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PROPOSITIONS

1. Contrary to what Adams (1969) stated and many others have since taken for granted, the fabled East Sumbanese men's wraps, *hinggi*, are not always biaxially symmetric. Until circa 1935 weavers of the nobility went to great lengths to produce ikat that is biaxially asymmetric – typically while hiding this choice and the additional labour required (Section 4.2).
2. When circa 1900 machine-made thread was introduced, weavers gradually switched from spinning very fine and highly irregular yarn to more regular but coarser yarn, until by circa 1950 hand-spun yarn on average was 40 per cent heavier.
3. The majority of the eight motifs that are (a) widely shared in the region, and (b) not patola-inspired, emulate motifs found on antique ikat originating in the Minahasa region of Sulawesi (Chapter 3).
4. The ancient Pan Bhat *patola* (Bühler & Fischer Type 1), which Bühler and Fischer never encountered in Indonesia, actually did arrive there – probably before colonial times – and was emulated on at least five islands (Section 3.4.3).
5. Ikat in East Sumba was much enhanced by the region's highly competitive tradition, including the headhunting ethos, leading women of the nobility to compete fiercely for complexity of design (Section 4.2).
6. East Sumbanese weavers were so good at making peers overlook their visual tricks, that, ironically, for an entire century they misled relevant academic circles as well (Section 4.2).
7. The more technical our perspective, the more human the personality of the weaver, who reveals herself in her technical choices during spinning, dyeing and weaving. Through the microscope we get to know her intimately.
8. Asymmetry, which requires additional work and creativity, was produced across the region under study, yet hardly features in the literature except where it was a design axiom. Because its technical consequences were overlooked it was seen as an arbitrary design choice.
9. While no proof exists that ikat with 16-fold replication was ever used on Sumba, we may deduce its former existence by analysing cloths which simulate such 'cheap'

construction. The latter carry hidden visual markers to prove to cognoscenti that more labour-intensive 8-fold replication was used instead.

10. Differentiating between zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs makes sense, but becomes problematic when certain animals (e.g., crocodiles on Timor) are regarded as proto-ancestors.
11. Like many western cultural elites, Sumbanese weavers of the nobility used to distinguish themselves by producing art the virtuosity of which escapes the common people by design.