those theories is "the systematic misrepresentation of contemporary French social theory" (ibid, p.52). It is true that some of those leading theories are being revived in the form of neo-functionalism, neo-structuralism and so on, but such theories are mostly focused on Western societies.

The other reason for avoiding being tied to a single sociological theory is that every society has its own unique characteristic, and no theory satisfactorily covers all of these. What this study aims to achieve is to record the social order of the Alorese community, in terms of the life of the Alorese and the impact of their stable interaction with their allies. This study adopts an empirically grounded approach. Thus, the analysis is mostly a qualitative interpretation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

A grounded approach suggests that research is started without being tied to a single formal theory. Instead it aims at reviewing a theory and justifying it, and if possible refuting or reformulating the available formal theories, or even formulating a new formal theory at the end of the process, depending on the data collected (ibid, pp. 33-35). Therefore this study is not designed to test a single formal theory at the beginning. The discussion of theoretical perspectives in this study aims to make clear two aspects. The first, to show that this study is carried out with a special focus on social order as one of its
main concerns. The second is to show that no sociological theory satisfactorily explains the social phenomena of a particular community.

The theoretical concepts of this study will be presented after discussing ethnographic material on the Alorese community and their alliances. Concepts are derived from the data collected on the Alorese ideology of brotherhood and the issue of Indonesian national integration. Thus theory and the elaboration of main concepts will be presented together in Chapter Four as the consequence of adopting a grounded approach.

1.4. The objective of the study

The objective of this study is to discuss Alorese self-perceptions in the context of their social conditions, about their stable social, political and economic interaction with their allies in Eastern Indonesia, especially with the Galiyao watang lema, Solor watang lema, the people of Makassar and Ternate, and the Manututu, Atauru and Matoain in East Timor. Since this study covers almost the whole region of Eastern Indonesia and a comprehensive study was limited by time, it focuses mainly on the Alorese community. Fieldwork was only carried out in Alor and the stories about their relationships with their allies are mainly based on Alorese sources. This study can therefore only lay a basis for further research on eastern Indonesian communities, and can only be a study of how the Alorese perceive other ethnic groups in their alliances. Thus the research question that needs to be answered is how do the Alorese perceive themselves and their allies, and why?
1.5. Methodology

This thesis is based on both library and field research. Field research was conducted in the Alorese community, especially in the three main villages of Alor Besar, Alor Kecil and Dulolong from August to November 1992. Besides direct observation of the social and economic life of the Alorese, I have also carried out interviews with a number of traditional leaders concerning the history of the Alorese community and its alliances. Since the Alorese community was heavily involved in political actions against the Dutch through the Islamic Party in the pre-independence period and these actions were related to its alliances, I have also interviewed a number of the party committee members about the emergence and the development of political parties in this community.

In the interviews five versions of oral histories were collected. Three versions from the three main villages, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil and Dulolong, and the other two are the Belagarese and Pandai versions which were collected in the confirmation stage of my fieldwork. Although there are slight differences between the oral histories, generally they are the same. All the versions mention the same names of leading figures and places of events. This is because some of the oral histories have become public narratives known by all groups in Alor, Belagar and Pandai. The differences come in terms of the positions and roles of the three main Alorese villages in their alliances, the process of power shifting from Alor Besar to Dulolong, and the positions of dominant groups in the community. Two steps have been taken to address these issues. The first was to conduct general interviews with all traditional leaders and the second was to ask confirmation of what had been told. In the confirmation stage three steps were taken: (i) seeking explanations from traditional leaders about the
differences that had arisen; (ii) seeking comparative information from traditional leaders of two nearby groups (Belagar and Pandai) who have a close knowledge of the Alor community, its history and its alliances; and (iii) comparing the oral histories with traditional poems which are always sung in traditional mass dance (beku). The position of traditional poems is very important as the Alorese source of history because all important events were recorded through these poems. All informants agreed that an event in an oral history is not valid if it is not supported by a traditional poem. The traditional poems are not in the Alorese daily spoken language but are understood by members of Alorese society, so that every trained native speaker is able to assess whether a traditional poem is authentic. In this study all differing information which could not be confirmed through these three steps was considered and if it had no relation with any other event, was left aside.

An example of a traditional poem which raised controversy amongst the Alorese and how the controversy was resolved may help to clarify the process involved.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Galiyao Solor watang lema} \\
\text{Being Baorae} \\
\text{Being Baorae no naing homang} \\
\text{Teleng no naing homang}
\end{align*}
\]

Amongst the five coastal domains in Galiyao and Solor
The ruler of Baorae
The ruler of Baorae gave protection
Built houses to protect

The original form of this poem referred to being Bunga Bali, not being Baorae. The word being originally meant "the position of the first son" or the highest status. For the traditional leaders of Alor Besar, Dulolong and Belagar, if Baorae also had a being it means in the Galiyao land there were six
coastal domains (kerajaan). In fact all versions of oral histories indicate that there were only five, Alor (Bunga Bali), Belagar, Kui, Pandai and Barnusa. Baorae was the bendar or harbour of Bunga Bali. People say Galiyao watang lema (five coastal domains) not Galiyao watang namung (six coastal domains), but how then did it become being Baorae?

According to oral history this poem refers to the exchange of Atauru island of East Timor with the Kui, Kolana and Mademang on Alor island under the application of the Lisbon agreement in 1859 (Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, 1992) between the Dutch and the Portuguese. According to this agreement the territory in Timor and its surrounding area, which were inhabited mostly by Roman Catholics, should belong to the Portuguese, whilst the areas of mostly Protestant settlement should belong to the Dutch. Atauru island was mostly inhabited by Catholics so according to the agreement should be transferred to the Portuguese, but some of the people of Atauru did not want to be ruled by the Portuguese. Meetings were held in Sagu in the 1860s between Portuguese and Dutch leaders and attended by the five rulers of Galiyao and the five rulers of Solor. The main question was how and where to move the people of Atauru. All the rulers were asked but no one answered except the ruler of Alor, Baololong Kae (Baololong II). The poem was created to mark this event, stating that Baololong Kae of Bunga Bali gave protection and built houses to settle the people of Atauru. Therefore the poem in its original form referred to being Bunga Bali. When this story was put to traditional leaders in Alor Kecil they answered that it was true that Baololong Kae accepted the people of Atauru in his position as a ruler, but the implementation was done by the people of Alor Kecil under Anakoda of Baorae. Anakoda was a sea captain (juragan) who led boats from Alor Kecil to transport people from Atauru to Alor and
1. Raja Bao Lolong Kae of Alor

2. Raja Marzuki Bala Nampira of Alor who was killed by the people of Atimelang
settled them in Alor Kecil. They are now known as clan Baorae Atas, a subgroup of Baorae. Almost all the contradictory information based on oral history in this study is resolved through this method and through subsequent comparison with available written sources.

Except for Barnes' (1973) work on marriage alliance, no available written materials directly concern the Alorese community. However they provided good basic information for this study. The report of Van Lynden, Resident of Timor in 1851 provided information about local rulers and the activities of the people on Alor and Pantar islands. Du Bois' (1960) work on the inland people of Alor (Atimelang) and Stokhof’s (1984) works on the language of Abui (Alor) provided information about war between the Alorese and Atimelanggers in 1918. Barnes' (1987) and Abdurrachman’s (1982) works about the war between the Dutch and Portuguese in Solor in some cases have similarities with the oral history of the Alorese. For example relationships with Sultan Baabullah of Ternate and Sengaji of Solor and the name of van der Valde are also mentioned in the Alorese oral histories. The Alorese oral histories also mention events involving the leading figures, da Costa and de Ornay, as mentioned in the work of Fox (1982), which recounted the war between the Dutch and Topasses in Kupang in 1749, and between the Portuguese and the Topasses in East Timor in the 1750s. The history of the Alorese and their alliances presented in this study is a combination of oral histories tested through three stages of confirmation (as mentioned earlier) and the available written materials.

One thing that very much interested me from the oral history is that the names of da Costa and de Ornay (2) were mentioned in the oral histories collected from illiterate traditional leaders. So was the name of tuan Palde (van der Valde) who led the war in Solor in 1614 (see Barnes, 1987 p.227). The
names of da Costa and de Ornay are mentioned in oral histories because they were murdered in Timor at the time when Alor sent representatives to Timor to ask help from Matoain (East Timor) to wage war against the Belagarese. The name of van der Valde might have been mentioned because this was the first time white men's heads were cut and taken to Alor to be buried in a sacred slaughter place (dolu) in front of the raja's Palace in Alor Besar. The war in Timor and Solor happened 200-300 years ago and even formally educated people in Alor do not know the names of da Costa, de Ornay and van Valde, showing how important the oral histories are for the people of Alor. Mentioning such historical actors helped me very much because by combining it with written materials, the Alorese history is constructed.

Since this study is based mostly on oral history and traditional poems it is important to clarify their position in the Alor community. Oral history and traditional poems are passed from one generation to another. Every Alorese is reminded that they must tell the history truly. In the Alorese adat words: tutu sejara ha molo -molo ki, laheka mo mangger date, ("the history must be told truly, if you manipulate it, you will soon die"). One can also imitate or create a traditional poem but every traditional poem will be sung in a mass dance around a dolu (a place of ritual slaughter) so that even though an Alorese can imitate a traditional poem he would not do so because he is afraid of mangger date (dying soon). This belief makes an Alorese think four times before manipulating an oral history or changing a traditional poem. An example given to me by the traditional leaders in Alor Besar is the death of a traditional leader from Alor Kecil. In a party in Alor Besar, as usual, traditional leaders were gathered together to tell history. When telling about the Watang Lema
3. Haji Beng Duru an informant of Alor: *Mo tutu sejara ha molo-molo ki laheka mo mangger date* (If you tell history you must tell the truth if you don't you will die soon)
alliance, the traditional leader from Alor Kecil kept maintaining that the traditional poem which referred to being Baorae was original. He was reminded not to say that but he resisted. One week after the party he died. Then people believed that his death came because he did not tell history truly. In this way the authenticity of the Alorese oral histories and traditional poems is controlled and maintained.

My own ability to speak the Alor, Pandai, Barnusa and Belagar languages fluently allowed me to fully understand the oral histories, traditional poems and the adat (traditional) phrases in those languages and have enabled me to carry out fieldwork easily. In my work as a lecturer at the Nusa Cendana University in Kupang, I have supervised several student theses on Alor, which have also enriched my knowledge of the Alor community. This is to acknowledge that what is presented in this study is not only limited to the data I have collected during my four months' fieldwork but also beyond that. I was born in Alor and brought up in the Belagar and Alor traditions. My father was a Belagarese and my mother was an Alorese. Thus, some of the data presented in this study is based on my own direct experience. This study is a kind of fully participant observation. However I should also acknowledge that my meager knowledge of Dutch written materials made it difficult to exploit those sources fully, placing a limitation on this study.

1.6. General Preview of the Study

The rest of this thesis develops from the ideas discussed above. Chapter Two describes the Alorese community, its early history, geographical situation, and social, economic and political life. The discussion of these topics is oriented around such questions as, who are the Alorese, how are they
socially and economically characterized, and what is the nature of their political structure and life?

The alliances of the Alor community which are discussed in Chapter Three include alliances with local domains (*kerajaan*) of Alor and Pantar, the *Galiyao Watang Lema* (five coastal domains in Alor and Pantar), the alliances between the five coastal domains and the *Solor Watang Lema* (five coastal domains in Solor), and the alliances between the Alorese and Makassarese, Ternateans and East Timorese. The impacts of these alliances on social, economic and political life of the Alorese is then discussed.

The criteria which are used to decide whether an ethnic group is in an alliance with the Alorese are: historical contact in terms of political and economic cooperation; and the existence of a sense of affinity indicated by the fact that the "outsider" ethnic group could accept Alorese tradition and therefore could integrate as a part of the Alorese community. These criteria are used because it is clear from the oral stories that the presence of Solorese, Makassarese, Ternateans and Timorese in the Alorese community came about as a result of alliances. They assimilated with local people but their assimilation (mutual adoption of each other's social norms and values) came about as a result of alliances involving long contact between them based on a sense of affinity, mutual interest, mutual fate and mutual concern (see those elements of an alliance in Lenin, 1959; Marthin et al, 1980; Forth, 1982; Smith, 1986; Phillips, 1988). Under such criteria, even though the people of Buton (Binongko), who are mentioned occasionally in this study, have had long contact with the Alorese especially in sailing activities, and even though they have settled in Alor for almost a hundred years, they are not included within the Alorese alliance. Unlike the people of Solor, Makassar, Ternate and Timor (Manututu and Atauro, Matoain) who came to Alor and integrated
themselves totally into Alorese community, and speak Alorese as their first language, the people of Binongko, though surrounded by Alorese kampongs, still speak Binongko as their mother tongue, indicating that they have no, or less, sense of affinity with the Alorese. Their position in the Alor community is the same as that of the Chinese who still keep their exclusiveness in Kalabahi, the capital city of the Kabupaten (Regency) of Alor.

Chapter Four begins with an analysis of the concept "alliance". Since this study concerns local alliances, the concept is analyzed in the light of western sociological writing, followed by an analysis of the Alorese ideology of kakari. This chapter finishes with an analysis of the Alorese integration model in terms of a theoretical perspective and its connection with issues of Indonesian national integration. Chapter Five will end this study with a discussion of conclusions.
Notes

1) Based on oral history, the years are inferred from the events recounted by Barnes, (1987), Abdurahman (1981), and Fox (1982).

2) There were several people with the names da Costa and de Ornay, but they were probably Antonio da Costa and Francisco de Ornay - the leaders of Topasses who led the war against the Portuguese and the Dutch and their allies in Timor in the second part of the eighteenth century (see Fox, 1982 p.30). According to oral history they were killed in Oekusi, Timor by Kita Batar of Belagar who was sent there in the era of raja Panggo Amang of Alor.
CHAPTER TWO

THE ALORESE COMMUNITY

This chapter begins with a look at the early history and structure of the Alorese community. It then looks at geography in order to demonstrate how the Alorese who live in a very tiny coastal area which does not enable them to rely wholly on agriculture, can survive. These conditions create specific characteristics in the economic, social and political life of the Alorese. Due to the limitation of their environment they developed their economy through fishing, sailing and trading, and thereby established their characteristic social institution of eneng or tniru (both meaning "friend" but more in the sense of family member) and alliances, made possible by the openness and friendliness of Alorese with both their immediate neighbors and outsiders. Their willingness to accept outsiders made the Alorese a mixed community, and led them to develop their traditional political structure based on brotherhood or the principle of equality before the arrival of the Portuguese and the Dutch.

2.1. Early History and Structure

There is no information about when the Alorese community started. The existing oral histories mostly refer to the era of Majapahit. The first written information from which we can infer the existing of the Alorese community is the book of Mpu Prapanca, Negarakertagama, written in 1365, in which Alor and Pantar islands were mentioned as Galiyao. In the Alorese traditional poems the islands were also mentioned as Galiyao. Tana keti tana Galiyao, lewo keti lewo Bunga Bali, watang keti watang Baore (The island is called Galiyao, the home village is Bunga Bali or Alor Besar and the harbour is Baorae or Alor Kecil). Oral histories also tell that most of the
Map 2: Traditional Domains (Kerajaan) Mentioned in the Alorese Traditional Poems and Oral History

Area inhabited by the Alorese

1. Alor
2. Kui
3. Pandai
4. Belagar
5. Barnusa
6. Kelong
7. Mataru
8. Batulolon
9. Tanglapui
10. Kolana/Taruamang
Alorese ancestors in the three main villages, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil and Dulolong were people who came from outside.

Before the Alor community developed there had been local people living there. On Alor and Pantar islands there have been many ethnic groups each with its own language and rulers. Stokhof (1984) noted thirteen different language groups. From those thirteen language groups only the Alorese group (Alor, Pandai and Bamusa) is Austronesian while all the others are non-Austronesian (Stokhof, 1984 p.108). All the groups had their own ruler but five domains (kerajaan) were dominant. They were Alor, Pandai, Bamusa, Kui and Belagar, known locally as Galiyao Watang Lema (the five coastal domains of the Galiyao islands). The rulers (raja) of these five domains claimed that they had the same ancestors, that is prince Mau Wolang or Mau Jawa from Majapahit. According to oral history prince Mau Wolang had five sons: Tulimau Wolang, ruler of Alor; Lata Mau Wolang, ruler of Pandai; Bara Mau Wolang, ruler of Bamusa; El Mau Wolang, ruler of Belagar and Lau Mau Wolang, ruler of Kui (1).

Whether to maintain the balance of power amongst the five coastal domains or for some other reason, oral history does not mention who was the first son and who was the last son (who are always referred to as having higher and lower status), because their birth was recorded in myth. It is said that their mother was originally an eagle (kela) and so they were not born directly, but in the form of eggs and then hatched at the same time to become human babies. They acknowledged that they were brothers but they did not know who was the elder and who was the younger. Clearly the story lays the basis for equal status amongst the five coastal domains. Also from this story we can understand the Alorese concept of brotherhood, kakari or kakang-aring, and in Bahasa Indonesia kakak-adik (elder and younger
brother). For the Alorese *kakari* does not refer to higher and lower status. A younger Alorese will address an older Belagarese as *kakak* and a younger Belagarese will likewise address an older Alorese as *kakak*. If an Alorese says *kame lallang kakari* (our clans are brothers) it does not mean that there is an older brother clan (higher) and a younger brother clan (lower) but refers to the way people address each other. The younger addresses the older as *kakang* and the older says *aring* to the younger according to age. That is to say, *kakari* is the Alorese ideology of brotherhood which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Tulimau Wolang settled in Alor Besar after defeating the local ruler Bunga Bara, and his clan was named after this local ruler and later became Bunga Bali. Tulimau Wolang then married local women and his descendants described themselves as local people and the ones who become rulers, were designated as being *ulu anang* (the ruler, son of inland people). Lallang Kisu is a mixed clan, some from Ternate and some from Belagar, but since they were treated as the younger brother of Tulimau, their clan was called Lallang Kisu meaning clan of the last son. The Apukulung are also a mixed clan whose ancestors were from Pura, Belagar, and Adang. Their clan was named Apukulung (chalk clump) because most of them made chalk which they bartered for corn and cassava from inland people.

In Alor Kecil there are five clans. The Baorae is a mixture of locals and outsiders. Some came from Bone (South Sulawesi), some from Makassar and Timor, and the Lekaduli from Munaseli (on Pantar), while Manglolong and Gelai describe themselves as local people. Baorae is the name of a tree (banyan tree) under which Saku Bala Duli (the founder of the clan) always sat and made fish nets. Thus his clan was named Baorae. Lekaduli is an original clan from Munaseli who fled to Alor because an earthquake
destroyed their home in the late sixteenth century. Manglolong, Geilae and Modiluong are local people whose clans are named after the places where they are now settled.

In Dulolong, Uma Kakang, Uma Tukang, Uma Dopu and Kapitang claimed the same ancestor as the Baorae of Alor Kecil. The Lekaduli of Dulolong also claimed the same ancestor as the Lekaduli of Alor Kecil. The Lamaholo are a mixed clan whose ancestors came from many places in Solor, such as Lamaholo, Lamakera, Mananga and Lewohayong, while the Wolba see themselves as local people. According to oral history, supported by traditional poems, the first Buginese who settled in Alor was named Saku Bala Duli who married a local women named Bui Muna. From this marriage he had four sons, Kaing Saku, Amung Saku, Husen Saku and Orang Saku. The first son, Kaing Saku, married Bitabasi, a daughter of the ruler of Manututu of East Timor and they had two sons, Johor Manututu and Nae Saku Manututu. The descendants of Saku Bala Duli in Alor Kecil formed a clan called Baorae. Whereas Nae Saku Manututu after marrying Motuku, a woman of a local clan, (Modiluong), moved out from Alor Kecil and opened a new settlement later known as Dulolong. From his marriage he got four sons (Ka Nae, Romang Nae, Kadawu Nae and Dopu Nae) and their descendants are the four main clans in Dulolong.

The presence of Solorese who formed the Lamaholo clan can be traced from two factors, first through the Islamic transformation of the region and second through a political constellation by the establishment of relationships between *Solor Watang Lema* and the *Galiyao Watang Lema*. According to oral history, after Nae Saku and some people of Alor Kecil moved to Dulolong they needed a *jou* (Islamic teacher) to lead them in prayers and Islamic teaching. They asked for a *jou* in Alor Kecil but the
existing jou and traditional leaders there did not want them to be a separate jamaah (group of followers) from Alor Kecil. They went to Solor to ask for a jou but they did not get one there either. Then on their way home they kidnapped a jou who was the imam (leader) of the mosque of Lamaholo named Bapa Dasing. After the arrival of Bapa Dasing many people from Solor who traded regularly with Alor came and settled there. Bapa Dasing then married a local woman of the clan of Uma Dopu and together with the other Solorese who came to Alor due to the war between Portuguese and Watang Lema alliances, formed a clan which is known as the clan of Lamaholo.

2.2. Geography

The Alorese community is located in an area of contrasts. Its outer part is Tanjung Kumbang (Cape Kumbang) which is always struck by high waves and strong currents, while its inner part is Dulionong or Kabola Bay which has very calm water.

The islands of East Nusa Tenggara province are less fertile and have less rainfall. Alor is one of better parts in this province in that it is relatively fertile and has more than 1000 mm of rain annually. However the Alorese inhabit only a very tiny part of the island. On the adjacent hills there are Adang and Hulnani people, and to the east there are the Welai, a sub-group of the people of Abui. The kampong (villages) inhabited by the Alorese are Kadelang, Wetabua, Moepali, Tameaming, Dulolong, Alor Kecil, Alor Besar (Bunga Bali) and Sebanjar, all located along the coast. However there are some hamlets of Adang people, located in between the Alorese villages. These include Kenarilang, Wukabeng Papajahi, Lewalu and Lewolang.

The Alorese live in a limited area which has not allowed them to develop
Map 3: Alor, Pantar and nearby small islands

Important Places mentioned in the texts
1. Kalabahi
2. Dulolong
3. Alor Kecil
4. Alor Besar
5. Hulnanl
6. Oa/Adang
7. Welai
8. Serani Watang
9. Kelaisi
10. Kolana
11. Pandal
12. Kabir
13. Barmusa
14. Kolijahl
15. Munasel
their agriculture like the other groups on this island. On the narrow land that can be cultivated, some has been planted with coconuts, mangoes, bananas and other hardy plants whilst the rest of the land is covered by scrub which is slashed and burnt to grow corn, cassava and sometimes rice. Agricultural production is not sufficient for daily needs. Cut scrub is the only source of fuel for cooking. Such conditions have forced the people of Alor to choose other economic activities such as sailing, fishing and trading.

2.3. Demography

It is difficult to know the exact number of Alorese. Firstly because statistical data of Kabupaten Alor did not list population according to ethnic group. Secondly many Alorese have moved out from Alorese kampongs and live mixed with other ethnic groups in the Kalabahi area, and thirdly because of out-migration without reporting to village heads. The following is rough data taken from a statistical book provided by the statistical office of Kabupaten Alor, and the report of village heads in whose areas the Alorese live together. Table 1 provides the population of Kecamatan Alor Barat Laut, which includes three main villages of Alorese, and Table 2 provides the distribution of Alorese in three main villages and in another kampong where the Alorese live segregated.
Table 1
The population of Kecamatan Induk Alor Barat Laut
classified by age and sex, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adult</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6,686</td>
<td>5,845</td>
<td>12,531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8,603</td>
<td>5,329</td>
<td>13,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15,829</td>
<td>11,174</td>
<td>26,463</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kantor Statistik Kabupaten Alor, 1991 p. 21

Table 2
The distribution of the Alorese in three main villages and in another kampong, classified by age and sex, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kampung</th>
<th>Adult</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alor Besar (including Ternate and Pulau Buaya)</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,725</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alor Kecil</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,379</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulolong</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tameaming</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>157</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moepali</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>271</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wetabua</td>
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<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>340</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kedelang</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,291</td>
<td>1,783</td>
<td>1,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5,396</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Taken from 1991 Reports of three main Alorese village heads and the others whose areas included Alorese Kampong
The figures in both tables show that adult female numbers are higher than adult male numbers while female children are fewer than male children, indicating a strong trend of male out-migration as the population ages, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

It is also difficult to physically distinguish the people of Alor from those of other ethnic groups in the area. In fact the Alorese are the result of an assimilation process of many ethnic groups. Mendez Correa in 1955 described Timor and its surrounding islands as a melting pot of many ethnic groups (cited in Schulte Nordholt 1971 p.22-23).

The clearest criterion which can be used to identify the people of Alor is whether they speak the Alorese language (tutu Alurung) as their first language. Although the Alorese language is similar to those of Barnusa and Pandai on Pantar island the dialect amongst them is sufficiently different to be able to identify Alorese as separate (Stokhof, 1984). Stokhof's classification which groups these (Alor, Pandai and Barnusa) languages together as the Alor language is not mistaken from a linguistic perspective but from a sociological perspective, it is imprecise because it denies the mutually exclusive nature of these ethnic groups. The people of Pandai and Barnusa never say that they speak Alorese as their first language. A better grouping that would be acceptable to all groups is the name given by their neighbours, the Belagarese. The people of Belagar call the language spoken by the people of Barnusa, Pandai and Alor, senaing. Although the Belagarese have a different language they acknowledge senaing as a lingua franca in this specific area. Many traditional Belagarese poems which are always sung in a traditional mass dance performed for a marriage or the erection of a traditional house are in senaing. One of my informants also said that the origin of the Alorese language is from Munaseli. This information supports
the Belagarese term of *senaing* because *senaing* is the name of several groups of people who are remnants of the population of the Munaseli domain (destroyed by earthquake in about the sixteenth century [2]) who now live in Helangdohi, Hirangbako, Latawutung, Tuandolu, Belangtobi, Kabaku and Dekipira.

Besides its similarity with Pandai and Barnusa, the Alorese language also has a basic similarity to Lamaholot in Solor, Sikka in Flores, and Tetun in East Timor. Of the thirteen languages spoken by the people on Alor and Pantar Islands only Alorese is included in the Austronesian group, the same group with Lamaholot, Sikka and Tetun (Stokhof, 1984 p.107). This similarity enables the people of Alor to communicate with those people.

On Alor and Pantar islands, the Alorese are called *orang Alor* in Bahasa Indonesia, *Alor hire* by the people of Barnusa and Pandai, *Alur hinu* by the people of Adang, *Alor nong* by the people of Belagar, and *ging Alor* by the people of Kelong. Based on these facts the title used by Du Bois (1960) for her book *The People of Alor* was imprecise, because the name denied the ethnic and cultural diversities in this area. She studied the people of Atimelang, an 'ideal closed community' in the interior of Alor, not those people designated as 'Alor' by local groups. Locally even the people of Atimelang themselves never say that they are ethnically people of Alor. All groups on Alor and Pantar islands know that "the people of Alor" refers to people who live in the three main villages, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil and Dulolong, and some other kampongs which have been mentioned earlier.

Physical and cultural differences between the people of Alor and those of Atimelang are marked. The people of Atimelang are easily recognized as more like Melanesians (Du Bois, 1960), while the Alorese are more mixed. From a cultural perspective the survival of the people of Atimelang
depends on simple agriculture contrasting with the orientation to the sea of the Alorese. The Alorese may be said to represent what Pigeaud (1976) and Vickers (1987) termed people with *budaya pesisir* (coastal culture) as opposed to people of Atimelang with *budaya pedalaman* (inland culture).

The fact that all the people on this island still maintain their own group identity may be understood in the light of the original name of the island of Alor. As already mentioned, Mpu Prapanca in the fourteenth century gave the name of Alor and Pantar as Galiyao. Pigafetta on Magellan's journey around the world in 1520 also used the same name to indicate Alor and Pantar islands (Pigafetta, 1969, p.92). The use of the name of Alor to refer to the whole island is relatively new probably from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and might have been given by the Dutch and Portuguese, because the Alorese became their intermediaries in trading with the inland people (see Lynden, 1851; Stokhof, 1984 p.111).

The Alorese themselves and surrounding groups characterize them by their friendliness and their inclination to establish brotherhood relationships with other ethnic groups. According to oral history Saku Bala Duli, the ancestor of the clan of Baorae of Alor Kecil, who arrived at the end of the seventeenth century from the Bugis domain, was accepted as a friend. When he was offered a local woman in marriage he said he owned nothing to pay his bridewealth to which his friends Leti Kiu and Bani Kiu said you are our *tniru* (a synonym for *eneng* meaning "you are a part of us") - we will pay your bridewealth. Like him Iang Gogo, an Islamic missionary from Ternate, was asked to marry one of the sisters of raja Baololong Beng of Alor Besar and said the same, but raja Baololong Beng told him not to worry about the bridewealth because "we need you and we want you to be our brother". When Kaing Saku a son of Saku Bala Duli, after defeating Lalkubar
4. *Beku* (Mass dance) in Alor Besar
in a war with Manututu, was offered various properties he refused by saying: "all I want is brotherhood". He then married one of the daughters of the king of Manututu named Bitabasi.

The people from Solor mention the Alorese as galiyao meaning "distant brother but a real one" indicating their friendliness. The Galiyao, the other name for Alor and Pantar islands, is a metaphor meaning one hand. Thus galiyao watang lema is a metaphor for one hand with its five fingers. In this term the brotherhood between Galiyao Watang Lema and the Solor Watang Lema is like one man with his two hands each with five fingers. There are many more images which indicate the Alorese notion of friendliness.

However, the Alorese also have a reputation of ferocity towards more distant groups. They identify themselves in a traditional poem which is always sung in a mass dance (beku) or sung by people on their way home from fishing.

\begin{verbatim}
Ojo kumba wutung,  
letang Dolionong (Kalabahi)  
Ijo Paka wutung,  
bapa Belidamba (Kabola Bay)  
\end{verbatim}

(We are) rough like waves at Cape Kumbang  
(But) quiet like water in the Dulionong area  
(We are) lively and ferocious like sharks at the Paka tip  
(But) quiet like crocodiles in the Belidamba area.

This traditional poem reflects the historical fact that the Alorese went to war in many places, in Timor and together with Solorese and Makasarese against the Portuguese and the Dutch. Except for Kelaisi, they never fought with their immediate neighbors. In their own country they keep quiet. Lest this pacifism be mistaken as faintheartedness, anyone who knows the Alorese will caution a doubter by saying: dike haki lawu (better do not
touch) meaning don't upset them because once they are angry they are not afraid of anyone and they can kill you like a crocodile. In a sacred message to those who went to wage a war, the head of the clan of Uma Kakang of Dulolong, stood on a dolu (a place of ritual slaughter) and said: *Ite ha amang- bapang naking, mong ata dike, mong ata barre. Parrang ha ite gena lahe tapi ha parrang aru gena ite. Ki mi me ha, amang di belo, inang di belo, anang di belo, bapang di belo, punamung belo.* ("Our ancestors advised us, be good and be friendly to everyone. Do not ever search for a war. But now the war searches for us. So go and kill all fathers, all mothers, all children, all grandchildren, kill all, no one should be left").

In the recent history of Alor, its friendliness and quietness was miscalculated by Malielehi of Fungwati (Kelaisi) in inland Alor in 1918, when she crowned herself Sultan and asked her people to kill Bala Nampira the ruler of Alor. In response Alor attacked Kelaisi and killed more than 300 people (Du Bois, 1960, p.165; Stokhof, 1984 p.115).

2.4. Economic life

The Alorese culture is a maritime one consisting of fishing, trading and sailing. The men from Kadelang, Wetabua, Moepali and Tameaming mostly fish in Kabola Bay, while the people on the two small islands nearby, Ternate and Buaya, go fishing far from home. Sometimes they travel to Roti island and together with the Belagarese and the people from Barnusa who have been there before, they travel to the small islands of the Northern Territory of Australia where they collect sea slugs and clams to sell to Makassarese traders or directly in Kupang or Makassar. This work means they may be away for many months.

The people who live in the three main villages, Dulolong, Alor Kecil and
5. Kalabahi harbour with Makassarese and Butonese boats
Alor Besar, are mostly traders and only a small number farm by slash and burn agriculture. The men of Alor Kecil buy pottery from neighboring villages, Lewalu and Lewolang, and sell on Lomblen island. Then sometimes from Lomblen and other islands they buy chickens and goats to exchange for money and foodstuffs with the people of East Timor. This trading pattern existed long before East Timor was incorporated into Indonesia (Vondra, 1968 pp. 85-86).

One aspect of the economic characteristic of the Alorese is the inclination of young boys "to go sailing" (me buah), so that this has become a cultural characteristic of the community. For the young boys who drop out of school, sailing seems an ideal profession. Their intention to go sailing is enabled by the presence of sailors from Makassar and Binongko (Buton). In June or July every year they rush to apply to become crew of Makassarese and Butonese (Binongko) boats which sail regularly to Java, Sumatra and Kalimantan, and even to East Malaysia. There they may look for jobs and stay for years. Therefore it is not surprising that mainly women and old men inhabit these three main villages. Statistical figures for the Regency of Alor which have been presented earlier in Tables 1 and 2 show a positive trend to male out-migration as the population ages.

The me buah custom of the Alorese may be contrasted with the merantau of the Minangkabau in Sumatra. Although the Minangkabau plan to return home they usually end up not doing so (Naim, 1984, p.4; Kato, 1982 pp. 29-30). However, though young

Alorese men may stay away for several years, they always tend to return home. It seems that there are both centrifugal and centripetal forces which push the men out of the community and draw them back. Economic
elements provide the main push factors while the strong cohesion of the family system, which is explained later in this chapter, is the main pull factor.

Since 1973, Chinese traders in Kalabahi have begun to send their merchandise in their own motor boats to Surabaya. As a result the number of Makassarese boats coming to Kalabahi has fallen but the inclination for young Alorese boys to "go sailing" has not. Since the boats from Makassar rarely come to Kalabahi the boys go instead to Kedang on Lomblen island and from there they sail to Pare-pare, a city in South Sulawesi about 200 kilometers to the north of Ujung Pandang (Makassar). There they wait to be smuggled as illegal workers by brokers acting on behalf of farm owners in East Malaysia. For the last two years their destination has been Batam island near Sumatra, from where they enter Singapore or Malaysia, though not all are successful.

Another significant aspect of the economic life of the Alor community is the involvement of women in trade: kawali or papalele. The words kawali or papalele mean to buy something from one place and sell it in other places. At the Kalabahi beach they buy fish from Belagarese and the people of Pura and sell it in the Kalabahi market. In the Kalabahi market they buy fruit and vegetables, coconuts, canary nuts etc brought by the inland people and resell them in the same market. They buy bananas one day and the next day they sell them as pisang goreng (fried bananas). They buy rice, coconut and palm sugar one day, the next day they sell jawada (a special cake made of these ingredients). Women from Alor Besar and Alor Kecil sell coconut oil and tenun ikat (hand woven cloth) which they make themselves. The Alorese women are more active than the men and appear in almost every market on the islands of Alor and Pantar (Barnes, 1973).
2.5. Social life

The social life of the Alorese is colored by religion and a strong family system which is manifested in clan relationships, marriage and kinship. In this section these aspects are discussed in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding about the pattern of social interaction in the Alorese community.

2.5.1. Religious life

The Alorese are adherents of Islam. Oral sources tell us that Islam came to Alor and Pantar islands from three places. A Hulnani source (3) relates how Islam came from Java and shortly after Islam was introduced, a boy of Hulnani named Boilelang - later known as Najamuddin - was sent to Gersik (Giri) to learn Islam. After he came back to Hulnani he built a mosque there which still exists and is viewed as a Mesjid Keramat (a mosque possessing supernatural power). Sources from Lerabaing (Kui), Alor Besar, Pandai and Barnusa mention that the first arrival of Islam was from Temate (Maluku), brought by four Muslim scholars named Iyang Gogo, Kima Gogo, Si Gogo and Selema Gogo, whereas the Belagar version tells of the first arrival of Islam from Java and Makassar and another says the source was Buton. The difference is not significant because Makassarese influence over Buton was strong. According to the Belagarese, Islam was brought by three Muslim scholars. The first was Abdullah Husain from Java, the second was Usman Berkat, and the third known as Sultan Mar. Both Abdullah Husain and Usman Berkat died in Kolijahi and their graves are still believed to possess supernatural power (kuburan keramat). Sultan Mar's original name is unknown. There are Arabic sermon texts for idhul fitri and idhul adha and a Qur'an which are believed to be in his
6. A bark-cloth al Qur'an from Ternate, brought to Alor by Iyang Gogo in about the late sixteenth century
handwriting but they do not mention his name. According to oral histories Sultan Mar was taken away by many war boats (kora-kora) which were sent to look for him. These oral stories match a South Sulawesi lontara source, a manuscript in Bugis or Makassar script (4). According to this lontara, in the era of the great sixteenth century ruler Sultan Alauddin, the sultan sent an expedition to Islamicize Timor and its surrounding islands starting from Bima. When this expedition arrived at an island near Timor, it was attacked by a force from a very powerful kingdom. The Imam who led the expedition was killed and an Ana Matola (prince) went missing. The Imam who was killed was named Daeng Makio and since he died in the Timor area he was mentioned as Imangeyarang Daeng Makio kareang matinro ri Timoro, "the Imam who died in Timor". Due to the disappearance of the Ana Matola, Sultan Alauddin instructed Karaeng Bira of Bulukumba to build fifty kora-kora (war boats) to look for him and many boats joined this expedition.

It is possible to identify the Ana Matola as Sultan Mar and the powerful domain (kerajaan) which attacked the first expedition as Munaseli, which was located about twelve kilometers to the east of Pania, the place where Sultan Mar was found and taken away. According to an oral story he was taken away by hundreds of boats which anchored close to each other from Batang island in front of Kabir, capital city of the sub-district of Pantar to the coast of Pania. Munaseli has since been destroyed, firstly by attacks from Java, and secondly by an earthquake at the end of sixteenth century (see note 1). Since then, Munaseli has been deserted and its people have fled to other places such as Alor Kecil, Kolana in East Alor, Lembur near Batulolong, South Alor, and some to Timor. The rest went to Helangdohi, Hirangbako, Latawutung and Tuandolu on the adjacent hill above Pandai on Pantar island.
7. A sermon text which is believed to be the handwriting of Sultan Mar of Makassar
The consolidation of Islam was carried out by continuing relations with sailors from Makassar who, before being defeated by the Dutch, made this area their zone of trade (Warren, 1981). Islamic teachers were sent from Ternate and Solor as well. Some of the traders and the teachers married local women and their offspring used Makassarese names such as Daeng, and Ternate names, Sangaji, Samiun and Salema, which still exist in the Alor, Barnusa and Pandai communities.

The purification movement which was propagated in Java by the organizations Muhammadyah and Syarikat Islam reached the Alor community by 1930. A formal Islamic school was soon opened in Dulolong and named after the teacher Junaidi who ran the school. Through this school deviations from Islamic practices were reformed but this divided the Alor community between modernist and traditionalist Islam, with the same implications as in Java in that it created conflicts over different interpretations of fiqh or Islamic law (Dhofier, 1980; Nakamura, 1980; Geertz, 1960). This dichotomy developed along with the emergence of Syarikat Islam in the community which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Although Islam has developed in this community, remnants of local religion still exist. Belief in the ulanaga (dragon) as ruler of the forest, nedha (a race of invisible people of the forest) as rulers of the rivers, and hari (a race of invisible sea people) as rulers of the sea are still significant. Indigenous medical practitioners (laworung) help the sick by asking help from ulanaga, nedha and hari in the healing process. Interestingly, a private secondary school run by the Muslim association Muhammadyah in Alor Kecil is named Eko Sari after the name of a hari women who married the ancestor of the Manglolong clan.
Important also is the pattern of the spread of Islam which was restricted mainly to coastal areas. The concept "coastal" (pesisir), needs to be considered firstly because of the controversy amongst Indonesia cultural analysts (Pigeaud and Graaf, 1976; Vickers, 1993) and secondly because it relates to names of alliances involving the Alor community i.e. Galiyao Watang Lema ("five coastal domains on Galiyao") and Solor Watang Lema ("five coastal domains on Solor Island").

Since the early days of its spread in Southeast Asia, Islam developed in the coastal cities, so it has come to be viewed not only as the religion of coastal dwellers but as part of a "coastal culture" based on trade and maritime activities, in contrast to Hinduism and animism which are thought to be based on agriculture (Pigeaud and Graaf, 1976; Vickers, 1987). In Indonesia in some cases the concept pesisir (coastal) means Islamic and pedalaman (inland) means non-Islamic. Vickers (1993) has suggested a reexamination of the use of the concept pesisir as exclusively Islamic because for him "There seems, for example, to have been no religious barrier excluding Bali (mostly Hindu) from the pesisir world" (Vickers, 1993 p.56), and in addition such a distinction excludes the powerful Islamic kingdoms of Mataram and Surakarta which were located in inland Java.

The controversy concerning whether or not "coastal culture" (budaya pesisir) is exclusively Islamic, in my view depends on whether or not the people used the concept and identified themselves with it. For the Alorese and other ethnic groups with a similar language, such as Pandai and Barnusa, the concept pesisir is watang (coast) as opposite to woto (inland). They understand the concept watang as referring to Islam and woto as referring to other religions.

The alliance between the five coastal domains on Galiyao (Alor and Pantar
islands) and five coastal domains on Solor island was called Galiyao Watang Lema and Solor Watang Lema, meaning brotherhood between five coastal domains in Solor and Alor and Pantar islands. Dietrich (1984) hinted that the word watang referred to Islam. The idea behind the watang lema alliances was brotherhood between the people in the five Islamic domains on Solor island and five Islamic domains in Alor and Pantar islands. The continuing significance of the dichotomy of woto and watang can be seen in the story of the early days of the spread of Islam in this area. Being Ladang Duli, the ruler (raja) of Tanah Tukang (Helangdohi) who, according to oral history which is supported by traditional poems, received from Sultan Ternate an Al-Qur'an and circumcision equipment brought by two Islamic missionaries (Si Gogo and Selema Gogo) from Ternate, did not join Islam because he identified himself and his people as woto (inland).

The Belagarese on Pantar island, also know pesisir as "Islam". Based on this, the Belagarese are divided into tang wala (people of the sea or people who live in the coastal areas) and 'tela wala (the people who live in the inland). The Islamic Belagarese who live in the coastal areas called themselves tang wala whilst the Christian Belagarese who also live in the coastal areas, called themselves 'tela wala. They go fishing like Islamic Belagarese but they never say that they are tang wala. Therefore in this region it is still valid to see pesisir as identical to Islam, at least in terms of its spread and continued use. However, since Islam is now not only embraced by the people of pesisir but also by the people of pedalaman (inland), and since there have been so many non-Islamic settlements in coastal areas, a reexamination of the concept as suggested by Vickers is also valid.

2.5.2. Family system

The family system of the Alor community is tied closely to the traditional
clan houses (uma suku). Alorese who have their own house in Kadelang, Wetabua, Kalabahi, Moepali and Tameaming for example still say that their true house is in Dulolong, Alor Kecil and Alor Besar. If they visit these three main villages they say they are going home (kame me lewo). Every Alorese knows that the lewo they mean are these three villages. Lewo means both "village" and "home", but for the Alorese the villages such as Kadelang, Wetabua, Moepali and Tameaming are not understood as lewo in the sense of "home".

When there are parties or social events to be held in these three home villages, all adult men and women are invited to come. If a person does not come to several events that person will lose respect. Every Alorese is concerned not to be judged as ata lewo take uma take, (one who has no home town and no traditional house), a very shameful thing to be called. A poem concerning this says: pasang mati-mati haki tiwang lewo, tiwang lewo e haki tiwang lewo (Be careful and remember that you will never forget or desert your home village, because only those who do not know adat [good manners] desert or forget their home village). In this way the community controls its members despite the fact that they may have come from a variety of ethnic groups.

To understand more about the way the community controls its members, three main aspects will be discussed below. These are the kinship systems, marriage, and the structure of clans and clan relationships in the three main villages.

2.5.2.1. Kinship system

There are two types of the Alorese kinship system. The first is based on genealogy and the second is on the basis of friendship.
2.5.2.1.1. The genealogical system

Based on genealogy, the Alorese kinship system comprises both marriage relations and generational relations. Marriage relations are divided into *kakari* (*kakang-aring*) and *opung anang* relationships. *Kakang* means older brother or older sister and *aring* means younger brother or younger sister. *Kakari* or *kakang aring* refers to two patterns of relationship. The first concerns the relationship between clans in which marriage between their members are ideally forbidden (*lallang kakari*). The second concerns the relationship between young men and the relationship between young women. They call each other *kakang-aring* according to age except for those who are considered as father's younger brother (FyB) and father's younger sister (FyZ). These people are called *amang* (father) and *inang* (mother) even if they are the same age or younger. Someone who addresses his/her FyB and FyZ without mentioning *amang* or *inang* together with their name would be considered impolite. The other terms of address between young men and young women in this clan are *nang* (brother) and *bineng* (sister).

*Opung-anang* covers three patterns of relationship. The first refers to wife-giver and wife-taker clans (*lallang opung-anang*). Wife giving and wife taking involve reciprocity between clans. Clan A can supply wives to B and vice versa. The second concerns the way young men and young men, and young women and young women of these clans address each other. They address each other as *opung* except for persons who are considered as mother's younger sister (MyZ) and mother's younger brother (MyB). They are called *amang* or *inang* even if they are younger. Marriage relations between these clans is indicated by *bromung* which means a man or a woman who is allowed to be married. The third *opung* indicates the relationship between a man and his sister's husband (ZH) or a woman and
her brother's wife (BW), as well as indicating the relationship of a man or a 
woman to his/her father-in-law (opung kalake) and mother-in-law (opung 
kawae).

Besides kakang-aring and opung-anang relationships, there are also amang-
anang and pukong-anang relations which are used to indicate relationships 
with the first previous generation. Amang-anang indicates father-son as 
well as father-daughter relationships. These include inang-anang or mother 
and son/daughter relationship. The concept amang (father) includes 
relationships with FeB, FyB, and all males of the first previous generation of 
the same clan or the clans where marriage between them is ideally not 
allowed (lallang kakari), whereas pukong-anang is used to refer the 
relationship with mother's brother (MeB, MyB) and to all males of the first 
previous generation of wife-giver clans. The word pukong means "tree of 
origin" (which gives life) reflecting the fact that mother's brothers (MB) and 
people from wife-giver clans are more respected than the others. The 
kinship terms people used to address each other in Alor have been outlined 
by Barnes (1973). However Barnes' list of the Alorese kinship terms contains 
some mistakes which need to be corrected. In Table 3 below his list is 
reproduced and supplemented with my own comments.
Table 3

The Alorese kinship terminology as listed by Barnes (1973, p.74) and supplemented with my own comments as a correction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alorese terms</th>
<th>Barnes' Terms</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. bapa(ng) kalake</td>
<td>FF, MF, SS, DS, BSS BDS, ZSS, ZDS</td>
<td>Barnes might have been confused between the terms bappa for FF and MF and bapang for all grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bapa(ng) kavae</td>
<td>FM, MM, SD, DD, BSD BDD, ZSD, ZDD</td>
<td>the same as above bappa for FM and MM and bapang for all grandchildren.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kavae [sic])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. amang</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amang bing (beng [sic])</td>
<td>FeB MeZH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amang kae</td>
<td>FyB, MyZH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. inang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inang bing (beng [sic])</td>
<td>MeZ, FeBW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inang kae</td>
<td>MyZ FyBW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. amang pukong</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>should include FZH and ZHF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. inang pukong</td>
<td>FZ</td>
<td>should include MBW, and ZHM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. opung kalake</td>
<td>MB, WF, FZH, ZHF, ZHF WB, ZH, MBS, FZS</td>
<td>Barnes is clearly confused. The term is only used for WF and DH For MB, FZH, ZHF see No.4. While the term for WB, ZH, MBS, and FZS is opung not opung kalake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Example Usage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>opung kavae (kawae [sic])</strong></td>
<td>FZ, WM, MBW, ZHM WZ, MBD, FZD</td>
<td>Again the term is only for WM and SW. For FZ, MBW and ZHM see No.5. WZ is addressed <em>aring</em> if younger and <em>kakang</em> if elder. A man will address his MBD and FZD as <em>aring</em> if younger and <em>kakang</em> if elder. While a woman to her MBD and FZD will use <em>opung</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <em>nang</em></td>
<td>B, FBS, MZS</td>
<td>From the position of a woman to her B, FBS and MZS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <em>bining (bineng [sic])</em></td>
<td>Z, FBD, MZD</td>
<td>From the position of a man to his Z, FBD, MZD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <em>kakang</em></td>
<td>eB, FBS, FZDe, WZHe, eZ, FBD, MZDe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. <em>aring</em></td>
<td>yB, FBS, MZSy, WZH, yZ, FBD, MZD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. <em>kavae (kawae [sic])</em></td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. <em>kalake [sic]</em></td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. <em>anang kalake</em></td>
<td>S, BS, FBS, FZDS, MZS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anang kavae (kawae [sic])</em></td>
<td>D, BD, FBS, FZDD MBDD, MZSD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. <em>manulang kalake</em></td>
<td>ZS, DH, DHB, SWB, SWB, WBS, MBSS MZDS, FBSD, FZDS</td>
<td>DH should be excluded (see no 6).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The other thing confusing Barnes was why the concept *anang* is used to indicate "a relationship with FZ, MBW, WM, and ZHM in the Barnusa community, whereas in the Alor community it refers to various members of the first descending genealogical level" (Barnes, 1973 p.80). Barnes commented: "What lies behind this is that FZ etc. has in some sense membership in two lines. They are simultaneously kin and affine; this is the result of the position of the women as the moving elements (in, at least, patrilineal system)" (ibid). Barnes was probably not well informed because the formal term in Barnusa for FZ, MBW, ZHM is *inan pukong* (approximately meaning "aunt" in English) while for WM it is *opung kawae* ("mother-in-law"). While it is true that sometimes some people called their first descending genealogical level *anang*, this does not refer to what Barnes might guess to be "the result of the position of the women as the moving element" (ibid). The word *anang* in this sense means "son" or "daughter".

The question is why does a son or a daughter call his/her father or mother *anang* meaning "son" or "daughter"? The answer to this is simple. This term of address comes about because culturally people often named their son or daughter after the name of their father or mother who has died. In order to show their respect to their father and mother they address their son and daughter by saying *aman* and *inang*. This might also be a remnant of Hindu or animist notion of reincarnation. Conversely the son and the daughter who have been named after their grandfather and grandmother, address their father and their mother or even all first ascending genealogical
levels by saying *anang*, to reflect love and respect.

2.5.2.1.2. The friendship system

The friendship system was established through what is called *eneng*. A similar concept also exists amongst the other ethnic groups of the region. For the people of Belagar and the people Lembata, *serang* and *reu* respectively mean "friend", but for the Alorese, *eneng* is more than a friend. Thus *no te go eneng hire* or *we te kame eneng hire* mean "he/she is a part of me" or "they are a part of us". Once accepted as an *eneng* one is treated like a family member.

The *eneng* relationship is established mostly through meeting many times in markets or in trade relations. The *eneng* relation is usually between people from the coast and people from inland, or with people from other islands. In the market there is no bargaining between *eneng*. If someone needs something sold by an *eneng* it is taken without bargaining because one does not bargain with family members. However each party knows how much to compensate the other, but usually the price is reduced.

An *eneng* is important for security. Before permanent markets are opened, a traditional trader needs to travel from one village to another. He/she needs food which is not sold in villages and a place to spend the night. For this reason he/she will go to the house of his/her *eneng*. In a closed community where outsiders are viewed with suspicion the *eneng* will give protection and guarantee the traveler safety. This was one way in which the Alorese established relationships with their allies.

The status of an *eneng* relationship is the same as *kakang* -*aring*, so they are
ideally not allowed to marry each other. If an *eneng* wants to marry an Alorese woman he should look outside his *eneng* clan. A good example of an *eneng* is my own experience. My father was a Belagarese and he went to school in Dulolong and lived with Umar Bara (a prominent Islamic leader in Alor) because he was an *eneng* of my grandfather. My father was treated as Umar Bara's first son. All his sons and daughters call my father their eldest brother. My mother was an Alorese from Dulolong but from a different clan to Umar Bara. After I was born my family took me to Belagar and sometimes we went to Alor to visit him. In 1957 my mother was very sick and she could not walk. She was then taken to Kalabahi for nursing. During my mother’s illness, until she died in 1961, my father and my mother lived in Umar Bara’s house not in my mother brother's or sister's house. When I went to secondary school in Kalabahi in 1962, I also lived with Umar Bara, not with my mother's sister or brother or her close relatives of whom there were many in Kalabahi. If Umar Bara had a guest and I passed in front of them, he introduced me as his grandson. Until now most people in the three Alorese villages know me more as a grandson of Umar Bara than of my real grandfathers. All Umar Bara's grandsons and granddaughters treat me and my brothers and sisters as their own brothers and sisters. We address each other without mentioning names, just saying *kakang* or *aring* according to ages to indicate our sense of closeness. In the status of *kakang* and *aring* or *nang* and *bineng* according to *adat*, we are not allowed to marry each other. However since there is a cross cousin model I and my brothers can still marry with his daughter's daughters and conversely his daughters' sons can marry my sisters.

The strength of the kinship systems, both real and fictive are in their cohesive power which tie together all clans and individuals of the Alor community. Kinship also goes beyond religious differences such as those
between the Muslim Dulolong and the Christian Adang people. Many people from Dulolong acknowledge that their ancestors were from Adang long before the arrival of Islam. They still keep good relations based on kinship, even though they are of different religions. Again Umar Bara, an Islamic leader and an independence hero of Alor, had an ancestor from Adang. During his lifetime his house was always visited by his Christian relatives. I am lucky because I was brought up in his house and witnessed this. During my fieldwork in Alor I still saw the same practice in his sons' houses.

Another example is the Pusurobong, the raja's palace in Alor Besar (see photo No.11), which is also known as the house of the people of Ulu lewo karto (the people of ten villages in inland Alor -mostly Christian), Pura lewo pito (the people of seven villages of Pura Island - mostly Christian), Melaga lewo lema (the people of five villages of the Belagar) and Solor watang lema (five coastal domains of Solor). Thus the palace unites these different groupings.

When this palace was restored in 1990, many people from those villages needed to come. As a consequence the budget for food was much higher than the cost of housing materials, but it was important to collect the people together in order to foster a sense of brotherhood. A senior member of Bunga Bali clan said that it would have been easy to restore the palace by themselves, but this would have appeared like abandoning custom (adat) and destroying brotherhood. They would not like to be judged as leing piha limang gawo ("stepping on one's own foot and cutting one's own hand").

2.5.3. Marriage System

There are three main patterns of marriage in the Alorese community. The
first is based on kinship, the second is based on bridewealth, and the third is based on how a man or a woman starts to marry.

The kinship system has three models of marriage. The first is exogamous, where a man is only allowed to take a wife outside his own clan, such as the Bunga Bali with Uma Dopu of Dulolong and Baorae of Alor Kecil. There are some exceptions such as between the Manglolong and Lekaduli of Alor Kecil and Uma Dopu, Uma Tukang, Uma Kakang and Kapitang of Dulolong. They are ideally not allowed to marry each other, even though they are of different clans. The ancestors of Lekaduli and Manglolong were tied by *eneng* relationship while the four clans of Dulolong claim to have the same ancestor.

The second is the cross-cousin model in which a man is only allowed to marry his father's sister's daughter (FZD) or his mother's brother's daughter (MBD), such as between Baorae and Lekaduli; Bunga Bali with Uma Dopu and Baorae; Uma Kakang, Uma Tukang, Uma Dopu and Kapitang in Dulolong with Lekaduli. This is the ideal type of marriage.

The third model is an endogamous model in which men and women of the same clan can marry each other. Such is the case of the people of Ternate who have been integrated into the clans of Bunga Bali of Alor Besar, and the people of Makassar and East Timor who have also been integrated with local people into clans of Baorae of Alor Kecil. They can marry each other. A Ternatean can marry a Bunga Bali woman and a Makassarese can marry a Baorae woman and vice versa. In the words of *adat, uma onong ka ite kakari, bleleng onong ka ite opung- anang* ("in the house [clan] we are brothers and sisters but outside the house we are brothers and sisters-in-law"). This *adat* phrase is used to legitimize their internal clan marriage.
Marriage based on bridewealth has three models. The first is *natong weling* in which the bridewealth is paid before the marriage is held. The second is what is known locally as *paha uma* ("tie of the house") or *kawin masuk* ("marry in") or "bride in service" meaning that a man after marriage lives in his wife's place. This pattern comes about in several circumstances. The first is where a man could not pay his wife's bridewealth, so he stays in his wife's house until he can pay or until after they have a daughter to take her mother's place (bride exchange). The second is where a man is needed for the benefit of a village due to his having a particular skill, being a *Jou* (Islamic teacher) for example. In the early spread of Islam in this area, Islamic missionaries were asked to marry local women of the ruling clans, Bunga Bali of Alor Besar and Uma Dopu of Dulolong, without being obliged to pay bridewealth. They taught Islam as compensation for their marriages. The third is what is called *ge kotong* (hair cut) where a man is excluded from his clan and becomes a member of his wife's clan and therefore has no obligation to pay bridewealth. The way Alor Besar, Alor Kecil and Dulolong became "big villages" was the result of this pattern of marriage because in many cases the people who had married in did not want to move out.

There are three models of marriage which depend on how the marriage starts. The first is *gatte kawae* which means "to ask for a wife" in which a man is represented by his parents, usually through senior members of his clan who come to ask for a woman to be married. The second is *gere uma* in which a woman goes herself to a man's house and says that she wants to marry that man. This usually occurs because a woman of a high social status is not allowed by her parents to marry that man. The third is *piku lopa* in which a man from a low social status is in love with a woman of high social status but he realizes that he will not be accepted if he asks for her as in the first model (*gatte kawae*). He therefore goes to her house and says that he
has come to stay and marries the girl. This model is called *piku lopa* (step over) meaning "beyond the proper way" because such a marriage is traditionally improper. The ideal one is the first model, *gatte kawae*. However all models are common in the Alor community. These three types of marriage determine the privilege of a family. Marriage based on kinship raises the question of whether one marries with a proper partner according to *adat*, which is perceived in terms of higher and lower status. The opening action will help to indicate whether the marriage is carried out according to *adat*. *Gatte kawae* is the most ideal pattern of this type and a family who carries out a marriage in this way will be respected. Bridewealth also entails social respect. Paying high bridewealth means giving high respect and at the same time accepting high respect.

Although the bridewealth of women is different between clans, there is also a principle that the bridewealth of a woman should accord with her mother's, making the relationship of higher status clans and lower status clans obscure. A woman from the ruling clans (Bunga Bali of Alor Besar, Uma Dopu, Uma Kakang of Dulolong, and Baorae of Alor Kecil) has the highest bridewealth, usually nine *moko* (a kind of bronze drum - see photo 8). Lallang Kisu of Alor Besar, and Uma Tukang and Lamaholo of Dulolong usually require seven *moko* whilst the Apukulung of Alor Besar, Kapitang and Lekaduli of Dulolong, and Manglolang, Gelai and Lekaduli of Alor Kecil are usually worth five. The rest depend on mutual agreement between the parties involved. However since there is a principle that the bridewealth of a woman follows her mother's, in the case a woman of Baorae marries a man from Lekaduli her daughter's bridewealth would be the same as her own. The high bridewealth means high respect and reciprocal marriage makes the parties involved view each other as *pukong" ("tree of origin") that should be respected, obscuring the relative status of the highest.
and the lowest clans. This allows some people of Lekaduli, Kapitang, Wolba and Lamahole to get the same respect as those of Bunga Bali, Baorae, Uma Dopu and Uma Kakang because of their reciprocal marriage, and to pay the same bridewealth. In a bridewealth negotiation between those clans, they use an adat phrase such as go bote mo neka ki mo golu go, ("I have held you up so you embraced me") meaning: "I have given you respect according to your position so now it is your turn to pay me the same respect".

A moko meley is the most expensive drum (it is now worth about three million rupiah or about $2,000 Australian Dollars). In the Alorese community it is equal to seven moko, each with different prices. If a bridewealth is said to be seven moko, it can be paid with a moko meley, (sometimes called a big meley), but if this is not available it can be paid with a Meley tanah plus a Jawa tanah, Makassar tanah, Meley serani, Makassar and piku and one other of these kinds, usually added with a moko makasar or a meley serani. A nine moko for bridewealth means one moko meley plus two other moko which will be decided on agreement between the parties involved.

The moko are available in a large number only on Alor and Pantar islands and are highly valued as bridewealth. The names of moko indicate that they were brought to Alor and Pantar by outside traders. The word meley means people from outside (Chinese, Indian and Arabian). The big meley might have been brought to Alor by those people while traders from Java brought Jawa tanah, Makassar brought Makassar tanah and Christian traders or Portuguese brought meley serani. But what was the production of Alor and Pantar that attracted so many traders? From various sources of information during my fieldwork, and given the fact that Alor and Pantar are only tiny islands with limited resources, it could be speculated that the
presence of *moko* in Alor and Pantar had a relationship with the slave trade.

There are several indications for this. The first is based on the information of a traditional leader, that the *moko* is not only for bridewealth but can be used to buy a woman and make her a servant, and if needed she can be sold again. This information made me remember my own experience when I was about 11 years old. A father from inland Pantar took his own daughter and exchanged her with *moko* to pay his debt. If one can treat his own daughter in this way it was not impossible for the people on these islands to sell members of enemy tribes which they had caught in a war as slaves for *moko*.
8. *Moko* (bronze drum): mainly used for bridewealth but also related to the slave trade
9. A big *moko* (possibly a very ancient Dongson drum) found in a garden in 1977 in Kokar, 7 km from Alor Besar
According to oral history on inland Alor and Pantar there were many wars between tribes. Secondly, my informant from Belagar told me that a cannon the Belagarese provided to wage war with Alor was exchanged for a woman on a Portuguese boat. Thus it is also possible that they sold people for moko. The third indication is that Needham (1983 p. 50) included Alor on the route of the slave trade. What Needham hinted at is supported by the fact that up to the present people on Alor, Pantar, Lomblen, Kisar, Leti and Wetar are still afraid of what they called orang potong kepala (head hunters). The people on Alor and Pantar islands use the word Atauru for head hunters. According to them the name Atauru was used to replace the name Pulau Kambing in East Timor, because rumors were spread in this region that most head hunters were people from this island. However since there is no single story about missing people, their dead bodies found without heads, the story may not refer to head hunters but to slave hunters in that people were kidnapped and sold as slaves. Since the people of Alor, Belagar and Barnusa have intense relations with the islands of Kisar, Wetar, Atauru and other part of East Timor, it could be assumed that the moko came to Alor and Pantar islands, amongst other ways through the slave trade.

The other important aspects need to be assessed from the slave trade and the existence of moko, are such questions as: were all the slaves were kidnapped or taken by force and sold? And if they were forced why they did not protest or resist? Needham (1983) noted that not all slaves were taken and sold by force and there were a number of slaves sold one by one due to strict control of the Dutch officials.

Reid (1983) demonstrated that in Southeast Asia slaves were sold as high value commodities in the sixteenth century. He also cited Mattulada who
quoted the pre-Islamic Bugis law code *Latoa* which stated that "A person is called a slave (*ata*) when the four following circumstances arise: first a person is peddled for sale and bought; second, the person sold says 'buy me' and you buy him; third, a person is seized in war and sold, fourth, a person has transgressed the customary law (*ade*) or the state (*kerajaan*) he is sold and you buy him; or in a fifth case, a man can be sold to make good his inability to pay his or his parents' debts" (Reid, 1983 p.158).

For the people on Alor and Pantar islands, what they called a slave (*krumong*) was a person who was captured in wars between tribes. A person (usually a woman) who was exchanged for *moko* was not regarded as a slave. The reason is that if a person who was exchanged for *moko* was called a slave, almost all Alorese and Pantarese wives were slaves because their bridewealth was paid in *moko*. Yet a woman will be very proud if her bridewealth is high, say nine or seven *moko*. Due to this internal Alorese and Pantarese views, traders from Java, China, Makassar and Portugal could come and bargain peacefully with them to buy slaves, including their own people.

On this issue of selling one's own people (mostly women) to the traders from outside (such as Javanese and Chinese), traditional sacred poems of the Belagarese called *laira*, clarify how they bargained to buy a woman. These traditional poems (as has been mentioned earlier) are in *senaing* and may only be sung in a mass dance performed for a marriage, but the content of the poems refers to selling a woman. As sacred poems they must be sung in the following sequence:

*Mari-mari tonda Jawa eli*  
*Let us welcome them, the Javanese*

*Dong ba Jawa eli*  
*They came from Java*

*Mari-mari tonda Sina eli*  
*Let us welcome them, the Chinese*

*Dong ba Sina eli*  
*They came from China*
They came to ask for you
They ask according to our custom
They came, marching in a large number
They came to ask for you

You see
We own nothing
In the house we have nothing
You see up and down we own nothing

We only have orphan children
We offered them
But they (the traders) refused
They refused them

There is a collection of Chinese bowls
And people are standing around
Chinese plates and Javanese trays
Beautiful Javanese trays

They came to ask according to adat
(But) I am still very young
I am still very young so I am confused
Please help me to consider

We help you to consider but not too long
You will lose (all the things)
You lose all the things in the dancing place
The dancing place of Etitonu

(tell them) Your sister will go
But she requests watola
The watola is for her brothers
(while) her price is seven moko

These traditional poems are logically ordered, telling about the coming of the Javanese and Chinese, that they were welcomed, that they bargained to buy a woman according to local tradition, their merchandises, including moko, were mentioned and how a woman was asked by her relatives to be sold and how she responded. It is clear that they came to buy people peacefully and according to local tradition. If after they were taken away from Alor and Pantar and they were treated as slaves this was another story. What is emphasized here is that the Alorese tradition which viewed a
10. Lou Lema Narang (left) and Jafar Ibrahim Bai Karutang informants from Belagar with spare parts of a Portuguese cannon which was exchanged for a female slave
woman with high bridewealth in terms of privilege was misconstrued by outside traders.

In my opinion such misuse of Alorese tradition by outsiders still exists, perhaps even worse. I am referring to the tradition of the young Alorese men to "go sailing" (me buah) as a cultural characteristic. Farm owners in East Malaysia hire brokers in Pare-par and Ujung Pandang who then come to Alor and Pantar and persuade young people to labour in East Malaysia as illegal workers are playing a similar role. Several young people from Alor Besar who have been to East Malaysia told me that they only managed to return home by escaping. They worked without pay from the farm owner in East Malaysia because the money had been given to brokers in Pare-par and Ujung Pandang. They were treated as slaves. If they protested they would be reported to police as pendatang haram (illegal migrants) which means going to jail. In the era of the slave trade from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries the relatives of a slave were given moko or other merchandises which could support their livelihood. Whereas the recent fate of young Alorese people is worse than that of their predecessors, because they are persuaded to go but are not given anything. This fact clearly indicates that the world situation may have changed but the practices of slavery have simply taken on new forms.

2.5.4. Clan Relationships and the Structure of Clans

The relationships between clans are manifested in the functional division of the clans and marriage alliances. In Alor Besar there are three clans (Bunga Bali, Apukulung and Lallang Kisu). In Alor Kecil there are five (Baorae, Manglolong, Lekaduli, Gelae and Modiluang). In Dulolong there are seven clans (Uma Kakang, Uma Tukang, Uma Dopu, Kapitang,
Lekaduli, Lamaholo and Wolba). Before control by the Dutch colonial government became effective in the early twentieth century the relationships between clans were manifested in different functions. Bunga Bali of Alor Besar, Baorae of Alor Kecil and Uma Dopu of Dulolong acted as executive power holders (*ata beng*). The head of these clans controlled the application of *adat*, religious practices and internal kampung security. Apukulung of Alor Besar, Lekaduli, Manglolong and Modiluang of Alor Kecil, and Kapitang, Lekaduli and Wolba of Dulolong were the armed forces (*hamikeleng dakekeng*). If there was a war the heads of these clans led people to go to war. Whereas the Lallang Kisu of Alor Besar, Gelai of Alor Kecil, and Uma Tukang and Lamaholo of Dulolong acted as judicial power holders (*hukung*). If someone broke the *adat*, he/she would be taken to the heads of these clan to be judged.

In Dulolong the Umah Kakang, even though heirs of the eldest son of Nae Saku (the ancestor of people in Dulolong), were not the ruling clan. They only held ritual status so that if there was something that needed to be decided, the presence of the head of Uma Kakang was needed. The Uma Kakang of Dulolong were highly respected because they are heirs of the eldest son. Uma Dopu is the Being. This might be because the Bunga Bali mostly took wives from Uma Dopu. None of the Alorese clans is excluded from these three community functions. All three community functions became collective responsibilities of the clans concerned. In brief the distribution of traditional government functions is as follows:
The division of traditional government functions amongst the Alorese clans

**Beng Balolo (executive power holders)**

- Bunga Bali of Alor Besar
- Baorae of Alor Kecil
- Uma Dopu of Dulolong

**Hamikeleng Dakekeng (Armed forces)**

- Apukulung of Alor Besar
  - Kapitang
  - Lekaduli
  - Wolba
    - Dulolong

- Lekaduli
  - Mudiluang
  - Manglolog
    - Alor Kecil

**Hukung (traditional judicial power holders)**

- Lallang Kisu of Alor Besar
- Gelae of Alor Kecil
  - Uma Tukang
  - Lamaholo
    - Dulolong

In Dulolong, since head of the clan of Uma Kakang held ritual status, he became adviser for all the functions.

In marriage alliances, the relationships between the clans are indicated by *lallang kakari* and *lallang kwini*. There are two types of *lallang kakari*. The
first is clans in which marriage between their members is ideally forbidden and the second is clans which claim to be *kakari* but allow their members to marry each other. The example of the first model of *lallang kakari* is the four main clans of Dulolong: Umakakang, Uma Tukang, Uma Dopu and Kapitang; and in Alor Kecil between Lekaduli and Manglolong. In Dulolong the four *lallang kakari* are ideally forbidden to marry each other because they claim to be descendants of the same ancestor (Nae Saku of Alor Kecil), while in Alor Kecil, the Lekaduli and the Manglolong are not allowed to marry each other based on the principle of *eneng* relationships between their ancestors. The second model of *lallang kakari* is between Bunga Bali and Lallang Kisu. They claim that they are *lallang kakari* but they have different ancestors so they are allowed to marry each other.

*Lallang kwini* is a phrase used to indicate the clans in which one can take a wife or husband. Four *lallang kakari* (Uma Kakang, Uma Tukang, Kapitang and Uma Dopu) of Dulolong take wives from their *kwini*: Lekaduli, Lamaholo and Wolba. The Lekaduli, Lamaholo and Wolba call the four main clans their *kwini*. The difference is that a Lekaduli can take a wife from Wolba and Lamaholo and vice versa.

Deviating from *kakari* and *kwini* relationships, there is another model: marriage within one clan, such as within the Bunga Bali of Alor Besar and Baorae of Alor Kecil. The principle applied for this pattern of marriage is one of having a different ancestor. In Alor Besar this pattern of marriage is between the Tulimau family and the first arrivals of Ternateans who had been integrated into the Bunga Bali clan. While in Alor Kecil marriage is between the main Baorae (that is, the descendants of Saku Bala Duli) and
Figure 2

Marriage alliances amongst clans in the three main villages

ALOR BESAR

Lallang Kakari
but allowed to marry each other

Bunga Bali

↓

Lallang Kisu

→

Lallang Kwini

Uma Dopu of Dulolong

Baorae

↓

Apukulung of Alor Besar

Marriage within one clan (Bunga Bali)

Tulimau family

↓

The Heirs of Iyang Gogo of Ternate

ALOR KECIL

Lallang Kakari:
ideally not allowed to marry each other

Lekaduli

→

Manglolong

→

Lallang Kwini

Baorae

↓

Gelai

↓

Modiluang

Kakari, but allowed to marry each other

Baorae Watang

→

Baorae Atas

→

Lallang Kwini

Bunga Bali of Alor Besar

↓

Lekaduli

↓

Manglolong

↓

Gelai

↓

Modiluang

DULOLONG

Lallang Kakari
ideally not allowed to marry each other

Uma Kakang

→

Uma Tukang

→

Uma Dopu

→

Kapitang

→

Lallang Kwini

Bunga Bali of Alor Besar

↑

Lekaduli

↓

Lamaholo

↓

Woiba

Note: Arrows indicate marriage alliances
the Makassarese and Timorese. Marriage alliances amongst clans in the three main villages are illustrated in Figure 2.

The fact that there was a division of functions between the clans indicates that the idea of a division of power had been practiced in the community. Reciprocal marriage with the same amount of bridewealth, claims of common ancestry, and acceptance of outsiders as brothers, allowed this particular community to see themselves as an egalitarian community. Unlike the people in other places in Indonesia who have titles for their noblemen such as andi and karaeng in Bugis and Makassar, raden and tengku in Java and Sumatra, umbu and karaeng in Sumba and Flores, the Alorese have none. Although there were particular privileges for some people, especially for those of being in terms of becoming ruler, in everyday life all people are equally respected according to age. The older get more respect than the younger without reference to the different clans.

Each clan consists of several main houses which are called uma pukong (main houses) or pitu matang (main gates). Each main house has additional houses for family members. Each main house with its additional houses is headed by a senior member, usually the one who is considered to be in the "first son position". He is called uma neng gambe ("the old man of the house"). All the main houses together are headed by a senior clan member, who is called the head of the clan. Every important social event such as a marriage is decided in a clan meeting. No main house can conduct a marriage or a circumcision ceremony by itself. If a problem arises in a main house the members of that house cannot solve it by themselves, otherwise clan members will say leing piha limang gawo ("step on one's own foot and cut one's own hand"), a very shameful thing to be called. Although the
THE LAYOUT OF ROOMS
OF AN ALORESE TRADITIONAL HOUSE

North
Back Door

West
Fire Place
Family Room

East
Lipu kleukung
(Last son's room)

Lipu makkeng
(First son's Room)
Sitting room

South
Main Entrance

Figure 3

The structure of the clan is as follows:

Lallang
(clan)

Uma

Lipu Makkeng
Lipu Kleukung

Uma

Lipu Makkeng
Lipu Kleukung

Figure 4
main house may provide the materials needed for a ceremony, the work and business will be carried out by all clan members.

Although modern houses have more than two bedrooms, traditionally each main house had only two bedrooms known as *Lipu Makkeng* (the first son's room) and *Lipu Kisukung* (the last son's room). The layout of rooms in the king's Palace, Uma Pusurobong, in Alor Besar still follows this traditional concept (see figure 3). Soon after a first son marries he replaces his father in the *Lipu makkeng* and takes responsibility for the daily life of the family. He is the owner of the household properties. His father then moves to occupy the *lipu kisukung*, joining the last son. After he reaches ten or eleven years of age the last son moves out of the *lipu kisukung* to join the other sons. In the evening they sleep in the sitting room, while their sisters sleep in the family room, mostly near the fireplace. Traditionally there is no room provided for the middle sons because they are known as the *kua klaka* (strong persons) of the family. After marriage they build their own klaka houses near the main house. The meaning given to rooms of the house reflects a centrifugal power which enables the community to grow further.

2.6. Governmental Structure

Before outlining the governmental structure of the Alorese, it is important to understand the extent of the influence of the domain of Alor in this region and its internal political process. The oral histories supported by traditional poems indicate that the Alorese had good relationships with various kingdoms in Eastern Indonesia.

According to oral history, from the era of raja Baolong Beng in the early
11. Uma Pusurobong the Palace of Alor Besar with a dolu (sacred slaughter place) which is believed to contain more than 100 human heads

12. Baorae Watang (Makassarese) clan house in Pantai Makassar-Alor Kecil
seventeenth century until Kwiha Tuli II (1898-1912) Alor established relationships with Ternate, coastal domains (kerajaan) in Solor, Makassar and Manututu in East Timor. During this period the kerajaan was centered in Bunga Bali (Alor Besar). It had also had a very good relationship with its surrounding domains, Kui, Pureman, Batulolong, Kolana, Pandai and Barnusa. Alor established a brotherhood relationship with these domains. The only local conflict during this period was with Belagar.

In the era of raja Panggo Amang in the middle of the eighteenth century a war almost occurred between Alor and Belagar. However by appealing to their similar use of language, Alor managed to persuade Barnusa, an ally of Belagar, not to become involved in the situation and as a result war was successfully avoided. In its conflict with Belagar, Alor sought help from Matoain, East Timor. Troops from Matoain were placed on a coast in the Kelong area. Since the troops from Matoain were Christian the coast was named serani watang and later called pantai serani (the coast of Christians). Because the war was avoided, a peace agreement was made between Alor, Matoain and Belagar. After that the people of Alor and Belagar continuously visited Praza, which is now known as Dili, the capital city of East Timor. The existence of Kampung Alor in Dili since it was established in the eighteenth century was, according to oral histories, due to this agreement.

The prominence of the Alor domain is underlined by the fact that raja Boalolong Kae (1840s-1875) of Alor acted as a mediator under the application of Lisbon Agreement (1859) for the exchange of Kui, Mademang and Batulolong, which were under the control of the Portuguese, with Atauro Island which was under the control of the Dutch. He was (according to oral history and traditional poems) appointed as mediator in a meeting in Sagu.
(Solor) in the 1860s by the other rulers in the Solor and Galiyao islands because they knew that Alor had a good relationship with those *kerajaan*.

In 1912 there was a power struggle in which the Tulimau dynasty of Alor Besar was replaced by the Nampira dynasty of Dulolong. Kwiha Tuli II (1898-1912) was sick, and delegated Kapitan Nampira Boekan to lead people in opening a new road in Alor in 1911. The Dutch refusing to compromise with Kwiha Tuli, raised Nampira Boekang as a *raja* in 1912. Stokhoff (1984) noted this might have been because Nampira Boekang was a rich man and more influential. The replacement however caused rebellions, led by two princes of Alor Besar, Lawono and Bura. These rebellions were easily extinguished by the Dutch. Another revolt coming from this replacement was led by Lajaha of Oa (Adang Mate). The people of Oa claimed that the crown of Alor Besar was originally given by the Oa, so that if the Tulimau dynasty no longer provided the *raja* of Alor, it should be given back to Oa. This rebellion was also easily extinguished and Lajaha was killed (Doko, 1981).

Nampira Boekang who died in 1915 was replaced by his son Bala Nampira who also ruled for only three years because he was killed in 1918 by the people of Atimelang (Du Bois 1960; Stokhof, 1984). They did this on the order of Malielehi of Fungwati, a woman who crowned herself sultan. This uprising reunited the people of Alor who had been in conflict with each other over the shift of power from the Tulimau dynasty to the Nampira dynasty. In response to the murder of Bala Nampira, Alor attacked Kelaisi and killed more than 300 people while Malielehi was caught and sent to prison in Kalabahi (Stokhof, 1984).

Before the European takeover, the Alorese community had its own governmental system. Political power was divided among three separate
power holders. The beng balolo or the highest ruler of the community, ran government activities as the ruler. The highest ruler was a member of the clan Bunga Bali of Alor Besar. In Alor Kecil and Dulolong, the Baorae and Uma Dopu ran the government activities on behalf of the Being Bunga Bali and they were also mentioned as beng. As has been mentioned earlier, this might have been because the Bunga Bali mostly took wives from Baorae of Alor Kecil and Uma Dopu of Dulolong. Below the beng balolo there were hamikeleng- dakekeng (the brave men) who were the war-lords of the community. Then there were the hukung or the traditional court officials who judged the people who broke adat or traditional law. All clans in the Alorese community were divided into these three functions as has been indicated in Figure 1.

The title beng balolo according to oral history, was replaced by the term raja after the arrival of Islam in about the early seventeenth century. The first ruler of Alor who used the title Raja was Baololong Beng. The arrival of the Portuguese in this area influenced a change in governmental structure. The hamikeleng dakekeng as a warlord who was active only in a time of war was given the new title capiten, (locally kapitang) and acted as an administrator of a fixed region below the raja. The hukung was unchanged.

When the Dutch colonial government strengthened its control over Alor in 1923, the pattern of government structure introduced by the Portuguese was replaced. The title of kapitang was replaced by that of District Head, although people kept using kapitang until the 1960s, and below a district there was a ketemukungan, headed by a temukung. Temukung was a Javanese title which was introduced to Timor and its surrounding area by the Dutch (Fox, 1980 p. 105). Below the ketemukungan there were kampong (genealogical villages) headed by a kepala kampung. The position of hukung (traditional
court official) was taken over by a Dutch colonial administrator, but it only concerned such aspects of public law as criminality. Civil aspects such as divisions of inheritance and marriage, remained under the control of *adat* administered by the *raja*, and traditional and religious officials (5).

This pattern of government structure was used until after Indonesian independence and was eliminated in 1965 by the formation of *kecamatan* or sub-region under the *kabupaten* or Regency of Alor, which was established in 1958. Since then the Alorese community, which once held the reins of power over the major part of Alor and Pantar islands, has been reduced to three *desa gaya baru* (a new type of village administration): Alor Besar, Alor Kecil and Dulolong, each headed by a *kepala desa* (village head).
Notes

1) Some of other ethnic groups in this region have similar origin stories of an outside ancestor with five sons. For example the *Hikayat Bima* (Loir, 1985).

2) Oral history about Kerajaan Munaseli is widely known by people on the Alor and Pantar Islands. It is said that this *kerajaan* was very prosperous. Many traders came to Munaseli because this *kerajaan* produced gold. Traditional poems (*beler*) from Pandai indicate that this *kerajaan* had been attacked by Majapahit and was then destroyed by an earthquake in about the early sixteenth century, and since then its people moved to many places in Alor and Pantar islands. Its fort still exists, although a part of it is covered by the sea because of the earthquake.

3) The stories about Boilelang or Najamuddin of Hulnani, Iyang Gogo, Selema Gogo, Kima Lasi Gogo and Boi Gogo, Islamic missionaries from Ternate; Usman Berkat, Sultan Mar and other Islamic missionaries are known by many people in Alor because they have become common folk tales.

4) As described to me in 1973 by Abdul Wahid, head of the Faculty of Law of Hasanuddin University. This information came from a project in which he assisted Prof. Zainal Abidin Farid to translate the *lontara* manuscript for his doctoral dissertation.

5) The data on governmental structures are mostly based on information given to me by A.B. Nampira, the last *raja* of Alor (1945-1960).
CHAPTER THREE
THE PEOPLE OF ALOR AND THEIR ALLIANCES

It could be assumed that well before the time of Mpu Prapanca in the fourteenth century, Alor would have been visited by many outsiders, given its location and the history of migration. Some of these outsiders may also have settled there.

Recent studies indicate that Alor had become a sailing route for the Chinese, Javanese and Makassarese to and from northern Australia (Cense and Heeren, 1972 p.39; Needham, 1983). Such a position brought Alor into contact with various traders. Aware of their environmental limitations, the Alorese seemed to use this situation to establish alliances with some of these trading visitors, such as the Makassarese and the people of Ternate and their trading partners such as the Solorese and the East Timorese.

The Alorese alliances discussed in this chapter focus on their relationships with other local people on Alor and Pantar islands, the Solorese, the people of Makassar, Ternate and the East Timorese (Manututu, Atauru and Matoain). I then discuss the impacts of the alliances on social, economic and political life in the Alorese community.

3.1. The Galiyao Watang Lema Alliance

According to oral history this alliance was founded under the agreement of the five rulers, Maulau Laha Blegur of Pandai, Selasang Bakolaha of Alor, Handileki Karkaluma of Belagar, Bolitonda Liurai of Barnusa and Pui Soma Ata Meley of Kui. The ethical basis of this alliance was a sense of brotherhood, as they realized that they were the descendants of a prince
from Majapahit (Mau Wolang or Mau Jawa).

Oral histories infer that the Galiyao Watang Lema alliance was established with three main purposes. Firstly to overcome the local conflicts which occurred between Belagar and Alor, and Belagar and Pandai. Secondly to unite local forces in their competition with the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch traders. And thirdly to resist the spread of European political domination.

The Portuguese and the Dutch who erected their banners on Alor and Pantar islands had them taken and thrown away by the people of these local domains, because they said *ite ha ata mardeka ata perenta ite hallagua*, ("we are free people, no-one can rule us"). Oral history says that since people in these five domains were free people, the Dutch and Portuguese based their activities on Solor and Timor, not on Alor and Pantar.

Acknowledgment of the Alorese position as free people can be traced through Portuguese documents. Abdurahman (1982 p.5) cites from de Sa, who wrote his book based on a written report by Antonio Bacarro in 1636 that the *mardiquas* (free people) included "foreign people, who had become Christian, as well as people from Ternate and Tidore, and Moslems or other groups of people". During this period, the people in the coastal domains on Solor and Galiyao islands had become Moslems (Barnes, 1987) and had intense contact with Ternate, so it could be inferred that they were included as *mardiques*, what Bacarro calls "the Moslems and people of other groups" (Abdurrahman 1982 p. 5). *Mardeka or mardika* is a term derived from the Sanskrit *mahardhika*. "It was used in the Hindu period for religious persons or monks who were exempted from paying tax. Thus the people known as *mardika* were considered tax exempt persons or free persons" (Abdurrahman,1982 ibid).
An oral story supported by a traditional poem (poem no. 2 in Appendix 2) also indicates that their position as free people was acknowledged by the Dutch in the eighteenth century. The oral story tells that in the war between the Dutch and Topasses which ended in Penfui, Alor sent two of its warlords, Nae Saku and Dasing, to help the Dutch and they were placed in Kampung Mardeka together with the other niardijkers (free men).

Lynden, Resident of Timor, in his report (1851, p.334-35) lists the names of villages on the Alor and Pantar islands mistakenly. He was confused between the names of clans and villages and listed clans such as Todaisch (should be Todaise), Karkloeman (should be Karkloema) and Hoekoemeloe (should be Humual) in Belagar and Denga Laen (should be Dinga Lai), Ladiboleng and Kapitan in Pandai as if they were villages. The big villages such as Kolijahi, Tuntuli and Bakalang in the domain of Belagar, Hirang Bako, Lamalu, Helangdohi in the domain of Pandai on Pantar Island; and Lewalu, Lewolang, Hulnani, Bampalola, Oa Mate, in the domain of Alor were not mentioned, indicating that even though the Dutch claimed authority in these islands, in fact these islands remained independent. These villages are older than Van Lynden's report because according to oral history and historical remains, some of them had a relationship with Majapahit. An example is Kolijahi, which according to oral history was built by troops from Java (Majapahit), and has a pure gold statue of Bhatara Shiva (a Hindu god) weighing about 1 kg. and many other early historical relics. Van Lynden may thus have written his report based on hearsay.

The first contract to formally accept Dutch authority over Alor and Pantar islands was signed at the end of nineteenth century. Kwiha Tulimau, the ruler of Alor signed the contract on 22 June 1898, Koliamang Baso of Barnusa on 3 June 1896, Noke Selama of Belagar on 3 June 1896 and Benghuku of Pandai on 22 July 1898 (Stokhof, 1984, p.111). Therefore it
could be inferred that before this first contract was signed the people in these domains (kerajaan) were free people, and in their position as mardijkers they established alliances with other people in Eastern Indonesia.

3.2. The alliance with the Solorese

An obvious fact in the Alor community is the presence of Solorese, consisting of people from Lewohayong, Mananga, Lamaholo and Lamakera who have been integrated into the community. Their presence in Alor is a result of traditional alliances. According to oral history the alliance with the Solorese was established in the era of Selasang Bakolaha of Alor, in the seventeenth century.

After the Portuguese strengthened their power over Solor in the seventeenth century and converted many Solorese Muslims to Christianity they were attacked by local Islamic domains such as Lewohayong, Lamaholo, Lamakera, Terong and Labala. However the Portuguese were a supreme power in that period, and in response the Portuguese treated the common people of Solor cruelly. Commodities which were brought to market by the Solorese were seized. The brutality and tyranny of the captain of the Portuguese port in Lewohayong, Antonio d’Andria, made more and more people from Solor flee to Alor (Barnes, 1987).

During this conflict the five Islamic domains on the Solor islands established cooperation with five Islamic domains in Alor and Pantar, namely Alor, Kui, Belagar, Pandai and Barnusa. This cooperation was between an alliance of five Islamic domains on the Solor Islands known as Solor watang lema, led by Labala, and five Islamic domains in Alor and Pantar, led by Alor and known as the Galiyao watang lema. This alliance was formalized by an agreement to help each other as brothers and, as a sign
of brotherhood the leaders of each party sliced their fingers and dropped their blood into a glass which contained arak (wine) and drank it alternately. It is believed that such a brotherhood relationship (bela baja) means the parties involved can never come into conflict because it would bring calamity. The bela baja means "ritual brotherhood". This term is also understood in the sense of kakari or real younger or elder brothers. The difference between these concepts refers to their cohesive power. As we shall see later the cohesive power of ritual brother or bela baja is stronger than real brother or kakari.

Unlike the alliance amongst the Galiyao Watang Lema which was based on the principle of a common ancestor, the alliance with the Solor Watang Lema through the sacred bela baja ceremony was aimed at creating a brotherhood bond. Mixing their blood and drinking together meant the alliance was tied by a form of blood relationship. After drinking the blood they swore: go ra barre mong wakkimg onong neka ki, go plating brangging ka mong plating branging, go giru oluka, mong giru olu, mo lelang go ra barre jallahe, go di lelang mong ra barre jallahe ("my blood has run in yourself so that my sadness will be your sadness my happiness will be your happiness, you will not shed my blood and I will not shed your blood").

The uniqueness of this alliance was that it was effective not only upon the rulers but on all people in the five domains on Galiyao and five domains on Solor. In many cases the alliance with the Solorese based on bela baja was more cohesive than those between the Galiyao themselves which was based on the claim of a common ancestor. So, a Pandainese will be angry if his coconut or banana is taken by a Belagarese, or even by other Pandainese without his permission, but he will not be angry if the banana or coconut is taken by people from Solor because he is afraid of the consequences of the sacred swearing of the bela baja agreement. People in
Pandai believe that if they are angry toward the people of Solor they will suffer a calamity such as death or some other disaster. When I went to Ile Ape (Solor) in 1969 with my uncle, we anchored in Weiriang (Kedang) and took some coconuts. Since at the time I did not understand why, I asked my uncle why we took the coconuts without permission. My uncle told me the story, and in fact many people saw us taking coconuts but they did not say anything. When the owner came we told him that we were from Belagar, and he welcomed us and then went away. This illustration indicates that brotherhood based on bela baja has a stronger capacity to prevent social conflict than those of kakari or real brotherhood.

The agreement was mainly to give mutual protection to parties involved. People from Belagar, Alor, Pandai and Bamusa could feel free to trade on the islands of Solor and people from the five coastal domains in Solor could feel free to trade on Alor and Pantar islands, because each party's safety was guaranteed.

In the conflict with the Portuguese, due to the tyranny and brutality of d'Andria, the Sengaji, the Moslem leader in Solor sent a report to the Sultan of Ternate as his superior to ask for help. Since Baabullah, the sultan of Ternate, was still at war with the Portuguese he then asked for help from a Dutch captain of Makian, Appolonius Scotte, to attack Fort Lewohayong in Solor. Scotte was promised assistance with troops from Ternate and Buton but before their arrival he had already attacked and taken over the fort (Barnes 1987, p.223). It could be inferred that the success of Scotte in taking over the fort from the Portuguese in such a short time in 1613 was among other things, because he was helped by troops from the watang lema alliance (Alor and Solor). Oral history from Alor tells that Alor sent troops led by one of its warlords known as Tuang Lau to Solor in order to attack the Portuguese fort in Lewohayong.
The relationships between the Dutch and Islamic domains in Solor and Alor Islands later became inharmonious when they found that like the Portuguese, the Dutch officials also forcibly converted Muslims to Christianity. For the five Islamic domains in Galiyao and Solor, even though the Portuguese and the Dutch were in conflict over economic interests they had a common purpose in spreading religion. "Gold, glory and gospel" or supremacy in economic power, political power and spreading religion, were the colonial programs of the Portuguese (Abdurahman, 1982, p.1). For the Portuguese the principles of padroado and patronate, meant that "Portuguese kings were Grand Masters of the Order of Christ. Consequently every Viceroy, Governor and Captain was a patron of the church, and every male Portuguese who left for overseas did so in the service of the crown and of the church" (Abdurahman, ibid). Although the formal Dutch policy during the period of the VOC (Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie) was not to convert local people to Christianity, some of its officials in Eastern Indonesia also acted in the same spirit as the Portuguese (Hanna, 1978 p.33) so for the local people both were the same.

Faced with this fact, and since the Dutch were allies of Ternate, the Sengaji from Lewohayong secretly asked for help from Kwiha Tuli I of Alor and Handileki of Belagar to overcome them. In response they secretly sent an expedition to Solor led by four warlords, Singo Parnai and Jogo Parnai from Alor, and Noke and Senangabang from Belagar(1). On the coast not far away from Lewohayong, with bows and arrows they attacked Dutch troops marching from inland Solor and killed more than twenty people including seven Dutch. Senangabang from Belagar died in this expedition and his grave can still be seen on a hill above Lamakera. This story matches an event recounted by Barnes that after turning Karma, a village in inland Solor, into ashes in 1614 Dutch troops led by Van der Valde marched toward
the beach where they were attacked by local people with bows and arrows (Barnes, 1987, p.227). The oral story is interesting because the name of Van Valde is mentioned (as Tuan Palde). The use of arrows and bows in the attack, as mentioned by Barnes, strongly indicates that the attackers were from Galiyao (Alor and Pantar), because in Timor and surrounding islands the only people who used bows and arrows as their main weapons were the people of Alor and Pantar whereas the Solorese used spears (tombak) and long machetes (parang panjang). This remains so up to the present. The 'round composition of stones (dolu or sacred slaughter place) in front of the raja's palace (Uma Pusurobong) is believed to contain more than 100 human heads and more than ten are believed to be heads of white men, three having been taken from this event. The name of Van Valde is always remembered because for the Alorese it was important as an heroic event in which for the first time they took the head of white men who at that time were viewed as powerful people, to fill their sacred slaughter place (dolu).

The war between the Dutch and Portuguese continued on Timor island especially with the black Portuguese or Topasses. In the war which ended in Penfui, the Dutch were helped by their allies, Amarasi, Amfoan, Rotinese, Savunese and the Solorese (Fox, 1982 p. 30). Alor was not mentioned as helping the Dutch in this war by Fox and other writers such as Schulte Nordholt, Abdurahman and Barnes, but oral history, supported by a traditional poem from Alor tells that Alor sent an expedition led by two warlords, Nae Saku and Dasing. As compensation for their involvement in this war the Solorese were given a place to settle which is now known as Kampung Solor. The Rotinese were given Babau in East Kupang, the Timorese were given Taebenu (now called Mantasi), the Savunese were given Non Baun Sabu, while the Alorese were given a place which is known as Kampung Mardeka. It is possible that Alorese were not
mentioned because they were included in *mardijkers* (free men). Fox noted that this war involved 130 *mardijkers*, 240 Savunese, 60 Solorese, 30 Rotinese and a large number of Timorese to help the Dutch against the Topasses (Fox, 1977 p. 70).

### 3.3. The Alliance with the people of East Timor

According to oral history the Alorese have alliances with three groups of people on Timor island. They are the people of Manututu, Atauru and Matoain.

The alliance between Manututu and Alor was established during the war between Manututu and Laklubar (both in East Timor) in the seventeenth century. In the time of Kwiha Tuli I, the ruler of Manututu asked for help from Alor to defeat his enemy Laklubar. Kaing Saku, the warlord of Alor was sent to Manututu and together with two warlords of Manututu, Leki Bere and Mau Bere, they managed to kill the king of Laklubar. After defeating Laklubar, Kaing Saku was offered territory in East Timor and many other presents in the form of gold, silver and other property but he refused them all. When he was asked what he wanted, he answered that all he needed was a brotherhood relationship because he already owned much gold, silver and other property at home. As a result he was married by the king of Manututu to one of his own daughters named Bitabasi. In the marriage ceremony Alor and Manututu made a brotherhood agreement through a *bela baja* ceremony. From this marriage there were two sons, Johor Manututu and Nae Saku Manututu. Johor Manututu, since he was the first son, lived in a traditional Baorae clan house called Pelang Serang in Alor Kecil while Nae Saku Manututu moved out and started a new village now known as Dulolong. His traditional house in Dulolong is also called Pelang Serang.
As a sailor and trader, Kaing Saku regularly visited Wetar island, Atauro island and Matoain. Once on his way to Manututu he met with an expedition from Belagar who wanted to attack the people of Atauru because of the murder of thirty Belagarese by the people of Atauru. However since the Belagarese knew him as a brother and the people of Atauru knew him as a son-in-law of the ruler of Manututu, Kain Saku asked them to make peace with the people of Atauru by establishing a brotherhood relationship through a *bela baja* ceremony. Thus the war between Belagar and Atauru was successfully avoided. After that many people from Atauru regularly visited Alor and Belagar and vice versa. The Belagarese and the Alorese can feel free to fish and collect sea slugs and clams around the island of Atauru.

From the time of Kaing Saku in about the seventeenth century until the era of raja Baololong Kae (1850 - 1880s) the influence of Alor over the Atauru was significant (Lynden, 1851). The relationship became less important after Atauru was exchanged with Kui, Mademang, Kolana and Batulolong in the 1870s under the application of the Lisbon Agreement which allocated areas with mostly Catholic populations to the Portuguese and areas with mostly Protestants to the Dutch (Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia 1992). However, many people from Atauru protested against the application of this agreement. Raja Baololong Kae of Alor was sent as a mediator to settle the case as has been described in Chapter One (pp.17-19).

The alliance with Matoaian was established in the era of raja Panggo Amang of Alor in the eighteenth century, when he asked the people of Matoain to wage war with the Belagarese. The war was ended by a peaceful agreement between the three parties, Alor, Matoain and Belagar. Since then many people from Belagar and Alor have visited Praza, now known as Dili. The existence of Kampung Alor in Dili since the early days of its establishment, according to oral history, is due to this agreement. It was said
in the agreement that if the Belagarese and the Alorese go to Matoain and meet with the people they say: "this is our country, your countries are there in Alor and Pantar", and if the people of Matoain go to Alor and Pantar they say "this is our country, your country is Matoain, there in Timor".

When I asked about the cohesive power of the bela baja agreement with the Timorese, I got the following story from one of my informants: "during the Japanese occupation I was recruited to be a heio (Japanese soldier) and placed in Manututu to fight against Australian troops. One day my back was very itchy so I asked a local person of Manututu who was a member of my group to scratch it. What he did was just to rub my back with his palm. I asked him to scratch it with his fingernails but he refused by saying that "saya tidak berani pake kuku tuan, karena belakang tuan nanti berdarah, sebab tuan orang Alor. Kita ada sumpah sama orang Alor untuk tidak boleh saling menumpahkan darah. Saya takut kena sumpah tuan" ("I would not dare to do it with my fingernails sir, because your back will be bloodied. You are an Alorese, between us (Alor and Manututu) there is a sacred oath not to shed each other's blood, I am afraid of the consequence of the oath").

Though such a situation may change with the passing of time, this account shows the persistence of a relationship even though both groups were still under different authorities, the Portuguese and the Dutch (Vondra, 1968). Thus in 1987 there were about three hundred people from Manututu came to join a sunat adat (traditional circumcision) in Alor Kecil in response to an invitation.

3.4. The Alliance with the Makassarese

Like the Solorese and the Timorese, the Makassarese presence in the Alor community is significant. In Alor Kecil there is a clan called Makassar or Baorae Watang and some others live in two other main villages as well.
Based on oral history the people of Alor have had long contact with the people of Makassar, although in their usage 'Makassar' can denote any of the people of South Sulawesi. Sailors from Makassar and Bugis who have sailed regularly to Timor since the sixteenth century have made the island of Alor their port of call.

Unlike the alliances with the Solorese and Timorese which were based on local culture, the alliance with the Makassarese was more Islamic. In the early spread of Islam, Islamic teachers such as Puang Bilal and others were sent from Makassar to consolidate the spread of the religion in the Alor community. The contact between Alor and the people of Makassar in the spread of Islam changed Alor and other coastal domains (kerajaan) on Alor and Pantar islands from traditional to Islamic domains.

The blockade by the Dutch of the seas around Makassar over their competition in the spice trade in Maluku later burst out as war between 1653-1666 (Boxer, 1967), and many Makassarese boats on their way home from Timor and surrounding island dropped and settled in Alor Kecil. During the war between Makassar and the Dutch the port of Alor Kecil became more important. The sandalwood, sea slugs and clams which were collected by Makassar sailors (Cense and Heeren, 1972; Forbes, 1979) were stored and sold to Chinese and European traders through Alor Kecil. Due to the fact that many Makassarese sailors settled in Alor Kecil, and the rapid progress of trade during the period of war between Makassar and the Dutch, the port of Alor Kecil was called Pantai Makassar (Coast of Makassar).

During this war the Alorese who used to join the Dutch to wage war against the Portuguese in Solor, established cooperation with Makassarese sailors to attack the Dutch boats in the seas around Timor. This might account for reports by Dutch colonial officers and other writers that there were many
bajak laut (pirates) in this region (Pelras, 1973; Needham, 1983). Calling the Makassarese sailors and their allies pirates during that period is unfair, because while Makassarese captured Dutch boats and took their possessions, the Dutch also did the same thing. The Dutch armed vessels not only captured Makassarese boats but Portuguese boats as well (Boxer 1967). In order to avoid capture by the Dutch, the Makassarese who transported wax, sandalwood and sea slugs from Alor to Zamboanga and Sulu (in the southern Philippines), identified themselves as Alorese.

What is interesting in this situation is that due to economic interest, Makassar as an Islamic domain established close relationships with the Portuguese (Boxer, 1967) to wage war against the Dutch, who were allied to the Islamic domains of Ternate, Solor and Alor. However in terms of religion, the Portuguese and the Dutch were viewed as the enemies of those Islamic domains (kerajaan).

From the seventeenth until the early twentieth century Alor Kecil was a prominent sea port. It declined after the port of Kalabahi was opened in 1912. Alorese sailing and trading also decreased after the Dutch colonial government connected Kalabahi and Makassar with the big ships of the Dutch sea line company KPM (Koninklijk Paketvaart Maatschapij) which sailed regularly from Makassar to Kalabahi until 1950, except during the Japanese occupation. Alorese commodities such as camiry nuts, canary nuts, tamarind, wax, copra, sea slugs and clams which were transported by the Alorese boats or Makassarese boats, were taken over by the KPM. This made life difficult for the Alor community which relied on maritime activities. However the opening of the KPM enabled more and more people of Alor to visit Makassar, which brought them into contact with ideas about nationalism and Indonesian independence being propagated by political parties. The sense of dissatisfaction which resulted from the downturn in
social and economic life made them accept those ideas enthusiastically. They were brought to Alor and manifested in the foundation of political parties there, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.5. The Alliance with the people of Ternate

Contact with Ternate became intense during the early spread of Islam in Alor. According to oral history, in the late sixteenth century Ternate sent four Islamic missionaries to Alor and Pantar. They were Iyang Gogo, who was sent to Alor, Kima Lasi Gogo to Lerabaing or Kui, Si Gogo to Pandai and Belagar and Selema (Boi) Gogo to Barnusa. Iyang Gogo was married by the King of Alor, Baololong Beng to the king's sister. A bark - cloth Al-Qur'an brought by Iyang Gogo from Ternate is still in good condition (see photo 6) and is kept by Saleh Panggo Gogo, the thirteenth generation descendant of Iyang Gogo.

As a sign of acceptance of Islam by the Alor community, king Baololong Beng sent a walking- stick, a kris (knife) and other presents to Sultan Baabullah of Ternate. As an ally of Ternate, Alor and other local kingdoms in Galiyao were involved in war to help the expedition of Appolonius Scotte to attack Fort Lewohayong on Solor. This help enabled Scotte to take over the fort before the arrival of the troops from Ternate and Buton (Barnes, 1987). After the death of Baabullah, and the fall of Ternate to the Dutch there is no sustaining story concerning the relationship between Alor and Ternate, but the impact of their relationship still exists and will be discussed later in this chapter.

What has been discussed in this chapter regarding the people of Alor and their alliances displays two important points. The first is that the nature of the Alorese alliances were brotherhood bonds based on both Islamic sentiment, such as with Makassarese and Ternatean, and also on traditional
values, such as with the Solorese and the East Timorese. The second is that religion interacted with economic interests to determine the interactions with both the Dutch and Portuguese, and with local groups in Eastern Indonesia. The strength of their alliances drew the Alorese into both cooperation and conflict with both the Portuguese and the Dutch. Contact with their allies in turn colored their social, economic and political life, which will be discussed in the next section.

3.6. The impact of Local Alliances

In this section the discussion of the impact of local alliances will address three main aspects, that is, on social, economic and political life. The discussion of social and economic aspects in this section will be oriented to identifying local social and economic characteristics and outside influences and to demonstrate how they have been integrated in the social and economic life of the Alorese. The discussion of the political impact will be oriented to answer such questions as: Why did the Alorese in a small community located far from Java as a center of struggle against Dutch, become heavily involved in political action against the Dutch colonial government during 1920s and 1930s? Did this situation come about as a result of long contact with their allies?

3.6.1 The impacts of local alliances on social life

A significant result of the local alliances on social life is the integration of the people of Ternate, Makassar, Atauru, Matoain and Solor into the Alorese community. There were three types of social integration. The first was a total integration in which outsiders became integral members of existing local clans. An example of this was the integration of the first arrivals of people from Ternate into the clan of Bunga Bali in Alor Besar. The second was the integration of outsiders as a sub-clan of an existing local
clan, such as the integration of the people of Makassar and East Timor into sub-clans of Baorae as Baorae Watang (Coastal Baorae) and Baorae Atas (upland Baorae) in Alor Kecil. The third was integration into the Alorese community while maintaining a separate clan identity, such as the integration of the people of Solor into the Alorese community in Dulolong by forming the new clan of Lamaholo.

These integrations were enabled by the inclination of the Alorese to accept outsiders on the basis of *adat* notions expressed as: *Mi beta neka ki kame bang mi tobo. Ming tena ba umaha, ming tena neng puang ba imaha neng rie, ming laja ba umaha neng tnaka, ming ilu ba umaha neng dang. Mi tobo ki uma onong ka ite kakari, bleleng onong ki ata roing mari ite ha opung anang.* ("Since you have come, we welcome you and want you to stay for good with us. Your boat is this house, your boat poles are the poles of this house, your sails are the roofs of this house, the rudders of your boat have become the ladder of this house. We want you to live with us. In the house we treat each other as brothers but outside the house let people say that we are brothers-in-law ").

This *adat* notion aimed to bind the outsiders by accepting them as brothers. Since the outsiders were mostly sailors (from Makassar and Ternate) who mostly spent their lives on boats, parts and equipment of a boat are expressed as parts of a house in order to make them feel at home. However the Alorese terms relating to the house use metaphors of boats, indicating their cultural orientation to the sea. For example they say: *uma neng sampa* (the canoe of the house) for houses which are extensions to a main house; and *uma neng praku* (a special tool which is made of bamboo and is used to bail water from a boat) for a valuable kitchen utensil.

The other significant impact of alliances in social life relates to the practices
of religious ceremonies. However, the religious ceremonies are adapted to local culture. Three forms of these ceremonies need to be discussed here because they relate to how the community controlled its members and the changing of social structure.

The first is a *sunat adat* or traditional circumcision ceremony which is the biggest ceremony in the Alorese community. Although circumcision is practiced by non-Muslims in this region such as the Sabunese, the Atoni of Timor and the Helangdohi of Pantar Island, the Alorese do it as a religious obligation. The Alorese, Belagarese and Pandainese see circumcision as a sign of Ternate influence. The circumcision equipment, such as knives which were brought by Islamic missionaries from Ternate, are still highly respected by those people. *Loire*, special poems in the Maluku Melay dialect which are sung in order to guard the circumcised children for three continuous nights, are also believed to be a cultural legacy from Ternate.

What is important here for the Alorese is that they use this rite to control their community members and to foster their familial sense, using Islamic and outside (Ternate) traditions as the medium. If a son is circumcised the role of his mother's brother (MB) is important. Unlike other ceremonies, such as marriage and the erection of a traditional house, in which a MB is less active because he is viewed as an outside clan member, in *sunat adat* he plays a more active role. He prepares clothes and other equipment for his daughter's son (DS) who is going to be circumcised and he guards the DS during the ceremony which is usually held over three days. Since a *sunat adat* is a mass rite all the boys who are circumcised are collected together in a large public tent. In such a situation all MB try to do the best for their DS by preparing good clothes, good food and providing good services. If a DS does not get good service from his MB he has the right to strike (*kasia*). For example if at lunch time his MB is not available or is late in bringing food
he will kasia through a hunger strike. The idea is to attract his MB's attention in order to make him take better care of him. If one boy goes on a hunger strike all the other boys do not eat either. In such a case the MB will be fined (pate hala - pay mistake). He will come and say: "I confess that I am mistaken so please forgive me and eat, and I will buy you this and this or I will perform a dance for pate hala". The situation is usually very entertaining due to the pate hala dancing. The families who circumcise their sons provide food only for guests and family members but the food for the circumcised sons is prepared by the MB's family.

After three days, it is the family's obligation to pay compensation to the MB for his tiredness which is expressed as bote kotong ("bring a head") usually in the form of both cooked and uncooked food (rice and chickens or goats) and a moko. The sort of moko which is brought for compensation in a bote kotong is considered equal to what has been spent and given by the MB during the party. Although it is paid in moko, the idea is to show to the sons their pukong ("tree of origin") which they must respect. Giving equal compensation for MB's tiredness, meaning give equal respect.

A mother's brother who is not told or invited to come will feel very much insulted. This can cause conflict and people are usually concerned to avoid such a conflict. The MBs should first be told about one year before to enable them to make good preparations. In the old belief system the absence of MB can bring calamity for the boys. It is clear that the main idea is to collect together all family members in order to promote a sense of affinity. The loosening of family relationships and the emergence of individualism in many communities seems to correlate with the extinction of such affinities.

The second ceremony is marriage. As worshipers of Islam, a marriage ceremony in the Alor community is carried out in accordance with Islamic
notions which came as a result of alliances with Ternate and Makassar. Islamic teaching which views humans as equal, enables intermarriage between people from a higher status clan and a lower status clan. Adat circles sometimes attempt to avoid such a marriage by requiring a high bridewealth, but once a high bridewealth is paid the social position between both clans becomes equal because in adat there is a principle that the bridewealth of a woman is the same as her mother's. So where a higher status woman marries a lower status man, her daughter's bridewealth will be the same as her own. Thus both Islamic and adat notions may have the same effect in changing the social structure of the community.

The two following cases of marriage and bridewealth negotiations will give clear illustrations which indicate that within the community itself there is a pushing power for the changing of social structure. The first is the case of a marriage between a lower status clan man and higher status clan woman in which the higher status clan men previously married lower status women (reciprocal marriage). In the negotiation process the woman's party said: Mi brani lebe. Kamore ka darre kamore neng larang, karabo ka darre karobo neng larang. Mi kamore di bisa darre kame karabo neng larang beta? ("How dare you? A rat must run in the rat's way and a water buffalo run in water buffalo's way. How can you come as a rat run in our way as a water buffalo?"). The answer of male party was: Kame di moing mari mi ha karabo. Tapi karabo nolo plae kamore neng larang teruba kamori di plae darre karobo neng larang beta. Paru aru hala ki karabo bisa plae kamore neng larang, kamore plae karabo neng larang jallake? Nolo amang bapang mung, mi lelang paru kame darre. Terru ba mi lelang neka ba kame darre ("We know that you are water buffalo [higher]. But since water buffalo first ran in the rat way so the rat comes by running in the water buffalo way. What is wrong, if a water buffalo can run in the rat way, why should a rat
not run in the water buffalo way? Since the time of our ancestors long ago, what ever you say and you do we obey. Since you have done it we just obey").

The other case is a bride price negotiation in a marriage between a higher status man and a lower status woman, whose mother was from that man's clan. Since the woman was from a lower status clan the male party offers a lower bridewealth than her own mother's. For this the female party said no because there is an adat principle kame bote mi neka ki mi golu kame ("we have held you up so you embrace us") meaning "we have given you high respect according to your position so it is your turn to pay us the same respect".

These adat dialogues clearly demonstrate a strong demand for equal position and since in the Alorese community, there are reciprocal marriages between clans, as has been demonstrated in Chapter Two (Figure 2), it effects a change in the social structure. While it is true that conceptually there still exist higher and lower status clans empirically the Alorese seem to be becoming more egalitarian.

These negotiations make the situation in Alor quite different to other communities in this region. In a Bugis marriage negotiation between a higher status woman and a lower status man, the male party always accepts what is decided by the female party. The male party never ranks itself in the same social position as the female party. High bridewealth is important for a lower status man to pangelli dara ("to buy the noble blood") of his wife to be (Walinono, 1978). The Rotinese and the Sumbanese, basically have similar practices to the Buginese (Fox, 1980; Forth, 1982).

Like a circumcision ceremony, a marriage ceremony aims at fostering a sense of affinity between all the family members. The difference is that in
the circumcision ceremony more emphasis is given to the relationships with mother's brothers while in marriage more emphasis is given to the relationship with father's brothers. In this regard, although by tradition mother's brothers are more respected because they are viewed as *pukong* (tree of origin), in practice the father's brothers get equal respect. Since Alor is a patriarchal community, the authority of father's brothers is greater than mother's brothers.

The third is a funeral ceremony. In Dulolong where the reformist Islamic organization, Syarikat Islam, was dominant, a funeral ceremony is formally carried out according to Islamic notions. But in Alor Besar and Alor Kecil local tradition is practiced together with Islam. That is to say, in Dulolong the influence of Makassar is dominant through reformist Islam, while in Alor Besar and Alor Kecil the influence of Ternate is dominant through traditionalist Islam (regarding traditionalist and reformist Islam see Dhofier, 1980). Local tradition which is still practiced in these two home villages during a funeral ceremony is *natong manateng weling* ("paying death price") or *bote kotong* ("bring head").

The death price is only paid for old men and women. If an old man or an unmarried old woman dies the death price will be paid to his/her mother's clan or his/her "tree of origin" (*pukong*) while if an old married woman dies her death price will be paid to her father's clan. The death price is also paid in *moko*, mostly with a *moko Makassar* or a *Meley Serani*. The *moko* is taken with food - usually cooked food. The aim of bringing food and *moko* can be understood from the opening dialogue of the event which means: "We take here food and *moko*. The food is for you to collect all the brothers in this clan and tell them that our old man or woman has disappeared. But let the *moko* become a sign that our brotherhood still continues even though the old man or woman has disappeared (died)".
From the position of the dead person's clan the death price is paid to a wife-giver clan in order to strengthen the marriage alliance. Through these media Alorese social order is maintained and the sense of brotherhood is fostered.

3.6.2. The impact of local alliances on economic life.

As has been stated previously the economic culture of the Alorese is a maritime one which consists of sailing, trading and fishing. As coastal dwellers their interaction with the sea in their early development was significant. The use of bows and arrows, bamboo fish traps, and trapping dams (atu) for catching fish seem to have been known long before the coming of outside visitors. The first hand held-casting net (dalang) to be used, according to a traditional poem, was introduced by Saku Bala Duli, the founder of Baorae clan, who is believed to have come from South Sulawesi in about the early seventeenth century. Modern dragnets, which are now used by the Alorese in Wetabua, Meopali and Tameaming were also introduced to Alor by the people from Makassar and Buton in the 1950s.

Traditional outrigger boats which are used for fishing are a local product, whereas canoes and boats in the Makasarese and Butonese style which are used in inter-island relationships came as a result of long contact with those peoples. The traditional outrigger model is only used on the two nearby small islands, Ternate and Buaya, and is almost extinct due to the adoption of Makassarese and Butonese models. The Makassarese and Butonese models have been mechanised and mostly used for local transportation. For long distance relationships such as with Timor, Roti and northern Australia, the use of sail boats is still significant.

From an historical perspective the visits of Chinese, Indian, Javanese, and especially the Buginese and Makassarese on their way to and from the
northern islands of Australia (Cense and Heeren, 1972) had important effects on Alorese economic development. They established eneng relationships with the people of Bugis and Makassar. As eneng the Alorese gave protection to Makassarese sailors in order for them to avoid being captured by the Dutch, and as eneng trade partners, the Alorese became intermediaries by taking merchandise brought by those people and selling it to inlanders. The merchandise brought by the traders from China, Java, Makassar, Portugal and the Netherlands which consisted of moko, coloured beads, cannon, clothes, porcelain, hatchets, knives and quicksilver, were bartered for local products such as sandalwood, sea slugs, clams, copra, wax and slaves (Forbes, 1979, p.1; Dames, 1989, pp.195-96). Due to their poor environment, and for the safety of their trade and sailing routes, the establishment of alliances for economic cooperation was important for the Alorese.

Besides their position as middlemen between the Makassarese and outside traders and the inland people, the Alorese also developed inter - island trading with people on Lomblen, Kisar, Wetar and Timor islands. From Lomblen and Timor they bought cotton and thread, from Kisar and Wetar they bought wax and other needs. The cotton and threads which they bought from Lomblen and Timor were then processed into hand- woven cloths by the Alorese women and sold to inland people for foodstuffs whilst wax from Kisar and Wetar was sold again to Chinese and Makassarese traders.

The contact with outside traders also gave new skills to the Alorese women, that is, to produce hand woven cloth. Oral history tells that the first woman who taught the ikat of watola (see photo 13), a special Indian patterns, to Alorese women was a hari women (invisible people from the sea) named Eko Sari. However since the word eko sari is originally Sanskrit she might
have been a woman from India or at least from Java. Watola is a very prestigious cloth in the Alor and Pantar communities. Original patola cloths from India - on which the watola patterns are based - are still available in the Alor community. These are worth about five times the local product, which is worth about 2 -2.5 million rupiah (1200-1600 Australian Dollars). The high value of watola is due to its complicated pattern (it is a double ikat) and the long processing, which takes about 4 to 5 months, while indigenous patterns (see photo 14) are much cheaper. In the 1970s, due the intervention of modern textiles the use of traditional woven cloth became almost extinct. Luckily this situation has been saved by the development of a national tourism program which supports the development of traditional hand woven cloths. The demand for Alorese traditional cloths increases from year to year and especially comes from the Japanese and the Dutch.

A most significant impact of alliance with the people of Makassar was the emergence of Alor Kecil as a prominent sea port, as has been discussed earlier, and its downturn underpinned the emergence of political action against the Dutch which will be discussed in the next section. The other impact of alliance with Makassar was the emergence of me buah (go sailing) as an economic activity for young Alorese boys. This activity gave them the knowledge to collect sea slugs and clams in the Northern Territory of Australia. The activity of me buah is still practiced, mostly to East Malaysia, whilst collecting sea slugs and clams in the northern Australian islands has now decreased due to its prohibition by the Australian government. Recent events indicate that the inclination to go sailing is not only found amongst young boys but also married men and more recently amongst some young women.

Since in sailing and trading activities men are away from home for a
relatively long period, Alorese women are very involved in local economic activities. They carry out kwali or papalele, buying goods in one place and reselling them there or in other places. The word papalele itself is a Makassarese word (Rahim, 1978) indicating that such economic activity might have been introduced to the Alorese community by the Makassarese.

3.6.3. The impact of the local alliances on political life

During the 1920s the people of Alor were deeply involved in political action against the Dutch colonial government. Of the seventeen independence struggle heroes for the whole East Nusa Tenggara Province recognized by the national government, six (Umar Bara, Lensu Nae Kamahi, Haji Dasing, Haji Abdul Syukur, Samiun Boli and Muhammad Thahir) were from Alor. These were active in the 1920s and 1930. Given that Alor is located far from Java, which was the center of the struggle against the Dutch colonial governments, the lack of communications, and the fact that the Dutch control over Timor and its surrounding area was very strict at that time because this area became a place for political exiles to be sent, such as Datuk Ahmad Batua to Alor (1927) and Sukarno to Ende (Flores) in 1934, the survival of political action in the Alor community until Indonesian independence was unique. Did this come about as a result of long contact between the people of Alor and their alliances in Eastern Indonesia? The rest of this section is oriented to answering this question.

From the Alorese historical perspective there were three main factors which underpinned the emergence of political action against the Dutch. The first was that since they saw themselves as mardijkers (free men) the strict political control of the Dutch over Alor in the early twentieth century was viewed as hampering traditional freedom. The second factor was the decline in economic activities, due to the monopoly of the Dutch in buying
and transporting Alorese products by connecting Alor and Makassar using the big ships of the KPM sea line. This resulted in the decline of Alorese sailing and trading activities. And the third factor was due to the campaign for conversion to Christianity by the Dutch.

Dutch political domination over Alor in the early twentieth century was carried out by shifting the kerajaan of Alor from the Toelimau dynasty of Alor Besar to the Nampira dynasty of Dulolong. This was viewed as a serious problem by the Alorese. For the Dutch, Kapitan Nampira Bukang who was appointed to replace Kwiha Tuli II, was a rich and more influential man, especially as he was a close relative through marriage of the Toelimau dynasty (Stokhof, 1984), so it was thought that the replacement would not become a big problem. What was not considered was that Alor is a patriarchal community in which power is gained through the male line, not the female line. As a consequence of the replacement two rebellions occurred in 1915 and 1916 led respectively by Lawono and Bura, two crown princes of Alor. However the rebellions were easily put down by the Dutch (Doko, 1981). These two rebellions were followed by another one led by Lajaha of Oa. According to Oa, the crown of the domain (kerajaan) of Alor was originally from Oa, so if the Toelimau dynasty no longer provided the ruler of Alor, it should be given back to Oa. However this uprising was also easily put down by the Dutch (ibid).

As a community which maintains close kinship relationships the replacement was disliked by some people of Dulolong, even by clan members of Uma Dopu to which raja Nampira Bukang belonged. These members included Umar Bara who later become one of the militant Islamic party leaders in Alor against the Dutch. In the eyes of the people of Dulolong who disliked the replacement, the Dutch were conducting a "divide and rule policy", resulting in conflict between family members. The
13. An imitation of Indian *patola ikat*, which is locally called *watola*, the most expensive *sarung ikat* in Alor.
14. **Three main patterns of the Alorese sarung ikat** (hand woven cloth).
situation in Alor was insecure until the murder of the raja of Alor, Marzuki Bala Nampira, by the people of Kelaisi in 1918. Although this murder was tragic, it helped to reunite the Alorese in Dulolong and Alor Besar who had been in conflict due to the shifts in the domain (kerajaan).

These rebellions and the way the Dutch overcame them reminded the people of Alor, especially those whose ancestors fled from Solor, about the war in Lewohayong and Lamakera in 1613 and 1614 (Barnes, 1987). The stories about the brutality of António de Andrade, the commander of the Portuguese Fort in Lewohayong (later known as Fort Henricus) and the way the Dutchman, van der Valde forcibly converted the Solorese to Christianity were retold, and thus emerged a sense of hatred towards white men, especially the Dutch. Amongst Islamic leaders from Dulolong, the first one who became acquainted with political organization was Haji Dasing of Dulolong, an heir of a Sängaji who had fled to Alor due to the war in Lamakera. It was his idea to found political parties in Alor. Together with Umar Bara, Lensu Nae Kamahi, Haji Abdul Syukur, Samiun Boli and Muhammad Tahir, he established the Timor Verbond in 1922 and then the Communist Party in 1928. Both parties were banned by the Dutch colonial government, the Timor Verbond in 1922 only eight months after it was founded and the Communist Party in 1929 also less than a year after it was founded. Their acquaintance with the Communist Party came through Datok Ahmad Batua, an Indonesian Communist Party leader from West Sumatra who was exiled to Alor after the rebellion of that party against the Dutch in 1926. After the ban on those parties, it was also Haji Dasing who suggested the foundation of a new party. He was sent to Makassar in 1930 to look for another party to establish in Alor. There he met Enche Tadjuddin Noor, a leader of Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia in Makassar. In the same year he went to Makassar for the second time and brought with him a list of
the names of thirty Alorese people who had been enrolled as party members. A public congress was held in Wetabua (Alor) in 1932 and Haji Dasing was appointed chairman of the Alor branch of the Party. However, soon after the congress, he was captured by the Dutch and sent to prison in Kalabahi for one and half years. He was then replaced by Umar Bara.

During the 1930s this party developed rapidly. In a very short time, through the brotherhood ethic, sub-branches of this party were opened, along with the Islamization of non-Alorese speaking people such as the Moebo, Alila, Tulta, Ilewei and Bampalola on the adjacent hill of Kabola Bay and Cape Kumbang and also in other villages which had previously worshipped Islam such as Matap and Langleki in the Kui domain and Kolijahi in the Belagar domain. Through this party the idea of Indonesian independence was propagated and verses of the Al-Qur'an which suggested holy war were made into songs in order to increase the sense of opposition to the Dutch.

However the opening of this party in Alor produced another problem amongst the Alorese. Along with the introduction of the idea of Indonesian independence, the party also introduced the idea of Islamic purification as it was practiced by the Muhammadyah in Java (Dhofier 1980; Nakamura, 1980). People in Dulolong followed this modernist Islam like the Muhammadyah, which came to Alor via Makassar, whilst Alor Kecil and Alor Besar practice traditionalist Islam (the same form of practice as was first introduced via Ternate). The presence of Syarikat Islam, in introducing the reformist version of Islam to the Alorese living on Ternate island, inevitably created conflict with traditionalist Islam. Due to this conflict party members moved out from Ternate and started a new hamlet on the other nearby island, Pulau Buaya, in 1935 (2).

Faced with the militancy of anti-Dutch feeling from the people of
Dulolong, Dutch government officials sought sympathy from people in Alor Kecil and Alor Besar by recruiting more people from both villages to work in government offices in Kalabahi. However this did not help much. For the people in Alor Besar the shifting of the domain (kerajaan) of Alor to Dulolong, for which they had sacrificed two crown princes, was too big a betrayal to be forgotten. In response to this, a sub branch of Syarikat Islam was opened in Sebanjar, a sub- village of Alor Besar in 1937. For the people in Alor Kecil who were mostly traders and sailors, the decline of Pantai Makassar as a prominent sea port due to the opening of Kalabahi harbour and the monopoly in trade and transportation by the Dutch, also allowed the Dutch to be depicted as greedy and untrustworthy. The position of the Dutch in this period was crucial. On the one hand the shifting of the domain of Alor to Dulolong in order to gain more support brought about the opposite result, while on the other hand the attempt to search for sympathy from traditional Islam to compete with militant modernist Islam as was done in Sumatra, Java and Sulawesi, got a cold response from the Alorese. The response from Alor Kecil was the cooperation between Umar Bara, a modernist Islamist from Dulolong, and Langko Panara, a traditional Islamist from Alor Kecil in resisting the spread of Christianity in Alor, which was sponsored by the Dutch.

Another factor which underpinned the rapid progress of political action against the Dutch colonial government was the spread of Christianity in the territory of the Alor domain. Before being taken over by the Dutch in the early part of this century, Alor was known as an Islamic domain. However, Islam was only worshipped by the people of the coastal area, while the inland people remained believers in animism. Christianity was spread to Alor along with the opening of western model schools. The first school which was opened in the Alor community was a Volkschool (people's
school - a three year school system) in 1906 in Alor Kecil. The second school opened in Dulolong in 1910. What was interesting was that both schools were in Islamic villages but run by a Christian Missionary Foundation later known as GMIT (Gereja Masehi Injil di Timor - Christian Evangelical Church of Timor) under the sponsorship of the Dutch, indicating a strong inclination of the Dutch to spread Christianity. This school taught writing, simple mathematics and mostly Christianity to all students even if they were Muslim. Through local preachers, the animist inland people were converted to Christianity during the 1920s and 1930s.

This new situation very much concerned the Alorese. Umar Bara of Dulolong and Langko Panara of Alor Kecil worked hand in hand to convert the rest of the animist inland people to Islam. However the Dutch Administrator in Kalabahi asked the raja of Alor, Umar Watang Nampira (1918 -1945) to stop them. The way the raja of Alor, Umar Watang Nampira, asked them to stop their activities was interesting. He said: Umara, mitarua Bapa Langko ha mi ebang mangsia punamung maso sallang ki ite perintah hawa ("Umar, you and Bapa Langko, if you convert all the inland people into Islam, then who will be ruled by us"). The interesting thing to be inferred is that becoming a Muslim meant becoming a free man who could not be ruled, supporting the previous claim of the position of the Alorese to be mardijkers (free men). In view of this reminder from the raja, Langko Panara stopped his activity but Umar Bara did not. Through Syarikat Islam he converted the non-Alorese speaking people on the adjacent hill of Kabola Bay and Cape Kumbang and only stopped during the Japanese occupation.

One point that needs to be assessed here is whether the competition in converting the inland people into Christianity and Islam was a merely a religious rivalry or more a political rivalry. In my opinion if it was merely a
religious rivalry the relationship between local Christians and Alorese would have at least become worse during that time. However the fact was that their relationships remained good. One clear example was the preacher Moata. Before he became a preacher he learned the Al-Qur'an from Langko Panara. He then went to Dutch school and was the first local person to become a Christian preacher in Alor and worked in Kalabahi. His relationship with his teacher (guru mengaji) was very good. Langko Panara gave him land to build his house, and that house is now surrounded by those of Langko Panara's sons in Kalabahi. Based on this fact it can be said that although the spread of Christianity in Alor underpinned the rapid progress of political action, the conversion of the inland people was not merely a religious competition but was aimed at resisting Dutch political and economic domination. For the Alorese, inland people are the suppliers of resources and this is codified in the adat words, *beng watang, kwasang bisa woto* ("the ruler is in the coastal area but his source of power is in the inland"). So when the Dutch Christianized the inland people it was viewed as cutting the Alorese ruler's sources of power, both material and manpower.

In order to resist Christianization through education, an Islamic school was opened in Dulolong soon after the formation of Syarikat Islam. Islamic teachers, such as Muhammad Junaidi, Enche Tadjuddin Nasution and Abdurahman Daeng Matorang, were sent from Makasar to run the school and consolidated the development of the party in Alor. Through this school party cadres were educated and as a result, many new branches were opened in Pantar island, such as in Barnusa in 1935, Marica in 1937 and Moru in the Kui domain on Alor island in 1935. The activities of this party ceased during the Japanese occupation but from
15. An adat congratulation ceremony in Kupang (17 November 1992) for a Catholic Priest (X), carried out by the Galiyao family members who consist of Muslims, Protestants and Catholics.
the Constitutional Democracy period (1950-1957) up to the consolidation of
the New Order government in 1974, the Dulolong Branch of Partai Syarikat
Islam Indonesia was significant in political life in Alor. At least once a year
the committee members of the party visited all of its sub-branches which
covered almost all the Muslim villages on the Alor and Pantar islands.
According to a 1970 party document, there were 14 sub branches (ranting)
and more than 3000 active members. This activity experienced a setback
after the government regulated the simplification of political parties in
Indonesia in 1973 by grouping all Islamic Parties into the United
Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan) and the other parties
into the Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia), with GOLKAR
(Golongan Karya), as the ruling party. Along with this policy of simplifying
political parties, the New Order government brought in a "floating mass"
policy, limiting the activities of political parties at village level, and as a
result all the sub-branches of Syarikat Islam were left unnurtured.
However, their long experience and shared activities since the colonial
period kept them loyal to the Islamic Party leaders and this became the basis
of support for the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan at the village level. In the
general election in 1955 Syarikat Islam got one seat in the local house of
representatives and in 1982 and 1987 the United Development Party also got
one seat each time, indicating that the situation had not changed although
the activity of political parties at village level was heavily restricted by the
government.

One important question that needs to be answered in order to see the
impact of local alliances in political life is, since the party was based on
Islam and came from Makassar, why did the political parties emerge in
Dulolong, not in Alor Kecil where many people from Makassar live, and
why not in Alor Besar, where there are many people from Ternate and
where a hostile attitude has long existed towards the Dutch colonial government?

To answer these questions let us first look at the social characteristics of the people in the three main villages. Alor Besar is a keraton (palace) model community in which Alorese traditions were kept and maintained. In such a position it resisted outside influence and this made the Syarikat Islam, with its reformist form of Islamic practices less respected in this village. In Alor Kecil most people were sailors and traders. As sailors and inter-islands traders, they were mostly away from home and not greatly interested in political activities. However it should be noted that it was people from Alor Kecil who traded to Makassar, smuggled magazines and newspapers about political parties to Alor, and gave them to Islamic leaders in Dulolong. Unlike the other two main villages, Dulolong is a relatively new settlement and a relatively large number of people in this village are farmers. As a new community, the outside influences were accepted relatively easily. Besides that Dulolong had become a settlement of political refugees from Solor because of their opposition to the Portuguese and the Dutch. Many Solorse who were afraid of being converted to Christianity also fled to Alor and settled in Dulolong. Such an historical background made people in Dulolong very sensitive to political issues, especially if it concerned opposition to white men. In the 1920s when political parties were introduced, the Alorese sense of dissatisfaction with the Dutch reached its peak. The shifting of the Alor domain (kerajaan) from Alor Besar to Dulolong, followed by the rebellion of two crown princes Lawono and Bura, the decline of economic activities due to the monopoly of the Dutch, the opening of Christian schools in Islamic villages, all led to the conclusion that it was the Dutch who had created the problem and made things
difficult so that the Dutch must be forced out of Alor. The means for forcing out the Dutch at that time was political parties and this made the people of Alor accept political parties and the idea of Indonesian independence.

Although local alliances had no direct role in the formation of political parties, there is a clear "thread" of local alliances assisting the emergence of political parties in the Alor community. Syarikat Islam did not come directly from its centre in Java, but through Makassar. It was then accepted by people who inherited anti-Dutch sentiments, notably Haji Dasing whose ancestor was a *sengaji* who fled from Solor and was accepted as a brother based on alliance relationships. The party was then developed through the brotherhood approach amongst the Islamic domains who were allied in *Galiyao Watang Lema* alliance.
Notes

1). According to oral history from Belagar, Senangabang, one of the war lords of Belagar pretended to be captured by the Solorese and when the boat on which he was held passed near the raja's palace in Bakalang he pretended to cry for help. The raja sent an expedition to rescue him. This expedition joined him in Lamakera and together with the Solorese they attacked Dutch troops in a beach not far from Lamakera. Thus it could be inferred that help was asked and given secretly.

2). Ternate island of Alor is different from Ternate island of Maluku, from which Islam was first introduced to Alor. Ternate of Alor was named after Ternate of Maluku because people who came from Ternate first settled in Alor Besar and then moved to this island. See maps 1 and 2.

3). Information given to me by Rajab Amahala and Kasim Panara of Alor Kecil, and Duru Sina and Abdul Gani Beleng of Dulolong.
CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE ALORESE ALLIANCES

This chapter will analyse three main aspects of alliances. The first is the nature of local alliances in the light of western sociological concepts. The second is the Alorese ethic of brotherhood which is applied from their kinship system to their alliances. And the third is how the local alliances may serve as a model of national integration.

4.1. The local alliance in the light of western sociological concepts.

The concept of alliance has been used a lot in the social sciences. In political studies one of its functions is in regard to the purposes of a state. Generally there are two purposes of a modern state (Rosenblum, 1978; Goodin, 1988; Held, 1989). The first is to give protection and establish a sense of security amongst its citizens. Based on this purpose, apart from establishing their own internal defense forces, some states also establish military alliances. The second purpose of a state is to provide social welfare for its citizens, and in addition to their internal economic development establish economic alliances with other states.


In anthropology the concept is mostly used to describe the marriage relation or union by marriage. Alliance in this sense can be seen in the work of Barnes (1973) on marriage alliances within the Alorese and Barnusa
communities, and Forth (1982) on the Rindi community of Sumba. Other examples are the works of Fox, Barnes and Forman on the Roti, Kedang and Makassae communities respectively (Fox, 1980).

In sociological studies, special analyses of alliance are rare. However there are some general studies which contain sociological aspects, such as those by Lenin (1959), Marthin et al (1980) and Phillips (1988). Lenin (1959) discussed the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and indicated a sense of cohesiveness, common interest, similar social position and fate as main elements of the alliance. Dennis Phillips' book, *Ambivalent Allies*, (1988) draws on sociological facts to prove that the alliance between the United States and Australia was founded on very brittle bases. One of Philips' criticism is that in many cases the United States, "dominates Australian foreign policy and influences the most fundamental domestic political choices...." (Phillips,1988, p.5). Thus he suggests inequality is a key problem for such alliances. From these sociological sources, the concept of alliance could be defined as a cohesive relationship involving a sense of affinity between two or more equally positioned groups or communities based on mutual interest, mutual fate, and mutual concern (Lenin, 1959; Phillips, 1988). I will now seek to link these analyses of alliance to an understanding of the concept in Alorese society.

The Alorese term for alliance is *bela*. The word *bela* itself means to protect or defend. Thus *ite ha tong we bela* means we are in *bela* (alliance) relationship with them. *Bela* is a reciprocal protection or defense, where each party is willing to sacrifice itself for the other. *Bela baja* is a ritual ceremony to create a brotherhood bond and in the Alorese view the parties involved become *kakari* (brothers) to each other. By considering the Alorese alliances which I have discussed in Chapter Three, *bela* could be defined as a
ritual agreement between two or more ethnic groups to protect or help each other on the basis of brotherhood.

As has been demonstrated in Chapter Three the purposes of local alliances were to establish economic, political and military cooperation. This seems to be similar to the purposes of modern western political and economic alliances. However such a comparison is beyond the scope of this thesis. One of the reasons is that it is very difficult to make an adequate comparison between alliances in small communities in a limited area and alliances of large complex modern nation states. Methodologically such a comparison would be of doubtful validity. However it should be noted that political alliances had been practiced by communities over a wide region of Eastern Indonesia well before modern concepts of alliance were defined.

Since western sociological definitions suggest a sense of cohesiveness, mutual interest, mutual fate and mutual concern as the main elements of an alliance, let us see whether these elements exist in the local alliances. This comparison is important for an understanding of the wider social and political implications of such traditional alliances for Indonesia as a modern nation state.

To begin with, let us look at the sense of cohesiveness. It should be acknowledged that one of my main reasons for carrying out this study was the existence of a sense of cohesiveness between people from different ethnic groups which were traditionally allied. As I have stated in Chapter One, my personal observation of more than five incidents of mass fighting in Kupang between 1970-1990 indicated that no single conflict occurred between Soloese and Alorese who were allied in what was called the watang lema alliance. Instead, in the conflicts between Alorese and Sumbanese, the Alorese were helped spontaneously by the Soloese, while
in the conflict between Solorese and Sabunese, the Solorese were helped spontaneously by the Alorese. Bill Nicol (1978, p.16) also recounted that the success of the Portuguese in taking control over the people of the East Timorese was among other things due to blood pact alliances between them, similar to those between the Alorese and their allies. My earlier study of social distance between different ethnic groups in East Nusa Tenggara province also indicated that people traditionally allied were closer to each other than those not allied (Gomang, 1983).

Economic aspects formed the basis of common interest in local alliances. As coastal domains which relied on trading and sailing activities, Alorese communities emphasized economic interest in relationships with their allies. In a time when one could easily be captured and sold as a slave the foundation of alliances on the basis of a brotherhood bond was necessary for the safety of trading and sailing routes. The presence of European traders who dominated economic activities in this region also impelled local domains to strengthen their economic cooperation through alliances. However, as has been indicated earlier, those local domains were polarized under the influence of two 'super powers' in this region at that time, the Dutch and the Portuguese. At various times Makassar allied with Portuguese (Boxer, 1967) and Ternate allied with the Dutch (Barnes, 1987), while smaller domains (kerajaan) on Solor and Galiyao islands adjusted their activities accordingly as the situation changed.

Although local alliances were polarized over economic interests, they had common concerns about religion. On the one hand they helped the Dutch (Scotte) to attack the Portuguese fort in Lewohayong in 1613, but on the other hand when they found that the Dutch officials also tried to convert local people to Christianity their loyalty to the Dutch lessened. As Islamic domains they were greatly concerned about the conversion of local people
to Christianity. Barnes noted that also requested Protestant preachers to work amongst the Christians from Batavia in 1614 and in his preparation to face a rumoured Portuguese armada would be sent from Melaka to attack the Dutch on Solor island; only Muslims remained loyal to the Dutch, but van der Valde thought they could be little trusted (Barnes, 1987 p.226). It could be inferred that rapid changes in the Muslims' attitude were due to religion. Their common concern about religion continued to be a major issue in their struggle against the Dutch colonial government and underpinned the emergence of Islamic political parties in the 1920s.

The common fate of their allies was clearly stated in a sacred oath which they swore after they made the bela baja agreement: go giru olu ha mong giru olu, go plating branging ka mong plating branging ("my happiness will be your happiness and my sadness will be your sadness"). One thing that needs to be underlined here is that while the domains in Solor and the Galiyao Watang Lema alliance identified themselves as Islamic states, the way they made the bela baja agreement was a traditional ritual which contradicted Islamic teachings. However, as indicated by Bill Nicol (1987) such a practice was not only found in the Watang Lema alliance. The Christian Portuguese made similar blood pact alliances with the Timorese to strengthen their control over them (Nicol, 1987 p.16). Fox (1977 p. 71) also noted that the Dutch made a blood pact alliance with rulers of West Timor in 1655. For the Alorese both religion and traditional values are considered equally important factors. In Alor Besar there is a dragon statue placed in the footpath between the king's palace and the mosque and people still ask help from the dragon statue, while in Alor Kecil a secondary school run by the modernist Islamic organization Muhammadiyah is named Eko Sari after the name of an invisible sea woman (hari). This is similar to the
combining of Islam and pre-Islamic practices in Java as studied by Geertz (1960), Dhofier (1980) and Nakamura (1980).

The difference between local and western sociological concepts of alliance relates to their structure and cohesive power. In western sociological concepts, cooperation between the parties involved is carried out on a group or organizational level (Lenin, 1959; Phillips, 1988), whereas in Alorese alliance cooperation between parties operates not only on the group or organizational level but also on the individual level. Let me elaborate the structure and cohesive effectiveness of local alliance in social, economic and political life to demonstrate how it involves individuals.

In social relationships every individual of the Alorese - allied communities view each other as if they are "brothers" and "sisters" and this determines their mode of interaction. It is not surprising for an Alorese to be addressed as kakak (elder brother or sister) by a younger Solorese and vice versa even though they have not known each other before. This form of address is accompanied by behaviour appropriate to actual siblings, and thus providing them with care and assistance if necessary. For other groups which are not allied they address each other as Bapak or Ibu (Sir or Madam) even in informal situations. Every individual is loyal to each other and gives protection to each other if needed, without being instructed by a chief or head of groups or communities. In my experience of resolving several mass fights between young Alorese and Sumbanese boys in Kupang, I asked Solorese boys why they were involved in fighting and their answer was very simple: Saya hanya lewat kakak, dan saya lihat itu adik dipukul saya tidak tahan lalu saya bantu ("I was just passing by elder brother, but when I saw that little brother was being hit, I could not resist my feeling so I helped him to fight"). When I asked whether they knew each other, the answer was "no we did not know each other before but I know that he is from
Thus the help (bela) was given spontaneously. For an outsider it seems that alliance is used as an excuse to join a fight. But for the local people their involvement aims to protect or to defend their kakari. The local alliances were not established in order to start a conflict. In fact, in the Alorese sacred oath it specifically states: parrang ha ite gena lahe (do not search for conflict).

In economic activities the situations in Kampung Solor market and Inpress Naikoaten market (both in Kupang) are interesting. The Solorese and Alorese collect together and sell spices and vegetables in one space while the Rotinese collect together with Sabunese and also sell spices and vegetables but in another space in the same market. It is not surprising to see a Solorese woman arguing or fighting with a Rotinese woman in Kampung Solor market because she did not like the other selling the same thing near her. But next day you will find an Alorese selling the same thing near her and it does not become a problem. The sense of solidarity due to the local alliance is also brought into government offices. A previous study (Gomang, 1984) outlined three patterns of group solidarity in government offices in East Nusa Tenggara Province. The first pattern of solidarity is articulated through similar religious groups, the second is through similar ethnicity and the third is through traditional alliances. Traditional alliance is used as a means to bridge religions and ethnic differences and even becomes the basis for political polarization. In the competition for power over government official positions, the majority Catholic group is split into two groups, those from Flores and the Belu. The Catholic Belu seek support from the Protestant Sumbans, Timorese, Sabunese and Rotinese while Catholics from Flores seek support from Muslims as well as Protestants from Solor, Alor and Pantar. This split follows the lines of traditional alliance. The alliance of Belumau, Timau (Roti), Sabumau (Sabu and Sumba) forms one group,
16. Paints of dragons and a bayan tree, symbol of Bunga Bali clan

17. A dragon statue, which is placed in a footpath between the raja's palace and mosque of Alor Besar.
with the Catholics of Belu, while the alliance of Solor and Galiyao (including Alor and Pantar) forms a group with the Catholics of Flores. Implicitly the promotion of an official involves consideration of religion, ethnicity and traditional alliance. An Alorese Muslim who needs promotion will go to a Solorese Muslim for help while a Sabunese Protestant will go to a Sumbanese Catholic. Traditional alliance is therefore used as a medium to articulate in-group solidarity on the one hand while on the other hand it works to exclude the others. This situation is different to patron-client relationships in Southeast Asian countries as studied by Scott (1972). In patron-client relationships one party is a patron while the other is a client. Patrons give help and protection while clients give loyalty. In this particular Eastern Indonesia phenomenon all parties are in an equal position. Although in the bureaucratic web they seem to be similar, the help and protection that one gives another is perceived differently, that is in the sense of brotherhood, not in the sense of superior to inferior. This can be illustrated by comparing how a Javanese, Makassarese and Buginese in Ujung Pandang would seek patronage. A Javanese will go to the employer and say, den (raden) saya butuh bantuannya, a Makassarese will say: karaeng, saya butuh bantuannya; and a Buginese will say: puang saya butuh bantuannya. The words raden, karaeng and puang all mean "lord" in English, indicating different social status. Walinono (1978) indicates that traditional terms of address, puang and karaeng are used a lot in government offices in Ujung Pandang. On the other hand an Alorese will say to his Solorese employer: kakak saya butuh bantuannya (elder brother I need your help) and a Solorese will say the same to his Alorese employer. If the employer is younger they will say adik (younger brother). Thus no hierarchy is implied.
My observation on the sustainability of cohesive power of alliances indicates that ones founded on local traditional values (adat) such as the Alorese with the Solorese and the Alorese with the East Timorese are still sustained but the ones that were established on an Islamic basis such as those with Makassarese and the Ternatean seems have ceased. From five mass fighting in Kupang already mentioned, the Solorese and Alorese helped each other. But in 1987 when the Buginese and Makassarese were involved in mass fighting with the Sabunese, the Alorese were not involved. That is to say that the alliance based on Islamic values is less cohesive and perceived more rationally than the traditional one. This would support the government's view that Indonesian national integrity is more solid when based on traditional values rather than Islam, the religion worshipped by the vast majority of the people (BP7 Pusat, 1980). Conflicts between Muslims and Christians over religious conversion, and Islamic rebellions have occurred (Kahin, 1985), but these have not been supported by surrounding Muslim communities, indicating the strength of traditional values as elements for Indonesian national integration.

4.2. The alliances and the Alorese world view of brotherhood

The discussion so far leads us to see Alorese social structure and social interaction as mostly based on an egalitarian ideology. In this section I will clarify this by outlining the ideology of egalitarianism in relation to the Alorese world view of brotherhood (kakari) and seeing how it works in the kinship and alliance system.

The egalitarian ideology has been defined through the mythology of Alorese origin. As stated in Chapter Two, the ancestors of the rulers of the five coastal domains on the Galiyao islands hatched from five eggs of an
eagle at the same time and they did not know who was the elder and who was the younger. Thus they treated one another as brothers on equal basis.

The social structure of the Alorese is different from other groups in Indonesia. As mentioned earlier the Alorese have no additional title for their ruler and no titles for their nobles. In Java the attributes of a king are the same as the attributes of a God. They say Gusti prabu for a king and Gusti Allah for God. The people of Bugis and Makassar use similar terms. A Buginese says Puang for a king and Puang Allah Taalah for God. They say Gusti prabu for a king and Gusti Allah for God. The people of Bugis and Makassar use similar terms. A Buginese says Puang for a king and Puang Allah Taalah for God. A Makassarese says Karaeng for a king and Karaeng Allah Taalah for God. In Alorese traditional poems (see Appendix 1, poem no.1) a ruler of Alor is called being ulu anang ("the ruler, son of inland people"). For the Alorese the word ulu is always associated with backwardness or lower status. Thus moha nomo nihing ulu hire ("you are like people from inland") is a sarcastic term for one who do some things improperly or a stereotype for people from backward communities or of lower status. It was to this very low social layer that the ruler of Alor ascribed himself. Although this does not mean the position of the ruler was in fact low, the image of not looking down on one another was clear.

The relationship between the ruler and his people in Alor is also different to that which exists in Java. In Java, the relationship between a king and his people is indicated by gusti-kawula (ruler and ruled), while in Alor it is indicated by kakari or kakang-aring (elder brother and younger brother). Gusti - Kawula is a vertical social relationship between superior and inferior while kakari is less hierarchical.

With the ideology of brotherhood the Alorese define their inside and outside world. In the very inner realm of the Alorese world, kakari indicates kinship relationships. At a second layer kakari indicates
relationships with *eneng*. It relates people of *woto* (inland) and *watang* (the coast) and people of other islands. On Alor the *woto* are divided into *ulu* and *barawahing*. The *ulu* groups can become *kakari* but the *barawahing* are out-groups to the Alorese.

At a third level, *kakari* is also used to indicate relationships with other ethnic groups who were traditionally allied to Alor. Since *kakari* is a kinship terminology based on blood relations, this principle was also applied in the formation of alliances. The formation of the Galiyao Watang Lema alliance was not through a *bela baja* ceremony because it was clear from oral histories that the rulers of the five coastal domains on Alor and Pantar were descendants of the same ancestor. The formation of alliances with the Solorese and the Timorese came through *bela baja* ceremonies because they are different ethnic groups and have different ancestors. Therefore *bela baja* ceremonies were carried out by drinking each other's blood, which was believed to unite them as *kakari*. The alliances with Makassarese and Ternatean were based on Islamic notions. The Islamic notions of brotherhood, *innamal mu'minuna na ichwatun*, meaning "every Muslim is a brother," appears to be similar to the Alorese terms of *kakari*, but does not involve relations of blood or descent, so it is not seen as having the same strength.

As an ideology, *kakari* may also be used to legitimize a conflict. Thus the involvement of the Alorese in the wars against the Portuguese, Dutch and Tapasses in Solor and Timor were impelled by a moral obligation to help their *kakari* as were recent cases, involving of young Alorese and Solorese.

Through the ideology of *kakari* the Alorese define their inner and outer worlds. All the groups which were connected as *eneng* and in alliance relationships are viewed as an inside group and treated as *kakari* while the
others are outside groups. Based on the principle of *kakari*, the Timorese, Solorese, Ternatean and Makasarese who came to Alor were accepted as brothers. Their process of integration is analyzed in the next section.

**4.3. The social integration model of the local alliance.**

The discussion so far indicates that the modern Alorese community is a result of a process of social integration between local Alorese and their allies. In some cases social coherence or solidarity between the Alorese and other ethnic groups which were traditionally allied still exists. The analysis in this section is oriented to two main issues. The first part will attempt to put the case of Alor in a framework of sociological theory. The question which needs to be answered here is: from a theoretical perspective what sort of social order existed in, or was experienced by the Alorese community as a result of their interaction with their allies? The second part will analyze the cohesive forces in Indonesian national integration and then relate the main element of the Alorese model to recent Indonesian political issues.

**4.3.1. The Social integration model of the Alorese community**

Dahrendorf, in his exposition of modern social thought, (cited by Cetina and Cicourel 1981), indicates two conceptions of social order. The first is "the integration theory of society which conceives of social structure as a functionally integrated system regulated by normative consensus. The other he calls the coercion theory of society which views social structure as a form of organization held together by force and constraint transcended in an unending process of social change" (Cetina and Cicourel, 1981, p.2). As has been described in Chapter One, the coercion model of social order amongst others can be seen in the works of Marx and Hobbes, while "normative functional integration models are seen in Durkheim and Parsons" (ibid).
Apart from the many criticisms that have been made of value consensus theory, from which normative functional integration models are derived, and also without denying the occurrence of the coercion model of integration in the Alor community, the discussion in previous chapters indicates that the more dominant model in the Alorese community is the normative functional integration model, although as we shall see later, some of integrative elements of this model do not exactly match Alorese integrative elements.

Before recalling some fieldwork data to support this claim, let us look first of all at the main elements of the model as indicated by its founders, Durkheim and Parsons. According to Durkheim, the main element of social integration is moral obligation. He argued that although the conduct of an individual seemed to imply a freedom of action, it is very much dependent on the internalization of norms by individuals. In other words, each individual has moral obligation, although in social interaction it seems to be a freedom of action (Cetina and Cicourel, 1981,p.3). Parsons on the other hand stated that "individual conduct is explicitly integrated into society through internalization of need dispositions which establish the harmony between individual motivations and social whole" (ibid). Since individuals have different motivations, according to Parsons, the main element of social order is common values (ibid). Based on the main elements indicated by both Durkheim and Parsons, "society is integrated by shared values and obligations"(ibid).

The division of power between clans, with beng-balolo as executive power holders, hamikeleng-dakekeng as warlords, and hukung as judicial power holders, shows that different parts of the social structure played different roles supporting the daily life of the Alorese community as a whole, in the manner as depicted by structural functionalists. Moral obligations are met
through participation in traditional ceremonies. As has been stated in Chapter Two, if there is a celebration in the three main villages, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil and Dulolong, the Alorese who live in other villages, such as Kadelang, Wetabua, Moepali and Tameaming are invited to come. If one does not come on several occasions he will be judged as *ata lewo take uma take* (one who has no traditional house and has no home village), a very shameful thing to be called. There was no special institution which judged people as such, but every Alorese knows this is a moral obligation. The sharing of common values can also be seen in the Alorese community in common religion and sharing the same *adat* notions as a necessary ingredient of social order and cohesion.

On Alor Islam creates an apparent alternative set of values which could potentially contradict other models. However this is not usually seen as a contradiction. For example modernist Muslims still attend traditional feasts, despite the disapproval of religious leaders, because the underlying brotherhood ties are so strong.

Although moral obligation is derived from what Durkheim termed mechanical and organic solidarities, in the case of Alor it is perceived differently. For close relatives (in Alorese terms those who claim the same ancestor and *eneng*), to help or participate in a traditional ceremony such as circumcision is not merely a moral obligation, which according to Durkheim appears to allow freedom of action (Cetina and Cicourel, 1981 p.3). The participation of one who is considered a mother’s brother (MB) in a circumcision ceremony and a father’s brother (FB) in all ceremonies held by the family, is not merely a moral obligation but a responsibility, or is even perceived as a privilege. That is why a MB will be very angry if he is not told of the event or invited to come, because he feels his privilege has been stepped over. There are only two choices for those who have been told
to come: you come to foster a sense of brotherhood, or you do not come and cause conflict. If you do not come there will be no direct punishment because there is no formal authority which has the right to punish you, but you will be isolated slowly and surely by the family members. Instead, a village head (kepala desa) who has formal authority in dealing with such a situation tends not to interfere because it is viewed as internal clan or family business. Based on this we can say that although in the Alorese community there is no special institution or central monopoly of power which controls the maintenance of social order as required by coercion theory, the social system of the community itself has a coercive power to maintain the existing social order.

The elements of Alorese social integration seems to have both similarities and differences with those of the Nupe community in central Nigeria as studied by Nadel. The similarities between both communities is that they are integrated not through a central monopoly of power but because the unity of the people is based on a store of traditions, referring to a common origin and ritual ties. The difference between the two communities lies in the scope of integration. For the Nupe community, integration was only with outside immediate kin groups, mostly through marriage, which acts as a conflict inhibitor (Dowse and Hughes, 1975 p. 25). For the Alorese, the conflict inhibitor was the creation of brotherhood bonds not only with immediate kin groups but also with far distant groups with different languages and traditions.

4.3.2. The Alorese social integration model in regard to recent Indonesian political issues

As stated in Chapter One, since Indonesia is a multi-ethnic society, studies of traditional alliances are important because they may contribute examples
of cohesive social values, based on which a policy for strengthening national integration might be formulated. The discussion of Alorese alliances in this thesis shows the engagement of different ethnic groups with different religions and cultural values and therefore it is relevant to recent Indonesian political concerns, especially ethnic and religious conflict.

As a nation state which incorporated enormous ethnic and cultural diversity ranging from "inhabitants in the inland mountainous areas of Irian Jaya to the most modern and cosmopolitan urban dwellers in major cities, Indonesia places the matter of national integration as a particular concern" (Drake, 1989 p.6). This concern is based on the fact that since independence in 1945, it has experienced many rebellions, motivated by religious and regional factors. Examples include PRRI - *Perjuangan Semesta* (Charter of Common Struggle) revolt in March 1957 in Sulawesi and Sumatra (Kahin, 1985), *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (The Movement for Acehenese Independence), *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (Papuan Independence Organization), *Darul Islam* (Islamic Country), in West Java and Sulawesi from 1940s to 1960s (ibid), and recent revolt in Lampung. Political division have also caused major threats to national unity, as particularly seen in the conflict with the Communist Party in the 1960s which led to a coup in 1965. Besides those rebellions against the government, national security has been threatened by inter-group conflicts, such as between Muslims and Christians and racial attacks on Chinese-born citizens. As a result of this, since the beginning of New Order under President Suharto, the government has stipulated national stability as a precondition for all national policies. The precondition is created in two ways. The first is by uncompromisingly extinguishing those rebellions and conflicts with military force, and the second is by promoting integrative or cohesive forces in order to sustain the country's unity.
Drake in her study analyzed the issue of national integration in Indonesia through four particularly important forces which come together to create national integration. The first is common historical experience, which ranges from shared suffering to the common achievements that have become the shared heritage of a country. The second is shared sociocultural attributes as part of a nation state's identity which distinguish it from surrounding states, including common languages, common cultural features associated with religious practices, and which enable its citizens to feel a sense of unity. The third is interaction among the diverse people within a nation state through transportation links (land, water and air) and communication links (radio, television, telephone and newspapers). The fourth is economic interdependency (Drake, 1989 p.2).

The efforts of the government to promote cohesion in order to maintain Indonesian national integration are based on the four forces identified by Drake. The idea of common historical experience is promoted through, *Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa* (History of National Struggle), - a compulsory subject - taught from elementary to University level, and P4 (*Penataran Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*), the up-grading course on *Pancasila* (the Five Principles) as state ideology, which is compulsory for all citizens in order to create a sense of awareness of shared historical heritage. Given the fact that within Indonesia itself there are so many different ethnic groups and religious practices the second dimension is carried out through strict political control over what is known as SARA (*Suku, Agama dan Ras* - Ethnicity, Religion and Race). Nationalism and national identity are promoted through linking local cultural events to a framework of national art and culture. The third dimension is achieved by developing transportation and communication links. In today's Indonesia, radio and television are available in almost all villages (Depari and
and many new sea ports and air bases are opened on small islands and remote inland areas such as in Irian Jaya and Kalimantan. The fourth dimension of economic interdependency was achieved by regulating growth centers and their supporting areas. There were four growth centers. The first was Medan, which covered the provinces of Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra and Bengkulu; the second was Jakarta which covered West Java, West Kalimantan, Yogyakarta and Central Java; the third was Surabaya for East Java, East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan; and the fourth was Ujung Pandang for the rest of the provinces in Eastern Indonesia, from Bali to Irian Jaya (Marbun, 1986). These growth centers no longer work because their formation was not based on a viable plan. They were not designed for economic development but for political accountability, by copying the division of administrative territories of the Dutch colonial government. For example Bali is very close to Surabaya but it became a supporting area of Ujung Pandang, because Bali was included as a state in NIT (*Negara Indonesia Timur* - The Eastern Indonesian Federal State) which was centered in Makassar (now Ujung Pandang) during the Indonesian Revolution.

Although the Indonesian government still pays strong attention to these four cohesive forces, they are no longer the only important dimensions of national integration. Not all Indonesians share a common historical experience, as those who were born in the post-colonial period were brought up in relatively better conditions than their predecessors. They know about colonial history from books they have read but they have never experienced it directly. "Shared sociocultural attributes can help a nation state its identity" (Drake, 1989 p.2) but within the Indonesian community there are so many different ethnic groups with their own sociocultural values. Some groups have similar attributes but to identify them as similar
means at the same time excluding others with different attributes. Transportation and communication networks have enabled diverse peoples to interact with one another but the presence of radio and satellite dishes for television sets enable people not only to hear news from Jakarta but also from the world generally. Thus they might receive different information and ideas to those desired by Jakarta, and consequently act differently. "Regional economic interdependency and balance in economic development are fundamental to national integration" (ibid) but the growth centers which were regulated for creating economic interdependency in 1975 were abandoned in 1980s. Regional economic interdependency means different regions have different products but there is a strong inclination for all the provincial capital cities to develop similar activities. Economic development succeeded in increasing national per-capita income but it is not equally distributed. Fifteen percent of the population controls seventy-five percent of national assets and the other twenty-five percent is distributed amongst eighty-five percent of the population as has been stated many times from the 1970s to the end the 1980s in various newspapers and magazines. Booth and McCawley have noted that, *pertumbuhan ekonomi yang telah terjadi hanya memberikan manfaat pada segolongan kecil masyarakat yang memiliki kekuasaan politik dan ekonomi, sedangkan sebahagian besar masyarakat lainnya masih belum memperoleh manfaatnya dan, bahkan mungkin dirugikan, ("economic growth only benefitted those who control political and economic power while the vast majority of the people have not benefitted, or are even lost by the economic development") (Booth and McCawley, 1981 p.2)

Political control through governmental structures is the most effective way to maintain national integration. However, since work opportunities
outside government offices are limited, these offices become disguised places for fostering a sense of particularism and primordialism which relies on ethnic, religious and clique sentiments. In many cases acceptance of a new civil servant and an official promotion is not based on skill and capabilities but on a sense of affinity based on whether you come from the same ethnic group, the same religion and the same background (Gomang, 1984). The process of recruitment also seems to be part of what Riggs termed a prismatic society, that is, a society in which the system of "recruitment to a higher level of bureaucracy may be no more than a means of legitimating the continued admission of the sons of political elites into positions of power" (cited in Dodd, 1972, p. 37).

As long as such internal sources of conflict and division still exist the bureaucracy cannot be expected to operate as a cohesive force to strengthen national integration. This condition of bureaucratic institutions can only work if supported by strict political control. However national integration which only relies on strict political control will never be solid. Iran in the era of Shah Reza Pahlavi, Rumania in the era of Ceausescu and the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia - which are now experiencing disintegration- are good examples of the problem.

Sociologists, of both the functionalist and conflict theorists agree that it is by applying a principle of equal balance to all members of society that a cohesive social order can be established (Friedrichehs, 1972; Adams, 1966). Based on such an outlook the people of Alor in their interaction with their allies in Eastern Indonesia may be regard as a model of success. They have engaged with different ethnic and religious groups using the brotherhood principle as has been demonstrated in this study, providing a small but good example for national integration.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

As has been stated in Chapter One, the objective of this study was to discuss Alorese perceptions of their social, political and economic interaction with their allies in Eastern Indonesia. More specifically it is oriented around the issue of how the Alorese perceive themselves and their allies.

The nature and model of Alorese interactions both internal and external were determined by the limitations of their environment. The limited of land was not sufficient for the people of Alor to develop agricultural activities like their immediate neighbors. As coastal dwellers they developed maritime activities, and through these activities (fishing, trading and sailing) they came into contact with various ethnic groups which led the Alorese to develop into a mixed community.

As a mixed community they developed the ideology of kakari as the basis for their social interactions and this made the Alorese perceive themselves as an egalitarian community. This combination of an egalitarian ethic and limited resources led to resistance to the presence of Europeans who dominated economic and political life in this region from the seventeenth century. Faced with Portuguese and Dutch encroachment, the Alorese established alliances with far distant groups such as the Solorese, Timorese, Makassarese and Ternateans in order to protect their trading and sailing activities.

Their small size and limited resources meant the Alorese were very much dependent on their alliances and this dependency drew the Alorese into both conflict and cooperation with the Europeans. It seems that Alorese relationships, both internal and external, were influenced by their alliances.
Within their community they treated people who emigrate to Alor from Ternate, Makassar, Solor and Timor on an equal footing through *kakari* or the ideology of brotherhood. Such a treatment was important for the Alorese economic interests. The Alorese needed to build a good image because groups in Eastern Indonesia maintain a sense of extended family affinities and have strong ethnic sentiments (Fox, 1977; Forth, 1982; Gomang, 1984). In terms of external relationships, the involvement of the Alorese in both conflict and cooperation with the Europeans was due to their economic interdependency in the region. For the Alorese, the loss of Solorese, Makassarese and Timorese allies would mean a loss of trading partners.

Such an economic dependency was demonstrated by the fact that after strong Dutch control over Alor was established in the early part of this century, and a monopoly in trading and transportation activities was established, Alorese economic and living conditions declined. Economic decline and resulting hardship promoted a sense of resistance to the Dutch, which led the Alorese to become heavily involved in political action in the 1920s -1930s and to accept the idea of Indonesian independence through the establishment of political parties.

Moreover this thesis has also indicated a possible use of the Alorese model of integration in the broader issue of Indonesian national integration. It has indicated that the egalitarian ethic of the Alorese concept of *kakari* has been essential in creating the ability to forge links with people in different ethnic and religious groups. Therefore it provides a small but useful example of national integration.

Ethnic relationships in Indonesia, display differences which have potential to create conflicts, they also have similarities which can be used to establish
cohesive relationships. Further studies like the present one are needed in order to bring to the surface cohesive traditional values. In practical terms these are useful for helping to establish a social order, while in theoretical terms they will strengthen the development of social studies.

Traditional values are important for modern life. Kessler, writing about Malay political culture, notes that tradition is not only a surviving residue of the past, or something can be left behind but "becomes a resource now capable of being consciously used to fashion and legitimate a form of life" (Kessler 1992 p.135).

However this study is just a one aspect of the creation of a usable tradition based on how the Alorese view and perceive the other ethnic groups who are allied with them. Broader studies will be needed in order to view the subject from the perspectives of other ethnic groups. The conclusion of this study is therefore an hypothesis which may be tested in future studies.
Traditional poems regarding social relationships within Alor domain and its relationships with other domains on Alor Island.

1

Malaga omi mambaraki
Bunga soru leing
Bunga soru leing ulu anang
Beling ulu anang

The country was chaos
and was neutralized by Bunga Bali
He who neutralized the chaos was the son of inland people
The ruler, son of inland people

2

Oa Mate Adang Bunga Bali
Rua Kakang -Aring
Rua kakang aring nolu naing
Apa nolo naing

Oa Mate of Adang and Bunga Bali
Both are brothers
Both are brothers since long ago
It is since long ago

3

Mau Pelang oneng panje dike
Balu lewo telo
Balu lewo telo Pelang Serang
Uma Pelang Serang

Mau Pelang (a prince from Majapahit) was clever
He protected three villages
with Pelang Serang
Houses named Pelang Serang

4

Seling Saku giling Pati Leing
Bao bongo liko
Bao bongo liko ulu anang
Beling ulu anang

Saku (Bala) equipped Pati (Songo) and used the symbol of Baorae
To defend the son of inland people,
The ruler, son of inland people

5

Pusung lering jering keti noka
Ula naga kotong
Ula naga kotong haneng lolong
Latang haneng lolong

Pusung (Bala) was coming up in his greatness
That is a head of a dragon on his shoulder, put it on his shoulder

6

Tanglapui nimo soru leing
Boti Taru Amang

The ruler of Tanglapui (on his own initiative)
He holds close the ruler of Taru Amang
Boti Taru Amang Bunga Bali
Oneng panje dike

He holds close the ruler of Taru Amang
In the light of the wisdom of Bunga Bali

Mau Laka Beka sodi limang
Watang Kusai
Watang Kusai Tapa Tukang
Tena Tapa Tukang

Mau Laka (ruler of Alor) and Bekak
(ruler of Kelong) shake hands
on the coast of Kusai on Tapa Tukang
on a boat named Tapa Tukang

Pui Soma Pui Bako Laha
Rua sodi limang
Rua sodi limang Lera Baing
Watang Lera Baing

Pui Soma (ruler of Kui) and Bako Laha
(ruler of Alor) shake hands
Both shake hands in Lera Baing
On the coast of Lera Baing

Buka pitu watang Balu mene
Seru watang raja
Seru watang raja paju weking
Nebo paju weking

Open the door to the Balu coast side
to see the coast of the ruler
To see the coast of the ruler (Alor Kecil)
where boats are close to each other,
anchored close to each other.

Iyang Gogo bara ata tana
Kari naing budi
Kari naing budi tapa alang
Lewo Bunga Bali

Iyang Gogo traveled from island to
island to teach his wisdom (Islam)
His wisdom was well received
in the village of Bunga Bali
APPENDIX 2

Traditional poems which refer to the relationships between the domain of Alor and its allies.

1

Galiyao Solor watang lema
Being Bunga Bali
Being Bunga Bali No naing homang
Teleng no naining homang

Amongst the five coastal domains on Galiyao and Solor islands
the ruler of Bunga Bali
The ruler of Bunga Bali gave protection, built houses to protect

2

Nae nong Dasing banta alang
Nusa tanah Kupang
Nusa tanah Kupang Maradeka
Kampo Maradeka

Nae and Dasing argued with people, on the land of Kupang
on the land of Kupang Mardeka
Kampung Mardeka

3

Apa ribu ratu boti neing Kaing
Kaing oneng gesi
Kaing oneng gesi Bitabasi
Nuntu Bitabasi

All the valuable things were given to Kaing but Kaing refused them
He refused them because of Bitabasi (a daughter of the ruler of Manututu);
He requested Bitabasi.

Note

Poem number 2 concerns the involvement of the Alorese in the war between the Dutch and the Topasses which ended in Penfui in 1749. Two warlords of Alor Nae Saku and Dasing, were sent there to help the Dutch and they settled in Kampung Mardeka. In order to finish the war as soon as possible the Dutch official in Kupang announced a big reward (200 gulden) to anyone who could kill or catch Gaspar da Costa, the leader of the Topasses.
One night Nae Saku managed to infiltrate the Topasses' camp and killed Gaspar da Costa. He cut off da Costa's head and took it out. But on his way home he was very afraid of two possibilities. The first was being noticed by the Topasses and the second by other groups of Dutch allies who also wanted to kill Gaspar da Costa in order to get the reward. Hence he cut the tongue of da Costa and took it home while the head was put under a tamarind tree between Oesapa and Penfui. About eight o'clock in the morning the head of da Costa was taken in a huge march to Kupang. After the march a Timorese confessed that it was he who killed da Costa and thus claimed the reward. When the reward was about to be given to the Timorese, Nae Saku and Dasing stood up and Nae Saku said: "do not give the reward to him because he was telling a lie. It was not he who killed da Costa, but it was me". At this the Dutch official said to Nae Saku: "He has the head to prove that it was he who killed da Costa, what is your evidence then?" Nae Saku asked: "Sir, da Costa has a tongue, right?" "Yes, of course", the official answered. "Open the mouth of the head and see if the head still has a tongue. If so it is true that he killed da Costa." Nae Saku argued. When the mouth of the head was opened the tongue was missing. Nae Saku took the tongue out of his pocket and gave it to the Dutch official. Then the reward was given to Nae Saku. The poem was created to mark this event.
APPENDIX 3

Traditional poems which refer to the exchange of Kui, Mademang (Kolana) and Batulolong on Alor island with Atauru island of East Timor under the Lisbon agreement in 1859 between the Dutch and the Portuguese.

1

*Kira kata tanah Sagu mura maso hari biru Maso hari biru buka mulut Tidak buka mulut*

Don't think that Sagu land is easy so you just merely enter you merely enter but say nothing you have nothing to say.

2

*Galiyao Solor watang lema*

Amongst the five coastal domains on Galiyao and Solor islands, The ruler of Bunga Bali

*Being Bunga Bali Being Bunga Bali no naing homang Teleng no naing homang*

The ruler of Bunga Bali gave protection Built houses to protect

3

*Bao Lolong-Bao Lolong Manu lake Bao Lolong Manu lake Bao Lolong Bao Lolong-Bao Lolong*

Bao Lolong -Bao Lolong (ruler of Alor) Bao Lolong is the cock Bao Lolong is the cock Bao Lolong -Bao Lolong

4

*Ikang gere Kolana Kolana -Kolana Kolana -kolana Ikang gere Kolana*

Let us start from Kolana Kolana - Kolana Kolana -Kolana Let us start from Kolana

5

*Ikang sele mando Mando e Larangtuka Mando e Larangtuka Ikang sele mando*

Let us finish with The case of Larantuka (Flores) The case of Laratuka Let us finish with it
Dame rusa dame de
Dame de -dame de
Dame de -dame de
Dame rusa dame de

Let us talk about peace
Let us be at peace
Let us be at peace
Let us talk about peace

Bondai e bondai e
e sapada bondai e
e sapada bondai e
Bondai e bondai e

Put them down - put them down
Put down your weapons
Put down your weapons
Put them down - put them down

Kapal mel masuk
Mel masuk Timor Deli
Mel masuk Timor Deli
Kapal mel masuk

The ship reports to enter
Reports to enter Timor Deli
Reports to enter Timor Deli
The ship reports to enter

Kalambasi benang Maubara
Soro e -soro e
Soro e - soro e
Kalambasi - Maubara

Kalabahi (capital city of Alor) and Maubara (in East Timor) are brothers,
Their brotherhood should be carefully maintained
Their brotherhood should be carefully maintained
Kalabahi and Maubara are brothers

Note

According to oral history the meeting about the exchange of Kui, Mademang (Kolana) and Batulolong domains on Alor island with Atauru Island of East Timor was held in Sagu on Solor island. The meeting was attended by five coastal domains from Alor and five coastal domains from Solor. Since there were some people of Atauru who did not want to be ruled by the Portuguese the main question was where to move these people. All the rulers were asked but no-one answered except Bao Lolong Kae of Alor. Poems number 1 and 2 were created to mark this occasion. His
decision to accept the people of Atauru was viewed as a brave action so that he was acclaimed as the cock (the brave man) as in poem number 3.

Poems number 3 to 9 are in mixed languages and they are not Alorese poems. Although the rhythm of these poems is similar to other poems of Kolana (East Alor), there are Alorese, Kolana, Belagar, and even Portuguese and Dutch words (*bondai* and *mel*) mixed in. Poems number 4 and 5 indicate the first and last issue to be discussed at the meeting. Poems number 6 and 7 indicate the aims of the meeting as a peace making one. Poem number 8 was created to signify that after the meeting all the rulers were taken on a ship to report the result to the Portuguese government in Deli, capital city of Portuguese Timor. Poem number 9 was created after the people of Atauru were moved to Alor and together with some other East Timorese from Maubara, were hired to cut forest to open a new city, Kalabahi, now the capital city of Alor, stating that both Kalabahi and Maubara are brothers.
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