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**UNTUK ILMU BAHASA, ILMU BUMI DAN**  
**KEBUDAJAAN INDONESIA**

DITERBITKAN OLEH

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## THE OLD-JAVANESE RĀMĀYANA

an introduction to some of its problems.

by

Dr. C. HOOYKAAS.

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Writing about the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (OJR) for Indonesians in a learned journal appearing in Indonesia it will be superfluous for me to stress the importance of the Rāma-story in India and Indonesia. This article, written at the request of the Editorial Board of this Journal, aims chiefly at recasting in an easier and more readable form the contents of my two recent monographs on the subject (I, XIII) as well as several papers (II-XII), the exact titles of which are given at the end of this article. Students will perhaps welcome such a summing up of points of view, problems and tentative results, without the apparatus of notes, tables, graphs, appendices, numbers and subdivisions which seemed unavoidable in the studies themselves. The resulting article is to be regarded not as a reasoned essay but rather as a lecture, not to be quoted but to be considered as a talk providing an introduction to some problems posed by the OJR.

The story of Rāma, a story of Indian origin, has spread over the whole of South East Asia. The OJR, this one facet of the subject, has been studied by scholars from various countries. Kern from Leiden edited the complete text in Javanese script in 1900 (I n 27), but had his doubts concerning several passages because of their erotic and/or artificial character, doubts which, for the rest, he indicated mainly by the device of using very modest square brackets in the text, but also expressed in the *Variae Lectiones*. Only much later, when he had become an emeritus professor, did he find the leisure to make a (Dutch) translation, of which unfortunately he was able to complete only VI out of XXVI sargas (1917; I n 29).

Juynboll, who already as early as 1902 had published a special dictionary to this text (I n 28), largely based on its modern-Balinese paraphrases, completed the translation (with the exception of those passages which he considered as interpolations). This translation appeared piece-meal in the course of the twenties and thirties, scattered

over 17 issues of the *Bijdragen* (I n 30). My own supplementary and tentative translations of the 3 omitted passages (II-IV) are in course of being published in 3 more issues of the same *BKI* (1957-8). Practical experience has seemed to indicate that untranslated (passages from) OJ poems have scarcely been taken into consideration, at least not in public discussion. Though the translation of these passages offered more difficulties than I could solve, I nevertheless made the attempt, and actually quite recently the "Love in *Lēnkā*" (II) was discussed by such an eminent student of the OJR as the Hamburg professor Walther Aichele, who has been at work on the poem for the last 30 years (v. bibliography at the end of this paper).

When writing about *Kawī*, Aichele does not limit himself to examples from the OJR but makes a practice of quoting from *Bhoma-Kāwya*, *Bhārata-Yuddha*, *Arjuna-Wiwāha* as well. But the OJR, longest and oldest of all the *kakawins*, appears to be his richest source of information, and his four papers of the late twenties opened new perspectives for the study of *kakawin* in general, and for that of the OJR in particular.

In considering the OJR he remarks that the passages branded as interpolated are composed in impeccable OJ. Without saying in so many words that he considers them as genuine, he uses them frequently in his exemplification and argumentation, in doing so making it manifestly clear that he considers them as belonging either to the original text or at least to a very old and able interpolator. They deserved to be translated at full length.

With regard to the *kakawins* in general Aichele was no longer satisfied with considering the Indian origin of the plot alone, but drew attention also to the stylistic figures, which clearly were inspired by Indian *kāwya*s and modelled on them. Those *kāwya*s, he rightly added, were strongly influenced by the treatises on poetics of several theorists, and he pointed specially to the *Kāwya-darśa* by *Daṇḍin* (between 660-680 A.D.). He made it clear that embellishments of sound as well as those of poetic style and standing descriptions owed their origin and shape to the principles of Indian poetics. In my eyes his papers were definite steps in the right direction, and that is why I translated three of them, but though the four of them have been published in Indonesia they have not found the appreciation they deserve.

In the second half of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties two important studies were written by Poerbatjaraka, who has admired this work of art from youth onward, was in the habit of reading it through repeatedly and enjoys the enormous advantage of dealing with his own language, be it in an older stage. His first paper (I n 42) *on the age of the OJR* has been discussed by Goris (I n 43) and Stutterheim, and in his second study (I n 44) — which deals mainly with five subjects — Poerbatjaraka begins by refuting their arguments, adding new reasons for his own point of view. The following five paragraphs will deal mainly with these subjects. It will become evident that his work was useful and important, even though some of his views appear to be untenable.

In order to establish *the age of the OJR* he compares its language and peculiarities with those of well-dated edicts, and when Damais in the BEFEO recently developed a thorough method of dating old records by exhaustive making use of all their data he left these dates intact. Poerbatjaraka considered the OJR as being very old indeed, whereas Stutterheim could not go further back than the end of the first quarter of the X. century. This dating of an old record, be it a poem or an edict, on the basis of its language, is always a hazardous affair, as both kinds of work tend to use antiquated language, but in this case competent scholars appear to have agreed on  $\pm 925$  as the approximate date of composition of the OJR (XIII p. 5).

In the second place Poerbatjaraka was concerned about the subject of *religion in the OJR*. For Stutterheim in his Leiden Ph. D. thesis on 'Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien' (1924), stressing too much that Rāma is one of the well-known avatars of Wiṣṇu, had ascribed a Wiṣṇuitic character to the OJR. It was legitimate, no doubt, to base himself on the glorification of Wiṣṇu (XII), reminding one of the Sanskrit Bhagavad-Gītā, as Poerbatjaraka himself has remarked. But there are passages of a not less fervent Ćiwaitic character to be found, and P. here gives a new translation of the description of the (Ćaiwa) temple in Lēnkā, closely resembling an old Middle-Javanese caṇḍi, as he points out. Now in the days of this controversy the relations Ćiwa/Wiṣṇu and Ćiwa/Buddha were discussed, but Moens' pioneer studies in Tantrism had not yet found their promotor in Pott, who in his Leiden Ph. D. thesis 'Yoga en

Yantra' (1946) greatly added to the better understanding of religious belief in Java's remote past. By far the greater majority of OJ religious writing is still accessible only in MS-form, and as long as this remains the case, Poerbatjaraka's assertion, though it can be enlightening, can not yet be decisive (XIII p. 64).

In the third place P. was much interested in *the poem's metrical shape*. He examined the metres, of which in the OJR not less than 81 different kinds are used (the multiple of the number of metres usual in the *kāwya*s; I par 7). The majority of these were also known to the OJ treatises on metrics *Wṛtta-Saṅcaya* (ed. Kern) and *Wṛttāyana* (MSS only). Some others were only to be found in treatises on Indian metres. Even then some ten were not known from elsewhere, but recently three of them have been traced in a very recent Indian book on the subject (I n 45). This use of a few metres not found up to date in other *kakawin*s or in the Indian collections is not a peculiarity of the OJR but is shared by other *kakawin*s. Poerbatjaraka took the trouble of verifying all stanzas and drawing up two most useful lists of metres used in any stanza in any *sarga*. (I checked the times when the term for the metre is used in the text of the stanzas, but could not find any system in this practice; I par 7).

In the fourth place P. showed himself aware of *the Indian method of concluding a sarga*. Whether a *sarga* has been composed in one metre only (by way of exception) or consists of stanzas in several different metres — there should always be a very few concluding stanzas written in a different metre. P. knew about this practice but went as far as drawing the conclusion that where a *sarga* ended with as many as seven stanzas of the same metre, several of them should be considered redundant and should be cut out as being interpolated. Perhaps they should; such questions are as difficult to deny as to prove; but this argument in itself was not sufficiently valid. For *Kālidāsa* himself somewhere used as many concluding stanzas, and *Srī Harṣa* used even 10 (I par 7). Now there is a constant reciprocal influence between the poets of those *mahā-kāwya*s, the classical poems and the theorists on poetics. The rules of the theorists are derived from practices found in those best poems, and the later poets have to observe those rules, generally speaking. But a practice which is actually found in those few generally acknowledged classical poems



can not be a cause for suspicion in an OJ kakawin. However, though I do not think P. was entirely right in this case, his acceptance of an Indian poetic rule in connection with concluding stanzas of a *sarga* as authoritative for an OJ kakawin is perfectly sound and in harmony with Aichele's findings.

In App. I to his study P. is concerned with the *interpolations in the OJR*. As a result of reading so many kakawins and editing several of them he gradually acquired a firm conviction. According to him the erotic passages — he calls them obscene — must have been interpolated, and he ends by assuring us that one and the same hand, in the late Majapahit period, has inserted all of them in all (copies of all) kakawins, including the *Smara-Dahana*.

He is also opposed to word-repetition and artificialities of speech, and against 'summings-up' of fishes, trees, plants etc. His disapproval makes him reject even those passages which are definitely decriptive or the endless variety of sea, orchard or garden rather than mere enumerations.

Poerbatjaraka's views on interpolation in the OJR were largely shared by Juynboll who in those days was publishing his translation of the last, the most difficult and the most suspected of the *sargas*. In the notes to the passages which he omitted (approximately the same as those condemned by P.) he professed concordance with P.'s views.

The two scholars, who had covered an enormous range of reading in Javanese literature by going through resp. the whole Jakarta — and Leiden collections of MSS, were undoubtedly right in assuming the possibility of interpolation in Javanese writings. They knew from personal experience that whole genres such as *usada* and *tutur* seem to consist only of fragments found in many other writings with different titles. But in the field of kakawins we are concerned with constructions, with compositions, and, what is more, with largely Indian plots, more than probably written in accordance with Indian aesthetic views. The weak points of the views on interpolation expressed by Juynboll and Poerbatjaraka are, (theoretically) their arbitrariness, and (practically) their inconsistency. Both authors knew

Aichele's work; it is to be deplored that they did not draw from it the obvious conclusions (XIII).

However, Poerbatjaraka has done most painstaking and useful work for which we owe him gratitude, and it would be desirable that his complete Indonesian translation of the OJR should be published. And though Juynboll may have omitted a few passages, he completed the translation of this longest, certainly most variegated and perhaps most difficult of all kakawins. In making more accessible this important text he enabled Himansu Bhusan Sarkar to deal at great length with the Rāma-story in his book 'Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali' (I par 3). His English version of the Dutch translation reminded the Indian scholar Manomohan Ghosh of a Sanskrit poem dealing with the Rāma-story, Rāvāṇa-Vadha (the Killing of Rāvāṇa), by Bhaṭṭi, the so-called Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya (BhK). Relying on aesthetic judgment rather than reasoned argument, he put forward a theory that the OJR was a translation from the BhK. Later investigations have proved that this judgment was essentially right.

My guru and co-villager in Bali was in the habit of studying the OJR together with a friend of his youth who had turned a Christian; they did so in order to become better men. The Belgian missionary and Sanskrit scholar Dr. Bulcke S.J. studied the Indian Rāma-stories of which he taught the nīti to his Indian pupils. He collected the Rāma-stories from India (and Greater India?) and compared them in his Ph. D. thesis for Allahabad University (1950). Dr. Bulcke collected some 300 versions and discussed them, but his Hindi-written thesis has unfortunately not yet been translated into English, nor has it been made accessible in a lengthy review. When in 1951 I began studying the BhK following Manomohan Ghosh' suggestion I did not know about Bulcke's book, and it was only when I met him in India in 1953 that I heard about his results. They confirmed Ghosh's supposition to a considerable degree: more than a half of the OJR ran closely parallel with the BhK, a work which must surely have been its example. With the description of the arrival of the invaders on lovely Mount Suvelā in Lēnkā the two versions diverge too widely for comparison to be possible for the remaining sargas (I App II). This conclusion, though perhaps not of much consequence for Dr. Bulcke's investigations, was quite extraordinary and unprecedented in Old-Javanology.

A comparison of the BhK with the OJR initially attracted me mostly for one reason: the possibility of a clear and cogent decision in the problem of genuine *versus* interpolated; hence the subtitle of my first monograph. It had seemed as if Poerbatjaraka had become more moderate in this respect when in our joint translation of the Bhārata-Yuddha he had consented to make a complete rendering, in doing so including all suspected passages (1934). But in his edition of the Nirarthe-Prakṛta he showed himself more outspoken than ever before (I n 67), though Prijono and Teeuw in their theses for their Ph. D. dissertations had advocated a more cautious attitude (I n 60; this is one more instance where I deplore the fact that such theses are seldom elaborated into scholarly articles).

Unfortunately only the first 56% of the OJR runs parallel with the first 65% of the BhK, whereas it is just connection with the last sargas that the most serious suspicions about interpolation into the OJR arise. However, at the outset one thing became evident beyond doubt, *i.e.* the genuineness of the scene depicting the love-making of rākṣasas and rākṣasis in Lēnkā, witnessed by the spying Hanuman. The reasoning according to which erotic scenes should be considered as interpolated because of their character, arbitrary already in itself, may now be branded as antiquated.

Does this conclusion refer only to the OJR or is it also relevant to the kakawins in general (I p 34-38), a literary genre cultivated first in Java and then in Bali for the last thousand years and continuing up to the present day, and represented by more than a hundred specimens?

The OJR is a century older than the oldest of the other kakawins; in the case of the latter, we do not have at our disposal special glossaries and investigations concerning their embellishments of sound and style. Rewarding though such studies promise to be, they would have taken me a considerable time and would have led me far out of my way. So for the moment I have only tried to wipe out the most conspicuous dividing line between the OJR and the other kakawins: The OJR on the one hand consists of some two dozen *sargas*, poems of between 47 and 260 stanzas, never composed in one and the same metre throughout, but in at least 2 and at times up to as many as 37 different metres in one *sarga*. The kakawins on the other hand consist of a much greater number of mono-metric entities which we

are in the habit of calling *cantos*. Now a close comparison of the OJR and its exemplar the BhK brings to light the fact that the OJR's division into *sargas* deviates not inconsiderably from that in the BhK, and that some of these deviations at least are most likely to be due to later scribes' misunderstanding of the *sarga*-system (I par 7). One gets the impression that the (Indian) division into *sargas* has been maintained in the MSS of the OJR but has been misunderstood or ignored by the copyists and even the poets of the later *kakawins*, but this theory has still to be investigated. However, from comparison of the OJR and the *Bhoma-Kawya* (half its size) it becomes clear that the alternation of short and long mono-metric passages in these two poems is very similar; and the shorter *Hari-Wangsa*, *Smara-Dahana*, *Arjuna-Wiwaha* and *Bharata-Yuddha* too, show the same characteristic. For this simple, obvious and mechanical reason to begin with, I am inclined to see the *kakawins* as one group and to minimise the difference between the OJR (consisting of *sargas*) and the other *kakawins* (consisting of *cantos*). Consequently I believe — and shall continue to do so until the contrary argument has been made acceptable — that the erotic passages belong to the OJR as well as to the later *kakawins*.

Comparison of the OJR with the BhK revealed that one suspected passage in the OJR was genuine and not interpolated, but it brought to light also the fact that hitherto unsuspected passages in the OJR had no counterpart in the BhK (I, VIII-XII; XIII). And, for several reasons, the text of the BhK must be considered as well-established. According to the Indian scholars it belongs to the VII. C. A.D., a period that for Java represents a dim and hoary past, but which for India is a part of historic times. To add to or subtract from the BhK is (almost) out of the question, for just as some paper has a watermark in its issue, so the BhK under its surface purpose of telling the *Rama*-story has for its real subject the *Sanskrit* grammar of *Pāṇini*, seeking to illustrate its rules and to illuminate difficult cases. The thirteen learned commentaries which have attached themselves to this text during the thirteen ages of its existence and have come down to us would not have failed to detect encroachments on its text and underlying tissue. The occurrence in the OJR of stanzas and whole passages not to be met with in the BhK for these reasons can be ascribed merely to intentional amplification on the part of the poet(s) of the OJR.

Such amplifications and additions are by no means necessarily intercalations into the OJ poem : the original OJ poet may himself have added them either in his first draft or later on. A work of the OJR's bulk, using 81 different metres, with hundreds of the intricate artificialities to be dealt with further on, must have taken many years, if not a life time, for its composition. These passages, however, even if not to be suspected from the point of view of interpolation, nevertheless deserve to be examined closely for the reason of their being additionally incorporated into the poem. Aichele has pointed to the fact that suspected passages are written in an impeccable style of OJ, and it is noteworthy that Poerbatjaraka, so keenly alert to detect possible interpolations, nevertheless made full new translations of two of them : 'Rama' Preaching Niti to Bharata' (at his departure, when Rama bestowed his sandals upon him ; VIII) in the 'Triwindoe-boek Mangkoe Nagoro VII', and 'The Śaiwatemple in Lēnkā' in his study from 1932 mentioned before. Little was he aware, nor indeed in those years could he have been aware, of their special character !

An examination of the whole poem, including that second part where it is not the BhK that has been followed, produces some ten passages or episodes, not to be found in the BhK (XIII), and forming small poems in themselves. Their length consists of only few tens of stanzas, at the most half the size of the shortest sarga. In most cases these passages show a nice variety of metres, and where a single one uses only one metre throughout, it still has the same shape as the monometric sarga II of the OJR. But generally they have been composed in several metres and end with one or two stanzas in Puspitāgrā or Mālinī metre — just those metres which in the kāwya and in the OJR alike are preferred for the concluding stanzas to sargas (I par 7). This fact, that short, complete poems could be intercalated into the poem in places where the BhK does not have them, suggests that these poems existed independently as pieces of song or recitation. Little, however, has as yet been made known about recitation of poetry among Javanese and the people of those neighbouring countries which adopted and imitated Javanese literature. But it seems to be a reasonable supposition that in addition to the voluminous kakawins, the singing of which will have taken many, many nights, smaller poems should also have existed (XIII).

The poet of the OJR could scarcely have chosen a more complicated example for his poem than the BhK. He will not have been able to

find so many versions of the Rama story as Father Buleke found more than a thousand years later, nor will he have looked for them as intently. But with his knowledge of Sanskrit — how right was Poerbatjaraka in stressing this point, diametrically opposed to the opinion held by Kern! — he may be expected to have known other versions (first of all the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa), more simple than the difficult and complicated one he chose. Moreover Bhaṭṭi was not satisfied with dealing with innumerable cases arising out of Pāṇini's grammar, (in this way presenting many difficult cases and apparent exceptions and continually demonstrating the use of the perfect, the aorist, the future etc.) but in addition to these gymnastics Bhaṭṭi resolved also to exemplify 'the embellishments', both of sound and of style. These he dealt with one after the other in due sequence, probably closely following the rules and examples of his textbook on poetics. Finally he also paid special attention to some of the 'sentiments', or, as we would say, the impression left upon the senses of the reader by the pervading mood of a particular passage. All these poetical niceties have been dealt with in the middle sargas of Bhaṭṭi's poem, as a well-balanced interruption of all the grammatical items — and this part of the BhK is still closely followed in the OJR. Hence the self-evident question arises: Did the OJ poet follow his example, not only in content but also in shape, and if so, how did he achieve this? (XIII).

Before an answer to this question can be given we must refer to the above-mentioned textbooks on poetics used by Bhaṭṭi. Our present pattern of culture only too often accepts and, indeed, expects scholarly books and papers from people who have not learned how to write, works of art from people who have not learned their métier. The past differed fundamentally from this attitude and India is known for the elaboration of rules in all fields of the arts — though even the Indians were very well aware of the primary need for original endowment and inspiration in the artist. Now Bhaṭṭi illustrated the work of the grammarian Pāṇini in most of his sargas, and this identification of his source was not difficult to make as Pāṇini has always dominated this field. But in the field of poetics one theorist superseded another during many centuries, and as a consequence several of them must have sunk into oblivion, their works having disappeared even materially (XIII). We know that this happened in the case of a certain Medhavin, whose work has survived only in quotations in

other treatises, and we must admit that so far no theorist on poetica has been found whose work clearly was Bhaṭṭi's textbook (VI). This is the more regrettable as Bhaṭṭi's commentators are repeatedly at a loss to explain which stylistic figure exactly he tried to exemplify in a particular stanza. They disagree time and again, and even when they agree one does not always feel completely convinced about their decision; in plain fact, they sometimes erred (VI).

There exist, however, two treatises from shortly after Bhaṭṭi's time, which are not too widely divergent and which definitely help in the understanding of Bhaṭṭi's scholarly intention (apart from his artistic aim of giving his own shape to the Rama-story). One of them is Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*, consulted with good result by Aichele in his examination of the shape of the Kawi poetry; the other is Bhāmaha's *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*. So the situation with regard to the poetics exemplified in the BhK is this, that where the relevant textbook fails, the commentators have repeatedly misunderstood and misexplained the BhK (VI). Consequently it is not always easy (or even possible) to decide, which stylistic figure exactly Bhaṭṭi in a given stanza meant to exemplify. Nor can we always be sure whether the poet of the OJR has faithfully followed his example in view of our lack of complete understanding of this last.

Bhaṭṭi begins by exemplifying assonance or alliteration, in one stanza only, although euphony and assonance are aspects which are usually treated at considerable length (even if intermittently) by the theorists; their precepts, however, tend to be too vaguely expressed to be of much use to a non-Indian. Now the OJR contains innumerable assonances, almost exclusively based on consonants, as they should be, in accordance with the Indian principles. But the Javanese script, with its consonants often written under or above the line, does not make it easy to recognise the alliterations. Juynboll will have read text silently, in the Western way; I cannot imagine Dr. Juynboll singing or even reciting it. But Poerbatjaraka will certainly have hummed it, and may even have sung it. Nevertheless, still both of them overlooked or failed to hear many (if not most) of the assonances. For they branded passages as intercalated on the (arbitrary) ground that they contained too many alliterations, without noticing that the neighbouring stanzas contained just as many. Latin script and reading aloud help a good deal, but in both cases there is another

point to be taken in consideration. The Indians speak and spell *e.g.* Kailasa, the Javanese spell Kailāsa but will have pronounced it Kailasa, just as the Indians did the the Indians and the Javanese do now. The same refers to the *ṣ*, and as a consequence there is more of rhyme or assonance in the OJR than the script betrays. On the one hand there are more different sounds than can be expressed in script, but on the other hand there are more assonances than the script suggests to us (V).

A further line of reasoning could be based upon the very frequent use of yamakas, the 'four-line chime' (V), to be dealt with in the next paragraph, where we know for certain that syllables were meant to be in assonance (though written with different letters). Apart from the light which such a practice sheds on the pronunciation of Old-Javanese it proves the presence of still more assonances than have hitherto been suspected (V).

Next Bhaṭṭi deals with some twenty different yamakas (V). The most 'epoch-making' in this connection and the one which reminded Manomohan Ghosh of the BhK is the one which in the BhK II. 19 runs as follows :

Na taj-jalaṃ yan na sucāru-p a ṅ k a j a ṃ,  
 na p a ṅ k a j a ṃ tad yad alī n a-ṣ a ṭ p a d a m,  
 n a ṣ a ṭ p a d o 'sau na j u g u ṅ j a yaḥ kalaṃ,  
 na g u ṅ j i taṃ tan na jahāra yan manaḥ ;

of which the translation, unavoidably less succinct than the original, is as follows :

There was no water on which the lotus did not grow ;  
 there was no lotus on which the black bee did not sit ;  
 there was no black bee which did not make a humming sound ;  
 there was no humming sound which did not charm the mind.

The poet of the OJR (also in II. 19) gives the following apt rendering of the quatrain :

Sakweh nikang talaga tan hana tanpa t u ṅ j u n g ;  
 t u ṅ j u n g nya tan hana kurang paḍa mēsi k u m b a n g ;  
 k u m b a n g nya kapwa muni tan hana tanpa ś a b d a ;  
 ś a b d a nya karṇa-suka tan hana tan manojña.



Our translation, again slightly longer, runs in this way :

(Of) all those ponds there were without lotuses ;  
 the lotuses were not few, all were filled with bees ;  
 the bees were all humming, there were none without sound ;  
 the sound pleased the ear, there was nothing that was not  
 delightful.

Once one has made himself familiar with this kind of embellishment, it will be evident that there are many more possibilities in the yamaka-field than the one mentioned above. The assonances may occur at the beginning of the lines, or in the middle, or at the end. Line 1 may show assonance with 3 and 2 with 4 as in the well-known Malay verse-form known as *pantun*, or 1 with 4 and 2 with 3, etc. Our example is very clear owing to the fact that it works with complete repetition of the same words, but repetition of the same consonants would have been sufficient, not necessarily even in one and the same word ; they may be found in two consecutive ones. The Sanskrit language offers unlimited possibilities for this manipulation of words, and though Bhaṭṭi produces 'only' 20 variants, the theorist Daṇḍin revels in yamakas to such a degree that he produces several times as many as those that are to be found in the BhK. The OJ language with its different structure has not the same possibilities as Sanskrit ; nevertheless the OJR appears to produce more than a dozen different yamakas. Some of these are not to be found in the BhK, but they are generally exemplified in Daṇḍin's book (V).

Though one might now feel attracted to the assumption that the poet of the OJR might have studied them there, and though his knowledge of Sanskrit would have enabled the adaptor of the BhK to do so, this is not necessarily the case. For a man who has once learned the trick of making ten different kinds of yamaka needs no guru's help to add ten others of his own invention. The theory that the poet of the OJR may have learned them from Daṇḍin's work is far from excluded that indeed is the subject of my second monograph but the question of the use of yamakas is not a conclusive argument.

Yamakas must be considered as products of their time and their pattern of culture, most of all as favoured by an Indian theorist later than Bhaṭṭi and nearer in time to the OJR. Indians have been inclined to carry their theories to extremes, and one can imagine that a

poet who had decided that yamakas were valuable embellishments might go on to decide by next step that no stanza in a poem should be devoid of such adornment. Consequently some poems are found which consist of nothing but yamakas ! And quite recently De Casparis has made accessible an OJ record, dating from only a few decades before the OJR, which proved to be studded with yamakas. In the light of these new facts it now seems absurd to use the frequent occurrence of yamaka-artificialities as a criterion by which to decide that they are later interpolations, inserted by epigones who had lost the true feeling for OJ poetry. It would be more appropriate to consider *e.g.* sarga XXV and its immediate surroundings (where nearly every stanza is a yamaka) as one of the oldest parts of the OJR (XIII).

To avoid misunderstanding it should be stated here that the poet of the OJR, though neither unable nor unwilling to let one yamaka follow another, of the same or of a different kind, did not follow the example of the BhK by working through the whole list one after another. The virtuoso poet of the BhK even managed to exemplify some fifty 'embellishments of style' in the same number of consecutive stanzas, but the poets of the OJR did not follow him here either. These embellishments have to be sought throughout the whole OJR, and actually can be found there. Still one cannot escape the impression that the poet of the OJR felt more attracted to sound-embellishments than to the stylistic ones. Those adornments of style, moreover, are sometimes so subtle, and the difference between one type and another sometimes so slight, that in this field considerable discussion is going on between the commentaries (VI). It will be evident that this kind of material is difficult to handle (VII).

Another elusive aspect of the problem is the ascribing of different moods to the various situations. It is not always easy to decide what the poet's intention was in any particular passage, and to support one's decision by convincing argument. The commentators of the BhK agree about two of these moods which seem to be expressed beyond reasonable doubt, but we do not know for certain which of the several sets of them, developed by the theorists, Bhaṭṭi wished to exemplify. Therefore this topic also, too controversial to be presented in conclusive terms, has been dealt with only summarily in my second monograph and will not be discussed here at greater length.

Comparison of the BhK with the OJR so far has been concerned either with major passages to be found in the one poem and not in the other, or with embellishments of speech and poetic style. In addition to these major passages, however, there exists a considerable number of passages to which either the one version or the other pays more attention (I, XIII). Hence the question naturally arises: whence all these minor and major divergences? The practice of consulting the textbooks of the theorists on poetics time and again on the topic of embellishment makes one look deeper in order to detect their prescription for the writing of a good *kawya* (XIII). This, so they teach us, should contain certain elements and should eschew certain others, should favour one way of writing while avoiding another. Here we can not go into details, which are to be found in my second monograph, but it is safe to say, in general, that these rules appear to be neither too numerous nor too stringent.

As we have already seen, the theorists of Bhaṭṭi's days and those before him have fallen into oblivion, and we have had to work with two later ones whom Bhaṭṭi cannot possibly have known, though it is likely that the theories expressed in his own textbook approximated fairly closely to theirs. Chronologically speaking the poet of the OJR, living a few centuries later, may have studied the theorists or one of them, or at least have felt the influence of their teachings. His knowledge of Sanskrit enabled him to study the works themselves; the intellectual climate of those days was in favour of such studies, to say the least of it. The fact that he was a Javanese engaged on the composition of an enormous poem along the lines of an Indian *mahakawya* may have stimulated in him a desire for to study the theoretical foundation of his art.

However, up to the present this is merely an assumption, a possibility, at the most a probability. But it seems worth to investigate to what degree BhK and the OJR satisfy the rules for the composing of a *mahakawya*, according to the Indian theorists. I much regret the fact that the scope of this paper does not allow me to set out in full the detailed reasoning which has brought me to the conviction that this is not a mere probability but a workable theory (XIII).

The BhK, we should bear in mind, is by common consent a *mahakawya*, one of the few classical poems, which during the more than thirteen centuries of its existence up to the present day has never

failed to please, to be admired, to be studied and to be considered as fulfilling the traditional requirements. Tested by the criteria mentioned above (dating from after the poet's days and therefore not applicable in the strict sense) the BhK shows several serious flaws and faults. Nevertheless, the poem is a brilliant piece of work and beyond doubt the composition of a virtuoso, for whom the self-imposed difficulties were but added stimulation urging him to exhibit his full mastery of the task undertaken. It is clear that Indian scholars, though they are conversant with the relevant rules, have agreed to overlook the shortcomings of the poem.

The OJR, when tested by the rules of the theorists who dominated the Indian field in its days, at once gains new meaning. It proves to be up to all requirements, to all demands, to all desirabilities even. It looks as if passages enlarged in the OJR, or even added, owe their amplification or even their whole existence to the poet's eager desire to present the complete number of topics, adequately dealt with. Many passages are improvements on the BhK, if regarded from that old Indian point of view, and are more easily to be understood.

Comparison of the BhK with the OJR up to now has in the main had to be restricted to those 65% and 56% resp. where the texts still run fairly parallel. As soon, however, as the question is put whether the BhK and the OJR contain certain elements and deal with them according to the rules set by the theorists, the complete poems must be drawn into the discussion. At first we are struck by the observation that there are several elements with which the OJR deals more conscientiously and amply than does the BhK. But then we go on to notice that there is one element represented in the OJR which is completely absent in the BhK. It is the *udyāna-lilā-kriḍā*, the sporting in gardens and in water.

Moreover, the passages where these descriptions occur have, in the past, aroused suspicion as to their genuineness. The party in Sītā's garden does indeed make a queer impression in our text, and I myself do not feel too sure that it is to be considered genuine.

This one element, taken alone, can not be considered conclusive, but after all the evidence, enumerated in my monographs and only hinted at here, it proved, for me, decisive. Is it heaping one assumption on another to express the supposition that this scene has been added to an already existing text, in order to complete the list of

requirements for an ideal kakawin? Supposing this to be an intercalation, I find myself unable to decide whether it was made by the original poet himself, who must have spent many years on his poem, or must be ascribed to a contemporary pupil, or perhaps to a later colleague. But a careful comparison of the BhK and the OJR with the requirements of a maha-kawya as criterion for judgment, leads one to the conclusion that the OJR in its present shape was intended to be an exemplary kakawin both as to form and to content.

May-June 1958.

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- IV. From Lēnkā to Ayodhyā by Puspaka, being mainly the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa sarga XXV, shortly to appear in BKI 114, 1958.
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- VI. On some Arthalaṅkāras in the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya X, BSOAS xx, 1957, 351-364.
- VII. Stylistic Figures in the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin, shortly to appear in Journal Oriental Institute Baroda VII/2, 1958.
- VIII. Bharata's Departure. A Passage on Artha-śāsha in Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin. JOI Baroda, V/2, 1955 187-192.
- IX. Sītā's Laments in the Aśoka-grove, as found in the OJR Kakawin, JOI Baroda V/3, 1955, 244-248.
- X. The Wailings of Vibhiṣaṇa in the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin, JOI Baroda V/4, 1956, 335-337.
- XI. Vibhiṣaṇa's Succession in Lēnkā. A Passage on Niti-śāstra in the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin, JOI Baroda, V/4, 1956, 338-344.
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## BAUMATA

by

P. MIDDELKOOP.

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The content of this article consists of three parts, all concerning Baumata, but of which the initial one gives the background of faith which the story about the origin of the name Baumata obtained under this population.

These three parts are :

- A. Introduction, translation and original text of the invocation ;
  - B. Introduction, translation and original in which is dealt with the mythological origin of the *koko*-worship in the group Nai Nupu. Typical in it is that the mystical bond breaks off at the moment the covenant-agreement is broken ;
  - C. Introduction, translation and original about the historical situation in Baumata. In these a supplement is presumably given upon the story XIV- 2 in *Verhandelingen Kon. Bat. Gen.* (i.e. *Treatises of the Royal Batavian Society*) LXXIV : 2 (1939) p. 76—79. This data is typical businesslike historically apart from the mythical background in text B. In all three parts is conspicuous the matrimonial connection with the Helonese which, from the beginning, has grown between the Nupu and the Helonese
  - D. Explanation with the drawing and postscript.
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### A. *Introduction upon the text of invocation of Bi Baun and Nai Mat.*

The whole community involved in it made for the kusambi-tree, mentioned in line 28 of this invocation. The names of those who performed the offering-act are : 1 Lasi Kase and 2 Oè Kase, both still alive. The head of the group, owner of the bronze statuettes, pictured herewith (pictures 14) is M. Tanèbet. It seems to me worthwhile — supplementary to the story in *Tijdschrift K.B.G.* (i.e. *Journal of the Batavian Society*) vol. LXXXV, 2nd issue (1952)

page 193 — to publish this invocation in original together with a translation. The attention is drawn however to the fact the prime ancestors in the male line, nai Mat and nai Batmolo, appear to be Helonese. It is obvious therefore that in olden times — when Taibenu and Nai Nupu of Lelogama came to Baumata — part of the Helonese was living there, the main groups of which having crossed the straits of Samau later on. It is remarkable that both these (iron) bronze statuettes, have been assimilated as representatives of Bi Baun and Nai Mat. Probably, however, the story itself is much older than the statuettes which — most likely — have arrived here in some or other way from outside. In Timor the art of ornamental iron work has originally been unknown; the silver-smiths emanate from the isle of Ndau and have come to Timor only much later.

Hereafter now follows the invocation in original together with a translation :

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Lasi kasè ma 2 (Oè kasè)<br>ana' bibi lukèn ma ana' ma-<br>nu haèn. | 1. Lasi Kasè and 2 Oè Kasè<br>keep in hand the ears of the<br>goat, the legs of the chicken. |
| 2. Oè fat funan Februari ton-<br>ton.                                  | 2. During the rainy-season,<br>month of February, each<br>year.                              |
| 3. Anonèn toti oè anhoè, mna-<br>hat anhoè he nah am ninu.             | 3. They pray that water to<br>drink (and) food to eat may<br>be abundant.                    |
| 4. Anonèn nak :  | 4. They pray, saying :   |
| 5. Bi Baun am Nai Mat (Hèlo).  | 5. You woman Baun and man<br>Mat (Helo).   |
| 6. Bi Katnesi am Nai Batmolo<br>(Hèlo).                                | 6. You woman Katnesi and<br>man Batmolo (Helo).  |
| 7. Kalau mutu'nom èt nan   | 7. If you are staying there  |
| 8. muèkom èt nan,  | 8. retiring yourself there,  |
| 9. haim toti haim baisenu lo-<br>nane.                                 | 9. we are asking, we are look-<br>ing up to, and lifting our eyes<br>unto you,               |
| 10. Muaubsom oom mutati oom!   | 10. Come hither -  |
| 11. Musiuf Baumat, mahonef<br>Baumat.                                  | 11. Sprinkle Baumat, water Bau-<br>mat.  |
| 12. Hem hau anbine ma anfati<br>anbine.                                | 12. That you feed there and fos-<br>ter there.   |



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 13. ho to, ho atè.   | 13. your people, your slaves.  |
| 14. Mèno anmate ma mimnah<br>anmatè.   | 14. We are very thirsty and are<br>very hungry !   |
| 15. Hai mipiti ma mihake,  | 15. Therefore we rise and stand<br>erect,  |
| 16. meki ho sisi ho maka,  | 16. we bring your meat, your<br>food,  |
| 17. hem toti ho nekam alomit,<br>ansaum alomit,  | 17. in order that we implore<br>your benevolent disposition,   |
| 18. he ho tési ho lonim.   | 18. that your sprinkling, your<br>dripping   |
| 19. in hau ma anfati.  | 19. may feed and foster,   |
| 20. nakusbon nanokbon.   | 20. enough and sufficient  |
| 21. on neno unu fai unu,   | 21. as at primeval days, at pri-<br>meval nights,  |
| 22. he miah at mimsen, minut<br>mimsen.  | 22. so that we may eat and be<br>fed, may drink and our thirst   |
| 23. Naba' no ha.   | 23. Then they do cheer four<br>times.  |
| 24. lopo ha lopò es anteni pap-<br>mèse.   | 24. four lopo's, each lopo again<br>the same.  |
| 25. Naba' no ha.   | 25. They cheered four times.   |
| 26. Anlolo bidjael ain mètan<br>namnasi lèk-lèko, Sunan<br>mnanu ;   | 26. One slaughtered a black buf-<br>falo-cow, very old, with long<br>horns ;   |
| 27. anheli bidjaèl luken fe ano-<br>nèn nalali te anlolo bidjaèl.  | 27. one first cut off the ears of<br>the buffalo, then prayed and<br>slaughtered it.   |
| 28. Lasi Kase neki nakan nok<br>non tani ma penu oket napau<br>hau ès anbi usapi un anfutu<br>bidjaèl nakan. Antekat nak<br>usapi fua, al sunan. | 28. Lasi Kase took head, bron-<br>chial tube and lungs, put a<br>stick at the foot of the <i>Ku-<br/>sambi</i> and tied the head to it.<br>This was named the offering<br><i>kusambi</i> , only the horns. |

INTRODUCTION to the translation of Text B :

The term *koko* is customary in the whole of the language-district as an address mainly for fectors (i.e. under district chiefs). It is remarkable that all over Timor sacrifices are made to the *koko* as a mythical animal. In the neighbourhood of Manufui, the *koko* is still

being worshipped in the heathen part of the tribal group Nokas. The animal now lives in a cave and then again on the loft of the lopo of the old adat-chief. In Molo, Sanam and Mela invoke the *koko Nai, Bate*, the multicoloured *koko*. In Amanuban, a young christian Mau-boi killed a *koko* in the house of his parents in law, because he thought the beast to be dangerous, although it was fed there already since immemorial time. This brought about great consternation which left a latent shiweing in the feelings of the relatives concerned. The young man performed this deed as an act of faith.

In this story, the stress lies upon the *koko* as the donor of the coral-riches and finally upon its disappearance owing to the infringement upon his claim. Then the relationship snaps off. In comparison with text C., this has a peculiar own colouring in which the killing of Nakamnanu only functions as an episode which explains the loss of the bowels of the *koko* and finally results in the relationship between the *koko* and Nai Nupu breaking off abruptly. Black is the colour of animals which are being sacrificed to the earth, thus typical for the "Black hen", for which Nai Nupu has to ask.

When it is said that Bola Batis went to live at Nai Lite at the other side of Fatu lelu, this means — seen from Baumata — consequently at the Amfo'an side of the rock Fatu le'u.

Then words between brackets have been inserted to get a current sentence.

Baumata, 5th May 1954, translation.

Text B.

TRANSLATION :            **NAI NUPU**

Our ancestor's name was Nai Nupu. His rock of origin was : Kisa and Tunman at Lelogama. The lord of Kisa is Nai Nupu, a man who was a deerhunter. On his way he met two snakes, which embraced each other. He then took a wrap which he wore and covered them with it. Towards the evening (when he returned) he did not see anything ; he took up his wrap again and returned home. The following morning at about 7 o'clock, a young prince came, wearing a coral game-bag and a silver sword, who said : "Say, lord of Kisa !" The lord of Kisa replied : "Come in mylord." Thereafter they chewed sirih together. The young prince went on to say to the lord of Kisa : "The sovereign sent me to inform you that you saw two young princes yesterday who embraced each other. That is why you have

loosened them of each other. The sovereign then ordered me to fetch you that we may go together and one could put a hand on your month by way of payment". The young prince instructed the lord of Kisa as follows: "If the sovereign wants to pay you with silver, gold or red corals, do not accept it. But say that you would like very much to have a black chicken. When they had come nearby, they closed their eyes and suddenly they found themselves to be inside the palace. Thereafter they shook hands with the sovereign inside the palace. Thereafter they shook hands with the sovereign asked what he would pay him: gold, silver or red corals, but the lord of Kisa did not want these. He asked for a little black chicken. Thereupon the sovereign gave him a black chicken. Then they closed eyes again. But (first of all) he was told: "When you have arrived, do not quarrel at home with each other; if not (if you are not doing as I say), then the chicken will return." He was told to feed the chicken with yellow Indian corn. When it ate yellow Indian corn it discharged big corals, if it was fed with rice: *muti sala* corals, and if with salt: white corals. When they had come home the hau change into a snake, a *koko*-snake. When feeding him, they put the food into a plate; if it ate ten grains of Indian corn, it discharged ten corals, if 20 grains of cooked rice: 20 *muti sala* corals. The corals filled a big stone-butt.

One sang in chorus: „The snake continuously feeds Kisa and woman Neotani and the bamboo, from which strands of silver corals hang down." The snake was in Lelogama when the power of Taèbenu broke down. <sup>1)</sup> We — Bola nai Nupu, the big head-hunters of Taèbenu, his silver horn, and the female rice-basket — went ahead with Nai Tabelak; Bola Nai Nupu put the snake in to a basket, we followed our way over Fatu le'u. They were three:

1. Bola Nai Nupu; 2. Bi'an Nai Nupu; 3. Nai Neno Nupu.

Nai Neno Nupu stayed at Nai Lote near Fatu le'u at the other side of Polo; mentioning him one says: Bola Botis. Nai Bola, Nai Bi'an came along. They settled themselves in the wood of Taèbunu at Fatu Nesi. At the time, however, when the land had not yet been pacified, they settled down at Bük-noni. Thereafter they left again and established themselves at Tuaè; it was there that Nai Nupu stayed to dwell permanently. Then Nai Bola Nupu married a woman

<sup>1)</sup>. TBG. Vol. LXXC. 1952).

called Toni Knetani ; she was his *panu*-wife (*panu* = one half of a cocconutshell fitting the other half <sup>1</sup>). One could say: His cross-cousin wife. The wedding was indoors. So there he begot his children: Nai Kaun Bol and Nai Lote ; Nai Kaun Bol however married the daughter of Aknetani, bi Bolka Knetani ; she gave birth to nai Lote and a girl (the narrator did not remember the name of the girl). Now Kaun Bol had two sisters : Bi Enu Bola and bi Nome Bola. Bi Enu Bola married prince Taèbenu ; Bi Nome married Tau Nakamnanu ; she gave birth to a son Tau Nakamnanu. One made peace because the Ahorns of the gebanga palm-leaf stalk and because the teeth of the dog were sharp. It were Nai Besi and Nai Lasi who made peace. One brought the meat of clarification in the sirih-pinang-basket and said : „I announce and inform you, I explain and clarify : Receive the meat (flesh) of the fixed night and the fixed day, so that day and night have been fixed, the day of arrangement and the night of arrangement". He said (to the messenger) : "Go back, I shall come at day-break". Nakamnanu called all his head-hunters (here chiefs) to the big Lasi. He said : If we go, let us dress well. He went to his brother-in-law, nai Lot Bol and asked for his ornaments, viz. the bowels (i.e. euphemistic for the snake's faeces = metaphorical for coral beads). So one put him on his ornaments, one strang the beads on to the fringe of the wraps, one strang them to the hair of his head, in total 8 baskets with beads. Eight baskets with beads is four carrying-poles' burdens. One had them hang down. They left at day-break. Having arrived at the big Lasi, the latter had made a wooden kraal with paling of tjemara-heartwood. Nakamnanu entered through one door, Lasi did through the other. They both met each other.

They had prepared a long bench, a table, in the kraal ; after the table had been set up, Nakamnanu seated himself at the head of it. Lasi sat at the lower end. They then held the ritual speeches and began to eat. So they ate ; (and then we drink and become drunk). Thereafter they started singing pantuns, in this way : "Join our singing hymns of praise". Nakamnanu replied : "Well then, bring them along that we may sing hymns of praise". Lasi continued : "You are able to stand my pantun brother." Then Lasi said : "The cricket-bird, the tears of Taèbenu. The bamboo lives, a wild bamboo and a tame bamboo. When we bring the discussion to a dispute, they do not know (it). The discussion and the argument they do not

<sup>1</sup>) see B.K.I. i.e. Contr. Royal Institute, part 98 (1938) pages 248-49.

know." Men of Lasi rose and pinched one man of Nakamnanu. They closed the kraal and cut them down. They stripped prince Nakamnanu of all his ornaments; thereafter they killed him with a sword. A big head-hunter, whose name was Nai Ani Nai Semenel (Smenel) climbed on top of the palings and over it. He went to the horses prince Nakamnanu and loosened them; then he hurried off, came this way and announced: "Nai Nakamnanu has been killed." When he had arrived, Nai Nupu asked for the bowels of the snake. One said: "They have been pulverized." He asked for them again from the son of bi Nome Bola. Then Tau Nakamnanu said: "I have no buffaloes, I have no horses; the country is at enmity, hardship is prevailing. Therefore I give a piece of land: Po'an maman Nai Baki (i.e. Nai Baki's garden of inheritance)." He paid for the beads with a piece of land. The sister of Nai Lote Lot, bi Lasi Lot, was commanded by her father to take a husband. But she refused. Her father whipped her; (then) *koka*-snake left and returned and brought it to Fatu Kisa and Tun mam. Formerly, the opening of the cave was large; the snake discharged in the opening of the cave and then the opening became small.

When the snake ate *beras pulu*, it were *muti sala*; when the snake ate *beras Makassar maros* it were Kailolo-beads; when the snake ate Indian corn: red beads. When the message came, Nai Nupu mourned the whole night until the next morning for the bewels of the snake; it (i.e. his tears) were silver beads. That is why it is called: *Kaè noni* = silver tears of wailing.

Baumata 5 Mei 1954. B. Original.

### NAI NUPU

Hai nai kanan: Nai Nupu. Fatu kanan Kisa am Tunman anbi Lelogama. Kisa tuan nane na Nupu, atoni akèn lus nu ankèn lus, nau naeku kauna nua mafutu; oket in naiti in ma'u mausaè ma ankub sin, antainus sin. Manas anmabe ka nit fa sa', naiti nafani mau anfani on umè. Meun fini oras on leku hitu nai mnuke mèse nem, nasnini alu inuh nok suni noni ak: Holi Kisa tuan. Kias tuan nataè: Koènom amtan Usi. Oket nua sin anmaman. Okèt nai mnuke naton Kisa tuan nak: Usif anlèlu kau um uton ko, nak afi ko mit nai mnuke nua mafutu; Es ho musoni sin. Es Usif anlèlu kau um an ko, het nau hen poh fef ko on hen bain. Nai manuke anba'an hanan neu Kisa tuan: Kalau Usi hen bain ko, mnatu nok muti ma inuh,

kais amlomi. Amlomi hem toti neu manu ana mèse. Nu anhaumak anbil, naskek sin anbi sonf-ès nanan. Oket nok Usif matopu niman on anmasimo nekan. Oket Usif antoti in hen bain ne sa' he noni mnatu ka, ai noin muti ai inuh, mes Kisa tuan Kanlomif. In antoti manu ana mêtan mèse. Oket Usif anfene manu opu metan mese. Oket anbil nua sin anfani. Mes anba'an nak : mumtè umè naik mahèke anbi ume nanan, kahat manu ana anfaïn nem. Anba'an hen hagwe nok pèn molo Anholok kai lolo ; anhagwe nok maka : muti sala, nok masi muti fatu inuh muti. Antam ume, manu nabaina anfani kauna on koko kauna. Anhagwe anntau bukaè neu pika, kalu nah pena fua bo'es naktei inuh fua bo'es, maka fua bo'nua muti bo'nua. Inuh nahenu kusi ; anbonèn nak : hahau Kisa am bi Nèò tani. Ma ogi bolai noni (o = ogi).

Kauna anbi Lelowam.

Lasi Taèbenu anle'uèn te Bol Nau Nupu, Taèbenu meo naèk ; noni sunaf, fèto takè, Hai mihun nok nai Tbèlak ; Bola nai Nupu antau kauna anbi oko, hai mituin Fatu le'u sin tenu :

I. Bola nai Nupu. II. Bi'an nai Nupu. III. Nai Neno Nupu.

Nai Lotè anbi Fatu le'u, anbi Polo aun bian, antek at nak ; Nai Nupu Botis. Nai Bola nai Bi'an, nem ankon. Antoko bi nasi Taèbenu et Faut nesi. Oket pah ka namnel fa lèko, antoko bi Buk-noni. Oket anfen anteni nem antok anbi Tuaè, nai Nupu antoko anki' anbi nane. Oket nai Bola Nupu matsau feli kanan bi Toni Knetani, feli panu, matsau anbi umè nanan. Onnai nahonis anbine nai Kaun Bol ma nai Lotè Bol ; nai Kaun Bol matsau kanahin. Ma Lotè Bol matsau Aknetani anfoto bi Bolak Knetani nahoni nai Lotè Lot ma fètwes bi... Onnai Kaun Bol in anfètuf nua : Bi Enu Bola bi Nomè Bola. Bi Enu Bola ansau Usif Taèbenu ; bi Nomè ansau Tau Nakamnanu, nahoni anmonè Tau Nakamnanu. Anhalan pah natuin bèba katan naaik, asu nisin naaik. Nai Besi, nai Lasi, anhalan pah. Neki sisi sine kaèb Neki sisi bi oke taka : au etu am uton ko, sisine ko ukaèb ko. Sium sisi fai tfèka neno-tfèka, on nafek neno, nafek fai, neno ba'an fai ba'an Nak amfaïn nai neno ante of au eti. Nakamnanu noèn ale in meonu (nakfenu meonu) neo Lasi uf, het nagwen het paik lèko. Antam antoti baif nai Loèt Bol baline, kauna in tain Onnai nabalab in bail palè, kato inuh bi mau fukan, ankato anbi nak funu on poni funu. Inuh poni fani nepa ha, naklaib sin. Onnai neno ante nauben ; nute on Lasi uf anmoè pa'an anbilu nok adjau tès. Nakamnanu antam nok eno bian. Lasi antam nok eno bian. Nua sin neakun :

Nahakeb hala, anhal mei anbi o'of-nabalab mei nalali Nakamnanu antok anbi mei nakan. Lasi antok anbi mei haèn. Onna'en mabasan anbukaèn. Onnai anbukaè tinu ma atmafu oket nait nel nak : Meki kit nem he taklua.

Nakamnanu nak :

Neo meki kit nem he taklua.

Lasi nak : Mis au nèl baè.

Lasi nak : Kolo bi fa'u Taèbenu nube.

Figwe a' mo Lasi kanahin.

Ogwe anmoni, o' fui ès am o' aim ès.

Bi' as a'ne tonis kanahin.

Atoni Lasi nua anhakè anhapì atoni Nakamnanu mèse. Ek o'af ma anotelèn. Usi Nakamnanu, nauf balè oke-oke anotè. Meo naèk ès kanan Nai Ani nai Sèmènèl (Smènèl) ansaè nok bilu tunan, nesi ansifi Usif Nakamnanu bikasè nain nèm nabèno nak : Anotè nai Nakamnanu. Nem ante nai Nupu antoti kauna tain, nak naul naklati. Antoti nafani anbi bi Nomè Bola anah. Es Tau Nakamnanu anetun : Bidjaèl au ka mu'if, bikasè pah musu, mamu'it ; ès au fe afu pis ès : Po'an maman Nai Baki, Anbain inuh neki afu pis ès. Nai Lotè Lot in fètuf bi Lesi Lot, amaf anlek hen mamonè, in kan lomif. Amaf nèso te, kauna anfen ma anfani neki ante Fatu Kisa ma Tun Man. Afi fatu bola mainuan; kauna naktei anbi bola fèfan, naskek bola annalèl. Kalau kauna nah ane pulu, muti sala. Kauna nah ane Makassal maros : kai lolo. Kauna nah pèna : fua bubu amtasa. Nak beno nem nai Nupu ankaè ma nunmeu, natuin kauna tain inuh nani; antèk po'an nak Kaè noni.

5th May, 1954. Text B (Original).

#### *INTRODUCTION upon the translation of text C.*

As distinct from text B, we find here an endeavour to give a historical account of the coming and going of various tribes, in which the mythical back ground of Nai Nupu's faith — as explained in text B — is not at issue. It is quite remarkable that — as primeval comers to Kupang — we find Nuban mentioned here together with Nakamnanu. Both migrated from the mountains and are still now the main generations of chiefs in the area of Amanuban.

The initial part of this text therefore gives a supplement as well as rectification of chapter VIII from "Wanderings of Timorese

groups" <sup>1)</sup> and ascertains that Nuban with Nakamnanu came to Kupang before Nai Kofan and Nai Tuban. The casual remark that the black strangers came earlier than Nuban also deserves attention. That is to say, that the Portuguese with their nigger-troups came first and only thereafter Nuban with Nakamnanu. The driving out of Nuban of this area back to Kolbano, has come to my notice solely by means of this story. The coastal area near Kolbano, in ancient times, was overgrown with high grass. It is comprehensible that the mourning was great seeing all meo (i.e. head-hunters) were burnt alive.

It is striking that Nakamnanu stayed behind and did not return with Nuban. An explanation for it was not to be had. It appears from other story-material in afore-mentioned "Wanderings" that Lasi already had a feud against Besi, issuing from the area of origin. <sup>2)</sup> Lasi therefore took it very ill that Nakamnanu chose Besi's side. When making the so-called peace — which Besi rightly saw as a guile — the latter puts forward Nakamnanu to act as an angel of peace. He falls as a victim of Lasi's vengefulness. In this story therefore we find the background of the fact that Taèbenu, as a chief, takes the empty place left by Nakamnanu. In the aforementioned "Wanderings", it is merely said that in this way the radjah-ship of Taèbenu became a lasting one <sup>3)</sup>. Using the metaphor of: "root of tradition, tree of tradition".

It also deserves attention that the name of Manubait in ancient times was Penfui. The name Pen-fui is explained in very different ways, viz. the contraction of *pena-fui*, i.e. wild Indian corn; but the weeds that look like wild Indian corn are not usually named *pena-fui*, but *tkani* or *tnani*. Then again *pen-fui* is brought into connection with *pen-pene*, meaning flag or banner, consequently the wild banner. But this would only be possible in case of doubling, namely *pen-pène fui*, and therefore this explanation does not fit either. The verbal stem *pènè* means: to look out; therefore *pē-fui* could possibly mean: the wild look-out. But definitely the explanation in this text seems to me to give the right solution. One distinguishes e.g. at Timor *musu aim*, i.e. the tame enemy and *musu fui* i.e. the wild enemy. The first refers to enemies within the own tribe, the second one to the enemy

<sup>1)</sup> T.B.G. LXXXV, issue 2, 1952. pages 218—281.

<sup>2)</sup> e.c., p. 221.

<sup>3)</sup> e.c., p. 240-241.



from outside. In this light of context, one has to consider also the *pantun*: There lives a bamboo, a wild bamboo and a tame bamboo; let us fight and dispose of (extirpate) the wild bamboo. Though the meaning of *pènè fui* is therefore not completely clarified (*pène* with parallel-word to be also means: a look out in the garden), it is beyond doubt that it points to warfare. It is quite certain thereby that this name originates from *Pen-fui*, as an old name of Manubait, it being a fact that a.o. also place-names like Kupang (Kopan) and Baumata originate from proper names.

*Translation of text C.*

In ancient times Nai Nuban has come first; his name was Nai Kolo Nuban, for he came with Bola Nakamnanu, and with whom else we do not know. And Bola Nakamnanu established himself at Lete Kase; he married from my ancestors (literally: my stem-stalk) two women: bi Naior and Boni bi Timo. And Kol Nuban established himself at Eka, a *benteng* near the river-mouth: *Noè bi Kbold*. He established himself there, the place (i.e. remainder) of his palace is still to be seen. The other who had come together with Nai Nuban, established themselves at Fatu Nesi and at Oè Bufu (in the close proximity of Kupang). Further, Nai Nupu came after him; one says (they were): Sia Nupu and Kaè Nupu. When arriving there, we were received by Nai Nuban; he guided Nai Sila Nupu (so that) he established himself at Fatu Nesi. (Why) he left Boni bi Timo out of which motives — is unknown to me.

Thereafter the fectors (i.e. under-district-chiefs) of Nai Besi, viz. Lai Kopan and Lai Tabun came forward; Lai Kopan namely settled himself at Mardeka and thereupon came Lai Tabun who established himself at Oè Ba'. Nai Besi came afterwards; he established himself at Kaisalun (Kaisalun is Helonese and means *tjendanas* i.e. sandalwood<sup>1)</sup>). When Nai Besi had established himself at Kaisalun, he recognized as lords: Lis Lai Hulu and Lis Koèdat; they were the foster-lords, the custodians, the guardsmen and the land-keepers. Hon Bola established himself at Tapèn Lasi (i.e. we search, look out, for what is going to come). Hon Bola also was a Helonese. Lai Bisi (Besi) took unto his wife a daughter of Nai Nupu; the name of that woman was bi Nai Nupu Kos. He married her at Boni bi Timo. He came together with her and established himself at Boni bi Timo. He

<sup>1)</sup> T.B.G., vol. LXXXV, 1952, page 181.

thereafter took her to Kaisalun; then war was coming. At the end of that war the place was called Fatu Feto. At that time there was nobody left to reign over us. Lai Besi called Nai Fo'an to shoot (and) put to flight Nai Nuban and the black strangers (i.e. negro-soldiers of the Portuguese). For first came the black strangers and only thereafter Nai Nuban. They shot and put them to flight; they went away and fled to Bunu and bi Timo. Then Nai Bisi, Nai Fo'an and al head-hunters pursued them; when they arrived they arrived at Amanuban, accompanied by all those headhunters (they were many), they all went to Kolbano. Thereupon the head-hunters of Bisi and Fo'an entered the (high) grass; (the people of Amanuban) blew the horn throughout Banam; they put to fire the grass from all sides. Then all head-hunters perished at Kolbano; they all were burnt alive. Nai Bisi and Nai Fo'an came back. The country of Kupang was full of widows and orphans; there was great wailing, a great number of men having been killed.

When Nuban had departed, Nai Nakamnanu stayed to live. Thereafter, Koè Bisi went to war again with Lasi Koro; Lasi Koro came from Nenu Banam. He came and established himself to live at Kupang. The fact being that he came to and established himself at Teun Lane and Bolane (the present Burain) with the aim of marching into Kupang. Thereupon Bisi took with him one of his head-hunters: Hutu Bitani. Nakamnanu chose the side of Nai Bisi. The head-hunters of Nakamnanu were: Lalu Sustain, Sutai and Opnafu. They tried to fight each other, but they could not match each other. Therefore, Nai Lasi entered Tua Le'u and established himself at Tua le'u (at the river) Noël Sines. Therefore came Nai Djabi (and) assisted Nai Bisi. They started war and marched into Manubait, the name of Manubait in olden times being Pen-fui. One part was tame, and the other wild. Nai Bisi, Nai Fo'an, Nai Djabi attacked Nai Lasi and drove him back to Klètan, so they stopped him. At the end of the war, Nai Kosat and Nai Olnai established themselves at Nasi Panaf, that is at the other side of Pen-fui. When they had driven back Nai Lais to nearby Klètan, he sent a tame voice (meaning a message to be quiet) to trick Nai Bisi that he might go to make peace. Therefore, Nai Bisi did not go; he put forward Nakamnanu to go and make peace. Nai Lasi, with all his head-hunters, made a long bamboo seat in the plain of Sis-men(u) (Sisi-menu) i.e. the bitter meat. Tou Nakamnanu then came with all his head-hunters, a thou-

sand and more. When they had arrived, Nai Lasi instructed his head-hunters to make Nakamnanu sit down at the table that they might eat. Nakamnanu sat at the westside and Nai Lasi at the eastside. He instructed his own men that two of them should take for their account one head-hunter. Nai Lasi called Nakamnanu, saying: "Do start dear brother that we may praise (fight) each other". Nakamnanu replied saying: „Do start dear brother that we help each other to make a start." There upon Lasi said: "Sistim to my *pantun* which is worded: "The silver cricket is at his palace inside the kraal (trap);

we speak a different language which they do not know.

The bamboo lives, a wild bamboo and a tame bamboo.

Come, let us fight (and) extirpate (destroy) the wild bamboo in order that the land of Bi Reno may become empty.

Then, suddenly, they thrust them down while being seated. Only the attendant of Nakamnanu, whose name was Baku Smènel, flew and reported at Kupang. There the Company was living who marched and punished (Nai Lasi). An officer in charge came and established himself at Baun. Father (= chief) Fo'an's princes were: Nai Nakamnanu — Nai Solbean — Nai Telnoni — Nai Aunoni. The present radjah is a descendant of Nai Banu le'u.

Baumata, 24th, March 1939 — Elias Nai Nupu.

### C. Original.

Nak afi Nai Nuban nèm nahun, tè kanan Nai Kolo Nuban, fun in nèm nok a: Bola Nakamnanu, sekau ma sekau anten, ka nahin fa. Ma Bola Nakamnanu antok anbi Lete kase, ansau au ki-ka'o ès kanan bi Nai Or, es Bani bi Timo. Fun Kolo Nuban antok bi Eka, kot ès anbi Noël bi Kbola haèn. In antoko anbi nan, in sonfa balan esan, bian lè sin nèm nok Nai Nuban antoko anbi Fatu Nesen, et Oè bofu (Oè bufu).

Okè namuni te na Nai Nupu nèm natuin, nok Sila Nupu ma Kaè Nupu. Oom a tè Nai Nuban ansimo kai, antopu Nai Sila Nupu antok anbi Fatu Nesi.

Anfèn nèm na'ku Boni bi Timo, hè nok lasi ka, au ka uhin fa.

Namuni tè Nai Besi in feotlenu Lai Kopan ma Lai Tabun nèm nahun fun Lai Kopan nahun antoko anbi Mardeka, okèt Lai Tabun nèm antok Oè Ba'. Okè tè Nai Besi nèm natuin, antoko anbi Kaisalun (Kaisalun atoni Hèlon sin uab, fun Kaisalun nane haumeni).

Nai Bisi antok anbi Kaisalun, naïsi Lis Lai Hulu ma Lis Koèdat, ahaut es sin, afafat es sin, apaut es sin, ahatas es sin.

Hon Bala antok anbi Tapèn Tasi; Hon Bala amsa atoni Hèlo.

Lai Bisi nan Nai Nupu an fêtgwes, bifè lè antèk at nak bi Nai Nupu Kos, ansau nani anbi Boni bi Timo. Nokne nèm toko bi Kaisalu namuni tè manuat. Manuat nalali te nakanab nak: Fatu fetu. Ka tis fa ès naplenat anteni kit.

Lai Bisi noèn Nai Fo'an hèn kèn naainab Nai Nuban nok Kaès mètan. Fun Kaès mètan nahun, oket Nai Nupu nèm. Ankèn naaainab sin, sin anfen am nain neo Bunu am Bi Tèno. Oket Nai Bisi, Nai Fo'an nok ale megwe anpeo sin; nau antè Banam nok al megwe namfaun tè, annu neu Kolbano. Nalali te Bisi Nai Fo'an in megwe antam anbi ma'gwe nanan, anfu to'is funam natef pah Banam; notu ma'u panan ninne, okè, ale meo tè anmatè bi Kolbano, putun mate knino-knino.

Nai Bisi Nai Fo'an anfani nèm, bifè banu li-manat nahenu pah Kopan, ankaè naek, atoni anmatè naèk.

Fun Nuban anfènèn, oket Nai Nakamnanu antoko nabala i.

Namuni tè Koè Besin ansenu mauat anteni nok Lasi Koro; Lasi Koro nèm na'ko Nenu Banam hen tok natua Kopan. Fun in nem antok bi Teun lane am Bolane hèn tam neo pah 'Kopan. Oket Besin neki in megwe ès Hutu Bitani. Nakamnanu nok Nai Bisi. Nakamnanu in meonu ès Lalu-Sutain, Sutai ma Opnafu. Sin manuan nit ka man-be'in fa, ès Nai Lasi antam nèm antè Tua le'u ma antoko wen anbi Tua le'u Noel Simes. Es Nai Djabi nèm ankaha Nai Bisi. Es naiti manuat antamen bi Manubait, fun Manubait un-unu in kanan Penfui. Biani aim ma biani fui.

Nai Besi Nai Fo'an, Na Djab manuan nek Nai Lasi nau naskotun tè Klètan, -on anèk nane len.

Manuan oken, Nai Kosat-Nai Olnai antok bi Nai Pana et Penfui aun bian.

Neki Nai Lasi antam anfani bi Klètan, in neki han maus hèn aikalili Nai Bisi hè nau hèn halan pah tè. Es Na Bisi ka nau, antite Nakamnanu hè nau anhal sin. Nai Lasi nok ale in megwe anhal nan hal o'gwes mnanu bi mnela Sis-men (Sis-menu). Tau Nakamnanu nok ale in megwe antè nifun ma nes. Nuntè Nai Lasi anba' ale in meo hè natokob Nakamnanu bi mei, hè sin nahan. Nakamnanu antok bi nene tès ma Nai Lasi bi neno saèt. Anba' ale atoni, nuat anpau megwes, nuat-anpau megwes.

Nai Lasi es anhaman Nakamnanu nak ;  
 Mer kit nèm baè noni hè takrua-rua (makanuan).  
 Nakamnanu nataè nak : Meki kit nèm baè noni hè takbaba.  
 Oket Nai Lasi nak : Hom nen au neri nak :  
 Kin fau noni baran pangwe nanan.  
 Tekwen àbias sin ka nahin.  
 Ogwe anmoni o'fudj o' aim es.  
 Im het nuan teneuk o'fudjan.  
 He pah Bi Rengwe anrum.  
 Su taskek anotà sin anbi mei. Al Nai Nakamnanu kabu, kanan  
 Baku Smènèl in es nain neki bengwe nèm anbi pah Kopan.  
 Compania antokwen, ansaè ma ankorten (an kwartel). Commandan  
 ansaè antoko anbi Baun.

Am fettor : Fo'an in uisfenu es :

Nai Nakamnanu.

Nai Solbean.

Nai Telnoni.

Nai Aunoni.

Nai Bnau le'u, radja sekarang turunan Bnau le'u.

#### EXPLANATION WITH THE PHOTOGRAPHS :

As — according to Timorese traditianol material — iron tools etc. have been imported into Timor from outside, the question arises : Where do these images come from ? In Baun there is an image of Mary and one of Buddha, according to verbal tradition emanating from a ship that had been wrecked under Baun at the South-coast. As regards these two images, I am inclined to think of the possibility of their originating from India, viz. by reason of the following :

At the small isle Raindjua near Savu there is an image which — according to the general opinion — is of Hindustan origin. From the story-material<sup>1)</sup> there appears to be some relation between Baumata and Savu. In the meanwhile, there also exists a marriage-relation between the stock of chiefs of Amarasi and Savu. Besides, there are other indications which make it very probable that there has been some connection with Bombay. As to the images : Each year, they were placed in the mud near the well Oél Nain (i.e.

<sup>1)</sup> T.B.G. vol. LXXXV, 1952, p. 264.

spring of the earth) during the offering-rites, when rain was prayed for, if any was invoked to come. The chief of this ritual — before becoming a christian — was also M. Tanébet; he presided and his assistants were: Lasi Kase and Oé Kase. The female image is called Bi Baun and the male Nai Mat<sup>2)</sup>. When the group embraced the christian faith, they surrendered both images and the author got the opportunity to buy them for the Museum of Djakarta.

### BAUMATA

#### P o s t s c r i p t.

The question of the origin of both images remains an open one. In: "Waar kwamen de raadselachtige Mutisalah's (Aggri-kralen) in de Timor groep oorspronkelijk vandaan?" (Where did those mysterious Mutisalah's (Aggri-beads) in the Timor-group originally come from?) by G.P. Rouffaer, page 421, I read:

"Teysmann, the botanist, has — since Rumphius in 1695 — first understood that as to the genuine mutisalah's, one might have to do with a natural mineral which afterwards has been split, polished and shaped further by human hand and then perforated. Although he lacked mineralogical knowledge to examine this kind of beads scientifically, it will be seen from the following how absolutely correct his observation of facts has been. (J.E. Teysmann: Verslag cener Botanische Reis over Timor = Report of a Botanical Journey through Timor — (1873) published in 1874 in the *Natuurk. Tijdschr. v. N.I.* (Physical Journal of N.I.) XXXIV).

Besides origin from Flores, the possibility exists of occurrence of the said mineral in Timor itself (see page 429 of the aforementioned study by Rouffaer, ending: *Wo sie ebenso in der Erde gefunden wurden* = Where they (i.e. the beads) are found in the earth too).

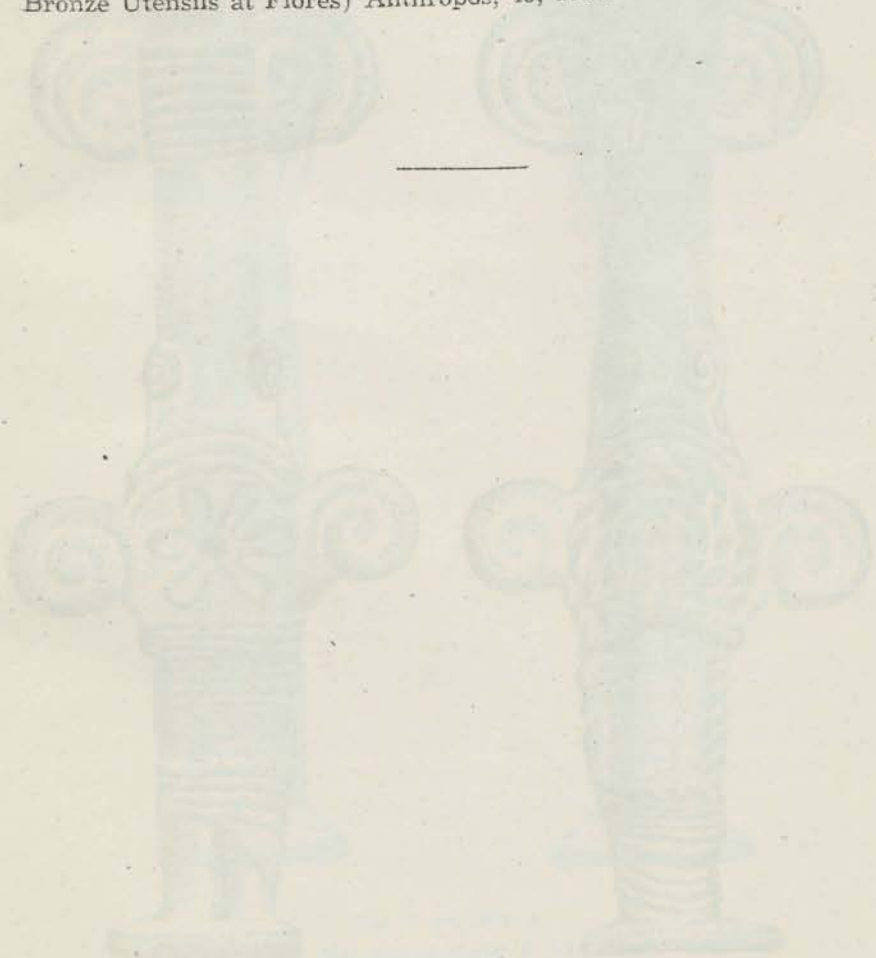
In: "Prehistoric Life in Indonesia" of H.R. van Heekeren, paragraph 5 "The Early Metallic Age" (p. 47-56) is dealt with the Dongsonculture, about kettle-drums (which are usually called *moko's* on Alor). And further: "Still more interesting is the discovery of a number of bronzes, found during the digging of a well at a depth of four metres at Kuwung Bangkinang in Sumatra's West-Coast. The find comprised fourteen statuettes, four armrings and a number of red-brown glass-beads. The statuettes, all provided with loops on the

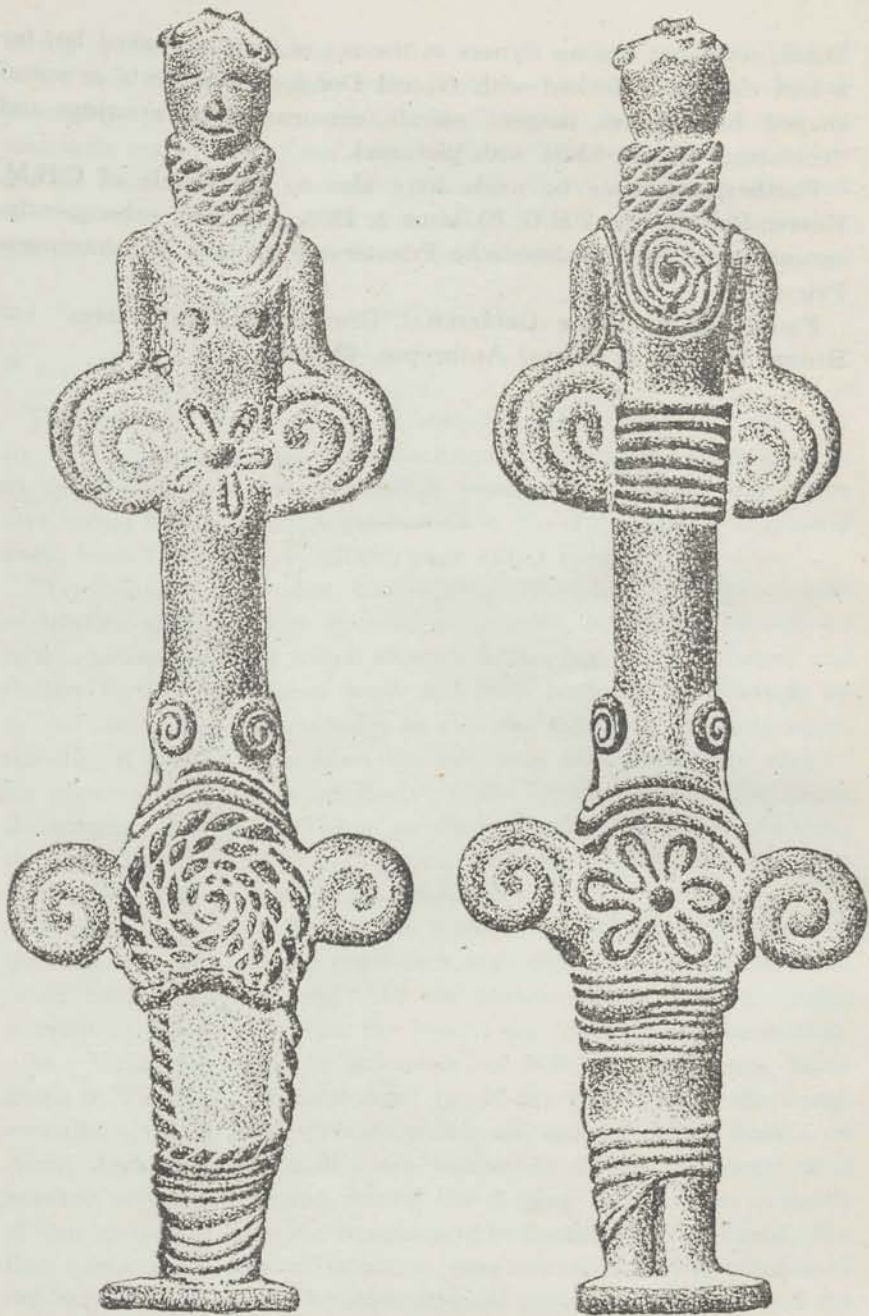
2) T.B.G. l.c., page 193.

heads, represent human figures in the act of dancing, naked but for a loin cloth and decked with typical Dongson ornaments as spiral shaped breastplates, tangent spirals, ear-ornaments, armrings and necklaces." (Pages 53-54 with pictures).

Further, reference be made here also to the article of C.H.M. Heeren-Palm in the T.B.G. 85, issue 2, 1952, page 310, subsequently, concerning: "De Minahassische Priesterstaf (i.e. the Minahassanese Priesstaff).

Finally to R. Heine Gelderen: "Bronzegeräte auf Flores" (= Bronze Utensils at Flores) *Anthropos*, 49, 1954.

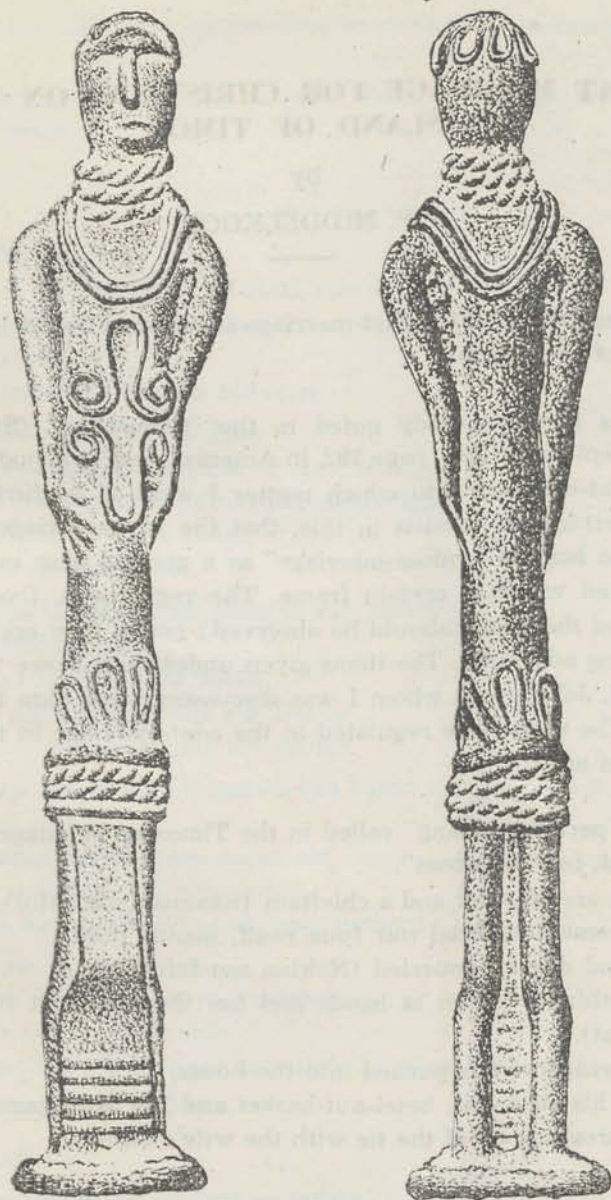




*Fig. 1 and Fig. 2.*

*Bi Baun, bronze statue, h. 17,5 cmrs. Museum L.K.I. Ethn. coll. cat.nr. 27251 a.*





*Fig. 3 and Fig. 4.*

*Nai Mat, bronze statue, h. 15,5 cmrs.*

*Museum L.K.I. Ethn. col. cat: nr. 27251 b.*

## ADAT MARRIAGE FOR CHRISTIANS ON THE ISLAND OF TIMOR

by

P. MIDDELKOOP.

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- a. Modernization of the adat-marriage at Amarasi by the local chieftain of the region.

Such as it was already noted in the "Opwekker" (Stimulator) No. 9 of September 1941, page 392, in Amarasi there is a modernization of the adat-marriage into which matter I want to go further here. The modernization consists in this, that the adat-marriage contract, which also has the "indoor-marriage" as a general base in Amarasi, is regulated within a certain frame. The regulations, fixed by the chieftain of the region should be observed; partly they are linked to the existing adat-rules. The items given underneath I owe to the minister B.J. Jakob with whom I was discussing some data in 1937 at Batuna. The usage now regulated in the adat-marriage in the region of amarasi are:

1. The "perintah-pinang" called in the Timorese language the "pua prènat, manus prènat".
  2. There are an elder and a chieftain (nammais ma naful).
  3. The remaining betel nut (pua nesif, manus nesif).
  4. Pig and dog are muzzled (Nakina asu fafi fèfan).
  5. Something is given in hands and has them keep it (napoh ma nana'at).
  6. The bridegroom is pushed into the house.
  - 7a. With his sirih-leaf, betel-nut-basket and his little game-bag.
  7. The breaking off of the tie with the wife's father.
  8. Belis.
- 

- i. The "pua prènat", consisting of a *suku* (the *suku* has the value of f0.36 at Amarasi) is presented to the head of the village, where the

parents of the wife live, on the day, on which the marriage is contracted.

At this somebody, who has a ready flow of language, delivers the following speech ;

Original :

Nain ma naam.

1 Neno ai inaf nua kit ma amaf nua kit  
nau tanunuok ma nau tabuaok  
rèk ma t a'a  
hit an atoni ma hit ana bifédjan

5 noka mabè hit ana bifédjan  
naungwon napoindjon bia oè ma bia hau  
ma hit ana atoni naungwon ma napoindjon  
bia masuna ma fufu boko  
maseun nit maon nit

10 èk oèdja hin baran èk haugwa hin baran.  
Ana bifédjan nak ;  
Hin au ruman hin au sonan  
ès nua sin mafè sin pua sin manus  
mam sin pua sin manus

15 èk oèdja hin baran èk hugwa hin baran .  
ès noka mabè  
pins antau sin ma mans anhoi sin  
ès sin nakitbon ma natnanbon  
neo sin aina mahoni ma sin ama mahoni

20 natoit sin ma natan sin  
nak hai mikitbom im ma mitnanbon im  
bi ropo siun bi umè siun  
neo hai mheri kit tua ma hai mtofa kit rène

21 neo hi teim ma hi fèfam.

Translation :

One recognizes as mother — father <sup>1)</sup>.

1) *naina ma naama* : from the stems *ina* = mother and *ama* = father, are co-servative — forms. The old people of Timor use to say : *aina Kompani ma ame Kompani* = Mother company and father company, with which an intimate stamp is given to a power-relation. It is typical, that mother is always put first.

1. This day we two mothers and we two fathers  
go and meet together and go and come together  
to decide and to determine about  
our son and our daughter
5. in the morning and in the evening our daughter  
goes to the well and to the wood-picking-place  
and our son goes out in search of  
buffaloes and horses (horned and un-horned cattle)  
they try to meet each other and to come across
10. at the place of the well and at the wood-picking-place  
the girl said  
that she is free of body and free of form  
therefore they give each other their betel-nut, their sirih —  
leaf they chew their betel-nut, their sirih-leaf
15. at the place of the well and at the wood-picking-place  
thus in the morning and in the evening  
the dew settles down on them and does the sun singe them  
therefore they carefully go inside together  
to their own mother their own father
20. they question them and cross-examine them,  
they (the couple) say : we enter carefully together  
within the lean-to of the *lopo*, and the lean-to of the house  
in order to tap the lontarsap and to weed the garden
21. for Thy intestines and Thy mouth.  
The aim of t h i s speech is an official announcement in general,  
after which the afore-mentioned *suku* is presented to the  
village-head of the bride's campung.

- 
2. There are an elder, a chieftain.

The ritual speech, following now, is addressed to the *atoni amaf*, viz. the eldest brother of the bride's mother, who has a leading function in this subject, just as at other ritual actions.

That speech sounds as follows :

Original :

Mumnais ma mufufu  
 bia neongwa him una ma faidja hin una  
 neu hit rèk ma t a'a  
 hit ana atoni ma ana bifèdjan.

Translation :

Thou hast an elder, thou hast a skull-roof  
 into the origin (stem) of days and the origin of nights  
 so let us decide and determine about  
 our son and our daughter.

At this the *atoni amaf* is presented a half guilder and a *suku* (see above).

3. The remaining betel-nut.

Further a half guilder and a *suku* are now also presented to the relatives, the following speech then being delivered :

Original :

Pua nesif manus nesif  
 pua monè ma manus monè  
 mam nit ma nasbo nit  
 pua nesif ma manus nesif  
 pua monè ma manus monè,

Translation :

Remaining betel-nut, remaining sirih-leaf  
 outer betel-nut, outer sirih-leaf (also : male betel-nut  
 sirih-leaf) do chew and do masticate  
 the remaining betel-nut, the outer sirih-leaf (male betel-nut,  
 male sirih-leaf)

4. Pig and dog are muzzled.

Gossip about the young man and women has been circulating ; this is indicated by the metaphorical language : "the dog barks and the pig grunts." Now the relatives of the bride want to inform those of

the groom, that there is no reason for gossip, but that it is absolutely serious on both sides. Also with the presentation of a half guilder and a *suku* a spokesman (*mafefa*) delivers the following speech :

Original :

Noka mabè atoni ia nöin nèm  
 asu nakoá, fafi naskora  
 kai muskèk ma kai mupip.

Translation :

In the morning and in the evening this man (i.e. the brideroom)  
 came and went if the dog might bark and the pig grunt  
 do not startle and do not stare on hearing it.

---

5. Something is given in hands etc.

The man's side now knows that the matter is alright and they now want to hand over their son to the parents-in-law, with whom he is going to stay from henceforth. Now on their behalf another half guilder with a *suku* is presented to the woman's side, with the following speech :

Original :

Noka mabè atoni ia naöin nèm  
                   ma au una'ne neo ko  
 neò munoni è ma mutaru è  
 nok fafi hin haun nok mangwa hin haun.

Translation :

In the morning and in the evening I give him in Thine hnds  
                   and let Thee keep him  
 that Thou reprimandest him and maketh him familiar with  
 the breeding of pigs and the breeding of hens.

---

6. The bridegroom is pushed into the house.

Immediately referring to the preceding event for the affirmation of the fact, that the young man does not stay outdoors any longer with the girl at the well and at the wood-picking-place, so that the dew has wetted them both and that the sun has singed them, it is

now once more underlined from the man's side, that the bridegroom is pushed into his bride's house by his parents, that's to say is taken up in it definitely. Again from their side a half guilder and a *suku* are presented and the following speech delivered.

Original :

Sitir kutam kô atoni ai  
neo ropgwa hin siun  
neo umdja hin siun.

Translation :

I push this man into  
the lean-to of the *lopo*  
the lean-to of the house.

6a. With his pouch.

The "aluk" (Amarasi *aruk*) is the bag for sirih-leaves and betel-nuts which every married man hangs around him, when he is going outdoors. It is an indispensable object of life and when he is pushed into his bride's house he should have it with him. Naturally it should not be empty, besides he also brings his wife a basket of sirih-leaves and betel-nuts which the young-couple should use in future for the presentation of sirih-leaves and betel-nuts. How great the meaning is of this "aluk" appears from the death-ritual, where this object is identified with the deceased. The one and the other is, again under the presentation of a half guilder and a *suku*-announced as follows :

Original :

Atoni ai natok ma namäuk  
nok hin kabi mama nok hin aru snini  
neo noka mabè  
mam ma nasbo  
neo hin human ma hin matan  
naknino ma naknau.

Translation :

This man sits down, and has taken a little seat  
with his basket for sirih-leaves and betel-nuts, his little pouch  
in order to chew sirih-leaves and to chew tobacco  
in the morning and in the evening

that his face and his eye  
be lightened up and be bright.

7. The breaking off of the tie with the woman's father.

In Amarasi too it often occurs, that the woman remains to live in her own *nono* and then the children obtain the mother's name, not the father's. However, when the mother leaves her parents' *nono*, the case changes.

The leaving of the *nono* takes place at Batuna and elsewhere among the speakers of the Ro'i dialect (see treatises K.B.C. volume LXXIV, 2nd chapter, 1939 Amarasian texts, introduction pages 6-7) in a special way, the so-called *takora am tare'u kiri roè* there "we break and smash the comb of the presentation of sirih-leaves and betelnuts". The latter refers to the presentation of sirih-leaves and betelnuts on the occasion of the ritual, accompanied by which the woman leaves the *lopo*, or the house of her own parents. Then her comb is smashed. (It is characteristic that the word *kora* only occurs in this area in the meaning of "to break", whereas the form, often in reduplication, *kora-kora* refers to the moon- or horn-shaped ornament worn by women). As such it also occurs in the death-ritual, where the *kora* is presented to the *atonì amaf* as a symbolic request to save the necessary steps to have the corpse carried out to burial.

Only a short fragment of the ritual speech when leaving the *nono* of the woman's parents is at my disposal, viz. :

Original :

Tanèbèt ma tasanu kunu-m bonak  
neo namnais re'u ma nafuf re'u.

Translation :

We have *kunu* and *bonak* descended and dropped  
for it is very old and very much eaten off by *bubuk*.

Then the *sèa* takes place, that's to say the overthrowing or the tripping up, viz. of the *nono*. At this a rixdollar and a guilder are presented to the woman's parents from the part of the man's parents, which the woman's father is to show under the invoking of the spirits of the ancestors, to the: *nono bèra ma he'u bèra*, that's to say the inherited *nono* and the inherited *he'u*, viz. the traditional fertility-magic handed down by the ancestors.



Thus the invoking runs :

Original :

Eut ko ma kuton ko  
 au nono au heu,  
 nok bifè ai, hin su ko  
 bia hin fufun hin haun  
     hin tunan hin fafon  
 nati saup musona è  
 na'ko hin tunan hin fafon  
 ès eut kò ma kuton ko  
 neo nerman nahin  
 fin kansauman tè nahin.

Translation :

I give Thee notice and notify Thee,  
 my *nono*, my *he'u*  
 in connection with this woman, she takes Thee on her head  
 carries Thee on her head, her shoulder  
     on her top, her crown  
 that Thou wipest her clean (free)  
 from her top, her crown  
 therefore I give Thee notice and notify Thee  
 that Thy heart knoweth it  
 further Thy mind knoweth it.

Then the wife's father gives his son-in-law a shawl, which is handed to him from behind over his head.

After this ritual they go to the man's house, where the woman is taken up in his *nono*. The ritual speech and actions are missing among these items, but are parallel to those at the beginning of this article.

#### 8. *Belis*.

At present this is called here *beris muni*, that's to say the present *belis*, for a clear distinction from the former *belis*, so that in this term the realization of the shifting, taking place here, is fixed.

In the "present *belis*", the payment of which takes place in the presence of the raja in the office of the regional administration, four stages are fixed ; viz. :

1. Table-money (Saè èt medja bain panasmat ès bian-bian : literary: one climbs up the table and pays a rix-dollar at each of both ends.
  2. The wiping of the "punu-atu".
  3. Beris.
  4. The putting of the signatures.
1. The table-money consists of a presentation of Fl. 5.— for the registration. The translation of the usual expression for it in the Timorese language says enough.
  2. The wiping of : "punu and atu". This is an original, humoristical expression. *Punu* in general means : to be spoilt, to be in a state of dissolution or decay, however, here it is used concurrently with *atu* = "chaxcoal". Now, after having been in touch with the with the West, *atu* is also used for "pencil", and even for that which is written in pencil : a letter. Hence the parallel : *Sulat na atu* "letter and script".

In this connection the expression : *nosè punu atu* has the meaning of : the blotting of the names written in ink in the marriage-register. Probably it also implies a fine sidehint, viz. that the non-official situation in which the marriage was before the registration has come to an end ; by means of the official registration the black, the evil-smell is blotted out. Thus a criticism on the former adat-marriage and an exhortation to pass on to the official registration.

In accordance with the significance of the result of this action the persons concerned have to pay Fl 10— for it. As I learnt it that is an objection to many a person, and then the *punu-atu* is left unrubbed, not blotted out (the latter in the meaning of unregistered).

3. *Beris*. As in Amarasi the r-pronouncers are dominant, *beris* is said there instead of *belis* in the same meaning. The amounts in sub 1 and 2 flow into the regional treasury of the raja. The *beris* is paid by the man's family to the woman's. Remarks will be made about this, when the *belis* is contemplated.
4. Finally both parties have to put their signatures and pay Fl. 1— for it the regional treasury.

Before the persons concerned pass on to the actions in sub 1—4, a *mafèfa* addresses the raja as follows :

Original :

- 1 Au parmis ko au funan neno
- 2                    au manas neno
- 3 Ho sisi ho maka
- 4 mikitbom im mitnanbom im
- 5 neo rèk kai ma aat kai
- 6 atoni ès ma bifèdjès
- 7 mafufu ma mahanu
- 8 maösa, matna'u
- 9 toèn nèten ma toèn tuin
- 10 nok arit saknenot
- 11 on mafè maana
- 12 mamonè maatoni
- 13 nakitbon ma natnanbon
- 14 neo poni neo nèpa
- 15 nai Honin ma Nai Maus
- 16 rèk nok mepu nok ranan.

Translation :

- 1 I ask persission my heaven-moon
- 2                    my heaven-sun (for:)
- 3 Thy meat, they food ;
- 4 we enter in a row, we enter into the inside
- 5 in order to decide for us, and to resolve for us
- 6 about a man and a woman
- 7 they have a head, they have a shoulder
- 8 they have a value, they gather a price
- 9 they walk over mountans and go over nountain-ridges
- 10 with the sky-space and the air (above them)
- 11 it is so, that he has wife and children
- 12                    that she has a man and husband
- 13 they came in a row and entered into
- 14 the hedge, the enclosure (i.e. the village)
- 15 of Nai Honi and Nai Maus
- 16 who decide in connection with labour and messages.

After this they go to the man's village and there a mafèfa delivers the following ritual speech :

## Original :

- <sup>1</sup> Fèn-fèn ma tok-tok  
 amaf nua ma ainaf nua  
 ka tnau tabuaok ènai  
 ka tnau tanunuok ènai  
<sup>5</sup> natuin atoni ès nok bifèdjès  
 maseun nitnen maon nitnen,  
 èk toèf èk nèten  
 sin mafènin sin pua sin manus  
 neno unu fai unu  
<sup>10</sup> ès sin natok ma namäuk  
 nan neno nan fai,  
 nan funan nan ton,  
 bifèdja nak maosa matna'u  
 ès atoni nauba hin nakan hin kurin  
<sup>15</sup> Nak au fèdjan natuin kau,  
 beris neone.  
 Es tèm tea hit ruan hit barè  
 toitne nitu-neno  
 neo natok èk hit ruan  
<sup>20</sup> napen aumina aurèko  
 nunpau mepu pau ranan  
 Nai Honin ma Nai Maus  
<sup>23</sup> tar sampè nengwa saè — nengwa tèš.

## Translation :

- <sup>1</sup> Gradually and little by little  
 two fathers and two mothers  
 come to-gether not or nothing  
 meet to-gether not or nothing  
<sup>5</sup> (but) because of a man and a woman  
 meeting each other by chance and encountering by chance  
 on a mountain on a hill  
 they gave each other their sirihleaf and betel-nut  
 on an earlier day, in an earlier night  
<sup>10</sup> Therefore they sat down and seated on a little bench  
 days were passing  
 nights were passing  
 months were passing  
 years were passing

of the woman it is said : she has value, she gathers a price.  
Therefore the man spoke to his head, his crown

<sup>15</sup> he said : my wife follows me,  
(I give) belis for her.

Therefore, now that we have arrived at our village, our place  
let us ask the spirits and heaven, about the fact, that they  
settle in our village.

<sup>20</sup> that they obtain welfare and health  
in order to look after the labour, to look after the road  
of Nai Honi and Nai Maus

<sup>21</sup> till sun-rise and sun-set.

b. Contemplations regarding the belis.

In the already mentioned composition in the "Opwekker" of Sept. 1941, page 386, I made the remark, that *belis* in Timor is probably of foreign origin.

In the Rottinese-Dutch dictionary of professor Jonker the stem of *beli* is to be found (at which it should be kept in mind, that here in the regional languages the stress falls on the first syllable of two syllable stem). The following is found under this word : *beli* (Tag. *bili*, Daj. *bili*, price, to buy, Sikk. *weling*, price, Sav. *weli*, Mal. *Beli* etc. to buy).

Further among other things the following expressions :

*ndala ia beli ba'u bè* = what is the of this horse ?

*beli doik hida* = what is the price

*beli-na lopia lima* = the price is five guilders

*nafada beli-na* = he fixes (mentions) the price

*beli tak* = without value

Further : *belis* — that what should be paid for asking a girl for marriage: *noke belis* = to demand that purchase-money

*fe belis* = to pay that purchase-money

*inak ndia beli na* = the *belis* demanded for a certain woman

*mabelik* = having value

*malole au la'ok lai lai* = I have to walk fast

*fo ela au kapa oè nga nabeli* = that the milk of my buffaloes yield a price.

F.H. van de Wetering further remark is in his article "The marriage in Rote" I, *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap* vol. LXV, 1925, page 15, that without the payment of the dowry (*belis*) the children get the

children get the mother's name: not until after the payment of it the Rotenese patriarchy will be settled.

And in the „Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap” vol. LXV, 1925, page 601 :

This dowry consists of :

beli anak = great belis (lit. maning as a genetivus objectivus :

the dowry for the mother (paid)

oè — ai (the price of) water and wood

susu oè (the price of) the milk.”

”The oè ai is received and distributed among the parents and the close relatives of the girl ;

the susu oè falls to the brother of the mother and is therefore called

”To'o — huk” huk = gelaran bahasa Rote untuk paman)

”Of the belis anak” and the oè ai the relatives of the mother get no share”.

”The beli anak is the amount, representing the purchase-money of the lady, so it is very dependent on both parties.”

In the Kingdom of Tie the Sovereigns have fixed this dowry from time immemorial.”

According to H.J. Grijzen in ”Mededeelingen omtrent Belu”, (Informations about Belu), Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap part LIV, 3rd chapter page 55, § 2, sirih-leaf and betelnut, a man could marry to :

1. a girl, belonging to his own family (Timor : indoor-marriage).
2. a girl belonging to his ”ume manè” ;
3. a girl, falling neither under sub 1 nor under sub 2.

From what is further explained there (pages 56-60) it then appears, that in Belu the first gift of the suitor is also known by way of a proposal of about Fl. 6.— (page 57). Parallel in the Timorese territory the *puah tolo manus tolo* = betel-nut sprig, sirih-leaf sprig.

Further the sirih-leaf betel-nut in six parts, viz. :

1st. *surik diman* (chopping-knife-lance)

2nd. *lor-hun, lor fafuhun* (flat sacrificial stone at the foot at the head-pole (*kakuluk*))

3rd. the *tata-beliun* (chopping-knife-hatchet)

4th. the *taha-bua* (sirih-leaf-betel-nut)

5th. *oi no kulit* (rattan and hide)

6th. *kukun etu* (invisible rice).

Typical is the elucidation on sub 5 *oi no kulit* on page 59, about which is to be read there :

"When that is finished, the *oi no kulit* follows, which consists of the payment of one guilder up to one rixdollar, for which the bridegroom obtains a rattan in exchange, in proof whereof he is now lord and master over the bride and the father transfers the control of his daughter to him."

"Her relatives are no longer allowed to punish her, for then it would be as if they had taken back the rattan from the bridegroom."

And then in 3 the purchase-money or *fettoh foliën* (page 60) also consisting of six parts :

1. for the right-eye
2. for the left-eye
3. for the right-breast
4. for the left-breast
5. for the lower-jaw
6. for the tail-bone.

The word *foliën* is to be found in the Tettum-Dutch vocabulary by A. Mathijssen, *Verhandelingen Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap*, vol. LVI, 2nd edition 1906, written *folin*; meaning "price, value", *folin kma(a)n* = light price, cheap, *folin todan* = heavy price, expensive.

As it appears to me a complex of thoughts is connected to the so-called *belis*-idea, in which the guarantees were laid down in the adat-society, which the man should deliver in order to obtain the right to take his wife with him to his vilage. Although it is not allowed to say without more, that *belis* thus means a "purchase-transaction", yet there is also something in it of the "purchase" element, such as it appears, in my opinion, from the etymology.

As I suppose, however, the stress should be put on the *guarantee* — element, which also maintains itself under modern influences. This guarantee-idea is still evident in case the man leaves the woman. For then the dowry will also serve as an ability to pay the education of the children.

In returning now to the *belis* in Timor, then in the first place it is striking that many adat-elders at Amarasi say, that in former times the *belis* was unknown. It should have only been introduced by the chiefs of the families of *Besi*, *Lasi*, *Taëbenu*.

Taking that assertion in consideration, it seems very plausible, because just by that the so-called "indoor-marriage" is affirmed as the general background. For with marriages of chiefs it is not possible that the man goes to live with the woman's relatives, but the woman should immediately follow the man. Instead of the required labour-achievements, which characterize the "indoor marriage", a substitute had thus to come in the form of the *belis*.

The second situation, in which the *belis* is mentioned, goes back to the purchase of a girl, as explained in the afore-mentioned article in the "Opwekker" page 386. In such cases the purchase-character when marrying off a mother's daughter, who herself was purchased in her early youth, is in the foreground. Then the full *belis* (purchase-money) should be paid, at which then this metaphorical language is customary: the cotton-thread is broken off and the eye of the needle is snapped off (*abas nono natfek, anèt lukèn natipu*).

Both situations, indicated in Timor with *belis* are only justly understood against the general background of the "indoor marriage". The second of which in origin should be ascribed to a shortage of women in various groups of population, such as e.g. the Sanam-group.

As it appears to me the so-called old sirih-leaf, old betelnut is different of character. In former times its presentation always coincided with the leaving of the *nono* of the woman's family and the accepting of the *nono* of the man's family. Probably it is a parallel with the customary presentation of the *surik diman* etc. as quoted above in Belu.

Afterwards the *belis* came under influence from outside and a confusion of ideas came into being, as a result of which the "old sirih leaf, the old betel nut" was identified with the *belis* idea, while both differ in origin.

In Rote the *belis* seems to be known from time immemorial, though the remark in the said article of van de Wetering, viz.- "that in the Kingdom of Tie since the old time the sovereigns have fixed the dowry" is conspicuous. For it is inherent to the structure of the social life among these tribes, that the adat-marriage is pre-eminently a matter of both groups of relatives, not subjected to the power or the control of the chiefs; that a chief fixed the extent of the dowry, clearly refers to a shifting of the social relations, probably under



the influence of a catch of the law of war, in consequence of which a victorious chief imposed certain obligations.

So there are all sorts of things related to this *belis* question in these parts and when striving for a regulation a great flexibility is desired.

In this way the fixing of the amounts concerned has a very good side, but the question remains, whether, in view of the weak economic capacity of the population, the *minina* fixed there, are after all not too high, at least for an important part of the population, which consists of not-well-to-do people. Probably it will be possible in the future to bind the amounts to be paid to conditions of a certain welfare known from the assessment, and to allow the indigents a free registration, at which they can gradually discharge the *punu*, *atu* without the terror of the costs connected with it.

When there is a question what the meaning is of the *belis* problem to the church practice, then the following answer can be given.

At the end of the article in the "Bijdrage tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandch-Indië, part 88, volume I and II, 1931, I already made the remark at that time, how a consciousness of the man's priority begins to come up among the Christians, because Adam was first created and then Eve. On account of this they want to break off the adat-tie and set up a new order of affairs, viz. that the woman follows the man and not the contrary.

One of the Timorese boys, whom I had a composition made about the account of the Creation in their native language, went a little further. At the end of it he wrote, that man and woman should both leave their parents. This is a typical reaction of the mood among the younger generation, which hopes to obtain a position as a "guru" (teacher) or "manteri" (assistant) and with whom already now the strong idea of a breaking off of the adat-tie is living. And thus the account of the Creation should be concluded with the verdict, as if that were the verdict of the Holy Book, i.e. an assignment of God, that man and woman should both free themselves from the adat-milieu, and thus both leave their parents.

With reference to that I talked to the young people how just in the account of the Creation is the clear meaning, that the man should follow the woman and not the contrary. In "Tekst en Uitleg" (Text and Exegesis) prof. F.M. Tn. Böhl rightly remarks:

"The position, he adjudges (i.e. the bible-writer) to the woman is in fact for his circle and time extraordinary high. It would stand to

reason to say, that the woman leaves her parents and follows her husband. Our author says the contrary. At this he is probably under the influence of the remembrance of age-old social situations, of which we e.g. still find back the traces in the old Syrian laws of about 1400 B.C, that not the woman comes to live with the husband, but that the man has to come to live with the wife"

That is a surprising parallel with the prevailing situation here, by which is affirmed how much a protective factor for the latter is found in the fact, that the man comes to live with his wife's parents

In this connection it is necessary to dwell for a while upon the fact, that over the whole Dawan language-area the predominant form of adat-marriage is this "indoor marriage" (*matsau ume nanan* or *mafe mamone ume nanan*). In the above-mentioned article in the "Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkendkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië" this moment remained in the shade. The cousins-marriage is always an "indoor-marriage", except there where the elope-marriage takes place. But in other cases too there is still the preference in the adat-community to the "indoor-marriage" as the traditional marriage par excellence.

Thus for the Christians, who remain in their own adat-milieu, there is no ground to make the demand in the account of the Creation, that the woman should follow the man, even though it seems to many a Christian to be a matter of-course, especially to those coming from an other island, that this demand should be complied with.

It is different with those who will occupy an office or find a field of activity. In fact it is natural, that they should have to pay the *belis*, firstly because they, -having a stituation,- belong to the sphere of the "grand seigneurs" in the eyes of the population and such as it appears from the Amarasian items, the native sense of justice has found it as a matter of course from time immemorial, that they should give "belis", as a substitute for the labour-achievement otherwise to be supplied by the son-in-law, and in the second place, because there is a moral moment in the *belis* as a guarantee for an appropriate attitude of the man towards his wife.

The difficulty is now that under the influence of the behaviour and the situation among us Westerners a strong inclination appears among the prospective teachers and other labourers-to-be too to

throw everything overboard and to do away with the moral moment being in the guarantee-idea, an attitude which is altogether unjust.

For if a teacher marries a girl and withdraws from the *belis*-requirements, then afterwards more than once the following figure arises :

The teacher or any other labourer misbehaves, the wife has to share the consequences, for her husband is discharged. His wife's family now has not the least chance anymore of the presentation of *belis* and feels itself deceived. In other respects too the inclination to withdraw from these adat-requirements is propelled by mostly selfish motorial forces.

So on the one hand it is of importance to the church to encourage the presentation of the *belis* by the bridegroom and on the other hand to try to persuade the prospective parents in law not to fix too heavy requirements. In view to the bridegroom the church can argue, that the presentation of *belis* for him implies that he has to do his utmost seriously to show himself worthy of his wife.

If the bridegroom is really not able to pay *belis*, and if the young couple really love each other, then a solution should be sought in the direction of an attitude, doing justice to the demand to be made by the woman's parents in order to meet the guarantees in another way, which afforded by the *belis* in different circumstances .

For the rest there are very deviating aspects of the *belis* in different areas. In Rote there are groups, in which the woman's family tries to outdo the dowry presented by the man by presents made in return. Here a parallel occurs of what is explained in Ruth Benedict's book "Patterns of culture", page 172 vv. regarding the Kwakiutl: "The presents made in return by the bride's family bear a potlatch character, aiming to uphold the bride's status and to guarantee her freedom and pride against the society in general and the bridegroom's family in particular". Meanwhile there is also referred to the fact, that the woman's father transfers in this way his dignity and welfare to his daughter's children, in the following sentence: "In this way all through life, at the birth or maturity of offspring, the father in law transferred his prerogatives and wealth to the husband of his daughter for the children who were the issue of the marriage (page 172, the italics are mine).

In Timor this aspect does not occur. The *belis* is not paid there until years after the "indoor-marrige". That payment gives the man the right to bring over his wife and children to his own village,

which involves the breaking off of the *nono*-tie (see above) with the woman's family. As long as the husband lives in his wife's house, he remains a member in the *nono* of his wife's family, but when he takes his wife and children to his own village, all of them break off the *nono* of his wife's family and are taken up in the man's *nono* at arrival in the husband's village. Here the potlatch provision is out of the question.

Due to the shifting in the situations taking place by the presence of Chinese as well as Westerners the magic ties with which the *belis* is related to the old group faith begin to get loose and the purely social side of them come more and more to the fore.

And at a closer contemplation it will not be hard to recognize the moral moment hidden in its social aspect.

Thus the attitude of the church or mission with regard to a normal *belis* should be positive as much as possible, however, reserved against an excess with the family of the prospective bride, who tries to grasp out of the situation what there is to be grappled. In Rote such an excess is eliminated there where it is customary to give compensation from the part of the woman.

It seems as if the marrow of the guarantee-idea has not yet penetrated into the consciousness of the persons concerned, though it is certainly present as the moving force at the background, be it still unformulated. If we go further into the matter, then we'll find at the bottom the wordly wisdom, which shrinks from the sincerity of the affection of the suitor. This contains a moment of suspicion, which is grounded on a very sober conception of what we use to call the state of the fallen man.

### c. *The registration of the adat-marriage.*

The problem of the registration of the adat-marriage touched upon at the beginning of this article, which was introduced by the late H. Koro raja of Amarasi, at Baun, is of eminent significance for the reconstruction of the adat-community in free Indonesia. Only it deserves the preference not to introduce that registration in the dwelling-place of the raja or the "fettor", exclusively but in all villages, so that each village-chief in his village-territory registers the adat-marriages for non-Christians as well as for Christians in an adat-register. The division of the chapters of this register should take place according to the adat-situation.

After the registration, which renders the character to the adat-marriage of the fixed form of the civil marriage for all parties concerned, the consecration by the Church or her marriage-blessing may then take place for Christians.

Soè, 27 - 6 - 1954.

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## ANCIENT ART OF THE MINAHASA

by

Dr. HETTY PALM.

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Nowhere in Indonesia has the old culture so fast and so completely disappeared as in the Minahasa. The meaning of the acculturation-process was here the rather complete disappearance of old-Minahasan cultural elements, with a few exceptions in the field of the material and social culture. Hence the flying prahu for the catch of fish remained in use. Usually it is understood by acculturation the contact the west, followed by the incorporating of western cultural elements. As regards the Minahasa, this contact with Europe has already been made from the 16th century : in 1623 Simao d'Abreu visited Menado. Further, in connection with the contact with the Portuguese the well-known world-traveller Fernao de Magalhaes is also mentioned. According to Mr. Mantiri, captain in the Indonesian Airforce, the latter was not murdered in the Philippines, as it is generally accepted, but he should have been the first "KING" of the Minahasa (R.I. Mantiri and De Roock : "The first world-travel and the realm of the Minahasa", in the press). This theory is disputable, for as it is known Fernao de Magalhaes was killed in Matan, a little island near Cebu on-April 27th 1521 (see Le Rouse, 1929). Probably the world-traveller is confused by the authors with another Magelhaes, of greater significance for the history of the Minahasa, viz. pater Diego de Magelhaes, During the latter's stay in the Minahasa (1563) the "sovereign" of Menado (in fact Manado-tua, Old Menado) had himself baptized with fifteen hundred of his subjects: this was a proof of the good understanding between the Minahasans and the Portuguese.

As for the Spanish cultural influence, this is most clearly expressed in a few words, which before long found general acceptance, such as the word *kawalu* (caballo) for horse.

The Europide appearance of some Minahasans does not only date from the time of the Mediterranean contacts : later too a mixture with Europeans took place. In the 19th century a few district-chiefs were married to European women. The Indo-Europeans have never

formed a separate group in the Minahasa, as it was the case in Java, but they have been taken up in the population (Allard, 1955).

The arrival of the Portuguese and the Spaniards was soon followed by that of the Dutch. This meant, that gradually the Roman-Catholic religion made room for the Protestant: soon already the mission became very active in this part of the archipelago.

And so it was already before the end of the 19th century, that the greater part of the population have embraced Christianity.

Did the contact between Minahasans and Europeans already took place in the remote past, it is especially in the 19th century, that the inhabitants of the Minahasa had been mastering European cultural elements in a quick tempo. The old customs disappeared: new customs were accepted. Before the beginning of the 20th century 2000 sewing-machines were droning in the houses!

Though here and there did relics exist, yet, in order to obtain a picture of the original culture we must grasp back to old reports of missionaries and government officials, among which that of Padtbrugge of 1679 is one of the oldest and most important.

Though European cultural expressions had penetrated here and there, yet, there was no talk then of a great influence of western civilization. From Padtbrugge's description in luscious old-Dutch, we obtain a picture of the original culture. In his time the Minahasa was populated by different tribes, whose culture was to be compared with that of the Dayak, the inhabitants of Nias or the Naga of Assam. Where the tribes originated from is not known: the old legends too can inform us but little about that. As ancestress of the Minahasans Lumimu'ut is mentioned. She was born out of a stone, which was washed by the breakers and shone upon by the sun: out of the vapour arose Lumimu'ut (hence her name, which is derived from lu'ut = perspire). Impregnated by the west wind, Lumimu'ut gave birth to a son, Toar. The legend further resembles the story of Oepidus: not knowing, that it is his mother, Toar after wards married Lumimu'ut. The complex, however, is lacking: the couple had a long and happy life and got many children, who became the ancestors of the Minahasans. Otherwise Lumimu'ut was still always amidst her posterity: her dwelling-place was the slope of Mount Saputan. During the harvest-festivals she descended to the plain and manifested by means of the agricultural priestess, who held her image. That image consisted of a copper or bronze knob with a double face, mounted on a wooden staff. 1 (See further my composition on "The

Minahasan Priestly Staff" in T.B.G. — part LXXXV, 2nd edition, pp. 310—321). Thus the goddess saw into the future as well as into the past. Legend has it that Lumimu'ut had taught the Minahasans agriculture, hence her important part at the agricultural festivals. So then was her other name Si Apo 'nimena in Tana' "the Grandmother, who has ploughed the earth".

Legend has it that the division of the tribes took place at a big stone, the *Watu rērumēran ne Empung*, on the "Stone Throne of the Ancestors". The other name is *Watu pinēwetengan* or "Stone, where division was made". The boulder is still there on the slope of the Tonderukan. It is covered with scratches and rough drawings: the latter represent people, rice-pounders, fishing-nets, fish, bats and crocodiles. The indentations are the work of the god Muntu untu. At every determination he gave a scratch on the stone with his stick.

And so the Minahasa is inhabited by different tribes:

In the north-east, north of Lake Tondano  
the Tonséas had settled;  
south and south-west of this lake, in the south-western part  
of the Minahasa the Tontémboans;  
north-west of the lake the Tombulus;  
south-west of the latter the Tonsawang, s,  
in the south and south-east the Ratahans have settled on the  
coast,  
while the Bantiks lived on the north-west coast.

The Tonsawang, s have, just as the Ponosakans, who are related to them (in the west of the Minahasa) taken up many Mongondous elements. As legend has it, however, they have originated from the islands of Maju and Tifore, situated between Halmahera and Sulawesi (The Celebes). The language of the Ponosakans is related to the Mongondous.

The origin of the Bantiks too is to be traced: they came from Bolaäng. They have gone as auxiliaries of the Bolaäng Mongondous to the Minahasa and have remained there. As for their appearance, language and a few cultural expressions, they deviate from the remaining Minahasans. The same is also the case with the Bentehans: just as that of the Bantiks their language too is related to the Sangirees-Talau, d people. The Tontémboans owe their name to the témboan, the holy „ark", in which the rice was kept. Their culture is best



described, due to the missionary Schwarz, the government official Riedel and others.

In spite of mutual differences of opinion the Minahasans were one in their struggle against the Bolaäng-Mongondous. Hence the name „Minahasa”, deviated from ma-esa ”united to one,” that’s to say into an alliance against the meant state. For the remaining part the Minahasan culture shows much similarity with that of the Mongondous.

So with one exception we do not know, where the above-mentioned tribes come from. It is possible, that a part of them originate from the northern situated islands. For the Minahasa is the northern part of the north-east peninsula of Sulawesi, pointing like the careless arm of a polyp in the direction of the Philippines. The Sangihe-and Talaud islands form the connection with the latter group of islands. They probably formed the bridge, across which the few mammalia entered the Celebes. That was e.g. the case with the anoa, the wild boar and the babirusa, which both appear in the Minahasan art. This is probably also the road, which man has taken, when he entered the Celebes.

As a dwelling-place the Minahasa is not badly chosen. A beautiful country, securing its inhabitants a good means of existence. Besides, the sea, surrounding the country on three parts, yields fish in abundance.

The country is volcanic; the recent volcanism throws obstacles to the pre-historical investigation; at many places the sediments are more than 500 metres thick. This, however, is a favourable circumstance for the agriculture: the soil is very fertile. Thus agriculture was the most important means of existence. Ricefields, however, were unknown: the rice was cultivated on dry fields (ladangs). The agricultural implements were simple, they consisted of dibbers, a wooden instrument in the form of a spade to level the ground, of harrows, chopping-knives and weeding-knives. The plough was imported much later. As for cattle, Padtbrugge only mentions pigs and goats; remarkable enough the water-buffaloes were unknown. Horses too are not mentioned by him, yet, this animal must have been known to the Minahasans then, as witness the Spanish word for horse. The import of this domestic animal is, as legend has it, attributed to the Tasikelas (the Spaniards: a translation of Castillo). Horses are depicted in the Minahasan art of the 19th century. In a bed-post at Tomohon a frieze galloping horse is carved, with horsemen and servants, trying to stop the animals: the wood-carving is striking

by the great liveliness, with which man and beast are rendered (Fig. 10). The coastal inhabitants could replenish their diet with fish, much as it is the case now. Fish-catch was done in *prahus* with double wings, and a forked stern and bow. In contrast with the elegantly carved boats at the coast the people of Lake Tondano had clumsily hollowed out tree-trunks, the open ends of which were stopped up with planks or with the ribs of the rumbia-leaf 1 (1) rumbia — *Metroxylon Rumphiana*). The rower stood erect on this little vessel and paddled with the aid of a long paddle.

The Minahasan villages were surrounded by palisades. Within them were the houses in two rows: sometimes, however, the formation was less neat and the houses were scattered. The village square was never lacking: it possessed an important social and religious function. On this square some stones were piled up: sacrificial offering was made to this *tumotowa* or *ipewale* or *panimbè* 2) (2) *tumotuwa* — Tontemboans, from „towa” — to call. *panimbè* — Tondanos). When consisting of two stones, then one, the standing one, represented the male, the lying stone was the female. Sometimes a standing stone was surrounded by a circle of smaller stones. Similar stones are found in Central Celebes. The stones were called “the support of the village”, or “the callers for blessing for the rice”. They were the centre of the harvest-ceremonies. During these ceremonies the squal was surrounded by bamboo-bows; bamboo-poles were put up, with cross laths, on which pennants and little parcels (of rice?) were fastened. These poles strongly remind us of the *wuntja* poles of the *Kulawi*, *Kantewa* and the *Palu*-valley in Central Celebes. They are put up on the occasion of the *wuntja*-ceremony to have the harvest thrive.

The houses were on high poles, which were sometimes so thick, that two men could hardly embrace them (Fig. 1). This information comes from Padtbrugge: according to others the ironwood poles were one square foot in their cross-section. Sometimes they were provided with wood-carving. „Some houses are oddly decorated; the beams were carved out with coarse images.” “Some (of the houses) they have wanted to decorate by carving out some sculpture on the poles. But the images are uttermost rude and without any art, nay, as a rule even quite mutilated.” (Reinwardt, 1821; 565). “Those poles are sometimes sculptured like giants and giantesses, whose decency leaves much to be desired, even the rice-pounders standing

beneath the houses, these are often shamelessly sculptured." (Bik, 1864 : 125).

Thus the 19th century appreciation for these caryatide was not great. The poles of the houses were 9 — 12 feet high, which offered protection against hostile attacks. The houses of the Tondanos were moreover built on the lake for safety's sake. The whole Minahasan house was without poles 16 — 20 feet high and substantially built. "The floor was of such heavy beams, that there was absolutely no shaking or movement." The architecture was robust of workmanship. Bik saw at Manies a staircase with banisters carved from one piece. The roof-cover consisted of "atap". The decoration of the ends of the ridge was formed by carved out figures. The walls of the houses were sometimes ornamented with carving or painting, representing mythical animals such as it is the case in the cases of the Dayaks. For the remaining part there are no specimens of this art preserved (only Meyer, Foy and Richter, 1900/01, I, PL. III fig. 1, gives the picture of a house with paintings on the wall). The houses of the priests distinguished themselves by an ornament of tassels of gumutu (*Arenga saccharifera*) or other leaves, hanging down from the ends of the ridge. Each house had further still its decoration of anoa- and babilusa-jaws; this hanging of strings of animal-jaws is a custom, which is also found in other megalithic culture, such as e.g. in Flores and with the Sa'dan Toradjas. In that time that head-hunting still occurred in the Minahasa, the trophies of which were also hanged up on the roofs. Otherwise this custom had died out very soon. The piece of woodcarving, representing a human head (see Fig. 7) might be explained to be a survival of this custom. It is ornamented with little piece of a skull and shocks of human hair.

The large houses were family-house, where 6 to 9 families found a roof. "The eldest of the house is the head of all the other families, and thus has the greater part of the room, the others have all but small dens, in each of them there being a little fire-side" (Padtbrugge, 1679). Through the middle of the house was a broad passage, "which also provides a common-place where their huge paddy-barrels are, narrowing the place in such a way, that a man has to wriggle through them; that's why they have a staircase for the thick-set people, standing against these barrels, on which they climb on them from one side, and thus going over all the barrels, till they come at the front part of the house. On these barrels the friends, who come to visit them, are put to sleep, and boast enormously of that among one and

other, each of them loudly boasting of on how many loads of paddy he has put these and those distinguished persons to sleep." "Each after his wealth then has a second barrel, which always remains filled and from which no paddy is eaten, on which they have had put their dead parents, before burying them, on paddy-straw; a third barrel is also gathered by the father, who has daughters of marriagable age to be consumed at the wedding-party." These paddy-barrels were big cylinders of tree-bark, such as they also appear in Nias, in the Minangkabau and in Flores. As it was said before, the Tontemboans had still another chest, in which the paddy was stored destined for certain ceremonies.

The furniture consisted of tables and chairs: next to sleeping-mats beds were also in use in the 19th century, with carved bed-poles.

The babies slept in a piece of cloth, the ends of which were fastened to the ceiling, as it is generally found in Indonesia. However, there were also cradles: the little ones slept in them for a few months only. That was the time which was necessary to flatten their foreheads: this happened by means of a little board fastened on the head. Such a flattened head was a beauty-ideal, after which the neighbours of the Minahasans and the Melanau-Dayaks were striving. In the nearby Buool and Mongondou similar cradles were also found.

Among the remaining inventory were bamboo-casks and bamboo-drinking-cups, spoons of coconut-bowls, coconut-graters, fire-saws, baskets for different use, rice-pounders and rice-pestles, digging-sticks and other agricultural implements. Further all sorts of arms, for war was part of the old cultural pattern. However, they also served as a show, for love of display was also a trait of the old Minahasan civilization. They were in the possession of metal helmets (*paséki*) and cuirasses of European origin: most of them date back from the 17th century. They were part of the equipment of the champions. Further there were European swords and other weapons. The Minahasan warrior further possessed a sword, so similar to that of the Sulu-islands (the Philippines) that it is not to be distinguished from it. Perhaps this weapon was no fabrication of their own, but it was imported from the above-mentioned islands. The same is probably also of force with the narrow shields of brass, which show a remarkable resemblance with the Ternatan specimens. Of own fabrication were the plaited armours, which are also in use elsewhere in Indonesia. Among these was a helmet, also plaited, and covered with resin to strengthen it. The Minahasan lancers were sometimes of

ebony, decorated with woodcarvings provided with an iron point. These too were more show-pieces than battle-arms. Among the most precious pieces of the inventory were further Chinese ceramics, bronze gongs and the already mentioned copper or bronze knobs of staffs. Not everybody was in the possession of these things, they were the prerogative of persons, vested with a certain position in society.

Men and women had their own task in- and outdoors. Cooking, pounding rice and taking care of the children, the care of the domestic animals were the task of the woman: further she assisted in agricultural activities. The women made earthenware, baskets, mats, hats, textile and bead-work. The men carried out the heavier work in the fields (in this connection we mention the agricultural societies *mapalus*: at rotations the fields of each member were ploughed together under the leadership of the chieftain), they built houses, worked up wood, stone and bone and cast metal objects.

According to Padtbrugge the best earthenware was made in the environs of Tondano, and also Remboken and Bantik are mentioned in this connection. The pots were made without a wheel. The earthenware was restricted to articles of use and a few ornaments, plastics of clay are unknown. In a few museums beautiful specimens are kept of the conical rice-hats. In the Museum for Ethnology in Rotterdam (inventory number 919) such a hat is present, painted with flower- and leaf-motives. These head-covers consist of strips of leaves stitched together: according to one of the European travellers there were also hats, composed of paddy-stalks, glittering as gold in the sun. As a specimen of plaiting-work the mat in the Government Museum for Ethnology in Leyden can serve: the ornamentation consists of two rows of birds standing opposite one another (Fig. 2). Relatively few samples of the beadwork have remained: it was not very artistical workmanship.

A rich diversity of articles of clothes were worn in the Minahasa, made of different raw materials. For the daily use of the common man the tree-bark was of service: from this ponchos, loin-cloths and turbans were made. The *sarongs* worn by the women were called *wuyang*, corrupted to *fuja* by the Dutch, which term was used afterwards for tree-bark in the ethnology. According to Padtbrugge this material was also painted: alas, no samples have been preserved of this.

Apart from the *fuja* weavings were also worn, the material for this was supplied by the *Musa textilis* (a kind of banana), by bamboo,

by pine-apple and by cotton. The weaving of bamboo-threads is no general process: besides, the process was rather laborious. After three weeks the sprouts of the *tambelung* 4) (Tontemboan: a kind of bamboo) were split, then chewed, hanged, dried and torn into threads. The weaving of clothing from the *Musatextilis* was also in use in the Philippines, Sangihe and Talaud, and in Mongondou. The textile-manufacture of the Minahasans did not reach that height of the peoples in their neighbourhood; the koffo-weaving in Sangihe and Talaud made from the *Musa textilis* were much finer, the tree-bark-process was on a higher level in Central Celebes. This remark, however, does not refer to the cotton weavings. Remarkably enough the cloths made from this material are extraordinarily beautiful of fabrication: this is especially true with regard to the ikat specimens. The area, where they were made, was small, it covered viz. the island of Bentenan and Ratahan in Bantik. The art has soon disappeared: in 1880 already no loom was encountered there. Such as it is the case with many Indonesian weavings, the patterns were often inspired by the *tjinde* cloths imported from India (these cloths were called „patola” in the Minahasa, derived from the Gujarati word „patolu”). Due to the application of a combination of key-motives the patterns also show relationship with the ikats of the Ibans. Greater still is the similarity with the weavings of the Moluccas, the South-western- and South-eastern islands. The combination of square geometrical patterns, interchanged with human figures with upward lifted hands, strongly reminds of the weavings of Leti, Kisar and Tanimbar, that Jasper rightly remarks, that they are almost not to be distinguished from one another.

Favourite colour-combinations applied at the weaving were brown, light-and dark-blue. Winered too was used. The cloths were used by the priests when officiating. However, they were also used for more profane purposes: the women wore them as sarongs, or as carrying-bags for the babies. In the latter case the weavings were short: on the upper-part they were provided with little bells, serving as toys. Sometimes the cloths used by the priests were also ornamented with copper bells (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4). The weaving of such a kain Bentenan was not an easy task, so that it does not surprise us, that before the start, a party was given.

It is not known, whether everybody was allowed to wear such a cloth, or that the prerogative was for women of standing. Probably the latter was the case. Clothing was different, according to the posi-

tion, occupied by a person in society, or to the occasion, on which it was worn. Common people wore tree-gark for every day, but persons of standing were dressed in imported materials. Not only were the foreign materials accepted, but also the European fashion made its influence felt. With the Tonsawang an upper-garment for the women was in use, which imitated a French court-dress. In the art of the Minahasa, such as e.g. on the stone-box-tombs and the poles of the houses, persons have been sculptured, on the whole dressed in the European way. So e.g. the "state-portrait" on a lid in the form of a roof of a tomb at Maumbi (Fig.13). The little figure, which seems to look out above the frame of the roof as if it were curious, is dressed in a coat with a wide end with long sleeves, reaching a little more above the height of the knee. The row of buttons of the waistcoat worn underneath it are clearly represented. The feet are put into shoes with high heels. The hair is taken up highly and hangs down in a tail. Whether with this a tail-wig is meant or an autochthonous Minahasan hairdress is not to be made up. The head-cover consists of a three-cornered hat with tipped-up brims. The sculpture of the little figure is different on both sides of the roof. On one side it has a hand in the side, while the other is holding a pipe. On the other side the image is more martial, with a girded sword, and in the hand a musket. Though some figures are pictured in a clothing, dating from the after-days of the V.O.C., most persons represented in European clothing originate from a later period. On a stone-box-tomb at Tonséa a man is represented, the hands akimbo: he wears a wide, loosehanging coat, trousers with wide pipes; a broad-brimmed hat sinks far over his head. He looks like a figure from the American Civil War (see Fig. 17). On certain occasions special clothing was worn. The Tontemboan priestesses wore during the *mareindeng* ceremony a three-cornered hat of silar leaves with veils of bead-work. During this ceremony the priestess recited the famous deeds of the ancestors: at this she was sitting opposite the *témboan*, the Ark, already mentioned. Waving a *tawa'an* (*Dracaena terminalis*)-leaf, she gradually fell into a trance. The hat with the veil symbolized her seclusion from the outer-world, by which she could better concentrate herself. Further the priestess was richly dressed, with many bracelets and chains, a beautiful sarong and a sash of Indian patola-weaving.

A fantastic and colourful spectacle gave a formation of warriors in the ancient time. They too wore gaudy patola-sashes. However, their head-dress was most striking: it was one glittering of gaudy feathers

of birds of paradise and of parrots. The commanders wore large hats, on which horn-bills were set up. Again other protagonists wore European helmets. The warriors were inflamed by a priestess, wearing a babirusa-tooth on her head. This ornament was also imitated in metal: these spirals were called "turing" and were a favourite emblem of the warriors.

Ornaments appear in all sorts and of all kinds of material. The most striking were the heavy copper bracelets and leg-decorations. They adorn themselves with a great many arm- and leg-rings, as the women of the inland-and mountain-lake (Lake Tondano) are uncommonly provided with ; some of them having more than twenty pounds of copper on their bodies, at which, if, in case, they fall into the water, should be drowned, which is all the more dangerous for them, because they live on or near the water and have to sail constantly to and fro, when they want to be in their gardens or obtain food for the pigs or the goats, which is the proper work of the women. The men have no rings at their legs, but they have them at their arms, and in order to fill such a thing, they have a great many chains hanging round their necks, on which copper things are hanging in the way of hands as large as and also in the form of a walnut. The chains are patched to-gether of all sorts of rumbling, of bones, stones, pieces of glass and corals, horns and mixed metal.

The arm- and leg-rings already mentioned by Padtbrugge were decent of made : they were smooth, or decorated with a simple geometrical ornament. Some rings were lengthwisely split (Fig. 6a -6b).

In contrast to the arm-and leg-ornaments the ear-ornaments of copper were often fragile and made in an open-worked pattern of tendrils and curls (Fig. 5a, b and c). The wing shape of the ear-hangers was compared by Kaudern with the "probo", the nimbus worn by certain wayang-figures (Kaudern, 1944 : 320). But this ornamentation reminds more of similar motives among the Dayaks. Such ear-ornaments were also made in gold or they are gilt. Ear-ornaments are not only hanged in the ear-lobes, but on festive-occasions the whole shell of the ear was covered with ornaments. Sometimes the ear-hangers were made of a very simple material, viz. of red-coloured clay. Chains were strung from imported glass beads. Beads of cornelian were also familiar. Big cylindrical beads of gold, silver or copper were decorated with a simple pattern of meanders.

Another form of decoration, viz. painting, is little known. According to Padtbrugge this too was a prerogative of the warriors : later



European travellers, however, make mention of this use. The patterns, applied at painting, have never been represented.

The religion consisted of the worship of a number of gods; a few of them were already mentioned. They were mainly neutral gods: their dwelling-places were mountains, wells and trees. At special places offerings were brought. More important, however, was the ancestor-worship. In the house too offerings were brought to the ancestors: with a bamboo-clip these were fastened to the wall of the house. Divine judgements, astrology, the paying attention to a bird's call and other omens played a great part in the religion. Certain aspects of the religion and the priesthood will be further introduced underneath.

The social organization is little known. Probably this, however, still exists and it would be interesting, if an investigation after it was made.

The big tribes (Tondano, Tombulu, Tonséa and Tontémboans) are sub-divided into clans, *walak*. The smaller ones, regarded as "foreign tribes" by the others (Bantik, Tonsawang, Ratahan and Ponosakan) were simply thought of as a *walak*.

The chieftain of such a genealogical group was called *tu'ur im walak*. In the V.O.C.-time *walak* was corrupted into *balk* and they talked of *balk*-chieftains: it was thought that this name was derived from the fact, that the chieftains were obliged to supply the Company with a number of beams. Schwarz, however, pointed out that the name *walak* is autochtoon Minahasan. The *walak*-chieftain was the oldest descendant of his generation. However important his position was, the priest (often closely related to the chieftain) was often more powerful. Sometimes both functions were united in one figure.

Priests were called *walian* or *tona'as*. The first word we find in many Indonesia languages in the meaning of Shaman, e.g. *balian* in the Balinese mountain-villages and among the Dayaks. The *walians* kept themselves busy with the regulation and carrying out of the religious ceremonies, concerning the community as well as the family.

The *tona'as* on the contrary was in fact the leader, the foreman, who officiated at the building of a house etc. according to a certain rite. The bird-hearers also belonged to that group.

Even up to now leaders of the people are still called *tona'as*, such as the late *tona'as* Ratulangi.

The priesthood could be vested by men as well as by women. Among the Tontémboans the *walian*-hood was occupied by women,

among the Tondanos, Tonséas and Tombulus by men (according to Riedel there was also a female priesthood among the last tribe, but by way of an exception).

Especially the Shamans maintained the contact with the ancestors. Further they occupied themselves with banishing of diseases. By taking away stone objects from the patient they cured him, such as is the custom of Shamans all over the world. Sometimes a disease was "handed over" to a wooden image, a so-called *tētēles*, Fig. 8. After the end of the ceremony this was thrown away. There were priests who kept a collection of all these images on their attic. The function of these *tētēles* is, for the remaining part, not very clear. Sometimes these images were provided with a sword, which they held up as if to avert something. But usually their attitude was very statistic, with the arms stretched along the sides.

Further the priests were present at all intermediate rites: no ceremony, no important task could be carried out without them. Thus they exercised a great social control.

At important feasts there were often a number of priests present, according to Wilken up to thirty. By consulting the ancestors, by listening to the birds, by calculating the favourable days by means of a rope, in which knots were put (or with the aid of a tally-stick, *kataw*) they fixed the time of the breaking-up of the soil, the planting and the harvesting. The harvest-ceremonies, *manēmpo* lasted for nine days. There was dancing in the square with the decorated bamboo-poles. There were different kind of dances: a round dance, at which the dancer put his hands on the shoulders of his predecessor, was called *maramba* (Tondano, Tombulu, Tonséa) or *mawinson* (Tontémboan). At another dance the men drew themselves up in a semi-circle, the women in a semi-circle in front of it. Priests indicated the dancing-steps at this *maéngkét*, at which they got into a trance by the waving of handkerchiefs. This had a contagious effect: many dancers also got into trance. The taboo-periods, in which the priests prohibited for a very long time all labour in the gardens, the precious ceremonies, of which they demanded their share, were probably felt by the population as a pressure and might have accelerated the conversion to Christianity. But this is no more than a hypothesis, for the show of wealth was part of the cultural pattern. Though several ethnologist put the stress on it, that there was no nobility in the Minahasa, the chieftain, the priest and their family occupied an important place in society. There was a distinction between rich

and poor, being expressed at feasts, which should be given on the occasion of intermediate rites. Some of these, such as the feasts to attain a higher status (the so-called "feast of merit") could only be afforded by the rich.

By giving such a feast, his prestige increased. It should be noted at this, that a feast of merit could not be given at any arbitrary moment. He who gives such a feast should feel that the moment is there, so that such feasts remind of jubilees and promotions in the western society. The fortunate, who were financially strong and who had lived long enough to look back upon such feasts, were allowed to wear as a token of their dignity *sinēka'dan* — this is the same wooden staff with the bronze knob in the form of a Janus-head, which was worn by the agricultural priestess at certain ceremonies. This knob of the staff of yellow copper or bronze was mostly a bust: quite a few time the whole body was represented. Sometimes such a knob consists of two heads upon another; the State Museum for Ethnology in Leyden is in the possession of a copy of it, at which on both sides of the head a little head extends. The meaning of these two- and three-headed staff-knobs is not known: such a head might represent a genalogical series, or is a fertility-symbol meant with it.

In their conventionalization the faces of the knobs show a great resemblance. The eyes look like nail-heads, eye-brows and nose were connected to one graceful line in the V-form, the moon-shaped mouth rendered to the face a kind smiling expression. Did this embody the contents of the staff-bearer, who could look back upon a rich life? We don't know: about the *sekad* (staff-knobs) is but little known. Probably here it is concerned with a conventionalized way of representation, for the faces on the stone-box-graves and those of the *téléles*-images show the same expression. The rich head-ornament, the ear-drops, chains and other attributes, with which the Janus-heads are provided, form an indication, that we have to deal with the representation of persons of significance, or with important ancestors. Sometimes the already mentioned agricultural goddess seems to be represented: sometimes it has something to do with a warrior, the head-dress in the form of spiral is an indication for it.

The ear-ornaments are not always distinctly represented, for ornaments and ear-lobe are mostly worked out into one decorative entity. The ear often sticks out widely on both sides of the face; sometimes the ear-lobe is perforated in a realistic way.

A number of ceremonies accompanied the Minahasan from the cradle to the tomb. After the birth of a boy a little sacrificial feast was held, at which the parents went to a watering-place with the baby and the priestess, aspersing the head and the feet with water. Then a sham fight was staged, at which the father defended himself with sticks against the village-inhabitants. He too was way-laid with sticks, and from his house he ran with the child in his arms and a bundle of sticks clasped under his left arm-pit to the village-square, pursued by a crowd of villagers. Here he trotted some times round the *tumotowa*, in the meantime throwing sticks to his waylayers. When the supply of sticks was exhausted, he then retreated uttering war-cries. After this a pig was slaughtered, the liver was consulted by an expert, who predicted from this happiness and prosperity for the new-born; the ritual was concluded with a banquet. The meaning of the sham fight was, that the boy should grow up into a good defender of house and village.

Further there is but little known about the education of the Minahasan child: there is also no mention of youth-organizations, as it sometimes appears elsewhere in Indonesia. During harvest-time the intercourse among young girls and young men was very free. According to Riedel the basis for a marriage was laid during this time. At the realization of a marriage a go-between played an important part. The wedding-ceremonies did not differ from those held elsewhere in Indonesia. The *sirih-pinang*-ceremony too did not lack here. The dowry was also indispensable, of which gongs and Chinese plates and dishes formed an important part.

The last important ceremony here on earth was the death-feast. The death of a man of significance was accompanied with the same show of wealth such as he had been accustomed to during his life. Still before he blew out his last breath, he was bound in the squatting position. After he had been wrapped in cloths, he was put on a chair or on one of beads: other ornaments, silk Indian cloths, weapons and other attributes indicated the position of the deceased. Above his head a canopy was put up. And in front of him a plate with delicious food was put down. Whereas poor people were interred in a chest of a hollowed out tree-trunk in a very simple way, rich families made much ado of the last accomodation. The Tongawangs had painted wooden coffins in the shape of a house, with a lid in the shape of a roof (Fig. 11). These coffins are perhaps the prototype of the *waruga* (Tombulus, Tondanos, Tonséas) or *tiwukar* (Tombu-

lus); in the Tontémboan language *timbangkar*. With this term the stone-box-tombs of the Tonséas, the Tombulus, the Tondanos and the Tontémboans are indicated (Fig. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17). Among the other tribes these tombs were not in use. From when this way of burial dates, is not known. Padtbrugge makes no mention of them: according to him the dead were buried in a wooden chest, after they had been put on the paddy-barrels. According to Riedel the stone graves would have been imported shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards by Tangkere, a Tombulu-priest. According to others the Spaniards would have imported the carving of the tomb-stones. The stone-box-tombs, however, do not differ as for the model from the wooden *balongsong* (tomb-chest) of the Tonsawangas. The *warugas* of the Minahasa are in fact nothing but stone urns furnished with a lid in the shape of a roof. Presumably there is some connection with the stone graves in Central Celebes (Sulawesi), in Bada, Napu etc. Only the latter have another shape, viz. they are round, with a flat round lid. But the ornament shows close resemblance in both regions: the man is at this the "leitmotiv".

Stone graves in the shape of a house we find here and there in Indonesia, a.o. in the Bataklands, in Sumba and in Java. In the last-mentioned island at Tegalsari, Besuki, the lid of the stone-box-graves found, on which a human figure is carved with raised hands: the resemblance with the *warugas* is striking. The spread of wooden coffins in the shape of a house is rather general in Indonesia. The Minahasans still knew other ways of burial: Reinwardt makes mention of a grave of a chieftain at Kéma hewn out in the mountains (Reinwardt, 1858: 541) and Riedel tells that the dead were buried in rocks: a way of burying which also appears in South and Southwest Sulawesi (the Celebes). In the Tondano region funeral urns of baked clay was used. The *warugas* were hewn from sandstone. This material is hard, by which the *warugas* are the cultural expression which have best stood the tooth of ages.

These „burial-pots”, as the older travellers called them, were originally put up in the vicinity of the houses: later on, however, they were put together in special cemeteries. According to Reinwardt the *warugas* were sometimes covered with a roof of atap. Till when these graves have been in use, is not precisely known. A few of them bear the dates: 1769, 1839, 1850 (Bertling, o.c. p. 30, Sluyk, 1908).

According to Meyer and Richter (1903: 23) the *warugas* were family-tombs: in the stone-box-tomb of the chieftain-family Tombuku in

the village of Maumbilama between Airmadidi and Tondano they found the remains of nine persons. And further ninen plates, some gold and a copper helmet. So here too was the custom to give food, articles of use and ornaments to the deceased. According to others (among others Bik) only one dead man was interred in the tomb: probably this custom differs locally. When the *waruga* contains the remains of more than one dead man, then there is the possibility of a secondary interment, otherwise the proper room for the tomb would be too small. As said, the tombs belong to persons or families of importance. According to Riedel the ornament formed an indication, whether we had to deal with the tomb of a chieftain or of a priest; however, he gives no further particulars about this information.

A *waruga* consisted of a hollowed out stone block, rectangular of section, with a lid in the shape of a roof. The former was called the "Woman", the key-stone the "Man". Either a saddlerooft or a roof in the shape of a pyramide is represented: the latter shape especially occurs in the north. Tombs have been found in various stages of workmanship. Bertling makes mention of a tomb-lid with a projection in the shape of a cube on each corner: it was the intention, that from these little figures would be sculptured. Undoubtedly the tombs were the work of certain experts; it is not known, whether they too made the decorations, or that these were done by others. According to Bertling the decoration of the stone-chest-tombs was better taken care of to the north: Tonsèa carried off the palm in this. Of one *waruga* at Airmadidi the comb on the roof is entirely worked open in a sober curl-motive. Sometimes this comb is loose and forms a separate piece of work, e.g. at Langoan. However, in a part of the Minahasa, in the area of the Tombulus and Tontémboans, the graves were as good as unadorned. No colour at all was given to the *waruga*.

The roof was very realistically represented on the tomb-lids: the atap-layers, the rafters, the decoration of tassels of leaves and the ornamentation of the protruding roof-ridges are represented. Very often, however, one gives his fantasy a free play and a couple of big crocodiles or snakes replace the ridge of the roof, mostly in a symmetrical formation. The slope of the roof, the corners of it, or the ridge of the roof, can serve as seats for the little human figures. Sometimes the sculptured people are so big in proportion, that the roof as it were became a footpiece for an image (or a group of images).

The façade also forms a frame for anthropomorphical figures, worked out in bass- or in wood- relief. Sometimes people too are carved on the slanting roof-plain, becoming then as it were the frame of a portrait. Sometimes such a carving is different on both sides, and on one side it can represent a man, on the other a woman, possibly a married couple who are buried in the *waruga*. It may occur that on both sides of the roof the same figure is represented: the heads appear above the ridge of the roof and unite themselves into a double head, such as it is the case with the already mentioned tomb-lid of Maumbilama. Symmetrical representations are indeed very popular: two animal figures, often representing *anoas* or *nagas*, opposite one another on the ridge of the roof, or with the tails meeting one another. Or two people, sitting opposite one another on the ridge of the roof and being identical. On a stone-box-tomb at Maumbi one figure is repeated four times. The sculpture represents four identical men, entirely dressed the same in knee-breeches, a coat with rounded tails and a little flap-pocklt. Good-naturedly each of the figures sits on a nib of the pyramidal lid (Bertling 1931, Fig. 7). The repetition of four times of one and the same image forms a closed, aesthetically satisfactory composition, which is not always the case. Sometimes the far carried on symmetry makes a boring impression. In contrast to compositions is the representation of a bull on a lid of a tomb at Kéma. Rightly Berling calls this robust piece, at which all symmetry is broken with, one of the most beautiful examples of the Minahasan sculpture. It makes a modern impression (Bertling, 1931, Fig. 16). The remaining decoration of the *waruga* usually consists of rope-, curl- or spiral-motives, meanders and tendril-ornaments, rosettes etc. Emblms of a warrior, such as the already mentioned *turing* are sometimes represented. On one of the *warugas* of the Museum in Djakarta are crosses, among other things engraved with a broad-armed cross. The ornaments, the human and animal figures are engraved either in stone, or they are carried out in low- and high-relief, or they form a detached sculpture.

Usually all decoration is brought upon the lid, the proper pot is but rarely ornamented. Yet a few pots show engraved representations and at Kéma human figures are brought upon them in bas-relief.

Since time immemorial the Minahasans have shown a great flexibility with regard to the fitting in of cultural expressions of neighbourpeoples in their own civilization. With the same ease they took over European cultural elements afterwards. This can also be applied

to the art: the similarity of the Bentenan-cloth with the weavings of the more eastern situated islands was already pointed out.

As for the influence of the West: the representation of men on the *warugas* sometimes shows a great similarity a European state-portrait. Next to this, a general Indonesian ground-pattern is also to be indicated in the art. The ethnological art-historian Adams justly pointed out to it, that spirals and curl-motives are characteristic for the Indonesian art. These too don't lack in the Minahasa. Certain ways of the representation of anthropomorphic and animal-figures are spread all over Indonesia. So e.g. human figures in a squatting attitude, often with up-lifted hands. These appear on the *Bentenan-cloths*, on the stone-chest-tombs, whereas the little ivory and bone statues of the Tombulus and the bronze staff-knobs often consist of such figures too. Snakes are, as for their carving, often not to be distinguished from snake-figures elsewhere in Indonesia.

But the Minahasan art also clearly shows a character of its own: so is the Janus-head, appearing in the plastic art, not general in Indonesia: we encounter "the double face" for the first time in Melanesia and Polynesia. Hindu-influence is here out of question, for the Minahasan Janus-heads show, contrary to the Hindu-images with more heads, a face being identical on both sides. However, it is not possible to reduce the art of the Minahasa to the same denominator: so it is striking, that apart from the robustly carried out pieces of work other objects are made with a very refined pattern. In this way the massive bracelets strongly contrast with the ear-ornaments, worked out in a refined pattern of tendrils.

*Dating.* The Minahasan objects of art we know at present are not of old age. For part of the material, from which they were made, such as wood or cotton, is very transient. It stands to reason that certain features of style, however, can be of old age. Metal or other objects from pre-historical excavations are not known.

If legend is to be trusted, then the custom of burial in stone grave-monuments dates from shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards. (From certain historical figures their tombs can still be pointed out, e.g. the *waruga* of Supit at Woloan, on which is written, that he died in March 1738). According to Bik already about 1820 this form of burial was abandoned, due to the influence of Christianity. According to Mr. Watuseke, however, it is more likely, that the smallpox-epidemic was of influence on this. Due to the great number of death-cases the making of the *warugas* could not keep pace with. Some



*warugas* bear a much later date, e.g. 1839 or 1850. Thus a generation later the burying in stone-box-tombs took place again.

*Material.* The material, from which the objects of art were made, have already been mentioned. For the three-dimensional art this consisted of hide, yellow copper and bronze, bone and ivory, sandstone or tuff, (a sort of trachyte according to Graafland). The stone, from which the tombs are hewn, is called *ipela* (Tondano) or *apela*, the hard one *tuwa*. In the other languages no difference was made with regard to the names. For the *warugas* the hard sort was mainly used, which is grey or whitish of colour (Graafland speaks of „trachyte”, Bertling of “tuff” or “sandstone”). Up to now the corbels of the houses are still made from this material, and one or two mausoleums. On these mausoleums the name of the deceased is chiselled, probably according to the same working-method as was formally applied at the decoration of the *warugas*. According to Bertling the old stone-tombs were undecorated.

The “burial-pots” were sometimes rather large : Bertling gives the following measurements :  $2\frac{1}{2}$  centimetres long and more than 1 metre wide (these are the measurements of an old undecorated tomb ; further  $90 \times 90$  centimetres,  $70 \times 60$  centimetres and  $60 \times 60$  centimetres (these are the most current measurements) ; as the smallest measurement he indicates  $40 \times 40$  centimetres.

Forging is not much known about. Schwarz gives in his “Tontemboan’s Dictionary” a verb for casting a copper staff-knob *ma’sekad*. A smith was called *si marentek*, a gold-smith *kipu*. As for the *kelana*, the necklaces, different kinds were discerned, according to the material : *ginontalo*, this was a product from Gorontalo of interwoven gold threads ; *kiněre*, a string of *kamagi* (these are cylindrical beads of gold, silver or gold-bronze — *suasa* — round of shape or with flat sides), in which very fine stripes are engraved. This ornamentation has the shape of parallel running meanders.

*winuari’an*, a string of *kamagi* and beads, provided with a bow or fine beads in a flower-motive at the end.

*nilolon*, a string of oblong *kamagi* ;

*pinaku*, a string of very fine *kamagi* and beads, of which the *kamagi* of unalloyed gold ;

*winuli’dan*, a string of large *kamagi*, having the shape of a *belimbing botol* (a fruit).

*pinēpel*, this is a string of *kamagi*, which are angular.

*tinataokok*, a necklace of *kamagi*, in the shape of the *tataokok* fruit, a kind of wild maize ;  
*winurunton*, a necklace of large thick gold or gold-bronze beads with little holes in them, decorated with crossing lines. Few are now left from these strings of beads, because most of them are melted. Even museum-copies are scarce.

The finer plaiting work is made *kaukur* (pandanus) and *silar* (*Corypha gebanga*). For the rougher plaiting work bamboo, rattan, *daun anjaman* (a Cyperaceae), and a number of kinds of reed : *pepeselen*, *wiliran* and *wérot*, *Codiaerum moluccanum*. The leaves were sometimes blended, e.g. *silar* with *daun tikar*. "They are often interwoven with birds and quadrupeds, nay even with human figures. These mats are often worked up so lively and so neatly, that in former times they made the sofas of the inhabitants of Manado an ornament and it is to be regretted that they are no longer made, also for the export." (Graafland, 1898, I). They were mostly made at Tondano and Langoan. Large mats were of *daun tikar* (*daun anjaman*) or of *wérot*. The latter are crushed, after which the worked up reed is dried. The *daun tikar* is first split into three parts, because the leaf consists of three corners. After this it is dried. It has then a yellow colour, and it is being left in that way, unless other colours will be brought upon. Then first it is put in a swampy place for twenty-four hours, and it is boiled together with other leaves or tree-bark. After being dried, it then had the required fixed colours. The figures, which are brought upon in these mats are square or long broad stripes, running slantingly over the mat, sometimes with still a few small figures in between them.

The *silar* was worked up after the drying and then boiled. Cigar-cases of *silar* came from Tondano and "a fine worked up one should not mar thy dress-coat-pocket", thus wrote Graafland. The figures were obtained by the alteration of coloured threads. The "silar"-leaf was cut with a little knife into narrow strips or threads, and sometimes it was turned or curled while being plaited.

From all house-industry in the Minahasa the weaving-technique is best described (see list of literature). The raw material for the weavings consists of cotton, bamboo and the *Musa textilis*. The clothing of tree-bark was made from the *Sloetia* Minahasa and *Ficus*-sorts. The bark was peeled and tapped with diamond-figures by the women. The tapper was flat and round at the bottom, or resembled,

according to Padtbrugge, a wafer-iron : on the tapping-bottom a diamond-pattern was carved. The bark was tapped in a folded position, then painted. *Applied colours.* Of this painting of the tree-bark Padtbrugge does not give further particulars. The large sun-hats are painted in two colours ; the motive is simple. The plaiting work often shows a combination of a few hues. The oblong boxes of *silar* had the colour-combination of natural, green, brown and red (see further Jasper and Pirngadie I, 1912 : 64).

In the weavings more hues were worked up : light- and dark-blue, bordeaux-red and beige.

Wooden objects were rarely painted. At the little black shelf on which a sacrificial ritual is pictured, the figures are provided with a whitewashed background for elucidation.

The people of Tonsawang painted their wooden coffins with black, red and white dye (the latter was obtained from pipe-clay, red from the blood of a pig, black from huntstool). The *warugas* on the contrary were never painted. This also refers to metal objects. Only one of the bronze staff-knobs shows traces of dye: the outline of the mouth is indicated by a white colour.

The most colourful objects were the head-ornaments of feathers and the ones of beads. That's the reason why especially the festive and warrior-attires gave such a gaudy spectacle.

*Division of labour.* The division of labour with regard to the sexes was already mentioned.

*Skilled labourers.* The artistical products were for the greater part the labour of specialists. There were brass- and bronze founders, who founded knobs of staffs, bracelets, ear-ornaments etc. According to the *à cire perdue* process.

It stands to reason that the expert-artist should have an artistical turn and love for his work. Bertling informs us, that the *warugas* were made by skilled labourers who one by one showed preference to a certain ornament (Bertling, o.c. : 48). The technical skill was great, such as it appears from the well-finished houses, the stone-box-tombs, the charming prahus and the solid metalworks. Due to this the 19th century ethnologist Wilken came to the wrong conclusion, that the people of the Minahasa were more able to make solid, but rough work than to make products speaking of artisticity.

*Motives.* In the art of the Minahasa geometrical motives were much applied. For the great er part they are the same, which also appear elsewhere in Indonesia : meanders, spirals and double-spirals,

tendrils, rosettes, concentric circles, the grate- and rope-motive. The *turing*, the emblem for warriors, is typical for the Minahasa. It is often used as an independent ornament. The cross (in the shape of a Latin cross and a broad-armed cross) appears in combination with other motives; we may assume that this symbol did not come in use until after the arrival of the Europeans. This is hard to say of the cross-figures on the mats. The motives of the ikat-cloths are a combination of diamond- and key-figures, such as we also encounter elsewhere in Indonesia. The pattern of a few ikat-cloths is clearly inspired by the silk *patolas* imported from India.

The frugal decoration of the Tombulu-bracelets consists of a combination of pyramids, zig-zag-lines and globules (see Fig. 6). They remind of the modern broad metal bracelets, which are very popular in Europe at this moment. The decoration of the cylindrical metal beads too is simple, consisting of rows of parallel open and carved meanders. The ear-ornaments, carried out in tendril-decorations, were mentioned before. This ornament is repeatedly encountered in the art of the Dayaks.

*The animal in the art.* As for the carved animals, next to a conventionalized, often stylized depiction of mythical animal-figures there also appears a realistic representation, such as e.g. the representation of the bull. This bull is, indistinctly, chiselled as a calf on the lid of a *waruga* at Kéma. Sometimes the symmetrical composition of the animals on the stone-box-tombs reminds of a European weapon. This is the same case with the woven-in animal-figures of the Sumba-ikats! Such a drafting is somewhat stiff. On the other hand the horses, carved in the afore-mentioned bed-posts of Tomohon are of a great vivacity (Fig. 10). The most appearing animal in art is undoubtedly the snake, which also plays a part in many stories. This animal is often represented on the covers of the *warugas*, mostly in a symmetrical drafting. Sometimes it is chiselled out with two heads, with a body twisting in meanders and a put out tongue. Sometimes, the represented snakes resemble eels more: on the back-side of the head are fins. Apart from the snake the anoa too is frequently represented, rarer are images of horses or pigs. Once in a time a bird is represented, but this belongs to the white swans.

*Plant-ornaments*; these mainly consist of tendril-motives. *Anthropomorphic images.* Man is the most appearing and most important motive in the art of the Minahasa. He forms the crowning of the priestly staffs, is woven in as an ornament in the *ikats* and mats,

he was hewn out as a decoration in the posts of the houses, nay, even the wooden rice-pounders were decorated with human figures. Man also form the "Leitmotiv" of the decoration on many *warugas*.

The way, in which Man is represented, differs. There are figures, represented in a squatting attitude - a motive, which, seen in a cultural-historical view, dates back to very old times. And there are figures in the style of the already mentioned "state-portrait" of Maumbi. There is not only a cultural, but also a psychological difference between both ways of representation. In the first case the way of representation is conventional: the squatting attitude is sometimes simultaneously a defending attitude. This motive also appears elsewhere in Indonesia- and elsewhere in the world- frequently. Sometimes such a figure is so stylized, that we hardly recognize the Man in it.

Contrary to this is the other way of representation, in which western cultural influence is to be shown. In this too conventionality is to be seen. The composition is copied after European portraits. But individuality comes more to the fore here than at the figures represented in the old-Indonesian style. The representation is more realistic, a real resemblance is striven after. It is clear, that we are confronted with an important personage. Somewhat haughtily such a figure looks down upon his environs. The significance of the persons represented in such a way also appears from their clothing and attributes, sword and pipe. The human figures in old-Minahasa style too are provided with decorations. In this way the artist wanted to make clear that the public had to deal with persons, having an important position in society. The Minahasan artists excellently knew how to avail themselves of the clothing as a means to express something. Some of the people represented wear their clothes very dashing, matching their challenging attitude. The smart, rich clothing of the man on the *waruga-lid* of Maumbi-lama on the contrary is sorely neat and accentuates his important position (Fig. 13).

Elsewhere the action is still enhanced by the fluttering coat-tails of a running man.

*Style and Composition.* Whatever influences the art of the Minahasa might have undergone, certain stylistic characteristics can always be indicated: the eyes in the shape of buds, the mouth in the shape of a bow, the symmetrical drafting of the human and animal figures, the double face.

The man on one side of the *waruga* is the very image of that on the other side: above the lid their heads unite into one. Two men, two anoa's or other animals are often represented opposite one another. The drafting, derived from a weapon, at which the animals stand opposite one another on their hind-legs, was already mentioned.

Next to the "double man" we still encounter the "half man" in the Minahasan art. The latter is represented on the "stone, where the division has taken place". This half man plays a part in the mythology of many Indonesian tribes: in the beginning man was only half, till he went on a journey to the Creator of heaven and earth with the request to make him whole.

The human figures are represented two- and three-dimensionally as well. They are woven in into the weavings, or chiselled in into wood or stone. They are seen in wood- or bas-relief, or as an independent sculpture. But almost always the represented human figures are to be brought back to a geometrical ground-form: when being two-dimensionally represented, then they suit if it were in a rectangular frame; in independent sculpture they seem to be cut away from a rectangular bloc or a cube. Mostly the head is large in proportion to the body. This proportionality, however, is absolutely not restricted to the Minahasan or even to the Indonesian art. At representations in two dimensions the people are often represented en face, seldom in profile: with animals the contrary is the case.

Next to a statistical way of impersonation there are lively worked out figures of men and animals. Sometimes it has something to say: on a little board is thus a sacrificial ritual depicted. Certain scenes from daily life are also represented, e.g. sitting people with children on the knee or on the back. A partus is very rarely depicted, perhaps an announcement, that the deceased died in childbirth.

Generally we can say, that the Minahasan art is realistic and shows a high measure of conventionality. Only the notches in the "stone, where the division has taken place" are abstract.

The stiff simplicity and the balance of the sculpture in Nias is somewhat equalled in the composition of the Minahasan art. In a few cases, however, the total impression is somewhat overladen to our taste, e.g. at those *warugas*, at which the decoration of the lid is super-abundant and by that top-heavy. The balance is disturbed by this, the composition is somewhat disorderly.

The super-abundance of ornamentation, so strikingly in the art of the Dayaks, however, is not present: The Minahasans did not

possess horror vacui. They made much use of free plains, against which a single ornament came out advantageously. Even the many ornaments and attributes with which the human figures are decorated are not able to wipe out the generally sober impression.

The monumental trait, so strikingly in the art of the island of Nias, however, is absent. At this we should not forget, that on the said island a megalithic culture has already been mentioned much earlier than in the Minahasa. Stone chairs, paved squares, monumentally sculptured seats lack here.

This does not take away the fact, that among the sculpture of the Minahasa there are a few examples of great artisticity, at which attention is simultaneously paid to a beautiful composition, a fine closed form and a tight workmanship. As an example we mention the already meant bedpost of Tomohon (Fig. 10), which besides that is also striking by its expression. Over the whole length of the board running people and horses are depicted. In spite of the many figures and the liveliness of the representation the balance is nowhere disturbed. A man, in a flapping coat, tries to stop the first horse, the rider of the animal also tries to bring him to a standstill. The men at the back are in a great hurry to keep pace with the horses: the figure at the very back takes at this a big jump. Contrary to the lively worked out little scene is the eminent serenity of a rare *waruga*, of which the resignation of the depicted human figures on it is in accordance with our representation of a tomb-monument.

The appreciation of the outer-European art is often extraordinary difficult. As for the art of the Minahasa all mainstay with the old, past culture is missing not only to the European, but also to the modern Indonesian. The copper staff-knob, which we hold in the hand in a museum, has quite another meaning to us than to the Minahasan from olden times, to whom the object contained, apart from an aesthetic, also another emotional value. We can only say whether we think something "beautiful" or "ugly". With such a simple appreciation there is no place for objectivity: what can hardly find grace in the eyes of one person, gets a place of honour in a cupboard or show-case another. At this it should be noticed that this judgement has undergone a shifting of value in the course of time: now nobody would like to repeat Reinward's judgement (see p. 4) with regard to non-European art. This art is being appreciated in a different way, it has even become a source of inspiration to the modern European

sculpture and art of painting. Not only in the circles of artists, but also outside it more understanding has been obtained for the modern European sculpture and art of painting. At this the danger for snobishness and sentimental nonsense is not imaginary, such as Adam (1949: 230) justly remarks with this fascinating problem other historians of art and cultural anthropologists have held themselves engaged (Gerbrands, 1956).

We wind up with the hope, that the modern Minahasan too may obtain understanding and appreciation for the artistical expressions from this cultural past.

At this I thank Mr. F.S. Watuseke at Tondano for the extraordinary willingness, with which he provided this article with valuable remarks and additions.

#### LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWING

Fig. 1 Minahasan houses and *warugas* at Tondano.

(From: C.G.C. Reinwardt: "Reis naar het oostelijke gedeelte van den Indischen Archipel, in het jaar 1821" — "A journey to the eastern part of the Indonesian Archipelago, in the year of 1821").

Fig. 2 Detail of a mat.

Plaited of uncoloured, black and red strips. Pattern: along the borders a double row with St. Andrew-crosses filled squares. Inside them an uncoloured border of meanders, enclosing half-crosses. In the centre two rows with birds turning their heads to each other, and further stars, uncoloured on a black ground. The whole mat is traversed by slanting red stripes. Minahasa, North Sulawesi. Measurements: 186 × 53 centimetres. State-museum for Ethnology, Leyden, the Netherlands, Cat. no. 695/18.

Fig. 3 Cotton weaving.

Bentenan cloth, „*pasolongan rinègètan*”. The weaving consists of three roundly woven tracks, sewn together and *ikat* in the warp. The pattern is formed by diamonds, squares, triangles, meanders and anchor-motives and is probably inspired by the „*patola*”-weavings. Colours: wine-red, light and dark-blue, beige and light-brown. Decorated with little bells at the lower rim. The cloth is lightly damaged and pro-



vided with a set-up piece. Due to the finer weaving it deviates from the common type of Béntenan cloths. Found with the Tombulus, Minahasa.

Date: 1885.

Measurements: 167 × 82 centimetres.

Djakarta Museum, Indonesia, Cat. no. 2766.

Fig. 4 Béntenan Cloth.

Roundly woven, *ikat* in the warp: consists of three pieces sewn together.

Pattern: meanders, diamond- and anchor-motives, and a combination of diamond- and key-motives.

Colours: dark-blue, gray-blue, red and red-brown, natural. The colours are very much faded.

Measurements: 139 × 83 centimetres.

Djakarta Museum, Indonesia, Cat. no. 2758.

Fig. 5 Ear-ornaments.

a. cast massive copper ear-ornament, "tembega", originated from the Bantiks, Minahasa.

Measurements: breadth 3,8 centimetres, height 3,8 centimetres.

Djakarta Museum, Indonesia Cat. no. 8342a.

b and c metal earrings from the Minahas.

Cast in a punched curl-motive.

Place of origin unknown.

Measurements: b. breadth 4 centimetres, height 4 centimetres.

c. breadth 3 centimetres, height 4,3 centimetres.

Djakarta Museum, Indonesia Cat. no. 2755 b and c.

Fig. 6 Massive yellow-copper anklets, "wentel".

Cast; the decoration consists of pyramides, zigzag-lines and globules.

Originated from Tonséa, Minahasa.

a. Diameter: 10 centimetres, height 3,5 centimetres.

b. Diameter: 8 centimetres, height 5 centimetres.

Djakarta Museum, Indonesia Cat. no. 2750 a and b.

Fig. 7 Head, made from wood.

Head-hunter's trophy, consisting of an oval piece of wood, decorated with tufts of human hair, which are to represent

beard and hair of the head. Pieces of the skull serve as teeth. With almond-shaped eyes, a long narrow nose, narrow right eye-brows.

Measurements of the part of the mask : 127 mm long and 73 mm wide. The exact place of origin is unknown. The article is in the collection of the Museum for Ethnology in Rotterdam (inventory no. 493) and was obtained at its establishment in 1883.

After a drawing of Pleyte (see C.M. Pleyte, „Indonesian masks”, reprint from "Globus", Band 61, no. 21 and 22 page 64).

Fig. 8 Wooden statue, "tētēles", (this word is derived from "tēles" — to buy).

Used by the priests to drive away diseases.

The board is of dark wood, the contours of the figures are long ; the hands are stretched along the side. Undecorated and unclothed : set up on a wooden foot-piece.

Measurements : height 56 centimetres, breadth 14 centimetres.

Place of origin : Tombulu, Minahasa.

Djakarta Museum, Indonesia, Cat. no. (?).

Fig. 9 A little wooden board with the representation of a sacrificial ritual.

Carved out on both sides. Depicted are : people, animals (pigs), plants (a banana-tree) and some objects.

The board is of dark wood, the contours of the figures are cut out and filled up with lime.

Place of origin : Sawangan, Tonséa, Minahasa.

Measurements : 17 × 5,5 centimetres.

The board is of dark wood, the contours of the figures are and is probably in the Museum for Ethnology in Rotterdam. After a picture in "Communications Netherlands Missionary Society" (Mededelingen Nederlandsch Zendelingsgenootschap), Volume VI, 1862, opposite page 408.

Fig. 10 Bedpost.

Frisian, representing four horses, a horseman and a number of attendants. The man, running, after the last horse, has a whip in one hand, a sword in the other. It is not to say distinctly in which hand he keeps the whip and in which

one the sword, for the arms are on the same side of the body. Each hand has but three fingers.

Behind the first man an obscure figure (bird?).

Fig. 11 Charnel-chest, "balongsong".

Made of rough wood; the four legs are nailed to the chest. The bottom is lacking. The lid has the shape of a roof. Towards the ridge a projection on both sides. The chest too is provided with four projections. In the middle of the lid a human figure is cut out in bas-relief. The little figure is squatting with raised hands. Each hand has three fingers. The knob-shaped eyes and the nose are cut out in relief, the mouth is lacking. The only article of dress consists of a hat with a projection on both sides; probably this head-cover represents a two-cornered hat from the beginning of the 19th century. On the chest a little human figure is painted, which which presumably represents a woman. Further the ornamentation consists of diamond-figures and triangles. On one side of the chest an indistinct representation of horsemen is painted.

Colours: black and white.

Measurements:  $130 \times 100 \times 37\frac{1}{2}$  centimetres.

Place of origin: Tonsawang, Minahasa.

Djakarta Museum, Indonesia Cat. no. 2895 a.

Fig. 12 Waruga.

The stone tomb consists of a "burial-pot", running narrower to the bottom and a lid, representing a saddle-shaped roof.

a. Front-view: on either side of the roof a man with a long tail-coat is chiselled out; on the head he wears a turban. The eyes are knob-shaped. The man has his arm akimbo; the fingers are clearly indicated. The knees are bent outwardly. At his left a cursorial bird is engraved. Further the man is flanked by two anoas. The decoration under the heads of the anoas represents tassels of leaves. Along the roof-frame an asymmetrical carl-motive is chiselled out. On the pot an engraved decoration, which probably should represent a head-ornament. The ends of it end in two latin crosses and a broad-armed cross.

b. Side-view: on the pot a man is engraved, holding a staff in his hand. The knees are somewhat bent, so that the im-

pression that the man is running is created. Eyes, hands and feet are lacking, just as all decoration.

The place of origin and the date of obtaining are unknown.

Measurements: of the pot: 72 × 72 × 145 centimetres.

of the lid: 85 × 94 × 64½ centimetres.

Djakarta Museum, Indonesia Cat. no. 27367.

Fig. 13 Lid of a waruga.

Just as it is the case with the other warugas, it represents a saddle-roof. The ridge at the ends runs into a symmetrical decoration, representing an animal's head with its mouth wide open: tongue and fangs are clearly visible; the twisting body continues in the meander-lines, which are chiselled as an ornament in the ribs of the roof. Under the ends of the somewhat protruding roof-ridge an ornament is chiselled out, rendering a tassel of leaves, formerly a decoration of the houses of priests.

The three layers of roof-cover are also rendered. For the description of the man-portrait in the middle of the roof we refer to page 7. It is hard to date this tomb in connection with the clothing, because certain article of dress in the Minahasa would have remained longer in fashion than in Europe. Dating under reservation: 1750.

Measurements: 81 × 87 × 85 centimetres.

Place of origin: according to Bertling, who has this lid depicted in his article (Bertling, 1931), this lid originated from Maumbi-lama, according to Van de Wall from Sawangan, Tonséa (V.I. van de Wall, *Nederlandsche oudheden in Celebes — Netherlands antiquities in the Celebes*, Ned. Indië Oud en Nieuw, 1930: 31: 301. *Netherlands-Indies Old and New*, 1930: 31: 301).

Djakarta Museum, Indonesia, Cat. no. 27354.

Fig. 14 Waruga.

Made of sandstone; the real box is rectangular, broader on the upper-side than on the under-side. The lid has the shape of a roof. Along the rim of it a zigzag-pit is cut into it. Further the lid is decorated on one side with the head of a man, wearing a dragoon-helmet. On the other side the head of a man is engraved, with a warrior head-ornament and long hairs. The zigzag-pit is limited on four sides by

a straight line, which continues into a frame for the portraits. Place of origin unknown : the *waruga* was presented in 1902 by Mr. B. Erkelens to the State-museum for Ethnology, Leyden, the Netherlands.

Measurements : hight with lid 111 centimetres, the measurements of the box amount from the upperside to  $45,5 \times 43,5$  centimetres, from the underside to  $38,5 \times 38,5$  centimetres ; the inside space amounts to  $35 \times 34$  centimetres, the depth 62 centimetres ; the measurements of the lid amount to  $55 \times 54$  centimetres, the depth 11 centimetres.

Cat. no. State-museum for Ethnology in Leyden, the Netherlands : 1361 — 1.

Fig. 15 *Waruga*.

Of lime-stone. The box is on the underside somewhat narrower and the bottom is thicker than the walls. The lid is on the average triangular with a concave front- and back-face, and hollowed out side-faces ; it protrudes on all sides outside the box. The broad faces show a chiselled human figure in basrelief : eyes, nose and mouth are clearly indicated. The legs wide apart. On one side the figure has a gun (?) in his raised hand, on the other side a sword in one hand and a hunted head under the right arm.

Originated from the Tombulu-tribe, Taratara, Minahasa. A present from Dr. S. Schoch to the State-museum for Ethnology in Leyden, the Netherlands : 1686-I.

Fig. 16 *Warugas*.

The first *waruga* has a lid in the shape of a roof. On the ridge two human figures are sculptured, sitting face to face ; they are heavily damaged. Under this a tendril-ornament in bas-relief. On the slope of the roof a human figure with a child on the left knee is sitting. At the left and right of it two animal-figures in bas-relief : they stand on their hind-legs. Under the forelegs of these animals, also in relief, a man's head. Under the roof-ridge a decoration of tassels of leaves are brought upon. On the lid is chiselled : Wenas H. On the burial-pot a man is engraved, holdings a weapon (gun ?) in his right hand.

The last *waruga* has also a lid in the shape of a roof, in which a man is hewn out in bas-relief in the conventional squatting-

attitude, which is often encountered in the Indonesian art. The roof-ridge ends in two anoa-heads. This *waruga* too has a decoration of tassels of leaves.

The measurements are not known: the tombs are at Tondéa, Minahasa.

Fig. 17 *Waruga*.

On the lid in the shape of a saddle-roof a man is chiselled out in bas-relief, the hands akimbo; he has a hat on, wears a loose coat and trousers with wide pipes. At his left and right are two vague figures. On the roof-ridge are two identical human figures, the elbows resting on the knees, the hair is cut off the ears straightly.

Fig. 18 Two human figures. These are in the "Museum voor Land-en Volkenkunde", Rotterdam (inventory-list nos. 473 and 474).

They have already been depicted too by Meyer and Richter (1903, p. 24 pictures 6a and 6b). They are carved from ivory and make a strong impression to belong to each other.

The man keeps his hands downward along the body.

The woman has crossed her arms over her breast.

Though the little figures are rather flat, the original rounding of the teeth is still to be seen in the woodcarving.

Measurements: height 19,5 centimetres, width 5 centimetres.

Fig. 19 Two human figures. They too are originated from the above-mentioned Museum (inventory list nos. 479 and 480). These figures too have already been depicted by Meyer and Richter (1903, p. 24, pictures b, d and c).

They are carved from bone. Depicted in a squatting attitude, with raised hands. The knees and elbows are connected by means of a little bar, the feet by a cross-connection without any decoration. Eyes, mouth and nose are, in contrary to the figures, depicted in the former picture, are worked out in the traditional way. Just as it is the case with the former figures, the function of these little statues is known.

Measurements: a. height 7.75 centimetres b. 7.5 centimetres.

Fig. 20 a and b.

a. Bentenan Cloth. This piece of cloth is in the "Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde", Rotterdam (inventory-list no. 24703). The cloth consists of three pieces of cloth sewn together and carried out in the "ikat" (binding-technique).

colours :

Measurements :

- b. Detail of the same cloth, representing an anthropomorphic figure.

The photographs 13, 16 and 17 are from the archives of the Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia, Museum, Djakarta; The photos 18, 19 and 20 are kindly ceded by the "Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde", Rotterdam.

The drawings are from the hands of Ardjono, Subokastowo and M. Jamin, designers of the Djakarta Museum.

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Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

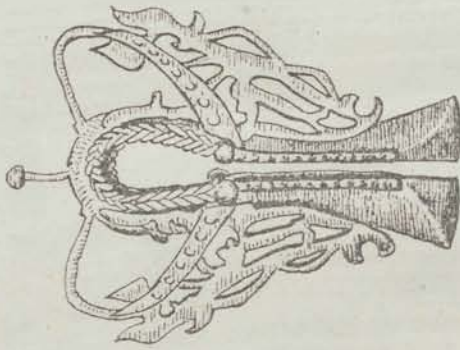
*Fig. 3*



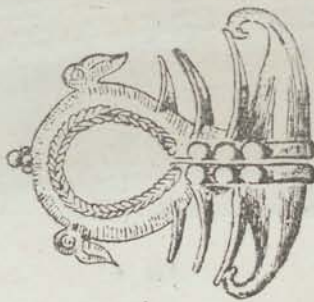
*Fig. 4.*



c.



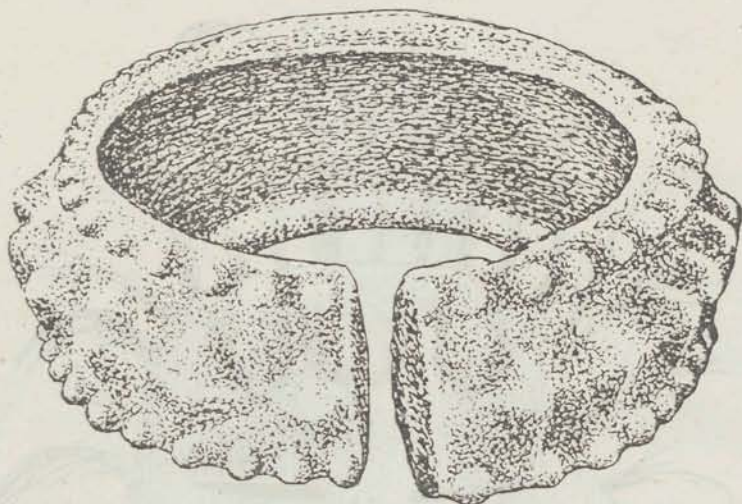
b.



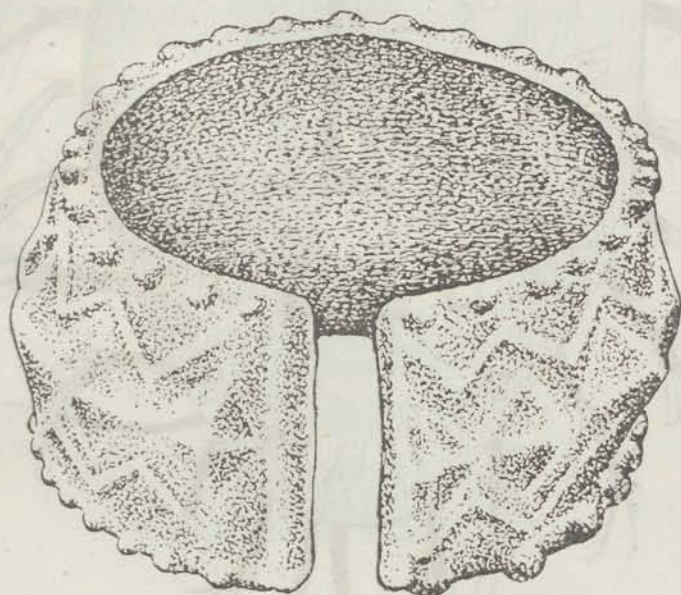
a.

Fig. 5 (a, b. and c.).





a.



b.

Fig. 6 (a. and b.).

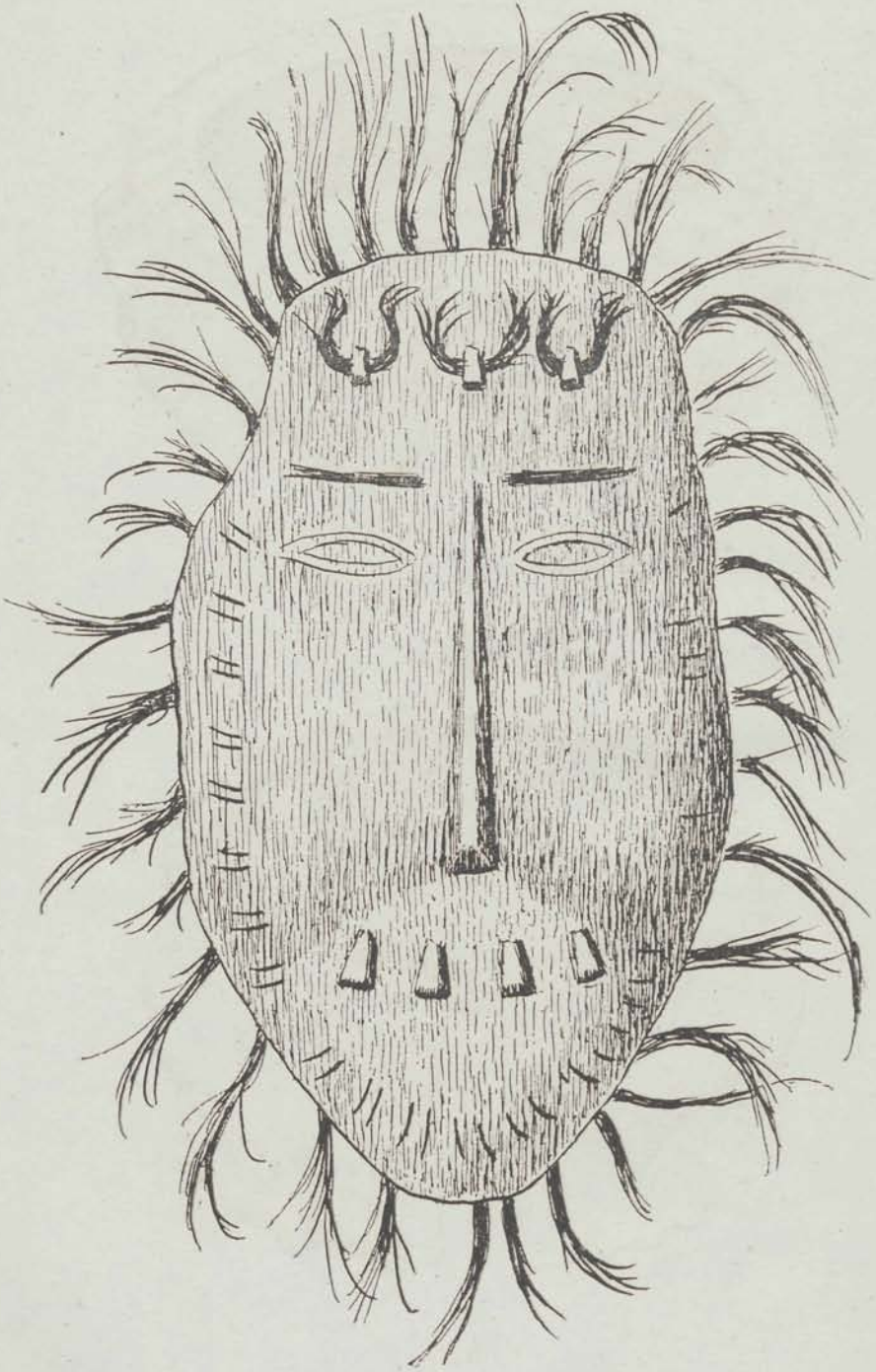


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

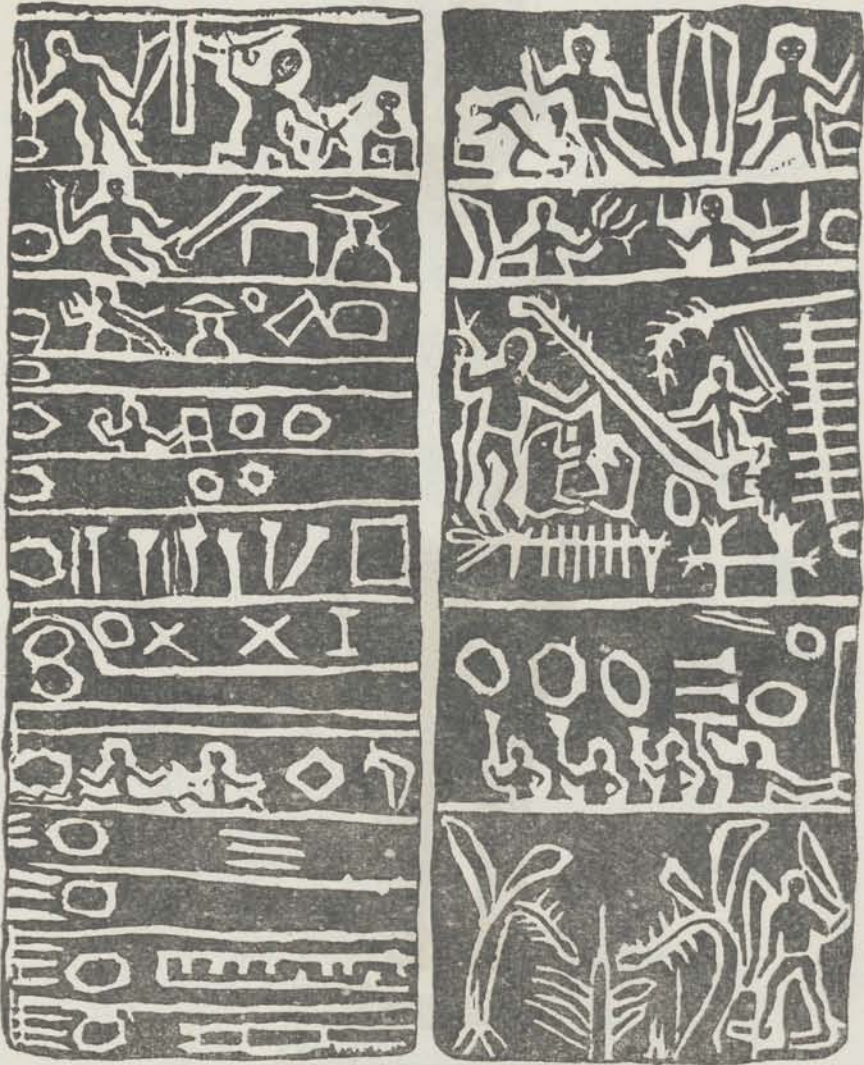


Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.

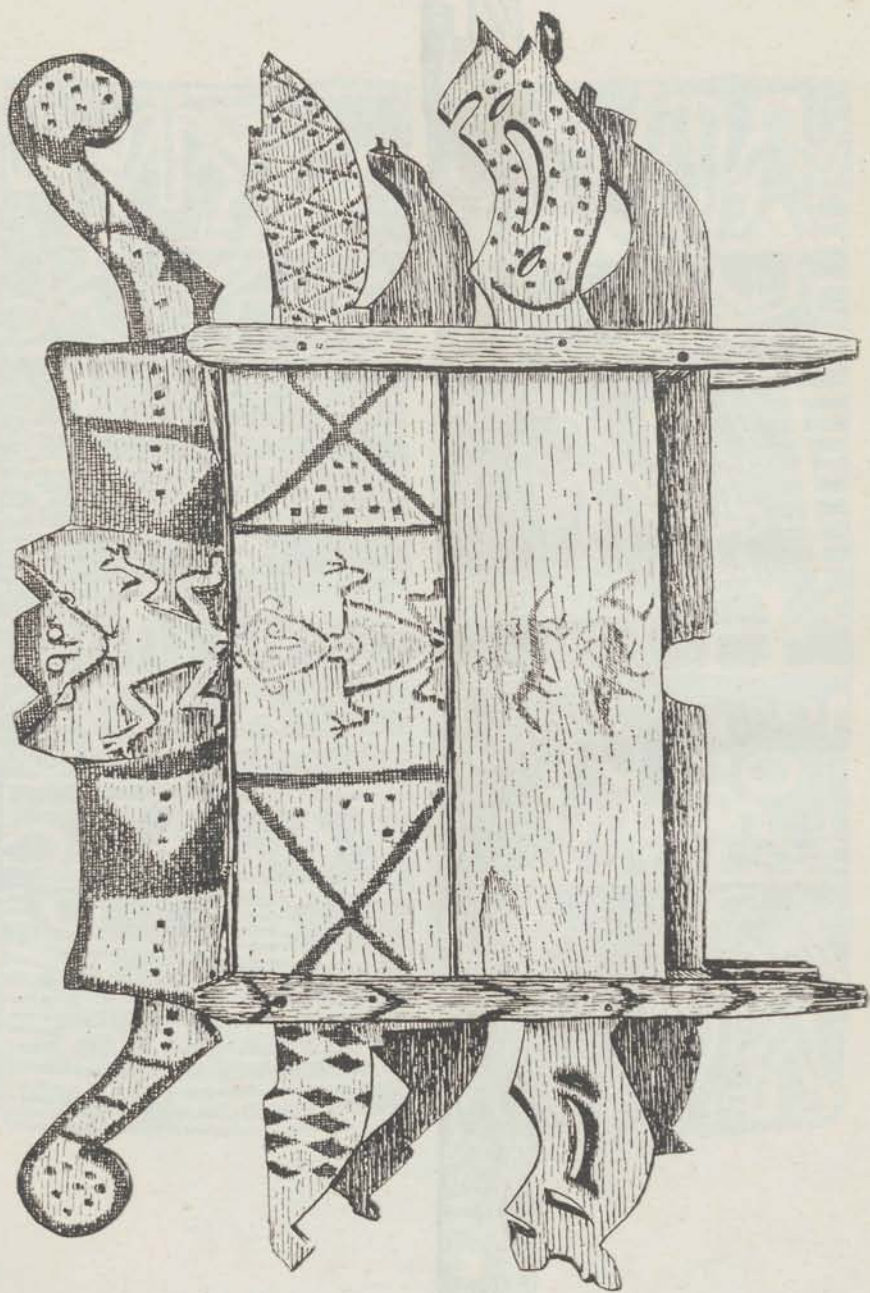


Fig. 11.



*Fig. 12a.*



*Fig. 12b.*





Fig. 13.



*Fig. 14.*



*Fig. 15b.*



*Fig. 15a.*

*Fig. 17.**Fig. 16.*

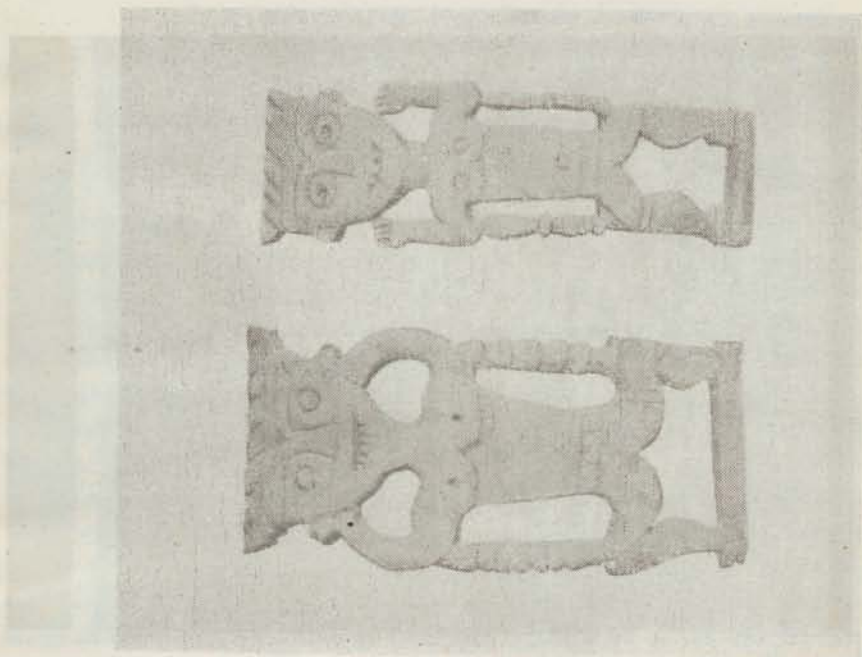


Fig. 19.

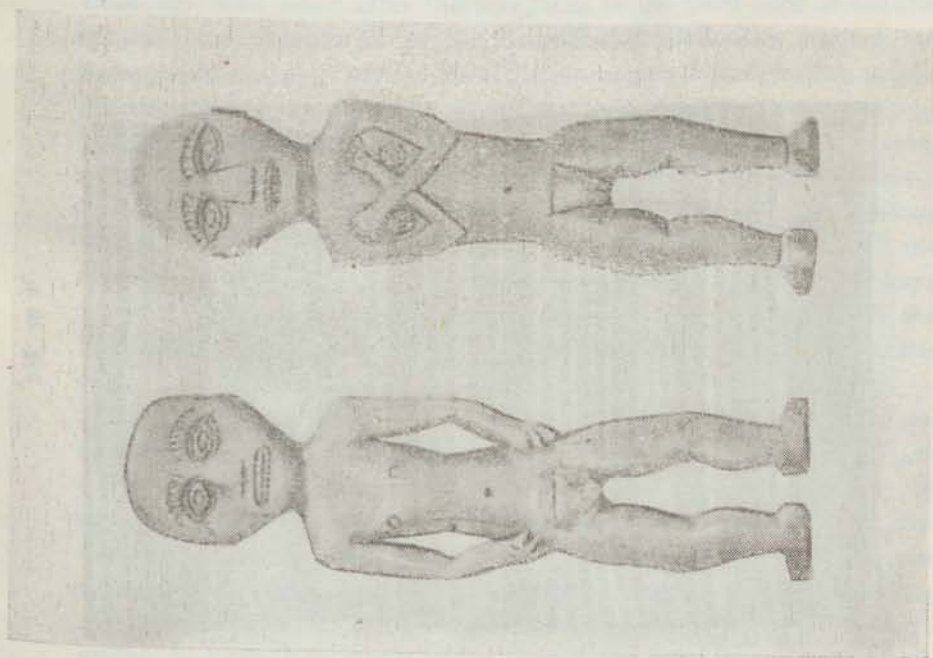


Fig. 18.



Fig. 20 b.



Fig. 20 a.

J.H. NEUMANN, *Karo-Batak- Nederlands woordenboek (Karo-Batak — Netherlands dictionary)*.

Published by the Lembaga Kebudajaan Indonesia Djakarta 1951. (Printing Verekamp & Co, Medan), 343 pp. 80.

It is not a matter of habit, that learned societies review their own publications in their own periodical. That an offence is made against this rule here, may be excused on two reasons. In the first place this announcement offers the opportunity to testify gratitude to the deceased author, who would have appreciated that his last scientific work should sail under the flag of the Society. From the establishment of the Department for the Sciences of Language, Country and People, missionary Neumann had been first correspondent, afterwards a member of that department. Several of his scientific publications were published by the Society, among other things his Sketch of the Karo-Batak Grammar (*Verhandelingen* 62, 4, 1922), his excellent publications and translations of songs of lamentation (*bilang-bilang*) in the Festive Bundle of 1929 and Volume 72 of this periodical; the *Ginting pusaka* (Vol. 70) and the "Notes on the Karo-Bataks" (Vol. 79). Now, when after the war "due to the good care of faithful friends" the manuscript of his Karo-Batak dictionary turned out to be ready and the State of East Sumatera was found willing to pay the printing (a promise that was afterwards honoured in a generous way by the Republic of Indonesia), the author wholeheartedly agreed with the plan of the writer of this article to request the Society to attach its scientific fiat to its publication and to put it, by means of his exchange-relations, within the reach of the students of the Indonesian linguistics. Neumann being already gravely ill then, made, with the effort of his last strengths, the work ready for the press as far as possible. Thus he entrusted the Society the fruits of half a century's study of language among the Karo-Bataks.

Alas, we can't say: the perfectly ripe fruits. The work is not completed in many a view. This is the second reason, why an announcement is at the proper place here, viz. as an elucidation by someone being closely concerned with its publication, of what the user is and what he is not to expect from this dictionary. In the first place it offers the whole material of Joustra's dictionary in a much more practical form. A great deal has been taken over unchanged. At a rough estimate half of the articles have been considerably

enlarged, corrected or both. The extensions consist of examples of the use, idiomatic expressions, more derivatives and compounds, sometimes also new meanings. Hardly anything has been left from Joustra; mainly etymologies which Neumann (often justly) refused to take for his account. The number of quite new articles is smaller than it might be expected after a compilation-activity of 40 years after Joustra. This is due to different causes. In the first place it bears the testimony of the thoroughness of the work Joustra has turned out. But undoubtedly it is also a consequence of that, that Neumann had always studied the Karo-Batak language with the practical aim of mission, education, translation of the Bible and provision of reading-matter. He was not the type of a lexicographer, gathering words with the passion of a philatelist. If he had had much more time and a little more interest in that direction, he had undoubtedly been able to enrich his dictionary with many more dialectwords. In the main it has remained what it had already been with Joustra: a dictionary of the Karo-Batak of the „Dusun” and the ”Highland”; the language which is used in the Church and at school and for printed literature. However, to unravel the astrological books from the Gunung-gunung it sometimes shows imperfection not only for the technical terms, but also for the dialectwords. Of the *Alas*; which is in fact no Karo-Batak, but which is a very closely related dialect, Neumann at that time did possess more items than what has been taken up here and there for the sake of comparison. However, this was too far outside Neumann's real field of activity, and, besides that, his great modesty prevented him to venture in a field, where he did not feel at home perfectly. Within its own field, however, the book brings a great enrichment compared with Joustra. For the colloquial language of the Bataks, such as Neumann knew it throughly, it is a reliable and an almost never failing guide. However, the opportunity for a last, painfully accurate control was lacking, when things were taken over from Joustra. In this way a few incorrections have remained, e.g. s.v. *kati* the misprint *ulster* for *unster*; *katekoetan* of Joustra should have been *katékoetan* according to Neumann's spelling, and Tob. *katahoetan* under this same word should be *hatahoetan*. Under *kadé* Joustra's correct etymology (side-form of *kai*) is, in my opinion, replaced by a much less successful one. Such trifles prove, that the possibility of typing-mistakes in Neumann's copy should be taken into account. Dr. Roolvink, who has corrected the proofs with the utmost care, was naturally not in the



position to make inquiries again after everything. Whereas e.g. Joustra has *kedédjada* and Neumann *kadédjadja* it is to all probability, that the former was wrong, but there is no absolute certainty about it as a result of the lacking of the finishing touch of the author himself in Neumann's work. Also in his own notes small irregularities appear; so e.g. under *ka* III is referred to *kadoea*, which is neither to be found in its entity nor under *doea*.

The part about the spelling on page 7. As far as I know the *a* in a word consisting of one close syllable is always long, so that the use of the length-sign in *man*, to eat, is in fact superfluous; in *kak*, crow, also a contraction (of *kawak*), is missing in the dictionary. Extremely confusing is the spelling *djehën*, where the *ë* is not as usual, probably an addition made at the last moment and by that it does not very successfully indicate the long *é*, but the long *repet*. In the article itself *pandjehënis* written at one time and *pendjehön* at another time. What is said about the use of *è* and *ō* is deceiving. With Joustra the Karo-Batak *kebereten* is rendered by *e*, the *ketelèngan* by *e*. Afterwards in imitation of the spelling of Van Ophuysen *kebereten* was changed into *e* for the Malay language, by which the *è*, representing the *ketelèngan*, had to get a sign, initially *è*, later on, because many printing-offices had not this sign, replaced by *ê*. So the use of an accent aigu does not say anything about the open or close pronunciation of this vowel; that depends on the position in the word. However, Neumann had felt the need, where the sound resembles much more the French *è* than the French *è*, to write his dictionary *è*, absolutely not only in open syllables, such as it said on page 7; on the contrary just always in close syllable. Such a close end-syllable with *è* only occurs if the preceding syllable also has an *è*; that preceding one is always open, at which it should be kept in mind, that the syllable before a nasal-connection too is open in the Karo-Batak language. The only exception to this rule given by the dictionary, is *bontjèng*, perhaps pronounced *bòntjèng* where the preceding syllable has not *è* but *o*. Further there are a few one-syllabic words with *è*: *djèng*, *kèh*, *sèn*, *tèk*, and a couple of words which are formed by the repetition of a syllable: *kalimpèpèt*, *pètpèt*, *tèptèp* and *teréhtéh*. A thing apart is the loan-word *pèstul*, with *è* in a close first syllable. Not to be brought under a rule are the *ketelèngan* appears in the first syllable with *o* in the close last syllable; here are *kèmong* and *rètjok* against *gènggong* and *pètjot* (so in the copy of the dictionary, the printed text has *pèot*. So here

the distinction between *è* and *è* seems not to be entirely superfluous. With the *o* Neumann has hardly ever used the accent mentioned on page 7; probably the rules there analogous to those for *è*, thus always *ò* in a close syllable and in the last but one open syllable if the last has also an *ò*. Here there are some more examples of *ò* in the last close syllable with another vowel in the last but one syllable; apart from the already mentioned one with *è* or *è* another: one with *è*: *djengong* and *kerong*; one with *a*: *tarok*.

As an single example of the value which this dictionary has not only for the knowledge of the Karo-Batak language, but also for the other Batak dialects, I will refer to the etymology of the Toba-Batak word *bus*, *buis* or *bujus*, which, in my view, is to be found in it! The word *bioes* has, especially by the publications of Ypes and Vergouwen, become known as the name of a sacrificial community, delivering together a sacrificial buffalo. In a Karo-Batak *pustaka* from the Gunung-gunung I found for this the form *buwis* (Karo *wi* against *ju* elsewhere *djawi* is also found in Karo, *djaju* Simal. Malay). With Neumann: *erboeis-boeis*, to pull one another to and fro, to pull is found. So a *kerbo buwis*, Toba *horbo buis*, is a buffalo, on which is pulled (in a ceremonial rivalry), one of the most striking features with the *bioes*-sacrifice, and one of the reasons, why it had been forbidden for a long time by the government.

In his preface Neumann urges his users of his dictionary to go on collecting. At this he did not certainly think of the lexicography only, but also of the literature. Original Karo-Batak texts are still far too few written down. The collection of Joustra, which I was still able to consult during the working out of my thesis on Batak folk-tales, disappeared during the war, when the German soldiers were encamped in the library of the Batak-institute in Amsterdam. A large collection of stories, collected by Neumann, also disappeared during the war, the original one as well as the copy made for me. An article, once written by Neumann about „little words in the Karo-Batak language”, mainly about the pronominal system and the stress-sparticles, was also lost. It contained a number of fine and home-thrust remarks, but the theoretical part was unacceptable, and it has never come to a recast. The hand-copy of the grammar with notes of the writer has been preserved; this is now in the University-library of Leyden.

A list of Neumann's writing was printed in the new edition of his little book which appeared in Medan in 1949: One year among the

Karo-Bataks. To this a little booklet with edifying articles, written by Ds. and Mrs. Neumann together: *Dahi dahin Tuhan* (Leyden 1950) can be added. The abbreviated translation of the Old Testament appeared at the Bible Society in Djakarta in 1953; the correction of this was looked after by Neumann's ex-colleague E.J. van den Berg.

Neumann's knowledge of the Karo-Batak people and their language was unequalled. Apart from his publication, he also shared it in his personal intercourse with everybody, who came to him for information, and that was during the last decades of his life practically everybody who wanted to know something about the Karo-land. Neumann himself enjoyed also such conversations and sometimes they led him to new investigations. But the greatest profit was always for his visitor anyhow. A great part of a work of his was also at the Batak-museum at Raja, completely destroyed during the revolutionary time. After the many things which were lost, it is a great joy, that this dictionary was saved and that it could be published as a contribution to the knowledge of the Batak language and culture and as the foundation for further study in this field.

P. VOORHOEVE.

*Museum Security*, karangan RICHARD FOSTER HOWARD, diterbitkan oleh The American Association of Museums, New Series Number 18, 1958, 12 p.

Di lapangan museologi dan museografi *The American Association of Museums* sudah berkali-kali menundukkan djasanja dengan menerbitkan madjalah *Museumnews* dan beberapa monografi, a.l. karangan-karangan direktur Association itu sendiri, j.i. LAURENCE VAIL COLEMAN, jang mendjadi terkenal karena buku<sup>2</sup> standardnja seperti *The American Museum, a critical study* sedjumlah tiga djilid (1939) dan dengan buku *Museum Buildings, a planning study*, djilid I (1950) dan dengan hasil<sup>2</sup> karya lainnja.

Kali ini kita diperkenalkan dengan sebuah karangan RICHARD FOSTER HOWARD, direktur Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama, jang bernama *Museum Security*, berupa brosur setebal 12 halaman.

Sebetulnja membuat resensi tentang sebuah karangan jang hanya 12 halaman tebalnja bukanlah suatu pekerdjaan jang biasa orang lakukan. Tetapi terhadap karangan Howard ini saja mau membuat suatu perketjualian, karena karangannja tjukup mengandung hal<sup>2</sup> jang sangat berfaedah baik bagi para pedjabat museum chususnya, maupun bagi publik museum umumnja.

HOWARD memulai persoalannja dengan masalah keamanan diluar museum (*Problems of Exterior Security*) dan kemudian meningkat dengan membitjarakan soal keamanan didalam museum (*Problems of Internal Security*) dengan sekaligus menganalisa djenis<sup>2</sup> pengundjung atau orang jang biasa melakukan kedjahatan atau perbuatan djahat jang merugikan museum, baik gedung maupun koleksi museumnja. Dalam hal menguraikan segi-segi itu tadi penulis mendekati persoalannja dari faktor pengundjung museum. Sesudah itu penulis menguraikan tjara<sup>2</sup> pengawasan keamanan di dalam gedung (*Methods of Controlling Internal Security*) dan mendekati persoalan<sup>2</sup>nja dari sudut teknik museum, dari hal kedudukan pintu dan djendela, ruangan istirahat, ruangan<sup>2</sup> pameran, rentjana susunan ruangan<sup>2</sup> dan soal<sup>2</sup> pemeliharaannya sampai kepada pelbagai matjam sistim tanda bahaya. Baru kemudian ia mendekati mas'alah keamanan di museum itu dari sudut faktor staf pedjabat museum, baik staf kuratorialnja maupun staf para pegawai rendahan dan para pendjaga museum, organisasi pekerdjaan pendjagaan jang sempurna dan para achir karangannja ia mengemukakan beberapa kesimpulan dan andjuran.

Dari uraian penulis kita mendapat kesan bahwa penulis dalam menghadapi dan menguraikan persoalan keamanan museum itu telah mempergunakan bahan<sup>2</sup> dari museumwezen di Amerika Serikat dan bahan<sup>2</sup> pengalamannya sendiri, walaupun oleh penulis hal itu kurang dinjatakannya. Benar ia menjatakan pada awal karangannya, bahwa ia membuat karangannya itu atas sugesti *Samual H. Kress Foundation*, suatu jajasan yang menjimpankan koleksi benda<sup>2</sup> keseniannya di pelbagai kota dan musea, yang mempunyai pelbagai teori tentang soal<sup>2</sup> keamanan dan perlindungan yang ber-beda<sup>2</sup>. Menurut penulis selanjutnya karangannya ini bermaksud supaya dapat berfaedah bagi musea besar dan uraiannya itu supaya bisa dijadikan bahan pertimbangan dalam hal membuat rentjana anggaran belandja, lokalisasi dan watak gedung museum. Walaupun karangannya ini ditudjukan langsung kepada musea senirupa, tapi prinsip<sup>2</sup> dan mas'alah<sup>2</sup>nja yang didiskusikan itu mudah<sup>2</sup>an bisa djuga bermanfaat bagi matjam<sup>2</sup> musea, rumah<sup>2</sup> sedjarah atau tempat<sup>2</sup> lainnja yang menjimpan dan memamerkan benda<sup>2</sup> berharga. Tapi dari uraiannya mengenai segi<sup>2</sup> teknik, umpamanya tjara<sup>2</sup> tandabahaja yang moderen, penggunaan airconditioning dan pentjahajaan<sup>2</sup> moderen sehingga djendela bukan merupakan soal bagi keamanan karena semua djendela bisa ditutup, dan hal<sup>2</sup> lainnja yang belum terdapat di musea kita, atau yang djarang terdapat di musea di Eropah sekalipun, mejakinkan kita bahwa tjon-toh-tjontoh itu diambil penulis dari negerinja sendiri. Tapi ini pun boleh kita perhatikan, lebih<sup>2</sup> apabila kita mempunyai maksud untuk mendirikan gedung<sup>2</sup> meseum yang akan memenuhi sjarat<sup>2</sup> arsitektur museum moderen. Dengan menjinggung soal itu sebenarnya penulis sudah berdjasa, karena dalam buku COLEMAN yang terachir (*Museum Buildings*, djilid I 1950) hubungan arsitektur dengan keamanan hampir<sup>2</sup> tidak diperhatikan. Ataukah COLEMAN akan menguraikannya dalam djilid ke-II dari bukunya itu ?

Pada umumnya hal<sup>2</sup> yang dikemukakan oleh HOWARD bagi para pedjabat museum bukanlah barang baru, walaupun disana-sini kita merasa tertarik oleh pendapat penulis tentang beberapa tjara pentjegahan, istimewa dilihat dari segi hubungan pengundjung dengan koleksi. Dan hal inilah mungkin bisa bermanfaat bagi kita.

HOWARD mengemukakan matjam<sup>2</sup> kedjahatan yang lumrah terdjadi di museum. Terutama vandalisme, pentjurian, pengrusakan barang karena kurang ber-hati<sup>2</sup> dan yang djuga paling sering kita djumpai dikita yakni apa yang disebut penulis "touch complex", pe-

njakit suka main raba. Penjakit inilah rupa<sup>2</sup>nja jang membuat pusing pedjabat museum dan penjakit ini pulalah jang sudah merupakan gejala umum. Walaupun satu<sup>2</sup>nja pentjegahan ialah menjimpan benda koleksi dalam lemari atau dalam kamar gaja waktu (*style room* atau *period room*) jang tidak bisa dimasuki orang, djadi jang hanja dilihat dari kedjauhan, tapi njatanja tidak semua benda koleksi dapat dimasukkan kedalam lemari atau dipisahkan sedemikian rupa dari pengundjung.

Anak<sup>2</sup> merupakan persoalan tersendiri. Baik jang sendirian, maupun jang datang dengan rombongan. Mereka ini memang penuh gerak dan sukar terkendalikan. Dan ini dimana<sup>2</sup> rupanja sama saja. Mengendalikan rombongan peladjar, baik dari sekolah rendah maupun dari sekolah landjutan merupakan bakat tersendiri tapi jang dalam praktek selalu mengalami kegagalan. Apalagi djika rombongan terlalu besar. Tidak semua anggota rombongan mempunyai perhatian jang sama terhadap objek jang sedang dilihat atau jang sedang didjelaskan. Seringkali terdjadi beberapa anggota rombongan njeleweng mendjauhkan diri dari induk rombongan dan melihat-lihat sendirian karena perhatian jang tidak sama, gejala jang sering terlihat djuga dikita. Tapi sering djuga terdjadi bahwa jang tidak tunduk kepada pemimpin rombongan itu kemudian bersendagurau, malahan bermain-main di dalam ruangan jang sering membuat djantung petugas museum ber-debar<sup>2</sup> ketakutan akan terdjadinja suatu ketjelakaan. Djuga anak<sup>2</sup> jang datang bersama orang tuanja bisa berkelakuan serupa itu. Lebih<sup>2</sup> djika rombongan pengundjung itu terdiri dari seorang atau dua orang anak dengan beberapa orang dewasa. Jang dewasa dengan penuh minat melihat<sup>2</sup> objek jang dipamerkan, sehingga si anak kurang mendapat perhatian dan nglintjer sendirian, memandjat patung atau ngutik<sup>2</sup> barang jang dipamerkan. Dan sajangnja, penjakit sematjam ini lebih<sup>2</sup> di kita — tidak terbatas pada anak<sup>2</sup>, sebab seringkali djuga menghinggapi orang<sup>2</sup> dewasa. Karena perhatian terhadap sesuatu barang atau kejadian — misalnja pada waktu pertunjukkan gamelan — melebihi perhatian<sup>2</sup> lainnja, sampai hilang rasa hormat kepada diri sendiri dan kepada keindahan barang<sup>2</sup> berharga. Betapa sedihnja hati para petugas museum, jang diberi kepertjajaan untuk merawat barang<sup>2</sup> itu dengan penuh kesajangan, demi melihat barang<sup>2</sup> rawatannja diperlakukan orang begitu rupa.

Mengenai para anggota staf museum, penulis karangan ini mengandjurkan, walaupun mereka ini selalu sibuk dengan pekerdja-

annja, ada baiknja se-waktu<sup>2</sup> meninggalkan kamarkerdjanja untuk me-lihat<sup>2</sup> koleksi jang dipamerkan. Memang dalam praktek hal ini kurang mendapat perhatian. Padahal faedahnja besar sekali. Pertama para anggota staf dapat meneliti sendiri keadaan sehari-hari dalam ruangan<sup>2</sup> pameran dan kedua mereka dapat melihat sampai kemana aktif dan tjermatnja para pendjaga ruang, walaupun diatas mereka itu biasanja sudah ada seorang atau dua orang sersan atau supervisor. HOWARD djuga menjatakan, bahwa tiada tanda<sup>2</sup> larangan atau perhatian jang ditudjukan kepada para pengundjung, dan tiada orang jang begitu terhormat, dapat mengelakkan ketjelakaan atau perbuatan kedjahatan, bila tugas keamanan dan pengawasan tidak dilakukan setjara baik oleh para petugas museum sendiri. Tapi ini menghendaki sjarat<sup>2</sup> dari pendjaga. Ia harus seorang djudjur, bersih dan berpakaian seragam jang bisa orang hormati. Kehadirannja sudah tjukup untuk mentjegah hal<sup>2</sup> jang tidak diingini.

Soal roganisasi dan latihan bagi para pendjaga museum memang suatu keharusan. Tapi sjarat<sup>2</sup> jang dikemukakan oleh HOWARD untuk ini bagi kita masih sukar didjalankan mengingat tingkat kepandaian, pendidikan para pendjaga museum di kita, misalnja dalam hal membuat laporan<sup>2</sup> sistimatis jang tertulis jang se-kali<sup>2</sup> bisa diperiksa dan bisa merupakan bahan<sup>2</sup> pengalaman atau bahan<sup>2</sup> untuk membuat siasat pendjagaan baru, Memang soal-kwalifikasi dan kedudukan pendjaga museum rupa<sup>2</sup>nja di-mana<sup>2</sup> sama sadja perlu mendapat perhatian direktur museum. Pendjaga ruang, menurut HOWARD, harus terlatih baik, harus mempunjai perasaan bangga akan pekerdjaan dan tanggung djawabnja jang berat. Mereka ini djangan sampai mempunjai perasaan sok resmi dan angkuh; mereka harus menganggap para pengundjung museum itu sebagai kawannja sendiri dan sebagai tanggungjawabnja sendiri pula.

Sebenarnja penulis karangan itu dapat lebih berdjasa apabila uraiannja itu diperluas dengan tjontoh<sup>2</sup> kedjadian jang lebih banjak dan dengan memberikan tjontoh<sup>2</sup> tjara pentjegahan bahaya jang disertai foto atau gambar-gambar. Djuga HOWARD kurang menaruh perhatian akan kemungkinan timbulnja kebakaran, istimewa dilihat dari kemungkinan<sup>2</sup> jang bisa diberikan arsitektur museum. Kebakaran<sup>2</sup> di Museum Zoologicum Bogor dan di Museum Bandjarmasin beberapa tahun jang lalu djanganlah terulang lagi sebagai suatu bukti bahwa para pembuat gedung museum kurang memper-

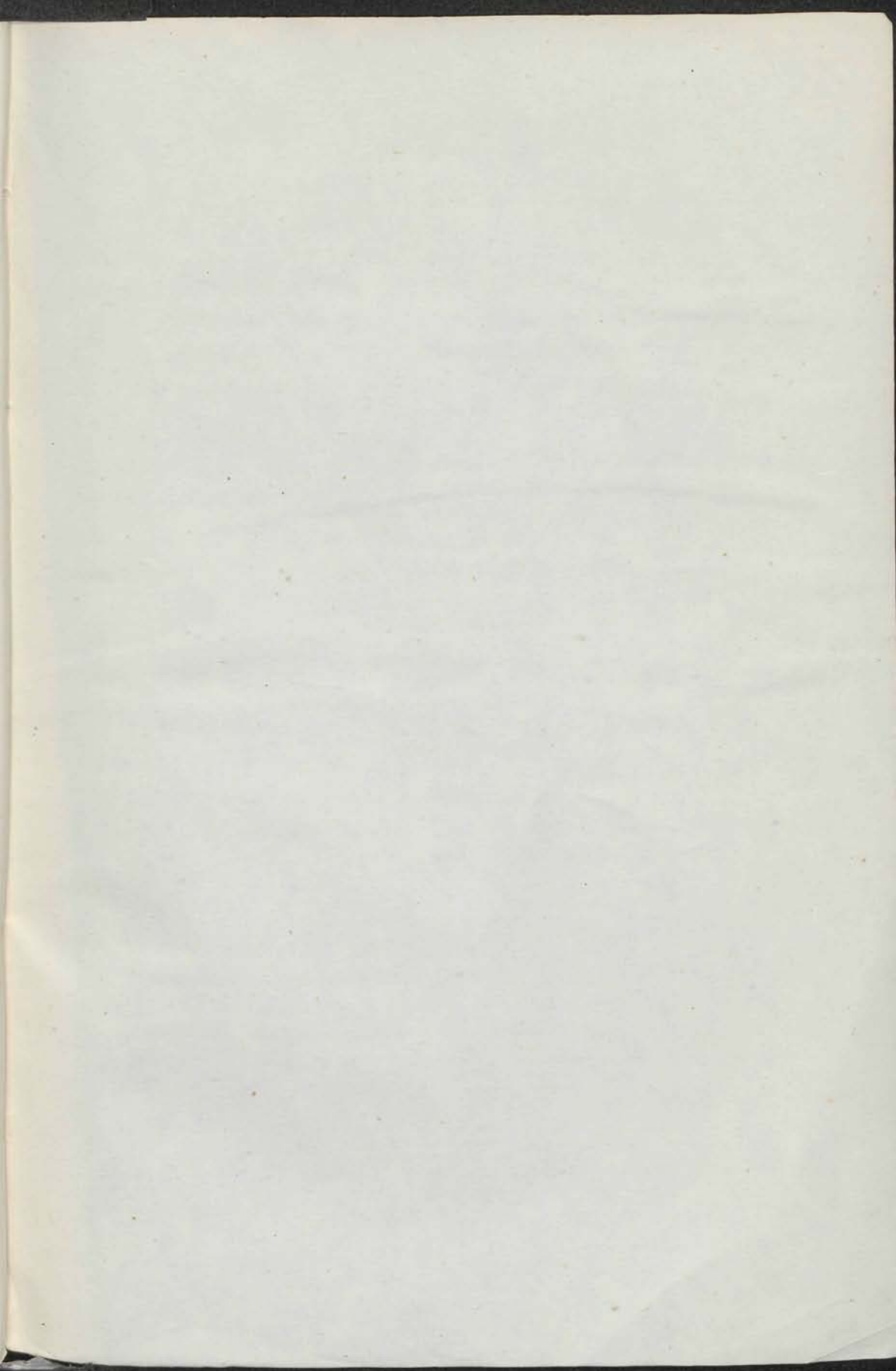
hatikan bahaya kebakaran jang mungkin disebabkan dari dalam ataupun dari luar gedung Museum.

Walaupun demikian karangan HOWARD itu toh berharga pula, karena selain isinja, djuga karena tjara menguraikannya jang sederhana tapi sistimatis sehingga tertjapai gambaran jang serba djelas.

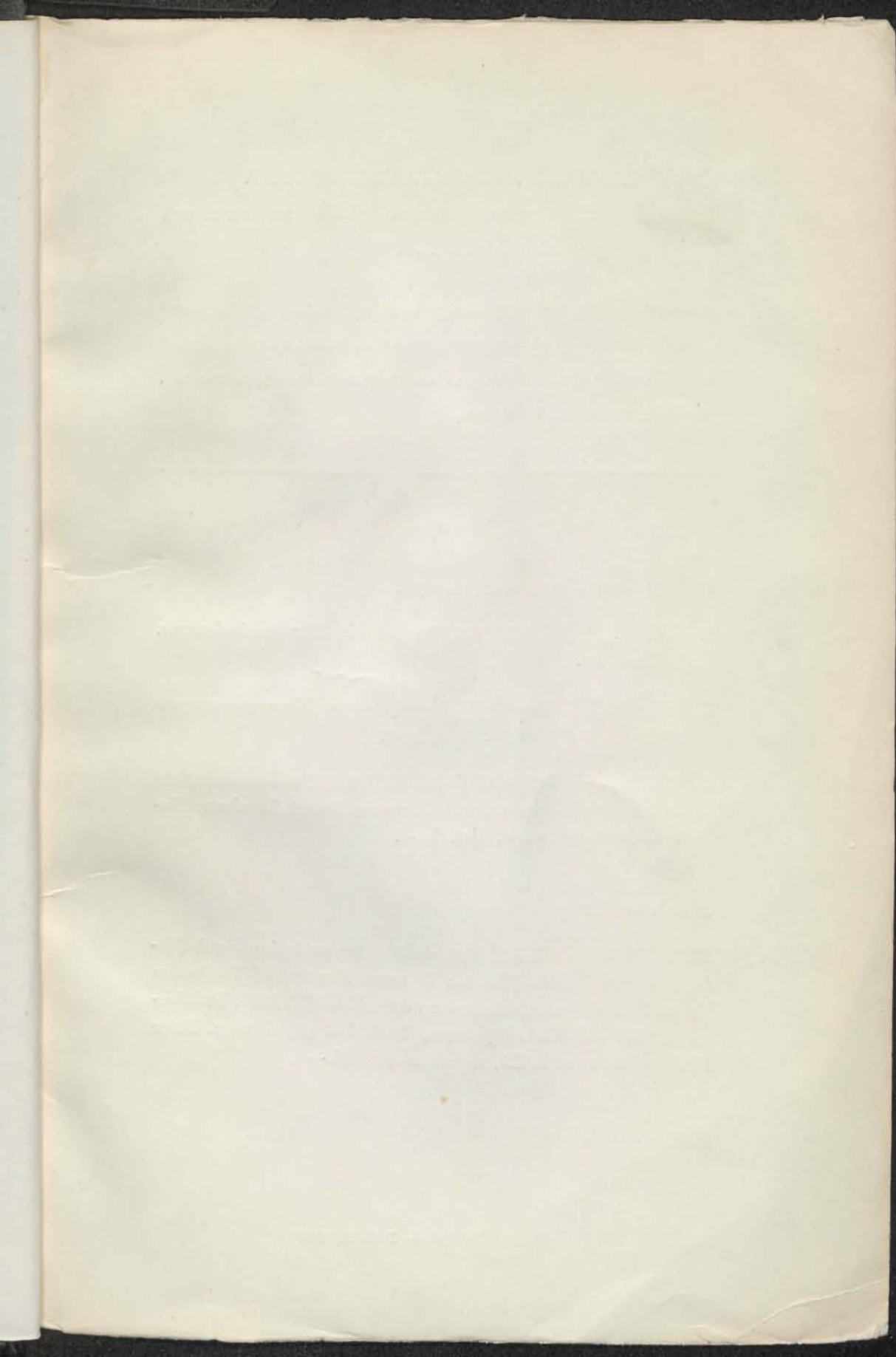
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MOH. AMIR SUTAARGA.









LEMBAGA KEBUDAJAAN INDONESIA

MUSEUM — PERPUSTAKAAN — RUANG BATJA

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Museum, Perpustakaan dan Ruang batja setiap hari dibuka untuk umum dari pukul 8.00 hingga pukul 13.00 Hari Djum'at dari pukul 8.00 hingga pukul 11.00. Ditutup pada tiap hari Senin dan pada tiap hari libur jang ditetapkan Pemerintah.

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Sedang diusahakan penerbitannja :

1. H.R. VAN HEEKEREN, *Prehistoric Life in Indonesia*. 2nd edition.
2. H.R. VAN HEEKEREN, *Penghidupan dalam zaman prasedjarah di Indonesia*. Tjet. ke-2.
3. DR. P.V. VAN STEIN CALLENFELS, *Pedoman singkat untuk koleksi prasedjarah Museum Pusat Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia*, tjet. ke-4.

Sudah terbit :

W.P. GROENEVELDT, *Historical Notes on Indonesia & Malaya, compiled from Chinese Sources*. Reprint of Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap deel XXXIX, 1880. Published by BHRATARA, Djakarta, 1960. 144 p. ; 1 map. Price Rp. 60. Price for L.K.I. members Rp: 54.—