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Accounts of the Origin of the Rajadom of Sikka

by Two Sikkane Authors

1. Introduction

In 1613 the Dutch arrived in the Timor area of eastern Indonesia and besieged the Portuguese fortress on Solor, whose population then resettled at Larantuka, at the eastern tip of the island of Flores. Having taken Solor, the Dutch in 1653 moved to Kupang, at the western end of Timor, where they maintained a presence but were constrained by the Portuguese and their allies, the Black Portuguese, who were the dominant powers in the Timor region. In the subsequent two centuries the Dutch claimed control over their corner of south-western Timor and over the islands to the east of Flores, while the Black Portuguese remained in east Flores and central Timor and the Portuguese continued their activities in East Timor, establishing a settlement at Dili in 1769.¹

This array of European forces in Timor continued unchallenged by either side until 1839, when, suspecting that the town harboured pirates, the Dutch bombarded Larantuka, thereby precipitating prolonged and desultory negotiations between the Dutch and the Portuguese to determine the boundaries between the territories of the two powers.² Then, in 1851, the Portuguese Governor in Dili found himself dangerously short of funds. He visited the Dutch Resident of Kupang, at the other end of the island, and, without authorization from Lisbon, worked out a solution to his problem with the Resident: in return for a payment of f80,000 he ceded eastern Flores and the islands to the east to the Dutch. The Portuguese government ratified this deal in 1859, on condition that the territories given over to the Dutch should

¹ See Fox 1977 for notes on the history of Timor and Nusa Tenggara Timur.

² The Portuguese and Dutch did not agree about a boundary between their respective territories in Timor until 1915 (Fox 1980:241).

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remain Catholic.³ Observing this condition, the Dutch designated Flores and Timor as a region for Catholic missions. In 1863 the Catholic Church in Indonesia granted Flores as a field of missionary activity to the Society of Jesus (Vriens 1972:13), though Dutch priests had begun replacing Portuguese priests in the area as early as 1860.⁴

The region of Sikka in east central Flores, while it came under the agreement between the Dutch and the Portuguese, was of no immediate concern to either power. Thus it was that the first visits by Dutch that had lasting effects in the rajadom of Sikka were by priests of the Society of Jesus rather than by officials of the Dutch government in Indonesia. Father C. Omtzigt S.J.⁵ began service as a priest at Maumere in 1868, eleven years before a representative of the Dutch colonial government took up residence in the town, which would become the political and commercial centre of the rajadom of Sikka in the following decades.⁶

In 1875, two Jesuit priests, Father Franssen S.J. and Father Metz S.J. (Kondi 1996:14), visited Maumere from Larantuka. They chose Maumere as the location for a mission to be established in the rajadom of Sikka, and in 1877 Father Heslinga and Brother van de Velde arrived and built a school there. By 1885 that school had 90 students, all of whom lived in an *asrama* (Bahasa Indonesia (hereafter abbreviated as B.I.), 'dormitory') (Vriens 1972:119).⁷ Because the missionaries judged the climate of Maumere to be unhealthy, Bishop W. Jacobus Staal approved the removal of the school to Léla, on the south coast of the island. Thus began the Sikkanese encounter with Europeans and with European education that has lasted continuously until today, with only a brief hiatus during the Japanese occupation of the

³ Prior to this agreement, the Dutch allowed only Protestant missionaries to work in the territories they claimed

⁴ The Jesuits remained active in Flores until 1913, when they turned over their mission to the Societas Verbi Divini (SVD). This account of the Dutch acquisition of East Flores is drawn from Fox 1980:241-2.

⁵ According to Vriens (1972:118), Father Omtzigt was responsible for a volume of religious lessons and texts for reading in schools published in 1873, the first book to be published in Sara Sikka, the language of Sikka. He died in 1874 at the age of 47, the first of many missionaries to succumb to the unhealthy climate and endemic diseases of Sikka's north coast.

⁶ According to a manuscript history of the rajadom of Sikka written by the Sikkanese nobleman D.D.P. Kondi in about 1955 (Kondi 1996:77), G.A. van Siek arrived in Maumere as representative of the Dutch Resident in Kupang in 1879.

⁷ Vriens adds a further illuminating remark about the Maumere school and its students: 'Dari [90 orang murid] itu kemudian 31 menamatkan sekolah, sedangkan sejumlah besar melarikan diri dari asrama. Hal itu tidak perlu membuat kita heran, demikianlah memang keadaan di masa itu! Bukankah mereka sebelumnya terbiasa dengan kebebasan yang seluas-luasnya!' (Of these [90 pupils], 31 graduated, while the majority ran away from the boarding-school. This should not surprise us, in view of the conditions at the time! Hadn't they been as free as a bird before!) (Vriens 1972:119).

Map 1. Principal Settlements of Kerajaan Sikka (present-day Kabupaten Sikka)

rajadom of Sikka during the Second World War.

From 1877 until the beginning of the Japanese occupation – the period of indirect rule of the rajadom by the Dutch – the Catholic Church was the main purveyor of education there and, although the Indonesian government began building schools in the 1950s, the Catholic schools still educate the largest number of young Sikkanese today.

After the first school in the rajadom of Sikka was moved to Léla, the Catholics quickly established schools in Sikka Natar and at Nita and Koting in the saddle of the central mountains of the district. Sikka Natar, 'the Village of Sikka', is located on the south coast, three kilometres east of Léla (see Map 1) and was the home village of the Rajas. Sikka Natar received its own school in the late 1880s after the arrival of the legendary Father C. Le Cocq d'Armandville, who became parish priest there in 1884. The Sikkanese embraced education and, within two generations after the establishment of the first school in the rajadom, there arose a rapidly growing class of literate people in the district, many of whom went into government service, became school teachers, or entered the Church via the seminaries established by the Catholic Church in Flores. In later years, a few Ata Sikka⁸ would use their literacy to write about the culture of their people and the history of their rajadom.⁹ This essay will examine the works of two of these early Sikkanese writers, Moʔang¹⁰ D.D.P. Kondi and Moʔang Alexius Boer Pareira, both of whom served in the government of the last Raja of Sikka and produced written accounts of the history of the rajadom.

2. *The Kondi Hikayat and the Boer manuscripts*

In the 1950s, Moʔang D.D.P. Kondi wrote a book-length history (of 81,500 words) of the rajadom of Sikka (Kondi 1996).¹¹ From 1977 to 1994 the Sikkanese with whom I worked in Sikka Natar and Maumere made frequent

⁸ I use the term Ata Sikka (Sara Sikka (hereafter abbreviated as S.S.), 'People of Sikka') somewhat ambiguously to refer both generally to all the Sara Sikka-speaking peoples of Flores and more specifically to the people of Sikka Natar.

⁹ The history of education in Sikka, and especially the relationship between education, the Catholic Church, the government of the rajadom of Sikka, and the Dutch government (and later the Indonesian government), would be an illuminating case for investigation with respect to social and cultural change in Sikka.

¹⁰ *Moʔang* is the honorific employed in Sara Sikka to address and refer to men; *duʔa* is the equivalent honorific for women.

¹¹ In 1977 I acquired a typescript copy of Kondi's work, which I took with me to Flores when I began fieldwork in Kabupaten Sikka in September of that year. Several years would pass before I fully realized the importance of Kondi's manuscript, which is the subject of Lewis 1998a, Lewis 1998b (which includes an account of the provenance of the manuscript), and Lewis forthcoming a.

Genealogy 1. Consanguineal Links Between Moʻang Kondi and Moʻang Boer ¹²

reference to the works of both Moʻang Kondi and another writer, Moʻang Alexis Boer Pareira, who died in the village of Bola in 1979 or 1980. I was told by members of Boer's family and others among my Sikkaneese informants that the original manuscript of Kondi's history and all of Boer's papers had become lost. Then, at the end of a season of fieldwork in Kabupaten Sikka in December 1994, I discovered that both Kondi's and Boer's papers were in the possession of the latter's granddaughter, Duʻa Xafer da Silva, and her husband, Moʻang Oskar Pareira Mandalangi, who live in Maumere (see Genealogy 2). Kondi was Moʻang Oskar's father's father's brother and Boer was Duʻa Xafer's mother's father. The papers of these two men are thus part of their families' estates.

I do not know much about the lives of Kondi and Boer¹³, except that both served in various capacities in the government of the rajadom of Sikka until its dissolution in 1954. Kondi was born in Sikka Natar and Boer in Bola, to the east of Sikka Natar, of Sikkaneese parents. Boer's mother, Duʻa Gaena (see Genealogy 1), was from the *ʔwisung* (origin group) known as Nggēla, while

¹² From information in Alexis Boer Pareira 1998:107 and M. Mandalangi Pareira n.d.:1, 31.

¹³ I hope to begin a study of the Kondi and Boer papers in collaboration with Mr Mandalangi in 1999. One of our first tasks will be to find out and record as much as possible about the lives and careers of these two authors.

his father, Baba Nong Pareira, was from *ʔwisung* Numba Roja Wolot. The most direct consanguineal relationship between Kondi and Boer is that traced in Genealogy 1, which shows them to have been rather distantly related. Both Kondi and Boer were related to Lepo Geté (Great House), the house of the Rajas of Sikka, by marriages of descendants, Boer through the marriage of his daughter, Karolina, to Gregorius da Silva, a son of Raja Nong Meak da Silva, and Kondi through the marriage of his brother's grandson, Oskar, to Xafer da Silva, the granddaughter of Raja Nong Meak. Moʔang Kondi married four times, and Duʔa Béja, the third of his wives, was, by one account, either a daughter or granddaughter of Raja Mbako I Kikir Hiwa (Nine Fingers) da Silva (see Genealogy 2).

Kondi began his career as a schoolteacher, but spent almost his entire adult life in the service of the government of the last Raja of Sikka, Moʔang Don Thomas Ximenes da Silva, as principal officer (*kapitan*) of the districts of Nelé, ʔIwang Geté and Talibura.

I returned to Maumere in June–July 1998 and made photocopies of all of the seventy documents in Mr Mandalangi's possession with his permission and assistance. The documents include manuscript and typescript material of different lengths by both Boer and Kondi, some 1,300 pages in total. All of the documents date from the period before the Second World War through the decade following the end of the rajadom in 1954. In this paper I will focus on two of these manuscripts: the 'Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka' of Moʔang Kondi (see Kondi 1996) and the longest of the notebooks of Moʔang Boer. My intentions are, firstly, to compare the accounts of the origin of the Sikkinese rajadom of these two Sikkinese authors and, secondly, to discuss the question of the extent to which these works can be considered to be indigenous encyclopaedias.

3. Kondi's 'Hikayat' and Boer's Notes on Hadat¹⁴ Sikka from the 1940s and 1950s

The seventy documents making up the collection of Moʔang Boer's and Moʔang Kondi's papers include a number of bound school exercise books, folio typescripts (some originals, some carbon copies), and documents of only a few pages in length. Most do not carry their author's name, but at least ten are by Moʔang Boer while the rest are by Moʔang Kondi. The longest of the Boer papers is a notebook of 144 pages divided into signatures, sewn and bound. The pages of this notebook are 210 mm by 284 mm in size and are faintly lined. The notebook originally had hard covers, but only the back cover survives. Every page is filled front and back with handwriting in ink

¹⁴ *Hadat* (S.S.), *adat* (B.I.), 'custom, tradition, law; propriety'.

Figure 1. Boer's Drawing of the Three Ancestral Mountains of the Ata Sikka (A. Boer Pareira 1998:67).
The label of the mountain (top right) with the note 'mei ering Bata tating', which is cut off in this photograph, reads 'I. Bekor'

or pencil. To these pages, nineteen pages have been added by the simple expedient of gluing them in. The notebook includes a number of genealogies, some covering two facing pages, and 30 drawings, some in coloured pencil.

The language of narrative in Sikkanese literature is usually Malay, the language which later became Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian). Before finding the Boer manuscripts, I had never encountered a work produced by a Sikkanese author which was written in Sara Sikka, although texts in that language were committed to writing as early as 1873 (see footnote 5) by missionaries of the Catholic Church, who wrote prayer books, hymnals, and material for religious education in Sara Sikka and even, for a few years, produced a weekly magazine in the language. Indonesian or, in the early days of schools in Flores, Malay, was the medium of instruction in the higher grades of Sikkanese schools, and a knowledge of Malay was crucial for anyone aspiring to a career in government, the Church, education, or commerce. For this reason, and notwithstanding that the Ata Sikka take considerable pride in their own language, the Sikkanese viewed Malay as the language necessary for commerce in the larger world.

Kondi wrote his 'Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka' (1996) exclusively in Malay and used Sara Sikka only when quoting someone's speech or transcribing texts in ritual language (the language of the mythic histories of Sikka). Boer, by contrast, while also providing many pages of transcribed ritual language material in his large notebook, employed both Malay (Bahasa Indonesia) and Sara Sikka in writing his notes, and his narratives, while mainly in Malay, occasionally shift into Sara Sikka.¹⁵ Furthermore, Boer's Malay is not as literarily elegant and grammatically complex as Kondi's, but is reminiscent of the Malay used in the markets of Flores. His Malay contains many spellings that appear idiosyncratic from the perspective of the contemporary, standardized spellings of Bahasa Indonesia.¹⁶

Here we might note that Kondi's work was apparently intended for publication as a book. It reads like a long and sustained narrative of the history of the Sikkanese rajadom, beginning with the myths of origin of the Sikkanese polity and ending with reproductions of official documents from the Raja's government and accounts of events at the end of the rajadom that date from after the Second World War. It is not clear from Kondi's work whether he distinguished between the distant, mythic past and what is, as far as Sikkanese historiography is concerned, the historical past of this century.

¹⁵ I distinguish here the author's narrative language from the quotations and excerpts from Sikkanese ritual language, the language of myth and ritual, and direct speech in Sara Sikka which these and other Sikkanese authors include in their texts.

¹⁶ For example, *pegi* for B.I. *pergi*, 'to go', *bansa* for B.I. *bangsa*, 'people, nation', *turungan* for B.I. *turunan*, 'descent, descendant', *pemarentah* for B.I. *pemerintah*, 'government', *wiladja* for B.I. *wilayah*, 'region, district'.

In contrast, and despite its clear value, it is more difficult to discern a coherent narrative framework, structure, or outline in the sections that make up Boer's notebook. Boer frequently emends earlier sections, using special symbols to mark his emendations and the places where they are to be inserted in the text. Thus, a particular symbol followed by the letter A in the margin or at the end of a section of text indicates that there is additional material later in the notebook, there marked with another symbol followed by A, that supplements the material preceding the first mark. Even when taking into account emendations and insertions such as these, the elements of the notebook are not as well ordered as in Kondi's narrative. In summary, these are the contents of Boer's notebook¹⁷:

Contents of the Boer Notebook			
Pages ¹⁸	Heading (Original)	Heading (English Translation)	Notes and Contents of Sections
1	Akar bansa turungan Radja Keradjaan	Source people and descendants of the Rajas of Radja keradjaan	the rajadom
2	Rupanja Hikajat Keradjan [sic] Sikka	The form of the History of the Rajadom of Sikka	
3	Akar Bansa Radja KangaE	The source people of the Rajas of KangaE	¹⁹
4	Hikajat KangaEng di tjertera oleh guru Masar di sambung oleh M Badar Kampung Blatat	The history of Kangaeng [Kangae] related by Guru Masar and supplemented by Mo?ang Badar of Kampung Blatat	
6	Akar bansa turungan Radja ke-radjaan	Source people and descendants of the Rajas of the rajadom	
7	Hikajat Sedjara tiap ² suku bansa jang mendiami dalam kampung Swapradja Sika jang bertutur bahasa Sikka	The history of each of the peoples who live in the villages of the Swapradja [B.I., 'autonomous region'] of Sikka and who speak the Sikkanese language	

¹⁷ For the contents of Kondi's 'Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka' see Lewis 1998b.

¹⁸ For my purposes here I have not identified the inserted pages as such, but have given the notebook a continuous pagination from 1 through 163.

¹⁹ KangaE (or Kangae) was a short-lived rajadom created by the Dutch in 1904 as a result of conflicts between the Raja of Sikka and Mo?ang Nai, a rebellious leader of the Kangae region of north central Sikka. The rajadom of Kangae was semi-autonomous but was subordinate to the rajadom of Sikka.

8-11 ²⁰	Akar bansa turungan Radja Keradjaan Sikka	Source people and descendants of the Rajas of the rajadom of Sikka	
9	–		List of names and dates of people arriving in Sikka
10	Augustinju da Gama donéng toé lalang Ratu ganupaé	Augustinju da Gama ²¹ shows the Raja the path he should follow	
12-13	Dokumeen [sic]: Susunan Pemarentah Keradjaan Sikka Zaman Purba	Document: the structure of the government of the rajadom of Sikka in ancient times	
14-15	–		Drawings of ritual sites in Sikka
16-20	Kenaha bahar balik ngawung Ratu Sikka wi norang mengarti nimung	(Ceremonial) items belonging to the Rajas of Sikka and their meanings	Drawings of regalia and various ceremonial items said to have been acquired by the Rajas of Sikka from the Portuguese
21-22	Darabogar rimu tutur neing nehek nai naruk Latar ha ei ata de gama wi ata natu wawa mai tia	Origin of the da Gama people as told in ritual language by the people of Darabogar ²²	Additional drawings of ceremonial items said to have been acquired by the Rajas of Sikka from the Portuguese
23	–		Drawings of ceremonial items associated with the early Catholic Church in Sikka
24	Ngawung Ngeng bala Langat wi bukti Moang	Goods of the ancestors that are evidence that Moʔang Raé Raja and Duʔa Rubang Sina ²³	

²⁰ This is a list spread over two facing pages of the original notebook into which has been inserted a single sheet (pages 9 and 10 in this listing).

²¹ In the myth of origin of the Sikkanese rajadom, Augustinju (Augustinu) da Gama was from Malacca. He was a teacher of religion and a companion of Don Alésu da Silva, the first Raja of Sikka. See Lewis 1998b for excerpts from Kondi's version of this myth and the role of Augustinu da Gama in the foundation of the rajadom.

²² Darabogar is one of the *kuat wungung* (origin groups) of Sikka Natar.

²³ Moʔang Raé Raja and Duʔa (*doea* in Boer's Dutch spelling) Rubang Sina are the founding ancestors of the Sikkanese royal house (see below, sections 4 and 5).

	RaE Radja doea Rubang Sina Reti nei wawa Nuhang Selan mai	came from the island of Ceylon	
25	Akar bansa kokek kampung Wuoë Haminte Wolokoli	The source people of the <i>kokek</i> ²⁴ of the village of Wu?u, district of Wolokoli	
26	Sjair ²⁵ : Upatjara waktu Radja di Nobatkan	Passage in ritual language: ceremony when a raja is installed	
27-55	Hikajat Keradjan [sic] Sikka	History of the rajadom of Sikka	
56	–		Drawing of villages on the north coast of the rajadom of Sikka
57	Batas ² dan Pemarentahan	Boundaries and government [of the rajadom]	History of the rajadom of Sikka (continued)
75	–		Genealogy of the Rajas of Sikka
76-77	–		Miscellaneous notes on the rajadom; pencil sketch of Raja Don Thomas da Silva
78-79	–		List and villages of ritual leaders of Tana ?Ai
80-93	Wenet ei ...	Origins [in ritual language] of ...	Texts of the mythic histories of a number of villages and <i>tana</i> ²⁶ of Tana ?Ai
94-95	Akar bansa Sikka jang pertama datang mendiami sekitar Léla	The source people of Sikka who first settled around Léla [see Map 1]	

²⁴ *Kokek*, S.S., representative of the raja in a local village community. The term derives from two Sara Sikka words: *koko*, 'crowing of a rooster', and *kek*, 'squeal of a pig'.

²⁵ *Syair* (B.I., 'poem or story in verse') is the term Boer uses throughout his writings to denote a passage in ritual language.

²⁶ *Tana*, S.S., 'land, earth, (ceremonial) domain'.

96	Wenet Natar Mudebali	Origins of Natar Mudebali ²⁷
97	–	Genealogies of the ancestors of two villages
98-105	–	History of the rajadom of Sikka (continued)
107	Sedjara Natar Baluk	History of the Village of Baluk Genealogy of the people of Baluk, who are said to be descended from a Portuguese man named 'Sargean'
108-146	–	History of the rajadom of Sikka (continued)
147-148	Barang ² tanda bukti dari Radja Moang Mbakao Kikir 9 ... dari Timur ²⁸	Items that are evidence that Raja Mbako Kikir Hiwa has been to Timor
149-150	–	History of the rajadom of Sikka (continued)
151-152	Wiladja Nita Soal jang Ekonomis dalam Adat Perkawinan	A Case about Economizing in connection with Marriage Customs at Nita Transcripts of testimony in a court case dated 28 May 1953
153-154	–	History of the rajadom of Sikka (continued)
155-156	–	Genealogy of the Rajas of Sikka
157-159	–	Genealogy of the descendants of the founders of the rajadom of Sikka in a line collateral to that of the Rajas
160	–	A sketch of the harbour

²⁷ A district in Tana ?Ai.

²⁸ Mbako Kikir Hiwa (Nine-Fingered Mbako) was the tenth Raja of Sikka, who, Boer's history recounts, went to fight a war in Timor (Timur) and returned to Sikka with ceremonial objects.

			at Malacca with an epigram about Don Alésu
161	–		A list of the villages in Sikka with which Alésu made alliances
162	Peringatan	Remembrance	A list of dates (1874-1954) of events in the rajadom of Sikka
163	–		Inside back cover: miscellaneous notes

Over the years, informants in Sikka Natar and Maumere have told me that both Kondi and Boer began writing their *sejarah* (B.I., 'history') at the request or on the instructions of Raja Thomas da Silva. This may well have been so in the case of Moʔang Kondi, whose 'Hikayat' appears to have been written after the Second World War, in the final years of the rajadom. However, since the discovery of the collection of Boer's and Kondi's papers, it has become clear that both men were working on notebooks (if not book manuscripts) well before the start of the war.²⁹ Thus two possibilities regarding the origin of these papers and their authors' motives present themselves. Firstly, Kondi (and perhaps Boer) may have been asked by the last Raja to write compendia of the history and culture of Sikka after the war. The Raja may have chosen these two men for this task because they were already known as writers on these subjects. Secondly, they may have begun writing at the instigation of Raja Thomas, but much earlier than reported by my informants.³⁰ What is certain is that I have not found any explicit statement by either author as to why he wrote and whether or not the Raja asked him to do so in any of the works I have examined in detail so far. Kondi's 'Hikayat' begins with a brief 'Preface', which reads as follows:

Pendahuluan

Tuan-tuan pembaca yang terhormat,

Dengan tawalu³¹ dan panjang sabar, lagi dengan kuat kemauan saya berusaha

²⁹ Page 3 (my pagination) of the large Boer notebook carries the heading 'Akar Bansa Radja KangaE: Keterangan M[oʔang]. Badar Kampung Blatat 25/5-1940 di rumah Gaing' (Genealogy of the Raja of KangaE: Information of M. Badar, Village of Blatat, 25/5/1940, at Gaing's house), which implies that the notebook was begun in 1940.

³⁰ It may prove impossible to determine whether Raja Thomas played a role in the production of these works and, if so, what it was. This will nevertheless be the subject of future inquiries in Maumere and Sikka.

³¹ The word *tawalu* is used in Flores to mean 'humility'.

diri oleh bertanya-tanya kepada orang tua-tua yang banyak pengalaman disekitar wilayah Kerajaan Sikka, saya mengisahkan peri keadaan pada zaman dahulu kala, selagi dunia Sikka masih muda, sebab ketika itu rimba raya hutan belukar amat banyak dan kampung-kampung terdiri dari satu, dua rumahpun belum berapa adanya, bahkan tempat kediamanpun berpindah-pindah; setahun sini dan setahun sana; dimana kebun berhasil disitulah tempat diamnya, diperbahasakannya:

Besi wuang udek,

Taa lanang pahar,

Artinya: Dimana labuh berbuah dan sirih menjalar selaku menahan dan menepatkan tempat diamnya. Dan bila tempat itu tidak aman dan sehat penduduknya, diperbahasakan:

Teri gahu nair poi

Mate potat poi

Naha nele tat ei ola péhang,

artinya: Dimana demam yang memucatkan mati yang menghilangkan muka, baiklah berpindah ketempat yang lain.

Adapun rimba tempat kediaman mereka, berdiam juga binatang-binatang buas dan liar, bercampur gaul dengan tempat jin yang dipercacainya sehingga kini masih terbayang-bayang.

Hatta zaman itupun telah jauh amat dan sudah tersembunyi dalam dunia kegelapan; sedang peredaran zamanpun laksana sebuah guwah yang sudah ditutup oleh labah-labah dengan sarangnya, apalagi sebagai sebuah batu bertulisan yang sudah kabur dawatnya, hampir-hampir tak dapat dibaca lagi, sehingga tak mudah kuterangkan disini; waktu manakah sebenar-benarnya, melainkan kupastikan memang ada dibuktikan dengan syair-syair dan sajak-sajak, perbahasaan dan amsal perbandingan yang lazim dilaksanakan umum dalam kerajaan Sikka khususnya. Oleh sebab itu apa jang kuketahui kukisahkan disini kepada pembaca-pembaca. Barang siapa tahu mana yang kurang, tambahkanlah saja supaya membulatkan kata dan kalimat serta isinya; moga-moga sempurnalah hikayat ini. Karena malumlah tuan-tuan pembaca sedang gading ada retaknya.

Salam dari

D.D. Kondi

Preface

Honoured readers,

With humility and great patience, and again with the strongest desire, and after making inquiries among the old people with much experience in the region of the rajadom of Sikka, I relate the story of the way of things in ancient times when the world of Sikka was still young. Because in those times the forest was still extensive and the jungle still thick and of villages there were but one or two and not yet many. Moreover, people changed their places of residence, a year here and a year there; wherever their gardens would yield, there they lived. In Sara Sikka it is said:

Besi wuang udek,

Ta'a lanang pahar,

which means: wherever the pumpkins would yield fruit and wherever the betel vine would creep, there we would fix our residence. And when a place became unsafe or unhealthy for the people, it was said:

Teri gahu nair poi

Mate potat poi

Naha nele tat é?i ola péhang,

which means: wherever fevers make us pale and cause death, it is best to move to another place.

Also living in the forests where the people lived were wild animals, which intermixed with spirits in which people still believe even now.

In those now far distant and shrouded times there was darkness over the world; and that time also resembles a cave which has now been closed by spiders with their webs, or an inscribed stone whose ink is faded to the point that it is almost illegible; a time so long ago that it cannot now be determined with accuracy. Yet, indeed, there is the evidence of the poetry [mythic histories in ritual language] and verses, proverbs and traditional stories which are found generally throughout, especially in the rajadom of Sikka. Because of this, what I have found out I relate here for the reader. Whoever finds deficiencies, please supplement this account so that its words and sentences and its contents may be improved; perhaps this story can be made more complete. Because you know how it is, reader, even an elephant tusk has its cracks.

Greetings from

D.D. Kondi

Kondi does not say here why he wrote, nor does he mention here or anywhere else the Raja of Sikka or the role he may have played in the composition of his 'Hikayat'.

Boer devotes the largest part of his notebook – some 88 out of 163 pages – to the history of the rajadom, while treating a number of other topics that clearly relate to the rajadom. In the form in which it is presented, the information in the notebook is reminiscent of an ethnographer's field notes. Indeed, in places Boer provides information of considerable ethnographic value – which is to say that his work, as much as Kondi's, fills in many gaps in my own ethnographic field notes on Sikka. Still, the work displays more thematic coherence than would an ethnographer's collection of notes on Sikkanese society and culture. As in the Kondi history, Boer's main subject is the origin, development, and organization of the Sikkanese rajadom, the petty state that ruled east central Flores until 1954.

In 1977-79, when I lived in Sikka Natar for several months, and during shorter visits to the village in the years since, I recorded fragments of the origin myth of the Ata Sikka, but nothing like a complete narrative, which was apparently unknown to my informants. Boer's and Kondi's written versions of the myths, and especially the ritual language texts of some of the episodes of the myth they include in their writings, are thus of exceptional value.

At the heart of the myth of the creation of the rajadom of Sikka is the story of the journey of the man who would become the first Raja of Sikka, Don Alésu da Silva, to Malacca, where he met the Raja of Malacca³², received an education, and was confirmed as a Catholic, returning to Flores in the company of Augustinu da Gama, a son of the Raja of Malacca, who, according to the myth, became the founder of the Catholic Church in Sikka.³³ Except for minor details, Kondi's and Boer's accounts of the life and reign of Don Alésu are closely similar and are, in the main, complementary rather than contradictory.

The house and social group of the Rajas of Sikka was Lepo Geté (Great House). In the mythic history of the rajadom, Lepo Geté predates the first Raja; indeed, its creation is the central event that led, many generations later, to the foundation of the rajadom. The foundation of Lepo Geté is also the event with which both Kondi and Boer begin their histories. A comparison of Kondi's and Boer's accounts of the foundation of Lepo Geté illuminates the differences between the writings of these two authors and illustrates the manner in which their works can be synthesized to produce a single narrative of Sikka's past.

Between the first named ancestors of the Sikkaneese and Don Alésu there are thirteen generations in the lineage of the Sikkaneese Rajas.³⁴ No other Sikkaneese descent group traces its origin to such genealogical depth. Kondi relates the events of this period in the mythic history of Sikka under the subtitle 'Dewasa yang Pertama' (B.I., 'The First Period'), in which he deals with the thirteen generations of Alésu's ancestors, from the founding ancestors of the lineage to Alésu himself. In Kondi's account, Alésu's father was Baga Nang, Baga Nang's father was Moʔang Igor, and Igor's father was Bata Jawa. The story of these three ancestors, who are credited with unifying the various *negeri* (B.I., 'village, nation') of Sikka into the polity that would become the rajadom, receives much attention in Kondi's 'Hikayat'. Nevertheless, he provides a sketch of the founders of Lepo Geté which, except for some minor inconsistencies, complements that of Boer.

³² Identified by Kondi as 'Raja Worilla' and by Boer as 'Warilla'. I have been unable to determine the historicity of this figure.

³³ See Lewis 1998b for a description of Kondi's version of this myth and an analysis of the relationship between Alésu da Silva and Augustinu da Gama.

³⁴ See Lewis 1996:162 for one version of the genealogy of the Rajas of Sikka. This contains a typographical error, however: whereas the name Baga Nang appears twice in the published version, generations 11 through 13 should appear as follows.

Bata Jawa
I Moʔang Igor
II Baga Nang

4. *Kondi's account of the foundation of Lepo Geté*³⁵

Kondi begins his history of the foundation of Lepo Geté with a quatrain in ritual language:

Wawa Siam mai	[They] came from Siam,
Siam sipa jong wutung	Deftly sailing their ship from Siam,
Sipa jong wutung	Deftly sailing their ship,
Léma Nidung Magé Gahar	[They] landed at Nidung Magé Gahar.

The unnamed sailors were the ship's captain, Raé Raja, his wife, Rubang Sina, and the crew. The ship's company were shipwrecked and came ashore on the south coast of Sikka.

Nyata mereka datang dari Siam berpe- rahu atau kapal mendarat di Nidun Mage Gahar (antara Sikka dan Lela bahkan antara Ili Lewa dan Napu Nao). Lalu mereka kemudian berpindah ke Mekeng Detung ke Iling Bekor dan sekarang berdiam disitu. Oleh karena kurang sehatnya maka kemu- dian pindahlah mereka ke Mekeng Detung, Wolo Laru, pihak Watu Daring.	The evidence is that they came from Siam by boat or ship and landed at Nidung Magé Gahar [Cape of the Tall Tamarinds ³⁶ , a small promontory] (between Sikka [Natar] and Léla, certain- ly between Ili Lewa and Napu Nao). After that they moved to Mekeng Detung, to Iling Bekor, and from then on lived there. They moved to Mekeng Detung, Wolo Laru, on the Watu Daring side [of Ili Bekor] because [the coast] was unhealthy.
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Terjadilah lima kampung: 1. Uma Hure, 2. Kloang Rotat, 3. Dala Ela, 4. Tarung Gawang, 5. Teong Bakut.	Five villages came into being: Uma Hure, Klo?ang Rotat, Dala ?Ela, Tarun Gawang, and Téong Bakut. ³⁷
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Pada lereng Iling Gai dan Nawa berbaris menganjur keselatan. Maka yang terma- syur ketika itu: Raga, Guneng dan Ria ...	On the slope of the line of peaks of Ili Gai and [Ili] Nawa, facing south, the best-known [of the people] then living there were Raga, Guneng, and Ria ...
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³⁵ The following is a heavily edited version of Kondi's account (Kondi 1996:15-26).

³⁶ Boer (section 6) identifies the site of their landing as Wutung Ni?i (Cape of the Bats), to the east of Sikka Natar (see Map 2).

³⁷ The site identified as Mekeng Detung by contemporary Ata Sikka is some distance from Ili Bekor (see Map 2). The identification of the locations of the ancestral sites named in both Kondi's and Boer's accounts requires additional research. The five villages were Uma Hure, Klo?ang Rotat, Dala ?Ela, Tarung Gawang, and Téong Bakut. In the same passage Kondi identifies Mekeng Detung as 'kelima kampung tersebut diatas', 'the five villages mentioned above', which implies that Mekeng Detung constituted the whole of the domain of these villages rather than a single site.

[...] of the three it was Guneng who was the leader. Although Raga was the elder [of the two brothers, Ria and Raga], he did not manage anything and lived in the forest:

Kondi's narrative continues:

When there arose a dispute about whatever, the matter was first taken to Ria and then further, to Raga, even though Raga was always in the forest. They just asked Guneng, who was Ria's father; they were the most famous and they adjudicated all sorts of disputes which people brought to them at Mekeng Detung. In that time, before they moved to the five villages, the date of which is not mentioned in the chronicles, there lived an ancestor, Moʔang Sao, who was a descendant of Moʔang Guneng and who lived on the slope of Iling Bekor, at the place named Blata Tating, on the western side of Iling Bekor. To the south-east of Iling Gai and on the eastern slope of Ili Nawa there lived a woman. One day, as Moʔang Sao was travelling around in search of a livelihood, he encountered the woman, whose name was Duʔa Sikka. She was halfway through weaving a completely white cloth. In his heart he thought: this woman will become my partner. So one day, Moʔang Sao came bringing *sirih pinang* [B.I., 'betel leaf and areca nut'] in order to propose marriage to Duʔa Sikka, saying: 'I want to look after you and make you my wife'. Duʔa Sikka accepted the proposal gladly and received the words of Moʔang Sao with a full heart. So the two became man and wife. Every day the two worked with the greatest industry, the one helping the other. To this day, the place where they lived is known as Duʔa Ratu Tanang, which means Land of the Queen.

Duʔa Sikka gave birth to a son, who was named Moʔang Sugi. Sometimes Moʔang Sao became thoughtful: perhaps near this place there is a wide [stretch of] unoccupied land which would be good for building a house on. Late one night, after Moʔang Sugi was older, Moʔang Sao spoke to his son, saying: 'Tomorrow we will begin to seek a wide [stretch of] uninhabited land, but we will be friendly to any people we meet'. Moʔang Sugi replied: 'In that case let us go to the sea and see the great waters there'. His father answered: 'Tomorrow morning we will travel toward the sea and leave Duʔa Sikka behind to watch the house'.

First they came to a steep place at the foot of Ili Nawa, where they hung up a white leaf as a marker so they would not lose their way. That place was called Léla Bura (Hanging Whiteness) (see Figure 1). Their journey then took them to a sweet-smelling place, which they named Uma Hure (Sweet Garden), then to a place thick with tall grass, which they called Kloʔang Rotat (Sword Grass Hamlet). Then they saw a palm tree. Sugi wanted to take one of its fronds to use as a sunshade, because it was hot, so he climbed it, but in vain because he had no bush knife with which to cut the fronds, so he just pulled at them. Even though the stalks of the fronds bent when pulled, they would not separate from the tree's trunk, and because of that they named the place Téong Bakut (Drooping Stalk). While they were cutting a path through the underbrush and hanging up leaves as markers so they could retrace their path and would not lose their way on their return, Moʔang Sao said to his son: 'One night I saw a star which fell at this place'. Moʔang Sugi replied: 'Then this place shall be named Dala ʔEla [Falling Star]'. Then they came

to a place with much indigo. Moʔang Sugi said: 'This place will be called Tarung Gawang [Much Indigo]'. They followed the length of a hill and arrived at the top of a steep escarpment, high above the surface of the sea. That place they named Rogong Gahar Tana Tuli (Tall Forest, Living Place). Looking toward the west, they saw a stream with a pool whose water was swampy, which they named Wair Berung (Salty Water). Above the swamp there was a level place. They thought it was an excellent place to construct a house, because the slopes below had steep drops.³⁸ So they called it Nata [or Natar, S.S., 'village, nation'] Gahar, which means 'High Village' or 'High Nation'. After that the two returned to the mountains of Newa, travelling by the same path they had taken before, and arrived safely at Duʔa Ratu Tanang.

Moʔang Sao told the story of their journey to Duʔa Sikka and spoke about his intention of building a house at Nata Gahar. Duʔa Sikka agreed, but suggested they first move to Léla Bura, where they planted a garden and made offerings to the Sun and Moon and to the Nitu Noang (spirits of the dead). Thus they erected the first *mahé* [S.S., an altar of stone monoliths and wood used for the performance of sacrifices] and made the first *watu blapur*, or offering stone, which they placed in the right-hand corner of the house [that was to become Lepo Geté]. This they did so that no sickness would follow them when, afterwards, they moved to Nata Gahar.

After Moʔang Sugi had attained marriageable age, Moʔang Sao said to Duʔa Sikka: 'Wife, let us go to Tarung Gawang, to Soka Lodang, and propose a marriage between our son and Duʔa Goit, who is Soka Lodang's daughter'.

The next day the two of them left Moʔang Sugi to watch the house and went to Tarung Gawang to speak of their intention. They took areca nut and betel leaf with them and, when they arrived, they discussed the matter that had brought them. Moʔang Soka Lodang was enthusiastic about the marriage of his daughter and Moʔang Sugi. So Moʔang Sao gave a ring to the maiden named Duʔa Goit as a sign of the bond of marriage, and then he and his wife returned to Léla Bura and informed their son that the marriage was arranged.

About a year after the marriage, Moʔang Sugi's wife bore a son, who was named Saru. So they prepared a feast for the first-born child.

The father's people prepared a pig, rice, palm gin, and other things. So, too, the mother's people. The foods prepared were for all the people, but Moʔang Sao set aside one pig or one chicken to be eaten by the mother and the family alone. This food was served four nights later, that is, on the night before the fifth day. This food is called *ara kuat*³⁹, and when it is eaten, the new-born is confirmed as a member of the family of its father [rather than of the group of its mother]. So the people who belonged to the group of Moʔang Sao and Sugi could eat that rice, but people of other groups could not eat it; that is, the other people could eat only the other rice which was served to the guests at the feast.

After Moʔang Saru had grown up, Moʔang Sugi and his son went travelling

³⁸ The people of central Sikka have always constructed their villages along the ridges running downward from the mountain peaks of central Sikka.

³⁹ *Ara*, S.S., 'cooked rice' (B.I. *nasi*); *kuat*, S.S., 'clan, tribe'.

around to the villages nearby. Whenever there was a quarrel, people were pleased with Moʔang Sugi's decisions. If no one had any objections, he taught and gave advice.⁴⁰

Thus the foundation of Lepo Geté by Moʔang Sao and Duʔa Sikka at Nata Gahar was intimately bound up with offerings to the Sun and Moon (two of the four attributes of the deity, who is called Niang Tana Lero Wulang, Land and Earth, Sun and Moon) and to the spirits, the rules governing exchange at marriage, and the settlement of disputes, that is, religion, social exchange, and government. The locations of the events recounted by Kondi are of special interest: all take place within a small area of no more than six by seven kilometres in extent. Moʔang Boer's version of the founding of Lepo Geté also emphasizes journeys made and alliances formed by ancestral figures in this small area.

5. Boer's account of the foundation of Lepo Geté⁴¹

The events of this period are not handed down with dates, but are only mentioned in *adat* poems called Kleteng and Latar. In those times there lived in the mountains of Ili Gai, Ili Bekor, and Ili Newa three men who were descendants of the people who spoke *ʔaung aʔung* (the Sikkanese language)⁴², named Ria, Raga, and Guneng, and their wives, who were named Soru Dodeng [Dédong], Guer, and Gening. Moʔang Ria's wife was Soru Dédong, and they lived on Ili Bekor, at a place named Méi ʔÉring Blata Tating. Moʔang Guneng's wife was Duʔa Gening, and they lived on Ili Gai, at a place called Mahet. Moʔang Raga's wife was Duʔa Guer, and they lived on Ili Newa, at a place that until today has always been called Duʔa Ratu Tanang (see Figure 1).

Those were the days before there were tools for working gardens or making houses, and in those times they lived in caves described in ritual language as *teri éʔi watu liang koja robong* ['to live in caves in the rock and hollows in the trees']. Because they did not have tools for working gardens, it is said in ritual language:

Réta Ili Newa
Dewa Raga teng gadjung

Up on Ili Newa
The ancestor Raga chopped with
stones in the forest.

⁴⁰ Kondi's narrative continues with 'The Life of Mo'ang Bata Jawa' (see Lewis 1998b).

⁴¹ Edited summary of A. Boer Pareira (1998:27-51).

⁴² *ʔAung* and *aʔung* are the second person singular and first person singular possessive pronouns ('your' and 'my') in Sara Sikka; the people to whom Boer is referring here were the autochthonous people of Sikka.

Map 2. Mountains and Place Names

Wawa detung Hokor
?Ami gita moga ba?a

Down on the coast at Hokor
We see it was just the same.

Which means that when they wanted to open a new garden, they used stones as tools for felling trees, with which they cut around the tree until the bark was peeled off, and then they waited until the tree had dried out and then they burned it until it fell, and then, when the tree was truly dry, they burned it completely. Also in those times they did not yet have cotton, so they wore clothes made from tree bark [...].

Mo?ang Ria and his wife Soru Dédong had a daughter named Du?a Sikka. Then at that time a great *perahu* was cast ashore to the east of Tanjung [B.I., 'cape, promontory'] (Wutung Ni?i), near the village of Sikka. From the time the *perahu* was cast ashore until now [the place] has been named Watuténa [S.S., 'Stone Boat']. The captain of the *perahu* was named Raé Raja, and his wife was named Rubang Sina, and their child was named Sugit Sund or Sugi Sao. They, with approximately twenty shipmates, both men and women, stayed at that place for several days because their *perahu* had broken up and could not be repaired. Then they were forced to seek a place that would be suitable to reside in when they ran low on water. Captain Raé Raja organized his shipmates to go in search of drinking water, and so they began walking, heading eastward until they came to a depression in the ground that looked as though it might have a spring above it. Their shipmates and their child Sugi Sao thought perhaps there might be people nearby, because they had found a spring with pure water. With glad hearts they named the spring Wair Topo Poret Loba and then rested there because they were tired, and then quickly returned carrying the news to Captain Raé Raja, who began packing up their goods (to move).

The next day they moved to Wukur, where they began building huts in which to live temporarily before they built permanent houses in which to live there. Then, because they lived there at a place where there were no people passing to and fro and, what is more, because they could not see the boats of people passing by at sea, Captain Raé Raja told his shipmates along with Sugi Sao to climb the mountain so that they could look far out to sea in case there appeared ships passing on the sea. After discussing the matter, Sugi Sao and two shipmates, one named Dalo and one named Nabat, climbed to Ili Gai and rested there for a while, because they were tired. They watched the sea from morning till night, but did not see any *perahu* or canoes sailing the sea, until they decided it was a vain hope and so called (the place) ?Era Iling Gahar Téleng Téna Ata Goa [Stand on the Mountain and Look Far out to Sea for Ships of the People of Goa]⁴³, or Api Lau Ringang Beré [Fire Below that

⁴³ Goa and Goang are general terms for the Muslim traders from Sulawesi and elsewhere

has Been Extinguished].⁴⁴ After that they began travelling again and entered a forest; then they emerged from the forest to see the view and the situation there. Then Sugi Sao said: 'If we could find water here, it would be good for us all to move here, because this land is very fertile'. Then, because of that, Moʔang Sugi Sao said: 'Let's go and see if God has fated us to find a spring here, and if so, we will quickly return to the shore to take the news (to the others), so that we will be able to move here quickly, as the season for planting gardens is close'. After they had finished discussing this, they entered the forest and, coming out of the forest, Sugi Sao suddenly saw a place where stood a stack of *méi* wood with, below that, a clean clearing where weeds had been pulled up by people who lived nearby. And Moʔang Nabat came to a place where there stood many flowering trees, and below those trees the place had been cleared by people who lived at the place.

Suddenly Moʔang Dalo came with the news that he had found a spring of pure water near that place, and so the spring was named Dalo Wair [Dalo's Spring]. Moʔang Dalo brought the news that people appeared to come to that spring to get water, because it could be seen that at the edge of the water the earth was wet and packed down. While they were talking, a woman wearing clothes made of bark cloth suddenly emerged from the forest. [When she saw them] she ran away to hide in the forest.

After that Sugi Sao and his companions returned to the shore to inform the others that they had found natives who still wore bark cloth. After hearing that there were natives living in the place, Moʔang Raé Raja immediately made plans to move there, saying they would move to Tana Tuling Rogong Gahar.⁴⁵

When they decided to move to Ili Bekor, they felt homesick for their homeland. Then Moʔang Raé Raja spoke to his children and sisters' children, saying: 'It is certain we cannot return to our homeland; and the month for planting gardens is almost upon us. So let us climb to the place we have found and work the land and tap palms there.'

Then Moʔang Raé Raja said:

Tibong miu waʔing gaʔi
Réta bawo song sugo
Song oti sugo tiong
Hereng nai du bélang.

You young people, climb happily,
make good up there;
you will truly do well up there;
perform the proper ceremonies sincerely

who trade along the coasts of Flores. Kewapante (or Geliting), a small town on the north coast of Flores, to the east of Maumere, is sometimes called Goang or Goang Natar.

⁴⁴ I cannot translate *ringang* as a Sara Sikka word; in B.I. the word *ringan* means 'light in weight'.

⁴⁵ Rogong Gahar Tana Tuli (Tall Forest, Living Place) in Kondi's account (above).

Gu sugo nai duet
 Dadi lepo réta Méi ?Éring
 Woér réta Blata Tating
 Namang sugo ba?a dadi lepo
 Lepo geté blapu sina⁴⁷
 Blapu Raé blapu Raja
 Raé Raja Rubang Sina
 Nora meng ata wai
 Sina Siang Wai Soru
 Réta wawo lepo [geté]
 Lepo geté blapu sina
 Higung pitu mulang walu

...
 Laba ba?a dadi lepo
 Lepo geté blapu sina
 Sorong ba?u dadi woga
 Woga mosang balé jawa

...
 Gu deri ?liting nai niang gi?it
 É?i Méi ?Éring woér
 Gu gera le?er nai tanah
 mangan
 É?i Blata Tating namang
 Mora du?a ata deri
 Niang di tuke beli ?ami
 Niang dena gopi gea
 É?i Mekeng Detung Wolo Laru
 Mora mo?ang ata gera tana
 Mo?ang Ria Raga Guneng
 Di mangang beli ?ami tana
 Tana dena kare minu
 É?i Poma Pihak Watu Daring
 Nora rimu mogang
 Teri hokot libur kare gaer
 Rimu ata ngeng
 Nora ata teri niang
 ?Era tana mogang

and fix the boundaries properly
 to build a house at Méi ?Éring,
 a house yard at Blata Tating⁴⁶,
 a long-lived yard for a house,
 a great house,
 in which Raé Raja will be venerated,
 Raé Raja and his wife Rubang Sina,
 with their daughters
 Sina Siang and Wai Soru,
 up there a great house,
 a great house and meeting-place
 of seven corners and eight posts.

...
 After the house is built,
 a great house and meeting-place,
 then add a meeting-house,
 a house for sitting with guests.

...
 Henceforth live there on the strong land
 of Méi ?Éring's yard
 and stand on the firm earth
 of Blata Tating's clearing.
 With your women live there
 on land that supports us,
 on land that, when planted, will feed us,
 at Mekeng Detung Wolo Laru,
 with the lord who stands on the land,
 the lords Ria, Raga, and Guneng⁴⁸,
 who will give strength to our land,
 the land that will yield tapped palm juice
 at Poma Pihak Watu Daring.⁴⁹
 With them also
 live and work together;
 they are the original people
 and the people who live on the land
 and also stand on the earth;

⁴⁶ *Méi* and *blata* are species of trees; *éri* is the lower half of a garden (while *ra?i* is the upper half); *tating* is ground cleared of vegetation. *Méi ?Éring Blata Tating* is thus land cleared for the construction of a house or village. In Sikkanese ritual language the phrase refers to the place of first settlement of the people who would later become the Sikkanese.

⁴⁷ *Lepo* (S.S., 'house'), *geté* (S.S., 'large, great'), *blapu* (S.S., 'a sitting platform (B.I. *balai-balai*, meeting-place'), *sina* (S.S., 'China, Chinese', but also a generic term for 'guest, foreigner'). In Sikkanese ritual language the phrase *lepo geté blapu sina* denotes a ritual house.

⁴⁸ The autochthonous inhabitants of the region (see Genealogy 4 and Kondi's account above).

⁴⁹ Mekeng Detung Wolo Laru was on one side of Ili Bekor, while Poma Pihak Watu Daring was on the other. The two phrases are paired in Sikkanese ritual language.

Tutur wiʔing wiri wana	speak among them left and right,
Harang wiʔing	meet and talk with them
Ganu duʔa dulak ha bua	as if one mother gave birth to you both,
Ganu moʔang lorang ha gaʔe	as if a single father cradled you in his arms,
Dadi rimu ata ngeng	for they are the original people,
Nora rimu ata teri niang	it is they who lived on the land
Giʔit ʔera mangang [tana]	and stood on the strong earth;
Dung sapé ata teri niang	until now they are the ones who lived here in the land,
Moʔang Ria Raga Guneng.	the lords Ria, Raga, and Guneng.

After Moʔang Sugi reached marriageable age, Moʔang Raé Raja said to his wife, Duʔa Rubang Sina, 'Hey, Love, let's go to Ria and his wife, Duʔa Soru Dédong, and propose the marriage of our son to their daughter, Duʔa Sikka'. So the next day the two of them went to the house of Moʔang Ria and his wife Duʔa Soru Dédong with the intention of a discussion and took areca nut and betel leaf along with them. The proposal was received well by Moʔang Ria, but his wife, Duʔa Soru Dédong, spoke, saying:

Pla mora Ria ko	First ask Ria,
Toso ʔoti Ama Raga	put the proposal to Father Raga,
Ria ama Guneng	Ria whose father is Guneng,
Raga wali roing ʔlora	Raga who lives in the forest,

that is, discuss the proposal of marriage first with the lords of the land.

With that, Moʔang Raé Raja and his wife told Moʔang Sugi and his brothers-in-law to go next day to look for areca nut and betel leaf and to get a ring intended as a cord to tie the marriage. Then they went to the house of Moʔang Ria and his wife Duʔa Soru Dédong to discuss their son, Moʔang Sugi, taking their daughter, Duʔa Sikka, in marriage. After they finished discussing the matter, the side of the mother and father of Duʔa Sikka gave them a pig to eat, which was a sign that their proposal had been well received by the girl's family. The pig was given the name *wawi dadi*⁵⁰, the pig that showed that the tying of the cord of marriage between Moʔang Sugi and Duʔa Sikka had been completed.

Then Moʔang Raé Raja and his wife received a name, because it was they who created the house called Lepo Geté Dang Gahar (The Great House, the High House Ladder).

⁵⁰ S.S. *wawi*, 'pig'; *dadi*, 'to be; so; thus'. In modern Sikka Natar a pig is teased into squealing before it is slaughtered at the conclusion of bridewealth negotiations. In the *adat* of Sikka, the moment the pig squeals, the marriage is concluded. This pig is called *wawi dading*, 'the pig that brings into being'.

After Moʔang Sugi and his wife Duʔa Sikka had lived at Mekeng Detung for a year, Moʔang Sugi's wife gave birth to a son, who was given the name Laʔi Sao. And after Moʔang Sao grew up, then Moʔang Sugi and his son travelled here and there in the district, visiting the nearby villages. They became well-known and whenever there was a dispute, then people recalled the judgements of Moʔang Sugi and Sao and so gave them the name:

Duʔa ola kula wulang	the (female) elder with the manner of the moon's judgement,
Moʔang pla kara lero	the (male) elder who asks for the sun's counsel.

The population of Mekeng Detung grew, and when land for gardens became scarce, disputes (*ngejeng uma dueng*, 'arguments over garden boundaries') arose and led to fighting. After they started quarrelling about garden land, Moʔang Sugi and Moʔang Sao began gathering the people together to speak to them:

He riwung ha riwu lopa	Eh, you thousands of the community, do not
Ngejeng wiʔing geté	involve yourself in big arguments.
He ngasung ha ngasung lopa	Eh, you hundreds of the society, do not
Ngerit wiʔing mosang	engage in wide quarrels.
?Ita duʔa dulak ha bua	We are as of one mother who bore us,
?Ita moʔang ?lorang ha gaʔe	we are as of one father who cradled us in his arms.
Tutur naha réta lepo uneng	Your discussion must take place inside the house,
Harang wiʔit naha reta	your speaking must take place in the
woga wutung	meeting-pavilion.
He riwung diri naha himo	In your thousands you all must hear and
liʔar	accept [my] voice,
He ngasung prina naha dépo	in your hundreds you must attend and
wa	follow [my] advice.

All the people obeyed the directions of Moʔang Sugi and Moʔang Sao, and then the community that lived at Mekeng Detung Wolo Laru grew so large that Moʔang Sugi and Moʔang Sao arranged for some of them to build a village at Téong Bakut, for another group to live at Kloʔang Rotat, and for another group to make a village at Uma Hure and at Tarung Gawang. All the people were pleased with these orders and the community began to return to a state of peace, because the land for gardening had been extended from that available in the past.

After Moʔang Sao grew up and became strong, he and his father went to the house of Moʔang Soka Lodang and his wife and daughter, a girl named Duʔa Goit, who lived in the village of Tarung Gawang. Moʔang Sugi said to his son Moʔang Sao: 'If you wish to marry the girl Goit, you have to go to the

mountain to pick areca nut and betel leaf and then take them home. Then you have to go to sleep at night and wait for a good dream, and then we'll plan to take the areca nut and betel leaf (to Du?a Goit's home).'

After Mo?ang Sao heard this lesson from his father, he did as his father told him, and after the sun came up he remembered his dreams and went to his father and said: 'I have dreamed that I was bathing in a pool which had the purest water'. His father replied: 'That dream is a good one; let's go and propose to the daughter of Mo?ang Soka Lodang at Tarung Gawang'. Mo?ang Soka Lodang received the proposal that Mo?ang Sao should marry his daughter Du?a Goit well. Before the marriage, Mo?ang Sao gave a ring to Du?a Goit as a sign of the ties of marriage.

After they were married for about a year they had a son, who was named Mo?ang Saru. So Mo?ang Sugi performed a ceremony and gave a feast for a first-born child. The family of the father prepared a pig, along with rice and palm gin. Then the mother and father of Du?a Goit also prepared food for many people, but Mo?ang Sugi also prepared a pig, rice, palm gin, and a chicken as food for the mother, and one group within the family prepared a meal for the fourth night afterwards, at the fifth hour in the morning. The rice that is eaten then is named *ara kuat* (rice of the *kuat*) (see footnote 39). Then the people who were of one clan with Mo?ang Sugi and Mo?ang Sao ate that rice. The purpose of this was to provide evidence that the child Saru had entered the clan of Mo?ang Sugi and Mo?ang Sao and no longer belonged to the group of Mo?ang Soka Lodang. The cooking and eating of this rice, which is called *ara kuat*, is the responsibility of the sister of Mo?ang Sugi (whom Mo?ang Saru calls his *a?a geté*⁵¹).

So at the time of Mo?ang Sugi and Mo?ang Sao, whenever there was a dispute among the people living at Mekeng Detung, Wolo Laru, Poma Pihak, Watu Daring, Méi ?Éring, and Blata Tating, they came to lay their complaints before him and he pronounced judgement to settle their disputes.

6. *The encyclopaedic impulse: Boer's and Kondi's accounts of the founding of Lepo Geté*

Kondi's account of the origin of Lepo Geté begins with the arrival of Raé Raja and Rubang Sina, foreigners who are shipwrecked near Sikka Natar on the south coast of Flores. Raé Raja and Rubang Sina move inland, to Mekeng Detung. Mekeng Detung is associated with Ili Bekor, one of the three mountains that figure centrally in the Sikkanese myth of origin (see Map 2). *Bekor*

⁵¹ ?A?a geté, S.S., 'father's sister'.

Genealogy 3. The Founders of Lepo Geté (Boer Version)

(S.S.) means 'to emerge from the earth; to rise up'.⁵² When they moved to the highlands of the interior, they encountered the indigenous inhabitants of Sikka. Boer, in contrast, begins his account of Lepo Geté with a description of the indigenous inhabitants of the interior of what would become Kerajaan Sikka and then introduces Raé Raja and Rubang Sina as the newcomers whose child, Sugi Sao, married Sikka, a daughter of a man from Ili Bekor (see Genealogy 3). Mo?ang Sugi and Du?a Sikka founded Lepo Geté, which originated in an alliance of autochthons and immigrants.⁵³

⁵² The mythic histories of the Domain of Wai Brama in Tana ?Ai cite Mekeng Detung Wolo [L]jarung // Popo [Poma] Piak [Pihak] Watu Darin as the place of origin of Hading Dai Dor and Uher La?i Atan, the two brothers who founded clan Ipir, the 'source' clan of Wai Brama (Lewis 1988:53).

⁵³ The Ata Sikka reckon descent through the male line. The marriage of a male immigrant to a female autochthon means that, although they became the rulers of Sikka, the people of Lepo Geté remained *ata péhang*, 'other people; outsider', throughout the history of the rajadom.

derived from somewhere outside Flores. The earliest alien presence in Sikka was that of the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch and the Japanese, all of whom sanctioned the authority of the rajas in Sikka, and, finally, by the modern Indonesian state. In the Sikkanese view, each of these alien presences, in turn, was the power behind the power of the rajas, while it is against their presence in Flores that the authority of the rajas is affirmed both in myth and in Sikkanese perceptions of history and contemporary politics. Boer attributes that power and authority to the immigrants who founded the royal house of Sikka, and his version of the myth thus affirms the division of secular and ritual authority between the immigrants, who became rajas, and the autochthons, who retained ritual authority over the land. Kondi, while beginning his version of the myth at the time of the arrival of the outsiders, reverses this relationship and traces the origin of Lepo Geté to the marriage of two autochthons. He thus inverts the crucial image through which the Sikkanese represent the origin of the rajadom. We might well ask why he presents its history in this way.

We are here in the realm of myth and not of historiography. While accepting the direct evidence that there are two versions of this episode in the origin myth of Sikka and inquiring what the difference between them might mean, we might also consider that Kondi made an error on this point in his narrative. As evidence in support of Boer's version, I can cite the fragments of Sikka's myth of origin that I recorded orally from informants during fieldwork in Sikka and Maumere. My informants emphasized in every case that the ancestors of the Rajas of Sikka and Lepo Geté go back to an alliance between indigenous peoples of Sikka, who retain ritual rights and responsibilities as *tana puʔang*, the 'sources of the land' of Sikka, while the union between the indigenous *tana puʔang* and the newcomers gave rise to the line of rajas, who had secular and political authority in the rajadom. There is one written source, in addition to the Boer notebook, that gives precisely the same version of the genealogies of the founders of Lepo Geté as Boer.⁵⁵ It is possible that Kondi simply made an error when he wrote that Sao, who founded Lepo Geté, was a descendant of the autochthons rather than of the immigrants.

Kondi's work is authoritative and accords in almost every other respect with what I know of Sikkanese myth from informants and other written sources. It is therefore puzzling that he should make an error in recounting this fundamental episode in Sikka's past. There is another possibility, how-

⁵⁵ This is M. Mandalangi Pareira (n.d.:112 ff.; see also Lewis 1996:162). Although Guru Mandalangi may have compiled his genealogies on the basis of his own knowledge, he lives next door to his son, who has the Boer and Kondi manuscripts in his possession, so that it is possible that Mandalangi consulted these papers when drawing up his genealogies.

ever, namely that Kondi was intentionally rewriting the mythic history of Sikka. While we may never be in a position to decide this question, we can note that Kondi wrote his 'Hikayat' as the rajadom of Sikka was coming to an end. Raja Thomas died in 1954 and the government of the newly independent Republic of Indonesia asserted its authority over Flores shortly afterwards. In the past, when Sikka was self-governing (albeit under the Dutch system of *zelfbestuur*, by which local petty states retained a degree of autonomy) and the rajas exercised authority, power was represented in myth as deriving from outside Sikka. From the time of the changes of the mid-1950s, power would both derive and be exercised from outside. It is possible that Kondi foresaw that future, to the extent that he appreciated the implications of this change of government for Sikkaneese autonomy, and thus sought in his writing to emphasize the autonomy Sikka had enjoyed for several centuries. If he was writing for a future audience of Sikkaneese, then his version of Sikka's past would serve to remind this audience of the past of their rajadom as an independent polity.

There were undoubtedly more ancestors before Moʔang Ria and Duʔa Soru Dédong, the autochthonous ancestors of the Rajas of Sikka. But their names are forgotten (or, at least, are absent from Kondi's and Boer's narratives, as well as from the oral accounts of the history of Sikka which I have collected since 1977). Why this is so can be explained quite simply: the rajas came about as a result of the impingement of outsiders on the autochthons of Sikka, so that it is reasonable, from the Sikkaneese point of view, to begin the royal genealogies with the first affinal alliance between natives and immigrants. The rajadom, and thus the culture and history of Sikka, was the consequence of the union between foreigners and natives – a recurring theme in the mythic history of the Sikkaneese rajadom and, in historical times, in the history of the co-evolution of the 'indigenous' polity (represented in myth as the result of the union between the alien and the indigenous) and the foreign Church.

Kondi and Boer both set out to trace the main contours of Sikkaneese society and culture. They did so by constructing narratives whose episodes account for the origins of what they saw as the main institutions of Sikkaneese society. They can thus be characterized as encyclopaedists, and their manuscripts can be regarded as encyclopaedias of Sikka.

An encyclopaedia requires an organizing principle. In encyclopaedias such as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and in dictionaries and thesauruses, that principle is alphabetization, which is applied to order entries (words in a dictionary, subject titles of articles in an encyclopaedia) in accordance with the conventional sequence of the letters that make up the Roman alphabet. The theme of the works of Kondi and Boer, by contrast, is origins and history, and the organizing principle they employ is chronology.

A chronology is an arrangement of events as a succession of occurrences in time. While the events that form a chronological sequence may in some cases be assigned dates, both Kondi and Boer recorded a myth of origin whose episodes cannot be dated. Rather than assigning dates to the events they recount, they associate events with persons. The relationships between those persons are ordered through genealogies, which specify relations of descent and alliance between groups. The events these authors recount are thus brought into a framework of ordered relationships, thereby creating a history.

In both works, the genealogy that provides the framework for the chronology is that of the people of Lepo Geté, the royal house of Sikka. In effect, Sikkanese culture begins with the foundation of Lepo Geté. Starting with Raé Raja, Rubang Sina, Ria, and Soru Dédong and ending with Raja Thomas da Silva, this genealogy encompasses nineteen generations. The genealogical framework is present in the work of both authors, but is most clearly apparent in Kondi's 'Hikayat', in which the beginnings of institutions such as those for the settlement of disputes, the rituals and sacrifices of the indigenous Sikkanese religion, bridewealth, the Church, education, and government are related to the lives of named ancestors and the reigns of particular rajas in the royal genealogy.

Equally important as an organizing principle in these encyclopaedias, but most apparent in Boer's notebook, is that which James J. Fox has given the name *topogeny*, which he defined as:

an ordered succession of place names. I see the recitation of a *topogeny* as analogous to the recitation of a *genealogy*. Both consist of an ordered succession of names that establish precedence in relation to a particular starting point – a point of origin. In the case of a *genealogy*, this is a succession of personal names; in the case of a *topogeny*, this is a succession of place names. [...] In eastern Indonesia, and among Austronesian-speaking populations in general, *topogenies* are as common as *genealogies*. Generally these *topogenies* assume the form of a journey: that of an ancestor, an origin group or an object. Often, however, it is difficult to distinguish place names from personal names and both cohere to form a combination of *genealogy* and *topogeny*. (Fox 1997:91)

Fox points out that succession can be established in only two ways, through time or through space:

Genealogy functions to establish a succession in time. *Topogeny* functions to establish a succession in space. *Genealogy* relies on personal names; *topogeny* on place names. In both, points of origin and termination are critical. *Topogenies* have the advantage that they may form cycles by returning to an initial point of departure. *Topogenies* can be retraced, relived, revisited. *Genealogy* may be more abstract but is often structured in a spatial mode – in Austronesian societies, in some form of botanic icon like an immense tree, a clump of bamboo, a twisting

vine. And the contours of these icons can be traced. For topogeny, it is the metaphor of the journey that is important. (Fox 1997:101)

In Boer's and Kondi's works, the origin and history of the Sikkanese rajadom are traced in time, through the genealogies of the rajas, and in space, through the succession of places through which the founding ancestors journeyed and to which they gave names when founding Lepo Geté. Subsequently, in the later chronicles, their journeys around the district on which they made alliances with local *negeri* are detailed, and thus the territorial expansion of the polity that became a rajadom is charted.⁵⁶ In both the accounts of Boer and Kondi, Sikkanese history and culture begin with the shipwreck of a small group of foreigners on the coast of Flores near Sikka Natar. They thereupon began a journey through a small part of Flores, giving names to places and marrying native Sikkanese. The first of these marriages constituted, for the Ata Sikka, a starting-point such as that which Fox mentions. In the later episodes of the myth⁵⁷, twelve generations after Raé Raja and Rubang Sina were shipwrecked at Wutun Ni?i, the strand on which Sikka Natar is built, one of their descendants, Mo?ang Baga Nang, captured Sikka Natar from the indigenous inhabitants, thereby setting the stage for his son, Don Alésu da Silva, to become Raja of Sikka. Thus the circle of the topogenic succession of the ancestors is closed here, with their descendants returning as conquerors to the place where these ancestors began.

The organizing principle that underlies these works by Sikkanese authors is time and space transformed into mythic history. The modes of expression of time and history in the narratives and in the stories they tell are genealogy and topogeny – that is, relatedness by descent and the movement of people who are initially strangers to one another through geographical space – and alliance, which results from the encounters of these people with one another and the intersection of genealogical descent and topogenic movement.

On this foundation, Kondi and Boer constructed encyclopaedic accounts of their polity and its society, economy, and religion, that is, encyclopaedias of their culture. The myth of origin of the rajadom of Sikka recorded by Boer and Kondi is a charter for the precedence of the Ata Sikka as rulers (see Lewis 1996 and Lewis forthcoming a). It is more than that, however. It is, in its narration and its political force, nothing less than the constitution of the Sikkanese state. For the Sikkanese, the encyclopaedic impulse is no less than

⁵⁶ See Lewis 1998b for examples drawn from Kondi of journeys of the royal ancestors around east central Flores on which they gave names to places and entered into alliances with local people.

⁵⁷ These later episodes are not dealt with here but are analysed in Lewis 1998b and Lewis forthcoming a.

the impulse to explain themselves and the way in which, from their diverse origins, they synthesized a single polity and culture.

NOTE

This essay was drafted during the second half of 1998, after attending the workshop on 'Encompassing Knowledge; Indigenous Encyclopedias in Indonesia in the 17th-20th Centuries' in Leiden and after a brief period of fieldwork in Maumere, Flores, from June to July 1998. The Leiden workshop was organized by Dr Bernard Arps, Professor of Javanese Linguistics and Literature at the University of Leiden, from 8 to 10 December 1997. I wish to thank Professor Arps for his invitation to attend the workshop and the European Science Foundation for assistance with travel from Australia to The Netherlands.

Some of the papers of the Leiden workshop will soon appear in a special issue of *BKI* edited by W. Derks and T. Day (*BKI* 155-3). The editors and I agreed that the present essay did not fit in well with the theme of this issue, and so it is published separately here. I hope, however, that it will provide a comparative case that will be of interest to my workshop colleagues.

I wish also to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Mr Oskar Pareira Mandalangi of Maumere, who made the documents cited here available to me in 1998.

This is the fourth in a series of papers on Sikkinese myth, history, and literacy. The three previous papers are Lewis 1998a, Lewis 1998b, and Lewis forthcoming a. A fifth paper (Lewis forthcoming b) treats the use of native texts as a source of ethnographic information. Mr James K. Houghton of the University of Melbourne served as my research assistant in Flores in June-July 1998. His able assistance made the early report of the research on the manuscripts of Mo'ang Alexius Boer Pareira in this essay possible.

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