Ikat from Timor and its outer islands: insular and interwoven

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3. DISTRIBUTION OF SHARED MOTIFS

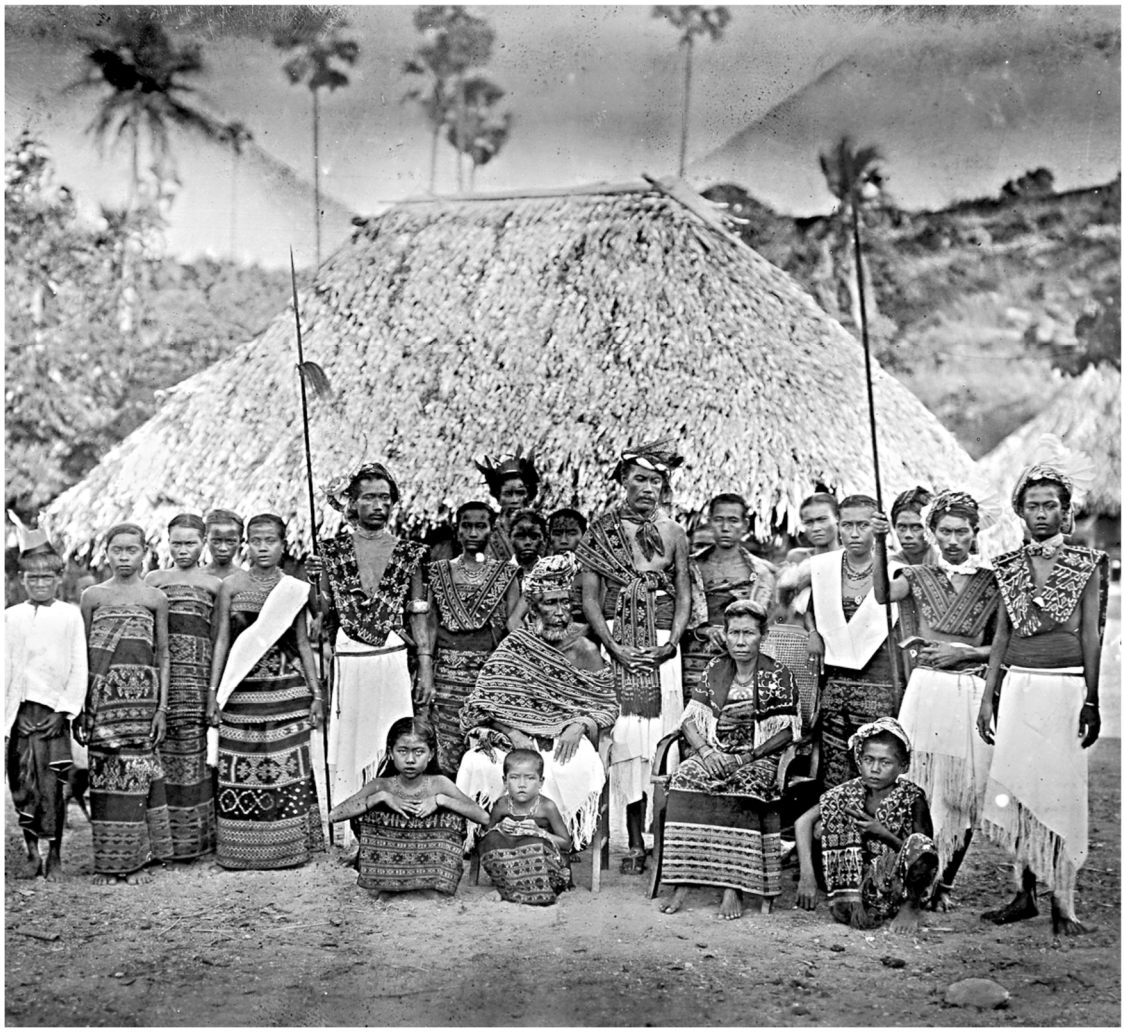

Fig. 48 A group portrait of an upper-class Savunese family, *in casu* that of the nobleman Ama Upa Riwu of Liaé. The adult men are wearing ikat shoulder cloths and a *hi'i spudi*, a plain white hip cloth. Spot the boy in a Rotinese *lafa*. Photographer unknown, around 1925. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-10006075 (cropped, lightly retouched).

With important exceptions, ikat textiles in the region under study were made in a local vernacular for local usage: primarily by the weaver or her immediate family, or by members of a family with which she would become connected through her own marriage or that of one of her daughters. "The work [ikating] is done by women to fulfil personal or customary requirement. Trading of weaving products outside their own society is still infrequent (Therik 1989:56)". In most regions – again, with exceptions – little weaving was made to be sold; where it was produced for the market, it was most often a regional market,

as patterns had a limited ability to travel, even to a neighbouring area.[1] While there has been a lively trade across the Indonesian archipelago in Buginese silk ikat sarongs for centuries and ikat from Luang was brought to market across the eastern archipelago, it would be quite eccentric for a gentleman from Suai (East Timor) to wear a shoulder cloth from Marobo, a mere 30 km away on the same part of the island. Most would probably consider it an unthinkable abomination, for "to the Timorese […] local textiles are clear indications of the area of one's birth and one's traditional allegiance" (Gittinger 1979:175).

Indeed, in old photographs we rarely see people in ikat not made in the style of their region. There is one such photo though, taken in Savu, probably in the 1950s (see above, Fig. 48). It portrays a noble family with everyone present in their finest *ei* and *hi'i* – except for one boy in a Rotinese *lafa* – of a type suitable for commoners. Was he visiting distant relatives, or sent to school on Savu? Was he adopted, and kept using wraps in the Rotinese style as an emblem of his descent? Or was he wearing a cloth that had reached Savu in the context of an exchange?

Except in the few weaving centres where ikat was produced specifically for the trade, ikat weaving was a core part of the culture. In many regions its social role was vital both for individuals and the community in the truest sense of the word. The quality of the ikat produced or worn largely defined one's individual status (Khan Majlis 1984:111), hence this person's options and quality of life; and even a hundred years ago communities were so keen to preserve their unique identifiers that cultural appropriation was condemned even more fiercely (Jasper & Pirngadie 1912:274) than it is nowadays.

Nusantara would not be quite so interesting without remarkable exceptions. For instance, the women of the tiny island of Ternate (Solor & Alor Archipelago) produced ikat sarongs specifically for use by other, though related, ethnic groups (Wellfelt 2007:6), mainly other Alurese on neighbouring Alor and Pantar. The Kédang people on Lembata used *only* cloth made by others. Ikat bridewealth sarongs are essential in their culture, as it is in all the Lamaholot territory surrounding them, but there was a taboo on weaving. It is now fading, but was rigorously enforced until the end of World War II. So, the Kédang would have sarongs made by weavers in the coastal village of Kalikur, peopled by Muslim immigrants for whom these textiles are essentially meaningless, or (when better endowed) by weavers from Ili Ape, a little further away, which has a strong bridewealth culture and a repertoire of powerful Lembatan motifs. Odder still is that, in Ili Ape and the rest of Lembata, a bridewealth sarong must be predominantly morinda red, *méan,* the colour of dried blood, whereas in Kédang the midfield must be done in indigo (Barnes 1984:196).

The Kédang case is an exception that confirms the rule: you weave in your own visual language for people who understand it. However hard collectors and curators try, they may never completely understand these idioms, but for well over a century cholars have been studying ravenously – and sharing what they know.

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[1] A notable exception are cloths made for the *kain timur* trade with the western part of New Guinea, where the patterning was irrelevant, and the prime determinants of value were origin on distant islands and age.

3.1 EMBLEMS OF IDENTITY AND CONNECTION

A thrilling aspect of Indonesian ikat textiles is: they speak to us in visual idioms and "often can be read like historical texts, which, in conventional form, are for the most part absent in Indonesia" (Holmgren & Spertus 1989:23). Nearly every motif stands for something: it may indicate clan allegiance, represent a totem plant or animal, signify status, invoke spirits, celebrate the link with ancestors, provide protection from evil, ensure safe passage to the netherworld, or signal a stage in the life of the weaver.

An excellent mentor on the reading of visual languages on Timor is the French researcher Pierre Dugard.[1] His numerous visits to western Timor over the years have yielded a multi-faceted record of loom types, motifs and practices. He refers to the Timorese's "instinctual habit of prompt 'reading', quick as they are to retain visually, to isolate from the decoration of a cloth the overall form of a motif and reply to a first level of identification (2019:51)". This first level is rapidly followed by a deeper analysis which provides "historical, geographic, familial and hierarchic identifiers". An ikat textile thus educates the informed as to the appropriate behaviour vis-à-vis its wearer.

> A Timorese man does not behave in the same fashion when dealing with friend or foe, neighbour or foreigner, a higher or a lesser-ranked man. His options of responses run from hostility and reserve to deference and hospitality, along a finely graded scale. Which response he considers suitable is dictated by the cloth worn by the other. The entirety of the data inscribed in his garment, which are read in an instant, dictate precisely what social behaviours to adopt. If we deliberately use the term 'reading', it is because the cloth serves as a kind of informative 'document', with the content transcribed into motifs, plain or complex, yet almost immediately apprehensible by its users. [...] It should be borne in mind, however, that Timorese motifs do not make up some sort of ideographic or hieroglyphic system, but must rather be read as a code akin to that of our old coats of arms (Dugard 2018:48).

Even though such visual codes have been studied for nearly a century, and from the mid-1970s on by dozens of experts, we are nowhere near understanding them all – or knowing about all, probably. A range of factors perpetuates the mysteries. Limiting the discussion to those the present author is aware of results in the following aspects:

a. Secrecy and shame. The most important factor limiting our understanding of the symbolic content of ikat textiles may be the unwillingness on the part of weavers to reveal the meaning of what is, in most cases, considered taboo or at least secret, not to be shared with people outside the in-group – least of all with foreigners. In certain cases, weavers appear to have provided intentional misinformation. The most extreme case, outside the region under study, but illustrative, comprises that of the Iban of Sarawak. Traude Gavin (2003:239) was informed that the dramatic human figures on the Iban blankets, *pua,* had no

[1] Pierre Dugard contributed to the 2019-2020 exhibition "Timor: Totems e Tokens/Timor: Totems and Tokens" held at the Museu do Oriente (Lisbon) which the author guest-curated, and to its eponymous catalogue.

deeper meaning and were merely decorative, and that the weaver's ambition was limited to "decoration of a flat surface without leaving empty spaces, rather than to representational depiction" (*ibid.*:242). In contrast to what Gavin learned, Michael Heppell was told that "The spiritual concern is that empty spaces might well get occupied by some extra-terrestrial presence ill disposed to the weaver (Heppell *et al.* 2006:60)". He undergirds his belief in the meaningfulness of Ibanic motifs with a quote from an Iban informant named Inggai: "absolutely every motif in a cloth had meaning (*ibid.*:64)". Holmgren and Spertus, whose well-documented field-collected textiles enriched the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and who wrote about ikat in a poetic scholarly style, stated prosaically that "They are not capriciously patterned or merely decorative (1989:13)". The art dealer and connoisseur Steven G. Alpert, who spent a great deal of time in Sarawak and was initiated as an Iban, believes an attempt was made to throw Gavin off the trail to the truth: "Iban are very respectful, so if you have come from afar, they reward you for your effort by giving you some of the information that you ask for, but they will hold back the essence, which is sacred and secret".[1]

An additional reason for holding back information may be conversion to monotheism and its attendant shame about traditional notions and values:

> From an analysis of my sample of *juluk* [names for Iban textile designs] it is quite clear that they are related to Iban religious beliefs, especially those surrounding the taking of heads. As modernization has proceeded since the 1950s, headhunting has come to be regarded by some as a primitive custom of the past. […] Not only the introduction of modern education, but also Christianity appears to have restricted people's willingness to talk freely about weaving and its relationship with traditional religion (Hasegawa 2014:202).

b. Discrepancy between name and meaning

Attempting to determine the meaning of a motif is an exercise fraught with multiple challenges, uncertainty of outcome, and a great risk of error.

> It is a truism that art communicates, but what does it communicate? Here the philosophers and historians, and indeed all students of art, seem to become evasive, trivial, or unintelligible, and no doubt I shall be the same, yet this is the question, which must be attempted (Forge 1979:283).

Frequently there is a discrepancy, or simply no apparent connection, between the name of a motif and its meaning – which again may differ from what it appears to represent. The 'lizard' motif of Tanimbar and Babar looks more like a squid chasing a jellyfish, and is almost identical to a motif identified as representing a human, which it does actually resemble, if one accepts the extra pair of legs (van Vuuren 2009, Fig. 99, p. 128; *ibid.,* Fig. 144, p. 141). The name of a motif does not actually mean all that much (*ibid.*:121). This may be a moot point, as the significance of ikat as such is diminishing so rapidly: "Owing to the loss of the old rites connected to adat, religion, headhunting, etc., the motifs are

[1] Steven Alpert, pers. comm., 2017 (as quoted in ten Hoopen 2018:93).

losing more and more or their mythical substance to the people of today" (*ibid.*).

Sometimes the lack of likeness is intentional. A weaver from Ende (Flores), a predominantly Muslim region, may be keen to use a horse, *jara*, motif on a ceremonial sarong because horses, which are expensive to maintain, traditionally express wealth. But they must not look too much like a horse, as the region is predominantly Muslim, and Islam forbids the depiction of living beings. Whenever the weaver wears the horse sarong to a funeral, she must wear it upside down to further obfuscate what is actually depicted (Khan Majlis 1991a:185).

c. Invention of meaning. Yet another obstacle to our understanding of what ikat motifs stand for is the tendency to make up for non-remembrance of the meaning attributed by previous generations by inventing a new one – particularly when queried – or by *hineininterpretieren* (Jager Gerlings 1952:106): attributing to a foreign motif a 'ready-made' connotation from one's own cultural setting. An illuminating example is the 'triangle-with-projections' (see Section 3.4.5 'The triangle-with-projections'): a V-shaped motif that most likely represents the rigging of a boat, and in the whale-hunting village Lamalera (Lembata) is turned upside down and taken to represent a cross section of the hull of the local whale hunters' *prahu*.

d. Collective amnesia. From the early 1900s onward, much information on motifs failed to survive the – initially gradual but after World War II fast accelerating – erosion of the chain of knowledge transfer across the generations:

> No investigator of Timorese culture can fail to ascertain the overall excellent memory created by its oral tradition, which shows great depth and consistence. The greater is the investigator's shock when one day it must be concluded that memory of something assumed to be important, such as the meaning of a motif, is simply absent. Although a small number of images, such as a few representations of 'ancestors' or 'crocodiles' (even if both examples are on occasion difficult to identify, even by the Timorese themselves), might appear to testify to the survival of ancient myths, the meaning of a much larger number seems to have faded into collective oblivion (Dugard 2019:49).

e. Reduction and abstraction. A motif may be reduced to just one part of its actual shape, or subjected to an extreme degree of abstraction. On Timor, for instance, crocodiles are often rendered in a way – with extremely elongated limbs, or two heads instead of one head and a tail – which can hardly be classed as figuration (see PC 244, PC 324). Another prime example is the Timorese *kaif* or *ma'kaif,* a diamond-shaped lozenge consisting of nested rhombs decorated with tiny hooks. This motif, which some authors regard as influenced by Dongson motifs (e.g. Yeager & Jacobson 2002:58), is a diagrammatic representation of the individual's connectedness and harmony with her community, a concept which implicitly embraces the ancestors (Bennett 1998:44). "Our informers are united on this explanation: whether distributed singly across the cloth or intertwined and proliferating infinitely, the *kaif* are a graphic representation of community (Dugard 2013:9) [translation PtH]".

f. Rudimentation and creation. A number of motifs, travelling through the archipelago on the winds that drove the men's *prahu*, underwent rudimentation. At their place of apparent origin they were clearly delineated. On the next island over, the representation might be sketchier. On a third island yet a little further away, the basic outline is still recognizable, but the detail is ill-defined or partly takes on other forms. Then, on a fourth island, the motif that began its journey clearly delineated may end up like a filler between other more articulated visual elements. On the other hand, fillers may also take on the shape of a motif from somewhere else that fills more or less the same space. This phenomenon is further investigated in Section 3.4.4 'The Double-headed eagle'.

There is no proof that conceptual content, 'meaning' (associations, ranking, symbolic charge, etc.), was always or even in most cases merged along with the motif but it does seem likely – be it in full or equally rudimented as the visual, reduced to a mere sense of something powerful, protective or vaguely positive.

Many other motifs are immediately clear, even to the uninitiated. In East Sumba, on the outer fringe of the studied area, men's blankets, *hinggi*, are typically pictorial, using imagery from daily life such as naked male figures with or without penis inserts (piercings), skull trees (denuded trees or large branches planted on the village square serving to display headhunting trophies), and a menagerie of animals: deer, horses, chickens (the slaughter of which is essential in most ceremonies) respectively roosters (the beloved protagonists of cockfights), cockatoos, prawns, snakes, monkeys and lions – the latter a symbol of power copied from Dutch heraldry (Jager Gerlings 1952:107) seen, for instance, on old coins.

On Timor and in the South Moluccas animals are depicted for various reasons, not all of them known, but in part because they represent power or are seen as proto-ancestors. H.G. Schulte Nordholt in his oft-cited *The Political System of the Atoni of Timor* writes: "[E]ach clan has its own myths of origin with which the myth of the origin of its totem animal or plant is connected (1971:443)". Elsewhere he mentions: "[…] the extremely strong bond between the Atoni and his totem. This totem is associated with the origin of his clan, and the connected taboos (*nuni*) daily remind him of this bond (*ibid.*:342)". One of these taboos is archetypal and encountered in numerous regions: the totem animal may not be killed and must be excluded from the menu (*ibid.*:116).

Salt water crocodiles (*Crocodylus porosus*) are far and away the most popular of those proto-ancestors. This poses a practical problem because in most of the studied area crocodiles live in close proximity to people, and constitute a serious risk (Kaiser 2009:13), which has remained understudied as a result of the animal's veneration. According to a traditional story, if a crocodile is killed in self-defence it must be buried as if it were a human being (Schulte Nordholt 1971:294). If properly venerated, these reptiles in turn will not kill or eat any human beings. Should someone be attacked by a crocodile, this merely

proves that he or she must have violated the taboo and disrespected the totemic species.[1]

Crocodiles are often highly stylised, to the point of being nearly unrecognisable, but does not to diminish the motif's symbolic charge. Other animals can be indicators of place. For example, a Timorese gentleman wearing a blanket with angular white jungle fowl against an indigo background must hail from Insana.

Fig. 49 Stylised crocodile on a men's wrap, *beti,* probably late colonial, from Insana (West Timor). Similar renderings of this motif are found across Biboki and Manulea. *Source:* PC 095.

On Sumba, small omega-like shapes called *mamuli* represent a type of gold earring that also symbolises the female reproductive organ, more specifically the vulva, and is a highly desired part of any bridewealth. Also, not immediately apparent is that the pattern most used in Kodi (West Sumba), a reticulated netting, represents python skin; although once this has been pointed out, it is impossible not to see it.

Above and beyond these specific connotations any ikat textile in the most general sense is a status atttribute, ranked in proportion to the complexity of its creation as it obliges the weaver to set apart a large part of her time and energy for its production – and before that to spend years developing the requisite skills. The following conclusion regarding Sumba applies to all or nearly all of the region under study:

> There is a reciprocal relationship between class and wealth, between rank and textiles. The production and possession of decorated textiles are prerogatives of class and therefore serve as indices of rank (Adams 1969:90). [2]

Training to become a weaver requires that a daughter be kept away from the fields for countless hours, entailing a lack of income only the better-situated families can afford, so the production of ikat in the family is itself meritorious.

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[1] Another practical problem is that the concept of proto-ancestors from the animal kingdom makes a differentiation between anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures problematic. The present author does not presume to arch the dichotomy by the invention of a neologism, just to exhort other researchers to continue to make this issue explicit, particularly with regard to Timor.

[2] Adams does not specify 'decorated', but is evidently not speaking of factory-made prints.

3.2 MOTIVES FOR ADOPTING 'FOREIGN' MOTIFS

Why would a weaver, normally expected to conform to a (more or less strictly adhered to) repertoire of regional motifs, decide to adopt the patterns of someone else, somewhere else? The three most powerful inducements may be differentiated as follows:

1. Admiration, aesthetic preference. Weavers spontaneously adopt motifs they like. The most widely known example of the adoption process is the emulation of *patola*, about which much has been written elsewhere (e.g. Guy 1998, 1989; Maxwell 2003a, 2003b)) which does not need to be reiterated here – although we shall have to add one specific type of *patola* to the overview of emulated patterns. But, equally significant, if we take stock of the motifs used in the region under study, we encounter several without *patola* pedigree that appear to have travelled. Motifs that are quite popular on one island and are also seen, although more rarely, on one or more other islands.

In certain cases, the correspondence may result from a formerly wide distribution of the motif, and its disappearance everywhere but on a few islands. However, if the drawing of the motif is much less refined than on the island where it is seen most often, if it is incomplete, or marked by less able rendering[1], in all likelihood the motif was seen, appreciated and adopted at a more remote place with lower technical standards.

There have been indications that ikat from Minahasa in northern Sulawesi inspired ikat from the eastern archipelago. Van Vuuren provides a wide-ranging overview (2001:91-115) of the distribution of ikat from the Philippines via Borneo to the Moluccas, based on a combination of oral history and detailed design analysis, and specifically pointed to corrrespondences between Minahasa motifs and those of Babar and Leti (*ibid.*:109). Duggan (2005) takes up this thread, but relies mostly on oral history and a comparison of loom types. As her motif comparison was based on just five specimens hence necessarily sketchy, it did not inform this investigation, which a) takes its cues from the textiles' materiality, not their history, oral or other, and b) has a broad foundation, being based on design-technical comparison of 8 different motifs encountered on 107 specimens across 22 different islands. The investigation yielded that no less than 5 of the 8 studied motifs appear to be emulations of ikat from Minahasa or of ikat from Tanah Toraja in central Sulawesi, which itself is likely to have emulated ikat from Minahasa, and may have served as a way station in the distribution of motifs.

The reason why Minahasa textiles are seen as having inspired the occurrances elsewhere instead of the reverse, is that the Minahasa examples are earlier, in some cases by several centuries. A crucial finding is that in most of the 'Minahasa' motifs' occurrances,

[1] As is the case, for instance, with the human figure on the Babar sarong in the collection of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° RV-1157-8.

they are in the company of at least one of the four others. This points to the existence of a common vernacular of Minahasa-emulatations. It is likely that an important part of their attraction as examples to emulate – apart from fine design and exemplary execution – was that they were 'foreign', hence carried a connotation of power, in this case presumably reinforced by having arrived in the region under study as gifts from powerful courts such as those from Ternate, Tidore and Bacan off the coast of Halmahera.

It may never be known what inspired the magnificent early Minahasa ikat, some of it centenarian, but foreign inspiration must be reckoned with, at least as a possibility. All manner of luxury merchandise flowed through the courts of nearby Halmahera's wealthy off-shore sultanates Ternate, Tidore and Bacan. Apart from silk and chintz stoles and shawls from China and India (including *patola*) these may also have included carpets from Persia and the Turco-Mongol deserts beyond southern China. Certitude regarding these potential early sources is likely to elude us, but the visual analysis made during this investigation appears to prove beyond reasonable doubt that Minahasa's repertoire of motifs execution served as a model to most of the region under study.

2. Assimilation. A bride from island A who comes to live with the groom's family on island B, might find it expedient to adopt style elements from island B in order to favourably impress her new family, particularly her mother-in-law. A fine example is a Kisar sarong (PC 276) described by Khan Majlis in her *Woven Messages* (1991: Fig. 312). If published in black and white, we would have no hesitation to ascribe it to Kisar, similar as it is to sarongs of undisputed Kisarese origin, such as PC 138. But when we see it in colour, the first thought is: Luang. That prominent presence of indigo set off by bright red commercial yarn is so common on Luang it serves practically as a hallmark. Why would a weaver on Luang make such a cloth? Why would one on Kisar do so? In all likelihood a weaver who grew up on Kisar went over to Luang, and in order to fit in, adopted the local palette. The reverse is less likely, as the patterns are quite complicated and for a Luangese weaver would represent a serious challenge. Van Vuuren (2001:118) explains that while a bride was normally expected to adopt the style of her new family, when the patterns she grew up with were to her in-laws' taste, these could be copied – although not exactly, but in a personal interpretation, leading to the kind of syncretisation seen in the example from Kisar discussed by Khan Majlis.

A similar case, even more enigmatic, is that of a men's blanket in the style of Semau and Amarasi (PC 162, see Fig. 51). It is composed of a plain white central panel flanked on either side by ikated panels. The latter are decorated with bird motifs familiar from Rotinese sarongs, inspired by Dutch needlework pattern that missionaries' wives arranged to be sent to the islands in order to wean the women off their 'heathen' motifs full of secret significance. Most likely it was created by a Rotinese bride who settled on Semau or in an Amarasi region on Timor. The reverse is also possible but, again, adoption of lay-out and palette is easier than the adoption of complex patterning. In any case, clearly an effort was made to produce a textile fitting an environment other than the one the weaver grew up in.

But these are blatant examples. Many more subtle adaptations were probably made that we do not even notice, because they do not constitute such an obvious break with established tradition.

3. Pleasing customers or beneficiaries abroad

While most ikat cloth was made for use within the weaver's own family, descent group, village or region, in several communities such as Sikka and Lio (Flores), Lamalera, Ili Ape and Kalikur (Lembata), Luang and parts of Timor, ikat was also made for sale – usually, but not always, of a quality unsuitable for ceremonial use. A remarkable deviation from this pattern form the bridewealth sarongs of the non-weaving Kédang people (Lembata), produced in the aforementioned Ili Ape, a Lamaholot village, and in Kalikur, peopled by Muslim immigrants. The former provided Kédang women with exuberant ikat sarongs enriched with glossy accent stripes in brightly coloured silk (e.g. PC 309). In Kalikur, the weavers appear to have struggled to attain the same level of magnificence (see, for instance, PC 025, one of several similar specimens encountered over the years). Many of the ikat works of the Kalikur weavers lack the highly subjective quality of 'presence' – a quality which is non-empirical, yet becomes palpable and 'real' when the cloth is handled or brought to auction. Perhaps the Muslim weavers' hearts weren't into ikating for the Lamaholot people from Kédang.

There are strong indications that both Ili Ape and Kalikur also produced ikated skeins for the *adat* sarongs of the nobility of Adonara. All seven antique *adat* sarongs of the Adonarese nobility which are known to be extant (two of these in Group A and one in Group C of the Reference Set) carry motifs that are also encountered on Lembata. The motifs decorating PC 284 (see Fig. 52) are so similar to those on the abovementioned Kédang sarong PC 309, made in Ili Ape, that it must have been created not just in the same village, but in the same kin group, perhaps by the same weaver or her daughter. The chief remaining question is if this entire Adonara sarong was produced in Ili Ape, or just the ikated skeins carrying the main motifs – which could have been assembled on Adonara with locally produced skeins carrying secondary motifs and fillers.

Women on other islands in the region, e.g. Sermata, occasionally also ordered in (ten Hoopen 2018:474, citing van Vuuren, pers. comm., 2016). Evidently, they wanted textiles that fit into their local vernacular, so they specified certain motifs. Customisation could be

quite detailed, *vide* the finely ikated shawls which the Kisarese mestizos[1] appear to have produced for Florinese gentry (see ten Hoopen 2018:463, PC 170): the same type of elongated *tumpal* as on the old *semba* of Ende; warp ends turned into fringes by tying little bundles of them together as in nearby Lio; the *jilamprang*, dominant in Ende, Ndona and Lio and common in Sikka, cut in half lengthwise as on Ndao (Fox in Gittinger, ed., 1980:50).

Manufacturing ikat 'on spec', with no particular customer in mind, was common on both Ndao and on Luang, the only islands in the region under study where producing ikat for export was a well-established commercial activity. As Riedel (1886:319) observed, women on Luang produced a stock of ikat sarongs for the men to take out on their yearly treks to other islands. They would sell these on local markets, e.g. on the Babars and the Tanimbars, or in western New Guinea (Gittinger 1979:25).[2]

The weavers of Ndao produced many ikats specifically for use on neighbouring Roti and in the Rotinese style, which in some respects is fundamentally different from their own. Rotinese men's wraps are symmetric, whereas the Ndaoese own wraps, like those from Savu, have an uneven number of ikated bands (Fox in Gittinger *et al.*, eds., 1979:48) and are asymmetric. In the past such an adaptation must have constituted an uncomfortable submission to the ordering party's preferences. In these days, when much (probably most) 'Rotinese' ikat is routinely made on Ndao, little cultural tension is likely to be felt anymore.

But Ndaoese weavers produced ikat not just for use on Roti. They also ikated for the wider region, creating merchandise that the Ndaose men, itinerant goldsmiths, would take along when sailing to other islands and bartered for the rice that would get the family back home through the upcoming hunger season (Taylor & Aragon 1991:23). These Ndaose weavers of the 19th and early 20th century no doubt would incorporate any motif they were

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[1] While the term 'mestizo' is currently seen as pejorative by some, no negative connotation is meant in this word, which simply means 'mixed', and since Rodenwaldt's 1927 publication entitled *Die Mestizen auf Kisar [De Mestiezen op Kisar]* became so ubiquitous in the literature on the eastern Indonesian archipelago that its continued use seems preferable to euphemistic constructions such as 'people of mixed ethnicity'. The mestizos, after the Portuguese *mestiços*, were a large, often assertive and aspirational group spread over the entire region under study, typically people with high self-esteem and a sense of superiority. Waardenburg (1928:700-701) reports: "Since more than 150 years ago the children of these soldiers have been elevated from their humiliating position, with the result that these bastard children began to consider themselves superior to the natives and arranged marriages among themselves, so that nowadays a small 'mestizo' populace of around 300 souls lives among the 6000 inhabitants." The mestizos of the region under study are often collectively called Topasses, or Larantuqueiros, after the town of Larantuka on Flores where many hailed from. They were so powerful that they defeated the Dutch on several occasions, including the 1657 battle of Mollo (West Timor) in which many Dutch were slain: "a few Dutchmen saved themselves by fleeing" (Andaya 2010:412).

[2] Commercial activity was just one part of the Luang ikat 'scene' – also in the sense of performance, *sensu* Goffman (1959). Part of the ikat Luangese weavers made for themselves was distinctly high-end (see PC 272, Fig. 261; PC 091, Fig. 71), with finely stylized figures, meticulous execution and, particularly in the latter, an unabashed display of virtuosity, suggesting a high level of ambition, a hunger for precedence; either that or pure genius, seeking a way to manifest itself. The pictorial strip was drawn with an easy-looking fluidity, more elegantly than typically found on earlier Luang sarongs, and with such confidence of line that it must have had quite an impact on the life of the weaver.

capable of in order to please their customers. Perhaps the confrontation with Ndaoese men's cloths inspired the Kisarese mestizos to make their archaic style ikat shawls asymmetric, like those of Ndao – whereas asymmetry is not used by the two 'original' communities on Kisar, the Meher and Oirata people; nor is it common on any islands near Kisar.

Only the mestizos of Kisar could be ascertained to have produced ikat – the cloths of very high quality refered to above made for export to Flores and perhaps to other islands as well. But mestizos from elsewhere, typically active traders, are likely to have contributed to the distribution of motifs across the eastern archipelago, and may have left their own mark on design as well. There is an intriguing correspondence between Kisar, where the mestizos produced shawls with subtle but striking asymmetry (e.g. PC 200, Fig. 202 and PC 308, Fig. 213), and Oecusse, the former Portuguese colony on the northwest coast of Timor, where we also encounter asymmetric ikat (e.g. PC 169, PC 256 and PC 292, Fig. 204). Its main port and capital, Pante Macassar, was a lively trading post since time immemorial, and a powerful base of the Topasses. In Oecusse we encounter asymmetry markedly more often than in the culturally related Atoni lands of West Timor which surround it. Perhaps preference for asymmetric construction of men's wraps was a shared design fundamental of the mestizos in the region. If so, the asymmetric design of the widely traded Ndaoese men's wraps, strikingly different from the designs of the established communities among whom the mestizos had to survive (and to which they had no right) may well have been adopted as a connecting token.

Yet another reason to adopt a motif from outside the local vernacular arose on those occasions when gifts for nobles abroad needed to be procured. Apparently in such cases the weavers would produce an ikat largely along the lines of their own concept of a high-ranking cloth, but incorporate decorative elements and techniques from the receiving culture or from another culture that they felt would be appreciated and associated with high rank. There are not many such hybrids, but they invariably exude sophistication and distinction (e.g. PC 267, PC 268), making clear that such syncretisation was a product of of the courts, not of the common people.

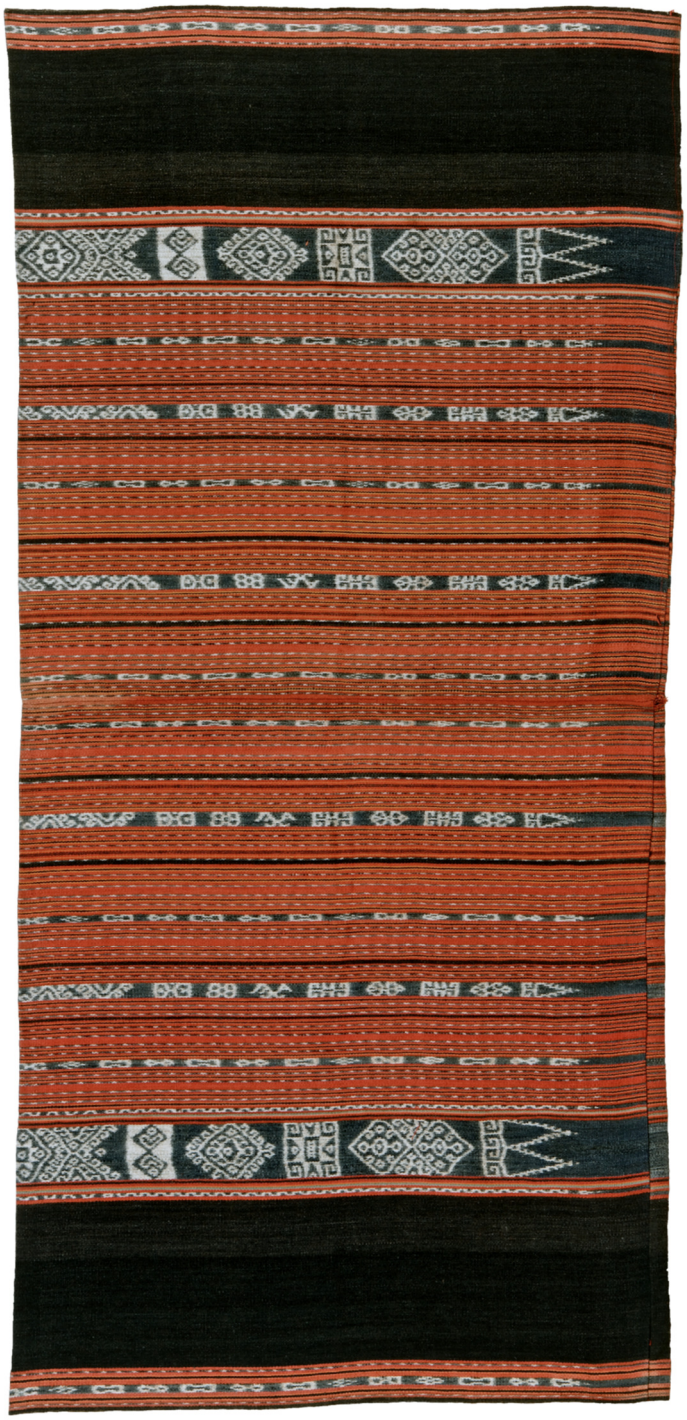

Fig. 50 Example of palette adoption, respectively motif adoption from Kisar or Luang.

Origin: Tentatively ascribed to Kisar, but the palette is that of Luang.
Period: Late colonial.
Yarn: Cotton, hand-spun, medium - plus accent stripes in trade thread.
Panels: 2.
Size: 71 x 149 cm (2' 3" x 4' 10").

Design: Classic Kisarese design, but in the colour palette of Luang. On Kisar this would be called a *homnon* and on Luang a *lawar* or *lavre*.

Comment: This hybrid manifestation of Moluccan art is best described by Khan Majlis (1991:321): "The question concerning the origins of this sarong cannot be answered with any certainty. The distribution of the narrow and broader warp and ikat stripes on the sarong is usual for both Kisar and Luang. The same is true of the set of motifs. The very large tumpal shapes, with the clearly-defined feet may be an indication of Kisar on the one hand, but the ikat coloration, namely dark blue, is on the other hand more likely to be found on Luang." This cloth is very similar to the early 20th-century PC 138, except that the palette has been switched for that from Luang. It has all the gravitas of a ceremonial sarong, but conforms to the predominant expression of neither island. Ex-collection J.B. Lüth.

Literature: Khan Majlis 1991a: Fig. 312. Cf. a sarong with similar motifs PC 273.

Source: PC 276.

Fig. 51 Example of format adoption, respectively motif adoption, from Semau or West Timor.

Origin: Most likely the off-shore island of Semau or the Kupang region (Western Timor).
Period: Circa 1950.
Yarn: Cotton, hand-spun, plus pinstripes in commercial cotton.
Panels: 3.
Size: 117 x 165 cm (3' 10" x 5' 4").

Design: Three panel men's wrap with unusual design: white centre field and two wide bands with doves in flight in white on dark morinda red background. The overall lay-out and the colour arrangement are typical for Semau, and Helong cloths in general, and for Amarasi cloths. The meandering patterns and the bird motif, however, strongly resemble those found on a number of Rotinese *lafa*. The bird motif was most likely inspired by old Dutch needlepoint patterns, an influence often seen in Sikka, Savu and Roti cloths, but not at all among the Helong.

Comment: This highly unusual specimen is illustrative of the region's interculturality. The overall design is similar to that of men's blankets from Timor's Amarasi region and from that of the offshore island of Semau, but deviates from both traditions. It was probably made by a creative weaver of Rotinese origin (many Rotinese and Savunese live on Semau and in the Kupang region of Timor) for an Amarasi or Helong husband. Rotinese women often married men from nearby islands. Notwithstanding the fairly coarse hand spun yarn, the cloth has a pleasantly soft feel.

Literature: No truly similar cloth was encountered. Cf. Khan Majlis 1991a: Fig. 250 and PC 186.

Source: PC 162.

Below, detail of a Helong blanket from Semau (PC 186).

Below, detail of a Roti sarong, Susi Johnston collection.

3.3 WHOSE PATTERN IS IT ANYWAY?

When encountering ikat textiles in the style of one island, but clearly made elsewhere, to which locale or people should it be attributed: the island or region where it was made, or to the one where it was used? This question overarches a terrain much larger than our region under study, so it would be welcome if we could arrive at a generalized approach to the issue. Right now, we encounter[1] multiple infractions against the allocation rule proposed in this chapter as suitable for universal adoption. When attempting to formulate a rule, it is necessary to distinguish three types of practice, with diverse degrees of cultural impact, to wit, (a) high involvement and a stable source; (b) low involvement and a commercial source; and (c) high involvement and an indifferent source.

Type A: high involvement and a stable source

In the best-known cases of cultural internalisation of ikat textiles made elsewhere, the cloths in question were not trivial, not just apparel, but rather the opposite: they played a crucial role in the adopting culture and were (a) specifically imported for use in ceremonies, simultaneously supporting the performance of a pious persona and the emanation of power and (b) typically sourced from weavers in one specific locale (or at most two), who served as suppliers by appointment since time immemorial.

Type A included royal gifts exchanged between the islands. Typically done in an amalgam of styles, they were designed based on an inference of what the recipient would find beautiful and honorific. The aim, presumably, was to contribute to the receiving house's splendour, but also to bring up the region of origin.[2] Such gifts of course never failed to include design elements signalling high class in its land of origin, ideally noticeable from afar. Within the region under study, Type A is represented by the rare (five known) Adonara *adat* sarongs which were almost certainly made elsewhere, or ikated elsewhere for local assembly. On the basis of stylistic correspondences, it would be hard to come to another conclusion than that they were made in Ili Ape (Lembata) or, less likely given its more distant location, on the islet of Ternate off Alor. Should they be labelled Lembata, respectively Ternate?

If unambiguous labeling is required (as it is in most databases), a strong case can be built for attribution to the locus of practice – especially when the practice has become deeply embedded in the culture of the absorbing community, and the textile was imbued with local context and meaning. On this ground the present author concurs with Leontine Visser (1989:81):

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[1] Two specimens from the collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, to wit N° TM-2481-40 and N° TM-2481-38, are useful examples. Both show up in searches for 'leti kain timur', but under 'Origin' Leti is not mentioned in their descriptions – nor is Kisar for that matter. URL: https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/, accessed 28-4-2020.

[2] We cannot say 'reveal' as the signals can be so mixed as to thwart any confident attribution.

> The pattern and colour of textiles should be interpreted primarily in the context of the culture in which they are used, whether this is their culture of origin or the society into which the cloths may have been imported.

These textiles taken from another culture were not chosen at random but deliberately, "to fit the value system of the receiving culture" (*ibid*).

Fig. 52 Detail of a late 19th-to early 20th-century *adat* sarong from Adonara, most likely custom made in the village of Ili Ape (Lembata) for an Adonarese royal family. It may also have been assembled on Adonara with ikated warp imported as ready-to-weave skeins produced in Ili Ape or (less likely, on account of the quality of the ikat) on Ternate. *Source:* PC 284.

This imposition of design values by the ordering party is a crucial criterion because indeed it is the receiving culture that shapes the cloths. The only pattern that could be presumed to do well on 19th- and early 20th-century Adonara would be one fitting the taste of the local nobles, who imposed their preferences, their culture, on the cloths they ordered abroad. Hence, in all cases of Type A practice, reason dictates shifting the attribution from the producing region to the region of use; the region where it has the most impressive, consequential agency.

Type B: low involvement and a commercial source

A few groups in the area under study which did not produce ikat, or not at a level of quality that sufficed for use as finery, would buy textiles made abroad to serve as apparel, typically the near-abroad: the next island over or a neighbouring region, although occasionally trades took place over substantial distances. Ancient trade networks in the eastern archipelago

have connected the islands since pre-historic times (Andaya 1991:71-75), while more recently developed trade links, specifically those between Dutch and Portuguese mestizos on different islands (ten Hoopen 2018: 463, 505) appear to have played a more significant role in the distribution of motifs and asymmetry than is currently known, and represent promising material for further investigation.[1]

A good example of Type B in the region under study is the type of high quality ikat shawls found on Flores (see PC 170), that neither Vatter nor Hamilton could confidently place. Vatter thought it might be Lamaholot; Barnes speculated it might be Sikka; Hamilton showed photographs around on the island, but found no one who recognized the style. Thanks to an antique engraving (see Riedel 1886: Plate XXXIX, p. 405) it could be attributed it to Kisarese mestizos who, in the 19th century, apparently made these luxury textiles for the trade with Flores (ten Hoopen 2018:463, 464). It has several design features recalling those seen on ikat shawls from the Ende and Lio regions, and appears to have been made with the preferences of the clientele firmly in mind.

Costly as they must have been, these now extremely rare textiles (three known specimens extant) must have played a powerful role as status enhancer for Florinese gentlemen of grand status, but no record suggests they played a prominent part in the culture of the Ende or Lio regions, their agency likely limited to the sartorial realm. Hence no shift of attribution is called for. So, although Hamilton (1994: Fig. 2-22) presents a specimen dated 'before 1887' in his book on the textiles of Flores – unquestioningly, as this is where it was found, with no indication that it might have come from elsewhere – we can now attribute it to Kisar, where it was made for the export trade in luxury goods.

Type C: high involvement and an indifferent source

In one case, a region where no ikat was made, to wit New Guinea's Bird's Head Peninsula, ikat cloths, in this context called *kain timur*, were and to an extent still are imported (ten Hoopen 2018:449, 489). Held in the highest esteem, they are vital both as status markers and as currency for use in ritual transactions, but as long as the *kain timur* were ikated, where exactly they came from did not much matter as long as they had interesting patterns and some age (Timmer 2011:388). *Kain timur* always remained quintessentially foreign – in fact this appears to have been their major attraction – so no transfer of attribution is called for; they remained what they were, cloths from Flores and Timor, Babar and Luang,

[1] Not yet investigated, for instance, is the use of asymmetry on Kisar in men's cloths following the archaic style (e.g. PC 200, Fig. 202), presumably made by the island's small community of mestizos, and the preference for asymmetry in the Portuguese semi-exclave of Oecusse (western East Timor) – this on an island where symmetry is the norm nearly everywhere. An interesting cue is that much of the trade in Pante Macassar, as elsewhere on the northern coast of Timor, is run by so-called 'black Portuguese' or Topasses (Andaya 2010:391, *passim*), mixed-blood descendants of mainly Portuguese but also Dutch colonials, notably a Dutch family named Horney. Not yet investigated, too, is what prompted Kisarese mestizos to produce very refined, by now extremely rare, cloths in a style incorporating elements of the styles of the Ende and Lio regions of Flores (e.g. PC 170), both located near Larantuka, where Topasses, a.k.a. Larantuqueiros (Andaya 2010:399) shared trading clout with the Dominicans (*ibid.*).

untransformed.

Another case in this category is presented by PC 354 which first attracted attention on an internet channel where is was described as a Savunese sarong. Most experts would question this identification as it does not look like any known type of Savunese sarong, and might recognize it as as sarong from Babar (or perhaps nearby Sermata, which had many Babarese immigrants over the centuries) on the basis of its motifs, which are very similar to those on the early PC 109 and other Babar sarongs with established provenance. But PC 354 also has an odd W-stitch near the vertical seam. Such W-stitches are used on faraway Savu (and Savu only, where it is referred to as *bunga wurumada*) to indicate that a proper ceremony was held for the cutting of the warp and the sewing together of the two panels to create a sarong. Querying the original Savunese owners yielded that the sarong had come to Savu circa 1950 in the context of a wedding. Clearly, then, it came along with a Babarese or Sermatan bride with its warp uncut, hence perfectly suitable for use as bridewealth, and then was turned into a sarong on Savu with a proper ceremony and the signature Savunese stitch. This however, did not turn it into a Savunese cloth. It remained a Babar sarong, just with an odd Savunese touch. The same would have applied to cloth brought to Savu this way from any other island.

3.4 MOTIFS SHARED ACROSS THE REGION UNDER STUDY

While it is always tempting to try to identify a common origin of certain motifs, such a temptation must be treated with great reservation, especially when pertaining to the Indonesian archipelago. Here waves of large-scale migrations, various empires of different longevity and span have left their marks on the culture of the islands that they dominated, and a high degree of interculturality has resulted from inter-island trade, bride-taking, and slaving.

Even with such reservations firmly in place, five of the eight motifs investigated in this study could be traced back to a common origin with a fair degree of certitude. In a few cases clusters of locales could be identified the connections between which are either patent or can be infered from commercial relations or shared immaterial qualities. Examples of the latter are shared cosmology and myths of origin, such as found on the Southwesterly Islands; and shared social positions e.g. between the mixed-blood descendents of the colonial powers found on several islands. These were were typically landless, as they fell outside traditional inheritance rules, and had to fend for themselves as best they could, driving many into trading.

3.4.1 LINKED HEXAGONS

Fig. 53 Linked hexagons on cloth for a sarong dated 1880 to early 1900s made on Sermata, collected including the loom, in the British Museum, N° As1907 0727.11. This is one of very few examples of ikat from the island. The only other published examples encountered are a cloth worn by a man from Sermata in de Jonge & van Dijk (1995:111) and four specimens in ten Hoopen (2018), two of which were photographed in the field by de Jonge.

On a few islands in the eastern archipelago we encounter bands with linked hexagons as their main ikated motif. The pattern is very striking, has a lovely rhythm and is immediately recognizable. It seems very probable that its 'original' manifestation hailed from Minahasa, the northern tip of Sulawesi, because of all the examples we have, those from Minahasa are by far the oldest. The extremely refined ikat cloths from this region[1], clearly served as the model adopted by weavers on several islands in the eastern archipelago, as indicated on the

[1] An example of similarly high quality ikat attributed to Poso (central Sulawesi) may well be a *kain* Bentenan that found its way inland (Barnes & Hunt Kahlenberg 2010:254-255). Another example is in the Tillman collection, currently held in the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen in Leiden, N°. TM-1772-1141 (see van Hout 2017:Fig. 193).

map below (Fig. 60). Such cloths are often called *kain* Bentenan, after the tiny port[1] from which they were exported.

The *kain* Bentenan found their way into the archipelago through the courts of Ternate, Tidore and Bacan, small islands off the west coast of Halmahera at the same latitude as Bentenan, 150 nm (270 km) across the Molucca Sea. These stylish power centres jointly had the whole eastern archipelago in their grip many centuries before the Portuguese and the Dutch came sailing over and reduced all of it to vasallage – as they themselves would be reduced to vassalage by the Dutch in 1605 (Lobato 1995:13). Every island strongman was 'protected', by one of these sea-roving sultanates, as long as he paid tribute. The most appreciated vassals were of course honoured with princely presents – including, it appears, fine ikat from Bentenan. As everywhere, the top of the pyramid was very narrow: only a few superb Bentenan cloths have survived, some of the finest in the Yale University Art Gallery. One of the less superb examples (see Fig. 54, below) is interesting nonetheless as a carrier of the linked hexagon motif.

Jasper & Pirngadie (1912:271-272) underline the high status of such cloths:

> In Graafland's work: "the Minahassa" [1898], it is mentioned that the kains Bèntenan were used to cover the seats of the great and of priests. A chair, furnished with such a cloth, was a sign of the owner's wealth. The kain Bèntenan could actually only be worn by she who could weave it and as the adat insisted that before commencing the weaving an expensive feast had to be organized, naturally only persons of high esteem were in the possession of such a cloth, which occasionally also was presented as bridewealth [translation PtH].

To weavers in the east of the archipelago such cloths most have been seen as almost heavenly gifts, coming as they did from the exalted sultan overseas. The attribute 'foreign' here was already status-enhancing in itself; moreover, it was associated with the sultanic court's splendour. Another reason to hold such cloths in esteem was: the women would know what tribute had been exacted from her island, her particular region, her people. These cloths represented symbolic value in the island region's culture, linked as they were with bloodshed, submission, tribute payments and the granting of trade advantages. Such gifts – as Marcel Mauss (1925) would have predicted – while suggesting generosity on the sultan's part were in fact tokens signalling the acceptance of the receiving party's submission to the giver. Such cloths were highly charged with value and meaning; and it is only natural that their most striking elements were copied into locally produced ikat. First in the court of the chief where the cloth was received, later perhaps also on neighbouring islands, gradually acquiring a life of its own in the region, most likely with an enduring

[1] Duggan (2014:71) writes: "Little is known about the island of Bentenan which is so small that it does not appear on many maps." This isle does appear on the map of Provinsi Sulawesi Utara prepared by Badan Koordinasi Survei dan Permetaan Nasional in 2005, but, as Google Earth shows, is clearly uninhabited. Other authors speak of Bentenan as being either a fishing village or a small port in northern Sulawesi, which conforms with topographic reality: it lies about 50 km to the southeast of Bentenan island. The discrepancy is mentioned here in order to prevent it from being copied and copied again. For the earliest occurrence of *kain* Bentenan encountered, see Gervers (1977:13).

association of power and high class.

If the cloths from Bentenan indeed served as examples for weavers of the studied area, the next question becomes how those weavers in Sulawesi from centuries ago came up with the idea to create their complex motifs. This is fertile terrain, which appears to have been lying fallow, perhaps too uninviting for research due to the extreme dearth of extant examples, matched by the dearth of specifics of the textile trade in insular Southeast Asia at the time of the Hindu Majapahit and Vijaynagara Empires.

Wherever the linked hexagons are used, certain specimens in which the interstices between the hexagons would seem to be filled in with rudimentary versions of the double-headed eagle motif, with its two wings making a nice fit between the hexagons. The reduction to elementary tracing in high-contrast cloth produces a curly X-shape that can be clearly recognized on some examples, barely on others. Because examples are known of several degrees of the figurative element's rudimentation – the whole range from unmistakable to so vague one would not think of eagles if one had not seen the more clearly drawn type before – in nearly all cases we can identify it with confidence.

However, because of the human tendendency to create meaning where it is absent or felt to be absent (Gombrich [1960] 1977:154), the way we see human faces or galloping horses in clouds, it is thinkable that an opposite scenario ran in parallel. Perhaps Bentenan weavers used meaningless fillers between their hexagons that weavers on islands with pictorial style ikat, such as Kisar and Luang, recognized as similar in outline, hence adopted and gave a new interpretation. As the cloths from Kisar did get around, in all likelihood weavers on other islands began using them too.

It is typical for the interculturality of the region under study that on the basis of the distribution of motifs we may have to conclude that while one transmutation happened, its inverse happened as well, at roughly the same time.

Fig. 54 Linked hexagons on a 19th-century *sarung panamakis* from Minahasa (northern Sulawesi). Ikat cloths from this region were highly esteemed in the sultanates of Ternate and Tidore, and apparently, found their way to other islands in the eastern archipelago. In comparison with the high end of ikat from Minahasa this specimen has poorly defined drawing and may well have been made with the less sophisticated target audience residing on small remote islands in mind. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-48-15.

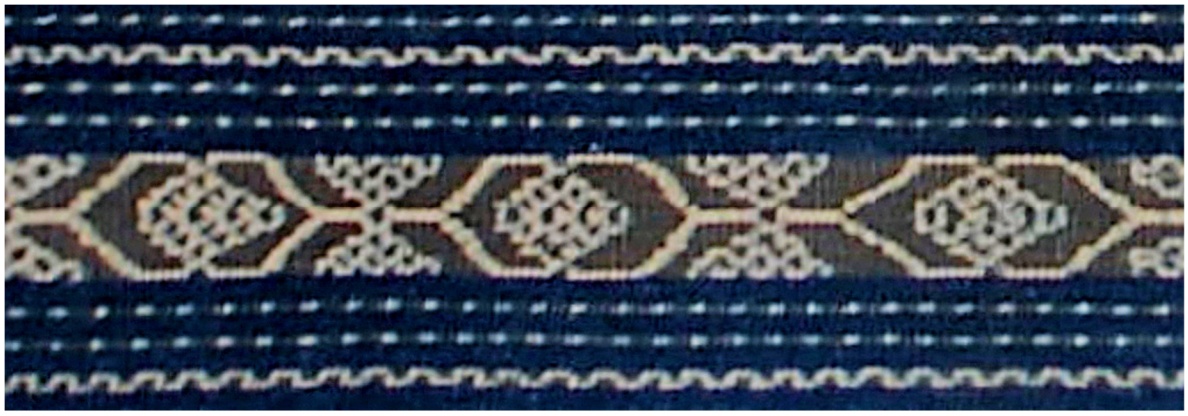

Fig. 55 Linked hexagons on a men's cloth, *tais api den*, mid-20th-century, from Marobo (East Timor), made by Kemak speaking people. The hourglass shape in between the hexagons may have been derived from the double-eagle pattern, or from a bastardized version no longer recognizable as such. Alternatively, it may have invited creative reshaping by converting the triangular shapes into outspread wings and talons. Depicted in Hamilton & Barrkman (2014:Fig. 9.12). *Source:* Timor Aid, N° TA0119.

Fig. 56 Linked hexagons on an undated, probably 19th-century or very early 20th-century sarong from Tanimbar. The material appears to be lontar[1], palm leaf fibre, rather than cotton. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° RV-3600-3883.

Fig. 57 Linked hexagons on an early 20th-century cloth for sarong made on Sermata. *Source:* British Museum, N° As1907 0727.11.

[1] Lontar is leaf fibre from the lontar palm, *Borassus flabellifer*, the subject of Fox's classic 1977 study *Harvest of the Palm*, *Ecological Change in Eastern Indonesia,* which showed how each and every part of the palm was utilized, to the extent that the life of the palm harvesting communities could be said to depend on it entirely. Fox mentioned use of the leaf fibre for "durable burlap-like clothing" (1977:26). On some islands, in the 19th century most ikat was done on lontar. On Tanimbar, after the switch to cotton, lontar remained so revered as the venerated material of antiquity, that women would occasionally smoke their cotton sarongs to give white areas the yellowish tinge of lontar (van Vuuren 2009:34). See also PC 261.

Fig. 58 Linked hexagons on a sarong from the Belu region (West Timor) made in Kampung Uarau, Desa Mandeu, *Malaka* Timur, 1930-1940. *Source:* Collection Pierre Dugard, N° 1267-3.

Fig. 59 Linked hexagons on a pre-1929 Kisar sarong. The hexagons are here accompanied by, to their left, the X-shape that may represent a double-eagle, an eight-pointed star, a small diamond-shaped motif (*kaif*), and an unknown motif, and to its right base-mounted *tumpal* motifs. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-556-127.

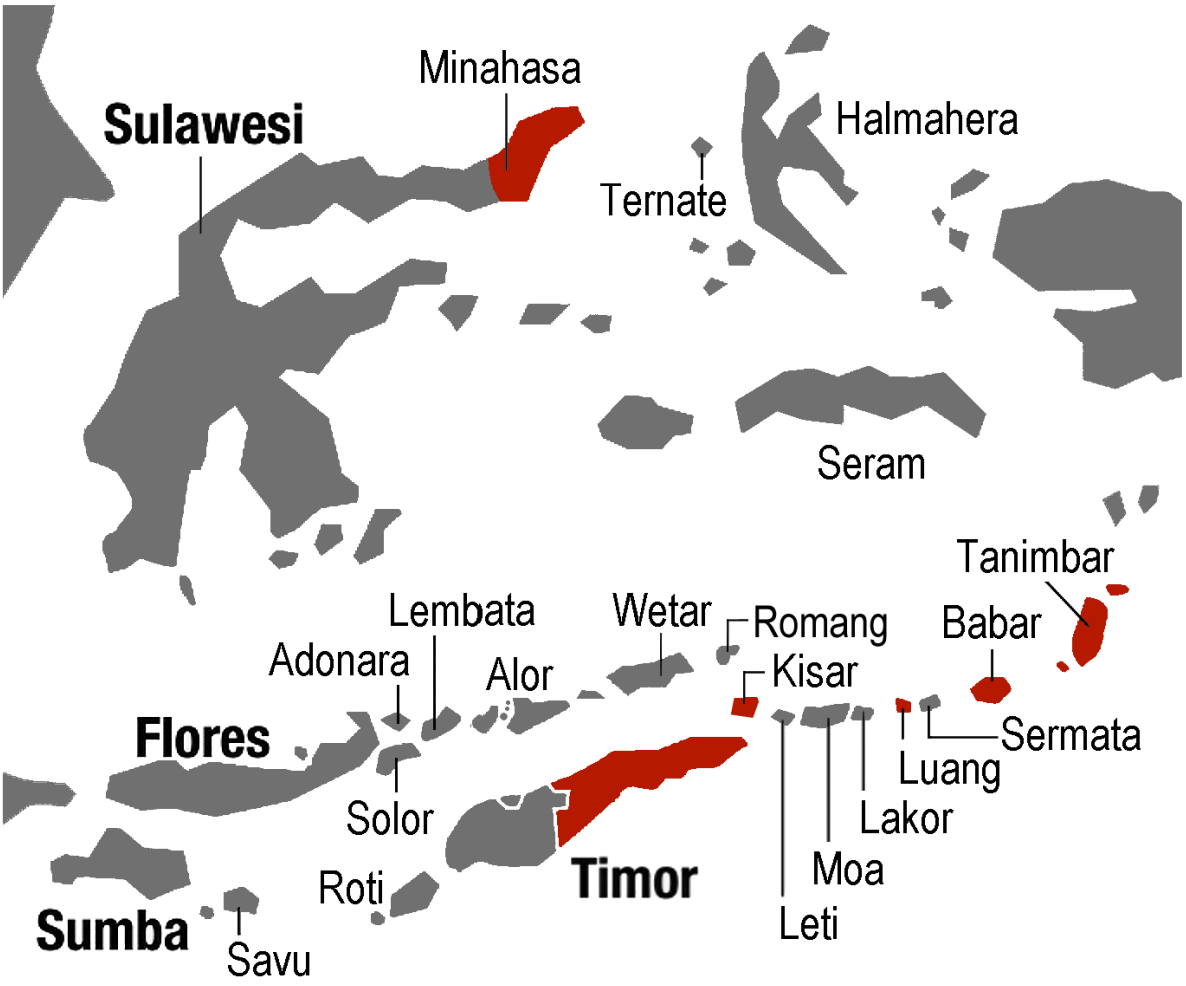

Fig. 60 Distribution of the motif consisting of two or more linked hexagons. While the distribution of this is relatively wide, it is also shallow: only a small number of occurrences was encountered. It is more common in the Babar archipelago than anywhere else.

Summing up, the linked hexagon motif appears to have originated in Minahasa (northern Sulawesi), as this is where the earliest extant examples were made. The map (see Fig. 60) should probably show a few more islands where the motif was used, for on some we encounter strings of more rounded lozenges that may well have been inspired by the hexagonal original from Bentenan or, more likely, by a copy of a copy made on one or another island.

It should be stressed that while the distribution of the linked-hexagram motif has a fairly large span, with presence on six islands, it is by no means common. The number of examples in published collections that the present author encountered does not exceed ten.

3.4.2 THE PICTORIAL STRIP, *RIMANU*

Fig. 61 Cloth for a Kisarese sarong (warp uncut) in pictorial style, *rimanu* motif, early 20th-century. Note the chickens, *manu*, and the human figures with raised hands, the most widely distributed element of the pictorial style, which, as is argued below (see section 3.4.3) may represent a dancer. Note the similarity between this cloth and PC 281, and the presence of the breast beam motif in the secondary ikated bands. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° RV-2992-1.

Spectacularly expressive is the pictorial strip found in the extreme east of East Timor around Tutuala (Lautém district). This region is inhabited by people speaking Fataluku, a Papuan language. It also occurs, in different but clearly related forms, in a scatter of islands to the east of Timor where it has similar class associations (although class distinctions diminish as we go further east) and a similar role as a mnemonic device that records the islanders' myth of origin. The most common motifs are boats with triple bow and stern extensions called *sorsorlol* such as are still found in the South Moluccas; horses with riders; fowl; human figures in what is often called 'orant' position (e.g. Forshee 2001:113; Kahlenberg 1977:41; Holmgren & Spertus 1989:42)[1] though they may equally well represent dancing (see Section 3.4.3); and boxed-in eight-pointed stars called *kota lama*, 'old town' that in Tutuala are taken to represent to a Dutch fort on Kisar. A single, but

[1] 'Orant' is derived from Latin *orans*, praying. While the present author has also employed this term (ten Hoopen 2018: 287, 459, 497, 539), on reflection its use in an ethnographic context is best avoided, as it is interpretative rather than descriptive – hence potentially erroneous when not supported by evidence that the the interpretation is apposite. Its use with reference to imagery from cultures where raising hands heavenward is not a common component of prayer, is a textbook example of the problem. In this work 'orant human figure' is substituted by the merely descriptive 'human figure with upraised hands'.

significant example was found to the west of Lautém, in Ainaru (see Fig. 66), a fertile region in southwestern East Timor.

According to the people of Lautém these pictorial strips were inspired by rock drawings found near Tutuala at a few sites in the hills – Ili Kére Kére (meaning 'rock writing'), Sunta Leo, Lene Kici and Lene Cece – which were studied in-depth (Lape *et al.* 2007) albeit not in relationship to ikat. Local community elder Henrique da Cruz interpreted the rock drawings as relating the origin of the first peoples of the region, who arrived in the Tutuala area by boat after being forced to leave their homelands overseas because of fire and flooding. Here, at these rocky sites, the different *ratus*, descent groups, gathered to decide how to share the land and start a new life (Dunphy *et al*. 2015:6). One of the boats, the very large one at Lene Cece, has the *sorsorlol* bow extension (de Jonge & van Dijk 1995:33) also seen on ikat from Kisar such as PC 103 (see Fig. 64) and PC 275 (see Fig. 69, 95), there always in combination with a stern extension.

Based on evidence found during this investigation, there can be little doubt that the rock drawings of Ili Kére Kére were inspired by Dongson bronzes of a rare type. One Dongson bronze in particular, the 4000-4500 year old Dào Thinh *situla*, drum, which the present author inspected in the Vietnam National Museum of History (see Fig. 65), carries motifs so similar to the boat drawing of Sunta Leo that they surprised and delighted Lape[1]. The drum is decorated with a wide frieze showing a well-crewed river boat (to pre-empt hypothesizing: not a type that could ever have made a voyage to eastern Timor), all crew members wearing towering headdresses or raising aloft objects of an unidentified, probably sacral nature. Whatever these objects were originally meant to represent, we should not exclude the possibility that the people of Tutuala thought they were *katana¸* machetes. This view is buttressed by the almost violent *schwung* with which way they were replicated on the rocks. It is also reinforced by the realisation that the people of Tutuala, whose history, as some of the last speakers of a Papuan language in an overwhelmingly Austronesian zone, lay in a region where raiding was rampant since time immemorial.

The pictorial style was used, and partly still is, from Ainaru in southwestern East Timor, through the eastern tip of Timor via Kisar, Romang, Luang and, as Khan Majlis (1984: Figs. 558, 559) respectively van Vuuren (2001:64, Fig. 43) report, also on Babar and even as far east as Tanimbar. On specimens found on Babar, Tanimbar and West Timor only the human figure with upraised hands makes an appearance. This may mark it as an individual motif that made its way into the pictorial strip at some point in time; yet may equally mark it as its most fundamental, most appealing, most enduring element. Visual cues analyzed below (see Section 3.4.3) suggests that it may be a rudimented or stylistically reinvented version of the dancers in the borders of Pan Bhat *patola*.

[1] Peter V. Lape, pers. comm., 2019.

Fig. 62 Rock drawing on the Sunta Leo site near Tutuala in the Lautém District (East Timor). Of the circa 12 drawings of boats from the Tutuala area, this is the only one with a scene that appears martial. It suggests that the ancestors did not expect to be welcome when they landed on these shores. The men not rowing or steering appear to hold up huge *canatas*, machetes, presumably in preparation of a raid on a coastal settlement. Photograph by Sue O'Connor.

Fig. 63 Rock drawing at the Ili Kére Kére site near Tutuala in the Lautém District (East Timor). It depicts a large boat with a bow extension of a type still in use in the South Moluccas, where it is named sorsorlol. Photograph by Sue O'Connor.

Fig. 64 Boat with a triple bow and stern extensions, sorsorlol, on an early 20th-century sarong from Kisar. In such motifs on ikat from Kisar and Luang we always see a single crew member, standing mid-ship, with raised hands. Source: PC 103.

Fig. 65 A Dongson bronze drum or *situla*, in casu the Dào Thinh *situla* now in the Vietnam National Museum of History (Hanoi), and dated around 2500-2000 BCE. Given the close similarity of the motifs, there appears to be little room for doubt that a drum of this type inspired the Sunta Loe rock drawings. The Dào Thinh *situla* was declared a National Treasure in 2012. Orifice diameter 61 cm, h. 98 cm. Photograph by the present author.

The best known and most widely collected representative of the pictorial style is the *rimanu* pattern, used by Kisar's Oirata-speaking people, who arrived on the island's shores in 1728 (Rodenwaldt 1927:26[1]) and were grudgingly allowed residence by the Dutch two years later. Oirata, a Papuan language in the Trans-New Guinea family Oirata-Makasai, is a close relative to Fataluku, now on the brink of extinction. The pictorial strips found on Luang, Romang and Tanimbar are more akin to those from Kisar than to those from Lautém, so it is likely that the pictorial style arrived there by emulation of Kisarese ikat rather than of that of the 'mother' style from Lospalos.

The one known example from Romang and the two from Tanimbar described in the literature are potentially spurious, in the sense that while they were obtained respectively photographed on the said islands, they may have been made elsewhere or by people from elsewhere. The cloth van Vuuren shows is of mediocre quality for Luang standards, so an import is unlikely, but it could well have been made in a *kampung* Luang on Yamdena or one of the other islands, in one of the *kampung* Romang on Yamdema which van Vuuren mentions. Either that or it was simply a representative of an indigenous style in the Tanimbar repertoire, just not very well executed.

[1] According to Rodenwaldt, who gives ample specifics, this landing took place in 1728, not in 1721, as Riedel (1886:403) erroneously states, which others henceforth quoted. Nico de Jonge, pers. comm., 2017.

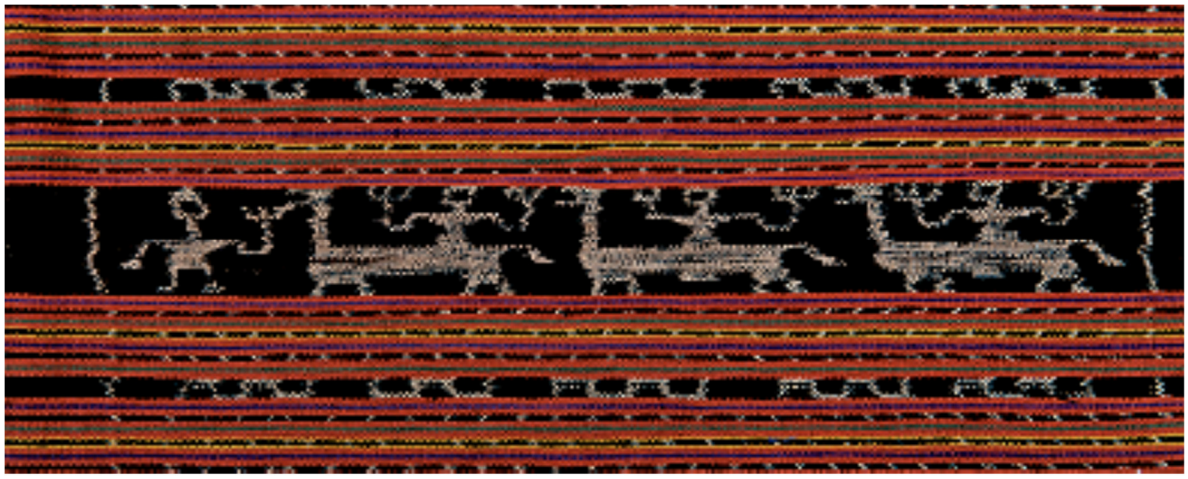

Fig. 66 Example of the pictorial strip from Ainaru (East Timor), the most westerly occurrence of this motif. Ainaru (southwestern East Timor) is peopled mostly by speakers of Mambai, a language belonging to the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) family. The next two regions to the east where this motif is found converse in languages belonging to the Papuan family: Tutuala in Lautém, which is Fataluku-speaking, and Kisar, which has an Oirata-speaking populace. Note the similarity with the horse riders as used on Luang (see PC 272, Fig. 261, and PC 091, Fig. 71), but also the dissimilarity: this is the only instance where the riders are accompanied by horse grooms. *Source:* Detail of a textile in the collection of the Fundação Oriente (Lisbon), N° FO1727.

Apart from the two Tanimbarese examples mentioned in the literature, three other specimens were encountered. The present author in 2011 photographed an indistinctly drawn but indubitably Tanimbarese example: an antique sarong with sewed-on nassa shells as additional decoration in the collection of the Balinese dealer Daeng Alexander. In 2013 he was offered as Tanimbarese a magnificent shawl with decoration in pictorial style by the also Bali-based dealer Uky Sulkifli, who hails from Timor and over the years has proved a reliable informant on Moluccan ikat. His example had narrow bands of very precise ikat, unlikely to have been achieved in a community of emigrants living precariously in a coastal settlement on one of the Tanimbars, but the drawing style strongly resembled that on Luang sarongs like PC 091 (see Fig. 71) and PC 272 (see Fig. 261), which left open the question if his cloth must be considered a representative of an established Tanimbarese pattern, or was imported from Luang or custom made there.

But in 2021 a key specimen could be added to the Reference Set: the clearly drawn early 20th century shawl PC 367, which, as van Vuuren concluded on stylistic and technical grounds – the drawing clarity and the presence of other motifs known from Tanimbar – was almost certainly made in the island group.[1] The present author accepts this as confirmation that the pictorial style was at one time part of the Tanimbar repertoire. Supporting evidence was found in an example executed not in ikat but in supplementary weft, included in this study because of the sheer paucity of specimens: it does help to show that the pictorial style

[1] Marianne van Vuuren, pers. comm., 2021.

style was used this far east from what must be considered its 'heartland' – Timor's Lautém and Kisar. Given the advanced age of the encountered examples we may also conclude that the pattern expired on Tanimbar early in the 20th century, whereas it stayed alive on nearby Luang and Kisar for at least half a century longer.

The specimen acquired on Romang (PC 271) by the legendary field-collector-*cum*-dealer Verra Darwiko, who bought a boat and went on a long buying spree in the eastern islands, may have been made on the island itself by an indigenous weaver, or have been imported from Luang. The latter scenario meshes with Luang's long history of ikat weaving on commission and for export to other islands. On the other hand, van Vuuren notes that the people residing at a few villages on Yamdena, the largest of the Tanimbar Islands, converse in a language no one else understands and that they are reported to have come from Romang. This may explain the presence of the pictorial style on Tanimbar and at once confirm its use on Romang.[1]

The combination of a dearth of examples with outstanding ikat in some specimens is intriguing. The most likely scenario appears to be that the pictorial style developed into a regional vernacular that fanned out east as far as Tanimbar, having become indigenous there after introduction by traders and immigrants from Luang and Romang, although never popular. The pattern may have had a merely marginal role on Tanimbar, always regarded as somewhat foreign. Or instead it may have been (as on Luang) reserved for an elite, which the refined rendering in Uky Sulkifli's shawl and PC 367 suggests.

An open question is: which gender do the human figures with raised hands of this region represent? The depiction of the figures however gives no indication whatever. In fact it could be said to be sexless. However, given that the human figures are often shown riding a horse (standing on it) or standing upright in the middle of a boat, we may rather safely assume it to be male, setting it well apart from the other types of stand-alone human figures in the studied area (see Section 3.4.3 'The Human figure, stand-alone').

What constitutes a *rimanu*?

Both the Meher and the Oirata-speaking Kisarese are almost aggressively reticent to reveal anything regarding the origin and meaning of their ikat motifs.[2] As a result, there is a bewildering confusion as to what *rimanu* actually refers to. Jasper & Pirngadie appear to have been the first to mention it (1912:274).

De Jonge and van Dijk (1995:133), referring to Jasper & Pirngadie 1912: Plate 26, where it is shown as the central motif in a series, interpret the caption "Patroon: rimanoe" as applying to the eight-pointed star only, although a stand-alone depiction of the eight-pointed star in the same work is described simply as "Kissersch patroon" (Jasper & Pirngadie 1912: Fig. 237).

[1] Marianne van Vuuren, pers. comm., 2017.
[2] Aone van Engelenhoven, pers. comm., 2017.

Maxwell, also referring to Jasper & Pirngadie, appears to use it in a similarly narrow sense, but due to ambiguous wording may in fact equally well be applying it to the entire strip of pictorial motifs:

> The major bands of warp ikat on this length of cloth contain motifs representing the domestic fowl, as well as human figures and schematic star motifs. These motifs are known generally as *rimanu* in this region [..]" (2003:100).

Van Dijk contradicts the earlier description published partly under her name:

> The name *rimanu* points to the Meher people of Kisar and to the meaning of 'person' (*ri*) and 'bird' (*manu*), especially the (red) cock or (red) parrot. These birds, together with the octagonal star and a human figure, form the *rimanu* motif, which belongs to a lineage in the village of Wonreli (2010:356).

This description meshes with information that the Fataluku (Lautém, Timor) call the eight-pointed star motif, *kota lama* ('old town'), and say that it represents the place of arrival after war and flight.[1] Kota Lama is the local name for the small Dutch Delfshaven fortress on Kisar, near Wonreli village. Kota Lama long served as the last mental fallback of the Kisar mestizos, while the colonial forces who created this class by propagation drew anchor and the community disintegrated over time.

Khan Majlis (1991:320), in reference to a cloth now in the Physical Database (PC 281), states that "the broad ikat band in rust red and ecru contains the *rimanu* pattern, which was reserved for the aristocracy" thus seeming to take the name to apply to the entire strip of motifs.

All in all we may well have to concur with Khan Majlis's 1991 and van Dijk's 2010 position on linguistic grounds: the word *rimanu* does not even refer to a human figure, but rather to animals. Yet a human figure with upraised hands – in the present's author's analysis likely an emulation of a female dancer depicted on ancient *patola* of the Pan Bhat design (see Section 3.4.3) – is the most widely shared of all *rimanu* pictorial components. Significantly, of all the various motifs in the pictorial repertoire, the dancing figure is the sole one to occur solo, suggesting that she is the central, most important element.

One would expect a loaned image to become charged with local meaning – but this does not necessarily imply a fundamental change. The South Moluccan islands where the pictorial strip is prominent may be separated out as "a regional field of anthropological study" (van Dijk & de Jonge:1990:4): the region with *porka* or *po'ora* festivals as shared core cultural practices; which neatly coincides with the area where the pictorial strip is encountered. Said fertility rituals (on Luang held every seven years) involved elements such as headhunting, raiding by boat, promiscuous freedom for the unmarried (de Jong & van Dijk 1995:66, 67) and "dancing on the beach, to the accompaniment of drums, which lasted for months" (van Dijk & de Jonge 1990:12). Perhaps the dancing figure seen on the imported, hence important *patola,* resonated in the region and became symbolic of these

[1] Aone van Engelenhoven, pers. comm., 2016.

islands' core cultural practices, in which (a) dancing was central, and (b) related to fertility, though accents differed from island to island. On Marsela (Babar Archipelago), for instance, war dancing by men alternated with the women's dancing (*ibid.*: 15-17).

Remarkably, the ensemble of dance's associations on Luang (Sermata Islands) largely coincides with the associations that dancing girls had and still have in the land of origin of *patola,* as harbingers of fertility, including the association with rain. "Asking for rain is central to the song sung during the dance (*ibid.*:8-15)". The celebration of India's springtime festival Vasant (or Basant) Panchami, associated with fertility and gaiety, calls for dancing by exhilarated women throwing their hands in the air. For that reason, dancing women (typically depicted whirling, with a long skirt flaring so widely at the bottom as to look triangular), are among the most common motifs in Indian miniatures, and it is no surprise to find them iconized in the Pan Bhat *patola*'s borders. So if indeed the *rimanu* figures with raised hands were derived from this type of *patola,* just the rendering changed, not the content.

Fig. 67 Example of the pictorial strip from Los Palos, Lautém District (East Timor).

Origin: Tutuala, Lospalos, Lautém district, Fataluku people, Jen i La'i Ratu clan.
Period: 1950.
Yarn: Cotton, hand-spun, medium, plus pinstripes in commercial cotton.
Panels: 2.
Size: 50 x 134 cm (1' 7" x 4' 4").

Design: This ceremonial sarong consists of two panels, both with several ikated stripes and three progessively wider ikated bands. The pictorial strip is composed of motifs representing a mountain, which according to local lore stands for the former homeland; *kuca hiape*, riders, which stand for a lost battle; boats, *loiasu*, representing the ancestors' flight; and a squarish shape which stands for the new settlement. The cloth was made with hand-spun cotton and natural dyes, with the exception of accent stripes in bright red. This is a true 'five colour' cloth: apart from two shades of indigo and two of morinda, we see a greenish grey, which probably was a stronger green originally. The dark indigo undertone causes brighter indigo and morinda to stand out. The snaking pattern is publicly explained as representing a white worm, but actually depicts a mythical huge snake living in a lake.

Comment: This sarong, forms a pair with men's cloth PC 121. Only a few examples of this type are known to exist and not one other pair. The design belongs to the Jen i La'i Ratu clan from Hihoru (Portuguese: Ioro) in the subdistrict of Tutuala. Jen i La'i Ratu is the ruling clan of Hihoru. The sarong has the usual slight tapering towards one end.

Literature: Khan Majlis (1991: Fig. 308) depicts a similar sarong and states: "Textiles from this region […] have never been published to date." Few more have since been published. A similar piece in the Art Institute of Chicago was acquired in 2002, N° 2002.998 (Mayer Thurman & Khan Majlis 2007: Fig. 53). This cloth is also akin to PC 077. Aone van Engelenhoven (pers. comm., 2016) provided the clan attribution.

Source: PC 122.

Fig. 68 Example of the pictorial strip from Kisar (South Moluccas).

Origin: Kisar (South Moluccas), probably Oirata people.
Period: 1910-1930.
Yarn: Cotton, hand-spun, medium.
Panels: 2.
Size: 64 x 145 cm (2' 1" x 4' 9").

Design: This classical *homnon*, sarong, is for a high-ranking woman. The two wider ikated bands are adorned with the *rimanu* motif: human figures with raised arms, horses, chickens (crucial in most ceremonies), respectively fighting cocks or *ayam hutan* (jungle fowl), double-headed eagles, and other animals. Narrow horizontal bands are decorated with small geometrical patterns; four slightly wider bands carry an hour-glass motif also seen on Tanimbar and small base-mounted *tumpal* finials.

Comment: A Kisar sarong for a noblewoman and a prime example of the type on account of its richly varied drawing with multiple motifs, large and small, and their fine detailing, *vide* the horse's plumy tail. The eight-pointed star has been neatly boxed in; the largest hands have five fingers.

Literature: Nearly identical to a *homnon* from *kampung* Wonreli at the Textile Museum (Washington), EX.77.279 (Hunt Kahlenberg 1977: Fig. 63) and a sarong at the Weltmuseum Wien, N°. 175017. For a panel for a sarong see Khan Majlis 1999: Fig. 310, and for a sarong with very similar motifs see *ibid*., Fig. 311. Note the close resemblance to a *homnon* in the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-1772-1191, and to PC 102, PC 103 (see Fig. 64) and PC 134.

Source: PC 101.

Fig. 69 Example of the pictorial strip from Kisar (South Moluccas).

Origin: Kisar (South Moluccas), probably Oirata people.
Period: Late colonial.
Yarn: Cotton, hand-spun, medium, plus accent stripes in commercial cotton.
Panels: 2.
Size: 65 x 163 cm (2' 1" x 5' 4").

Design: This *homnon*, ceremonial sarong, has the classic Kisar structure: a narrow ikated strip near the extremities, followed by a plain dark indigo band, followed by a main ikated band decorated with the classic *rimanu* the Kisar aristocracy and base-mounted *tumpal* motifs, followed by numerous narrow ikated bands. The wider ikated bands were done in hand spun cotton, the accent stripes in commercial cotton - as has been common on Kisar since circa 1875. The *rimanu* motif shows human figures with raised hands and in ships with *sorsorlol* (triple bow and stern extensions). This motif is now and again confused with double-headed eagles, and is related to the motifs seen in Sumatran 'shipcloths'.

Comment: Certain elements of the main ikated motif were decorated with dark lines in what appears to be indigo paste, which was thickly applied onto the finished surface probably by means of a small stick. This kind of additional decoration has been seen elsewhere only once, on an early 20th-century Kisar sarong in the depot of the Weltkulturen Museum (Frankfurt), the inventory number of which was unfortunately lost. In 1981, Nico de Jonge photographed a Kisar cloth in Rumah Lewang Besar on Wetan, the most westerly of the Babar islands, which had been accentuated in the same manner. Ex-collection J.H. Lüth. For a description of the ship motif, see PC 103 (Fig. 64).

Literature: Khan Majlis 1991a: Fig. 311.

Source: PC 275.

Fig. 70 Example of the pictorial strip from Romang (South Moluccas).

Origin: Romang.
Period: 1920-1940.
Yarn: Cotton, hand-spun, medium.
Panels: 2.
Size: 70 x 158 cm (2' 3" x 5' 2").

Design: Sarong with numerous ikated bands, the four widest carrying the main motifs. The only figurative motif shows a horse and rider, depicted in a manner similar to that seen in the *rimanu* motifs of Kisar and Luang. The second most important bands are decorated with lozenges filled with crosses. The red may have been dyed with sappan rather than morinda, as the required tree, *Caesalpinia sappan* is reported to grow on Romang.

Comment: The only published Romang ikat textile - if that is what it is. The provenance was provided by Verra Darwiko, a widely respected informant on Moluccan textiles. However, based on stylistic elements it could also have been made on Luang or even Babar. As Ruth Barnes counseled (pers. comm., 2016): when doubting the origin of antique cloths, accept the one it came with as it is likely to be correct. The combination of natural dyes in the ikated bands and stripes, synthetic dyes in the pinstripes is consistent with local practice since circa 1875. The 3-fold repeat of the motif in the second most prominent ikat bands is more commonly found on the rather distant isles of Savu and Raijua, see e.g. PC 231, although also found on a Wetar sarong PC 268.

Literature: Depicted in Khan Majlis 1991a: Fig. 315; dated "2nd half 20th century" – which may be too conservative. Similar to a circa 1910 sarong from nearby Luang (*ibid.:* Fig. 543) made for export to Timor and to two sarongs, both dated "circa 1910" (*ibid.*: Figs. 546, 549). The unusual colour palette, with pinks and peach tones, is also similar to that of the Luang sarong (*ibid.*: Fig. 543). For figurative motifs similar to those on a circa 1900 Babar sarong, see *ibid.*: Fig. 558. For lozenges with elaborated crosses similar to those on a circa 1913 Babar sarong, see *ibid.*: Fig. 560.

Source: PC 271, ex-collection J.B. Lüth.

Fig. 71 Example of the pictorial strip from Luang (South Moluccas).

Origin: Luang.
Period: 1925-1940.
Yarn: Cotton, hand-spun, fine, plus pinstripes in commercial cotton.
Panels: 2.
Size: 62 x 139 cm (2' 0" x 4' 6").

Design: Numerous narrow bands with small geometrical patterns. Two wide bands with *rimanu* motif in white on indigo: human figures with raised arms, human figures on horseback, snakes, birds, probably probably chickens, *manu*. Base-mounted *tumpal* motifs serve as finials.

Comment: Pattern typical of high caste. Clear weaving, *ikat bersih betul*. Identifying a cloth as either from Kisar or Luang requires care, as the key motifs, such as *rimanu*, and smaller patterns, such as snakes, are very similar. However, on Kisar, the background colour in the widest bands with ikat decoration is morinda, in shades ranging from dark red to brown, whereas on Luang the more typical background tone is indigo (Khan Majlis 1991a:321). This is confirmed by de Jong and van Dijk (see *Literature*, below) All ikat work was done in hand spun yarn; the red stripes in a double-ply commercial thread; the pinstripes, one and two threads wide, in a fine pre-dyed thread; the silk probably entered the market before World War II.

Literature: For a very similar Luang *lawar*, see de Jonge & van Dijk (1995: Fig. 8.4). See also Yoshimoto (1984: Fig. 198). For similar motifs on a man's shawl, also dated 1925, see Breguet *et al.* (2006: Fig. 32). Another similar cloth is at the Asian Art Museum (San Francisco) Object ID 1998.76; with smaller figures and less ikat work overall, it is identified as hailing from Kisar.

Source: PC 091.

Fig. 72 Example of the pictorial strip from Babar (South Moluccas).

Origin: Babar.
Period: Early 20th-century.
Yarn: Cotton, hand-spun, medium.
Panels: 2.
Size: Unknown.

Design: The main ikated motif consists of a pictorial strip with human figures with raised hands, possibly small birds, and what appears to be a rudimentary double-headed eagle in the second drawing from the right, hovering above the human figure with upraised hands.

Comment: The quality of the ikat work is akin to that of the above example from Romang (PC 271, see Fig. 70).

*Source: C*loth photographed by the present author during a depot visit to Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum (Cologne), accession number unknown.

Further examples of the pictorial style in the Reference Set:

- Kisar *homnon,* sarong, dated 'before 1969', presumed to be 19th- or early 20th-century, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen,TM-1772-1191;
- Kisar *homnon,* sarong, dated 'before 1940', presumed to be 19th- or early 20th-century, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen,TM-3848-1;
- Kisar *homnon,* sarong, dated 'before 1948', presumed to be 19th- or early 20th-century, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen,TM-1862-9;
- Kisar *homnon,* sarong, 19th- or early 20th-century (PC 102; ten Hoopen 2018:494);
- Kisar *homnon,* sarong, 19th- or early 20th-century (PC 103; ten Hoopen 2018:495);
- Kisar *homnon,* sarong, early 20th-century (PC 134; ten Hoopen 2018:496);
- Kisar *homnon,* sarong, late colonial period (PC 275; ten Hoopen 2018:497);
- Kisar *homnon,* sarong, late colonial period (PC 281; ten Hoopen 2018:498);
- Luang *lavre,* sarong, circa 1935, (PC 272; ten Hoopen 2018:513);
- Luang *lavre,* sarong, circa 1910, Collection Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, N° 49817 (see Khan Majlis 1984: Fig. 543);
- Babar *roie irai*, sarong, circa 1900, Collection Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, N° 36243 (see Khan Majlis 1984: Fig. 558);
- Babar *roie irai*, sarong, circa 1900, Collection Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, N° 36259 (see Khan Majlis 1984: Fig. 562);

- Babar *roie irai*, sarong, pre-1898, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° RV-1157-8;
- Pre-1950 *sikal-lau namil-lau,* men's wrap, from Lospalos (East Timor); one of only two published specimens (PC 121; ten Hoopen 2018:435);
- Tanimbar *sinune*, shawl, probably 19th-century and either imported from Luang or made in a *kampung* Luang on a Tanimbarese island, offered for sale as originating from Tanimbar at the Tanimbar Art Shop in Badung (Bali) in 2013.

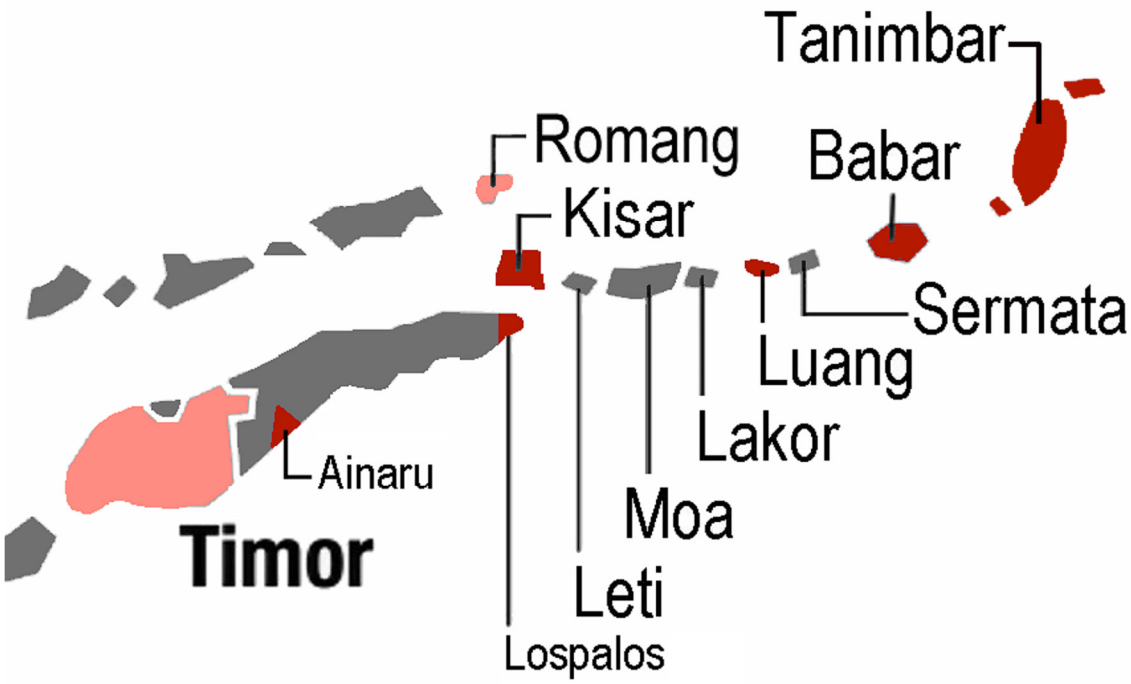

Fig. 73 The distribution of motifs in the pictorial style. The island regions where ikat with such motifs were made are shown in red; those where specimens were found that may or may not have been made *in situ* are shaded in a lighter tone.

Summing up, the pictorial strip, a horizontal band with figurative motifs such as boats with stern and bow extensions, horses, fowl and humans with raised hands and boxed-in eight-pointed stars, is found in the extreme east of East Timor and in a few small South Moluccan islands to the east of Timor. Its origin appears to lie with the Fataluku-speaking people living around Tutuala in the Lautém district (East Timor) and in part resemble rock drawings found in the area that are locally interpreted as mementoes of ancestors' flight by boat from a region ravaged by fire and floods. It appears that the pictorial style began travelling east with a group from Lautém which settled on Kisar in the 19th century, and from there continued its eastward journey, along with a set of connotations related to myths of origin and high class. On a number of ikat textiles found on Babar, Tanimbar and West Timor only the human figure with raised hands makes an appearance.

3.4.3 THE HUMAN FIGURE, STAND-ALONE

On the eastern edge of its 'habitat', the pictorial style basically comprises just the human figure with upraised hands, as in the Babar example (Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° RV-1157-8) and the Tanimbar shawl PC 367, with little else around him or her – gender to be discussed below. Stand-alone human figures are also encountered in nearly all other parts of the studied area, presumably on account of their immediate appeal. "The human form is a powerful image, perhaps even more so when it is sufficiently abstract to be universal" (Yeager & Jacobson 2002:77).

The term 'stand-alone' is defined here as not – perhaps no longer – clearly connected to other figurative representations, as they are in the story-telling *rimanu* pattern. However, as on Timor and in the Lio region of Flores, they may be used in a figurative context combined or merged with zoomorphic motifs; or they may, as on Timor exclusively, be repeated in an array, typically in rows with heads touching. Human figures with raised hands on Roti and Ndao mark out the rarest, most high-ranking of noblemen's cloths. They are common on Sumba (e.g. Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-1772-1107) and Borneo (e.g. PC 001; ten Hoopen 2018: 112), but fall outside the scope of the present study, having been adequately described elsewhere (e.g. Maxwell [1990] 2003:138, 139; Adams 1969:130; Haddon & Start [1936] 1982:124 and Plates 1, 2).

While similarities were found to exist, multiple dissimilarities were also noticed in the studied area, requiring differentiation of four types of representations:

Type A. Human figure from Timor, boldly rendered, hands typically turned down, fingers and toes nearly always depicted.

Type B. Human figure with upraised hands in angular rendering; seen on Bali, Nusa Penida, Lombok, Ndao and Roti and occasionally on Timor (made here by Rotinese brides).

Type C. Human figure with upraised hands, in the fluid style of the pictorial strip, *rimanu*, found in the South Moluccas.

Type D. Syncretised or idiosyncratic presentation.

Ancestor or goddess – or both?

Given the prominence of ancestor cults across the archipelago, it would be rational to first think of the representation of a proto-ancestor. Or, more generally, as expressive of the bonds one feels with the ancestors, analogous to the non-figurative Timorese *kaif* motif. This may well be the correct or a partially correct way of looking at human figures with

upraised hands in part of the studied area, particularly in Timor.[1]

However, another possibility was opened by analyzing stylistic elements of the motifs on a rare old ikat men's wrap from Ndao and one from Roti. Their angularly drawn human figures – also seen, albeit in a rudimentary form, on a single specimen from Lembata – were found to have a striking resemblance to similarly angular human figures from Bali and Nusa Penida, "a very slender female figure with an elongated triangular body, long arms, a fanshaped headdress and big cylindrical ear ornaments" (Brinkgreve 2016: 87). These are most commonly called *cili* (meaning 'little') and have often been been interpreted as depictions of the Rice Maiden or Rice Goddess (e.g. Hamilton 1994:60) though their proper connotation is wider:

> Sometimes the *cili* is associated with Dewi Sri, the rice goddess, who personifies fertility, prosperity and wealth [as does the Hindu goddess Lakshmi, PtH]. But although rice is Bali's most important food crop and the rice growing cycle is compared with the life cycle of human beings, the significance of the *cili* reaches beyond the symbolism of rice and Dewi Sri. Although it has the external appearance of a women the *cili* is a symbol of human life in general and human fertility (Brinkgreve 1992:110).

In view of this wider set of connotations of the *cili* figure, from here on we shall refer to her not as the Rice Goddess but, for want of a more all-encompassing term, as the Fertility Goddess.

Cili are commonly made in the form of flat puppets made of lontar palm or pandan leaf strips that are placed at Dewi Sri altars in the rice fields, and depicted on *lamak*, long ceremonial banners (Brinkgreve 1992:77). On Nusa Penida they are also depicted, albeit very rarely, on ikat textiles (see Fig. 81). In some parts of Bali the figurines have alternative names and connotations, including *jlema,* human being; *condong,* female servant; and *janger,* dancer (Brinkgreve 2016:87). The latter interpretation may hold an important key to the origin of its shape, as we shall see below.

The Austronesians brought wetland rice culture to the islands, and in all likelihood venerated a deity attendant on this core aspect of daily life, with frequent rituals related to fertility. Dewi Sri's sanskritized name patently postdates the birth of the Fertility Goddess or at least the cult of rice granaries, possibly by millennia, and probably was an example of "'eclecticism' involving 'ancient Austronesian beliefs' integrated with Indic religious associations (Bin Tajudeen 2017:501) ". When we consider Indic associations, the goddess Lakshmi inevitably comes to mind, because she represents the same spiritual realm, comprising fertility, health and prosperity.

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[1] Certain human figures on the *pua kumbu* ikated on Borneo represent slain enemies, but these are typically depicted either with mere knobs for heads or as headless corpses (Vernon Kedit, pers. comm, 2017). This iconographic theme appears to be restricted to Borneo, and to have been used solely by the Iban. There are no indications in the literature that it was used in the studied region. This, however, does not represent a warranty that it was not. Such 'sensitive' issues may not have been discussed openly with outsiders. The Dutch colonial government banned headhunting on the islands, so if any association with headhunting existed it was probably hidden.

It is possible that – fertility, like ikat, being women's business – depictions in ikat of the Fertility Goddess survived all waves of cultural influence, even in the most easterly reaches of Austronesian settlement, such as Kisar, Babar, Luang and Tanimbar, although there may no longer be an active association with her.[1] It is also quite possible that over the millennia two archaic deities or deified figures such as the the Fertility Goddess and the proto-ancestor became syncretised. But she was probably a woman, a goddess who on Bali and Nusa Penida is still venerated daily and there called Dewi Sri. She may even be more than just the Fertility Goddess. According to Bertling (1947:92) Dewi Sri, at least on Java, does not only represent rice, but also the spun yarn and the loom; which if correct would represent a confirmation of a link between ikat and fertility, and additional reasons for her figure to appear as a motif on ikat textiles.

TYPE A: THE HUMAN FIGURE OF TIMOR

The stand-alone human figure of Timor typically has a boldness in its overall appearance that westerners will tend to associate with a male persona, a depicted or imagined ancestor perhaps, or a *meo* warrior, yet there are several examples that are clearly female. On a West Timorese warrior's *cache-sexe* in the collection of French Timor-expert Pierre Dugard, the human figure, otherwise particularly angular and bold, is shown with emphasized, almost flagrant, breasts (see Fig. 76). The triangular pendant floating between the figure's legs could call up a scrotum and testicles, but it could equally represent a fruit of the womb, offspring, and given the prominent breasts this is a more plausible reading – which brings it in line with the *katak* images that are popular in Miomafo (PC 182) Amanuban and Amanatun (Yeager & Jacobson 2002:78), with a single known example from Oecusse (PC 292, see Fig. 204): stacked humanoid frogs that appear to serially give birth. It is significant for our understanding of Atoni views of life to encounter such a piece of headhunter's *cache-sexe* decorated with a female figure apparently giving birth, as it emphasizes the Austronesian link between headhunting and fertility.

[1] "In the Christianized south Moluccas, legends of Dewi Shri have all but disappeared." (van der Kroef 1952:52). So, in the region mentioned she appears to have survived as just an ikat motif like any other.

Fig. 74 Human figure on a sarong, probably from Amanatun or Amanuban (West Timor). Note how the two figures are positioned: with heads touching. This arrangement is relatively common.

Also note the genitalia. The two hooks possibly represent testicles, but given the shape below them, which looks to be dropping from between the legs, it is perhaps more likely that the female reproductive organ is depicted. This would make a match with the *mamuli*-shaped bow legs of the Ndao figure. Supporting the probability that this figure is female are the Timorese *katak* motifs, that resemble anthropomorphic frogs giving birth to successively smaller such motifs.

The two circles in the torso, vertically aligned although they are, may well represent breasts.

A fourth detail worth noting is that here again there is a circular shape in the facial area, which makes it look cyclopean (recalling the giant one-eyed creatures from Greek mythology). The number of fingers here is five, and the toes are also rendered in the proper number.

The figure appears to have an object dangling from its right hand. In the ikat of the Iban on Borneo such dangling objects invariably represent freshly harvested heads. It is reasonable to suppose that on Timor this would be no different. There is a strong relationship between headhunting and fertility. The weaver may have wished to bring this association to our attention.

Source: PC 031.

Fig. 75 Human figures on an historically important 19th men's wrap cloth from Manulea (West Timor) made for Kapitan (a high noble rank) Meseneno Oebaoe Basoloean. As confirmed by Pierre Dugard (pers. comm., 2020), the two large human figures at the top are female, those at bottom male. The way the female sexual organ is drawn, as if opening wide for giving birth is one of the more common renderings on Timor, although usually a small motif is drawn between the legs to represent the offspring. The motifs in between the large human figures represent, from the top down, a horse and rider; an unknown reptile, probably a crocodile or lizard; and a crocodile (see Yeager & Jacobson 2002:80, Figs. k, l.) *Source:* Collection Kinga Lauren, ex-collection Hudy M. Suharnoko.

Fig. 76 Human figure on a *pilu bokof* or *cache-sexe*, an element of a Meo warrior's ceremonial costume, executed in beadwork, from the Uab Meto (Atoni)-speaking area of West Timor. The figure appears to represent a female, with prominently marked-out breasts. Given the importance of the womb in the ancient *porka* culture of the nearby Southwesterly Islands, the diamond shape at the position of the navel probably stands for the uterus, respectively the female reproductive system as a whole – just as the Sumbanese *mamuli,* a vulva-shaped motif, even in the most naturalistic rendering, does not represent a body part so much as the entire female reproductive system, with its attendant connotation of fertility. A green triangle descending from the lower body can hardly represent anything other than a new-born. *Source:* Collection Pierre Dugard.

Fig. 77 Human figure with upraised hands on a West-Timorese Amarasi men's cloth. This representation deviates from the more common form encountered on Timor in having recognizable mouth, nose, and ears, even ear pendants. Other pendants are suspended from the armpits and the crotch. The hands here are not empty, as typical for the studied area, but appear to be holding branches, recalling the tree-of-life motif that is rather common on Timor, particularly in the west. Speculation as to what these pendants represent is uninviting, as there are no clues from elsewhere on the island. On Sumba, where, as on Timor, headhunting was a core element of the culture, globules hanging down from human figures represent 'fresh fruit', *i.e.* heads yet to be acquired – an expression of the weaver's desire for such heads. *Source:* British Museum, N° As1982,12.6.

Fig. 78 Human figure with upraised hands on an early 20th-century men's wrap, probably from Niki-Niki in Amanuban or else from Insana, both in West Timor. Small and unobtrusive, set in a little free space in a band decorated with birds with outspread wings, it appears just four times on the whole cloth, but at spots with likely special import: the four extremities. The shape of the head, a cluster of four small circles, was not seen elsewhere. There are no cues as to the figure's gender (PC 258).

TYPE B: THE HUMAN FIGURE WITH UPRAISED HANDS, ANGULAR RENDERING

This type stands out by four visual aspects setting them apart from any and all other human figures found in the present study-field: (a) an angular rendering; (b) upraised hands; (c) a triangular torso with severely pinched waist; and (d) a cyclopean head: either the head itself is just a circle, or it is a circle with a dot placed in the middle (except on Nusa Dua where the figure is given natural facial features).

The type is found on Bali (not in ikat, but in several other media), its offshore island Nusa Penida, Lombok (only in embroidery[1]), Roti and its off-shore island Ndao, Pantar, Lembata as well as Timor (on ikat made by Rotinese brides). The importance of the type may be deduced from a small set of rare early 20th-century men's cloths from Roti (two specimens encountered, see Figs. 83, 84) and neighbouring Ndao (three specimens, one shown, see Fig. 82), which represent the highest-class men's wraps on the respective

[1] It is found in embroidered cloths of the Sasak people in northern Lombok, adherents of the Waktu Telu religion, an animist religion with a veneer of Islam, central to which are yearly fertility rites at the foot of Mt. Rinjani. *Source:* Specimen in the Marvin Berk and Dennis Kord collection.

islands.[1] These cloths are covered in repeats of the motif (here called *ana langi*), thus highly charged with meaning. Another example was found on one of the rarest ikat textiles in the Reference Set, a sarong from the Lesser Clans of Ndao (see Fig. 85, below).

Generally speaking, depictions on textiles of human figures in the Indonesian archipelago are unlikely to have ever been merely decorative and should always be assumed to be charged with meaning – unless proven otherwise.[2] This maxim does not apply just to the region under study, but also to the wider Austronesian region: "It is obvious that the reason these human and animal forms have been chosen to adorn textiles over and over again goes beyond mere decoration" (Kron-Steinhard 1991:100). The cited author found indications that designs representing human figures were attempts to stay in touch with the deceased in the afterlife.

This type of human figure on Indonesian cloths bears a striking resemblance to dancers shown on at least two types of *patola* design (Ghosh & Ghosh 1995:142). One of these, Nari Kunjar (dancer and elephant) may be relatively recent, but the other, Pan Bhat or 'Betel Leaf' design' (see PC 307, Figs. 89, 90) is certainly ancient. The entire field of a Pan Bhat *patolu* is decorated with *pan (betel, sirih)* leaves arranged into an array. The longitudinal borders alternate elephants, floral designs, and dancers. This design type was favoured by Brahmin Hindus and Jain Mahajans (Sonee 2016), casts with ancient trading networks in Southeast Asia, established well before the onset of the colonial era.

Bühler & Fischer, who classify Pan Bhat as Type 1 (1979: Vol 2, Plate I), found that all the examples of Type 1 *patola* in the museum collections they studied were acquired in India, not Indonesia. On the other hand, they themselves mention an Indian authority, Keshavlal Salvi of the Calico Museum Archives (Ahmedabad), who writes that this type was particularly popular in the trade with Indonesia (*ibid.*: Vol. 1, 28). This apparent contradiction may result from reference to disparate time frames, as Bühler and Fischer were working with a set that arrived at European museums during colonial times, in part perhaps even later, whereas their interlocutor may have been referring to truly ancient times, passing on trading lore of Gujarati *patola*-producing families.

The Pan Bhat specimen in the Reference Set referred to above (PC 307, see Fig. 89) is quite badly damaged, which is consistent with the average condition of the Bühler & Fischer sample: nearly all the cloths in the museums they inspected were badly damaged, suggesting great age. The fact that none were found in Indonesia likely indicates that nearly all very early examples disintegrated over time – as they were prone to do also in India, *vide* the condition of Bühler's and Fischer's set. It is entirely possibly therefore that (a) Pan

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[1] The Rotinese example (Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° WM-27148) was inspected in the depot. The ones from Ndao are: (a) PC 290 (see Figs. 82, 198), from an early Dutch collection; (b) a near identical pre-1938 specimen from the Helbig collection, published in Khan Majlis 1991:Fig. 237; and (c) a very similar one in the Krefeld Textile Museum (Völger & von Welck: 1991: Fig. 177). The representation of the human figure on the Rotinese and Ndaoese cloths is nearly identical. Those on the other islands differ only slightly but all have the four characteristics mentioned above.

[2] Reimar Schefold, pers. comm., 2019.

Bhat *patola* were actively peddled to the Indonesian islands in pre-colonial times but stopped being imported around 1700 when the VOC monopolized the Indian textile trade;[1] and (b) here shaped representations of local goddesses such as the Fertility Goddess, as it also shaped ikat patterns on Sumba and four islands in the Solor & Alor Archipelago.

The notion of such derivation started out as a hypothetical scenario, but as the investigation progressed, supporting data kept emerging, beginning with generalities and progressing to details. Emulation of *patola* patterns (field division, *jilamprang, tumpal* motifs, *gigi Barong*, etc.) in general was found to be pervasive wherever *patola* were introduced. Confrontation with the double ikat technique and the sheer luxuriousness of the 4.5 m long silk extravanganzas made in Gujarat must have impacted pre-colonial weavers as powerfully as colonial imports did from the 17th century onward.

The Balinese and Nusa Penidan Fertility Goddess, likely to have arrived here with the Austronesians and their rice culture, goes by the name Dewi Sri. This patently is a Sanskritized name, presumably substituting the goddess's original name in a period of Hinduisation of these islands between their conquest by Majapahit rulers in the 14th century and the early 16th century.[2] Should this presumption turn out to be correct, we will probably find that adoption of the Type I *patola*'s rendering of the dancer for local representations of the Fertility Goddess was roughly contemporary with her name change.

A third datum which undergirds suppositional influence of the Pan Bhat dancers is the discovery that other design elements of the Pan Bhat type *patolu* took root on at least four islands in the Solor & Alor Archipelago. An analogous array patterning of the midfield is common among Alurung (Alorese-speaking) descent groups on the Solor & Alor Archipelago (see PC 338, PC 339, PC 345, PC 347, PC 349). It is there called Patola Baololong, *baololong* standing for '*waringin* [banyan] leaves' (Peni & McIntosh 2020:8). The array was emulated, but the leaves underwent a botanical transformation; no doubt the result of a different dietary preference. Like many Gujaratis, the Alurung are heavy users of areca nuts, here called *pinang,* but their plug usually includes betel's wormlike fruit rather than its leaves. A new interpretation, however, was at hand. In nearly all Alurung villages a towering *waringin* tree, *Ficus benjamina*, is a prominent presence. The tree is considered holy, and has somewhat similar glossy leaves.

The Pan Bhat's leaves were also found emulated, quite accurately, on one early sarong from a region on Alor peopled by non-Austronesian Adang, who speak a Papuan language of the Timor-Alor-Pantar group (see PC 166, Fig. 94). How and when (or if) the Adang began to create ikat has yet to be investigated. It is conceivable that PC 166 was created by Austronesian Alurung people from neighbouring villages. But likely it is not, because the

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[1] In the late 17th century The VOC began to establish and firmly defend a monopoly in the trade of Indian textiles in the Indonesian archipelago. It is not clear by when it extended to the eastern islands, but it was established on Palembang (Sumatra) in 1681 and in Jambi (*ibid.*) in 1683 (Watson Andaya 1989:38).

[2] The period when the last Majapahit kingdom crumbled before the forces of the Muslim Demak kingdom and its ruling class fled from East Java to escape conquest, across the strait to Bali, and on to Nusa Penida and Lombok (Forshee 2006:xvi).

ikat, with sharply drawn motifs, is more precise than typical Alurung ikat. Barnes & Hunt Kahlenberg (2010:346, 347) show a Lembata sarong with what they call "linked heart shapes", remarking that they "almost certainly reflect a patola design" without indicating which type of *patolu* they consider likely. Given the motifs' overall shape and details we can now identify its origin as a Pan Bhat *patolu*. Human figures with linked raised arms, unmistakably dancers, were found on an early *tuka dulang*, ceremonial sarong, from Lembata (see PC 068). Here the dancers are wearing long narrow tubeskirts, like the object itself. The above findings together already constituted a strong case for derivation of the Pan Bhat dancers, but sealing evidence was found in a Sumbanese ceremonial sarong that unambiguously copied the Pan Bhat dancer (see Fig. 90).

In the analysis of indications that the angular human figures of the region under study were derived from *patola* of the Pan Bhat type, five factors stood out: (a) *patola*-influence in the region is strong in general (though predominantly of the Chabdi Bhat design); (b) on Sumba the Pan Bhat dancer was emulated quite precisely, including the cyclopean head (see Figs. 90, 91);[1] (c) the likeness between the Pan Bhat dancer and the ikated angular human figure with its raised arms is also striking on Roti, where the influence of the more common Chabdi Bhat *patola* is pervasive; (d) the Pan Bhat *patola*'s midfield was emulated by Alurung (Alorese-speaking) people in scattered small settlements on Alor, Ternate and Pantar,[2] among whom it was associated with high class, particularly on Alor where local imitations in warp ikat are called *watola*, and are "the most expensive *sarung ikat*" (Gomang 1993:111); (e) as shown below (see Figs. 93, 94), on Alor the *pan* leaf motif was also emulated on the level of individual leaves and how they are linked.

Taken together these elements prove emulation of Pan Bhat *patola* in the region under study. Given the consistency in the rendering of the figures' heads and hand position (to wit, cyclopean, respectively upraised) it appears that most if not all of the human figures in the region – except those from Timor – have been derived from Pan Bhat dancing girls. In the dancer's representation we observe an eastward stylistic progression, by rudimentation or preference, from the angular drawing of Roti, Ndao, Pantar and Lembata, towards the more fluid rendering of Kisar, Luang and other small islands of the Southern Moluccas.

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[1] In the Sumbanese rendering a graphic fertility symbol was added, underscoring the presumed connotation of 'Bringer of Fertility' that the dancer had obtained on adoption – if she did not already have it on arrival. The present author, who spent three years across India and studied classical sitar at the Maihar Music Academy (a school upholding a tradition of dedication and purity, founded by Ustad Allauddin Khan, father-in-law of Ravi Shankar), there learned that dancing girls, while popular at maharaja's courts, were not to be trusted, as they were notorious for dalliances. However through Moghul miniatures and popular imagery they were also indelibly linked to Raga Vasant, the melody that celebrates springtime, with its implicit associations of fertility. It appears likely, then, that in the adoption process, the integration in the receiving culture, the nature of the figure remained unaltered.

[2] Apart from the rare antique Alorese *adat* sarongs, which began to be collected early, little attention has been paid to the ikat of the Alurung people, who are culturally and linguistically distinct from the Lamaholot among whom they live. They share many customs with the Lamaholot, e.g. around bridal exchanges, but have their own classification system for ikat styles, linking designs to specific descent groups in specific villages (Peni & McIntosh 2020: *passim*). A modest reference set of Alurung ikat can be inspected on the present author's website, URL: ikat.us/ikat_alurung.php.

Fig. 79 A Balinese *cili*, portraying the Fertility Goddess, Dewi Sri, made of straw and tied to a stake in the rice fields to protect the *padi*. The human figure is reduced to its essence: an X-shape created by means of two opposing triangles, a shape which appears to be the basis for all Type B human figures. Photographer: Duncan Carpenter. *Source:* Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 80 Detail of a human figure with upraised hands, presumably Dewi Sri, on a Balinese cloth, executed in *songket.* Note the pinched waist, the torso's triangular shape and the omega shape between the legs which is similar to the *mamuli* of Sumba where it represents the female reproductive organ. Placed between her legs, an eight-pointed star recalls the human figures of Timor and presumably portrays a new-born child. *Source:* Collection Georges Breguet.

Fig. 81 Dewi Sri as depicted on a pre-1950 diaphanous ceremonial shawl from Nusa Penida. The rendering is very similar to the ubiquitous Dewi Sri puppets named *cili* that are made of strips of lontar palm leaves and placed on small altars everywhere in the rice fields. *Source:* Collection Balian-Tardieu.

Fig. 82 Detail of an antique men's wrap of the highest level from Ndao. The human figure with upraised hands here serves as a stand-alone figurative motif. Note the triangular torso, the pinched waist, the head with a circle in lieu of a face and raised hands with three fingers. The circular face, or as some would have it a cyclopean face because the circle suggests a single eye, is ubiquitous in the South Moluccas; wherever the pictorial strip is used, without a single encountered exception.

The triangular torso and pinched waist are strikingly similar to depictions of the Fertility Goddess, Dewi Sri, encountered on Bali and Nusa Dua.

The way the legs are rendered, in a somewhat angular omega-shape, recalls the *mamuli* of Sumba. The V-shape of the torso is emphasized, exactly as on Kisar sarong PC 275 (See Figs. 69, 95), where the V is daubed on with indigo paste. *Source:* PC 290.

Fig. 83 Detail of a nobleman's *lafa,* shawl from Roti, Ndao's somewhat larger neighbour. The motif on this early 20th-century example is very similar to those found on a few high class Ndao ikat textiles. It too recalls the Fertility Goddess of Bali and Nusa Penida (although the torso is not quite triangular), and also has downward projections on the side (similar to those on the Ndao example, see Fig. 82). the meaning of which is unclear. The use of ikated yellow accents on Roti (as on several other islands in the region under study) is a prerogative of noble families. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° WM-27148. Photograph by the present author, 2007.

Fig. 84 A distinctly anthropomorphic motif on a circa 1925 *pou*, sarong, from Roti, where it is called *ana langi*. The rendering is more detailed than on any other example encountered. The raised arms, triangular torso and circular head with a dot inside a ring, are all similar to the rendering of the Gujarati dancer in Pan Bhat *patola* (see Fig. 90). As the motif is rendered here in so much detail, more than seen on Ndao, Pantar, Lembata and Timor, and *patola*-influence on Roti in general is strong, it appears likely that the motifs on the other islands are derivations of this model. *Source:* Private collection, the Netherlands.

Fig. 85 A very similar *ana langi* motif on a *pou*, sarong, from the Lesser Clans of Ndao (see Fox 1980:48). The human figure here is not immediately apparent. It was stylised to look floral, and would probably be overlooked by anyone unfamiliar with other Ndao and Roti representations (see Figs. 83, 84). Whereas on PC 290 (see Figs. 82, 198) eight-pointed stars serve as separators between sequential human figures, here they represent the head and the middle – the wasp waist. The latter evokes the Austronesian cosmological concept of *pusat* [centre, navel, hub], akin to the Greek *omphalos* (see Fox 1993:283): the centre of all things; in Indonesia scalable down from the pertinent concept of the universe to the local community's cultural centre, Pusat Kebudayaan.

The sarongs of Ndao's Lesser clans are red instead of indigo as those of higher-ranking clans. Curiously, this constitutes costly signalling: on dry Ndao, thirsty morinda bushes are harder to grow than weed-like indigo. Given the power sharing arrangement on Roti where one descent group has all worldly power, another all ritual power (Fox 2006:60), a similar scenario suggests itself for Ndao. Ndao's Lesser Clans may descend from early settlers forced into subordination by later arrivals, but co-opted into peaceful coexistence by allowing them a degree of distinction – a reserved colour palette which the mightier respect.

Source: PC 318.

Fig. 86 Extremely rare appearance of a human figure with upraised hands on a sarong from Pantar which probably dates from the late colonial period. In 40 years of studying Indonesian ikat, this is only the second time the present author came across this motif on a cloth from Pantar (located between Lembata and Alor). While it might not be recognizable as a human figure if one had not previously seen the human figures with upraised hands of the other islands, particularly those from Roti and Ndao, a comparison of its constituent elements leaves little room for doubt that it is the same motif. It has the same enigmatic downward projections on either side as the example from Roti. *Source:* Collection Marthen Mabilehi.

Fig. 87 Tiny detail of an exquisite 19th- to early 20th century *kewatek* from the Langewis collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), acquired in 1968. It is identified only as 'Lamaholot', but is almost certainly from Lembata. While the image quality is extremely poor, the outlines of the angular human figures that grace the midfield and main ikated bands are clearly recognizable as conforming to Type B. *Source:* Metropolitan Museum, N° 68.147. A photograph better suitable for reproduction could not be obtained. URL: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/309530, accessed on 7-7-2020.

Fig. 88 Rare appearance of an angular human figure with upraised hands on a men's cloth from West Timor. Such cloths are occasionally encountered on Timor – both in the west and in the east – and are presumed to have been made by Rotinese brides. The Tetum name for such cloths is *futus lotek*. The similarity with the Pantar example (see Fig. 86) is quite striking, even though the shape is much more elongated. Note the accentuated V-shape in the torso, which is also encountered on Kisar. *Source:* Collection Uky Sulkifli.

Fig. 89 Antique Pan Bhat *patolu* from Gujarat (India), a style favoured by Brahmin Hindus and Jain Mahajans, trading casts with ancient connections in Southeast Asia. Pan Bhat is Bühler & Fischer's Type I. In their investigation of specimens in museums they did not encounter a single one collected in Indonesia. But as this investigation shows, the *pan* leaf array is emulated on three islands in the Solor & Alor Archipelago: Alor, Ternate and Pantar. This example (like all of Bühler & Fischer's ravaged by time) again was found, not in Indonesia, but in Leiden. Given the ceding owner's orientation it is more likely to have come from Indonesia than from India. *Source:* PC 307.

Fig. 90 A dancer in the border of an 18th-to 19th-century Gujarati *patola* with the Pan Bhat, or 'Betel Leaf Design' (Bühler & Fischer Type 1). The raised hands match a chief characteristic of the angular human figure in the region under study. The cyclopean head of the dancer recalls the rendering of faces on Kisar, Luang and other islands in the eastern archipelago (see Figs. 61, 62, 64, 66, 68-72, 261). *Source:* PC 307.

Fig. 91 Human figure on a Sumbanese *lau wuti kau*, ceremonial skirt, rendered by means of an appliqué of *nassa* shells and tiny red, white, yellow and blue beads. Note the pinched waist, triangular torso, raised hands and cyclopean head, which make the figure an almost exact copy of the dancers decorating the borders of Pan Bhat *patola* (see Fig 90). Noteworthy is also the elliptical lozenge in red and yellow beads with a vertical divider in white just below the waist, which both by its shape and placement suggest the female sexual organ, 'hidden' by the skirt, but at the same time explicitly present. While not an ikat, this cloth is shown because it is the most incontestable emulation of the Pan Bhat dancers encountered in the region under study, hence serves as the most eloquent proof that Pan Bhat *patola* were (a) present in the region under study, and (b) influenced textile design. *Source:* Woven Souls, posted on RugRabbit, accessed 20-02-21.

Fig. 92 A *bulohing*, three panel sarong, of the type Patola Baololong, originating from the Suku Uma Kakang or Elder Brother Lineage on Ternate (Solor & Alor Archipelago). The central field carries a pattern called *baololong sambung,* 'connecting *waringin* tree leaves' (Peni & McIntosh 2020:8). The small lozenges in the midfield have a distinct directionality – as they do on Pan Bhat *patola* – and the larger ones in the bands closest to the extremities are similarly connected by interstitial elements, proof that the design indeed emulates Pan Bhat *patola*, Bühler & Fischer Type 1 (see PC 307, Fig. 90). *Source*: PC 338.

Fig. 93 Detail of the antique Pan Bhat *patolu* shown above (see Figs. 89, 90). The *pan* leaves are linked by their stems via an interstitial element with a cross in its centre. This makes any pair of them look like a butterfly, with dark, unfilled shapes between their wingtips. Note the slight directionality of the motif, which is also recognizable in the detail of an Alorese ikat shown below (see Fig. 94). *Source:* PC 307.

Fig. 94 Detail of a rare Alorese sarong (possibly a unique survivor) with an indigo instead of a morinda ground, which suggests that it was not a ceremonial but a workaday sarong – a type never considered important or collectible, hence simply worn to shreds and become scarce or near-extinct, as happened to the blue sarongs of nearby Ili Mandiri in Flores's eastern peninsula (see ten Hoopen 2018:229). The sarong is presumed to have been made in an Adang (non-Austronesian) part of the island. In the early 1980s the present author photographed an Adang woman wearing a similar specimen. Several details evince that the design is a Pan Bhat emulation: (a) the way pairs of lozenges are linked by a short white bar, on the *patolu* original representing a leaf's stem; (b) the presence of crosses, distinctly uncommon in the region under study; (a) a slight directionality, more readily noticeable on the sarong as a whole. The *patolu*'s W-shaped spaces have here become X-shapes with both the top and bottom triangles filled in, as is also done on Timor and in the South Moluccas. *Source:* PC 166.

TYPE C: THE HUMAN FIGURE WITH UPRAISED HANDS, FLUID DRAWING

This type was already described to some extent in the section on the pictorial strip (see Section 3.4.2 'The Pictorial Strip, *Rimanu*'), but it bears revisiting as pertinent details were not discussed. While it is possible that the human figures with upraised hands all shared the same origin, those in the South Moluccas appear to have acquired a different character through their integration in the *rimanu* 'story'. This poorly understood myth of origin and belonging came along with certain patterns from Fataluku speaking people from Lautém, Timor Leste's easternmost tip, who settled on Kisar, Romang, and perhaps also Luang.[1]

Such human figures with upraised hands – often called 'orant' i.e. 'praying', but perhaps better regarded as dancing – here also differ in details such as representation of torso, face, extremities, some or all of which tend to be unlike the shapes radiating *keberanian* ('temerity', Uab Meto/Atoni *nbarain*)[2] of Timor. To those unfamiliar with the term: *keberanian* is a richly expressive word charged with positive connotations[3] around the core concept of courage, colloquially rendered as 'guts'. These figures are also unlike the angular representation of Roti and Ndao; as with the motifs in the pictorial style the drawing is fluid, with more curving than straight lines.

A puzzling element not mentioned in the literature is that the head is nearly always cyclopean: either the head itself is just a circle, or there is a circle or large dot inside the outline of the head, presumably representing the face. This rendering of the human figure recalls that found on *patola* with the Pan Bhat, or 'Betel Leaf Design' (Bühler & Fischer Type 1), which is decorated with various animals and dancers. The latter are depicted with raised hands, a triangular torso and a cyclopean head – all elements we also observe in the ikat of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Could this type of human figure be an emulation of these Indian dancers?

Bühler and Fischer stress that none of their specimens of Type 1 were found in Indonesia and call it "extremely hard to believe" (1979:Vol. 1, 28) that this particular type of *patola* was in great demand in Indonesia. However, there are several indications (see above, captions to Figs. 92-94) that the Type 1 *patolu* was indeed distributed in the Indonesian archipelago, and highly esteemed – enough to be emulated by leading families. But perhaps this introduction largely took place before the onset of the colonial period. By the time western scholars started to take note of *patola* and their influence on ikat design in the region under study most likely all of these early fragile silks (except perhaps the odd, as yet undiscovered survivor) had already been reduced to shreds or buried. And most weavers

[1] Luang may have obtained its *rimanu* by borrowing from the nobles of neighbouring Kisar, rather than directly from Lautém, or else via Leti.

[2] The Uab Meto or Atoni language is also often refered to as Dawan, but this is resented by the local population as it is a term introduced by people from outside the region. James Izacc Bill Key Kase, pers. comm., 2021.

[3] In colonial times this word entered the Dutch language as *branie*. Charged with largely negative associations, such as 'brazen', 'overly self-confident', it presumably reflects problems the Dutch faced when confronted by islanders displaying *keberanian.*

who emulated its patterning probably never saw an actual *patolu*, and were just copying the ties that their ancestors placed. What speaks for such early dating of the Pan Bhat *patola*'s arrival, is that to the present author's knowledge, in the days since Bühler and Fischer wrote their classic reference work, a Pan Bhat *patolu* was never reported found in the field.[1] And over forty years of contacts with Indonesian traders, numerous *patola* were looked at, but no Pan Bhat *patolu* was ever offered. Apart from early, their import may also have been of limited duration, perhaps halted after the VOC began dominating the trade – and hence determining the inventory on offer. The Pan Bhat *patola*'s influence however was long-lasting, either directly or through serial copying, and far-reaching.[2]

While it would be a stretch to assume that this series reached as far as Kisar, Luang and Tanimbar, it may have influenced the iconography of Hindu Bali, where the nobility descended from Majapahit royalty. Given the striking similarities on three points of design (upraised hands, pinched waist and cyclopean head) it is not entirely impossible that this dancer served as the prototype for the human figures with upraised hands seen on Bali, Nusa Penida, Lombok and perhaps even Roti and Ndao, although distribution of this type of *patola* in the Indonesian archipelago was at best minimal in the colonial period. It may have entered earlier, e.g. during the period of the Majapahit kingdoms, when the Fertility Goddess presumably acquired her Sanskritized name, Dewi Sri. All we have is a remarkable visual likeness, as well as the known expansion of Hindu influence from Java towards the next islands east, Bali, Nusa Penida and Lombok, which may at some level have extended to Roti and Ndao.[3]

Another intriguing element is a V-shape which constitutes the bottom of the torso and is emphasized both on Type B from Ndao (PC 290, Figs. 82, 198) and Roti (a *lafa* in the Georges Breguet collection, unnumbered) and on Type C from Kisar, as well as on a Timorese shawls of a type called *futus lotek* made on Timor by Rotinese or Ndaoese brides (see Fig. 88). On an antique Kisarese sarong in the collection of the late Anthony F. Granucci (ALS_169.107b), the similar PC 275 (see Figs. 69, 95) and a shawl now kept at the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (N° TM-1862-8) the V was painted on after the weaving was completed in what appears to be thick indigo paste.

Unclear is what this V-shape may signify, and why it is found both on an island using

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[1] The Reference Set contains one example (PC 307, see Fig. 89) that in terms of condition closely resembles the specimens studied by Bühler and Fischer (which were all seriously damaged), and was encountered in Leiden. Here (near The Hague where many repatriating colonial officials settled in 1956) an Indonesian provenance is more likely than any other.

[2] Regrettably, ancient Hindu and Buddhist sculptures cannot help us to determine the periods in which the various *patola* types arrived in Indonesia. As Pullen concludes after an exhaustive study of stone and metal sculptures from the 8th till the 15th century, *patola* were too revered to be used as attire. So, while there are some indications of indirect *patola* influence on the splendid cloths worn by the highly placed individuals immortalized in these durable materials, there are no indications of direct depiction of *patola* in early sculptures (2021:276).

[3] Another as yet not researched aspect is the number of fingers depicted: ranging from two to five. Toes are typically not represented, although on the examples shown below from Savu (see Fig. 103) and Minahasa (see Fig. 104), four, respectively three toes are shown.

the pictorial strip (Kisar), and on islands that use the type with triangular torso (Ndao and Roti). Could it be that underneath all those differences of expression, the diverse established styles, there is a shared concept of the motif's essence – cyclopean head, V-shaped torso and upraised hands – which is expressed in two disparate styles?

Fig. 95 Human figures with upraised hands in fluid drawing on a Kisarese sarong from the late colonial era. Note how the V shape of the larger figure's triangular torso is emphasized, just as it is on the Ndao men's wrap PC 290 (see Figs. 82, 198) – the only difference is the drawing technique. On the example from Ndao, the red V was ikated, while here the dark V was daubed on after the weaving in indigo paste, presumably with a little stick. Note also the similar way the heads are represented. This 'cyclopean' rendering – a head consisting of only a round outline or a round outline enclosing a small circle or dot – is typical for the South Moluccas, but also seen on Sulawesi. *Source:* PC 275.

Fig. 96 Human figure with upraised hands in fluid drawing on a sarong from the Sikka district (Flores). The sarong is an *utang mitang*, 'black sarong', worn only by widows. Human figures alternate with fowl, most likely chickens. This motif clearly forms part of the regional vernacular, but is rarely encountered. The reason for their rarity may well be that missionaries disparaged them as *jentiu*, pagan (Maxwell 1990:392). *Source:* Burke Museum, N° 2006-86/138.

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Fig. 97 Human figure with upraised hands on a late 20th-century *semba*, shawl, from the Lio region (Flores). Here the figure is used in a pictorial context, but essentially standing alone, surrounded by other visual elements such as boats and fishes. Three fingers are shown. While the head appears to be two-eyed, other similar figures on the same cloth do not have such pseudo-eyes. Their heads closely conform to the cyclopean model. *Source:* Collection Kay Mertens. Photograph by the present author.

Fig. 98 Human figure with upraised hands on a *homnon*, ceremonial sarong, from Kisar which was probably made towards the end of the colonial period. It appears to be a transitional figure, in the sense that it stands between the acutely angular rendering of (among other islands) Roti and Ndao, and the fluid style more characteristic of the South Moluccas. The torso and arms are angular, the face has been made cyclopean by means of four short ikated strokes set in a diamond pattern. The figures at the human figure's legs most likely represent eagles – single-headed, but dual, and with wings in contrasting colours. *Source:* Collection Lesley Pullen. Photograph by the present author.

Fig. 99 Above: Human figure with upraised hands on a loincloth for men, *cawat*, from Tanimbar. This early 20th-century example stems from one of the highest-ranking families on Tanimbar and was shown to the present author by one of his Indonesian field contacts in 2019. Note the shape of the legs, which recalls the omega-shaped *mamuli*. The number of fingers, to wit three, equals that on many of the human figures found on Kisarese textiles. The angular motif separating the human figures invites further study. While the number of points, eight, corresponds with those of the *patola jilamprang* motif, the resemblance to motifs from the Toraja region (Sulawesi) is more striking. *Source:* Collection Sis Nitz.

Left, above: A common motif on textiles from Toraja (Sulawesi), called *sekong*, is generally assumed to be a schematic representation of a torso with limbs turned inward, described as "interlocking like the unending genealogy they purportedly symbolize" (Hunt Kahlenberg 1977: 56). For the sake of comparison the *sekong* motif was vertically compressed, to show the similarity with the Tanimbarese *cawat* motif. Variants are widely distributed across South and Southeast Asia (*ibid.*). It is remarkable to find this archaic motif so far east, at the very frontier of ikat weaving. This invites further study of the quinquepartite figure. Good starting points form Gerlings (1952:106-128), the writings by van Ossenbruggen on the Javanese *montja-pat* (Indon. *monca-pat*) classification system (1977), P.E. de Josselin de Jong's elaboration (1977:11-22) which embraces the similar 4-5 classification system (body with four limbs) encountered on Ambon, and Janssen (1977:112) who cites Valentyn's 1724 remark (probably freely paraphrased as it could not be found in the searchable digitized source) that "the Malays speak of many things as of a human body". Max (1981) regards it as *The Birth Symbol in Traditional Women's Art from Eurasia and the Western Pacific*.

Second from left, above: *Sekong*-like motifs on a loincloth decorated in discontinuous supplementary weft from the Wersing-Taruamang group, Kolana, East Alor, in Museum 1000 Moko, Kalabahi (Alor). Photograph by Linda S. McIntosh.

Second from right, above: The example shown at the bottom right was found on an antique sarong from Roti. Here the motif was given a diminutive 'head' reinforcing the notion that it may represent a human figure. *Source:* PC 180.

Right, above: Because both the breast beam motif and the boxed-in eight-pointed star have matches in Turkic carpets, it is relevant to note that the *sekong*, or 'torso with limbs turned inward' is also frequently seen on Turkic carpets, such as here on an antique Kazak. *Source:* Collection Hagop Manoyan.

TYPE D: HYBRID, SYNCRETISED

One exceptional Timorese men's cloth from the Insana region (see Fig. 100) appears to be an intermediate type that bridges the Timorese with the South Moluccan variant. It has uncommonly generous proportions (137 x 208 cm), which suggests an upper-class environment, and was dyed entirely in morinda. Here we see the typically Timorese human figure with hands held down and all toes, flanked by Kisarese and Luangese style double-headed eagles. It is inviting to see this as a transitional type, showing how the *rimanu* originated on West Timor to then travel eastward. But this specimen, estimated to have been made around 1930-1940, presents oddities which should keep us from crediting this clear-cut scenario.

Insana is renowned for its deeply saturated indigo, which is the region's pride. The photograph of the detail, unfortunately not very sharp, does not do justice to the overall pleasing aspect of the cloth, which in the secondary ikated bands carries Insana's signature fowl with detailed wings. More likely is that the cloth was made for an Insana husband by a bride from Kisar, or made on Kisar as a present for an Insana nobleman.

Fig. 100 Human figure on a men's blanket from Insana (West Timor) in the company of eagles, rendered sketchily, but with recognizable heads, wings and talons. Note: the figures not only have five fingers, but five toes as well, a feature apparently unique to Timor. The ambiguous bulbous shape between the legs suggests male genitals but, alternatively, may also represent a new-born. *Source:* Collection Nurdin Holmes.

Other hybrid forms or representations of the human figure that do not fit into Types A, B and C occur across the studied region, but only rarely. Figs. 101-103 show examples from Lembata and Savu. On Lembata, human figures are nearly always positioned in or next to boats, or motifs representing boats in a *pars pro toto* fashion. One type recalls the

luli sculptures with widespread arms. Stemming from the Leti islands, they represent female (proto-)ancestors. Two *luli* from Lakor (see de Jonge & van Dijk 1995: Figs. 4.9, 4.11) and one from Leti (*ibid*.: Fig. 4:14) likewise have a lower body that is just a block. If such a correspondence is not merely accidental, it corroborates the hypothesis of a link between Lembata and the *porka* or *po'ora* culture of the Southwesterly Islands which is predicated on the occurrence on Lembata of a possibly esoteric motif that recalls a boat without showing it (see Section 3.4.5). Either the regions on Lembata where this particular motif was used are still settled by early Austronesians, with beliefs and practices similar to those that settled the Southwesterly Islands, or a group of people from these islands sailed westward and settled in Lembata, taking along their beliefs and attendant imagery.

In summary, we have two clues in ikat that point to a rather close similarity between Lembata and the Southwesterly islands which calls for further investigation. Ideally this should be part of a far wider investigation into the fertility culture of the eastern archipelago, its symbolism and its manifestations in the material culture.

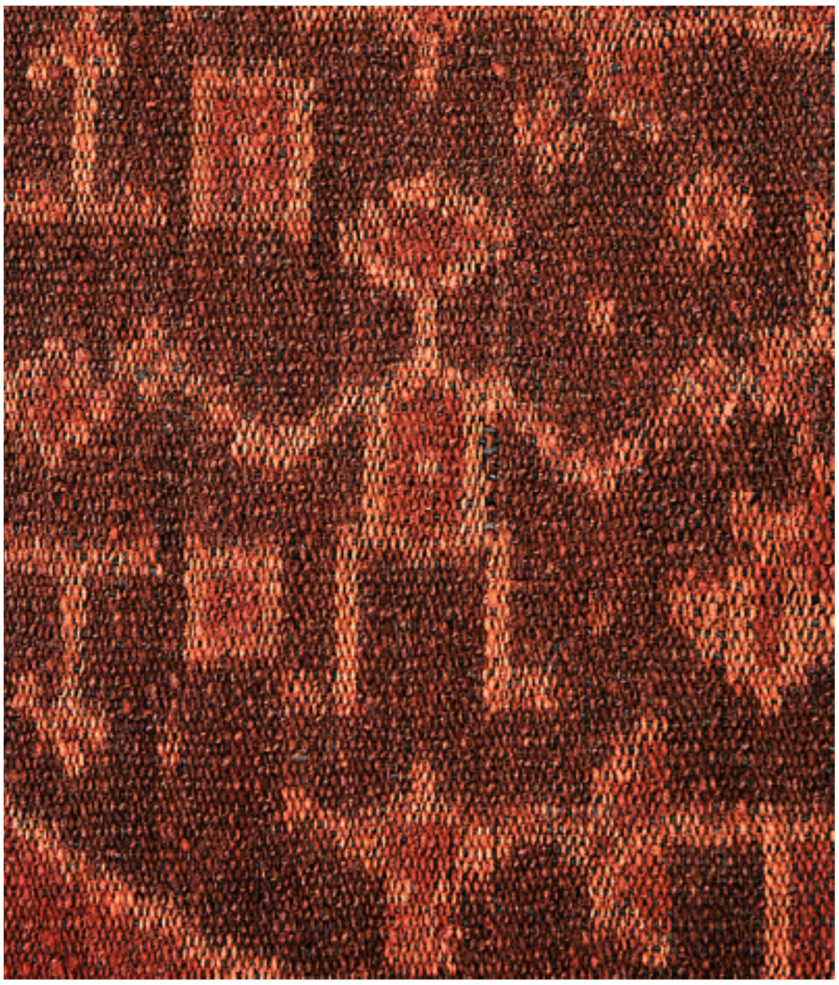

Fig. 101 Human figure with upraised hands on a late 19th- to early 20th-century sarong from Lamalera, a whaling village on Lembata (Solor & Alor Archipelago). A local weaver, whose name unfortunately was not recorded, called this figure *ata kliken* (N.N., pers. comm., 1981). *Ata* means 'man' or 'human', the meaning of *kliken* could not be ascertained (PC 048).

Fig. 102 Human figure with upraised hands on a late 19th- to early 20th-century sarong from Atadei (Lembata), placed within a motif of the type triangle-with-projections. This type of depiction, with arms raised and the lower body reduced to a box-like shape – unlike any other in the Reference Set – recalls that of the *luli*, wooden ancestor sculptures from the Leti Islands, particularly those from Lakor in the South Moluccas (de Jonge & van Dijk 1995: Figs. 4.9, 4.11). This curious resemblance appears to undergird the idea (see Section 3.4.5 'The Triangle-with-projections') that in earlier centuries the culture of Lembata was more similar to that of the Southwesterly islands with their *porka* culture than thus far assumed. *Source:* PC 316.

Fig. 103 A human figure on a circa 1925-1940 sarong from Savu. This imaginatively rendered humanoid recalls the human figures on antique ikat sarongs from the Minahasa e.g. Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-48-13 (see Fig. 104, below) and those found on the cloths from Ndao (see Figs. 82, 85) and Roti (see Figs. 83, 84). The rendering of the toes is a correspondence with Timor. Both the torso and the hands are eight-pointed stars. Source: PC 012.

For a depiction of the full cloth and a discussion of its asymmetry of perception see Fig. 220. For an analysis of its uncommon use of yarn see Fig. 23 and Section 2.3 'Introduction of machine-made thread'.

Fig. 104 Human figure with upraised hands on a pre-1910, probably 19th-century ikat cloth from the Minahasa, northern Sulawesi. Such human figures, of which only a few examples are known, are sometimes referred to as looking 'Martian'. While it appears that several non-figurative motifs from Minahasa cloths were emulated in the region under study, it is not clear if the Minahasa humanoids also prefigure its human figures with upraised hands. The two dashes on the chest presumably represent nipples, the third dash below may represent the female genitals. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-48-13.

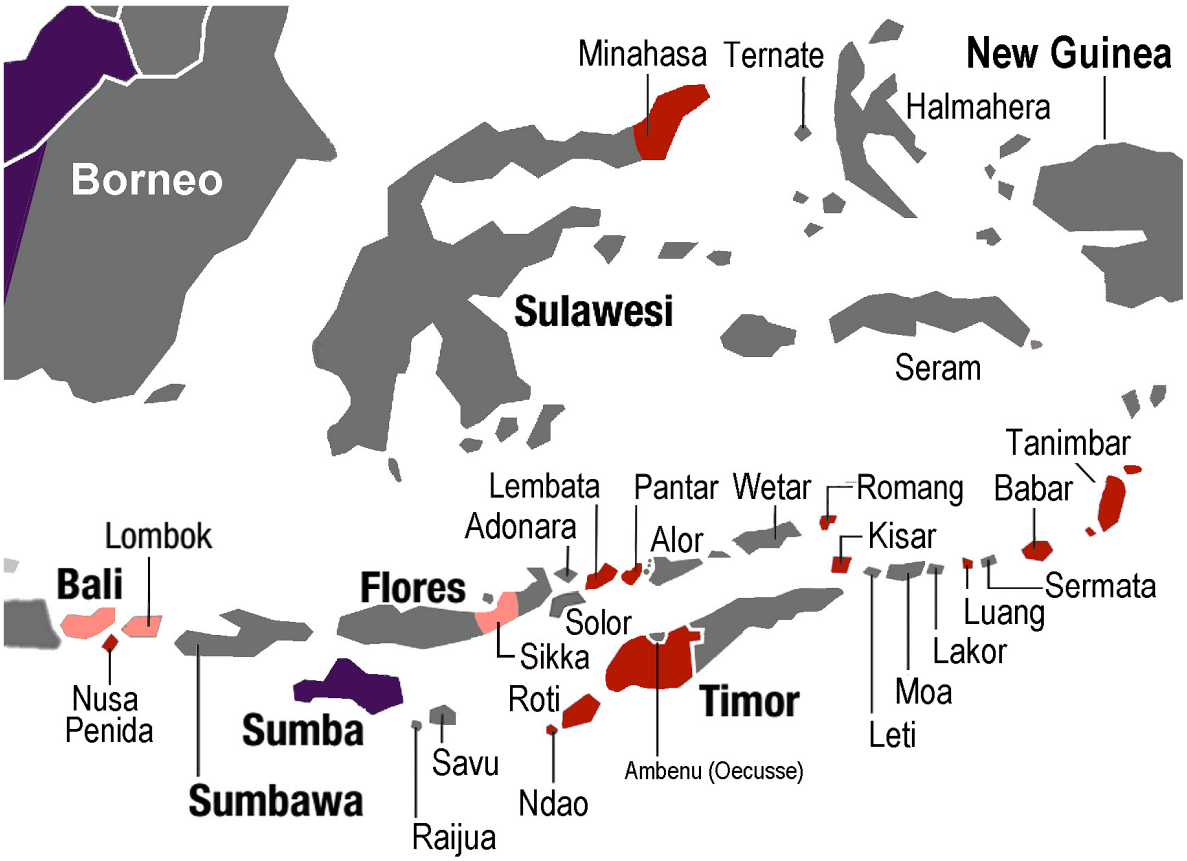

Fig. 105 The distribution of the stand-alone Human figure with upraised hands. Sumba and the parts of Borneo where a similar figure is also encountered are rendered in purple to indicate that here it is rendered somewhat different and explicitly male, except a single example of the angular human figure with upraised hands encountered on Sumba in a 19th-century belt (Holmgren & Spertus 1989:44 Fig. 4b). When encountered on the other islands the gender of the figure is either female or ambiguous – presumed but not proven female. Lombok and Bali are shaded in light red, because while the human figure with upraised hand does occur here, in a form similar to that of Nusa Penida, Roti and Ndao, it is not encountered in ikat. In the Sikka region (Flores) it occurs, but rarely.

Summing up, the stand-alone human figure was encountered in a several clearly disparate forms. One type, usually drawn in an angular fashion and found on Lombok (although not in ikat), Roti, Ndao, Pantar, Lembata and Timor, is similar to depictions of the Fertility Goddess Dewi Sri found on Bali (not in ikat) and its off-shore isle Nusa Penida. Another type, with a circular, cyclopean head and between three and five fingers on the raised hands, is essentially identical to that used in the pictorial strip of the South Moluccas, and found only in that region. A rare type from Savu with a 'Martian' look appears to have been influenced by 19th-century or earlier cloths from the Minahasa (North Sulawesi). With regard to Timor one cannot really speak of one type. We encounter a wide range of depictions, typically in a bold, hulking rendering; some clearly male, others clearly female, but by and large ambiguous.

3.4.4 THE DOUBLE-HEADED EAGLE

A Habsburg legacy

Fig. 106 Double-headed eagle portrayed on an early 20th-century sarong from Kisar. Note the human figure with emphasized V-shape in the triangular torso, resembling the human figures with raised hands of Roti, Ndao and a few other islands. *Source:* Collection Krzysztof Musial. Photograph by the present author.

One of the most iconographically interesting motifs found in the pictorial strips adorning the sarongs of Kisar and neighbouring islands is most likely a Habsburg legacy: a double-headed bird, colloquially referred to as the 'double-eagle' (Khan Majlis 1991a:316). This heraldic motif, of Roman origin, was almost certainly inspired by the Maria Theresia Thaler, a silver bullion coin widely accepted in international trade since its first mint in 1741 by the Habsburgs. A unique numismatic phenomenon on account of its wide geographic distribution and longevity, it is named after Empress Maria Theresa who ruled the Austrian Empire, which then included Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, between 1740 and 1780. Thalers struck in later years kept showing 1780 as the year of minting. On the obverse we see the Habsburg empress and on the reverse the Habsburg double-headed eagle. Because of its almost universal acceptance, it later came to be minted in ten countries (standing model for the Dutch daalder and the US dollar) to a total of circa 390 million pieces, including 116,060 minted at Utrecht, the Netherlands (Tschoegl 2001:443-445).

Maria Theresia Thalers were used widely in the Dutch East Indies and during World War II, under Japanese occupation. So many islanders preferred the Thaler over currency issued by the Japanese administration, that the American Office of Strategic Services forces began minting replicas to finance resistance forces.[1] For about another decade Thalers

[1] The best source as to this subject appears to be a short article published in the July 1963 edition of a magazine entitled *Popular Science* (pp. 56ff) in which Stanley P. Lovell, president of the Lovell Chemical Co., describes how, during his wartime role as the Director of Research and Development for the Office of Strategic Services, his team created counterfeit Maria Theresien Thalers for use in the Indonesian war theatre.

remained accepted currency in remote parts of Indonesia, including the region under study, and were a common source for silver jewelry. They carried the prestige of objects that came from afar, associated with the male identity, were made of metal moreover, another 'male' attribute, hence were eminently suitable for bridetakers as a component in bridewealth exchanges.

Coincidentally, Archduke Franz-Ferdinand of Austria-Este, when heir presumptive to the Austro-Hungarian throne, on his tour around the world by escorted navy cruiser in 1892-1893 paid a visit to the Moluccas. On Ambon the Dutch governor, Baron van Hoëvell, presented him with circa 1000 Moluccan artefacts collected under his regime. Nearly all of these were donated to the Weltmuseum Wien, which in more recent days passed a small number of them on to Ambon's Museum Siwalima. As Franz Ferdinand did not visit Kisar, 250 sea miles away, it is unlikely that his presence in the Moluccas prompted Kisar's use of the double-headed eagle, which, given its frequent occurrence on Kisar sarongs collected in the late 19th and very early 20th century, almost certainly predated his travels. The archduke may have been amused to see that a number of the sarongs he was presented with carried his family's crest.

Fig. 107 Maria Theresia Thaler with double-headed eagle. The Maria Theresia Thaler has a diameter of 39.5 mm and was struck from a silver-copper alloy containing 83.33 per cent silver. It weighs 28 grams. The obverse has a portrait of the empress wearing a widow's veil and a brooch with nine pearls. The inscription 'M. Theresa D.G.R. Imp. Hu. Bo. Reg.' can be transcribed as 'Maria Theresa, by the grace of God Roman Empress and Queen of Hungary and Bohemia'. The reverse shows the imperial double-headed eagle with the Austrian coats of arms in the centre, surrounded by four quarters representing Hungary, Bohemia, Burgundy and Burgau. The inscription 'Archid. Aust. Dux. Burg. Co. Tyr. 1780 X' translates as 'Archduchess of Austria, Duchess of Burgundy, Countess of Tyrol, 1780' (Tschoegl 2001:456). This coin was auctioned by Dorotheum in Vienna, 15/16-11-2017, Lot 1891. Photograph by Dorotheum.

Fig. 108 Double-eagle motif on a Kisar sarong, late 19th- or early 20th-century. The ancient symbol of power, vested in the state or dynastic, has been split into two natural birds with a single head each. *Source:* PC 134.

Fig. 109 Double-headed eagle motif on a late 19th- or early 20th-century Kisar shawl presenting the whole range of Kisarese figurative motifs. *Source:* Collection Anthony Granucci, N° ALS_177.116a. Photograph by John Ang.

Fig. 110 Double-headed eagle on an early 20th-century Kisar sarong. The double-headed eagle here is in the company of human figures with upraised hands, eight-pointed stars and base-mounted *tumpal. Source:* Museum Siwalima Ambon, N° 1202. No higher resolution image could be obtained.

Fig. 111 An atypical representation of the double eagle on an early 20th-century Kisar sarong. The motif looks strangely distorted (or should we say creatively reimagined?) and appears to be on its way to rudimentation. Remarkably, another bird, probably a chicken or rooster, has found a place in between the two eagle heads. *Source:* Collection Nurdin Holmes.

The double-headed eagle may be variously interpreted, a subject that invites further study. On Sumba, for instance, the bird's species has occasionally mutated into cockatoo, here traditionally reserved for the nobility. The bird's two heads facing in different directions signifies a call for caution: "In the course of life we have to look left and right, so that we can move with certainty." The double-headed birds also promote maintaining a mental balance: "They remind us to pay equal attention to the power of the creator and the natural environment in which we live."[1]

On ikat of the eastern archipelago the Habsburg double-headed eagle motif occurs in a variety of forms. The eagles may face each other or not. Their bodies may be separate, as in certain examples from Kisar (see Fig. 118) and Luang (see Fig. 119), or they may have merged, as on the Timorese specimen from Insana (see Fig. 112), a key example. When peering at it through our eyelids, we first see large X-shapes. This same shape occurs on a number of Timorese cloths, usually, as in this case, as a filler between two *kaif* motifs – the most popular, ubiquitous motif that represents links with the ancestors. Often the motif is

[1] King Lauren, pers. comm., 2020, based on querying sources in the Sumbanese nobility. How common this reading of the motif is, or whether it predated the author's question, could not be established.

rendered in a rudimentary fashion, resembling the wings of a bodiless insect, with curly fillers in the triangular spaces between upper and lower segments.

The present author has long harboured a suspicion that a number of such X-shapes were in fact abstracted representations of double-headed eagles, but it was not until the specimen in Fig. 112 was encountered that confidence grew that this identification was correct.

Fig. 112 Double-headed, X-shaped, eagle on a mid-20th-century Timor sarong from Insana. Crucially here, the X-shape (which on Timor is also encountered in forms that are not, or even less readily, interpretable as figurative), is recognizable as the double-headed eagle motif. This key specimen constitutes a link between the more figurative double-headed eagles of Kisar and the almost unrecognizable forms encountered on Timor. They would not have been identified as double-headed eagles without this reference. *Source:* Collection Georges Breguet.

Fig. 113 Single-headed eagles on a 19th-century sarong from Oirata on Kisar. The presence of human figures with upraised hands confirms an earlier tentative attribution of this pictorial style to Kisar's Oirata populace (ten Hoopen 2018:463). Source: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, N° 36581, photographed by the present author.

Fig. 114 Hexagons with X-shaped fillers in between that may have invited conversion to double-headed eagles, on an antique (probably 18th- or very early 19th-century) sarong from Minahasa. *Source:* Museum Nasional (Jakarta), public domain.

Fig. 115 Double-headed eagle on a Sumba *hinggi* from the royal court of Kanatang, now in the Museum der Kulturen (Basel), N° IIc 8696, dated 1949 (see Fig. 240). See also Gittinger 1979: Fig. 119 (in greyscale). There is a clear attempt at natural rendering, down to the aquiline curvature of the beaks – though on Sumba the birds are interpreted as cockatoos, which are traditionally rendered with curved, even drooping beaks. Several other occurrences were encountered in the Hinggi Database, exclusively in cloth made for the nobility. Photograph by Peter Horner. © Museum der Kulturen Basel.

Fig. 116 Supposed rudimentary representation of the double-headed eagle – reduced to an X-shape with filled-in triangles – on an antique *kain timur* that was acquired in the Doberai Peninsula (New Guinea). This cloth is dated 'before 1956', but it appears safe to assume production in the very early 20th century or before. Its origin is given as Kisar or Leti. Because the *tumpal* finials are not base-mounted (unlike all Kisarese examples encountered during the present investigation), its production on Leti seems more likely. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-2481-38.

Fig. 117 Rudimentary double-headed eagle on a sarong from Babar, early 20th-century. *Source:* Collection Georges Breguet.

Fig. 118 Early 20th-century sarong from Kisar showing a remarkable 'unravelling' of the double-headed eagle. The double-headed eagle motif here has been torn asunder, leaving us with two individual eagles, facing rather than facing away from each other, and both with only one wing. *Source:* Collection Kinga Lauren.

Fig. 119 On this early 20th-century lavre, sarong, from Luang the double-headed eagle has metamorphosed into twin single-headed eagles. Note the smaller single-headed eagle that fills the space between the larger eagles. The lively and original drawing is typical for Luang's high-end ikat, for ranking families' own ceremonial use. So is the drawing in clearly defined lines, resembling that of the Brussels School drawing style 'Klare Lijn' - a name coined by Joost Swarte, one of its leading proponents. Its hallmark is reduction: as on Luang only the essential lines are rendered. The cloth displays excellent control of warp shrinkage; the cyclopean heads are truly round. *Source:* Collection Kinga Lauren.

Fig. 120 Double-headed eagles on a 1970s men's blanket from Miomafo (West Timor) placed head to head within a *kaif*-like lozenge. While this motif has yet to be encountered on an earlier specimen, it is probably not a recent invention. It is more likely to have long been in disuse, bar in one small region or only among a few families. *Source:* Collection Krista Knirck-Bumke.

Fig. 121 Motif on a Savunese sarong depicted by Duggan (2013:76) which she could not identify. As it is very unlike the bird motifs inspired by European needlework patterns, and shows two wings and two heads, there appears to be little room for doubt that this is another apparition of the double-headed eagle motif. *Source:* Collection Witjira Samsuria.

Fig. 122 Rudimentary eagles on an undated, probably early 20th-century, Raijua sarong. *Source:* Catalogue published by the now defunct German auction house Kunsthandel Klefisch, Auction 95, Lot 68. The year of appearance could not be retrieved.

Fig. 123 Rudimentary double-headed eagle on a sarong from Sikka (Flores). Given the angular rendering style and the vertical dividers, this cloth may well have been made by one of the many weavers from the off-shore island of Palu'e who work in the Sikka region of Flores. (For use on Palu'e the drawing would have been done in stippling). *Source:* Art Gallery of New South Wales, N° 189.2005.

Fig. 124 Rudimentary double-headed eagle on a 1920-1940 sarong from Ndona or neighbouring Lio (Flores). As in the Sikka example (see Fig. 123) and the one from Ngada (see Fig. 125) it would have been hard to think of an eagle, leave alone a double-headed one, if we did not have the more precise depictions from elsewhere. *Source:* Collection Perry Kesner. Photograph by the present author.

Fig. 125 Rudimentary double-headed eagle on an early 20th-century sarong of the type *sapu jara* originating from the Ngada people of Flores. As in the Ndona or Lio example (see Fig. 124) one would not readily recognize this motif as a double-headed eagle. *Source:* PC 076.

Fig. 126 This early 20th-century *homnon,* sarong, from Kisar shows that the double-headed eagle has the capacity to metamorphose into a quadruple-headed version. This is the only example of such metamorphosis encountered in forty years of investigation of ikat from the region under study. *Source:* Collection Hamka Gassing.

Fig. 127 An old Kisar *homnon* decorated with a six-headed eagle. Did the weaver wish to surpass a four-headed eagle she once saw, or was the intermediate stage skipped? Either way, the syncretisation manifested in this work shows how effectively rudimentation and invention go hand in hand, producing creative results. Again, note the pronounced V-shape in the figure's torse. *Source:* Collection Kinga Lauren. One of a series of inventory shots taken in Kinga Lauren's store in 2015.

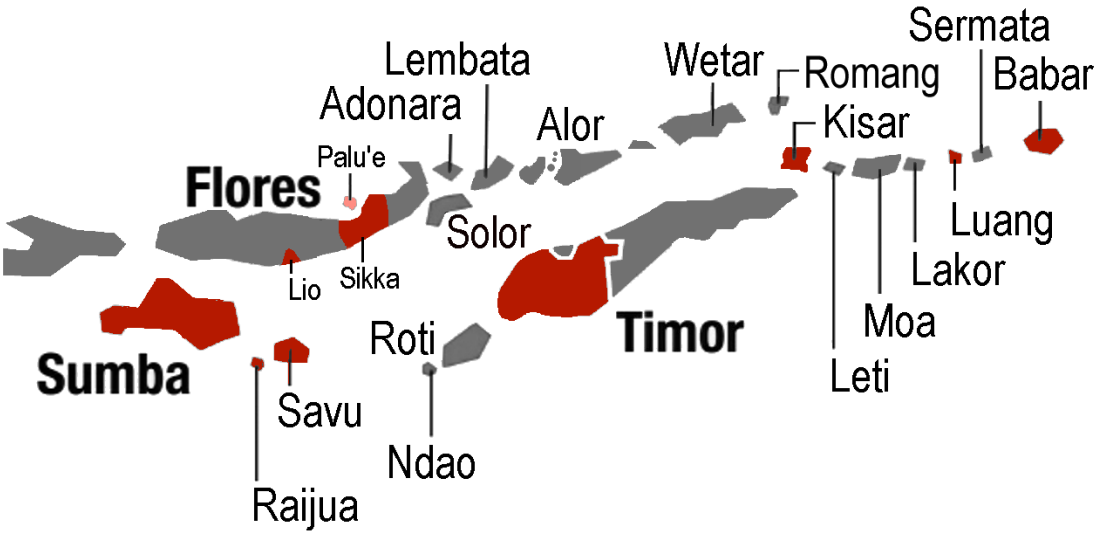

Fig. 128 The distribution of the double-headed eagle motif, including rudimentary forms. The double-headed eagle is present most prominently on the islands east of Timor, particularly on Kisar, and less common on Timor itself. Multiple occurrences were found on Sumba, a single one on Flores (a Sikka sarong probably made by a Palu'e weaver) and another one on Raijua.

We can conclude that the double-headed eagle motif, inspired by the Maria Theresia Thaler which long served as currency in the Southeast Asian trade theatre, was most common in the Southwesterly Islands. This motif is relatively challenging, and perhaps not all weavers felt confident to pull it off, as it occurs with enough frequency to count as established, but in limited numbers. In the Southwesterly Islands it always appears in the context of a *rimanu* strip, a medium utilised to communicate the region's origin myths.

The double-headed eagle is most common and generally most naturally depicted on Kisar. In East Sumba it is neither common nor rare. It occurs on Savu, but rarely. In West Timor it occurs in what appear to be two distinct forms: (a) rudimentary and (b) creative. The rudimentary forms result from apparent attempts to draw double-headed eagles in their fullness, with wings and talons outspread, which failed to reach definition of the complex figure and turned into blurry X-shaped motifs that may or may not have wings, but certainly do have heads. The creative forms are rendered in a manner so sketchy that they appear to have originated by changing an X-shaped filler from grandma's repertoire (a perfect fit between two hexagons) so that it looks to have wings and a head, double or single, whichever – as long as it looks pretty and is easily done.

It is quite possible that a trend towards rudimentation and one towards creative conversion manifested themselves concurrently. Both types of weavers probably associated the double-headed eagle with power, as it represented high monetary worth and class. In the context of male-female harmony and exchanges, the double-eagle had the cosmological attributes of 'male' and 'hot' on account of it being something from afar and made of metal, both of which are associated with the male identity in the region's cosmology. By ikating it into her sarong, which, as a textile, has the atributes 'female' and 'cool', the weaver may be said to have 'wed' the two concepts (Fox 1989:44-47; Gittinger 1979:35).

3.4.5 THE TRIANGLE-WITH-PROJECTIONS

Fig. 129 The 'triangle-with-projections' motif on an antique Kisarese men's cloth, 19th- to early 20th-century (PC 200, see also Fig. 202).

Esoteric meaning?

One motif became more elusive as more manifestations were found in the region under study and its various expressions were examined: the 'triangle-with-projections'. Its basic form is an isosceles triangle standing on its base with multiple projections from both legs. Its meaning is obscure. A few years ago, it was the subject of online debate among half a

dozen expert collectors[1], and after all was said and done remained equally obscure as before, proposed meanings ranging from boats to mountains and pagodas [*sic*]. The present investigation yielded several textiles that may provide clues to a hidden meaning, presumably anchored in ancient Austronesian beliefs and practices – which would also explain its relatively extensive distribution.

The triangles-with-projections may represent the rigging of a boat. The context in which they are placed occasionally suggests an esoteric meaning tied to the *porka* fertility cult, described by de Jong & van Dijk (1995), the core element of which was frenetic communal intercourse in order to evoke, almost extort, fertility.

> The image of a waiting boat, which is set into motion by an element from outside, is the symbolic representation of a birth in these cultures. The keel or the hull of a boat, associated with the women, fertility and the earth as a source or life, was completed by the prows and sterns and the riggings, exponents of the reputation of 'grand name', which is derived from the outside world. Thus, a union arises from the 'vital force' and the 'soul': the complete human being (de Jonge & van Dijk 1995:74) .

The womb is fertilized by the male element entering it, the way a man enters a boat lying on the beach, plugs the drainage hole and goes out to sea in it (de Jonge 2001:33) in order to perform his share of the conjugal barter: exploring foreign lands, returning with bounty and increasing the pair's status.

If this indeed is the deeper meaning of the triangle-with projections, it is carefully hidden, revealed but by a few rare giveaways. It may also, alternatively, have become (in the course of generations) no more than a visual play that weavers interpret according to their whim or local lore, and that anthropologists tend to read too much into, but this, all the evidence considered, no longer seems likely. More likely is that only the male part of the concept, the rigging, is depicted, because the presence of the female component is a given, immanent in the cloth, hence need not be shown – although an occasional playful allusion to it may be ikated in.

An intriguing indication supporting this interpretation was found not on ikat, but on a stenciled cloth from Kisar (see Fig. 136). Here a 'Sumbanese' *mamuli*, symbolizing the female genitals, makes a rare appearance, exactly on the spot where the postulated hidden hull of a boat, representing the womb, would be positionoed in the mind of the observer. It is all the more convincing as the link to fertility is well-established not just conceptually, but also in practice: "Only women of child-bearing age may adorn their *kaleku* [betel-nut bag] with *mamuli*" (Geirnaert 1989:455).

An additional argument for a hidden link to fertility is that another old Kisar shawl (see Fig. 138) has a marine motif in the same spot, the area under the base of the rig's triangle where a hull would be expected but is not shown – just two fishes. Were these aquatic motifs intended to help a viewer to mentally complete the image of a boat, bringing to mind the hull's role as a symbol for the womb, the centre of all fertility-related ceremony?

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[1] See www.tribaltextiles.info, post by the present author on 24-12-2014, with follow-up by others.

Fig. 130 The triangle-with-projections motif serving as the rigging of a boat on a late 20th-century cloth from the Lio region (Flores). Note the people sitting inside the hull, which is not a common design in the Lio region. It may be a time-honoured theme brought back to life to better serve the tourist market, which awards figuration. The question is why this hull suddenly appears here. Is it the weaver's inspiration, fired up by a sense of commercial opportunity? Or was the hull hidden in nearly all other manifestations because it represents fertility, more specifically the womb – as it does in the *porka* festivals of the southern Moluccas, which centred around a period of mass intercourse in a ritual context? *Source:* Collection Kay Mertens, Photograph by the present author.

Fig. 131 On this earlier, probably early 20th-century, Lio cloth we see the triangle-with-projections in its typical form. It appears in this form across much of the region under study – without a hull below the rigging. This motif is surrounded by pointed elliptical forms which, given that the boat shown above (see Fig. 130) is surrounded by fishes, probably represent fish as well, which to the initiated would serve as a key to the triangle-with-projection's interpretation. Lio weavers refer to this motif as *kapa,* 'boat' (De Jong & Kunz 2016:13). *Source:* Collection Peter Kurisoo.

Fig. 132 The triangle-with-projections motif on a 1980s sarong from the Lio region of Flores. This rendering of the motif is unambiguously naval: below the rigging a recognizable hull was drawn, in contravention of what appears to have been a widely respected taboo. We should consider that, like the vessel in Fig. 130, this also is a recent representation. Perhaps by the time of its manufacture the taboo on showing the hull had come to be regarded as a superstition not befitting Christianised people. *Source:* Collection Kinga Lauren.

Fig. 133 Detail of an early 20th -century bridewealth sarong, *kewatek*, from Lembata and field-collected in Lamalera, a whalers' village (PC 047). Other than on PC 048 (see below, Fig. 134), there are no human figures in or around the triangle here which would cause one to invert it. Worth noting are the eight-pointed stars, which are found on Lembata ikat with some frequency, but far short of being common. The smaller triangles with small projections rising from the base are locally interpreted as stingrays. A similar rendering of this motif, likewise with four projections, is found on PC 126. Another boat motif seen on Lembata, the much smaller *tena* (see PC 119, and Barnes 1988, Photo 25), has no projections and appears to be unrelated. *Source:* PC 047.

Fig. 134 Detail of an early 20th-century bridewealth sarong, *kewatek,* from Lembata and field-collected in Lamalera, a whalers' village. Note how the triangle-with-projections is here inverted, and shows people around and within it. The elderly woman who sold this *pusaka* in 1981 and whose name was lost, stated that the human figures are called *ata kliken* (*ata*, lit. 'man', 'human'; the meaning of *kliken* is unknown). She also stated that the triangle represents the *peledang,* the whaler's *prahu* unique to this village, which the author must recognize immediately – and indeed does resemble a cross section of a *peledang* hull. These are made of planking held together with ropes, rather than rigid joinery, so as to keep the structure flexible – more resistant to the strike of a whale tail. The projections, she explained, depict the oars that help the men generate the fierce acceleration which, as the author could experience on board, are vital in an attack. Her explanation may well be a case of Lamaleran *hineininterpretieren* - as well as a textbook case on the fluidity of iconography in these eastern parts of the Indonesian archipelago. *Source:* PC 048.

Fig. 135 Explaining it all – or a simple play with an established motif? This late colonial bridewealth sarong was made in 1930-1950 by a Lamaholot weaver from Demo Pagang, located between Bama and Lewo Tobi (Flores's Bird's Head Peninsula). On the left we see the triangle-with-projections and more centrally a motif constituted by two of such triangles melded together at the base (with elimination of the baseline). This happens to turn it into a motif so similar to a Timorese *kaif* that it is difficult not to identify it as such. However, it is also possible that an older triangle-with-projections motif was stylistically reduced to a simpler form, perhaps inspired by a motif from Timor which, on account of its ubiquity on cloths from the large neighbour across the Savu Sea, must have been known to many women from the region. Origin identified by Antony Lebuan. *Source:* PC 128.

Fig. 136 A triangle-with-projections motif on a pre-1925 stencilled cloth from Kisar. Remarkable is the abundance of fertility symbols. One *mamuli* is occupying the inside of the triangle. Two other *mamuli* dangle in the open spaces above the lower triangle. Moreover, the segment between the two triangles-with-projections appears to show the female reproductive organ too, including the ovaries, flanked by small human figures. Could the presence of these multiple fertility symbols reveal the esoteric meaning of the triangle-with-projections? Perhaps the rigging of a boat serves as a *pars pro toto* for a boat, whereas the hull – heavily charged as it is in its role as symbol for the womb – is kept hidden from view. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-2246-13.

Fig. 137 A triangle-with-projections motif decorating a late 19th- to early 20th-century ikat cloth from Kisar (dated 'before 1929'). The triangle contains three forms that appear to represent linked mamuli, the usual golden ear ornaments symbolizing the female reproductive organ. A similar cloth was on display in the Jakarta Museum Nasional in 2019 and photographed by Georges Breguet in order to further this investigation. *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-556-116.

Fig. 138 Another early 20th-century stencilled cloth from Kisar (dated 'before 1948'). Here we see the triangle-with-projections above a marine motif. Could it be taking the place of the hull which is to remain hidden, yet provide a pointer as to the deeper meaning of the motif, betraying its association with fertility? *Source:* Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° TM-1862-7.

Fig. 139 Two ‘triangle-with-projections’ motifs on a centuries old ikat sarong, probably from Minahasa (Sulawesi). This is the earliest occurrence of the motif encountered in this study. Remarkably, the basic shape remained essentially the same over centuries, suggesting that the motif was considered too highly charged with values to allow freedom for alternative rendering. *Source:* Yale University Art Collection, N° 111119-001. This institution’s website dates the cloth “circa 1700”.

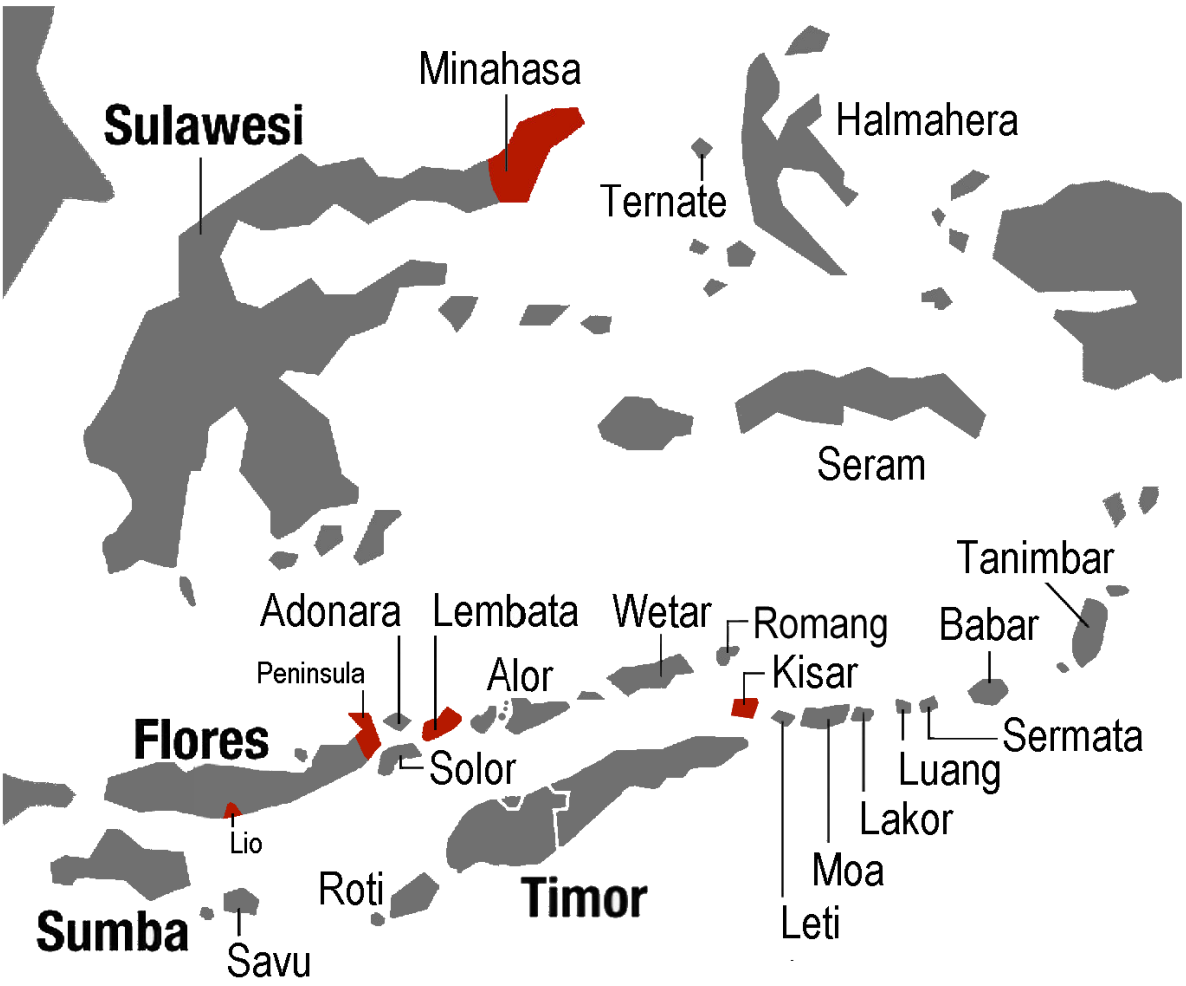

Fig. 140 The widely scattered distribution of the rare motif of a triangle-with-projections. This motif appears to represent the rigging of a boat, the hull of which (known to stand for the womb in parts of the archipelago is) is typically hidden.

The most elusive hence exigent motif investigated, the triangle-with-projections, is seen mostly on Kisar and Lembata, with rare appearances on Flores, exclusively in the Lio region (Ende District) – where it is explicitly recognized as naval – and in the Ili Mandiri region (the Bird's Head Peninsula). These appearances most likely emulate the 18th- and early 19th-century ikat cloths from Minahasa (northern Sulawesi). Investigation of the motif's visual context revealed both aquatic motifs and symbolic representations of the female reproductive organ strategically placed below, alongside, or inside it. This suggests that the triangle-with-projections motif represents the rigging of a boat, whereas the hull – which in the fertility cults of the South Moluccas, in earlier days perhaps more widespread, represents the womb – is not depicted. Everywhere but in the Lio region (Flores), the hull is deliberately not shown, but merely evoked by subtle cues.

Other boat motifs appear on other islands, e.g. those on the sarongs of Savu, and the

small *tena* of Lembata, but these appear to be unrelated and have no marked triangular forms. One boat form which appears to have a shallow, yet wide distribution, deserves a deeper study: the boat form with a tree growing from the bottom. It appears to be conceptually related to the 'womb-hulls' of the *porka*-cult region, in that fertility is springing from the bottom of the boat.

It seems, therefore, that the triangle-with-projections is intended to evoke asssociations with fertility rituals in which a boat's hull stood for the womb – which was to be entered by a male in order to bear fruit, much as a boat comes to life when the sailor embarks, plants the mast and hoists sail. This cosmological notion lies at the core of the *porka* cult home to the Southwesterly Islands and was still vigourous during the early 19th century (van Dijk & de Jonge 1990:9).

The widely scattered distribution of the triangle-with-projections, on islands as far apart as Kisar, Lembata, Flores and Sulawesi, suggests that in the past the *porka* cult had a far wider distribution than where it was found by de Jonge & van Dijk. It may well have been an Austronesian concept which survived in the South Moluccas longer than in the more westerly parts of the Indonesian archipelago, and for some reason was rather evoked than shown. It is quite possible that the whole process of reproduction, to which the womb is central, was considered so sacred a force, that attempting to represent it would have been presumptuous, perhaps even sacriligious – but that a mature weaver[1] could evoke it, by passing us secret keys.

3.4.6 THE EIGHT-POINTED STAR

The emblematic eight-pointed star of Kisar, which there is reserved for the nobility, is also found on several other islands in the region under study, although distinctly less emblematic; just one element in the local repertoire of motifs. It is the most widely distributed of the studied motifs. So far it was found on:

Sulawesi (Minahasa)	Sumba (East Sumba)	Timor
Kisar	Lembata	Savu
Luang	Pantar	Roti
Flores (Sikka)	Alor	Bali (Tenganan)

[1] Cf. Hoskins's finding, cited above, that in West Sumba *mamuli* were not to be created by young women (Geirnaert 1989:455).

Fig. 141 Eight-pointed star on an early 20th-century *homnon,* ceremonial sarong from Kisar (South Moluccas). Note the way the star is boxed in, with angular curls filling in the squares on the four corners, and triangles pushing inward from the sides. This is nearly identical to the way the motif appears on ikat from Lembata (see Fig. 142) – and on some oriental carpets (see Figs. 157, 158). Carpet connoisseurs would instantly recognize it as a so called Leshgi star, used by Turkic peoples from the Caucasus to central Asia.

This specimen serves as an eminent illustration of warp shrinkage control (not perfect but better than most) which yields colour transitions precisely on the weft. This *homnon* is one of the sharpest drawn examples in the Reference Set. *Source:* PC 276.

It is not clear what the eight-pointed star stands for on Kisar. The fact that it is called *kota lama*, 'old town', in Lautém may well result from a local interpretation – e.g. to suit a myth of origin – although Kota Lama is an actual place on Kisar, the village surrounding the Dutch VOC Fort Delfshaven.

On Lembata (see PC 047 and PC 126) local informants in the early 1980s called it *sirete*, star, and reported that it stands for a starfish (any of the numerous varieties of the Asteroidea class found in the region, e.g, *Acanthaster planci*). It also occurs on men's shawls from Savu (see PC 031), where it is called *moto;* on East Sumbanese *hinggi*; on *geringsing* from Tenganan's Bali Aga people, as well as, occasionally, on sarongs from Sikka on Flores. On Roti it is used on the elegant shawls for noblemen from Nemberala; on Timor it occurs occasionally. It was also encountered far outside the region under study on the back side of an early 20th-century Iban *kelambi*, warrior's jacket, from Sarawak which is now part of a private collection in the USA.

The earliest eight-pointed star yet was found on a 16th-century ikat sarong from Minahasa (northern Sulawesi) in the Yale University Art Gallery. This textile belongs to the minute group of surviving examples of this type of courtly sarongs that, probably distributed by the rajas of Ternate and Tidore to their favourite vassals, strongly influenced design in the eastern parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

Fig. 142 Eight-pointed star on a 19th-century bridewealth sarong from the Kédang region on Lembata. The way the star was boxed in is strikingly similar to that in the Kisarese example shown in Fig. 141, and to motifs on Kirghiz (Kyrgyz) carpets shown (see Figs. 157, 158). Note what appears to be an odd error in the top left corner: a short section of warp was not dyed and shows up as five ecru dashes. The error (assuming that is what it is) would have been easy to correct by daubing with morinda dye. Particularly because the cloth is of the highest quality (and at auction went at four times the high estimate), the question lingers why the weaver chose not to effect a correction. Would she have felt this to be improper? *Source:* Veilinggebouw De Zwaan, Auction 17-11-2020, Lot 3321. Photograph by Michiel Boerma.

Given its wide distribution, the eight-pointed star is likely to be ancient and meaningful, even if people today might be hard put to articulate its precise meaning, or create local interpretations that suit their myths of origin or cosmology. It may have been part of the Austronesian cultural baggage, but could also have come to the region in a different way, e.g. the carpet trade. This may seem farfetched, but let us not forget that all manner of luxuries were traded between continental Asia and insular Southeast Asia since times immemorial. There is a striking similarity between several eight-pointed stars in the region under study, particularly those from Kisar, and the way the motif is represented on Kirghiz carpets.

The polygenesis of numerous basic patterns is well established. As soon as one starts playing with lines, curves and overlapping circles certain arresting shapes are generated automatically. Great care must therefore be taken when postulating a common origin. In the case of the eight-pointed star, however, a number of correspondences are so striking that we need to consider the possibility of a shared origin. They may be caused by survival in just two or several locations of a pattern that in ancient times had a wider distribution, or by dissemination to a few select places. The likeness, for instance, between the Kisarese eight-pointed star and that seen on some Turkic carpets is so detailed that it is worth taking a closer look, if only to dispel the notion that one might be close-minded. While doing this, it is worth recalling that the Turkic people inhabited a wide arc north and west of the area that the Austronesians supposedly hail from.

Fig. 143

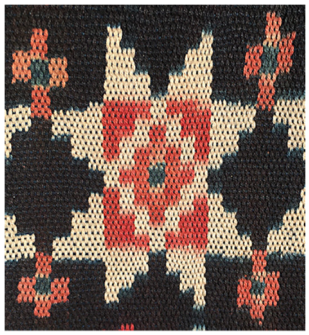

Fig. 144

Fig. 145

Fig. 146

Fig. 147

Fig. 148

Fig. 149

Fig. 150

Fig. 151

Fig. 152

Fig. 153

Fig. 154

Fig. 143 Eight-pointed star on a shawl from Nemberala on Roti. Late colonial. *Source:* Collection Anja Philippart.
Fig. 144 Eight-pointed star, somewhat squashed, on a 16th-century sarong tentatively attributed to Minahasa. *Source:* Yale University Art Gallery, N° 111138-001.
Fig. 145 Eight-pointed star on a men's shawl from Savu. Late colonial. *Source:* Collection Krzysztof Musial. Photograph by the present author.
Fig. 146 Eight-pointed star on an early-mid 20th-century sarong from Lospalos (East Timor). *Source:* Collection Tina Tabone.
Fig. 147 Eight-pointed star on an early 20th-century bridewealth sarong from Lamalera, Lembata; early 20th-century. *Source:* PC 126.
Fig. 148 Two eight-pointed stars on a sarong from the Sikka region (Flores). *Source:* Private collection, Switzerland.
Fig. 149 Eight-pointed star on a late 19th- to early 20th -century *geringsing* shawl from Tenganan (Bali). *Source:* Collection Georges Breguet.
Fig. 150 Eight-pointed star on a circa 1920 Sumba men's wrap from Kambera. *Source:* PC 336.
Fig. 151 Eight-pointed star on a 19th- or early 20th-century *pou*, sarong, from Ndao. This sarong was made in the rarely encountered style of the Lesser Clans, which prescribes a red, rather than an indigo background. Because morinda is far scarcer than indigo on the dry island, this is a Lesser Clan weaver's way to show opulence. The eight-pointed star is extremely rare on Ndao. This is the only example the present author ever encountered on ikat from the island. *Source:* PC 318.
Fig. 152 Eight-pointed star on a shawl from East Timor; exact region unknown, perhaps Lospalos; early 20th-century. While not quite an eight-pointed star, it is clearly derived from the more common form. The weaver just turned four of the points into flowing banners – as was done on the 16th-century Minahasa sarong in the Yale University Art Gallery (Fig. 144). *Source:* Collection Uky Sulkifli.
Fig. 153 Eight-pointed star on an old sarong from Luang. Note how this star is again similar to the one depicted on the 16th-century Minahasa sarong in the Yale University Art Gallery. Another, very similar, example of its use on Luang is kept at the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, N° 36716. *Source:* Liefkes Collection, Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° RV-Liefkes-1006.
Fig. 154 Eight-pointed star on a sarong from Pantar, 1925-1950. *Source:* PC 184.

To summarize: the eight-pointed star has a wide distribution in the region under study. It is often executed in contrasting tones, and on Kisar and Pantar boxed-in, which creates a sense of depth and makes the pattern visually reversible.

This visually reversible version of the octagram, called Leshgi star by oriental carpet connoisseurs, is widely used on the Asian mainland by Turkic peoples such as the Kazakh and the Uzbek, as well as the Kirghiz or Kyrgyz[1] who live in the wide arc north and west of the zone from which the Austronesians are assumed to have begun migrating south and southeast. This is not to suggest motif-derivation or to postulate a common point of origin, but simply to draw attention – in full consciousness of Lévi-Strauss's warning not to jump to conclusions when we note similarities between motifs from geographically or temporally

[1] Numerous sources e.g. Gantzhorn (1998:Figs. 240 and 242, from Anatolia, the western tip of the arc), auction houses and dealers, e.g. Nazmiyal Collection, Turkish Kazak rug N° 46484, as well as information sharing platforms, e.g. Turkotek, URL: http://www.turkotek.com/misc_00136/kirghiz.htm; accessed on 4-2-2020. While many contemporary sources use the spelling Kyrgyz, consistency with the majority of the literature dictates upholding Kirghiz.

remote cultures[1] – to the possibility of contact over the ages. Unlikely as such contact is, the graphic similarity is so striking as to force us to analyse it. Even the way the four corners have been filled in, with angular curls versus squares, and the way triangles come pushing in from the sides are nearly identical. An equally striking similarity exists between the breast beam motif and a motif found on a Gendjeh (Caucasus) carpet in a Dutch collection. The *kaif* motifs of West Timor closely correspond to nested diamond motifs with hooked outlines that are common on Kazak carpets[2]. Another motif encountered on Kazak carpets is identical to the *sekong* motifs of the Toraja on Sulawesi.

Such correspondences are pointed out here merely because they warrant further investigation, especially because there are several. Could this be one of those cases Claude Lévi-Strauss referred to when adding the qualifier "besides fruitful discoveries" to his admonition?

Fig. 155 Fig. 156 Fig. 157 Fig. 158

Fig. 155 Eight-pointed star on a Kisarese sarong, boxed-in and executed in starkly contrasting tones (PC 276.)

Fig. 156 Eight-pointed star on a 19th-century bridewealth sarong from Kédang on Lembata (PC 309), a non-weaving region, which was produced in the nearby village of Ili Ape in similarly contrasting tones. Note the diamond shaped core. *Source:* Veilinggebouw De Zwaan, Auction 17-11-2020, Lot 3321. Photograph by Michiel Boerma.

Fig. 157 Eight-pointed Leshgi star on a Kirghiz carpet. Note the analogous filling-in of the four corners, and how triangles and arrows come pushing in from the sides. All this is near identical to the treatment of the motif on the Kisarese sarong PC 276 and the Kédang sarong PC 309. With the latter it also shares a diamond-shaped core. *Source:* RugRabbit website; accessed 24-9-2017.

Fig. 158 Eight-pointed Leshgi star on a Kirghiz carpet. Note the analogous filling-in of the corners, and how triangles and arrows come pushing in from the sides. All this is near identical to the treatment of the motif on the Kisarese sarong PC 276 and the Kédang sarong PC 309. With the latter it also shares a diamond-shaped core. *Source:* RugRabbit website, URL: http://rugrabbit.com, accessed 5-3-2017.

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[1] Lévi-Strauss states: "An ornamental detail, a peculiar form, only needs to occur in two different parts of the world, for enthusiasts to immediately proclaim – never mind the often considerable geographic and historical distance – their shared origin, and the unquestionable prehistoric relationships between otherwise incomparable cultures. It is well known which errors, besides fruitful discoveries, this hasty search for analogies has generated (1958:269)" [translation PtH].

[2] Numerous instances, e.g. an antique Bordjalou Kazak in the collection of the dealer Hagop Manoyan, N° 1079-1571241070

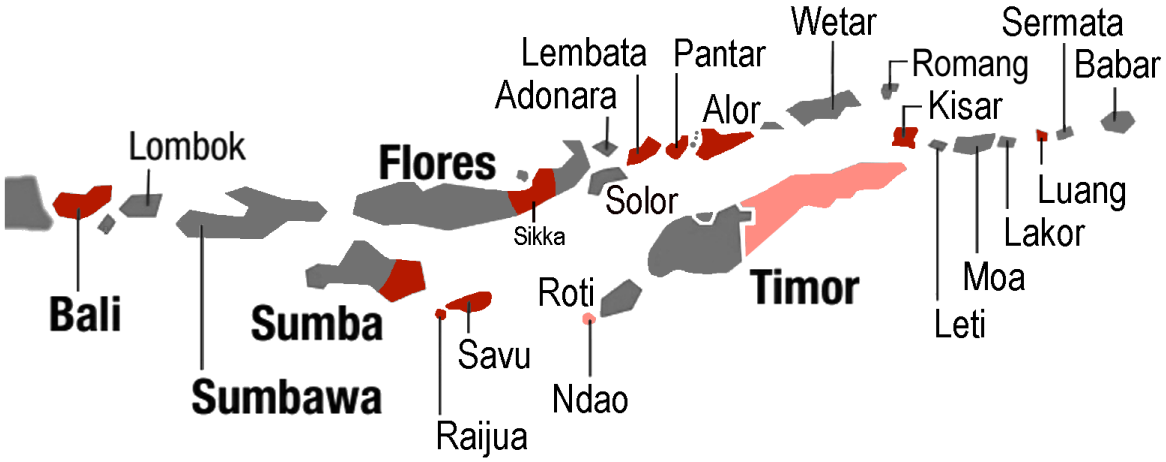

Fig. 159 The distribution of the eight-pointed star motif. The islands where this motif is used frequently or fairly frequently are marked in red. Two regions where it is seen only rarely, East Timor and the islet of Ndao, are indicated in a lighter tone.

Is summary, the eight-pointed star is the most widely distributed of the studied motifs. It is found on ten islands, although on two of these in only one region. These islands, from Bali to Luang, span an arc of 1500 km and are linguistically and culturally quite diverse. What the motif stands for, if anything, differs from locale to locale. In Lautém on Timor it stands for Kota Lama (lit. 'Old Town') on Kisar, where the Dutch fortress stood – a structure with a square footprint. On other islands it is simply called 'star' and appears to be a design element like any other without esoteric or culturally charged meaning.

The eight-pointed star as used on Kisar has an intriguing similarity to the one used on Turkic, especially Kirghiz, carpets – a similarity even in small details that appears to be too close to be merely a demonstration of polygenesis. No attempt was made to postulate derivation or a common origin, but it was felt that the correspondence was striking enough to warrant further investigation – a possibly fruitful pursuit as there are several other motifs in the region under study that in nearly identical form show up on Turkic carpets, such as the *kaif* of Timor, varieties of which regularly appear on Kazak (e.g. Karabagh) and Kirghiz rugs.

3.4.7 THE ‘BREAST BEAM’ MOTIF

Fig. 160 Breast beam motif on an early 20th-century sarong from Babar. The core here is distinctly hexagonal, the inward curls are angular. *Source:* PC 301.

This striking motif, Buckley’s type Hrd (Buckley 2012:15), is mostly found in the Tanimbar archipelago, but it also appears on several other islands, nearly always as the major motif in an ikated band. It is usually accompanied by a few vaguely similar, but less clearly defined motifs involving inward curls, yet to be investigated. These present us with a formidable challenge as they appear in so many different forms that it is not clear if they represent an established motif with multifarious expressions, or a vernacular, a small group of motifs associated with it only by drawing style.

Van Vuuren described and named the ‘breast beam’ motif in her *Ikat from Tanimbar* (2009) – the only available monograph on the ikat textiles of the Tanimbar Islands. Her informants told her that on the northern islands Larat and Fordata this motif represents the breast beam of a loom. She concludes that it “should here symbolize craftmanship in weaving” (*ibid.*:149). Its name in Fordatan is *katkatan njanan*. On the island of Yamdena the same motif is interpreted as a full moon surrounded by two half moons (*ibid.*:151). If even within this small archipelago the motif is diversely named and interpreted, its connotations across the eight widely scattered islands where it was encountered probably vary greatly. Because of the lunar associations (the crescent moon stands for fertility), and its wide distribution from the Philippines to the Tanimbar Islands, Van Vuuren speculates that the motif may also have been “a symbol of the primordial mother (*ibid.*)”.

The breast beam motif is visually compelling on account of its compact combination of rounded and angular lines, and its double-sided symmetry which gives it the character of an

emblem, something condensed and closed-in on itself. These characteristics lend the design a certain boldness which makes it stand out among similar but less clearly defined forms, and invites us to follow it across the region. There are three diverse expressions: (a) square or almost square with the curls closely hugging the core; (b) elongated and angular; and (c) elongated and rounded.

Fig. 161 Breast beam motif on an early 20th-century sarong from Tanimbar. Hexagonal core, angular inward curls. The core takes up exactly half of the total width. A version of the motif with a diamond shaped core and similar nesting was encountered on a 1980 sarong from Fordata (van Vuuren 2001:169, Fig. 48). *Source:* Collection Uky Sulkifli.

Fig. 162 Motif on an early 20th-century Tanimbar sarong identified as illustrating a full moon in between two half moons (Van Vuuren 2009:150, Fig. 82). The core consists of two fused hexagons. The inward curls are somewhat rounded. *Source:* Collection Uky Sulkifli.

Fig. 163 Breast beam motif on an antique Tanimbarese chest cloth; for a similar example, see Granucci 2005:86. The core is vaguely hexagonal, the inward curls are somewhat rounded. *Source:* PC 265.

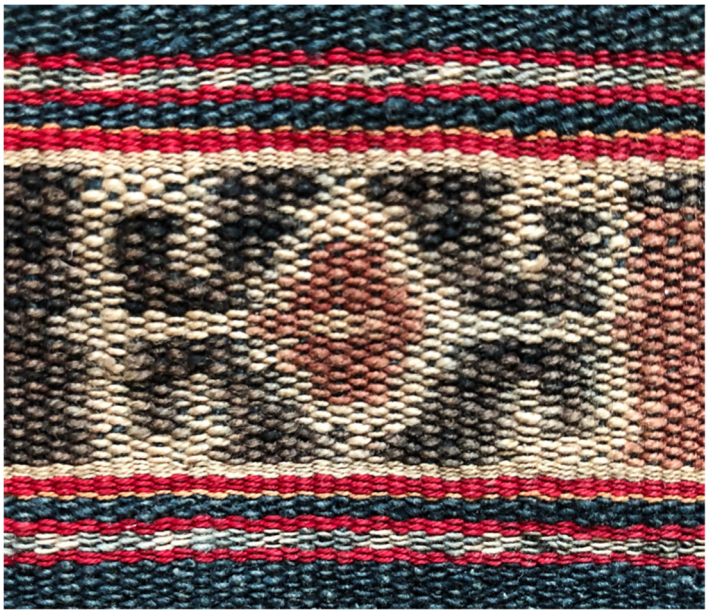

Fig. 164 Breast beam motif on an early 20th-century sarong from Kisar. The inward curls are angular. The shape of the core is not quite hexagonal and may be a diamond. *Source:* Private collection, the Netherlands. A nearly identical motif was encountered on a possibly even earlier Kisarese sarong in the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, N° RV-2992-1, of the same description.
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Fig. 165 Breast beam motif on an antique (19th-century or early 20th-century) sarong from Lembata. The motif is almost square overall, with angular curls that take just one bend. The diamond-shaped core takes up two-thirds of the total width. *Source:* Weltkulturen Museum, Frankfurt, N° 28086. Photograph by the present author.

Fig. 166 Breast beam motif on an antique sarong (19th-century or early 20th-century) from Lembata. The angular curls take just one bend. The diamond-shaped core takes up 60 per cent of the total width. *Source:* Collection J.B. Lüth.

Fig. 167 Breast beam motif on a 1920-1930 *tais feto*, ceremonial sarong, from the household of the Tamukung (local ruler) of Suai-Loro, Covalima District (East Timor). The core is square, the inward curls are angular. The motif, which is here called *futus beliko*, is bordered by decorative elements in supplementary warp. This motif, along with a few others that resemble it, in 1912 travelled west to Malaka across the border with refugees who left the Suai area. *Source:* PC 328.

Fig. 168 Breast beam motif on a 1930-1950 *luka semba*' men's shawl, from the Lio region (Flores). The core is diamond shaped, the inward curls are rudimentary, existing merely of squarish 'pixels' or bars six yarns wide. *Source:* Ethnic Adornment, a participant of the Tribal Arts Fair (Amsterdam, 2019). Photograph by the present author.

Fig. 169 Breast beam motif on a 19th-century *soralangi,* ceremonial sarong from Toraja (Sulawesi). The core is hexagonal, the inward curls have indigo globules as finials. No other occurrence was encountered in Toraja. Given that the oldest examples of four other motifs (linked hexagon, triangle-with-projection, eight-pointed star, *keu* motif) were all found on antique ikat from Minahasa, north of Toraja, it appears that the breast beam motif also 'originated' in Minahasa and found its way into the eastern archipelago on high class ikat for the islands' nobles. 'Originated' in this context should be read to mean that no older examples were found in other regions. *Source:* Collection Lewi Aja.

Remarkably, like the boxed-in eight-pointed star and the *keu* motif, the breast beam motif also has matches in Turkic carpets – not many, but unmistakably identical (consisting of a diamond shaped core with a marked centre and sideways projections with angular inward curls). The occurrences of such correspondences are scattered over the entire traditional homeland of Turkic peoples, a vast swathe of Asia stretching from the Caucasus till Xinjian in western China. This reinforces the likelihood of a broader influence of designs from regions inhabited by Turkic people on the ikat of eastern Indonesia, and suggests that further investigation is indicated. Though some – those who cling to the idea that all we encounter in these eastern islands is either of Austronesian origin or *patola*-influenced – will no doubt ridicule the notion, the existence of influence does not seem in doubt to the present author, nor that it went in south-easterly direction, as far as Tanimbar. What we still need to establish is how the carrier material arrived at places where it could influence ikat design. The most likely points of entry in Indonesia would be where wealth was concentrated. The Spice Islands, Ternate, Tidore and Bacan in the northern Moluccas, where rulers and courtiers lived in great splendour – with an abundance of imported goods, carried in on the foreign ships that would return home laden with spices – appear to be a good place to start the inquiry.

Fig. 170 A motif that is indistinguishable from the breast-beam motif which was encountered on a Caucasian Gendjeh carpet. *Source:* Private collection, the Netherlands.

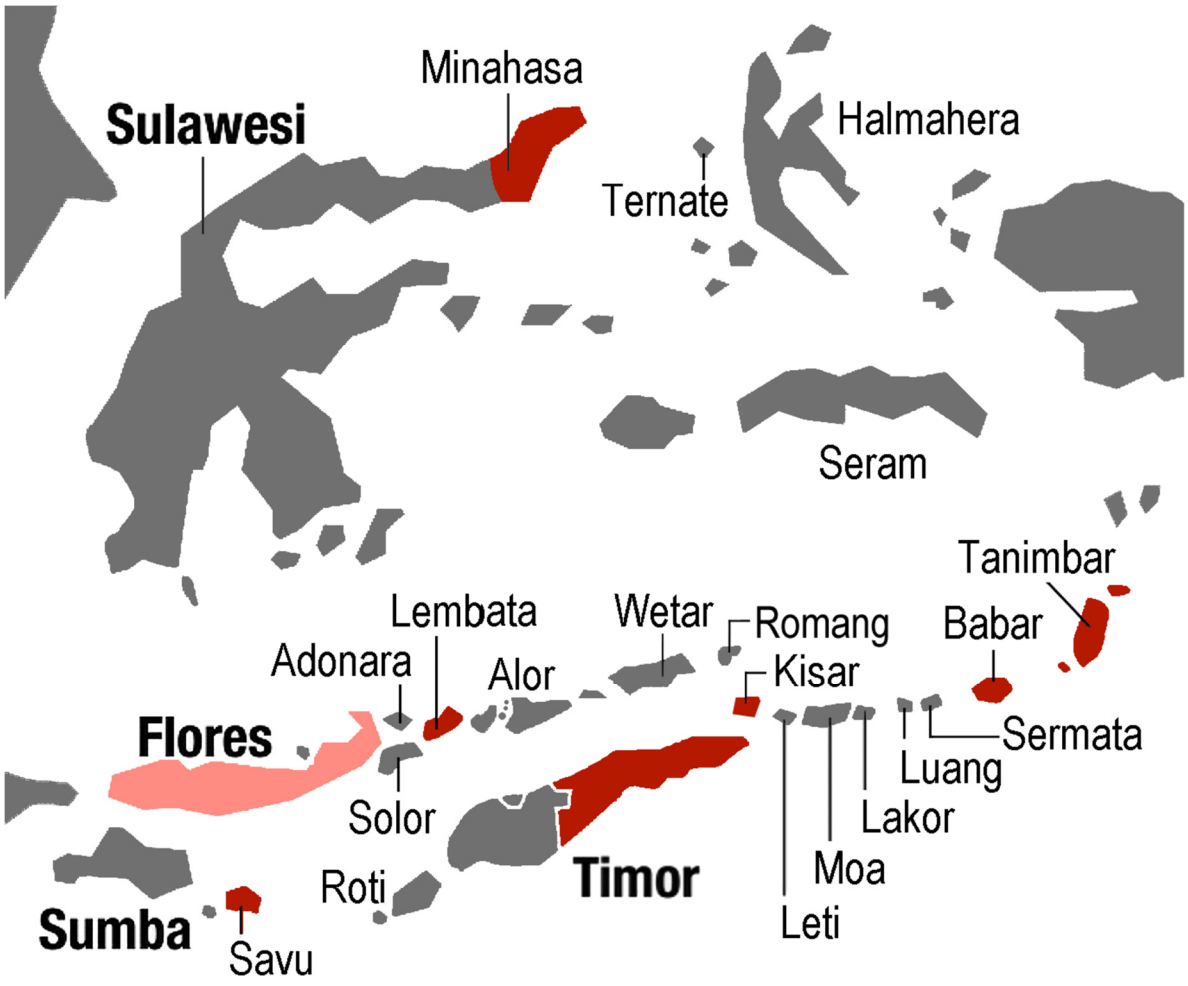

Fig. 171 The distribution of the breast beam motif. Most common in the Tanimbar archipelago, this motif is also occasionally used on the Babar Islands and Timor, sporadically seen on Lembata and Savu, and occurs as far west as Flores's Ende and particularly Lio regions.

The breast beam motif, here so called after being introduced in van Vuuren (2009:149), is most common in the Tanimbars but is also found further west, on Kisar and in East Timor, on Lembata, Savu, and in the Lio region (Flores), where, unlike Babar, it is typically rendered with good definition, instantly recognizable.

The oldest manifestation encountered was on an antique ceremonial sarong from Toraja on Sulawesi (see Fig. 169), where the breast beam motif is distinctly uncommon. As five of the eight motifs studied during this investigation appear to have been emulations of ikat from Minahasa in northern Sulewesi, it is assumed that the breast beam motif likewise began its infiltration of the studied region on cloth from Minahasa (and Minahasa-inspired ikat from Toraja). In most of the breast beam motif's occurrances, it is in the company of at least one of the four other 'Minahasa' motifs.

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3.4.8 THE *KEU* MOTIF

This simple motif, which consists of six or eight circles or curls surrounding a usually hexagonal but sometimes circular or oval core, would not have attracted special attention, if it was not for its relatively wide distribution. Forshee (2014: Figs. 11.15, 11.16, 12.8) discusses three cloths with this motif hailing from the Lautém region (East Timor) where it is quite common, termed *keu* and represents the bracelets worn by women of high class. As it is not known how this motif is called on other islands, for practical purposes it will be henceforth referred to here as *keu*. In Buckley's terms (2012:18) it is an Hrd2-KHdS. Initially the *keu* motif drew attention mainly through its presence on Leti – about the textiles of which nearly nothing is known. On all three specimens in Group A of the Reference Set (PC 195, PC 248 and PC 365) the drawing is quite clear, leaving no doubt that it is the same motif referred to by Forshee. Timor, however is unlikely to have been the origin of this motif. Its reaching Timor on ikat textiles produced in Minahasa (northern Sulawesi) is more probable.

Fig. 172 The *keu* motif, central in the image, depicted on a panel for a men's blanket from Leti acquired in the village of Tombra in 1911. Note: the *keu* motif to the left is flanked by a rudimentary double-eagle motif and by base-mounted *tumpal* on the right. *Source:* PC 248 [depicted on this work's cover].

Several of the Southwesterly Islands to which Leti belongs have witnessed immigration from East Timor. It is not just thinkable but indeed probable, therefore, that this motif first came to Timor and travelled east on trade and other exchanges, while concurrent direct influence is certainly possible. Wherever the motif originated, given the high level of interculturality in the region, its association with nobility and power presumably crossed the sea along with the visual schematics.

Fig. 173 *Keu* motif, linked into a continuous pattern, on an ancient sarong (carbon-dated as 16th century) now in the Yale University Art Gallery and on its website described as "possibly Minahasa". As Minahasa has a well-established reputation for high quality ikat, favoured at the courts of Ternate and Tidore, among others, a Minahasa origin is indeed likely. As both these sultanates exerted great political and economic power over the eastern archipelago, one may presume that highly refined textiles such as this specimen gave rise to the appearance of the *keu* motif on Timor and its neighbouring islands. *Source:* Yale University Art Gallery, N° ILE2006.4.86.

Fig. 174 A *keu* motif on a Leti sarong presumably dating from the 1930s or the 1940s. This variant has four curls and two closed circles surrounding a core marked by a dot. It is flanked on both sides by a variant with a less clear definition of elements. *Source:* PC 195.

Fig. 175 On this example from Lospalos, Lautém District (East Timor), we see two *keu* motifs with six circles flanking a variant with eight elements surrounding the core rather than six, four of them curls. For a highly similar example, see Hamilton & Barrkman 2014:225. *Source:* Collection Susi Johnston.

Fig. 176 *Keu* motif on a sarong from an as yet unidentified region of Timor, probably Belu or in the eastern half of Timor. Note that here the core is clearly hexagonal. Two of the six surrounding elements are reduced to half circles, the other four are curls. The date of manufacture is unknown, probably 1950-1960. *Source:* Collection Lewa Pardomuan.

Fig. 177 *Keu* motif to the left of an eight-pointed star on an emblematic 1925-1950 sarong from Lospalos, Lautém District (East Timor). The rather dense weaving of medium hand-spun cotton gives it a somewhat robust texture which combines well with the warm, earthy tonality. The accent stripes are made from commercial cotton. *Source:* Collection Tina Tabone.

Fig. 178 An unusually elaborate *keu* motif on an early 20th-century sarong from Luang. The core is diamond-shaped and the circles on the horizontal axis have been given their own inward curls. *Source:* Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, N° RJM 36713. Photograph by the present author.

Fig. 179 *Keu* motifs with a hexagonal core used in an array on a 1950-1970 sarong from Biboki (West Timor). *Source:* Collection Marvin Berk and Dennis Kord.

Fig. 180 Two variants of the *keu* motif paired on a Timor sarong, possibly from the Belu region. The execution is especially rich, *vide* the stippling in the reserved white patterns, which is not always used on motifs this intricate. The whole sarong exudes class and opulence. *Source:* Collection J.B. Lüth.

Fig. 181 *Keu* motif on a mid-20th century sarong from a hilly area in the Sikka District (Flores). This region is commonly (e.g. Hamilton 1994:151) called Iwangeté or Iwan Geté which stands for 'the great interior' or 'the great highlands'. The Raja of Nita, ruler of the sub-rajadom Sikka Natar created by the Dutch, never managed to integrate this region (Hamilton 2014:153). Its inhabitants do not like the term, which they consider pejorative, and self-identify simply as inhabitants of a string of villages north of Sikka Natar, such as Watublapi, Héwoklo'ang, Klo'angpopot, Halé and Hébingare (Butterworth 2008:25-35). Their ikat style differs markedly from that of Sikka. Presumably the term 'iwan gete' obtained its pejorative flavour as a 'punitive' consequence of Sikka Natar's ultimate failure to subjugate them. *Source:* PC 213.

Fig. 182 Two *keu*-like motifs, on a circa 1910 *lavre,* sarong from Luang. This incarnation of the *keu* has eight inward curls surrounding a diamond-shaped core. These two *keu* motifs flank a curiously shaped eight-pointed star: the common curls filling the squares at the four corners are shaped like extensions of the closest points. *Source:* Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, N° RJM 36716 (Khan Majlis 1984: Fig. 541).

Fig. 183 Detail of a mid 20th-century *hi'i*, shawl, from Savu with *keu* motifs (here called *kètu pedi)*. The core is vaguely hexagonal; the inward curls are angular and have supports linking them to narrow border strips. The curls on the horizontal axis have been pulled out to the side and turned into angular brackets. *Source:* Collection Aja Bordeville.

Fig. 184 A *keu* motif, left, next to an unidentified looping X-shape (possibly a rudimentary double-headed eagle) on an ineptly made early 20th-century sarong from Savu. While not a masterpiece, the sarong is significant for widening the area of distribution westward and adding time depth. The question is: did the influence stem from Timor or the Moluccas, or did it come directly from Minahasa? Given the rather sketchy representation it appears to be a copy to the nth power, and thus more likely to originate from Timor or one of its neighbouring islands. On her website Duggan identifies the motif as *kètu pedi*, and calls it "modern", which, given this appearance on an early 20th-century sarong, clearly it is not. More likely is that the *keu* motif long fell outside the active repertoire of prescribed motifs that weavers had adhered to for the last generations, so that when Duggan first encountered it, perhaps on a shawl like the one shown above (see Fig. 183), it appeared new to her. The motif is widely distributed in the region under study, hence likely to be ancient. Its appearance on Savu in recent times does not actually inform us about the motif's age, just about a shift of sartorial preferences, apparently sparked by the rediscovery of great-great-grandmother's patterns. *Source:* Collection Marvin Berk and Dennis Kord.

Fig. 185 *Keu* motif on an early 20th-century *pua kumbu* from Kalimantan, probably Mualang, next to an anthropomorphic motif. The core is vaguely hexagonal. Although Kalimantan lies outside the studied area, this example was included because it underlines the wide distribution of this motif. *Source:* PC 158.

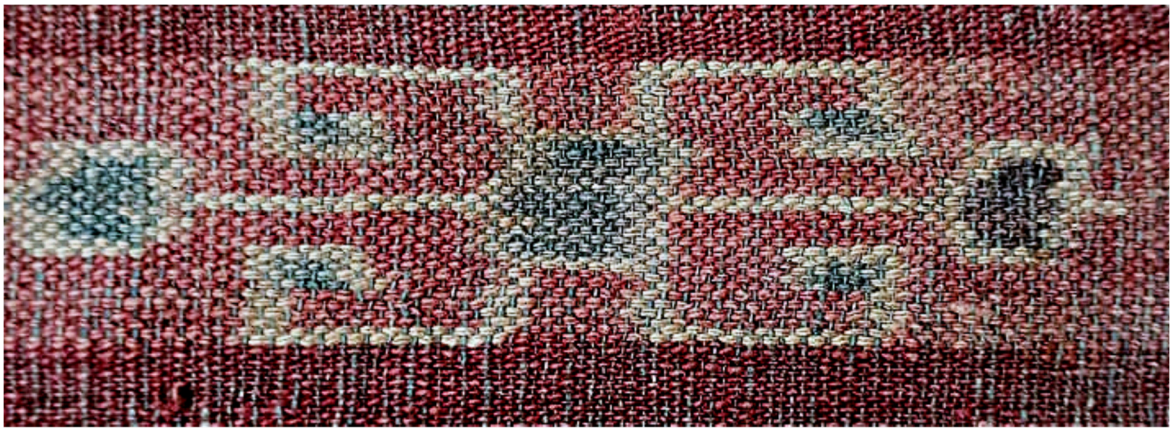

Fig. 186 *Keu* motif on an 19th- to early 20th-century *soralangi* from the Toraja region of central Sulawesi. The core is square, and the inward curls have indigo globules as finials, similar to those on a breast beam motif from the same region (see Fig. 169). The globules on the motif's horizontal axis have been pulled out sideways. The motif is not common in Toraja, and no other occurrence was encountered. A near exact match, likewise with sideways projections ending in globular finials, was found on a horse blanket from Kashgar, Xinjiang, a region inhabited by Turkic people. *Source:* Collection Nurdin Holmes.

Summing up, the motif named *keu* in Lautém District consists of six or eight circles or curls surrounding a hexagonal, round, oval or diamond-shaped core. As it is unknown what this motif is called in any of the other ikat weaving regions, the term *keu* was adopted for general use. It was found on nine islands besides Timor, six of them to the east.[1] In Lautém this motif represents the bracelets of high-class women. Given that most other islands where the *keu* motif is found were settled by or received immigrants from Timor, it is assumed that class association travelled with this motif and continued to be seen as adding status to the cloths it adorns. The motif is also found on so-called Bentenan cloths from Minahasa, a region that produced high quality ikat in the 19th century and before, when most of the eastern archipelago had been forced into vassalage to the Ternate, Tidore and other northern Moluccan sultanates off the western shore of Halmahera and close to Minahasa. This context makes it likely that the *keu* motif came to Timor on cloths from Minahasa to then infiltrate the islands east of Timor, although direct influence cannot not be ruled out.

[1] Two specimens from Buaya, an islet off the western coast of Alor, were encountered too late to be included in the overview. They have imperfectly rendered hexagonal cores, and rounded inward curls. *Source:* Collection Martin Luther Mabilehi.

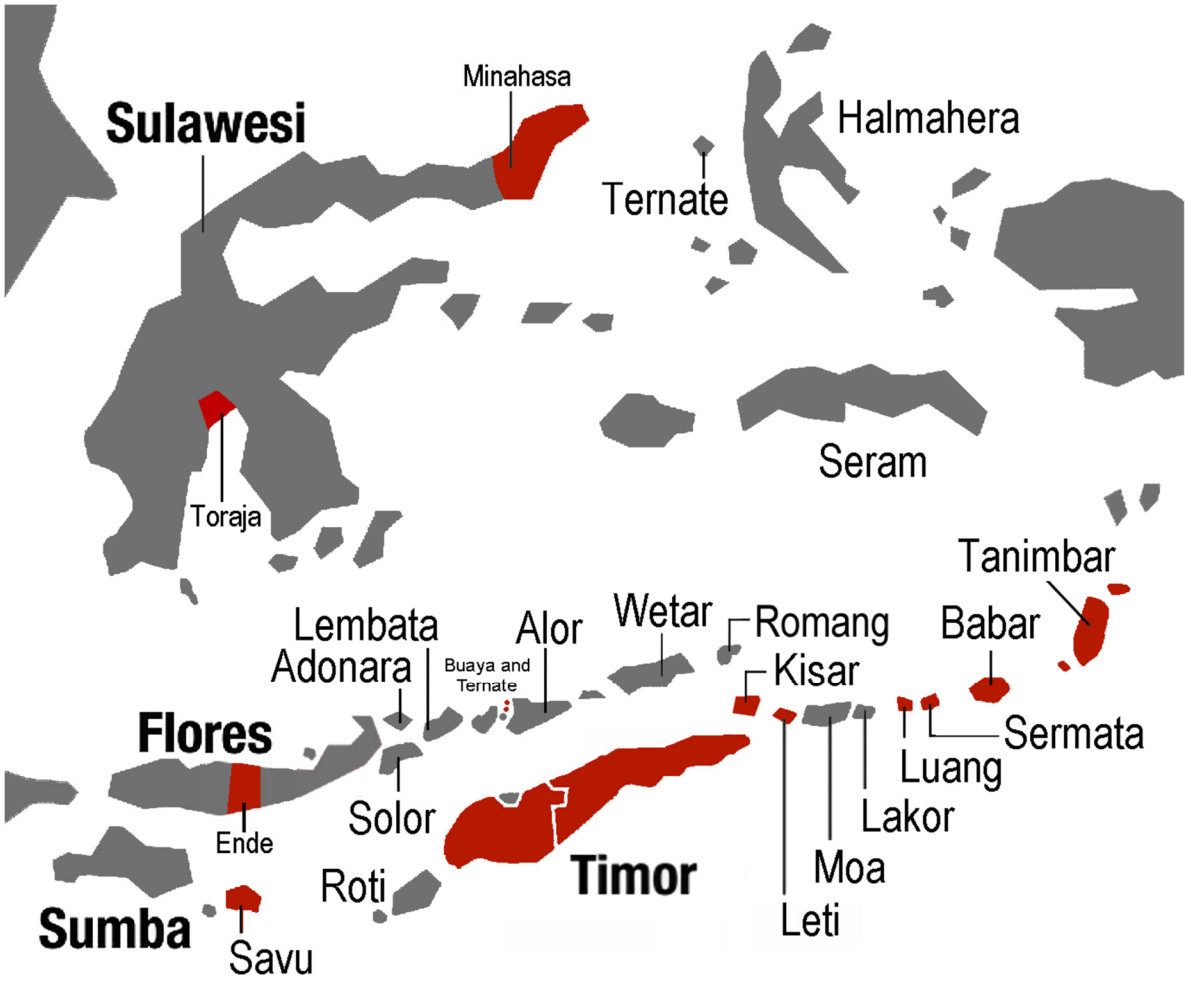

Fig. 187 The distribution of the *keu* motif which in Lautém, the region around Lospalos in the far east of East Timor, is called *keu*, and there represents high class. This motif was probably introduced in the eastern archipelago when Minahasa cloths from the court of Ternate and neighbouring Tidore in the northern Moluccas were gifted to vassals ruling over the smaller islands, such as the tiny island Ternate in the Solor & Alor Archipelago (named after its mighty namesake) and its even smaller, waterless neighbour Buaya.