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The influence of Indian *patola* and trade cloths on the ritual practices and textile motifs of the Atoin meto people of West Timor.

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A thesis submitted to the School of Fine Arts in the Faculty of Law, Business and Arts, Charles Darwin University, in the fulfilment of the requirements of Masters (Research), 2006.
Declaration

I hereby declare that the work herein, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Master by Research of the Charles Darwin University, is the result of my own investigations, and all references to ideas and work of other researchers have been specifically acknowledged. I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being currently submitted in candidature for any other degree.

_________________________________________

Joanna Barrkman
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PREFACE

In 1999, I had the good fortune to participate in a study tour initiated by Dr Tom Hunter in Bali. With his assistance I undertook the study of double ikat geringsing weaving in Tenganan Pegeringsingan, Karangasem. This experience awakened my interest in Indonesian textiles. In March 2002, I accompanied James Bennett, the then Curator of Southeast Asian Art and Material Culture at the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, to West Timor where we met weavers from Yayasan Tafean Pah (YTP), a dynamic village based weaving development organisation, based in Kefamenanu.

Whilst viewing a number of locally produced textiles at YTP, one distinctive warp ikat cloth caught my attention. We learnt that this hand-spun and naturally dyed textile had been produced by Romana Eli from Matabesi village, Biboki. Consequently, I acquired this textile and was issued with accompanying information that described the motif as Fut Unu (D): an ‘old motif’ and was referred to as a ‘patola motif’. The maker of the cloth, Eli Romana, had died before completing the textile and the task of completing it had fallen to her daughter, Petronela Bano. Petronela had never woven this motif before and knew little about its significance or history.

My curiosity was aroused by this cloth – what did it mean that it was called a ‘patola motif’? Did Eli Romana’s ‘patola motif’ textile incorporate any design features attributable to Indian patola or trade cloths? Alternatively, did this old motif serve a specific function in ritual practices in Matabesi? These questions could no longer be answered, as Eli Romana and others who may have once known the answers were deceased. However, this cloth prompted me to investigate this question of influence of Indian trade textiles on the local textile traditions of the Biboki and Atoin meto weavers.
ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the question of whether Indian *patola* and trade cloths that entered West Timor influenced either the textile production or the ritual practices of the Atoin meto people. Although the influence of Indian *patola* and trade cloths has been documented in other regions of eastern Indonesia it has been suggested by scholars that the influence of Indian textiles in West Timor was minimal. Whilst it is known that Indian textiles did enter West Timor, through trade by the Dutch VOC, little is recorded regarding how the Atoin meto people of West Timor embraced and utilised these textiles in their daily lives or rituals.

In order to ascertain data in response to this research question a period of fieldwork occurred in north central West Timor, Indonesia. Furthermore, a survey of museum and private collections was also undertaken in order to document the type of Indian *patola* cloths and trade cloths that entered the region. In synthesising the findings of this fieldwork and survey the theoretical position used is based on Appadurai’s concept of objects having a social life, which is constructed by the culture of the people who engage with and make use of specific objects. Hence, the actual value of any given object is dependent upon the social and cultural values it is attributed with, as opposed to the values inherent in the object. Additional theories that underpin this research include Kopytoff’s notion of inalienable objects that are preserved outside the commodity market of a given culture as well as Weiner and Schneider’s theory on the multiple social, cultural uses of textiles.

Three case studies from the Biboki region are presented, each directly informing a response to the research question. Also specific motifs from the region of Biboki are presented as ‘*patola*-inspired motifs’ and these are then traced as contemporary motifs, indicating the continued influence of *patola* inspired motifs in Atoin meto textiles.
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.0 CONTEXT OF THIS STUDY

Textiles are considered to be one of the most eminent forms of cultural expression in Southeast Asia (Gittinger 1979; Leibrick 1994; Maxwell 2003b, p.224). They form a ubiquitous and critical aspect of material culture in the region, performing a variety of secular and sacred functions. They are connected with systems of religion, political organisation, marriage, social status and exchange. Several reasons account for their cultural and social value and significance. Firstly, Southeast Asian textiles contain symbols which reflect identity and ancestry. Textiles are imbued with motifs that have been passed down from generation to generation. Secondly, their production across the region, using a variety of weaving, dyeing, printing and stitching techniques, shapes the routines and rhythms of daily village life. Thirdly, textiles are considered to create a link between the mundane world and the supernatural or ancestral world, as heirlooms, objects for use in life cycle rituals and as offerings or as objects inherently containing sacred qualities. Finally, textiles are a valued and recognised commodity across all social strata, from rulers to subsistence farmers, and as such are used as valuable objects of status and exchange.

The region of eastern Indonesia shares the same textile technologies of spinning, dyeing and back-strap loom weaving as found in other parts of Southeast Asia. However, individualistic motifs and the arrangement of these motifs have resulted in a plethora of design fields adding to the distinctiveness of eastern Indonesian textiles. Consequently, each island and often regions within each island, have created their own identifiable textiles over centuries. The textiles of Timor are distinctive, both aesthetically and technically, in the wider context of eastern Indonesian textiles.
In the case of the island of Timor, the tendency for regional variation in textile production is paramount. In the instance of West Timor, various kabupaten (I): regencies or administrative districts have specific textile motifs and designs. Within each kabupaten further distinctions based on social identity and status are reflected in textiles. These distinctions occur to such an extent that each village, and indeed the clan groups that make up each village, have particular textiles attributed for daily use and ritual practices. These textiles incorporate definite characteristics, such as motifs, layout and colour combinations specific to that clan.

Such diversity of motif and design elevates the textiles of the Atoimeto people of West Timor, the largest cultural group in the region, to being one of the richest textile production practices in eastern Indonesian. This claim is further enhanced by the extensive range of weaving techniques used by Atoimeto weavers including futus (D): single warp ikat weave, sotis (D): warp-faced alternating float weave,\(^1\) buna (D): discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique, and kelim, a tapestry weave and twining, a decorative looping technique used sparingly to prevent unravelling and often associated with nobility and warriors. These weaving techniques are applied in various combinations to add further distinctiveness and regional variation (Bennett 1998; Leibrick 1994; Therik 1989; Yeager & Jacobson 2002).

The influence of Indian patola and trade cloths on local textile practice in many parts of Southeast Asia has been well documented. In eastern Indonesia, where the textile production technique of single warp ikat is most popular, much evidence exists documenting the wide-spread trade and influence of Indian patola and trade cloths on local designs and motifs (Barnes 1989; Bühler 1959; Gittinger 1982; Graham 1994; Guy 1998; Hamilton 1994; Maxwell 2003b). Also documented, and of equal

\(^1\) Yeager & Jacobson (2002) also describe sotis as pick up weave. It is also referred to as lotis by West Timorese Tetum textile makers.
significance, is the role these Indian cloths played in the ritual practices of various cultural groups in eastern Indonesia (Graham 1995; Hamilton 1994; Nooy-Palm 1989; Vischer 1992). However, the significance of these Indian trade textiles in the context of Atoin meto textile production and rituals has not yet been examined.

From an early time the Timorese had established trading links with the Chinese and Javanese traders (Gunn 1999, p. 52). Timorese participation in maritime trade, since the 12th century, was documented by Chinese traders who identified twelve ports located along both the north and south coasts of the island of Timor.² During the Majapahit era of 11-14th century Javanese and Malay traders sought *Santalum album* (L): white sandalwood, prized both for its wood and oil. Beeswax and human slaves were also trade commodities from Timor. With the arrival of the European traders and colonizers in Timor in the 16th century these forms of trade increased.

Whilst Chinese merchants directly traded with Timor, Javanese traders operated as middlemen. Java was an entrepot for goods, such as Indian *patola* and trade cloths being sent to China, India and the Middle East. Bugis traders also had a long association with Timorese ports and were notorious traders across the archipelago building upon previously established systems of inter-island trade and migration. Timorese leaders engaged with all of these traders in exchange for cloth, silk thread, metal tools, porcelain and ammunition (Schulte Nordholt 1971, p.51).

As a result of this trade over centuries, West Timor has experienced many cultural influences which also resulted in the arrival of new technologies and commodities. Through this coastal trade a variety of foreign goods, including Indian textiles, were introduced and exchanged in return for the local commodities of sandalwood, beeswax and human slaves. What became of these foreign textiles? How were they

² It is possible that trade occurred prior to this date due to the existence of a series of coastal ports. However there is no written evidence of such activity.
regarded? How were they used? Did these foreign, Indian textiles influence the motifs and designs used on locally produced Atoin meto textiles? Alternatively, did these textiles have any influence or function on the use of textiles in Atoin meto rituals? These questions form the basis of this research.

1.1 JUSTIFICATION FOR TOPIC

It has been suggested that because the motifs of Atoin meto textiles are inextricably linked to individual and social identity they have remained relatively unchanged and impervious to outside influences, since their inception (Maxwell 2003b, p. 227). This view is supported by Gittinger (1979) who asserts ‘It is somewhat surprising that foreign trade influences seem to have left no mark on the local textile traditions. Weavers in the interior retained their design independence, and until fairly recently, did not alter their traditions’ (Gittinger 1979, pp. 182 - 183). Hunt Kahlenberg also rejects the likelihood of Indian textile influence continuing further west in her statement ‘This process went furthest on Rote’ (1977, p. 92).

Research investigating the textile traditions of the Atoin meto (Asche 1995; Croese 1995; Leibrick 1994; Yeager & Jacobson 2002) has not specifically investigated the influence of Indian *patola* and trade cloths on the textiles and ritual practices of the Atoin meto.

Leibrick has identified the influence of foreign textiles on Atoin meto textile designs as being an area requiring further research (Leibrick 1994, p. 19). However, the difficulty associated with such an exercise is the historical nature of the influence. Leibrick raises this issue in the context of the region of Biboki, one of the former kingdoms of West Timor, located near Atapupo, one of Timor’s busiest Atoin meto trade ports since the 14th century. She maintains that it is only possible to speculate about the degree of direct involvement by people of the Biboki kingdom in foreign trade, due to the historical nature of the subject. Yet she suggests that
... it seems likely they would have been drawn into the collection of sandalwood for their ruler, receiving imported fabrics and other trade goods in return. The influences of such trade on the textile repertoire is virtually impossible to reconstruct … (Leibrick 1994, p. 19).

Whilst the historical details of these encounters are largely lost or remained unrecorded, visual evidence may still exist due to the traditional handing down of textile motifs and techniques from generation to generation. Leibrick also cites anthropologist Cunningham, C.E. who considered that Mediterranean and Middle Eastern textiles had influenced Atoin meto motifs at some point in the distant past. He also asserted that the diamond and spiral-hooks that appear on Atoin meto textiles closely resemble motifs from Mediterranean and Middle eastern textiles (Leibrick 1994, p.19).

Yeager & Jacobson (2002, p. 224) also comment that patola patterns and motifs had significant influence on the textiles of eastern Flores, Sumba, and Rote however, they suggest that there is little evidence of patola influence on patterning in West Timor. They also comment on how little is known about the use of patola textiles in ritual contexts by the Atoin meto and suggest that this is a subject that deserves investigation.

1.2 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES
The aim of this research is to clarify, what until now, has remained an uninvestigated area about the nature and extent of the influence of Indian patola and trade cloths (both double ikat silk patola and mordant hand-painted and block-printed cloths) that were traded into West Timor circa 16th – 19th century. This question is considered in relation to Atoin meto ritual practices as well as in relation to Atoin meto textile production.
The theoretical premise underpinning this research is that objects and commodities develop a social biography through their trade and circulation. Their value becomes a construction based on culturally determined notions of value held by the society into which it enters. This theoretical premise is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

The objectives of this study are:

- to identify the extent of the trade and cultural significance of Indian trade cloths in Atoin meto society by considering the types of Indian cloth traded into West Timor and nearby regions.
- to identify the influence of Indian trade textiles, including patola cloth, on local textile production, specifically on motifs. This will establish whether patola-inspired motifs evolved in response to Indian textiles.
- to identify the significance of Indian trade textiles and patola-inspired motifs in Atoin meto rituals and social practices.

1.3 THE SCOPE OF THIS RESEARCH

This research is a multi-disciplinary investigation of Atoin meto textiles and will draw on the disciplines of visual arts, history and anthropology. The research is based upon primary and secondary sources including fieldwork in West Timor, analysis of Atoin meto textiles held in museum and private collections and various literature sources. A detailed description of the processes used to conduct this research is provided in Chapter Three.

The focus of this research is on the Atoin meto textile traditions, with a bias on the Biboki region. The primary villages from which evidence was gathered include Oenaem village, South Biboki; village A and village B in Biboki. Other villages visited providing information central to this thesis include Sapean, Luniup and Matabesi in North Biboki and Tunbean, Sainuip and Pantae in South Biboki.

This emphasis on the Biboki region was largely determined by the role of Yayasan Tafean Pah as a host organisation for the research. Yayasan Tafean Pah is a dynamic development organisation, based in Kefamenanu, the largest town in North
Central Regency. The organisation has grown out from its initial role as a weaving co-operative supporting the textile artists of Biboki into an extensive economic development agency over a period of fifteen years. Throughout this time Yayasan Tafean Pah has successfully encouraged the maintenance and continuation of traditional textile production as a means of economic development in the region. Yayasan Tafean Pah provided the ideal infrastructure through which to conduct this research as it enabled direct contact with various village-based textile artists and village elders in the region.


Research toward this thesis also occurred in other Atoin meto regions of West Timor and is noted accordingly. In some instances the research has drawn on evidence from other parts of West Timor such as Belu Regency and also from East Timor.  

3 Yayasan Tafean Pah (YTP) was established in 1990 under the directorship of Yovita Meta. It is a dynamic development organisation that supports the production and marketing of Biboki textiles, environmentally sustainable agricultural projects, adaptation of traditional farming techniques, the management of credit co-operatives and delivery of adult education training programs. In 2003 YTP was awarded the internationally prestigious Prince Claus Award by the Netherlands Prince Claus Fund in recognition of their outstanding contribution to the maintenance and innovation of craft. They currently operate a cultural centre in Kefamenanu as a training, presentation and marketing facility.

4 During my field work I visited the four regencies of West Timor.
The inclusion of this evidence serves to substantiate the existence of Indian *patola* and trade cloth in the region. Whilst the Tetum people of Belu Regency are a distinct cultural group apart from the Atoin meto, networks of trade, marriage and cultural exchange were well established between these two cultures prior to Portuguese and Dutch colonization and consequent annexation. The historical nature of the topic coupled with the limitations of time for fieldwork, required the use of both primary and secondary evidence from this broader region.

Incidental information relating to Chinese and Javanese textiles will also be included when it is relevant to presenting evidence of Indian trade cloths and other Atoin meto textiles. However it is beyond the scope of this research to consider the influence of Chinese or Javanese textiles on Atoin meto textile traditions or rituals.

### 1.4 THESIS PLAN
This thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter One outlines the aims and objectives, context, justification and scope of this research project. Chapter Two presents a literature review of the primary written and oral sources consulted during this research. The theoretical basis and methodological approach underpinning this research is presented in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four presents an overview of West Timor, emphasising the history of trade in the region and contact between the Atoin meto and foreign traders. This chapter considers the geography and climate of the region and the Atoin meto peoples who inhabit the lands. The origins and language of the Atoin meto peoples are outlined along with their social and political structures and practices. Due to its relevance to later discussion head hunting practices and aspects of the Atoin meto cosmological system are presented.

Chapter Five explores the role of textiles and textile production in Atoin meto society. This includes reference to the origins of motifs, regional variation of motifs,
symbolism of key motifs, techniques used in textile production as well as the seasonal schedule of textile production. More specifically, characteristics of Biboki textiles are identified, including a listing of Biboki motifs. The role of textiles in ritual activities, including head hunting activities, is also discussed.

Chapter Six provides an overview of Indian silk *patola* and trade cloths. The Indian mordant block-printed and hand-painted trade cloth and the Indian *patola* cloth, their technical production, materials, form, range of motifs and uses are outlined. The role of Indian *patola* and trade cloths as exchange and export commodities in Southeast Asia is established along with their considerable influence across the Indonesian archipelago. The influence of Indian textiles is viewed in the context of eastern Indonesia, where weavers adapted the motifs and designs of Indian trade cloths and *patola* into the ikat warp weaving technique. Instances of the incorporation of *patola* and trade textiles into ritual practices in eastern Indonesia are cited. Finally, conclusions from a survey of Indian *patola* and trade cloths identified as having Timorese provenance is presented. This evidence establishes the presence of Indian trade cloths and *patola* in West Timor and the nearby region and indicates the types of motifs that were most prevalent on these trade cloths.

Chapter Seven features three case studies collected during field work at Oenaem village, village A and village B in Biboki. These case studies illustrate the continued presence of Indian trade cloths as well as Indian inspired textiles. Following the description of each case study, comments pertaining to the ritual significance and role these textiles play in clan ritual practices are provided.

Chapter Eight considers evidence of the influence of Indian *patola* and trade textiles on the textile production of the Atoin meto. This analysis is based on each of the case studies provided in Chapter Seven in relation to the local clan textile motifs. Initially, some examples of Atoin meto textiles featuring elements that resonate with
Indian design are presented. Finally, Chapter Nine presents the conclusions from the study and recommendations for further investigation.

1.5 TERMINOLOGY

Dawan is the indigenous language of the Atoin meto people and where possible Dawan words and terminology are cited in this thesis. Additionally, in some places Bahasa Indonesia words and terms have been included. Gujarati words are also cited as required and Latin terms are provided in relation to local flora related to textile production. Languages are identified as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dawan</td>
<td>(D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahasa Indonesia</td>
<td>(I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>(G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>(L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamahalot</td>
<td>(La)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The term ‘Atoin meto’ has been selected for use in this thesis. This choice is based on McWilliam’s analysis that ‘atoin meto’ is the Dawan term most accurately translating to ‘indigenous people’ (McWilliam 1989, p. 291). Asche (1995) also used the term ‘atoin meto’.

The name of the modern nation state of Indonesia is used to refer to the archipelago throughout this thesis. Whilst this political entity and name was not used to define this geographic region prior to the 20th century, it is the most convenient device for discussing the region at this time. This convention will also be applied when referring to other modern nations states of Southeast Asia.

5 The term ‘Atoin Pah Meto’ has been used by several other researchers and translates to ‘people of the dry land.’ An abbreviated form of this phrase is atoni (D). However, the Dawan word ‘atoni’ translates directly to ‘man’.
In instances where the term ‘Timor’ is used, it refers to the entire island, including both East Timor and West Timor. The contemporary geographic term ‘eastern Indonesia’ refers to the eastern most group of islands in the Indonesian archipelago. Historically, this region was referred to as the Lesser Sunda Islands. Today, in Bahasa Indonesia language, this region is known as the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT). The kabupaten (I): regencies of West Timor are referred to in English translations as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timor Tengah Utara: TTU</th>
<th>North Central Regency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timor Tengah Selatan: TTS</td>
<td>South Central Regency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupang Regency</td>
<td>Kupang Regency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belu Regency</td>
<td>Belu Regency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Belu Regency is predominantly inhabited by the Tetum peoples. The region of Oecussi, which is inhabited by Atoin meto people is an enclave of East Timor and not considered within the scope of this research.

The term ‘patola’ (G) describes the Indian double ikat, hand-spun, silk textiles produced in the weaving centre of Patan, Gujarat, India (Guy 1998, p. 187). The term ‘patolu’ (G) refers to the singular form of the plural word ‘patola’. The term ‘trade cloth’ refers to a variety of types of cloths including patola, block-printed imitation patola, hand-painted, block-printed textiles intended for commercial trade. The term ‘imitation-patola’ describes cotton block-printed textiles based on patola designs. Such cloths are included in the term ‘trade cloth’. The term ‘patola-inspired textile’ describes textiles made in Indonesia (for the purposes of this thesis) with local__________

6 Four Kabupaten exist in West Timor, based on regions traditionally classified as kingdoms. Kupang Regency consists of the traditional kingdoms of Amfoang, Fatuleu and Amarasi. The Timor South Central Timor Regency consists of the traditional kingdoms of Molo, Amanuban and Amanatun. The North Central Regency consists of the traditional Biboki, Insana and Miamarfo kingdoms while the Belu Regency consists of the traditional Lamaknen, Taisfeto, and Malaka kingdoms.
materials. However, a ‘patola-inspired’ textile draws its design elements and aesthetic from either Indian patola or imitation-patola textiles.

The term ‘textile artist’ has been used interchangeably with the term ‘weaver’ throughout this thesis. The intention of using these terms is to indicate the various skills required to make a textile such as growing and picking cotton, cleaning and preparing cotton, spinning cotton, ikatting, dyeing, weaving and finishing touches. The term ‘textile artist’ recognises the nature of textile production which involves a variety of technical, creative and aesthetic skills. Occasionally, the entire process of making textiles is undertaken by one individual. However, it is more common that textile production is a collective process (reflecting its pre-industrial origins), involving a number of women from the one extended family in the making of a cloth. However, the term ‘weaver’ is used in this thesis, reflecting how the women identify themselves as ‘penenun’ (I): weavers.

In Dawan language textile motifs made in the single warp ikat technique are prefaced with the term ‘Fut’, an abbreviation of futus. Hence, a single warp ikat textile with the Mak’aif motif is referred to as Fut Mak’aif. Alternatively, if the motif is made using the buna discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique the prefix ‘Bun’ is used. A textile decorated with the Biboek’sa motif using the buna technique is referred to as Bun Biboek’sa. However, in this thesis these prefixes have not been used so that motifs could be discussed without specifically referring to a textile and weaving technique. Therefore, in order to maintain consistency throughout the text, these prefixes have not been used, except in Appendix Two – Biboki Motifs.
CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION
A thorough review of the English literature relating to the topic has been undertaken in order to develop a cohesive basis prior to the analysis of fieldwork findings. The literature consulted in the preparation of this thesis can be grouped into seven primary categories:

- Austronesian expansion and social structure;
- Ethnographic studies of the Atoin meto;
- The history of West Timor and its trade relations;
- Indian *patola* and trade textiles;
- The history of trade in Southeast Asia;
- Indian textiles in a Southeast Asian context;
- The influence of Indian trade and *patola* cloths on the textile traditions and ritual practices of the Atoin meto.

The key, relevant literature sources consulted to inform this thesis are reviewed below under the related subject headings. However, where a publication relates to more than one subject heading it has been listed only once. Major publications, in foreign languages, that relate to the topic are also briefly cited, although they have not been read.

2.1 AUSTRONESIAN EXPANSION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE
The linguistic and ethnic make-up of Timor reflects a history of migration and convergence of numerous cultural groups. Most notably, there is a mix of Indonesian peoples coming from the west and Melanesian people coming from the east. This factor, combined with the mountainous geographic features of the island resulted in a number of distinct languages and cultures. Linguistically, the western part of the island is predominantly Austronesian languages (Dawan and Tetum) and the eastern side Melanesian languages (with a total of fourteen distinct languages spoken). It is asserted that the Atoin meto were the original inhabitants of the island and waves of
migration resulted in the arrival of the Tetum, Mambae, Lakaeli, Idate, Makassai, Kemak, Bunak, Tokodece, Glaoli, Habu, Tukudece and Dagada peoples and languages (Gordon 2005). The Atoin meto peoples, the focus of this study, are Austronesian and speak the Dawan language, with notable regional dialects.

Bellwood’s writings (1991) *The Austronesian Dispersal and the Origins of Languages* and (1996) *Hierarchy, Founder Ideology and Austronesian Expansion* document the migration and establishment of Austronesian societies and languages from China and Taiwan to as far west as Madagascar and east to New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. He presents key features of Austronesian society such as the founder focus ideology that permeates hierarchical clan based power structures. Similarly Fox (1996) *Origins, Ancestry and Alliance; explorations of Austronesian Ethnography* and van Wouden’s (1968), *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia* refer to rank-focused ideologies, reverence for kin-group founders, the common practice of naming kin-groups after founders and the ranking of status positions by descent in their texts.

### 2.2 ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES OF THE ATOIN METO

The Atoin meto people and their culture have been the subject of various writers and anthropological researchers over recent decades. Formative and classic ethnographic texts, based on fieldwork and primary sources, providing an overview to the social organisation and political history of Atoin meto society and their accompanying world view include Cunningham (1962), *People of the dry land a study of the social organisation of the Indonesian people*; Schulte Nordholt’s, (1971) *The political system of the Atoni of Timor*; and Middelkoop’s (1963), *Headhunting in Timor and its Historical Implications*. Ormeling’s (1956), *The Timor Problem*, analyses Timor’s history, social and economic development from an environmental perspective. These works are considered to be authoritative texts on the social and political organisation and history of the Atoin meto and form the basis of documented...
works on the Atoin meto society. However, it should be noted that none of these studies provide a detailed analysis of the material culture, with the exception of symbolism of architectural structures (Cunningham, 1962, pp. 91 – 101). Only superficial attention is given to the rich and impressive textile tradition of the Atoin meto, with the practice of textile weaving being regularly mentioned. Nonetheless, textile traditions have been located alongside the ritual narrative verses of the Atoin meto by Nordholt Schulte and McWilliam in so far as these two aspects of cultural activity share complementary positions as feminine and masculine realms of cultural importance, responsibility and activity. Yet, textile production remains outside the focus of these studies.

McWilliam’s (1989) *Narrating the Path and the Gate: Place and Precedence in South West Timor* and (2002), *Paths of origin, gates of life; A study of place and precedence in southwest Timor* is also based on extensive fieldwork and draws on these above mentioned texts. Focusing on one group of Atoin meto people, the Nabuasa clan from Amanuban, South Central Timor Regency, McWilliam investigates the role and metaphor contained within Atoin meto ritual narratives as a means by which to understand the classification systems and cosmology of the Atoin meto. These narratives chronicle and inform the Atoin meto of their identity and sense of place in the world. The origin narratives provide direct ancestral links with previous generations and document belief systems and genealogies. They also mark places of ritual and sacred significance from a clan perspective. McWilliam’s work contributes greatly to an understanding of the Atoin meto and focuses on the aspect of language and narrative as key forms of cultural transmission. He continues to explore this theme in his chapter (1997), *Mapping with Metaphor: Cultural Topographies West Timor* in Fox’s (ed.) (1997), *The Poetic Power of Place*. McWilliam’s (2002), *Paths of Origins, Gates of Life* includes a chapter *A Political Economy of Headhunting* which presents head hunting as a means of ritual
management of ceremonial violence that enabled the basis of political autonomy for
the Nabuasa clan group. Textiles are referred to occasionally in these works with
some detailed references about head hunter’s attire.

Another formative study of the Atoin meto which provides additional insights to the
role of head hunting, based on fieldwork and primary sources is provided by
Middelkoop (1963), *Headhunting in Timor and its Historical Implications*. Middelkoop
articulates the numerous head hunting traditions as explained to him across the
various kingdoms of Atoin meto lands in this meandering account of head hunting
practices. However, these three volumes underscore the role of head hunting as a
form of tribute to invisible ancestral spirits. It also documents the variable nature of
ritual practice from region to region, village to village and clan to clan in the context of
West Timor with no two regions having consistently similar ritual practices relating to
head hunting. Other useful references relating to head hunting include Hoskins
(1996), *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia* which articulates
the relationship between head hunting and slave taking, a form of trade that was
evident in West Timor during the 16th – 19th century. Links are drawn between the
increased demand for slaves and consequent raids by inland people in eastern
Indonesia wanting to supply coastal traders and the number of heads taken and the
levels of political centralisation at that time. Head hunting is also discussed in the
context of political organisation in a thesis by Cunningham (1962), *People of the Dry
Land* whilst Downs (1977), *Headhunting in Indonesia* considers the symbolic
significance and inherently reciprocal nature of head hunting in Indonesia. Within
these writings descriptions of head hunters attire appear occasionally, indicating the
status accorded to this role and the style of garments and body adornment worn.
However, virtually no analysis of their costume, specifically the woven motifs
appearing on these garments and the material used, are provided.
Articulating the relationship between head hunting and textile production in Iban culture is Gavin’s *The Women’s Warpath* (1996). Gavin documents that in east Malaysia (formerly Borneo) ‘weaving could not be understood outside the context of head hunting’ (1996, p.13). This analysis is also applicable to the Atoin meto in West Timor. Gavin’s primary informant, Iba Anak Temenggong Koh, describes her family’s collection of trophy heads by stating ‘Men take heads, we women make cloth’ (Gavin 1996, p.13). Paralleled to the dangers of war and head hunting, weaving is the highest achievement of women as they both involve risk or injury and death. A weaver’s level of achievement is marked by her ability to produce high-ranking and powerful ritual Iban cloths. Factors such as the age of the cloth, the motif, depth of colour and finally, the title of the design determine the ranking of the cloth (Gavin, 1996, p. 27 – 29). Specifically, the ngar ritual, which occurs at the stage of applying the mordant to the threads before dyeing with *morinda citrofolia* (*L*), is referred to as ‘kayau indu’ the warpath of women (Gavin 1996, p.13, Fig 24). The ngar ritual requests assistance from the ‘helping spirits’ to perform the mordant application. Failure or defeat in the process of applying the mordant is considered to result in the removal of one’s vital force, resulting in sickness and death (Gavin, 1996, p. 27).

### 2.3 HISTORY OF TIMOR AND TRADE RELATIONS

Key texts describing the history of West Timor that elucidate the relationships between the region and other traders include Gunn (1999), *Timor Loro Sae 500 Years* exploring the layers influence exerted on Timor through trade and colonization in both East and West over the past five centuries. Of particular interest is his chapter *Discovery of Timor* which outlines the various contributors and the historical events pertaining to the involvement of the Chinese, Portuguese and Dutch involvement in Timor’s lucrative sandalwood trade. Fernandes’ succinct overview of trade in relation to Timor from the 1350’s through until the arrival of the Dutch in the 1700’s establishes Timor’s enduring relationship with Chinese traders and locates

Boxer (1968), *The Fidalgos in the Far East 1550 - 1770* focuses on the arrival of the Portuguese as a trading force in the region. In this historical account he outlines the establishment of Solor as a central trading base for Timorese sandalwood and their consequent sparring with the Dutch in the region. Fox (1977b), *Harvest of the Palm* provides accounts of the early relations of European traders with eastern Indonesia. Fox details the struggle for power between the Dutch and the Portuguese Topasses, providing a clear context in which trade evolved in Timor. Ormeling (1956), *The Timor Problem: A Geographical Interpretation of an Underdeveloped Island* presents a comprehensive chapter on the history of trade in West Timor and analyses how the environmental features of West Timor’s land, coastline, natural resources and climate have significantly contributed to shaping the culture, history and economic development, including trade, of the Atoin meto.

These texts establish Timor’s role in local and more extensive trading networks and indicate the numerous relationships with trading ‘partners’ prior to and during the 16th – 19th century. They describe the nature of trade in the region and confirm the exchange of foreign commodities, including Indian textiles, in return for sandalwood, beeswax and human slaves. However, little attention is given to description of these foreign textiles that were traded and their subsequent use or influence within Atoin meto society. This gap is partly considered in Chapter Six with the presentation of evidence of Indian *patola* and trade cloth that were collected from Timor, providing some insights into the types of Indian textiles traded into both West and East Timor.
2.4 ATOIN METO TEXTILE PRODUCTION AND TRADITIONS

Writings based on the Atoin meto textile traditions have emerged in the past two decades. Gittinger (1979), Splendid Symbols: Textiles and Traditions in Indonesia dedicated a chapter to the textile practices of the Atoin meto. This account includes references to regional variation of motif, colour and technique amongst Atoin meto textiles. Gittinger also documents various forms of textiles and explains their uses as garments and accessories. She continues by commenting on the use of textiles in Atoin meto gift exchange practices and funeral rituals. Maxwell (2003b), Textiles of Southeast Asia: Tradition, Trade and Transformation describes the textiles of Timor, with reference to Atoin meto textiles, in the broader context of the Southeast Asian textile history. Maxwell suggests that because the motifs of Atoin meto textiles are so closely related to notions of individual and social identity that these motifs have remained virtually unchanged and were resilient to the influence of foreign textiles, since their inception (Maxwell 2003b, p.227).

More detailed attention has been given to Atoin meto textiles in exhibition catalogues by Leibrick (1993), Motif, Motif and (1994), Binding Culture into Thread: Textile Arts of Biboki West Timor. These publications, based on fieldwork and primary sources, detail the motifs and techniques used in textile production in the Biboki, North Central Timor Regency. Binding Culture into Thread: Textile Arts of Biboki West Timor considers Biboki textile traditions within the broader context of the visual arts and crafts of the Atoin meto, also referring to historical influences and contemporary trends. Leibrick (1994, p. 11) argues that Timor’s geographic location on the edge of eastern Indonesia resulted in isolation and economic marginality, not withstanding the Timorese have experienced over 2000 years of trade in sandalwood and

7 Motif, Motif and Binding Culture into Thread: Textile Arts of Biboki West Timor were exhibitions of Biboki textiles presented by the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory in conjunction with Yayasan Tafean Pah in 1993 and 1994 respectively.
beeswax and the associated contact with foreign influences including contact with Makassan, Chinese, Arabic, Javanese and Indian traders. This isolation is evident in that the Atoin meto have consistently maintained their inherited ritual and social status. Within this context of foreign influence and adherence to traditional, animist culture Leibrick argues that textiles continue to perform a primary role within Timorese cultural expression and ritual.

In reference to the complexity of regional variation in textiles and other Atoin meto arts, Leibrick maintains there is an overall coherence and unity of form and design in Timorese arts, most evident in the textile arts. ‘It is in textiles, as in no other Timorese art form, that the unity, regional diversity and sheer vibrancy of Timorese art is displayed to its full’ (Leibrick 1994, p.15). She asserts that an underlying similarity in environment, collective ideas, customs and social institutions transcends the ethno-linguistic diversity of the island. Threads of connection that stretch across the island are apparent in recurring motifs such as the lozenge, spiral and hook motifs, the standing human figure and the crocodile. Within this unity, distinct regional stylistic differences are evident, reflecting both ethno-linguistic identity and differing degrees of exposure to outside influences (Leibrick 1994, p.15).

Alluding to the role of indigenous rulers as ‘agents of the introduction of even subtle innovation’ in relation to Biboki textile arts, Leibrick indicates the difficulty of reconstructing the influence of trade on the textile repertoire of the region. She refers to Cunningham’s observations that foreign influence in the form of the diamond and spiral hooks that feature so ubiquitously in Atoin meto textiles closely resemble Mediterranean or Middle eastern textile motifs (1994, pp. 17-19). However Leibrick’s research indicates the need for further investigation into the topic of foreign influence on Atoin meto textiles which falls outside the scope of her investigations.
We know that Indian fabrics in particular, which were imported for centuries prior to and after the European arrival in the late 16th century have long formed an important source of design inspiration for the Lesser Sunda cultures. But further research is required to discern their specific influences on Biboki and other Atoni meto textiles (Leibrick 1994, p. 19).

Two additional research theses Asche (1995), *Dialogue in Development* and Croese (1995), *Diamonds and Crocodiles: A comparative study of the textiles of the Atoni and Tetum of West Timor* extend the contemporary documentation of textiles from West Timor. Asche’s main area of enquiry is related to interaction between donors and recipients in the implementation of development projects. Her case study, based on extensive fieldwork and primary sources, is focused on Matabesi village, a member village of the Biboki weaving co-operative, Yayasan Tafean Pah. This thesis provides analysis of the contemporary experience of the Atoni meto people, in the village of Matabesi, as they strive to create economic development initiatives, based on traditional cultural practices, including the symbolism and production of textiles. Asche documents all aspects of the textile production process and the place of textile production within the daily routine and annual cycle of the village. She also considers recent changes to production including the introduction of commercial threads and synthetic dyes and the cash economy. Asche’s work highlights the dynamic nature of Atoni meto society as people confront contemporary administrative, political and geographic change and documents the tensions, between traditional and contemporary cultural practices and social structures.

Croese’s comparative study between the textiles of the Atoni meto and the Tetum peoples of the Belu Regency of West Timor, based on secondary sources, places these textile traditions in a broader historical and social context. *Diamonds and Crocodiles: A comparative study of the textiles of Atoni and Tetum of West Timor* provides a sound understanding of both Atoni and Tetum cultures and the role of
textiles within these cultures. A selection of textiles from private and museum collections are analysed according to regional variations. Croese refers to the introduction of Indian *patola* textiles into West Timor and their use as barter items by external traders and briefly considers the use of the decorative *tumpal* (G, I) border in Atoin meto textiles as a possible influence from Indian *patola* textiles. However, whilst referring to the prevalence of Dong son derived motifs in Atoin meto and Tetum textiles and the inclusion of one *patola*-inspired textile, consideration of the influence of foreign textiles, such as Indian *patola* and trade cloths and Chinese textiles is outside the scope of Croese’s inquiry.

More recently Yeager & Jacobson (2002), *Textiles of Western Timor Regional Variations in Historical Perspective* fulfilled the need for a definitive text documenting the diverse regional variations of West Timorese textiles. The historical influences of this rich textile tradition are discussed in relation to each region. However, only occasional references to ‘fine fabrics’, Indian *patola* cloths and ‘cloths from Paleacate and Cambaya’ entering West Timor are mentioned and the possible connection between these Indian textiles and specific Atoin meto motifs is not explored (2002, pp. 17-18, 224).

Other accounts addressing specific aspects of Timorese textile traditions, with reference to Atoin meto textiles, have been provided by Barrkman (2006) *Symbols of Power and Life* which explores the relationship between head hunting and Indian textiles in the Nai Lopo clan of Oenaem village, Biboki, West Timor. Bennett’s (1998), *Cloth that Binds Across Borders* which provides an analysis of the vibrancy of the textile traditions of Timor and the many cultural nuances and overlays associated with cloth in both East and West Timor. Bennett refers to Indian trade textiles and as

8 This textile appears as Figure 34 in Croese’s thesis (1995, p. 72) and is from the private collection of Louise Stewart.
a form of soea, ancestral heirloom objects in East Timor. Van Hout’s (1999), analysis of bird imagery commonly used in Atoin textiles *Bird Motifs in Ikats from Sumba and Timor* also provides more specific commentary on the significance of specific motifs in Atoin meto textiles.

### 2.5 INDIAN TRADE AND PATOLA CLOTHS

Literature relating to Indian *patola* and trade cloths that were traded into Southeast Asia is relevant to this research. Bühler and Fischer (1979), *The Patola of Gujarat*, is the authoritative text on the subject of *patola* textiles and provides extensive documentation about all aspects of the production, design and motif repertoire found in the double silk *patola*. It also documents imitation-*patola* cotton printed textiles, also known as trade cloths, and local responses to *patola* cloths from various regions in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Supplementing the range of motifs identified by Bühler and Fischer are Holmgren and Spertus (1985), *Newly Discovered Patolu Motif Types - Extensions to Alfred Bühler and Eberhard Fischer 1979, The Patola of Gujarat* from the proceedings from the Indonesian Textile Symposium, Cologne. This article complements the aforementioned text and significantly extends the documented range of *patola* motifs. Comparisons are presented between some of these newer *patola* motifs and their incorporation into imitation-*patola* cotton trade cloths.

Gittinger (1982), *Master Dyers of the World* documents the traces the origins of natural dye techniques in Indian textile production and their eventual influence on textile traditions in the West and East. This work’s primary focus is to chronicle a diverse range of block-printed and resist dye textiles, including imitation-*patola*, as well as references to silk *patola*. Attention is given to the subsequent trade and influence of these textiles in Southeast Asia, mainland Asia and Japan including specific reference to eastern Indonesia.
Guy’s (1998), Woven Cargoes provides extensive information about the history and nature of trade of Indian textiles to Southeast Asia. He thoroughly presents the origins of this trade and its growth into an international phenomenon reaching from India to China, Europe and Southeast Asia, with mention of Timor as one of the regions where significant numbers of trade cloths have been located. He reveals Indonesia as the region where the introduction of Indian textiles had the most significant impact in regard to textile production as well as entry into ritual practices. This work also provides detailed documentation into the nature of production of Indian silk patola, imitation patola and other printed trade cloths. Sen’s (1961), The Role of Indian textiles in Southeast Asian Trade in the Seventeenth Century considers the demand for Indian textiles in Southeast Asia, their use as the principal medium of exchange between Southeast Asia and the world and finally the manner in which European trading interests in Southeast Asia, and ultimate fortune, were shaped by the patterns of inter-Asian trade in the region.

Divall’s thesis (2001), Indian Trade Textiles: Mordant Block-printed Cloths Created for Indonesian Markets documents the interactive nature of the Indian textile trade and its Southeast Asian markets as the Indian producers responded to regional aesthetic preferences. Divall’s thesis considers the effects upon the Indian textiles exported to Southeast Asia and in particular argues that smaller export versions of silk patola and trade cloths were made in response to market demands. However, whilst these aforementioned texts documenting Indian trade textiles analyse the influence of Indian trade and patola cloths on the textiles traditions of Southeast Asia, Indonesia and in some instances eastern Indonesia, none extend to consider the specific question of whether these Indian textiles influenced the textile traditions and rituals of the Atoin meto of West Timor.
2.6 THE HISTORY OF TRADE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The history of trade in Southeast Asia has been well documented by Reid (1988), *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450 –1680* and (1993), *Southeast Asia in the Modern Era Trade, Power and Belief*. These works provide a regional overview of trade and commerce in a Southeast Asian context. Furthermore, they clearly document the influence of trade and commerce upon the formation of ruling states and empires along with the introduction of new religious and philosophical perspectives and practices in Southeast Asia. Reid considers the physical characteristics of the region such as its tropical climate, natural resources and vast waterways as the pre-condition for the development of extensive inter-island maritime trade networks and economy within the archipelago and region.

Reid continues by outlining the nature and influence of foreign traders, who had fostered the arrival of Buddhism and Hinduism circa 8th-9th centuries. From this time onwards, the region had become a meeting point of exchange between India, the Middle East and China. This period, as outlined by Reid, also saw the arrival of European traders and the consequent control by them of a variety of resources, including spices and sandalwood, resulting in eventual colonial domination of the region. Reid (1992), *Southeast Asia: A Region and a Crossroad*, examines the specific resources sought from Southeast Asia, including the sandalwood of Timor and the introduction of foreign goods to the region. Meilink-Roelofsz (1962), *Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* similarly recounts the initial arrival of European interests to the region, motivated by trade interests, namely the spice trade. However, Timor does not command large attention within the overall history of the Southeast Asian region.

The nature of maritime trade, specifically within an eastern Indonesian context, is examined by Macknight (1973), *The nature of early maritime trade: some points of analogy from the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago*. Whilst this article
primarily focuses on the trade between South Sulawesi and Northern Australia, this account highlights various aspects of maritime trade including weather patterns, the formation and role of entrepots and the differing cultural protocols affecting the norms of trade and exchange. Pelras (1996) *The Bugis* documents the influence of Bugis trading within the region with reference to early contact with Timor.

**2.7 THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN PATOLA AND TRADE CLOTHS ON THE TEXTILE TRADITIONS OF EASTERN INDONESIA**

Bühler (1959), *Patola Influences in Southeast Asia* first documented the influence of these Gujarat *patola* cloths and Indian trade cloths in this seminal article. He convincingly analysed the evidence of *patola* influence in various textile traditions in Southeast Asia. Bühler paid specific attention to the Indonesian archipelago. Other seminal texts such as *Textiles of Southeast Asia: Tradition, Trade and Transformation* by Maxwell (2003b) consider the impact and influence of Indian trade cloths on Indonesia textiles. The National Gallery of Australia’s, major exhibition and its accompanying catalogue *Sari to Sarong 500 Years of Textile Exchange* (Maxwell, 2003a), are recent examinations of this topic.

Particular research into Indian influence within the region of eastern Indonesia has also emerged. The influence of the imported textiles on local textile production in places such as Rote, Flores, Lemabata and Sumba is clearly apparent in textile design format and adoption of motifs. Barnes (1985), *Patola in Southern Lembata* and (1989), *The Ikat Textiles of Lamalera* presents clear links between the imported *patola* cloths and the design layout and repertoire of Lamalera textiles. Hamilton (1994), *The Gift of the Cotton Maidens* focuses on the influence of *patola* cloths on the textiles of Flores whilst Fox’s (1977a), *Shark and Pattern Crocodile: The Foundations of the Textile Traditions of Rote and Ndao* considers *patola* influence in
Rote. Hunt Kahlenberg maintains influence of the *patola* occurred in Ndao, Savu and Rote but rejects the likelihood of this influence continuing further west (1977, p. 92).

Texts that refer directly to the influence of Indian trade and *patola* cloths on rituals practices in eastern Indonesia include Gittinger (1982), *Master Dyers of the World* and Warming and Gaworski (1981), *The World of Indonesian Textiles*. More specifically, Vischer (1992), *Children of the Black Patola Stone: Origin structures in a domain on Palu'e Island, Eastern Indonesia*, describes the existence of *patola* cloth on the atoll of Palu’e and provides detail of their use in ceremonies affirming founders of the clans. These textiles are enshrined in origin narratives of the clan. However, the textiles of this region, which appear not to have been influenced by foreign Indian textiles, are also discussed by Vischer (1994), *Black and Red, White and Yellow*.

Graham (1994) analyses the social and ritual use of textiles from earlier trade and other introduced objects in the Lamhalot in eastern Flores. Graham considers the symbolic connotations attributed to local and imported textiles and other objects relating to cultural constructions of fertility. Both Indian trade cloths and *patola* cloths were used in life cycle rituals to counteract the presentation of elephant tusks. Graham also refers to the recording of these Indian textiles in the oral traditions of the area. Graham’s article (1995), *The Severed Shroud: Local and Imported Textiles in the Mortuary Rites of Indonesian People* considers the use of Indian *patola* as in mortuary rites and concludes that these textiles combined with locally made textiles form complex categories in exchange transactions, indicating that they ‘found a place in indigenous categories of social organisation and rituals process’ (Graham 1995, p.165). Nooy-Palm (1989), *The Sacred Cloths of the Toraja, Unanswered Questions* also explores the close relationship between *ma’a* cloths and imported *patola* cloth and European cloths and the manner in which *patola*-inspired *ma’a* and *sarita* cloths were incorporated by the Torajan people of South Sulawesi into local rituals and textile production.
2.8 THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN *PATOLA AND TRADE CLOTHS ON THE TEXTILE TRADITIONS AND RITUAL PRACTICES OF THE ATOIN METO*

Whilst the influence of Indian trade cloths and *patola* cloths in local textile practice has been well documented in Indonesia and specifically eastern Indonesia, their significance in the context of Atoin meto textiles has not yet fully been examined (Leibrick 1994, p.19). Yeager & Jacobson (2002), *Textiles of Western Timor Regional Variations in Historical Perspective* echo this gap by commenting that *patola* patterns and motifs had an important influence on the textiles of eastern Flores, Sumba, and Rote, but suggest there is little evidence of *patola* influence on patterning in Timor and that little is known about how these Indian textiles were used in ritual.

Some evidence of the existence of *patola*-inspired textiles in Atoin meto weaving repertoire is presented by Bühler and Fischer with images of two Atoin meto textiles, from Anamuban, West Timor which incorporate *patola* design elements. However, in his seminal article, Bühler (1959), *The influence of Indian patola cloths on South East Asian Textiles*, suggests that there is no evidence indicating *patola* influence in Atoin meto textiles. Agreeing with this position Maxwell (2003b), *Textiles of Southeast Asia Tradition, Trade and Transformation* comments that:

>The presence of trade textiles did not always lead to dramatic changes in the motifs and designs of Southeast Asian cloth. The effect, if any, on some cultures and on some textile styles has been negligible. For example, despite centuries of trade in sandalwood, foreign designs are rarely found on Timorese textiles, and although foreign textiles are treasured possessions, Indian trade cloths have not been noted as royal heirlooms (2003b, p. 227).

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9 Images 227, 228, Buhler and Fischer (1979).
Gittinger also maintains the stance that ‘foreign influences seem to have left no mark on the local textile traditions’ (1979, p.182). If these assertions are correct they are not accompanied with any analysis that suggests why the Atoin meto were impervious to this foreign influence.

Hunt Kahlenberg (2003), *The Possessions of the Ancestors* has drawn the link of influence from Indian textiles and Timorese textiles, in her article where she presents a discontinuous, supplementary, weft wrapped Timorese *futu* (*D*): belt, from a private collection that features a motif that she declares is not immediately recognisable within the Timorese motif repertoire. Unfortunately, no provenance details of this textile are provided. She suggests a shared ‘geometric sensibility’ between this motif and Indian trade cloths collected from East Timor a ‘few years ago’ (2003, p. 87). Beyond this article no other literature is available that considers the relationship between Indian trade cloths and *patola* cloths that were traded into West Timor between 16th century until 19th century. What remains unclear is the nature of the influence that these textiles had on the textile production of the Atoin meto and whether these cloths were incorporated into the ritual practices of the Atoin meto.

### 2.9 FOREIGN LANGUAGE REFERENCES
A number of foreign references also refer to the topic of this research. However, these references were not consulted due to language limitations. The most notable of these publications include the Jardner and Jardner (1995), *Eingefangene Faden; Textile Veerzierungstechniken in West-Timor, Indonesien*. This publication provides a detailed analysis of weaving technology and textile history in West Timor. A Dutch study investigating the anthropological uses of textiles, in the Moluccas, is Jonge and van Dijk’s *Vergeten Eilanden: Kunst en cultuur van de Zuidoost-Molukken* (1995). A comprehensive Dutch publication, providing historical accounts of sandalwood trade in the region, with specific attention on Timor, is De Roever’s (2002), *De Jacht op Sandelhout; De VOC en de teweedeling can Timor in de zeventiende eeuw*. 
2.10 CONCLUSION
The above cited texts will provide the foundation of exploring the questions posed by this research. Based on this survey of the existing literature relating to West Timor, the Atoin meto and their textiles it is envisaged that this research will contribute to a greater understanding of whether the Indian *patola* and trade cloths had any lasting influence on the textiles production of the Atoin meto. Additionally, this topic is considered in relation to the broader context of eastern Indonesia, where the influence of these Indian textiles has been previously ascertained. Consideration will also be given to the use and inclusion of Indian *patola* and trade cloths in ritual practices, thus extending the existing body of literature in regard to the development of Atoin meto textiles.
CHAPTER 3 - CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 THEORETICAL BASIS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THIS STUDY

Theories of gift giving, exchange and circulation of goods and commodities all relate to the manner in which Indian textiles were used as trade and exchange objects in Timor’s history. This research is also informed by the universal role played by textiles in constructing practical and symbolic social value and their potential to be valued as inalienable objects representing power, status and endurance. Such notions will assist in the understanding of the value attributed to Indian textiles by the Atoin meto and how they entered the social organisation and rituals of the region.

The theoretical premise underpinning this research is that objects and commodities develop a social biography through their trade and circulation. The ways in which a culture will respond to and value an object from another culture is largely shaped by one’s own culturally determined notions of value. According to Hunter (1997, p. 74) ‘…the value of objects cannot be conceived without reference to exchange and thus movement in and through a social milieu’. The biography of the object evolves in a new cultural context as the value that the object is attributed with varies. Ultimately such objects, once integrated into another culture, have the potential to influence the local culture, both intangibly through myth and ritual and tangibly through use and local cultural production.

3.1 EXCHANGE AND GIFT GIVING THEORY

A number of related theories based on exchange of commodities and the giving and receiving of gifts relate to this research (Kopytoff 1986; Mauss 1970; Weiner 1992). These theories essentially outline the role of exchange and gift giving as a means of developing and maintaining intricate social, cultural, political and economic relationships and alliances.
Exchange involves the giving and receiving of goods and services resulting in the formation of relationships. ‘To ‘exchange’ means to circulate, to swap, to trade, to give in order to receive’ (Boundas 2001, p. 101). Mauss understood gift exchange in terms of the social relations it established between people and the binding nature of the principle of reciprocity. Networks of relationships are based on the notion of indebtedness and they are sustained by the debts not fully being discharged. If a debt between two people is paid off, the relationship is terminated. Exchange is more than an economic transaction and particularly in non-monetary societies it forms the basis for social solidarity (Bullock, Stallybrass & Stephen 1988, p. 294).

In Malinowski’s theory the concept of exchange was simplified into a classification of the ‘gift’ and the ‘counter-gift’ on the assumption that reciprocity was the basis of social relationships in indigenous societies. It has been argued that in these societies the act of gift giving creates and maintains social relationships. The act of giving and accepting gifts and the reciprocity implied by this exchange contributes to social and political stability (Mauss 1970).

A predisposition toward gift giving and reciprocity is evident in Atoin meto society, specifically the exchange of gifts, most noticeably textiles at life cycle ceremonies between clan groups. Through this use textiles can be viewed as critical commodity in Atoin meto society for enhancing social relationships and structures. Such exchange notions were applied by rulers to foreign traders whereby they sought textiles in exchange for local commodities. These exchanges contributed to the strengthening of coastal kingdoms and access to resources, thus reinforcing their political stability.

Commodities and the exchange of commodities is the basis of trade and exchange. A commodity can be considered to be an object, resource or service that has a use value and also has an exchange value. These values may be determined by cultural,
social, political and economic concerns and needs. As these concerns and needs shift and change so do the corresponding value of commodities alter. Exchange is characterised by two objects, or sets of objects, being attributed with equal value (Bullock, Stallybrass & Stephen 1988).

The production of commodities is not only the material production of an object, but is also culturally marked as an object containing a certain value, specifically a cultural and economic value. Some, but not all objects, from a given society can be marked out as commodities. This process can be referred to as commoditization. Marx used the term ‘commodity fetishism’ to describe the fact that though commodities appear to be simple objects they are actually bundles of social relationships, transcendental, with a life of their own once they enter the sphere of market exchange and values. According to Marx, the ‘object’ in fact represents a variety of metaphysical and theological notions (Marx 1972).

3.2 THE THEORY OF COMMODITIZATION, DECOMMODITIZATION AND SINGULARIZATION

The study of objects as they move between cultures provides insight into the systems and relationships that govern a culture (Mauss 1970). Of particular importance is how objects can move between the two classifications of commodity and non-commodity, otherwise referred to as ‘commoditization’ and ‘decommoditization’. Kopytoff (1986) explains that once commoditized, an object will be traded and exchanged according to a specific value it is attributed based on a range of economic, social, cultural and or political determinants. It is also possible for an object’s value to increase to a point where it is considered to be invaluable, in one sense or another, and therefore it is deemed no longer suitable to exist as a commodity within the ambit of exchange or circulation. Kopytoff suggests that in such cases the object becomes decommoditized. Following the removal of an object from commodity and circulation status, the object is involved in process referred to as
singularization, implying rarity and approximated with being ‘one of a kind’. Once considered a singularized object it can be considered the opposite of a commodity. Kopytoff (1986) explains that it is singularized objects that determine the differences between cultures and identifies what values and objects are deemed significant and of most value to the society that reveres them.

‘Culture ensures that some things remain unambiguously singular, it resists the commoditization of others; and it sometimes resingularizes what has been commoditized.…..In every society, there are things that are publicly precluded from being commodities…..Power often asserts itself symbolically precisely by insisting on its right to singularize an object, or a set or class of objects…..Such singularization is sometimes extended to things that are normally commodities – in effect, commodities are singularized by being pulled out of their usual commodity sphere’ (Kopytoff 1986, pp. 73 - 74).

The value attributed to an object or commodity can alter, through the passage of time, circumstance, exchange and trade according to the political, economic, social and cultural factors that determine its value in a given context. The result is that the same object can be reclassified from commoditized to decommoditzed and vice versa from time to time (Kopytoff 1986).

The biographies of things in complex societies reveals a similar pattern. In the homogenized world of commodities, an eventful biography of a thing becomes the story of the various singularizations of it, of classifications and reclassifications in an uncertain world of categories whose importance shifts with every minor change in context. As with persons, the drama here lies in the uncertainties of valuation and identity (Kopytoff 1986, p. 90).

Theories of commoditization, decommoditization and singularisation of objects in relation to their use and value as commodities is useful when applied to understanding the history of Indian trade cloths and patola cloths in West Timor. The
response of the Atoin meto to these imported cloths and how they were adapted into their social classification system along with the uses to which they were applied gives insights into the way in which these cloths moved between status of commodity, then became decommoditized into becoming singularized and prized objects.

What one glimpses through the biographies of both people and things in these societies is, above all, the social system and the collective understandings on which it rests (Kopytoff 1986, p. 89).

3.3 THE THEORY OF THE SOCIAL LIFE AND BIOGRAPHY OF OBJECTS AND COMMODITIES

The theory that objects and the history of their production and the consequent uses of objects constitutes a ‘social life’ or the ‘biography’ of an object has been well argued (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). This notion is based on the idea that to understand the value of an object it is necessary to have an understanding of the function and purpose the object performs in the social context that it is used. Equally important to this understanding is the fact that objects may perform various roles, and be imbued with varying values, according to the social context in which they are used and found. These values will largely determine if and when an object becomes a commodity. The suggestion that commodities, specifically objects and material culture, have a social life and biography will become evident in the transition of Indian patola and trade cloths from India to Timor and the varying values attributed to them in either locale.

Biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure. For example, in situations of culture contact, they can show what anthropologists have so often stressed: that what is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use (Kopytoff 1986, p. 67).
These theories argue that only by understanding the processes of production and the uses of an object in its cultural context, can we begin to form any useful insight into the value invested in the object. Furthermore, only by tracing the history of an object, as it is exchanged into different settings and cultures, can an understanding of the value attributed to the object be ascertained. This approach suggests that the value of a given object is constructed by the social and cultural factors and is not necessarily inherent in the object itself. This theory underpins the choice of topic for this thesis, which includes both the analysis of textile production through motifs as well as of the influence of Indian trade cloths and \textit{patola} in Atoin meto rituals. The identification of the role and function of these textiles in rituals and cultural life of the Atoin meto provides clear indication of the status and values attributed to these textiles by Atoin meto people in keeping with the objectives of this research.

This study traces the process of the Indian \textit{patola} and trade cloths as they were produced, traded, exchanged and entered into Atoin meto society. Most importantly it considers the value these cloths were attributed within Atoin meto society. However, the application of these theories to the subject of the influence of \textit{patola} and trade cloths on the textile production and ritual practices of the Atoin meto is at some level compromised. Appadurai refers to a form of ‘methodological fetishism’ in relation to the social analysis of the movement of objects ascertaining that whilst from a theoretical point of view it is human players that encode objects with their meaning, value and significance it is the understanding of the ‘thing-in-motion’ that actually illuminates the human and social context of an object.
Even if our own approach to things is conditioned necessarily by the view that things have no meanings apart from those that human transactions, attributions, and motivations endow them with, the anthropological problem is that this formal truth does not illuminate the concrete, historical circulation of things. For that we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories. It is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things (Appadurai 1986, p. 5).

3.4 INALIENABLE OBJECTS AND TEXTILE DOMAINS
Similarly to Kopytoff’s notion of the decommoditized and singularized object Weiner states that an inalienable object is one that is ‘imbued with the intrinsic and ineffable identities of their owners which are not easy to give away’ (Weiner 1992, p. 6). Ideally, inalienable possessions are passed on from generation to generation within a family or clan. Weiner considers the classification of possessions as alienable and inalienable as the most ancient and powerful economic classification. She attributes the practice of keeping-while-giving as fundamental to the establishment (and I would suggest maintenance) of cultural and social difference (Weiner 1992, pp. 17 - 19). ‘The reproduction of kinship is legitimated in each generation through the transmission of inalienable possessions, be they land rights, material objects or mythic knowledge’ (Weiner 1992, p. 11). If such an object was to be lost the individual and by consequence the family group is diminished in status, prestige and power.

How textiles become inalienable objects is due to the role textiles universally play in constructing social value. Cloth is often used as a metaphor to describe society as a fabric which is woven or knotted together. Cloth can pertain to society whilst the thread represents social relations. It is also suggested that the tactility and fragility of textiles as well as characteristics of durability and usefulness embody qualities
attributed to the vulnerability and tenacity of human existence. In essence textiles embody a number of symbolic values whilst also being a socially and politically salient object (Weiner 1992; Weiner & Schneider 1989).

Four domains of textiles have been established which serve as a useful framework through which to analyse the value of cloth in a social and cultural context. Weiner and Schneider present four domains including: (i) the symbolic process of the production of textiles; (ii) textiles as an exchange commodity for social and political significance; (iii) textiles as ritual objects and as indicators of power and authority; and finally, (iv) textiles as a marker of identity (Weiner & Schneider 1989, pp. 3 - 4). This framework is applied to Atoin meto textiles in Chapter 5.

The manufacture and production of cloth in many cultures is a technical process which is imbued with ancestral links and relationships (Gittinger 1979; Hamilton 1994; Leibrick 1994; Maxwell 2003b). Women played a critical role as the spinners, dyers, weavers and finishers of cloth and the maintenance of motifs, designs, recipes and techniques that have been passed on from mother to daughter in a continuous inter-generational exchange. The ongoing maintenance of the craft of textile production is considered by Weiner and Schneider to be an inheritance imbued with ancestral links.

....cloth possessions may also act as transcendent treasures, historical documents, that authenticate and confirm for the living the legacies and powers associated with a group’s or an individual’s connections to ancestors and gods (Weiner 1992, p. 3).

It is also considered that ancestors or divinities play a role in animating and inspiring the product which leads to analogies being drawn between the textile and the life cycle processes of conception, birth, initiation, marriage, childbirth, death and decay. Cloth assumed a status as being a highly valuable commodity largely because it is
imbued with symbolic meaning relating to life cycle rituals based on sexuality, biological reproduction, and growth. Consequently it is regarded as a material agent of the reproduction of social cohesion and relations. The ritual and discourse that surround the production of cloth define cloth as a suitable analogy for the regenerative and degenerative processes of life, binding humans to one another, to their ancestors and to their future progeny (Weiner & Schneider 1989, p. 3).

Textiles are one of a number of commodities relied upon heavily as an exchange commodity in many Asian societies, due to their social and political significance (Gittinger 1982; Guy 1998; Maxwell 2003a). As exchange commodities for marriage and death ceremonies, they are used to create alliances between kin, generations, clans and nations. Political wealth is also generated on such occasions, either within or between cultures as such exchanges and relationships are implicitly based on notions of loyalty and reciprocity.

As markers of identity the transference of inalienable objects within families and clans are a physical representation of lineage and acts to reconstitute social identities through time (Bennett 1998; Leibrick 1994; Yeager & Jacobson 2002). Retention of cloth staying in families for many years bestows value to the family and retains histories for future generations, including memories and myths. The achievement of retaining such textiles from the realm of commodity and circulation affirms the family’s success at fulfilling responsibility and overcoming survival pressures, thus strengthening a family or clan’s prestige.

Power and authority are also invested in textiles as they become used as ritual objects and royal regalia. In such instances cloth can be attributed with supernatural powers and considered to be a transmitter of power and authority as they are used in rituals that legitimize and sanctify past traditions and lineages.
Textiles, when kept as inalienable objects, create an illusionary form of security, continuity and permanence in an impermanent world. They constitute an ongoing constant, which appears to surpass life’s natural processes of loss and decay, even appearing to supersede human death (Gittinger 1979; Guy 2003; Maxwell 2003b).

3.5 METHODOLOGY
As previously stated in Chapter One this is multi disciplinary, qualitative research based on fieldwork. It draws on the disciplines of visual arts, anthropology and history for the purpose of analyzing the exchange and influence on Atoin meto material culture through textiles. This research has been undertaken by field work, analysis of museum and private textile collections and a study of the relevant literature, as outlined in Chapter Two Literature Review.

3.5.1 FIELDWORK RESEARCH
Two periods of field work were undertaken in West Timor during September to November 2003. The research was undertaken under the auspices of Yayasan Tafean Pah, a local development organisation. This enabled travel to various regions in West Timor and to meet with textile producers, aristocratic and royal families, village elders, adat (D) (I): customary law specialists, local cultural workers and textile dealers. A series of photographic images of Indian patola cloths and trade cloths were used to stimulate discussion. A series of unstructured interviews were conducted on the topic of Indian patola and trade cloths, Atoin meto textiles, textile motifs and the uses of textiles and the role of textiles in local rituals in various regions.

Both fieldwork periods involved viewing an extensive range of contemporary and heirloom Atoin meto textiles. On occasions permission was granted to enter the ume le’u and ume meo (D): ceremonial houses of particular villages in order to view ritual textiles. Consequently, participation in the necessary rites associated with ritual
opening the *ume le’u* and *ume meo* occurred, in order that these textiles be handled and shown. The majority of textiles viewed in the course of research were photographed with the permission of the owners. Research was also conducted in the village of Sainuip, South Biboki, documenting, learning and participating in the spinning and weaving process with members of Yayasan Tafean Pah.10

Figure 1: Luniup village weavers view images of Indian *patola* and trade cloths.11

10 From time to time the discussion with members of Yayasan Tafean Pah also included their family and friends.
11 Figures appearing in this thesis are referenced according to publication or museum collection, as appropriate. All other images, unless acknowledged, are photographs or illustrations provided by Joanna Barrkman.
3.5.2 MUSEUM AND PRIVATE TEXTILE COLLECTIONS

This research has drawn on a number of museum and private textile collections. This was necessary for two aspects of the research. Initially, to identify Indian *patola* and trade cloths that had a West Timor provenance and secondly, to identify Atoin meto textiles that visually demonstrated *patola* influence.

The number and variety of museums and private textile collections selected was based on the opportunity to visit them and view collections. Obviously this is a sample group only. Others institutions were contacted due to publications in which Atoin meto textiles featured. The following museums and private collections have been consulted during the research process:

- Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia.
• Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Darwin, Australia.
• Museum der Kulturen, Basel, Switzerland.
• Museum UPTD Museum Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur, Kupang, Indonesia.
• National Art Gallery of Australia, Canberra, Australia.
• National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
• Private collection of Alfred Nahak, Soe, West Timor.
• Private collection of Catherine Elderton, Darwin, Australia.
• Private collection of David Goldberg, Darwin, Australia.
• Private collection of Nikolas Klomang.
• Private collection of Michael Abbott QC, Adelaide, Australia.
• Private collection of Tim Newth, Darwin, Australia.
• Private collection of Wendy Asche, Darwin, Australia.
• Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, Australia.
• Threads of Life Textile Centre collection, Ubud, Bali, Indonesia.
• Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara, Delft, The Netherlands.
• Yayasan Taean Pah collection, Kefamenanu, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Indonesia.

Additionally, textiles from the following collections cited in publications have been included:

• Collection of Fowler Museum cited by Yeager & Jacobson (2002), Textiles of West Timor.
• Collection of Moss cited by Taylor (ed),(1994), Fragile Traditions; Indonesian Art in Jeopardy.
• Collection FMCH (not identified) cited by Yeager & Jacobson (2002), Textiles of West Timor.
• Museum of International Folk Art, Neutrogena Collection, Santa Fe, cited by Guy (1998), Woven Cargoes.
• TAPI Collection, Surat India cited by Barnes, R. (2002) 'Textiles for Trade with Asia', in Trade, Temple and Court; Indian Textiles from the Tapi Collection.
3.6 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

It is recognised that the researcher brings inherent bias to the research and an ethnocentric perspective to her understanding of Atoin meto culture and society. In keeping with contemporary anthropological discourse researchers are required to ‘use their social self as their primary research tool’ whilst engaging with other people, situations and cultural contexts. The ability to build social relationships, in this instance in a cross cultural context, requires rapport. ‘If we want to gather fine grained information about the beliefs, values and practices of others we need to be able to relate to those others on a one-to-one basis. And for that we rely heavily on our own interpersonal skills (Hume & Mulcock 2004, pp. xvii - xviii). This ‘intensely humanistic methodology’, relied upon for fieldwork, is clearly shaped by my cultural and social conditioning, which shapes the nature of all interactions, either positively or negatively, during the course of the field work.

Several aspects of the study were beyond the researcher’s control. Firstly, fieldwork periods were limited in duration according to the amount of time available in the field. West Timor and specifically Biboki region, is remote and rugged with limited physical infrastructure. Due to the poor road conditions and seasonal climatic factors travelling to and from various villages is very time consuming and at times impossible. There were real limitations on the researcher of the number and duration of visits to each village, limiting the number of villages under investigation.

Secondly, in order to protect the locations of specific textiles, place names have not been cited in some instances. Based on the Australian Anthropological Code of Ethics (Clause 3.2), certain personal identities and place names have been omitted in regard to the two of the three case studies featured in Chapter 7 and discussed in Chapter 8. This has necessitated that specific information supporting the research findings has not been included, as this information would indicate the locations.
Case Study One, located at Oenaem village, Biboki, the identities of the informants and the locations have been cited as this site is a registered place of interest with the Office of Culture and Tourism in North Central Timor.

Thirdly, in some instances ritual activity needed to occur as part of viewing textiles stored within the *ume le’u* and *ume meo* (D): ceremonial house. The preparation and execution of these rituals was time consuming as such rituals require the gathering of specific people and ritual offerings, prior to the rituals commencing. The rituals themselves often took several hours.

In some circumstances it was not possible to photograph particular textiles. This prohibition was due to cultural protocols and the sacred nature of specific textiles and the sacred value attributed to them by the ritual specialists and villagers.

The majority of the research was conducted in Bahasa Indonesia. However, in some village contexts only the Dawan language is spoken, an interpreter was used. It is possible that inaccuracies may have been recorded, either in the process of interpreting Dawan into either Bahasa Indonesia or English or through the interpreter’s bias.
CHAPTER 4 - THE ATOIN METO LANDS, PEOPLE, CULTURE AND HISTORY

4.0 INTRODUCTION
The aim of this chapter is to present insights into the Atoin meto people and their culture so as to provide a framework for considering the influence of Indian *patola* and trade cloths. The origins, language and some general features of Austronesian cultures that are relevant to Atoin meto culture will also provide a basic framework from which to consider the political and social structure of Atoin meto society and the cosmological and classification systems used by the Atoin meto people. The cultural practice of head hunting is discussed. This provides a basis for considering the relationship between head hunting, textiles and rituals which is further elucidated in Chapter Seven. An overview of West Timor’s history taking particular account of foreign trade contacts is presented in order to establish the broader context in which Indian textiles entered West Timor.

4.1 ATOIN METO LANDS – THE GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Map B: Indo-Malay archipelago, indicating Timor’s location. Source: Leibrick 1994, Binding Culture into Thread, p. 4.
West Timor is located on the south eastern edge of the Indonesian archipelago. It is part of the Outer Banda Arc of the Tertiary Sunda Mountain System. Historically, the region was referred to as the Lesser Sunda Islands and today is known as Nusa Tenggara Timur, eastern Indonesia (Bellwood 1996; Glover 1986, p. 98 - 100).

The island of Timor is built upon several differing, ancient layers of rock and features mountain peaks situated throughout the centre of the western side of the island. A central core of harsh, rugged terrain that is difficult to access is broken by a series of longitudinal depressions. By contrast low lying coastal regions are more fertile and accessible. Two major river systems, the Noilimina River and the Mota Benanin River, form the catchments of the inland valley and flow in a southerly direction. Numerous other discontinuous water systems, both rivers and wave deposits are located along the coastline and low lands (Ormeling 1956, p. 33 - 35).


12 These mountain peaks include Mt Mutis - 2,427m, Mt Molo – 2070m, Mt Mianafo -1,397m and Mt Lekaan -1,568m.
West Timor has a monsoonal climate. It occupies a transitional position between humid Indonesia to its west and dry Australia to its south (Ormeling 1956, pp.14 - 15). Annual rainfall across West Timor is erratic ranging between 700mm to 1500mm. Lower rainfalls are recorded in North Central Timor. In the mountainous inland regions of West Timor, higher precipitation and consequent higher levels of vegetation occur. Between October to January, the annual wet season occurs, creating an extreme seasonal variation.

During the dry season West Timor’s rivers dry up creating an arid and parched landscape. Dry season winds contribute to soil erosion, which is exacerbated by heavy wet season rains causing land slides. Timor’s soils are poorly suited to agriculture due to the high levels of leaching and the presence of exposed sedimentary rock. At times, when an extended dry season occurs, severe problems of agricultural crop failures, drought and food shortages eventuate. Then am’nas (D): the season of hunger occurs. As a consequence of these environmental and climatic conditions life is physically harsh.

4.2 THE ATOIN METO PEOPLE, ORIGINS AND LANGUAGE
The island of Timor is located in an ethnographic and racial transition area between the Australoid and Mongoloid peoples, with Malay Austronesian Indonesia to the west and Melanesian New Guinea to the east. These populations meet in Timor island and influence one another. A mestico society has resulted from an intermingling of migrant groups from the nearby islands of Semau, Flores, Alor and Rote; the presence of a Chinese population, Arabs, Indian, Africans as well as a more recent European colonial legacy. Coastal people, with their long history of foreign contact through trade, display more Malay characteristics while smaller numbers of inland inhabitants resemble Papuans (Glover 1986, p. 12; Gunn 1999, p. 32).
West Timor is predominantly populated with Atoin meto people, with smaller numbers of Bunak and Kemak peoples located in the Belu Regency nearby the border with East Timor (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 7). These groups, along with the Atoin meto are considered to be the original inhabitants of Timor. Dawan, also known as *Uab Meto*, is the indigenous language of the Atoin meto whose traditional lands are dominant in West Timor. Dawan language, of which there are numerous dialects, is an autochthonous Austronesian language, belonging to a sub group, the Central Malayo-Polynesian group of languages, in keeping with the nearby languages from the islands of Flores, Palu'e, Rote and Alor (Fox 1996, p. 4). Currently the Atoin meto are the most populous ethnic group in West Timor numbering over 586,000 people (Gordon 2005).


The second largest West Timorese linguistic group is the Tetum people, numbering 400,000 people living in the Belu plains of West Timor, near the border with East Timor. Both Dawan and Tetum languages are considered to be part of the Malayo–Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language group (Bellwood 1991, p. 73). There are numerous dialects of Tetum. In the Kupang Regency Helonese, Rotenese and Sabunese people are present, due to migrations from the nearby islands of
Sabu, Semau, Rote and Alor, constituting separate racial and linguistic groupings along the southwest coast of West Timor (Ormeling 1956, p. 68).

4.3 AUSTRONESIAN EXPANSION AND FEATURES OF AUSTRONESIAN CULTURES

Timor was encompassed by Austronesian expansion approximately 5,000 years ago. This expansion was based on societies with farming and agricultural knowledge that emerged from a Neolithic heartland in mainland south east China and Taiwan (formerly Formosa) circa 4,000 BCE usurping hunter and gatherer societies. Evidence of technologies relating to textile, ceramic and agricultural production, including rice cultivation, were in existence in these regions at this time (Bellwood 1991, p. 74).

This expansionist feature of Austronesian culture propelled their migration in a rapid succession of migrations to coastal regions (Bellwood 1996, p. 28). The arrival of agricultural immigrants, circa 2,500 BCE, from the west or north to Timor brought the island into closer relationships with neighbouring islands by introducing plants, animals, shell adzes, fishhooks and shell beads. These technologies impacted on coastal sites with technological changes in maritime and sailing vessels whilst newly introduced plant species and food sources impacted on inland regions. These developments instigated a process of differentiation between coastal and inland societies in Timor that was later to be encountered by Western mariners (Bellwood 1991, p. 74; Gunn 1999, p. 33). In Timor inland societies have remained more isolated from foreign influences than the coastal plain dwellers who experienced contact with foreigners over centuries, through trade. This characteristic may have relevance to the response to and use of Indian textiles, and how they were regarded.

13 At a later date other animals including pig, goat, dog, monkey, phalanger, civit cat, cattle and deer were introduced.
Bellwood (1996, pp. 22 - 30) and Fox (1996, p. 9) maintain that the Austronesian expansion was based on ‘founder focused rank enhancement’, a social system that places value, recognition and status on those ancestors who were founders and their descendants. Enhanced status transforms itself into the naming of kin-groups after founders. Social status is ranked by descent to the eldest born child. Such status is enshrined in ritualistic chants that are passed from generation to generation revering the power of the founder. Thus, status continues to flow directly to descendents, increasing their access to material and prestige goods including land rights, access to labour and marriage alliances which confirm their status. These features are still evident in Atoin meto society today.

Ongoing association to place is a critical feature of articulating status and origins. These factors combine to emphasise knowledge of past and the ongoing continuum of that past into the present. Such links to ancestry and place may be maintained through encounters with spirits, visions, presentation of sacred objects, rituals and narratives (Fox 1996, pp. 1 - 17). In this regard sacred objects, including imported or locally produced textiles, may be revered as they represent direct links with ancestral lineages.

### 4.4 POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF THE ATOIN METO SOCIETY

Atoin meto culture is based on principles of rivalry and reciprocity (Schulte Nordholt 1971, p. 392 - 396). They ascribe to a system of clan adherence and a preference,  

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14 Schlute Nordholt maintains that Atoin meto society exemplifies eight ‘mutually contradictory’ structural principles. Firstly, particular territory and particular genealogy of a group are inseparably bound. Secondly, the necessity to expand the ume (D): clan group and to strengthen and expand its smanaf (D): vital force is essential. Thirdly, reciprocity is underpinned by a desire to balance the ume’s life. Fourthly, political superordination and subordination is maintained by the denoting of the bride giving group as the superior social group. The fifth principle is that of the elder brother’s superiority in regard to the younger brother, establishing an order of precedence within ume and communities. Internal unity and stability is maintained by the sixth and seventh principles relating to the maintenance of affinal relationships within and beyond the political community, ensuring political and marriage
with limitation, for cross-cousin marriage which is pivotal to the organisation of clan
groups. This description is appropriate for most cultures of eastern Indonesia
(Wouden van 1968, pp. 1 - 2). Timor has many features of Malay-Indonesian
culture although it was not influenced by ancient Hindu, Buddhist or Islamic cultures.
Features that distinguish it from a Melanesian culture include a developed class
system with hereditary chiefs, tending livestock, a predominance of wet rice over root
crops, metal work,\textsuperscript{15} weaving technology and a partial market economy (Glover 1986,
p. 12).

Atoin meto society is a hierarchically ranked society marked by differences of status
between older and younger branches of the kanaf (D): clan determined by founder
origins. Stratified into three levels; aristocrat, commoner and slave, a member of an
usif (D): elite family; officiated over adat (D) (I): customary law and decision making
processes. Slavery was a condition of circumstance determined by incidents of war,
debt and crime, rather than hereditary position (Slamet-Velsink 1986, p. 246 cited in

The traditional political structure of the Atoin meto was based on kingdoms, also
referred to as princedoms, chiefdoms and unitary states, that can be traced back to
the 14th century. Supreme power was located in the ritual centre. This centre, a
form of political superstructure, was capable of making decisions affecting the entire
community such as warfare, administration, adjudication and ritual (Gunn 1999, p.
33; Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p 18). Prior to colonization by the Dutch Atoin meto
kingdoms comprised of up to thirty villages each. Ten Atoin meto kingdoms were

\textsuperscript{15} Metal work consists of forging iron knives and gold, silver and alloy for body adornment.
acknowledged by the Dutch in the early twentieth century and today form the basis of the Indonesian kabupaten system.\textsuperscript{16}

The ritual lord for the realm was attributed with specific magical and religious functions enabling him to control rains, drought, misfortune and prosperity. Honoured with the title of Lord of the Sun, neno anan (D)\textsuperscript{17} or atupas (D): sleeping one, he only directly governed the area in which he resided and was assisted by secular lords in four quarters. Reciprocal service formed the basis of relationships between the ritual and secular lords, hae na niman (D). Annual maus (D): tribute payment from the lands was delivered to the secular lords and used to feed the ritual lord whose duty was ‘to eat and sleep’. The ritual lord reciprocated through prayer and sacrifice, ensuring fertility over the lands reigned by the secular lords and offering sacral protection to them during combat with enemies (Cunningham 1962, pp. 94 - 95), (Meta, pers., comm., 19 June 2005, Darwin).

The ritual lord claimed annual maus from all his subjects; up to one quarter of the total annual yield of rice or maize as well as a small amount of money.\textsuperscript{18} Also adat services were requested, thus binding the Atoin meto to their ritual lord in a feudal style system. Officials of the ritual lord were given wives from his family, thus

\begin{itemize}
\item[16] Since Indonesian rule these kingdoms have been amalgamated into four kabupaten: regencies which serve as regional, administrative centres. The kingdoms of Amarasi, Amfoang, Fateleu constitute modern day Kupang Regency; the former kingdoms of Amanatun, Amanuban, Molo constitute South Central Timor Regency; the kingdoms of Biboki, Insana, Miamafu constitute North Central Timor Regency. Finally, the Belu Regency is a populated by the Tetum and is the home of the mighty Wehali-Waiwiku kingdom, which previously unified the island of Timor prior to its downfall, due to Dutch opposition, in the 17th century. The Belu Regency consists of the Tetum princeoms of Lamaknen, Taifeto and Malaka. The Atoin meto Kingdom of Ambenu is an enclave of modern day East Timor. All of these kingdoms, except for those in Belu Regency, are Atoin meto.
\item[17] Yeager & Jacobson (2002) use the term usif neno (D) to describe the Lord of the Sun.
\item[18] Annually in Tamkesi, the ritual centre of Biboki kingdom, people brought maus (D); annual offering or tribute from the land. It is customary at this time for padi (I): rice, ab a’ teme (D): locally grown cotton still containing its seeds and jagung (I): corn to be offered. These offerings are stored in the lopo. In return for these offerings an annual ceremony requesting rain is performed (Meta, pers. comm., 16 April, 2004, Kefamenanu).\end{itemize}
ensuring their obligation to the ritual lord of profit from traded goods. These obligations were recognised through tribute. Equally important was the need for the ritual lord to have as many wives as possible thus ensuring military assistance from his wife's kingdoms as required (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, pp. 8 - 9). Perhaps most importantly, when considering textiles, the traditional ritual ruler's wives and aristocratic women were master weavers ensuring the provision of the highest quality textiles. In addition to the ritual lord was a Raja who oversaw the administration of the realm. Today the political power of the Raja has diminished and been replaced by the Indonesian state political system with an official position of Camat. However, the ritual lord maintains a powerful and critical role in the social and cultural life of his 'kingdom' overseeing and implementing traditional law and rituals. Today he is known as a Kaiser.19

The Atoin meto traditionally live in kuan (D): small hamlets which cluster together to form a village. The ume tauf (D): is the basic family unit of the Atoin meto consisting of husband and wife, children and possibly the husband's brothers, sons and their wives and unmarried daughters. Together with other ume tauf they form a kanaf (D): clan who all claim descent from a common ancestor and share a common name associated with their place of origin. This place of origin is regarded as sacred (Croese 1995, p. 15). Each kanaf has an ume le'u (D): customary house which is the site for the performance of ancestral ceremonies and rituals in keeping with adat (I): ceremonial law. The ume le'u is also a keeping place for sacred objects, le'u (D) that are considered to connect the current members of the kanaf with their ancestors and are critical to the performance of clan rituals. Another type of ume le'u is a ume meo (D), dedicated to the affairs of meo (D): head hunters and warriors. In some instances a clan will have both an ume le'u and an ume meo.

19 The current Kaiser of Biboki is Nesi Iba Us'Boko.
Marriage is a form of alliance in Atoin meto society, whereby the woman adopts the clan of her husband. This patrilineal system is characterised by obligations being placed on both the families of the husband (wife-takers) and the family of the wife (wife-givers).

In essence each _kanaf_ looses its sisters and daughters in exchange for the women of other clan groups. The preferred marriage alliance, symbolic of the entire kinship system is articulated by this Atoin meto proverb ‘mother’s brother’s daughter and father’s sister’s son fit together like the two halves of a coconut’ (Schulte Nordholt 1980, p. 235).

The distinction between ‘wife-givers’ and ‘wife-takers’ pervades Atoin meto social life. ‘Wife-givers’ are placed in a socially superior position over their affines and are classified as _atoin amonet_ (D): ‘male people’. Alternatively, ‘wife-takers’ are classified as _atoin amafet_ (D): ‘female people’. These classifications illustrate the asymmetric and complementary nature of the marriage alliance whereby at any one point in time individuals are located within multiple sets of female and male relationships in relation to other groups. Social relationships and undertakings are performed within this framework (McWilliam, A. 2002, pp. 167 - 169).

Numerous ritual obligations are upheld in order to maintain these inter-related networks of social relationships and alliances. Customarily _bnaka_ (D): bride-price is paid in the form of cattle, textiles, _mutisalah_ (I), foreign coins and gold as a means of compensating the family for the loss of the daughter. Alliances forged through marriage not only developed male _kanaf_ but also increase agricultural and livestock wealth, along with access to traded goods. Due to the critical importance of textiles

20 A type of necklace popular in Timor made from Indo Pacific glass trade beads and Chinese coil beads. These are known by two names _mutisalah tanah_ (I) and _mutushalia batu_ (I).
in the fulfilment of exchange obligations for the ume (D): family and knaf (D): clan is expected that upon entering her husband's clan through marriage a woman will learn the textile motifs of his clan, so as to be able to produce cloth for exchange at life cycle rituals on behalf of his family. However, she will also be required to present cloths back to her original clan and for such occasions she weaves the designs of her natal clan.

4.5 COSMOLOGICAL AND CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM OF THE ATOIN METO

A feature of Austronesian societies, applicable to Atoin meto society, is that the cosmos and human society is considered a continuum of experience reflecting and informing one another. The cosmos is attributed with sacred and supernatural powers and human society is attributed with mundane and profane qualities. Through the enactment of ritual and sacred ceremonies the cosmos is interpreted, re-enacted and lived out, thus instructing each living generation. The role of myth, rites and social structure are consequently of paramount significance to the day to day life of the community (Wouden van 1968, pp. 1 - 2).

Atoin meto have an all embracing system of cultural classification based on duality and reciprocity which is reflected in their political, social and economic life. Inherent in this system is the need to balance and counter balance inherent differences in nature including the opposites of ‘inner and outer’, ‘masculine and feminine’, ‘left and right’, ‘hot and cold’, ‘light and dark’, to name a few. These classifications are applied to different aspects of their culture including kin alliances, governance

21 Schulte Nordholt (1971) outlines various polar opposites underpinned with the principle of bipartition including: feminine and masculine, wife or sister and husband or brother, female ancestor and male ancestor, inside and outside, silence and speech, closed and open, immobile and active, west / north and east / south, left and right, earth and heaven, yellow and red, black and white, night and day, life and death. Examples of didactic opposites include: sun and moon, gold and silver, fertility power and enmity power (Schulte Nordholt 1971, pp 408).
structures, warfare, ritual practices and naming of sacred places (Schulte Nordholt 1980). These transformations are not simply linear contrasts or opposites but result in complex sets of relationships and classifications. For example a ‘masculine and feminine’ classification is inter-related with other dichotomies and considerations such as ‘light and dark’ or the cardinal directions, thus creating various manifestations (Schulte Nordholt 1971, p. 407; 1980, pp. 245 - 247).

The role of women and men and the alignment of the production of cultural material according to gender is determined by notions of ‘male and female’, ‘hot and cold’, ‘inner and outer’. These classifications are attributed to textiles which generally are considered to exist in the ‘feminine, cold and inner’ classification. However when used for ritual purposes they are ceremonially transformed onto a ‘masculine and hot’ category. This demonstrates the ability for textiles to move between classifications in Atoin meto society, according to their use.

Toe (D): didactic indigenous ritual speech is the formal means of ritual expression whereby synonymously paired phrases are employed (McWilliam 1997, p.103). Such speech is usually delivered by the Atois (D): leader of prayer (Meta, pers., comm., 19 June 2005, Darwin). This oral narrative tradition has been the vehicle for the recording and the transmission of Atoin meto history and law, including founder origin narratives. As McWilliam explains the role of ritual speech is

...to express the pervasive collective concern of Meto communities with connected place and the maintenance of continuity with the past. To relate the origins and history of a name group is to narrate its “gate and path” (1997, p. 105).

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Atoin meto social order is also underpinned by a concept of subordinates and superordinates: interchangeable categories according to relationship (Cunningham 1962, p. 138). In the context of tribute these distinctions apply. Superordinates offer tribute to subordinates including live animals, mutisalah necklaces, silver, human heads (decapitated) and more recently money. Subordinates offer tribute to superordinates including textiles and prepared food (Cunningham 1962, pp. 136 - 139). This indicates the status attributed to textiles and their need for their continual production in order to maintain relationships with superordinates.

The Atoin meto believe in one supreme being Am’ Na’nut and various other deities located within the earth and sky, commonly represented by a three branched tree known as Hau Monef (D) located in front of the house or kanaf’s ume le’u.  

The tallest of these tree branches is considered male and represents Uis Neno Am Na’nut, the omnipotent Supreme Being in the unseen world (Mis’okan). The second, shorter branch represents Uis Neno Pala the supernatural beings under Uis Neno Mnanu based on the unity of Uis Oe the God of Water and Uis Pah, Uis Afu or Uis Naijan the God of Earth. The shorter branch represents Bei Na’i the mythical ancestors. Hau Monif is made from Trenggili cassis (L); Fistuala (D) which is attributed with protective powers by Atoin meto people. The female equivalent of the Hau Monef post is the Ni Ainaf post, the central ‘female’ pillar of the Ume Suba or house of the Atoin meto. Ume in Dawan has the dual meanings of ‘family’ and ‘house’ (Source: NTT Museum interpretive material).

An ume is a round dwelling with a thatched roof touching the ground. Within this simple construction is a complete social and cosmic meaning. The house symbolizes the woman ‘life’ principle and the motherhood role is represented by the main post Ni Ainaf that places the house as the centre of life and human activity. Ni Anif is positioned on the left side of the ume, the side where ceremonies are performed. This post also indicates the internal, ‘inside’ orientation of women’s role in Atoin meto society as opposed to the outdoor, ‘outside’ male post Hau Monef.

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4.6 HEAD HUNTING

Another aspect of Atoin meto society constructed within the dual classification system of Austronesian societies is the practice of head hunting. Atoin meto society viewed this socio-religious practice as a struggle between the opposing forces of the ‘tame and domesticated’ and the ‘wild and undomesticated’. The religious and social disturbance and imbalance resulting from a head being taken from one group necessitated reciprocation. Celebrated as a religious act of great significance, taking a head represented supernatural power and prestige and established advantage of one’s clan over another. The religious significance of this act is...

… based on a conception of the division of the universe into two antagonistic halves, the struggle between the two corresponding to the alternation between life and death. In real life the killing of a member of the opposing group means the death and temporary eclipse of that group and the rebirth and ascendancy of the other (Downs 1977, p. 145).
Whilst head hunting ceased to be practiced in the early to mid twentieth century in West Timor, titles associated with meo naek are hereditary and continue to be passed down.

Referred to as meo naek, head hunting warriors were symbolically aligned with sorcerers as the former battled with secular enemies and the latter with spiritual ones. Meo naek were military commanders who led the troops in battle and were personal guardians of the ritual lord. Warrior chiefs received tribute from the realm and warriors were highly respected (Cunningham 1962, p. 135). Ceremonies relating to head hunting practices have been noted to still occur (Spillett 2002, p. 33). The continued use and maintenance of ume meo, ceremonial houses established for head hunting practices, is evidence of the continuation of traditions relating to head hunting. This phenomenon of the continuation of elaborate head hunting ceremonies and rituals, following the cessation of the actual practice of head hunting, has also been documented in east Malaysia (Gavin, 1996, p. 15).

Wars between kingdoms were motivated by land disputes, the desire to increase populations for tribute and plundering of livestock. Victory through warfare ensured increased stocks of coral beads, silver, gold, textiles, produce and animals. Head hunting raids afforded various rewards that enhanced the social position and wealth of the meo. Corpses were looted of the finery worn by meo and enabled the securing of bride wealth for marriages with powerful allies (Cunningham 1962, p 134; McWilliam 1989, p. 138).

24 Nai Lopo clan leader, Klemens Nai Lopo cited 1926 as the last head hunting raid of his clan. This date would vary across West Timor, but provides some indication of the period when this practice ceased (Pers., comm., Nai Lopo, Kelmens, 8 October, 2004, Oenaem Village, Biboki).

25 As recently as 2006 a dance pertaining to head hunting traditions was viewed by the author at a public gathering in Kefamenanu.
Complex ritual activity surrounded head hunting practices. Mc William (1996, p. 154) describes the ceremonial practices for invoking le’u musu (D): enmity or hostility that were performed by the Nabuasa in preparation for warfare. This formal process of invoking le’u musu occurs in a context of ritual heat, whereby the participants and the community enter a state of maputu (D). This state represented the enemy, wild and undomesticated and could only later be reversed by a process of ceremonial cooling known as nasapu nahaniki (D). Heat in this context is synonymous with uncertainty and danger, placing people in touch with spirit powers. This state is considered opposite to everyday, mundane life that is denoted by a state of ‘coolness’. During times of ritual heat many day to day activities were suspended. The costumes worn by the meo and the le’u objects that connect the clan to their ancestors were also ritually transformed into a state of maputu, imbued with the sacred le’u, prior to warfare and then reversed to a state of nasapu nahaniki upon conclusion of the hostilities.

Upon arrival the warrior was escorted to the le’u meo, where the meo ritual objects known as le’u (D) were housed. The term le’u refers to something invisible contained within objects. Here the head was presented as a trophy. The skulls were hung out the front of the le’u meo on the Hau Monef outside the dwelling (Middelkoop 1963, pp. 21 - 22). Following this there is a ceremonial process likened to the formal acknowledgement that the enemy has been defeated and the association of the meo with musu (D): the ‘enemy, wild and undomesticated’ is completed as he is received back into the world of ain (D): the ‘tame and domesticated’ (Cunningham 1962, pp. 136 -137).

Warfare and weaving are complementary opposites with weaving being an important counterpart to head hunting in Timor (Maxwell 2003b,100-108). (Refer to Chapter 5, 5.2 for further discussion).
4.7 THE ANNUAL CYCLE OF LIFE: AGRICULTURAL AND DOMESTIC PRACTICES OF THE ATOIN METO

The daily life of Atoin meto people is shaped by their worldview; men operate in the ‘outer and masculine’ realm, tending livestock, fields and attending to community issues. Women operate in the ‘inner and feminine’ sphere of home, tending family, garden and compound. Between these activities the women weave. Both roles are considered complimentary and inter-related to one another. Such roles and responsibilities are characterised by a seasonal cycle which in turn determines subsistence needs in regard to agricultural and textile production.

The Atoin meto are self sufficient, subsistence farmers who use a range of strategies to ensure survival with meagre means. They practice swidden farming of crops such as corn, rice, millet, cassava, sweet potato, *taum* (*D*): indigo, cotton and maintain livestock including buffalo, cattle, pigs and occasionally horses. Rainfall is responsible for the rhythm of agricultural and social activity. Harvesting one crop a year, fields are prepared prior to the rain, planted following the arrival of rain, harvested at the commencement of the dry season and then burnt off in preparation for another annual agricultural cycle. Throughout the dry season salt making (in coastal regions) or felling sandalwood (inland regions) and the collection of beeswax traditionally occurred for trade. Tapping *Borassus sundaicus* (*L*): lontar palm to make palm wine, building and repairing houses are additional dry season tasks, largely the responsibility of men.

Textile production occurs in a seasonal rhythm which is also linked to agricultural cycles. During the *musim hujan* (*I*): the wet season months of December to April the

26 Three types of indigo are known to grown in West Timor. They are known as *Tau Kesa* (*D*): the largest of indigo plants, but not the best for depth of colour. *Tau Tiaum* (*D*) is the smaller of the indigo plants, considered best by local weavers for colour. *Tau Fu* (*D*) is a type of local indigo grown in the forest and not used for colour (Susana Mutik, pers. comm., 20 March 2006, Kefamenanu).
women ikat indoors. Weaving is done during the *musim panas* (*I*): the hot, dry season months of May to October. Remaining productive in the heat of the day Atoin meto women sit, either individually or communally, beneath the shade of the *lopo* (*D*) to ikat and weave. Each family group usually has its own *lopo*, an open air shelter and food granary with a thatched roof used for daily activities and social gatherings. The use of the back-strap loom allows the weaving to be easily picked up or put down according to other domestic and family demands. Each family maintains a stock of textiles, required for exchange during life cycle ceremonies.

![Figure 4: Lopo, Sainuip village, Biboki.](image)

4.8 THE PRE-EUROPEAN HISTORY OF WEST TIMOR

Although...there have been periods of stasis in Timorese history, particularly prehistory, change and adaptation have always been major themes in Timorese life down unto the present (Gunn 1999, p.31).

Timor’s history is characterised by waves of migration that have contributed to the richly textured and layered Atoin meto culture that exists today. The Austronesian wave of migration was followed by the arrival of the Tetum people, in the fourteenth century. The myth *Sina Mutin Malaka* supports the theory that the Tetum peoples
arrived from Malaya having sailed via Celebes and Flores to arrive at Besikama, South Belu.\textsuperscript{27} The Tetum people invaded the fertile southern Belu plains, forcing the Atoni meto people inland.

The Tetum consequently established the powerful Waiwiku Wehale realm in southern Belu. The ritual ruler of this realm had three rulers immediately beneath him – one overseeing Southern Belu, the second in charge of the Sonba’i kingdom and the third overseeing the Belu area of modern day East Timor. The Sonab’i kingdom was located in the heartland of Atoin meto lands at Mt Mutis, its influence extended over the majority of Atoin meto lands overseeing sixteen princedoms in the pre-colonial era. The Sonab’i kingdom was the ‘young brother’ of the Waiwiku Wehale ruler of Belu (Ormeling 1956, pp. 67 – 71; Schulte Nordholt 1971, p 160). Waiwiku Wehale politically unified the island of Timor. As Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese naval officer, cited by Schulte Nordholt (1971, p. 160) reported in the early 16th century, ‘Among these there is one which they call Timor, which has its own independent king and tongue’.\textsuperscript{28}

\textit{Santalum album (L)}: white sandalwood, a valuable and rare species, was traded from Timor to western Indonesia, China and possibly as far as India from as early as 2nd or 3rd centuries (Glover 1986, p. 11; Wolters 1967, p. 65). Ormeling described sandal wood as a ‘thin gold thread linking Timor with Java’s coasts and onto India and China.’ In China sandalwood oil and wood was a luxury item used in religious and burial ceremonies (Fernandes 2000).

During the Chinese Yuan dynasty (13th – 14th centuries) the eastern route was chronicled in Nan Hai Chin (Records of the Southern Sea) as being popular with

\textsuperscript{27} The \textit{Sina Mutin Malaka} myth is outlined by Yeager & Jacobson, (2002, pp. 18 - 19).
\textsuperscript{28} Duarte Barbosa was one of the first Europeans to write on Timor. He was a Portuguese officer during the early 16\textsuperscript{th} century who visited Malacca and Timor.
Chinese traders who passed from south China to the Philippines and extended ‘as far east as Timor and west to Java’ (Ch'en Ta-chen cited by Guy, J. 1980, p. 20). Another early written description of Timor appeared mid 14th century29 referred to Timor as 六利地門 in the Tao-I chih-lueh and chronicles the abundance of sandalwood and the trade of silver, iron, porcelain, cloth and coloured taffetas. It concludes by stating, ‘There are all together twelve localities which are called ports. There is a ruler’ (Rockhill 1915, pp. 257 - 259).

Prior to the Majapahit era the Timorese also had established trading links with Javanese traders who sought sandalwood, beeswax and human slaves for use and trade in Java (Croese 1995, p. 12). The Majapahit kingdom (1222 – 1451 CE) and its coastal ports were entrepots for goods being sent to China, India and the Middle East. In the later half of the 14th century the Majapahit kingdom attempted to control trade within the Timor region. One consequence of this control was that it limited trade links between Chinese traders and Timorese rulers. Malacca rose as a major trading entrepot connecting the East with the Indian Ocean. Javanese and Muslim merchants shipped sandalwood from Timor to Malacca from where it was taken, along with other cargoes, to India and China by Gujarati and Chinese merchants (Fernandes 2000, pp. 91 - 92).

The northern ports of Timor were traditionally used by the Chinese and the western and southern ports were located for Arab, Malay and Gujarati traders arriving from the west (Fernandes 2000, p. 90; Gunn 1999, p. 52; Ormeling 1956, p. 66). Bugis and Makassan traders of Southern Sulawesi also had a long association with Timorese ports and were notorious traders across the archipelago building upon previously established systems of inter-island trade and migration. They traded

29 During the late Yuan Dynasty (1279 – 1368) or early Ming Dynasty (1368 – 1644).

The strength of the Timorese Waiwiku Wehale and Sonba’i kingdoms, and other aligned kingdoms, was their access to coastal ports. Sandalwood was cut by commoners inland and brought to the coastal ports, most probably along river systems. The ruler then gave payment in lesser quality foreign cloths and tools thus preserving precious metals, porcelain, ammunition, silk thread and quality textiles for themselves (Schulte Nordholt 1971, p. 51). Access to these goods revolutionized the way people ate, dressed and conducted war and trade (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p.17).


The southerly trading port Mota Dikin located at the mouth of the Benain River provided a direct transport route for sandalwood from the interior to the south coast of Timor. This port and waterway was exclusively used by the Waiwiku Wehale
kingdom enabling the transport of sandalwood from the interior of Timor to the coast, contributing to the strength and wealth of the kingdom (Croese 1995, p.27). The Waiwiku Wehale kingdom’s sphere of influence included Biboki and Insana princedoms, located in central northern West Timor. The Sonba’i kingdom’s influence included Amarasi, Amanuban, Amanutun in the central south. The port of Sorbain in Northeast Amfoan kingdoms was to be the major sandalwood export port for Sonba’i kingdom (Schulte Nordholt 1971, p. 162). Kolbano and Boking were also significant ports for these southern regions.

The degree of political unity that existed in this pre-colonial era is unclear due to the existence of numerous ports each under the control of local rulers. Due to their increased wealth and prestige gained through trade it is possible that increased autonomy and power resulted in the coastal princedoms becoming autonomous.

Trade was a critical element determining the level of influence and power attributed to each Atoin meto kingdom.

Rulers who could organize labor and deliver sandalwood (or other commodities), would gain in material things like cloth, tools and guns, thereby enlarging their possibilities to gain more prestige and power, might it be through marital alliances or warfare (Lawson cited in Gunn 1999, p.34).

Therefore, the power of the inland Sonba’i and Waiwiku Wehale kingdoms was possibly weakened by the ability of smaller kingdoms to participate directly in coastal trade.

The kingdoms of Insana and Biboki developed their autonomy due to their location close to the significant northern ports of Mena and Lifau. These ports are situated within the kingdom of Insana, near the border with the Biboki kingdom. The Neno Biboki lived at Kaubele village, near the port of Mena, to oversee trade. However, the kingdom’s sacred objects were stored further inland at Tamkesi (Spillett cited in
Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 21). Eventually ‘as a result of trade the heads of ports were able to win an independent position for themselves’ (Schulte Nordholt 1971, p 160).

The Biboki kingdom also benefited from its location near to the powerful trading centre the Waiwiku Wehale kingdom, based at their southern border. This enabled direct trade and exchange with the wealthy Waiwiku Wehale kingdom, to whom they were tied through marital alliances (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 20). Such connections were likely to have resulted in trade of goods flowing from south to north and vice versa.

The nature of trade along these coastal ports required the merchants to win favour and form allegiances with rulers by supplying foreign goods. Strict protocols were maintained by coastal rulers when negotiating trade with merchants. Offerings of gifts were expected and negotiations would follow regarding tolls and anchorage fees to be paid to the king. These matters needed to be completed before goods, such as sandal wood could be brought forth. Finally, transactions were agreed upon with all profits going to the ruler (Crijn van Raemsburch cited by Schulte Nordholt 1971, p. 161).

4.9 HISTORY OF WEST TIMOR - EUROPEAN PRESENCE
The arrival of European explorers and interests in Timor ultimately led to competition between these trading empires and resulted in the colonization of Timor and the demise of the indigenous political system. In 1511 the Portuguese arrived in the region following the conquest of the Muslim sultanate of Malacca. In 1561 they established a Dominican settlement and fort on the island of Solor. This became their sandalwood trading base with merchants visiting nearby Timor located only one or two days sailing to the east.
The Portuguese presence in Solor resulted in a mixed race of indigenous converts and the offspring of Portuguese soldiers and traders from Malacca and Macau known as the Topasses. 30 Tom Pires in 1515 and Duarte Barboasa in 1516 claimed that Portuguese ships were travelling to Timor to collect sandalwood (Gunn 1999, p 55). By 1562 the Portuguese were the dominant traders of sandalwood in the region. The port of Mena, on the north central coast of Timor, furnished the best variety of sandalwood and was possibly the first port through which the Portuguese obtained sandalwood (Fernandes 2000, pp. 100 -101).

In 1613 the Dutch conquered the Portuguese fort in Solor and by 1618 they had established themselves in the region. The Portuguese resettled in nearby Larantuka in Flores, where they continued to trade in the region. This settlement at Flores was an integral part of a commercial network in which traders from Cochin, the Coromandel coast, Malacca, Macau, Manila and increasingly Makassar, all participated between 1620-30 (Gunn 1999, p. 61). Both the Portuguese and Dutch visited Timor to obtain sandalwood and slaves. Between 1640 -1645 the Portuguese commenced the building of the port of Kupang on the south western tip of Timor. In 1642 the Portuguese attacked the religious and political centre of Waiwiku Wehale ending its supremacy as it posed a threat to the Portuguese trading interests in Timor. In 1653 the Dutch seized control of the port of Kupang renaming it Fort Concordia.

The strengthening of coastal rulers power, due to their control of the supply and trans-shipment of sandalwood to Muslim, Chinese, Dutch and Portuguese traders, also undermined the Sonba’i kingdom’s power base (Schulte Nordholt 1971, p. 162). Following the demise of Sonba’i kingdom the Atoin meto rulers politically aligned

30 The word Topass was derived from the word topi (I), a type of hat worn by Christian converts at the time.
themselves with either the Dutch or the Portuguese Topasses, according to whoever controlled power at any given time. Two Topass families, the Da Costas and the Hornays, feuded for control of this lucrative trade (Ormeling 1956, p. 100).31

The Portuguese introduced Catholicism on the north central coast with the conversion of the ruler of Ambenu soon after 1642. The port of Lifau on the northwestern coast of Timor (modern day Ambeno) became a Portuguese settlement in 1702 (Spillett 2002). From here they gained control of the sandalwood trade, shipping great quantities of sandalwood to Macau. However, this region remained accessible to Chinese merchants as noted by Dampier on his journey to Australia (New Holland) in 1699 who observed Chinese and Makassan traders at Lifau (Ormeling 1956, p. 101).

The 17th century saw the height of the sandalwood trade and sharp competition between the VOC Dutch East Indies Company,32 exporting from Kupang to Batavia and the Portuguese exporting from Lifau to Makassar. Dutch interference in established Portuguese trade routes in the Solor-Malacca trade routes had the effect of limiting access to Malacca, thus cutting off Macau’s merchants from India and diminishing the entrepot’s role. Makassar emerged as its replacement port. As monopoly control over the sandalwood trade declined by the Portuguese, Dutch control in Timor increased (Fernandes 2000, pp. 105 - 109).33 The struggle for

31 The last twenty five years of the 17th century the Topasses and Makassan traders caused upheavals for the Dutch as the Makassans fought against the Topasses for control in the region.
32 VOC is the acronym for Verenigde Nederlandse Geotryeerde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East Indies Company).
33 The VOC envisaged control over the Timorese sandalwood trade as a means of breaking into the highly attractive Chinese trade. Their aim was to remove all Chinese, Portuguese and Javanese traders from Timor and to open a trading centre on the Chinese coast. Hence, the Dutch would gain access to all desirable goods, such as highly prized Chinese silk. This was never achieved for various political and economic reasons and the Dutch presence and
control of this lucrative sandalwood trade and the conflicting interests of the Dutch in Kupang and Portuguese in Lifau resulted in the division of the island of Timor by the two colonial powers, which was formalised in 1915.\textsuperscript{34}

With increased European presence in Timor the influence of Chinese traders appears to have diminished, preferring to trade via Sumatra or Java where they had already built up some settlements. Nonetheless, Chinese commercial activities did continue in Timor. References exist to the payment of daily taxes by Chinese Luzzon junks in sailing directories to Timorese rulers for sandalwood at several anchorages in Timor, including Kupang, toward the late 16th or early 17th century (Fernandes 2000, p. 101; Schulte Nordholt 1971, p. 160). Pigafetta’s writings note the presence of Chinese Luzzon junks trading in sandalwood in return for red cloth, linen, steel, iron and nails (Gunn 1999, p. 53; Ormeling 1956, p. 101; Pigafetta 1969, p. 141).

4.10 CONCLUSION
The physical features of West Timor, as well as the role of rulers in relation to negotiating and trading with foreign traders determined the access of Atoin meto people to foreign objects, specifically to Indian trade cloths and \textit{patola} cloths. The distinction between inland and coastal peoples has been established, due to the rugged isolated, mountainous interior communities in contrast with the flatter coastal plains where exposure to foreign influence was greater.

The Austronesian basis for the Atoin meto culture has been established, enabling specific features of the society, such as language, social and political structures and head hunting practices to be described as they will provide a framework for understanding the research findings presented in Chapters Seven and Eight. Social influence in West Timor remained based in Kupang and the nearby areas of Amarasi and the island of Rote (Ormeling 1956, pp. 98 - 100).

\textsuperscript{34} The Dutch oversaw West Timor and the Portuguese retained East Timor, including the Atoin meto enclave of Oecussi.
and cultural characteristics such as rank enhancement, founder focused, classifications systems, the use of oral narratives, head hunting practices and the agricultural and domestic practices of the Atoin meto were presented. This information is required in order to locate specific terms, practices and objects within this framework in the following discussion.

The long established trade networks of West Timor have been presented so as to establish the context through which foreign goods, specifically Indian textiles, entered the region. Evidence shows that Timorese leaders have traded with foreign merchants for centuries, possibly as early as 2nd or 3rd century CE. This trade had continuous impact on the political organisation of the region and ensured the introduction and incorporation of new cultural and material elements to Atoin meto society, albeit largely in the realm of the coastal rulers. The cultural features of these trade and colonial relationships have transformed daily life. It will become evident in following chapters that such foreign objects in some instances became ritually venerated by the Atoin meto over numerous generations.\(^{35}\) It will be further argued that according to the level of status and power attributed to these foreign objects, introduced by trade, they became considered as not simply commodities of exchange but ultimately as sacred, inalienable objects.

\(^{35}\) S.E. Traube discusses the inclusion over many generations of flags, drums, swords and spears into ritual practices in East Timor. Traube cited by Gunn (1999, pp. 28 & 37).
CHAPTER 5 - TEXTILES AND THE ATOIN METO

5.0 INTRODUCTION
This chapter outlines the role and functions of textiles in Atoin meto society. A useful starting point is to consider Atoin meto textiles in the broader context of eastern Indonesian textile production. From an overview of Atoin meto textiles, their diversity and their role in the maintenance of social relationships and ceremonies within the society is presented. More specifically, the motifs and production techniques commonly used in the Biboki region is featured.

5.1 ATOIN METO TEXTILES IN THE CONTEXT OF EASTERN INDONESIA
As previously discussed in Chapter Four, it is not known how weaving technology was introduced into Timor. However, Austronesian expansion was based on farming and agricultural societies usurping hunter and gatherer societies. Evidence of material culture in the form of spindles in China and Taiwan prior to Austronesian migrations circa 2,500 years ago, indicate the existence of weaving technology. Therefore, one scenario is that weaving may have been introduced to Timor, and nearby regions, through these migrations (Bellwood 1996, p. 418). Alternatively, the Tetum migrations of the 14th century may have been responsible for the introduction of weaving technology to Timor as their place of origin is thought to have been within the Indianized Srivijaya kingdom where weaving technology would have been introduced from India (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p.19).

Atoin meto textiles exist within the broader context of textiles produced in the region of Eastern Indonesia including the islands of Sumba, Flores, Solor Islands, Rote, Semau and Alor. Textile production in this region is characterised by the use of the warp ikat weaving technique. Warp ikat involves the weaving of plain weft threads into the ikat warp threads to form a single warp ikat textile using a plain tabby weave.
This weaving technology has co-existed with the ancient practice of making and wearing bark cloth until as recently as the 20th century (Bennett 1998, p. 43; Warming & Gaworski 1981, pp. 55 – 56; Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 223).

The single warp ikat technique proliferates throughout eastern Indonesia, along with other weaving techniques such as sotis (D): warp-faced alternating float weave and buna (D): discontinuous supplementary weft wrap weaving. Nonetheless, variation of motifs, design fields, aesthetic preferences and variation of colour due to availability of plants and differing dyeing techniques are evident from island to island and also from region to region within each island. Consequently, the region of eastern Indonesia, while predominantly using the same single warp ikat weaving technique, is renowned for a wealth of textile motifs and designs. Throughout the region the production of textiles is considered the work of women (Gittinger 1979; Hamilton 1994; Maxwell 2003b). Textiles are classified as ‘feminine and cool’ objects within the culture as discussed in Chapter Four (Asche 1995, p. 116).

5.2 THE ROLE OF TEXTILES IN ATOIN METO SOCIETY
The complexity of West Timor’s traditional clan system and kingdoms is reflected in the regional variation of motifs woven into Atoin meto textiles. Regional variation is determined by technique, colour combinations, motifs and design preferences. Jes Therik (1989, p. 17) wrote of his native Timor that ‘every kingdom, tribe, area and island created a number of design and ornamental motifs for their weaving, and afterwards passed them on to their descendents to keep them everlasting.’

Weaving, both textiles and baskets, is the domain of Atoin meto women. The phrase monet tok tan’ni (D) refers to ‘skills for life’, special sets of skills that are considered essential for survival and abundance throughout one’s life. For women these skills include ike, suti, keo (D): the skill of weaving cloth, kanot (D): the skill of weaving
baskets and bae’ka (D): the skill of dancing and drumming. Following the birth of an Atoin meto child a Ta Poen Olef (D) ceremony occurs with members of the immediate family requesting the ancestor’s blessings so that the child will be endowed with the necessary skills for life. In the case of a baby girl the ceremony emphasizes the practice of spinning cotton, in the form of a request to her ancestors that she be blessed with this important skill for life, indicating the significance of this skill to the Atoin meto (Barrkman 2004; Nahas, pers., comm., 4 October 2003, Sainuip village). (Refer to Appendix 1 for details of the Ta Poen Olef ceremony).

Throughout West Timor the transmission of the arts of spinning, dyeing and weaving is a life long process based on learning, acquiring, refining, adapting and mastering the skills and techniques for making cloth. These skills are transmitted from mother to daughter, generation to generation, through a process of learning by doing. Graduating from learner to teacher Atoin meto women assume the responsibility of passing on their skills and knowledge to their daughters and grand daughters, so as to ensure that they will have the necessary life skills (Barrkman 2004).

It is postulated by Leibrick (1994, pp. 9 - 10) that women are essentially the keepers of culture and as such they bear the responsibility for replicating and preserving the visual communicative styles of their society as expressed in cloth. This relates to women’s role in the inner, domestic sphere, as they tend to aspects of daily life that form the foundation on which social life is based. This positioning within the social heartland of the household has done much to buffer the ancestral textile practice from the winds of change that have blown particularly hard through the archipelago in the last century (Leibrick 1994, pp. 9 -10).

36 For men these skills include fanı benas na’ık (D): the skill of sharpening knives and axes, tua helna na’oe (D): the skill of cutting and milking the lontar palm and bae’ka (D): the skill of dancing and drumming.
A woman’s ability to weave, and the quality of her weaving was, and to a lesser extent continues to be, a critical factor in determining marriage alliances. Her ability to produce textiles for functional, ritual and exchange purposes largely determined her suitability for marriage. Women of commoner status met family requirements by using local materials such as abas (D): locally grown cotton and performed the process from planting and picking the cotton, through to spinning it, then ikat and dying it and then finally weaving the cloth. The wives of local leaders were the most effective people to introduce and broker new technologies or trends. ‘…indigenous rulers have probably long been important agents in the introduction of even subtle innovations in Atoin meto arts’ (Cunningham, cited by Leibrick 1994, p. 17). Women from royal families often became master weavers and produced an intricate repertoire of motifs associated with family and clan ancestry. They had more time for the production of intricate creations as well as imported materials such as Chinese hand-spun silk and cotton threads, adding refinement to their textiles (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 35).

Women are expected to learn the motifs of their husband’s clan upon marriage. From then on they predominantly make the motifs of their husband’s clan, due to the patrilineal nature of Atoin meto society. However, women occasionally also make textiles with motifs from their natal clan in order to fulfil obligations to the woman’s family. The wife generally adopts wearing the motifs of her husband’s clan, but as occasion requires her husband may wear motifs from her natal clan (Asche 1995, p. 120).

Nonetheless, there are exceptions where individual men prefer to remain within the inner, domestic realm and consequently, they learn and perform the ‘feminine’ skills of textile production. More generally, men contribute to textile production by constructing teta’e (D): looms and weaving equipment (Asche 1995, p.115; Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 36).
As previously mentioned, weaving and warfare are complementary opposites in Atoin meto society. In the cosmology of the Atoin meto, textile production occurs within the inner, tame, cooled, feminine domain; whilst head hunting occurred in the outer, wild, heated masculine domain, indicating a mutual dependence and opposition between these activities (Hoskins 1996, p.23).

5.3 FUNCTIONS OF ATOIN METO TEXTILES
Textiles can be analysed using four categories within Atoin meto society. However, these categories exist for analytical purposes only, as each textile has the potential to move between each category, depending upon its context and use. These categories, loosely linked to Weiner and Schneider’s (1989, pp. 3 - 4) ‘textile domains’ noted in Chapter Three, have been restructured to include five categories of textiles: textiles as functional objects and garments, as markers of identity, as ritual objects, as sacred objects and finally as objects of trade and exchange.

5.3.1 ATOIN METO TEXTILES AS GARMENTS AND FUNCTIONAL OBJECTS
Atoin meto people use textiles, on a daily basis, as garments and functional items, such as baby carriers, blankets and shrouds (Asche 1995, p. 117; Leibrick 1994, p. 9). Women traditionally wear a tais (D): a tube skirt, beneath the arm pits and folded and tucked across the chest. Tube-skirts are commonly made by stitching two pairs of panels of woven cloth together. Tube-skirts made using the futus (D): single warp ikat technique are referred to as Tais Luik Metan (D). For special occasions women wear tube-skirts which have one or two or three panels stitched together. If the bottom (and sometimes top) panel is decorated with buna (D): discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique, the cloth is known as Tais Hae Ma’ Buna. A third type of tube-skirt is Tais Is’baina which is made on occasions when people...
‘marry within their family’ indicating an inappropriate marriage.\textsuperscript{37} Either the mother or father’s family give the woman a \textit{Tais Is’baina} for daily use. It is made in \textit{futus}, single warp ikat technique only and has the motif appearing in a series of broad panels or stripes. A recent adaptation in dress style has evolved in West Timor whereby women wear their tube-skirt wrapped and tucked as a skirt with a \textit{kebaya} (\textit{I}): an Indonesian blouse. This is accompanied by a \textit{kabi} (\textit{D}): a bag used for carrying betel nut chewing implements, woven from leaves of the lontar palm: \textit{Borassus sundaicus} (\textit{L}) (\textit{Meta}, pers., comm., 4 October 2003, Kefamenanu).

![Image of a bride and groom wearing traditional attire]

\textbf{Figure 5: A bride (Yuliana Mariana Bastian) wearing a \textit{tais} with Biboki motifs and a groom (Vinsensius Neonbeni) wearing a \textit{beti naek} with Insana motifs.}

Biboki men wear a \textit{beti naek} (\textit{D}): man’s cloth wrap, made from two or three woven panels stitched together, wrapped and tied around their waist. The joining together of two cloths to form the man’s cloth wrap has symbolic meaning, as one part is

\textsuperscript{37} This is referred to as ‘\textit{Matsao Bina Um’me Nanna}’ (\textit{D}): married inside the house or family.
usually larger than the other, symbolizing either the ‘elder brother and younger
brother’ or ‘man and wife’ (Asche 1995, p. 114). Often a futu (D): a woven belt, is
tied around the waist to hold the man’s cloth wrap in place. Men often carry an aluk
(D): shoulder bag used for carrying betel nut chewing implements. A larger version
of this bag is called aol ma samu (D). A pilu (D) is worn as a traditional head scarf.
Another garment that is worn by both women and men is a bet ana (D): decorative
narrow shoulder cloth (Leibrick 1994, pp. 23 - 24, p. 20).

Atoin meto people traditionally have two sets of clothing, one set for daily wear and
another set for beti tais (D): ceremonial wear. Those garments used for ceremonial
wear are often stored in the lopo roof and only used as occasion requires. These
textiles are of finer quality and often contain a more intricate motif, as permitted by
the social status of the wearer (Leibrick 1994, p. 9; Meta, pers., comm., 4 October
2003, Kefamenanu).

5.3.2 ATOIN METO TEXTILES AS MARKERS OF IDENTITY
Atoin meto textiles communicate and indicate the wearer’s place in the world. The
specific motif used in Atoin meto textiles is the primary source of symbolic meaning
for the Atoin meto. The cloth that a person wears gives a clear indication of their clan
of origin, the social status of their family and what part of Atoin meto lands they live.
As such, Atoin meto textiles serve as critical markers of social status and cultural

Just as the tartan on a kilt identifies the clan of a Scottish highlander, the
motif on a man’s cloth reflects his heritage from an earlier era of rajas and
meo warriors (traditional head hunters). Prior to Indonesian independence,
men wore cloths whose patterns proclaimed their kingdom of origin, with
variation in motif and execution indicating their clan or social status (Yeager
Clan identity is marked by specific clan motifs, which are also worn in combination with other motifs representing broader regional or kingdom alliances. Social status is also encoded within textiles with specific motifs being restricted for wear by the aristocracy only. Alternatively, specific motifs may be rendered either simply or with greater complexity, the former indicating a person of commoner status and the latter an aristocrat. Other aspects of textiles, such as the number of panels of *buna* included on a woman’s tube-skirt, indicate her social status. One or no rows would be worn by a commoner whilst an aristocrat may adorn her tube skirt with up to four rows of *buna* (Asche 1995, p. 122). Equally the length of a man’s cloth wrap indicates his social status, with aristocratic men wearing full length man’s cloth wrap touching the ground whilst commoners appear with man’s cloth wrap that hang to mid-calf on the wearer’s leg (Asche 1995, p.122).

![Figure 6: Detail of tais featuring three rows of buna. Motif Bun Biboek’sa. Made by Martha Ane, Luniup village, Biboki.](image1)

![Figure 7: Detail of Figure 6.](image2)
5.3.3 ATOIN METO TEXTILES AS RITUAL OBJECTS
Textiles play a critical role in *adat* (I) ceremonies and life cycle rituals, commemorating birth, marriage and death in Atoin meto society. Textiles are exchanged as part of tribute payments which has resulted in a reverence for various clan textiles across the island of Timor and indicates the far reaching ritual connections based on clan genealogy that continue to exist (Bennett 1998, p. 44).

Used in a variety of ways textiles feature in children’s hair cutting ceremonies, as ritual banners for weddings and as funerary wraps. Other rituals which involve the use of textiles include celebrations for a new house, agricultural ceremonies and rituals of head hunting and war (Asche 1995, p. 118).

On the occasion of a mother emerging from a period of confinement following the birth of her first child the woman traditionally appeared wearing her husband’s *meo* attire. This marked her return to the community following a potentially life threatening experience, bearing new life into the community. Hence, the donning of *meo* attire symbolised her achievement and the contribution of new life to the clan, ensuring its continuance (Gittinger 1979, p.33-34).

Andrew Mc William (1997, p. 113) cites the use of textiles in wedding rituals in the region of Amanuaban. A ceremonial cloth gate, known as *klibat klabat* (D), made from hung textiles is erected. This is the first of three barriers which are erected through which the groom must pass before he is able to meet with his bride. Textiles are also used ritually when a person dies after which the corpse is dressed in full attire. A man is dressed in a *beti naek* made from hand-spun cotton with a *futu*, *aluk*, *bet'ana* and *pilu*. A woman is dressed in a *tais*, *bet ana* and *kebaya* together with betel nut container, necklace, coins and bracelets. In preparation for death each woman of mature years makes and keeps a long *na'ataiba tais* (D): mortuary tube-skirt. Once deceased, the woman’s body, fully dressed, is placed inside the *na'ataiba tais* and tied at either end. A man will have a *na'ataiba beti* (D): mortuary cloth wrap.
made by his wife in preparation for his death. Additional woven textiles, with motifs that relate to the deceased family and kin networks are used to place on top of the corpse with one cloth hung above from the ceiling, forming a canopy to keep the body clean and ‘undisturbed’ (Meta, pers., comm., 4 October 2003, Kefamenanu).

Strict protocols based on relationship determine the nature of the cloth women must provide at the time of death of their parents. A daughter must bring a tube-skirt decorated with buna, discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique and a bet’ana decorated with her clan motifs when her mother dies. When her father dies the family of the daughter’s husband must take one man’s cloth wrap to her family. When her parents-in-law die, she must also take a tais feto and bet’ana decorated with the motifs of her husbands family. Such rituals cannot be continued without the simultaneous production of textiles (Asche 1995, p. 118); (Meta, pers., comm., 4 October 2003, Kefamenanu).

The ritual use of textiles also occurs when requesting permission to marry. The man’s parents will come to the family of the woman and bring items such as clothes, shoes, soap, jewellery, scissors, pendant, earrings and bracelets. These gifts are placed in a tobe (D): a type of flat basket and are given to the woman’s family. The woman’s family reciprocates with gifts of beti naek, bet’ana, aluk, pilu and futu. Alternatively cloth is exchanged as a form of apology and recompense when a woman and a man are discovered to be having an affair. The woman must give a cloth to her male lover’s wife. In return the wife of the male lover must give a cloth to the husband of the woman lover (Meta, pers., comm., 4 October 2003, Kefamenanu).
Meo (D): head hunter attire had ‘special ritual connotations’ and the right to become a meo and wear such attire was incumbent upon a process of initiation (Gittinger 1979, pp. 45, 179 - 181; Maxwell 2003b, p. 104; McWilliam 2002, p. 138). The attribution asu makena (D): ‘dogs of war’ permitted such men to wear the fine meo costume including intricately woven bok’of (D): belt with a front and back panel made using the tapestry weave technique. Smaller versions of these pilu saluf (D) cloths were tied around the upper arm as armbands, and tied around the forehead as headbands, the fringe covering the face and draping down the back. Kelim and twining were the predominant textile techniques used for the making these garments (Asche 1995, p. 116). Horse hair arm and leg bands, metal head dresses and sashes adorned with foreign gold and silver coins were also worn.

5.3.4 ATOIN METO TEXTILES AS SACRED OBJECTS
Textiles that have entered clan treasuries and are used in Atoin meto rituals are
deemed by their owners to contain special sacred powers (Yeager & Jacobson 2002,
pp. 45 - 55). The term ‘sacred textile’ suggests an inherent quality within the textile.
This quality is considered to be le’u (D): magical or mis’okan (D): supernatural.
These textiles are used in rituals for consecrating new ceremonial houses, rituals
associated with the fertility of the land, honouring of natural water sources and for
invoking power prior to head hunting raids and war (Middelkoop 1963 p. 22). Such
textiles are considered to provide links with ancestors and are therefore used
sparingly in ceremonies requesting permission and invoking support from the
ancestors.

Such sacred textiles are generally classified as hot. This heat denotes their status
and power as revered and powerful objects. This is in direct contrast to the Atoin
meto classification for functional textiles as cold. However, ceremonies occur to
enable a sacred textile, or another sacred object, to be transferred into either a hot or
cold state. Illustrating this point is the attire worn by meo which was ritually heated
and cooled prior to and after head hunting raids. These ceremonies occurred in
order to invoke le’u musu (D): enmity magic that was activated and relied upon
during the head hunting activity. The heating process invoked power that if not later
cooled, could remain as a dangerous force. Once cooled, following the completion of
head hunting raids these meo textiles were then stored in the ume meo where they
textiles were reportedly draped over severed heads so as to ritually reduce their
potency (Barrkman, 2006, p.91).

Restrictions are applied to le’u sacred textiles. These restrictions apply to who is
permitted to see and handle these sacred textiles. Generally, they are not disturbed
and remain safe guarded within the ume le’u where they maintain their power until
required for ceremonial purposes. Such objects are referred to and linked with the clan’s oral narratives, documenting their origins, law and ancestors.

Textiles are also used as sacred objects in funeral rites. They are not only used as a shroud, but so as the motifs woven into the textile can guide the spirit of the deceased to their ancestors and help them to recognise one another in the after life (Hout van 1999). Motifs on textiles at funerary rites are also intended to articulate complex clan alliances to the ancestors.

5.3.5 ATOIN METO TEXTILES AS OBJECTS OF TRADE AND EXCHANGE
Textiles, whilst primarily made for family use, are commonly exchanged as gifts signifying the creation and maintenance of relationships between and amongst kin groups of Atoin meto people. Social hegemony and status is linked to a family’s ability to preserve, continue and exchange textiles and in some instances motifs. Textiles were, and to some extent remain, a primary commodity in the exchange of bnaka (D): bride price (Leibrick 1994, p. 18). They are also exchanged as part of mortuary rites, as gifts to the deceased either to be interned with the deceased or kept by the family for later redistribution (Asche 1995).
However, trading of cloth with neighbouring clans, outside exchange obligations, was virtually non-existent. The ability to produce surplus supply was limited due to the subsistence economy and any surplus textiles were stored as a form of wealth, for future use for exchanges as outlined above (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 57). The trade of motifs still occurs in exchange for cattle, chicken or pigs. Today the exchange of money can also enable the ‘purchase’ of another motif (Meta, pers., comm., 4 October 2003, Kefamenanu).

5.4 ATOIN METO TEXTILES AND MOTIFS
There are three primary motif categories in Atoin meto textiles; anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric motifs. Anthropomorphic motifs attribute personal and human forms to a deity or spirit being. Popular zoomorphic motifs inspired by the local fauna. Zoomorphic motifs include birds, geckos, chickens, crocodiles, lizards and frogs amongst others. Geometric patterns include the stylized hook and rhomb and the lozenge motif which are attributed to Dong son influence and aesthetics, that were introduced through migrations from the Bronze Age Tai culture to Indonesian archipelago circa 500 –100 BC (Leibrick 1994, p.17).\(^\text{38}\) The use of combinations of warp stripe patterning is evident in Atoin meto textiles with each region and clan having their own combination of warp stripes (Leibrick 1994, p. 20; Meta, pers., comm., 4 October 2003, Kefamenanu).

Within these three broad motif categories stylistic variances are associated with particular clans, regions and kingdoms. Such variations were often reinforced by specific restrictions about who could make or wear certain motifs. Such restrictions traditionally ensured the continuation of stylistic form and the maintenance of the symbolic meaning and identifying aspect of motifs in Atoin meto society. Whilst

\(^{38}\) Dong son influence is said to have introduced metal work and advanced agricultural methods to many Indonesian islands.
traditionally each motif was surrounded by related protocols, each textile artist used her aesthetic and technical sensibilities to create an eloquent interplay between thread, colour, motif so that no two pieces of Timorese cloth were identical.

5.5 BIBOKI TEXTILES AND MOTIFS
Biboki textiles are characterised by their fine ikat work, distinctive motifs memorized by the textile artist and rich colour. Motifs are passed from mother to daughter and remain as ‘texts’ able to be referenced, read, interpreted. Men’s cloths traditionally featured rich reds and browns, hues claimed to have been divinely ordained to the people of Biboki (Leibrick 1994, p. 20). Biboki weavers also practice a two coloured ikat process, which appears to a lesser degree elsewhere in West Timor. Historically, it is claimed that single warp ikat of blue and white were traditionally worn by commoners and that red was a colour restricted for use by the aristocrats and the Raja. Today blue and white textiles are rarely made in Biboki, with a preference for reds, white, browns and blacks, following the lessening of restrictions regarding use of colour (Yeager & Jacobson, 2002, p. 65, pp. 143 - 150). Shades of purples, orange and deep red also appear in Biboki textiles. Women often wear black tube skirts, black symbolizing eternity in Biboki, suggested as a form of influence adopted from nearby Belu and Insana where black tube skirts dominate. White centred beti naek appear in regions of Biboki and are linked to migrations from neighbouring Insana Kingdom. Yeager & Jacobson (Asche 1995, p. 121) outline numerous variations of textile design fields in relations to Biboki and comment on influences from neighbouring regions.

The two predominant motifs found in Biboki textiles are *Mak’aif* and *Biboek’sa* (Asche 1995, pp. 119 -120; Leibrick 1994, p. 30). The most widely used motif in Biboki is *Mak’aif* motif which consists of a hook and rhomb design whereby the *Mak’aif* elements join together to form a diamond or lozenge shape. This motif is thought to be linked to design elements attributed to the ancient Dong son period. The *Mak’aif*
motif represents people joining hands in a dance called tebe, symbolising consensus, cooperation and working together. An extensive range of motifs are created from this one element with variations in the size and number of hooks such as Mak’aif mnutu (D): fine hook, Mak’aif naek (D): large hook, Mak’aif mese-nu (D): single - two hook, Mak’aif nu-teun (D): two - three hooks and Mak’aif teun-ha (D): three - four hooks (Asche 1995, p. 120).

![Image of fabric with Mak’aif motif](image.jpg)

Figure 11: Detail of single warp with Mak’aif motif. Made by Maria Nafe, Sainup village, circa 2003.

Previously the Mak’aif motif indicated the social status of the wearer by the number of hooks. Commoners would wear a single hook Mak’aif or a two hook Mak’aif for daily wear and three hook Mak’aif for ceremonial wear. Aristocrats would wear motifs containing up to twenty-two hook Mak’aif for ceremonial occasions, indicating their high status for ceremonial wear (Asche 1995, p. 122; Leibrick 1994, pp. 9 - 10). These conventions are still observed today in Biboki.

Another significant motif in the region is Biboek’sa. Originally a royal motif used by the Raja of Biboki kingdom and the male aristocracy, Bibokek’sa is worn for annual
ceremonies relating to water and also for burial ceremonies of the Raja of Biboki. Considered to hold significant *ma’tainka* (*D*): power, *Biboek’sa* is the highest symbol of the Raja and is therefore accorded with a higher value than all other Biboki motifs. *Biboek’sa* has been documented as a ritually significant design that was restricted for use by the aristocratic Us Kenet and Us Boko clans. The executive lord of Biboki, the Raja’s ‘right hand man’, is drawn from these clans (Leibrick 1994, p. 30).

![Figure 12: Detail of single warp ikat, cotton, bet ana with motif Bibokek’sa. Made by Marthe Ane, Luniup village, Biboki, circa 2000.](image)

*Figure 12: Detail of single warp ikat, cotton, *bet ana* with motif *Biboek’sa*. Made by Marthe Ane, Luniup village, Biboki, circa 2000.*

*Biboek’sa* was traditionally a restricted motif only used on ceremonial occasion by the aristocratic clans of Biboki, the Us Kenet and Us Boko clans. These restrictions related to both the making and the wearing of the cloth. Before making the *Biboek’sa* motif the weaver was required to perform a ritual ‘feeding of the ancestors’ requesting their approval and guidance whilst making the motif. If this ceremonial sanctioning was not performed, it was believed that the maker could experience
harm or even death. This process occurred as recently as 1994 (Meta, pers., comm., 4 October 2003, Kefamenanu).

The *Biboek’sa* motif is no longer restricted. Although textile artists today make the *Biboek’sa* motif freely, this motif is still not freely worn by commoners. Many variations of the *Biboek’sa* motif have eventuated in recent years. Whilst traditional motifs such as the *Mak’aif* and *Biboek’sa* continue to inform the motif repertoire of Biboki weavers, in recent years the women of Biboki have used their ingenuity to elucidate and modify traditional motifs into contemporary works. Currently over forty motifs form the repertoire of Biboki weaving motifs. However, a number of these are specific to particular villages and clans. (Appendix 2 list of contemporary Biboki motifs).

5.6 THE TECHNICAL PROCESS OF MAKING CLOTH IN BIBOKI

Each step of the process of producing textiles has its attendant rituals, time, place and techniques. For more detailed analysis of the technical process of textile production in Atoin meto society refer to Yeager & Jacobson (1994) and Leibrick (1994). The process of making a textile can be divided into four general stages commencing with growing and spinning the cotton, ikatting the motif, dyeing the threads and weaving the cloth as outlined below.

5.6.1 SPINNING

Traditionally, Biboki weavers used *ab meto* (*D*): hand-spun cotton and more recently have incorporated *ab kase* (*D*): commercially spun cotton and rayon threads for their textiles. Spinning cotton requires either a drop spindle or the tools of *ike* (*D*): spindle and *suti* (*D*): dish that is used to rest and spin the spindle. *Abu* (*D*): ash is used to keep the spinner’s fingers dry. Spinning cotton is time consuming, often done in the evening or between daily chores. The amount of thread used to make one man’s cloth wrap can take over two months to spin. Traditionally women spun thread
together, congregating at one another's houses in the evening, singing and chatting whilst spinning.

Figure 13: Yuliana Nahas and grand-daughter Ria hand spinning cotton, Sainuip village, Biboki 2003.

5.6.2 IKAT RESIST DYE TECHNIQUE
The term ikat refers to a resist dye technique and originates from the word *mengikat* (I): ‘to tie’. The ikat technique involves tightly tying a pattern or motif into sections of the warp or weft threads. These tied or ikat sections of thread resist the dye when the threads are later submerged in dye. The spun threads are carefully wrapped on a *loikfa* (D): tying frame and the section of threads are tied, according to the desired motif. Either leaves of the *taen tune* (D): gebang palm, *Corypha elata* (L) or plastic raffia is used as the binding tie. The smaller the group of warp threads tied together, the more intricate the final motif. The intricacy of the final pattern considerably lengthens the amount of time required to ikat the threads. Upon completion of the ikat process the threads are removed from the tying frame in preparation for dyeing.
5.6.3 DYEING THE THREADS
The ikat is then submerged into the dye bath to absorb the dye, occasionally being stirred. Then it is removed and rinsed in water. When dyed, the sections of tied threads resist the dye. This process of tying and dyeing occurs once or several times according to the intricacy of the design and the depth and number of colours required. Once the desired colour has been achieved the ties are carefully cut open and the threads are transferred to a teta’e (D): back-strap loom for weaving. The cloth is woven using plain coloured weft threads, highlighting the decorated warp thread.
5.6.4 NATURAL DYES
Biboki textile artists remain highly accomplished dyers. The dominant colours used in Biboki textiles are red, red-brown and black with small amounts of green, yellow and muted tones of pink and light-brown are also commonly found. Today chemical dyes are also used often in combination with natural dyes.

Organic dyes are found in a range of plant and natural resources in Biboki. The roots of the baok ulu (D), mengkudu (I), Morinda citrifolia (L) tree are used to achieve the colours red, brown and pink. Kunyit (I), Curcuma longa (L), turmeric and tamarind leaves are used for achieving yellows. Pink is achieved by using a local cactus. Forest leaves mixed with lime paste and lemon juice achieve greens. The depth of colour is influenced by adding amounts of tree bark, mud, lime, lemon juice and palm sugar to dye recipes. The strength and shade of colour are determined by the length of time the threads are soaked in each dye bath (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p.67 - 68).

Figure 17: Women pounding the root of the Morinda citrofolia (L) in preparation for red dye.
Figure 18: Threads are pressed into the mud to achieve the colour black.
The colours blue and black are achieved using *taum* (*D*), *tarum* or *nila* (*I*) or *Indigo fera tinctoria* (*L*). Two types of indigo are used for dyes in Biboki. *Tau kesa* (*D*): commonly found in eastern Indonesia is the tallest of these two plants. Another species of indigo is known as *Tau tiaum* (*D*) is preferred for use as a dye in Biboki. An alternative source of black and dark brown is mud formed from volcanic ash containing iron bearing clay, collected from two lakes in the region.39

5.6.5 WEAVING TECHNIQUES

A *teta’e* (*D*): back-strap tension loom is used whereby the positioning of the body creates tension on the continuous warp threads. Easily put on or taken off, stored and transported this type of back-strap loom is commonly used in eastern Indonesia and Atoin meto lands. Due to the limitation on the maximum width of the textile that can be woven on this type of loom, it is customary for two, three or four panels of ikat to be stitched together to form a *beti naek* or a *tais* (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 73).

![Figure 19: Margaretha Sip seated at a *teta’e* back-strap tension loom weaving a *futus*: single warp ikat textile in Sainuip village, Biboki, 2003.](image)

39 These water sources are known as Oe Tunbaen and Oe Taunbaen.
As described in Chapter One the Atoin meto, and specifically Biboki, textile artists are adept at a variety of weaving techniques such as *futus* (*D*): single warp ikat, and *buna* (*D*): discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique. A form of *sotis* (*D*), warp-faced alternating float weave is practiced by immigrant groups to Biboki from the Insana kingdom. The technique of twining, when two or more weft (or warp) threads are worked together by spiralling around each other while encircling successive warps (or wefts), is also used. This decorative technique is used on the edging and borders to bind the textile’s fringe securely. Twining is also used for bags and meo head hunter’s attire and in some regions was restricted for use by aristocrats and meo (Bolland 1989; Gittinger 1979, pp. 45 - 47, 177; Leibrick 1994, p. 13; Maxwell 2003b, p. 418; Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 53, p. 74). Finally, kelim, also known as tapestry weave or slit tapestry weave is used to create ornamental bands on men’s betel bags, meo attire, and cloth wraps. This is an intricate, time-consuming process formerly restricted to use by Rajas or clan leaders on their beti *naek*.

![Figure 20: The sotis: warp-faced alternating float weaving technique is the predominant weaving technique in Oenaem village. Fransiska Una’s hands, Pantae village, Biboki.](image-url)
5.7 CONCLUSION
This chapter has provided an overview to the roles and functions of textiles in Atoni meto society establishing a basis from which to consider the key features of Biboki textiles, with specific emphasis on motifs and techniques. This information will provide a framework when considering the nature of influence of Indian textiles introduced to the Biboki people, in relation to both their ritual practices and textile production. However, before doing so, consideration should be given to the nature of the Indian trade textiles that were traded into Southeast Asia, and more specifically to eastern Indonesia and West Timor.
CHAPTER 6 - INDIAN PATOLA AND TRADE CLOTHS

6.0 INTRODUCTION
This chapter considers the nature of Indian patola and trade cloths through an examination of the techniques used in their production and designs. Within this context historical aspects of Indian textile production and trade is presented, with attention given to the trade of these textiles to eastern Indonesia. How these textiles influenced both textile production and the ritual practices of eastern Indonesian societies will also be discussed in order to provide a context for understanding the nature of their influence in West Timor. Finally, some historical evidence of the entry of Indian patola and trade cloths into West Timor is presented and a survey of the types of Indian patola and trade cloths that are known to have entered Timor is provided.

India has exported textiles throughout the world and it is suggested that this trade commenced early in the first millennium AD (Guy 1998, p. 14, 52; Maxwell 2003b, p. 17). Since this early time the same methods of production have been consistently used to create textiles for the local market within India and for export to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, China and more recently Europe.

Trade in textiles to Southeast Asia was conducted by Indian and Arabic traders prior to the arrival of European traders in the 15th century. By the 16th century, Gujarat in North Western India, the Coromandel Coast in Southern India and Bengal in the East of India were the pre-eminent Indian textile production centres for export trade to overseas markets. In the case of Gujarat, not only did they produce textiles for export, but they were already established as eminent traders in Southeast Asia (Abbott 1999; Guy 1998, p. 27).
6.1 THE PATOLA
The double ikat silk patolu (G) (patolu: singular; patola: plural) originated from Gujarat, North West India circa 11th century (Holmgren & Spertus 1985, p. 81) and is also found in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Bengal in Eastern India. Patan, the ancient capital of Gujarat, has been the centre for patola production for centuries.41 42

40 In a number of contemporary Indian languages the term patola means ‘variegated silk cloth’ and refers to both the double ikat technique as well as to the actual cloth. Patoli (G) refer to a diminutive form often used as odhani (G): wraps in comparison with patolu used for sari (Bühler & Fischer 1979).
41 This double ikat technique is only found in two other locations outside India, in Japan and Bali, Indonesia. In the indigenous Bali Aga village of Tenganan Pegringsingan, double ikat hand-spun cotton is woven and known as geringsing cloth. It is unclear how this technique made its way to Bali. Some scholars speculate that it was brought to Bali by Indian sailors. Another theory suggests it was devised independently of Indian influence (Hauser-Schaublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff & Ramseyer 1997, p 119 - 134).
*Patola* are made of hand-spun silk threads and are decorated with motifs created by the double ikat technique whereby both sets of threads, the warp and the weft, are resist dyed prior to the fabric being woven. Following dyeing, the cloth is woven using a tabby weave technique. Great care is taken that the two elements of the design, the weft and the warp threads, are accurately aligned. The typical length of a *patolu* cloth is approximately four to six metres. Due to the complexity of the double ikat technique it takes six months or more to produce one cloth (Guy 1998, p. 26; Bühler & Fischer 1979, pp. 7 – 8; Maxwell 2003a, p. 111; Warming & Gaworski 1981, p. 102).

*Patola* are considered to be the most beautiful and accomplished of all pre-industrial textiles. They exhibit outstanding, creative craftsmanship, requiring mastery of an extremely complicated process, performed with basic tools and looms. *Patola* are employed in various ritual and offering circumstances and are considered to carry qualities of purity and auspicious powers (Gittinger 1982, p. 79).43

The vibrant colours achieved by the use of natural dyes on silk *patola* are considered one of the finest expressions of the Indian dyer’s art (Gittinger 1982, p. 79). *Patola* are distinguished by their dominant red colouring and the use of smaller amounts of complementary colours. Both sides of the *patola* exhibit good colour quality once woven. Silk accepts most natural dyes with ease as opposed to cotton fibre which

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42 It was to Patan that the Slavis, the noted hereditary makers of *patola*, arrived from Southern India. It is thought that their relocation to Gujarat was at the decree of nobility as they had the knowledge of weaving *patola*. The Jain term ‘Slavi’ is thought to have originated from the word *shal* (G): loom ‘users of the loom’. Slavi’s initially belonged to the Jain religion and society, but over time they have also entered Hindu religion and society (Sarabhai 1988, pp. 11 - 12).

43 Used in India by Hindus, Jains and in some areas in Gujarat by Muslims, they were often given as wedding gifts to the bride and at times worn during the wedding ceremony by both men and women. *Patola* were also used in temple rituals for adorning deities during worship. Additional uses for *patola*, in India, were as uncut and unsewn garments such as the *odhani*, *dupatta* and *lungi* (G). They are also used during the seventh month of pregnancy (Gittinger 1982, p. 79).
rejects natural bonding (Gittinger 1982, pp. 21 - 22, p. 24). Dye sources used in patola production include indigo; *Indigofera tinctoria* (L) and chay plant; *Oldenlandia umbellate* (L). *Rubia tinctorum* and *Rubia munjista* (L) the roots of which yield the colouring agent alizarin, also known as madder red, was used extensively. The roots of a genus of *Morinda citrifolia* (L) *Morinda tinctoria* and *Morinda augustifolia* (L) were used also to achieve the colour red and was referred to as *aal* (G)(Gittinger 1982, pp. 21 – 22).

![Diagram illustrating various design layouts for patola cloths. Source: Bühler & Fischer, 1979, The Patola of Gujarat, Vol 1, p.9.](image)

**Figure 22:** Diagram illustrating various design layouts for patola cloths. Source: Bühler & Fischer, 1979, The Patola of Gujarat, Vol 1, p.9.

Rectangular in shape, the *patola* are traditionally formatted into a central field with two end panels.44 The central field contains the double ikat motif. However, occasionally this middle field is monochrome. The central field is bordered with longitudinal ikat borders composed of singular or several parallel elements. The two end borders have identical patterns, but can differ in size. These two sets of borders are referred to as a frame. Finally, there appear individual bands of warp ikat and left

44 Four basic *patola* formats are documented by Bühler and Fischer (1979, p. 9).
ikat across the width of the textile length from which a fringe extends (Bühler & Fischer 1979, pp. 8 - 12).  

Figure 23: Diagram indicating basic layout for a patolu cloth. Source: Bühler & Fischer, 1979, The Patola of Gujarat, Vol 1, p.5.

*Patola* feature a range of motifs in both the main fields and border patterns. A total of fifty-three *patola* motif types were documented by Bühler and Fischer (1979). These motifs consist of symmetrical, geometric, repetitive designs which vary in scale.

45 One end of the fabric length is referred to as a *pallav* (G) and is draped over the shoulder as a decorative feature when the textile is worn as a sari (Bühler & Fischer 1979, p. 6).
Pixelated patterning is a characteristic of the *patola* design and technique (Divall 2001, p. 14). Motifs contain zoomorphic forms, anthropomorphic and geometric patterns (Bühler & Fischer 1979, p. 13). An additional seven ‘new’ motif types were identified by Holgrem and Spertus (1985, p. 81) thus extending the documented number of *patola* motif types to a total of sixty motifs.

### 6.2 INDIAN TRADE CLOTHS AND *PATOLA* IMITATIONS

The term ‘Indian trade cloth’ refers to hand-spun cotton cloths with patterning being achieved by either a mordant dyeing process or a resist dyeing process. Mordant dyeing, known as a ‘positive’ dyeing process, involves the dye adhering to the part of the cloth where the mordant has been applied. Resist dyeing, known as a ‘negative’ dyeing process, involves the application of substances such as wax or mud which act to resist the dye when submerged. Mordants are also used for these techniques. Both of these dyeing processes were executed by using either hand-painting or block printing techniques. Both techniques were often used on the same cloth. The block print technique involves the carving of an image onto a wooden block that is then used to transfer the design onto the surface of the fabric with hand pressure. This technique is relatively quick and is suitable for repetitive patterning. The hand-painting method is when a line or design is applied using either a pen or hair brush (Gittinger 1982, pp. 24-25; Guy 1997, pp. 22-23).

Hand-painting and block printing techniques involved the use of natural dyes and mordants. The inherent properties of cotton fibre reject permanent bonding of colour,

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46 *Patola* motifs include: zoomorphic motifs include depictions of elephants, tigers, fish, parrots and peacocks, heart shaped leaves, baskets of flowers and trees; anthropomorphic forms include figures riding elephants or appearing as dancers; and geometric motifs include *tumpal* forms, serrated bands, interlocked diamond, rhomb and star motifs.

47 The textile artist uses a *qalam* tool to apply the mordant onto the cloth on which the design has originally been outlined in charcoal. Two types of *qalam* exist; a bamboo and fibre brush and an iron version used for heated wax for resist dyeing technique. The *qalam* resembles Javanese canting tools used for batik in so far as they perform a similar function, but their construction is different (Sarabhai 1988, pp. 13 - 14).
except in the case of indigo, therefore an intermediate agent, known as a mordant, must be used (Gittinger 1982, p. 19). The dyeing process, particularly in regard to cotton fabrics, with natural dyes was mastered by Indian textile artisans. Red was a dominant colour in Indian trade cloths (Guy 1998, p 20 - 23).

Trade cloths depicted a variety of motifs, design and images. The imitation of motifs from magnificent double ikat patola appeared on mordant block-printed trade cloths. Such textiles are also referred to as imitation-patola cloths.

As patterned textiles entered the European trading world both hand-painted resist-dyed and block-printed textiles became known by a series of names such as chint, chints, chites all terms based on the Gujarati word chitta, meaning ‘spotted cloth’ (Gittinger 1982, p.27). Other terms included sarasa, chintz, kalamkari, palampore, chinde and tjindai. Often the term patola was also used by traders to refer to cotton trade cloths (Guy 1998, p. 26). The term chinde, tjindai, became substituted in some areas for the word patola and vice versa (Gittinger 1982, p. 152). Consequently, it is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of the cloth being referenced in sources such as trade journals and log books when references are made to patola and chintz cloths (Guy 1998).

48 The mordant unites with certain natural dyes to cause the colouring matter to bond with the fibre. The primary mordants used in Indian cotton textile production are natural alum and metallic oxides that combine with the dye to create an insoluble substance that coats the fibre (Gittinger 1982, p.82).

49 These motifs included geometric grids, interlocking scrolls of leaves and floral clusters, trees of life, as well as scenes depicting the Hindu epics the Ramayana and Mahababata and Jain court scenes. Images of hamsa: sacred geese, serpents, gjasahin (G): a mythical beast, birds and goddesses also appear.

50 The term sarasa was coined from the Gujarati term meaning ‘beautiful, excellent’. The term chintz was also adapted to become tjinde, tchinden and tjindais. Tchinden referred to multi coloured fabrics of sari lengths (5.5 metres) traded between India and the Indonesian archipelago. Tjindais was a Malay peninsula term for imported Gujarati patola. Terms such as kalamkari refer to hand-painted textiles, referencing the use of the tool known as galam (G). Other hand-painted textiles are known as palampore, referring to bed covers, curtains or canopies (Gittinger 1982, pp. 27 – 28; Guy, 1998, pp. 21 - 22, 87).
6.3 INDONESIA, TRADE & INDIAN TEXTILES

From as early as the 1st century the archipelago of Indonesia has been a meeting point for exchange between regions such as China, Middle East and India, due to its vast waterways and moderate and predictable winds. Maritime trade successfully linked the people of the area forcing them to resist or adopt foreign influences. Religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam and associated architectural, sculptural and design aesthetics were introduced to the region. The infiltration of these religions and forms was characterised by the development of cosmopolitan coastal ports and centralised courts in contrast to inland agrarian societies (Baker 2003; Meilink-Roelofsz 1962).

As an international hub of trade the Indonesian archipelago exchanged forest, sea and mineral products with China, the Middle East and India in return for commodities such as Indian textiles and Chinese ceramics and gunpowder (Guy 1998, p. 54 - 64; Reid 1988, p. 1 – 10). Trade in Indian textiles, including patola and cotton imitation patola cloths, by Indian and Arab traders, has been recorded as early as the 5th century. The availability of Indian textiles in Java at that time is documented by a Javanese diplomatic mission that travelled to China carrying tribute, including textiles from India and Gandhara (Gittinger 1982, p. 82; Wolters 1967, p. 15).

The spice trade of the archipelago precipitated the arrival of the Portuguese in 1511, and then the Dutch following the establishment of the United Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1602. The VOC ruthlessly aimed to establish a monopoly in the region, attempting to exclude other European, Chinese, Malay, Arab and Indian traders. The value of textiles soon became apparent in the context of Southeast Asia

51 Commodities traded from Indonesia included rhinoceros horn, ivory, tortoiseshell, kingfisher feathers, as well as a range of aromatic woods and spices.
and textiles became the most suitable trading commodity used by the VOC in an attempt to dominate the trade for spices and sandalwood. A triangular trading system operated whereby Chinese gold and Japanese silver was used to buy cloth in India in order to exchange it for spices in the Moluccas Islands. In turn the spices were shipped to Asia and Europe and sold for high profits, thus enabling the purchase of more Indian cloth. ‘Common to transactions everywhere was the use of Indian cotton textiles’ (Guy 1998, p. 15). As a consequence Indian trade cloths and patola were traded extensively into the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, Thailand and the Indonesian archipelago as far east as New Guinea. This trade reached its height between the 16th and 18th centuries.

During the 17th and 18th centuries of European involvement in the spice and textile trade the quantity of textiles traded between India and Indonesia was substantial. Over 400,000 Indian textiles were recorded as being imported into the Spice Islands (Moluccas) in one year, early in the 17th century (Gittinger 1982, p. 155). However, the highly prized silk patola and Indian trade cloths would have only been a small portion of these imports (Gittinger 1982, p. 155). The majority of textiles traded during this period consisted of plain white hand-spun cotton of a coarse, low grade weave, chequered and striped textiles intended for everyday use. Indian cloth was also used as a form of money. However, the more refined Indian imitation-patola trade cloths and patola cloths, which were fewer in number than the common muslins and stripes, made a lasting impression on Indonesian textiles (Guy 1998, p. 10).

Indian trade and patola cloths began to be made in response to this active Indonesian market. Demand for Indian textiles produced for export, resulted in stylistic developments catering to specific Indonesian regions and markets. Evidence suggests that Southeast Asians became active consumers of Indian textiles requesting designs that reflected their regional aesthetic preferences (Divall 2001, p. 17; Guy 1998, p. 8; Maxwell 2003b, p. 210). In particular, the demand for block-
printed imitation-\textit{patola} cloths steadily increased. This less expensive form of the economic and ritually valued double ikat silk \textit{patola} were made entirely for export. These export, or trade, textiles maintained features of the silk \textit{patola} such as the pixelated geometric motifs (Divall 2001, p. 20; Gittinger 1982, p. 139) and were dominated by the colour red and blue (Guy 1998, p. 19).

Recent research also suggests that the double ikat silk \textit{patola} was reconfigured into a smaller textile, approximately 2.6 metres in length, specifically for trade to South East Asia including Indonesia (Divall 2001). This reinforces the idea of a two-way exchange between Indonesia and India. Other features apparent in export Indian textiles to Indonesia included the \textit{row of tumpal} in the \textit{pallav} (G)\textsuperscript{52} and the use of narrow stripes on the \textit{patola} or imitation-\textit{patola} borders (Gittinger 1982, pp. 76 - 77).

\section*{6.4 INFLUENCE OF INDIAN \textit{PATOLA} AND TRADE TEXTILES IN INDONESIA}

The effect and influence of these Indian textiles was profound in Indonesia where local cultures attributed them with great significance. High quality cloths, such a \textit{patola}, were used by the aristocracy as a means of indicating rank, status and prestige. They were used to reinforce the status and ability of rulers to attract prestige ‘highly valued commodities from beyond his realm’ (Guy 1998, p. 10).

These textiles were also used as exchange commodities to gain loyalty from subjects in a system of rewards. In Indonesia textiles have a long history of being used as a form of gift exchange at all levels of society, in the establishment and consolidation of social relations. This gift exchange value also applied at a state level. The Dutch East India Trading Company (VOC) recognised this fact by reserving the silk \textit{patola} for selected trading partners. In particular, they regulated the flow of Gujarati silk \textit{patola} to the local rulers of eastern Indonesia (Gittinger 1979, p. 45; Guy 1998, p. \phantom{52}

\textsuperscript{52} The \textit{pallav} refers to the decorated end of a sari length, used to drape over the shoulder.
11). Limiting the amount of Indian textiles available in Indonesia increased their effectiveness as leverage in the political world. Through restricting the circulation of Indian *patola* and trade cloths as commodities the elite status of these textiles was protected, elevating their value akin to inalienable goods.

As an indicator of status Indian cloths became *pusaka* (I), *soea* (D): sacred heirlooms, the embodiment of a ruler’s supernatural power. ‘Intrinsic in the cloth was its particular life history; its power and value was enhanced by its previous ownership and associations with important people and events…’ (Guy 1998, p.10). Imported Indian textiles entered rites of passage ceremonies in the way Indonesian textiles had always been used, thus adding status and prestige to these ceremonies.

As these Indian textiles established themselves in the ritual lives of Indonesian people Indian motifs, designs and layouts were systematically adapted into design repertoires of locally woven cloths. This process occurred across the archipelago in a variety of textile production techniques including resist dye *batik* and ikat processes as well as *songket* (I): supplementary weft weave technique (Bühler 1959; Maxwell 2003a, p. 104; Warming & Gaworski 1981, p. 104). This trend was underpinned by the belief that status attributed to these *patola* designs would persist in the local fabrics that incorporated *patola* characteristics (Bühler 1959, p. 12).

‘The acceptability of local cloths to consumers may thus have been shaped by the belief that the authority of the imported cloths could be appropriated by the imitation of their appearance’ (Guy 1998, p. 10).

53 In Java and Sumatra these motifs appeared in resist dye *batik* and *pelangi* techniques as well as in weft *ikat* textiles. In Sa’dan Toraja in Southern Sulawesi sacred wax resist long ceremonial *ma’a* and *sarita* banners incorporated Indian designs and formatting. In Bali, where the cotton *geringsing* is found, it can be postulated that double *ikat* technique itself was embraced, however with the use of cotton instead of silk.
6.5 THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN TEXTILES ON RITUAL PRACTICES AND TEXTILE PRODUCTION IN EASTERN INDONESIA

The influence of Indian *patola* and trade cloths extended to eastern Indonesia where the single warp ikat technique was most prevalent. Rare, sumptuous Indian textiles inspired eastern Indonesian weavers with their beauty and technical virtuosity, resulting in their motifs being absorbed into local ceremonial textile designs and local ritual practices.

Warming and Gaworski (1981) postulate that the ritual significance attributed to imported silk *patola* was retained when weavers made new versions of these cloths, once the Indian original deteriorated. This process enabled the continuation of local traditions as these newer textiles replaced the role of the original silk *patola*. The imitation-*patola* cloth was believed ‘to retain some of the attributes of the original’ (Warming & Gaworski 1981, p. 104).

In many cases, the prestige of locally made cloths bearing trade cloth designs is comparable with that awarded to the trade cloths themselves. The control traditional leaders and regional rulers had over use of both the trade items and their reproductions ensured this’ (Maxwell 2003a, p. 144).

Although these locally made *patola*-inspired textiles reflected the designs and motifs of Indian textiles, this process was brokered by local aristocrats and master weavers who ensured that the *patola*-inspired cloths remained distinctively Indonesian. Using the single warp ikat weaving method, natural local dyes, hand-spun cotton and local garment size preferences ensured that the artistic style was ‘…unmistakably the mark of local Indonesian genius’ (Maxwell 2003a, p. 144). Both the double ikat silk *patola* and the Indian block-printed cotton imitation-*patola* textiles were used in this process. Where imported *patola* had been the exclusive possession of the aristocracy, indigenous textiles with *patola*-inspired motifs were usually also the
prerogative of rulers. Scrutiny of this process in eastern Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia reveals that Indian painted and resist dyed cottons were equally important in this process (Guy 1998, pp. 96 - 97).

In particular, Gittinger (1982, p.153) establishes a stylistic preference in that region for New Motif Type (Group 4.2). According to Guy (1998, pp. 96 - 97) this is one of the earliest types of imitation-*patola* export textiles.

![New Motif Type (Group 4.2)](image)

*Figure 24: New Motif Type (Group 4.2). Source: Guy 1998. Woven Cargoes, p. 97, Figures 121, 123. Indian *patolu*, Gujarat, 18th century or earlier (top). Indian imitation *patolu* ceremonial cloth, Gujarat, for the Indonesian market, mid 17th – 18th century (bottom). Collection I. Hirayama, Kamakura.*

54 Motif Type (Group 4.2) and other Motif Types refered to were categories created by Bühler and Fischer (1979).
Numerous local textile motifs of eastern Indonesia provide the necessary link back to the Indian *patola* and trade cloths. Evidence also suggests that some original Indian cloths have survived the ravages of time and climate in eastern Indonesia until recently, where they have been carefully kept in *rumah adat* (I): ceremonial houses and in homes as family heirloom and ceremonial cloths (Gittinger 1982; Hunt-Kahlenberg 2003).

### 6.5.1 EXAMPLES OF INCORPORATION OF INDIAN TEXTILES INTO RITUAL PRACTICES IN EASTERN INDONESIA

The entry of Indian trade cloths and *patola* cloths into the ritual practices of eastern Indonesia as sacred objects is illustrated by the example of the volcanic atoll Palu’e, off the coast of Flores. Vischer (1992;1994) has documented a number of Indian textiles held in the clan ceremonial house in Palu’e. Furthermore, Indian *patola* cloths are enshrined in the origin narratives of the Palu’e clans and are central to ritual practices. In a ceremony entitled the ‘black *patola* stone’, which represents the primordial substance that the island grew from, a sacred stone is attached to a bamboo pole and covered with an Indian *patolu* or imitation-*patolu* cloth. This act is intended to keep the stone cool. However, in the instance of Palu’e there is no evidence to suggest that *patola* influences entered into the locally produced textiles (Vischer 1994, p. 251). Hamilton (1994, p. 49) has also documented the use of Indian *patola* cloths in Flores whereby a sacred heirloom Indian *patola* cloth, that has been passed down for several generations is draped over a stone clan seat during inauguration of an ancestral temple.
Other examples of the incorporation of Indian *patola* and trade cloths into the indigenous rituals of eastern Indonesian cultures are provided by the Toraja people of South Sulawesi and the Lamaholot speaking people of Lewolema in Flores. In the case of Toraja the *ma’a* and *sarita* cloths form part of a family’s ceremonial
possessions. The term ma’ā and sarita are used to describe many types of cloths including Gujarat double ikat patola, Coromandel Coast palampore\textsuperscript{55} and kalamkan\textsuperscript{56} cloths. Such Indian textiles are documented to have been incorporated into Toraja ceremonies such as the renewal of ancestral houses and annual bua’ fertility rituals. During mortuary rites ma’ā cloths are used as shrouds, ceremonial banners within the central room where the corpse is located or as a head dress for effigies of the corpse (Nooy-Palm 1989, pp. 163 - 177).\textsuperscript{57} Alternatively, in Lewolema in eastern Flores the Indian patola and trade cloths interacted with locally produced textiles to form complex categories of textiles for use within mortuary rites and exchange transactions (Graham 1995, p.162).\textsuperscript{58}

Graham (1995) concludes that Indian textiles in this part of eastern Indonesia ‘…were not only items marking individual status and / or clan wealth, but also found a place in the indigenous categories of social organisation and rituals process’ (Graham 1995, p.165). In the instance of Lewolema, Indian textiles were incorporated into local textile exchange practices to articulate social relationships severed by death and yet also served to reinforce links established through marital

\textsuperscript{55} Large block-printed Indian cotton cloths.
\textsuperscript{56} Either block-printed or hand penned Indian cloths.
\textsuperscript{57} These Indian textiles are also attributed with influence on locally produced Torajan ma’a textiles. The features attributed to Indian influence include the use of the colour red, the inclusion of tumpal borders and the adaptation of motifs featuring an abundance of tendrils, leaves and flowers. However, the Torajans incorporated these features from Indian textiles into an existing Torajan repertoire of textile motifs that were also featured in wood carving motifs used on tongkonan. Torajan ma’a and sarita cloths also retained an established design layout based on a central ‘corral’ like medallion form and symmetrical segments of bold design on either side of the medallion (Nooy-Palm 1989, pp. 177 - 179).

\textsuperscript{58} In this region the concept of the ‘severed shroud’ exists whereby a third of a cloth referred to as seniat (La), is torn as part of the mortuary rites. The larger section of cloth is used as a shroud. The seniat is hung on a bamboo pole above the corpse as it lays in state until a subsidiary mortuary ceremony occurs, after which time the ‘wife-takers’ of the clan whom have serviced the rites take the cloth. These cloths are stored and represent the ‘continuity of affinal ties’ that flow between generations and between clans. Nowadays, an intact patolu cloth is often used to touch the corpse as a token gesture of covering the corpse with such an elaborate cloth, after which it is hung above the corpse on a bamboo pole for the duration of the ceremony.
alliance (Graham 1995, p. 165). The dynamic nature of Lamahalot categories of exchange, regarding textiles, is underscored by the adaptation of these rituals into newer rituals. The patolu is now used to represent the ideal ceremony rather than the actual ceremony. This suggests that the ability to change and innovate ritual practices due to earlier periods of contact resulting from Asian and European trade was highly probable (Graham 1995). It also illustrates the significance invested by the community in the patola motif. This significance extended to include the patola-inspired locally woven cloths as a powerful substitute for the original Indian patola cloths.

6.5.2 EXAMPLES OF THE INCORPORATION OF INDIAN DESIGNS ON EASTERN INDONESIAN TEXTILE MOTIFS AND DESIGNS
Textiles from the islands of Sumba, Flores, Lembata, Adonara, Savu, Alor and Rote all demonstrate, in distinctly regional styles, the adaptation of the patola design format and motifs to the warp ikat technique (Fox 1977a; Gittinger 1982, p. 153; Hamilton 1994; Hunt Kahlenberg 1977; Maxwell 2003b; Warming & Gaworski 1981).

In relation to eastern Indonesia, Bühler (1959) described textiles from Flores, Lomblen, Sumba, Savu and Rote as demonstrating patola influence. Features generally attributed to eastern Indonesian warp ikat textiles originating from these Indian textiles include incorporation of motifs such as the jilamprang, the interconnecting rhomb shape, heart shaped leaves and elephant figures (Warming & Gaworski 1981, p. 106). The tumpal bordering convention, the origins of which are unknown, was at least reinforced in the region, through its ubiquitous appearance on Indian patola and trade cloths (Maxwell 2003b, p. 219). The layout of the patola cloth was also embraced with the use of a central field featuring the motif, bordered at either end with bands of geometric or heart shaped motifs and tumpal borders.

Interconnecting rhomb motifs are often referred to patola ratu in Sumba (Warming & Gaworski 1981, p. 105).
The lengthwise selvedge patterning of several stripes was also embraced. Nonetheless, various islands and societies within the region had differing responses to the *patola*, hence regional distinctiveness remained evident in their textile designs. The following examples from East Sumba, Lembata and Rote islands provide insights into the variation of the influence on eastern Indonesian textiles.

**6.5.3 EXAMPLES FROM EAST SUMBA**

In East Sumba *patola* were reserved for royalty who incorporated *patola* motifs into their royal treasury of textiles for use as sacred ritual objects. East Sumbanese textiles feature a series of horizontal band of motifs, with alternating background colours. Three or five bands appear top and bottom of a central band of motifs. The East Sumbanese responded to *patola* influence by adding discreet bands of *patola* inspired interlocking motifs in combination of bands of local motifs. Known as *patola ratu*\(^{61}\) motifs, these royal motifs were usually located in the centre panel of the *hinggi*. When a *hinggi* is worn draped over the shoulder the *patola ratu* motif is worn at the highest physical point on the wearer’s body, indicating its regal nature. *Patola ratu* motifs also appear on aristocratic women’s ceremonial garments and are known as *lau patola ratu* (Warming & Gaworski 1981, pp. 80 - 83).

This second example of a Sumbanese *hinggi* features an interlocked geometric motif which suggests *patola* influence. Furthermore, the framed design lay out of this *hinggi* and its *tumpal* border are attributable to *patola* influence.

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60 Common East Sumbanese textile motifs include horses, shrimp, roosters and skull trees.
61 *Ratu* (*I*): queen.
62 ‘*Hinggi*’ is the Sumbanese term for a man’s cloth wrap.
Figure 27: Detail of a Sumbanese *hinggi* with *patola ratu* motif in centre band. Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, IND 03100.

Figure 28: Detail of a Sumbanese *hinggi* featuring an interlocked *patola*-inspired motif. Source: Decorative Arts of Sumba, pp. 118 - 119. Rotterdam Museum of Ethnology collection, MvVR 67018
6.5.4 EXAMPLE FROM LAMALERA, SOUTHERN LEMBATA

In Lamalera, Southern Lemabata, Barnes (1985) documented the influence of Indian patola, which is known as ketipa (La). Motifs from these patola textiles were treasured and became absorbed into local clan motif repertoires.63 ‘The Lamalera weavers have taken over a foreign design and interpreted it in a way meaningful to them’ (Barnes 1985, p. 16). Bride-wealth cloths, varying from clan to clan, feature patola influence in the form of a wide band of repeat motif as a continuous design. Only women descending from the clan are permitted to replicate the patola-inspired motif, ensuring its restriction within the clan.

Figure 29: Lembata bride wealth cloth featuring patola-inspired motif in the centre panel. Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory collection, IND 02588.

The inclusion of patola motifs into the bride-wealth textiles of Lamalera is two-fold. Firstly, patola were symbols of wealth and superiority. This significance is reinforced by the location of the patola-inspired motif in the centre panel of the three panel bride–wealth textile, known as tuka (La), a place of honour. Secondly, the use of

63 Motifs such as the ata dika (La): human being motif is attributed to being inspired by one clan’s kepita cloth’s floral border. It is considered that this patola design was interpreted as an abstraction of an ancestor figure and consequently reinterpreted as an ancestor figure motif (Barnes 1985, p.16.)
*patola* motifs and their ownership by specific clans symbolise prosperity due to the motifs ‘protective magical quality’ (Barnes 1985, p. 15).

**6.5.5 EXAMPLE FROM ROTE**

A third example of the influence of Indian *patola* in eastern Indonesia is evident in Rote. Bühler considers Rotenese textiles to share an ‘astounding likeness’ to Indian *patola* textiles that ‘….could never be denied’ (Bühler 1959, p. 20). Rotenese textile artists absorbed both the motifs and design layouts of Indian textiles into their locally produced warp ikat textiles. Fox (1977a, p. 41) considers Rotenese textiles to be ‘replicas of double ikat silk *patolas*’. In particular, the Indian *jilamprang* motif, locally known as the black motif (*dula nggeo*) was restricted for use by descendents of the rulers recognised by the Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries. Also framed centre fields and *tumpal* borders are common features of Rotenese textiles.

![Figure 30: Rotenese cloth featuring *patola*-inspired geometric centre field motif including framed centre field and *tumpal* borders. Private collection.](image)

As outlined above, these varied responses to Indian textiles document a predisposition by eastern Indonesian societies to embrace outside influences and reconfigure these influences into the ritual and textile traditions of their cultures. This
process of reconstructing the role and significance of these Indian textiles in accordance with their new social environment is an example of the social biography of objects being created by their context. It is now possible to consider what Indian trade cloths entered West Timor and whether these textiles influenced the ritual practices and textile production of the Atoin meto people.

6.6 THE ENTRY OF INDIAN TRADE TEXTILES INTO WEST TIMOR

Indian textiles arrived in West Timor through inter-island trade and international trade routes between Southeast Asia, India, Middle East, Europe and China. Localised inter-island trade routes within eastern Indonesia between Flores, Lomblen, Solor, Adonara, Lembata, Alor and Timor led to the exchange of both local and foreign commodities and items of value. The position of Flores and Solor located south of Ambon, one of the most important of the Spice Islands and previously a major trading centre for Indian textiles, made it an excellent gateway for the entry of patola to other nearby islands (Hunt Kahlenberg 2003; Warming & Gaworski 1981, p. 106). Timor received one of the largest concentrations of Indian trade textiles due to its geographic location to the ‘Spice Islands’ (Guy 1998, p.8).

Inter-island trade also extended further to include entrepots such as Batavia (Java), Makassar (South Sulawesi) and Malacca (Malaysia) where long established practices of trade occurred. Through Topass, Makassan, Bugis, Malay and Javanese traders, Indian trade and patola cloths were introduced to West Timor. In 1625 Makassar was reportedly visited by between ten and twenty-two Portuguese galleons each year from Macau, Malacca and ports on the Coromandel Coast. Makassar was used as an entrepot for the sale of Chinese silks and Indian cotton textiles in return for Timorese sandalwood, Moluccan cloves and diamonds from Borneo (Boxer 1968, p. 177). Makassan, Malay and Chinese traders had the
opportunity to source Indian textiles in Makassar and then bring these textiles to Timor as exchange commodities in return for Timorese sandalwood.

As outlined in Chapter Four, European trading interests commenced in the Timor region in the early 16th century. The coastal nature of the trade in West Timor was controlled by the ‘Kings and nobles’ which enabled them to access foreign goods to be used to pay tribute to the *liurai* (*D*): leaders of Waiwiku Wehale and Son’bai kingdoms who were ‘regarded as Emperors’ (Schulte Nordholt 1971, p.163). In 1699 the VOC’s Timor Book provides details of cloth received from Batavia describing the number and kind of textiles, reporting only five Indian *patola* cloths in a shipment of over one thousand textiles. The rulers of Timor reputedly requested and acknowledged receipt of important pieces of cloth in letters to the Governor General in Batavia (Fox 1977a, p. 41).

Two historical accounts establish the entry of Indian textiles into West Timor in the 16th century. Duarte Barbossa, a Portuguese naval officer, wrote that ships from Malacca and Java brought to the Atoin meto ‘axes, hatchets, knives, swords, Cambaya and Paleate cloths, porcelain, coloured beads, tin, quicksilver, lad and other wares’ in return for slaves, honey and wax (Schulte Nordholt 1971, pp. 50 - 51). In 1522, Pigafetta, the Spanish scribe aboard the Victoria (the sole surviving ship of Magellan’s circumnavigation) arrived at Amabau village, near Batugede on the northern West Timor coast. He recorded negotiations with a Timorese headman with whom the Spanish exchanged ‘…..linen, some Indian cloths of silk and cotton, knives, mirrors and other things’ (Pigafetta 1969, p. 141).

64 Schulte Nordholt (1971, p. 50) states that this trade between Timor and Java occurred during the Majapahit era (12th – 15th century) and also refers to Timor being listed as one of the fifteen dependencies of Kediri empire in the 12th century.
6.6.1 EXCHANGE OF INDIAN TEXTILES WITHIN WEST TIMOR

However, Indian cloths were not freely available as trade objects following their entry into West Timor. The Dutch East Indies Company accorded *patola* cloth with a special prestige by reserving it for selected trading partners (Gittinger 1982, p. 45). This is illustrated by a list of gifts given to the King of Kupang and the King of Sonb'ai by the VOC and the Council of India in December 1761 including Indian *patola* cloth and trade textiles, as documented in the extract of a letter to King of Kupang and King of Sonb'ai (Abbott 2003). Such restricted goods were used by the Europeans to forge political alliances. These restrictions served to reinforce the value and desirability of these foreign textiles.

65 Gifts listed to the King included textiles such as 3 pt paar (pitalle); 2pt zijde (pattroonen).
However, Indian silk and cotton textiles were also acquired by coastal rulers dealing directly with foreign merchants. Precious metals, porcelains, silk and gold threads remained the preserve of aristocrats such as rulers and meo (D): warriors. Rulers handled all trading negotiations, retaining ‘porcelain and silk textiles’ with less valuable commodities being distributed to the commoners who cut and transported the valuable sandalwood (Croese 1995, pp 29 - 31).

In turn, these headmen traded these foreign goods for commodities from inland regions based on an established pattern of trade and exchange within the island. Such longstanding trade associations between inland communities, with agricultural and forest products, and coastal communities with salt and sea products, is validated in legend and ritual (Asche 1995, p.167). Coastal rulers also used Indian trade textiles to form tribute payments to the larger inland kingdoms. A complex tribute system based on superordinate and subordinate relationships existed between the ‘small semi-independent political states and petty chiefdoms each composed of a cluster of clans surrounding a ceremonial ruling centre to which tribute was paid’ (McWilliam 1996, p. 129). The unstable nature of the indigenous Atoin meto political system required clans to continuously forge alliances and then reinforce and renegotiate these relationships ensuring the use of precious objects, such as Indian trade cloths, as a form of tribute.

The Biboki kingdom formed part of the trade routes originating from the low lying ancient coastal ports of Mena, the sandalwood port belonging to the prindedom of Insana,66 and the busy north coast port of Atapupo. These ports were popular with Chinese traders from the 12th century (Leibrick 1994, p. 11; Ormeling 1956, p. 39). Furthermore, Liafau, the Portuguese port in Oecussi is located westward from Mena.

66 Mena was a port belonging to the Insana kingdom according to Schulte Nordholt (1971, p. 163).
These three ports would have been entry points for Indian trade cloths to the regions of Insana and Biboki.

Regions located on the borders with Biboki kingdom include Harneo, Manlea\(^{67}\) and Taitoh also had access to foreign goods. These smaller chiefdoms had affiliations with Biboki and were regarded as part of Biboki kingdom.\(^{68}\) Along with Insana kingdom, they all occupied special trading positions and exercised significant trading autonomy which gave them direct access to Indian \textit{patola} and trade cloths. Due to treaties with the East India Company these areas were independent princedoms in 1760. However, although independent princedoms were classified at that time as \textit{kluni (D)} or ‘lying places of Biboki’ (Schulte Nordholt 1971) their access to Indian trade cloths would have ensured the inclusion of this cloth as tribute offerings to the more powerful neighbouring Biboki kingdom.

The Biboki and Insana kingdoms paid tribute southwards to the Waiwiku Wehale kingdom. This tribute was likely to have included prestigious trade items such as \textit{patola} and Indian trade cloths. The Biboki kingdom and the neighbouring Insana kingdom had closer political links with the Tetum kingdom Waiwiku Wehale in south Belu, Belu Regency in comparison with the Atoin meto Son’bai kingdom (Schulte Nordholt 1971, p. 163) due to the geographic relationship and shared borders with the ancient Tetum Waiwiku Wehale kingdom. Furthermore, Biboki and Insana share a border. The physical proximity of these three kingdoms meant that many indigenous Tetum cultural practices and technologies, including weaving and textile production, were transmitted directly into the neighbouring Atoin meto societies within

\footnotesize{67 Manlea is a Tetum speaking region located at a transition point between Tetum and Dawan speaking peoples.  
68 The \textit{loro} was the first bride-giver and therefore politically superior Schulte Nordholt (1971, p. 251).}
Biboki and Insana kingdoms (Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 169) and that trading routes crossed these borders enabling goods to flow both north and south.

The central Waiwiku Wehale kingdom, which attracted tribute from across the entire island, would have redistributed its wealth to various ancillary kingdoms, including nearby Biboki and Insana kingdoms. Ancient trade routes from the south of West Timor such as Mota Dikin port located on the mouth of the Benain River serviced Waiwiku Wehale kingdom, as noted previously in Chapter Four. Through trade it played a critical role strengthening the wealth and power of the kingdom and would have been another avenue for the entry of Indian trade cloths (Croese 1995, p.27).

6.7 EVIDENCE OF INDIAN PATOLA AND TRADE CLOTHS THAT ENTERED TIMOR

A survey of public and private collections that include textiles of Indian origin, with a Timor provenance, was undertaken establishing the presence of Indian patola and trade cloths in Timor. The purpose of this survey was to provide evidence of the type of Indian textiles that entered Timor. Due to the historical nature of the topic, examples of Indian patola and trade cloths were drawn from regions in both of West Timor and East Timor so as to provide the fullest possible insight into the diverse types of Indian patola and trade cloths that entered the region. (Refer to Appendix 3 for a list of the public and private collections surveyed).

This survey established the existence of thirteen textiles of Indian origin that had entered Timor. This total comprises of six Gujarat double ikat patola cloths and seven other Indian trade cloths, all collected from or still in situ in Timor. Furthermore, two examples of meo armbands, covered with Indian trade cloth have also been identified. (Images and descriptions of each cloth are presented in Appendix 4. These cloths are referred to below according to the roman numeral they are listed under in Appendix 4. Images and descriptions of the meo armbands are presented in Appendix 5).
This evidence enables several conclusions to be drawn regarding the range and motif type of Indian cloths that entered Timor and the naming conventions used in Timor to refer to these foreign cloths. Their size and estimated date of production assists in surmising when they entered Timor. Where possible, the manner in which these Indian textiles entered Timor is noted. Finally, the use and role of these Indian textiles in Timor indicates the value with which they were accorded by Atobin meto people.

These surveyed Indian textiles feature a diverse range of motifs. In relation to the six double ikat *patola* cloths with Timorese provenance, the most prevalent motif identified was the *jilamprang* motif. This motif appears on five of the cloths (i, ii, iv,v,vii) compared with one example of Motif Type 25 (vi).\(^{69}\) A wide range of motifs also appeared on the seven Indian trade cloths. These motifs were either block-printed or hand-painted. The two textiles attributed as being hand-painted include cloth (ix) the Ramayana story and cloth (x) with figures of entertainers. Other cloths that were both hand-painted and block-printed include cloth (viii) from the National Gallery of Australia textile collection depicting two fantastic elephant headed creatures, cloth (xi) from the Kalamkari Foundation, cloth (xii) featuring architectural elements and depictions of birds from the Museum der Kulturen collection and finally textile (xiii) featuring quatrefoils of ornate circles and leaves. One block-printed cloth was identified featuring Motif Type 25 (iii).

The names used to refer Indian *patola* cloth in Timor include terms such as *Kain Patola, Cinde, Taisuta Kabasa* and *Malaesina Nosi Sina* as listed on the UPTD

\(^{69}\) Two references to *patola* cloths with an elephant motif in West Timor were recorded during fieldwork. One was sighted in Kupang Regency by Mira Korohsae the wife of the former Raja of Amarasi in the 1950’s. Another was sighted in the Belu Regency in the 1970’s. Mr M. Abbott recalls collecting an elephant motif *patolu* in West Timor (Abbott, pers. comm., 12 July, 2003, Canberra).
Museum Daerah Nusa Tenggara Timur register. The term ‘kain patola’ can be translated to mean ‘patola cloth’, retaining the Gujarati term ‘patola’. Cinde, as previously mentioned, is a European term used to describe patola and trade cloth. The local names of Taisuta Kabasa and Malaesina Nosi Sina employ local naming conventions highlighting the silk material. Taisuta refers to ‘silk tais’ and the term kabasa or kobasa is also attributed to a type of tobacco box in the Belu Regency of West Timor, which is often silver, engraved with a decorative border motif of isosceles triangles. In this instance ‘kabasa’ refers to the use of tumpal border as a design feature.70 The term Malaesina Nosi Sina either refers to the silk material or alternatively associates these textiles with Chinese traders.

The evidence and documentation accompanying these textiles suggest that Indian patola and trade cloths entered Timor through various means. Some were attributed as arriving through trade networks such as the Indian patola textile held at the UPTD Museum Daerah Nusa Tenggara Timur (i) which was presented as a gift by the Dutch VOC to the Belu aristocracy. Others entered through inter-island migration, such as the Klomang family heirloom textiles (ii & iii) which were brought to Kupang, West Timor from nearby island of Alor by family members. The use of the term Malaesina Nosi Sina also alludes to the possibility of these Indian patola cloths being introduced by Chinese traders. Alternatively, as Chinese traders were already associated with the introduction of silk thread in Timor, any cloth made of silk, including Indian patola cloths, may have been associated with Chinese traders. However, the majority of Indian patola or trade cloths surveyed are no longer accompanied with information about how they entered the region.

70 In Biboki there exists a motif known as Kobasa. It is unknown where this motif is derived from, however there was, until recently, an elderly woman in the village of Matabesi, South Biboki, who could weave this motif. A type of tumpal motif is known as Aun Tuanfa in Biboki textiles and is used as a border to a larger motif.
The cloths identified suggest that five of the patola cloths were sari lengths, however one cloth (iii) was a smaller Indian patolu cloth. This smaller version of the patola was made specifically for the Indonesian market (Divall 2001). The hand-painted and block-printed cloths surveyed varied in size. The 18th-19th century is the period that most of the textiles were produced. However, evidence and dates attributed to the National Gallery of Australia textile (viii) (1994.1456) and the Basel Museum textile (xii) (Ilc21178) suggest production dates as early as the 17th century.

The surveyed textiles were used as either family heirlooms or as le’u textiles by aristocratic families in Timor. Prior ownership of patola textiles by the former Raja of Belu (i) (patola textile held by the UPTD Museum Daerah Nusa Tenggara Timur) and the Raja Soba Laga of Los Palos East Timor (ix), indicates the high status attributed to these foreign objects as precious, inalienable goods.

As many of these textiles have been acquired in the past ten years, it is probable that until that time they remained le’u clan items of great significance. However, over the past decade they have increasingly re-entered the market place as economic commodities and have been traded accordingly. The Indian patola cloths from Timor Agung Flobamor are such examples. The entry of le’u textiles into the market place has necessitated the release of these objects from their inalienable status by Timorese owners and removal from their classification as le’u ancestral objects, indicating patterns of social change that have occurred in Timor over the past decades.

Many of the textiles surveyed are now held in public museum collections. This can arguably indicate their status as inalienable objects worthy of preservation or as valuable cultural commodities whose significance makes them worthy of preservation. However, as illustrated by Nikolas Klomang’s textiles (ii) and (iii), in some instances these le’u textiles remain central to the clan’s life and well being.
Consequently, they remain inalienable objects, unable to be commoditized and requiring continued protection, care and respect from the clan members to which they belong.

6.7.1 ATOIN METO MEO ARM BANDS
The use of sections of red and white block-printed Indian trade cloths as part of meo armbands, as described in Appendix 5, illustrate the high status attributed to Indian textiles. This evidence reinforces the classification of these Indian textiles as hot or heated objects as meo attire was considered to provide the wearer with additional protection or strength when entering conflict. This use of Indian cloth on these armbands indicates that small sections of these foreign cloths were removed and worn in warfare as a means of ‘transferring’ protective and sacred properties.

6.8 CONCLUSION
This chapter has outlined the nature of Indian patola and imitation-patola cloths and described the role they played in the lucrative spice trade of the 15th – 19th centuries, ensuring their introduction into Indonesia. Furthermore, the influence of these cloths on both the textile design repertoires and the ritual practices of the various cultures of eastern Indonesian has been established. Importantly, this chapter has established the entrance and presence of Indian patola and imitation-patola cloths in Timor. Insights into the diverse nature of these cloths have also been presented. This provides a basis for considering in greater detail the role these Indian textiles played and significance with which they were attributed within Atoin meto culture.
CHAPTER 7 - THE EVIDENCE OF SACRED TEXTILES IN BIBOKI, WEST TIMOR – THREE CASE STUDIES

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The evidence presented in this chapter is drawn from three clan groups and was collected through field work undertaken in Biboki, West Timor in 2003. The clan groups include the Nai Lopo clan of Oenaem village South Biboki, the clans A1 and A2 of village A and clan B of village B, North Biboki. This evidence substantiates the role, value and significance of Indian *patola*, trade cloths and *patola*-inspired trade cloths within the classification system and ritual life of the Atoin meto people.

This evidence establishes the continuing presence of Indian trade cloths in the region. It also presents *patola*-inspired textiles (those locally made textiles either copied from Indian double ikat *patola* or cotton printed trade cloths) featuring Indian motifs. The inalienable status attributed to these textiles by their owners is explored. Also the ongoing significance of these textiles in relation to the continuing ritual practices of the clans to whom they belong, is also outlined.

7.1 CASE STUDY ONE – OENAEM VILLAGE.

The Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah is an *ume meo* (D): ceremonial house for traditional head hunters in Oenaem village, South Biboki. It is overseen and cared for by two senior, members of the Nai Lopo clan, Mikheal Nai Lopo and Klemens Nai Lopo. The *ume meo* faces the West where the sun sets reinforcing a relationship between ‘Mother, Sun and Land’ (Nai Lopo, Klemens, pers., comm., 2 October, 2003, Oenaem village, Biboki).

71 As stated in Chapter One, the correct names of two of the three villages featured in case studies have been withheld in order to protect the locations of the textiles discussed.

72 The clan name of Nai Lopo refers to ‘the one who cuts off the head’. *Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah* - is registered as a place of interest with the North Central West Timor Office of Culture and Tourism.
7.1.1 SACRED TEXTILES AT THE SONAF LALIM NENO KONPAH UME MEO

Inside the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah *ume meo* on the right hand side (facing inwards from the entrance doorway) hung a bundle of cloth from a rafter of the thatched roof. This small bundle consisted of three textiles in poor condition, being remnants of their original form. However, the motifs remained clear. The bundle was tied together with a red and white *futu* (*D*): belt constructed using the *kelim* slit tapestry weave technique. It was attributed as being attire for a *meo* and originating from Flores (Nai Lopo, Klemens, pers., comm., 2003).

Figure 31: A bundle of *le'u* textiles inside the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah *ume meo*.
Figure 32: Mikhael Nai Lopo unwrapping the *le'u* textiles inside the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah *ume meo*.

Once the belt was untied the outer cloth of the bundle was exposed as a plain hand-woven textile made with hand-spun cotton and dyed with natural dyes in shades of brown and pink (Figure 33). The texture of the cloth suggested it was not locally produced, indicating it was a foreign cloth to Timor. The cloth was faded.
Figure 33: Faded, plain cotton sacred le’u textile, presumed to be a foreign cloth, inside the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah ume meo.

The second textile was a finely woven, hand-spun cloth (Figure 34) printed with a geometric, double diamond heart motif and bordered with a pal (G): leaf motif. It was coloured red and pink with white and blue embellishments. The blue appears to have been hand-painted. Bühler referred to textiles such as these as an ‘...older imitation’ patola cloth, produced in Indonesia. He describes three types of such cloths being produced in Indonesia, in response to Indian patola and trade cloths, as being ‘cheap mass produced goods’. This second Nai Lopo textile fits within the first category of textiles described by Bühler, which he considers are the oldest group of these older imitation-patola cloths (Bühler & Fischer 1979, p. 158).

Figure 34: Detail of block-printed imitation-patola cloth, Motif Type 25, inside the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah ume meo, Oenaem village, Biboki.
This sacred Nai Lopo textile features hand-spun coarse cotton, woven in plain weave ‘mainly patterned in white on a red or reddish-violet ground. In addition there are often also black areas and blue ones that usually merge into the red ground….the blue areas are done either by batik technique or, more probably painted by hand.’

Production of these cloths occurred in Sumatra, Bali, Celebes and Lomblen (Bühler and Fischer 1979, p. 158). The motif on the cloth at Oenaem is a version of *patola* Motif Type 25 (Figure 35). It features a border with the *pal* (G): leaf motif, as does the *patola* Motif Type 25. Two other similar examples are an Indian imitation-*patola* which is a block print Indian version of this Motif Type 25 printed on cotton (Figure 36) and an illustration of this specific motif (Figure 37); (Bühler and Fischer 1979, p. 106 - 109).

![Figure 35: Gujarat, silk *patolu* with Motif Type 25. Source: Bühler and Fischer, 1979. *The Patola of Gujarat*, Vol 2, Plate xviii. Museum der Kulturen BS Ila 15626.](image)
The third textile in the bundle was hand spun cotton, hand woven, block printed with mordant dyes (Figure 38). It is considered to be an Indian imitation- *patola* trade cloth. The motif appears clearly on both sides of the cloth and is dominated by a red background with a contrasting white motif outlined in black. The centre of this motif is a diamond shaped star form enclosed within a larger rectangular shape, with small hook protrusions at the top and bottom and on both sides. This *le'u* textile was in very poor condition as sections of the cloth had been hand stitched and repaired, indicating possible removal of portions of the cloth.

This cloth’s motif is considered to be one of the oldest and most widely available motifs appearing on export silk *patola* and imitation-*patola* cloths that entered eastern Indonesia in large quantities. This motif is attributed by Guy (1998, p. 96) with having influence on textile designs in Bali, Borneo and eastern Indonesia as they

‘…represent the oldest type of *patola* cloth in circulation in Southeast Asia….Most imitation *patola* cloths also follow this specific type’, further supporting the view it was the most widely available in early Southeast Asian trade’ (Guy. 1998, p. 96).
Figure 38: Detail of Indian, cotton, block-printed imitation-patola featuring New Motif Type (Group 4.2) in the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah ume meo, Oenaem village, Biboki, 2003.

This motif (Figure 38) is recorded as appearing on both double ikat silk patola (Figure 24) as well as block-printed imitation-patola trade cloths, such as this Nai Lopo clan example (Figure 38). Cloths with this motif were circulated for a considerable period of time and achieved popularity amongst Indonesians. The red and white versions of this motif, with black outline, as owned by the Nai Lopo clan, were most prolific in Indonesia (Holmgren & Spertus 1985).

This motif was also documented by Bühler, who suggested that it was an ‘older imitation’ motif, originally copied from patola cloths. He also suggests that this motif was produced in Indonesia from an early time. However, no date was provided for the commencement of its production (Bühler & Fischer 1979, Plate 73, p. 158). Holmgren and Spertus (1985) classified this patola motif as ‘New Motif Type (Group 4.2)’. They consider the central star shaped form to be based on an ancient pattern, seen at Prambanan (late 8th century) in central Java and at Candi Singosari (early 13th century) in east Java.

This New Motif Type (Group 4.2) appears in two colour combinations, one as described above with a red background and white motif outlined in black (Figures 24 and 38). The second version of this new Motif Type (Group 4.2) also has a red
background with a dark blue rectangular outlined in white, with a fine black outline. The central star form is predominantly white with red embellishments (Figure 39).

Figure 39: Indian, silk, *patola*; New Motif Type (Group 4.2) from the Holmgren and Spertus collection cited in Maxwell 2003, Sari to Sarong, p. 157.

7.1.2 SACRED TEXTILES IN RITUAL PRACTICES AT SONAF LALIM NENO KONPAH *UME MEO*

The sacred textiles held inside the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah *ume meo* are known as either *le'u*, *benta* (*D*) or *beti leluhur* (*I*): ancestral, inalienable objects. Since the first generation of the Nai Lopo clan arrived in West Timor, this *ume meo* and these *le'u* objects have been central to the clan’s ritual existence. These textiles form part of the clan’s origin narrative which articulates the clan’s founders. The Nai Lopo founder origin narrative recalls the journey of the Nai Lopo ancestors migrating from
Ende, Flores to West Timor over ten generations ago, during the mid 18th century. The origin narrative describes Sobe Lopo, a man who travelled from Ende holding the sacred *le’u* textiles (Figures 33, 34, 39) and a live Casuarina tree (*Casuarinaceae; L*) on the back of a crocodile. Sobe Lopo reached Kupang and eventually settled at Naibaus Nikat, where Oenaem village is located.

As *le’u* objects these textiles are considered to contain ‘the power for life for everything’. They are perceived by the clan members as a direct conduit for communication with their ancestors, which gives additional significance to their sacred value. It is through these textiles and communication with the ancestors that blessings continue to flow to the living clan members (Nai Lopo, Kelmens, pers., comm., 2 October, 2003, Oenaem village).

The significance of the textiles is further reinforced by their adaptation into rituals relating to *meo* practices. During ritual activity within the *ume meo* these sacred textiles are carefully unwrapped and unfolded on the floor where they are used as *kap e benet* (*D*): mats on which the other sacred *le’u* objects are placed. Other *le’u* objects held by the clan include two metal *suni* (*D*): swords used during battle by

73 A similar foundation myth, ‘the crocodile that became Timor’ relates to the island and traces the origins of the Timorese people. A boy returned a wayward crocodile to the swamp. Although tempted to eat the boy, the crocodile grants the boy’s wish of making a sea journey in return for his assistance. Once at sea, the crocodile becomes transforms into the island of Timor, which is likened to the shape of a crocodile. This legendary sea voyage is said to have occurred from Malacca via Makassar and Flores to Amatung (Cinatti 1987, pp. 10-11).

74 From Kupang Sobe Lopo traveled to Olain, Bebaun and then Panmuti because of war. His journey continued, as he fought as a *meo* warrior to Ambenu, Amfoan, Mutis, Babnain, Oekussi, Winu, Humusu and Bijaeleu. He then moved to Fafinesu, Fainans, In‘Oen, Tempuan, Amputan, Bannoe, Lapoeon, Subun, Faina, Maubes, Nismaat Seanab, Baon Akniti, Hikana, Nika’naek, San’i’m Kuluiu and finally to Naibaus (Nai Lopo, Kelmens pers., comm., 18 October 2003, Oenaem village, Biboki).
meo, a paus kenet (D):\(^{75}\) ammunition belt worn by the meo and a small cotton orange flag\(^{76}\).

Figure 40: Klemens Nai Lopo and Mikael Nai Lopo inside the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah ume meo with central pillar and le‘u objects.

These le‘u objects are stored hanging on the central pillar of the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah ume meo. They are only moved outside the confines of the ume meo when a new ume meo is built approximately every five years.\(^{77}\) On such occasions the le‘u objects are wrapped inside the sacred le‘u textiles and carried outside, only to be returned inside once the new ume meo has been reconstituted. During this process of rebuilding and re-consecrating the ume meo the orange flag is placed on top of the roof to provide protection from invisible forces and ‘black magic’. Upon completion of

\(^{75}\) Inside the paus kenet small sacks of molo (D): a mixture of magical and medicinal roots and leaves were carried inside for protection. Gunpowder was also carried inside the paus kenet.

\(^{76}\) This flag is attributed by the clan as also originating from Flores and was carried by meo as a symbol of bravery at times of war.

\(^{77}\) The current ume meo was rebuilt in 2000.
the re-consecration of the *ume meo*, the bundle of sacred cloths are hung again inside on the right hand side.

This hanging location inside the *ume meo*, on the right hand side, indicates the classification of these *le'u* textiles as ‘hot’ and ‘masculine’ objects in the world view of the Nai Lopo clan. This location and these qualities are directly aligned with *meo* practices and power. Hung here, the *le'u* textiles are believed ‘to protect’ and ‘to gain power again over time’ (Nai Lopo, Klemens, pers., comm., 2 October, 2003, Oenaem Village, Biboki).

Prior to the cessation of head hunting practices in West Timor in the early to mid twentieth century 78 a ceremony was required to ‘heat up’ and ‘cool down’ the *le'u* textiles and objects, before and after a head hunting raid. The textiles and objects were heated before being taken outside the *ume meo* and cooled before being replaced inside. This ceremony would continue in each instance for one day and one night. When *meo* returned from successful head hunting raids human heads were wrapped in cloth and then hung in front of the *ume le'u* or placed at the base of the sacred tree known as *Hau Monef*.79 People would then gather for ceremonial activity.80

It was also suggested that certain *le'u* textiles were used as horse blankets during *meo* raids (Nai Lopo, Klemens, pers., comm., 2 October, 2003, Oenaem village, Biboki).

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78 Meo practices and rituals were still practiced by the clan in 1926 (Nai Lopo, Klemens, pers., comm., 8 October 2003, Oenaem village, Biboki.).
79 The *Hau Monef*, the male post stands outside the house or *rumah adat*. It has three branches, each with symbolic meaning (Refer to footnote 22).
80 The decapitated heads would then be placed inside the *ume meo* and the ceremony would continue. Following the ceremony the clan members would continue with the performance of the Likusene, Gong and Benet dances. A white pig would be slaughtered and offered to the *Hau Monef* and a red pig slaughtered and offered to the *ume meo*. Alternatively cows or buffalo were slaughtered. Following the completion of these ceremonies the decapitated heads would be buried. At the time of raids often a head would be taken from the *ume meo* to be carried as a symbol of strength and power (Nai Lopo, Klemens, pers., comm., 8 October, 2003, Oenaem village, Biboki).
Biboki). This suggestion is supported by the description of a meo in full regalia, ‘His horse was covered with a red cloth which came halfway down to its tail and almost touched the ground’ (Heijmering, cited in Yeager & Jacobson 2002, p. 53). Also because the third textile in the bundle, the sacred Indian imitation-patola textile (Figure 38) has been cut and restitched, it is possible that segments of this cloth were removed for use as part the clan’s meo attire. Evidence of this use of Indian trade cloth on meo armbands was presented in Chapter Six and Appendix 5.

Since the cessation of head hunting practices in West Timor in the early to mid 20th century, the sacred le’u textiles remain preserved within the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah ume meo where they remain as inalienable objects central to the clans existence. These cloths are still used during ritual activity within the ume meo and continue to be used as mats for sacred objects during ceremonies. The bundle of le’u textiles continue to be hung on the right hand side of the ume meo retaining their association with heat and masculinity. Their significance ensures that they continue to be ceremonially heated and cooled when moved or used. The Nai Lopo le’u textiles continue to be attributed with the ability ‘to protect’ and ‘to gain power over time’ and these sacred powers are recognised by their ongoing use to wrap and protect other sacred le’u objects.

7.2 CASE STUDY TWO - VILLAGE A

Although political power has been removed from indigenous political structures in West Timor during recent decades, much cultural power is retained by the Neno Biboki and senior clan’s men. At village A, the Pao es pan’no (D): guardian of the village, from the aristocratic clan, provided information about le’u textiles in his care.

81 The Neno Biboki or Atupas is the sacral lord of the realm, and as such never leaves the navel centre. Neno Biboki can be translated to ‘He who sleeps and eats’. (Schulte Nordholt
Initially, the *Pao es pan’no* (Person A) viewed images of Indian *patola* and trade cloths including the Nai Lopo *le’u* Indian trade cloths cited above in Figures 34 and 38. He also viewed an image of the double ikat *patolu* with the same motif (Figure 39). Upon viewing images of these textiles he identified the textile motifs from Figures 38 and 39 as being versions of the royal *Biboek’sa* motif of the Biboki kingdom, as previously described in Chapter Five.

Person A then retrieved two sacred tube-skirts from site A. Permission to photograph the textiles was not granted due to the extremely sacred status of these two textiles. Both tube-skirts were unusually long measuring approximately 70cms wide x 220 cms long. They were woven using the single warp ikat technique, hand-spun cotton and natural dyes. One tube-skirt was decorated with motif *Makaif elak* in a repeat pattern forming a large lozenge, alternating between red and white.

The second tube-skirt was described as the ‘original’ *Biboek’sa* (Person A, pers., comm., 10 October 2003, Village A). It incorporated a complex interlocking motif with a predominantly red background with white inner sections, delineated with a black line or border throughout the motif. Warp striping appeared in this textile with fine stripes of yellow and green included in the design. A central hexagonal motif appeared within a larger repeated hexagonal form. The central circular component of this motif was explained as representing *Oe Le’u* (D): sacred water source. Emanating from this central component was a series of small dashes identified as *bok’fua* (D): pumpkin seed. These were enclosed within a small hexagonal form. This small hexagon was enclosed within a larger hexagon comprised of a series of small intruding *Mak’aif* at the top, bottom and sides of the motif. However, in this

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1971, pp. 239 - 243) provides a detailed description of the ritual centre of Biboki. The current *Neno Biboki* is Klemens Us’Boko.
example the *Mak’aif* was used as only one of several elements of the motif which was delineated with a black outlining device.

The visual characteristics of this ‘original’ royal *Biboek’sa* tube-skirt suggest that this motif is an Atoin meto *patola*-inspired motif which was originally copied from an Indian *patolu* or trade cloth with the New Motif Type (Group 4.2), such as Figure 38 or 39. This assertion is based on a visual comparison between the elements and motif structures, the colour schemes and the outlining device of both the ‘original’ *Biboek’sa* tube-skirt and the Motif Type (Group 4.2), illustrated in Figures 38 and 39.

However, it appears that the *Biboek’sa* motif has been adapted and modified when compared with Motif Type (Group 4.2). These modifications were possibly influenced by three reasons. Firstly, the design would have been adapted for execution in the single warp ikat technique. The skills of the textile artist and the ability of the technique to accommodate the new design may have necessitated some modifications to the design. Secondly, aesthetic preferences would have determined certain decisions about the replication of the motif such as the characteristic Atoin meto use of warp striping. A compromise seems to have been reached with the use of the *Mak’aif*, hook motif being used to form the less familiar hexagon, as opposed to the frequently used lozenge or diamond shape. Other embellishments may have been added by the maker, according to local aesthetics. Finally, as design elements in Atoin meto textile motifs are attributed with cultural significance often relating to local flora and fauna, it was necessary to imbue this motif with such significance. In the instance of this *Biboek’sa* motif the central hexagon incorporates two circular forms. The outer circular form is attributed with being *bok’fua (D)*: pumpkin seed. However, the central circle within the motif is attributed with being the *Oe Leu* sacred water source for the Biboki kingdom. In this way the design elements were ‘acculturated’ being given a specific meaning, in keeping with Atoin meto culture and value systems.
Both textiles were made by the wife of the Neno Biboki, seven generations ago, whose natal family was the royal family of the Insana kingdom. She is attributed as the maker of the ‘original’ Biboek’sa tube-skirt preserved as a sacred l’eu textile in Village A (Person A, pers., comm., 10 October 2003, Village A). Due to the aristocratic position of the wife of the Neno Biboki seven generations ago it is likely that she had access to Indian trade and patola cloths. A woman of her status would have had access to the required materials, the time and expertise required to interpret and imitate a design from an Indian textile New Motif Type (Group 4.2) into the single warp ikat technique. Also her social status would have allowed her to initiate such an innovation, introducing a new motif into the existing repertoire of Biboki motifs.

These two sacred Biboek’sa and Mak’aif tube-skirts have been passed down through seven generations of the clan A2, since the mid to late 18th century. This indicates that the textiles are heirlooms, having been preserved for over approximately two hundred years. Based on the approximate period of production of the Biboek’sa tube-skirt, the original Indian textile (either Indian patolu or imitation patolu) that the Biboek’sa motif was inspired by would have entered West Timor prior to or around the late 18th century.

7.2.1 RITUAL PRACTICES AND SACRED TEXTILES IN VILLAGE A

The Biboek’sa tais is used for the Biboki Soet Oe Leu ceremony related to ‘getting water from the land’. In Biboki each clan has two sacred water sources; Oe Mata (D): unrestricted water source and Oe Le’u (D): restricted water source. The Oe Le’u represents life and the life force of the clan. The Oe Le’u for the kingdom of Biboki,

82 The Neno Biboki Usi Te’e Boko married with the Queen of Insana from the clan of Tabeon Finit / Us Finit seven generations before (Person A, pers., comm., 10 October 2003, Village A, Biboki).
83 This dating is based on an approximation of 25 years between each generation.
consequently symbolizes all life within the realm. The *Neno Biboki* officiates at the *Soet Oe Le’u* ceremony using this tube-skirt featuring the ‘original’ *Biboek’sa* motif. Attendance at this ceremony would be required to gain insight into exactly how this cloth is used. Aristocratic women follow the *Neno Biboki* with *nae* (*D*): earthenware pots, with which they collect sacred water from the restricted water source. This water is then ceremonially blessed and stored in the pots where it is used later for ceremonies relating to mortuary rites at the time of death, burial and forty-day ceremonies following a person’s death. It is also used for rituals relating to the *ume leu* (Ane, Marthe pers, comm., 19 October, 2003, Kefamenanu; Person A, pers., comm., 10 October 2003, Village A).  

The other *Mak’aif* tube-skirt previously mentioned from village A, site A, is worn for mortuary ceremonies when the *Neno Biboki* is buried. It remains unclear whether this is worn by the deceased or by the ascending *Neno Biboki*.

Both textiles sighted at Village A were described as sacred *le’u* textiles and are classified as *maputu* (*D*): hot. This classification indicates that they are believed to contain sacred powers and consequently reserved only for ceremonial use. Traditionally, only the *Neno Biboki* and his immediate family could wear the red attire whilst the *amaf* (*D*): common people wore only black and white textiles. Hence, the

84 A version of the *Soet Oe Le’u* ceremony occurs at various clan’s water sources, led by the *Am’nasi* (*D*): clan leader. The women who have been born into the clan collect the clay pots *nae* (*D*): *periuk tanah* (*I*) that are kept inside the *ume leu*. There are two types of *nae*: one with a lip and one without. The aristocracy use the pot with the lip. This pot also has a special design carved into the clay pot called *makaimesi* (*D*). The pots are carried on top of the woman’s head with the use of *neut* (*D*): leaf coil which is also kept in the *ume le’u*. They walk to the *oe le* (sacred water site) from where water is collected and ceremonial chants are performed. Meanwhile the men from the clan carry wood from the *kusambi* tree: *Schleichera oleosa* (*L*), for a fire. The *kusambi* tree is considered to be a sacred tree and is used in various ceremonies and rituals. They return to the *ume le’u* where the sacred water is stored. Then a red pig and a white or black chicken are killed as offerings to the ancestors. Betel nut is then eaten and the *mutih* from *ume le’u* is taken out. Ceremonial chants occur requesting the ancestors to provide water for the clan (Ane, Marthe, pers., comm., 19 October 2003, Kefamenanu).

85 The opposite to *maputu* (*D*): ‘hot’ objects within the Atoin meto world view is *oe ten* or *minikin* (*D*): ‘cold’ objects.
dominant use of red in this le’u tube-skirt indicates its royal and hot status. Both tube-skirts reportedly could not be touched by chickens or dogs, as these animals are used as ritual offerings.

These le’u textiles held at Village A are used and known as benta (D). Together, they formed a pair of tais, in keeping with the complementary dualism of the Atoin meto (Figure 83). A term such as ibiana (D): ‘a pair, a set or friends’ would appropriately describe them (Meta, pers., comm., 19 June 2005, Darwin). This description suggests a complementary relationship between the two dominant motifs of the region, Mak’af and Biboe’sa. Further research could determine whether these two textiles are attributed as complementary polar opposites, such as male and female qualities within their existing classification as sacred and hot objects.

The assertion that this ‘original’ Biboe’sa tube-skirt held in Village A was based on an Indian patolu or trade cloth (or an Indonesian imitation patolu cloth) is further supported by the classification and ritual uses of the textile as outlined above. These uses indicate that this ‘original’ Biboe’sa tube-skirt (and presumably the Indian textile that provided its inspiration) were considered to be singularized, one of a kind, inalienable textiles. The sacred, hot, heirloom status of this tube-skirt determined its restricted use only by the Neno Biboki. Its inclusion into the Soet Oe Le’u ceremony, one of the highest ceremonial activities performed by the Neno Biboki, is consistent with the example in Palu’e eastern Indonesia, as presented in Chapter Six, of the incorporation of Indian patola cloth into ritual practices.

7.3 CASE STUDY THREE - VILLAGE B
Clan B’s ancestors originally migrated to North Biboki from the tip of East Timor, prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century. They have an established ume le’u located in their village where sacred textiles are stored. In order to view the
sacred le’u textiles held at Site B ume le’u to the head of the clan, Person B, performed a ceremony with other men and women from his clan.  

The ceremony commenced with a ritual chant performed by the clan’s ritual specialist.  A basket containing textiles was taken down from a wooden cupboard  

Figure 41: Removing the basket containing the le’u textiles inside the Site B ume le’u, village B, Biboki.  
The ceremony commenced with a ritual chant performed by the clan’s ritual specialist.  A basket containing textiles was taken down from a wooden cupboard  

86 Person B co-ordinated and the ritual specialist officiated at the ceremony.  Two other men Person C and Person D performed the ceremonial offerings.  The women members of Yayasan Tafean Pah attended the ceremony.  Those who are natal members of clan B viewed the ceremony alongside those women who have married into clan B.  Two doors are used for entry into the Site B ume le’u; one door for clan members by birth, the second door is for women who have married into the clan.  When observing the ceremony the women of the clan sat outside the second door.  As guests, Yovita Meta and I sat outside the entrance for natal clan members.  

87 The ceremony to open and view clan B textiles occurred in the following order:  

1. Offerings of rice, betel nut and lime, wine and beans were made to the clan’s ancestors.  These offerings were placed in a tobe (D): ceremonial basket.  A series of chants were performed.  Everyone present was invited to partake of betel nut, symbolizing the common purpose of the ceremony.
situated near the roof inside of the *ume le’u*. This cupboard was attached to the central support pillar of the *ume le’u* and also stored several *suni (D)*: swords and wooden carvings of ancestral figures, in addition to the basket of textiles.

![Image of hand-spun cotton and ritual specialist](image)

**Figure 42: Hand-spun cotton, *le’u* cloth; ritual specialist (front), in Site B *ume le’u*, village B, Biboki.**

The basket consisted of three large plain white hand-spun cotton textiles, approximately one square metre in dimension. Various *le’u* objects and cloths were wrapped within these white cloths. Inside one of these cloths was a finely printed brown, black and white cotton 19th century European printed batik cloth, intended for the Indonesian market (Wronska-Friend, pers., comm., December, 2005). This cloth

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2. The men brought down the *le’u* cloth bundle from the cupboard, contained in another *tobe*. The cloth was opened and viewed.

3. Further chanting was performed. This chanting was concluded with throwing hand fulls of uncooked rice to the ancestors. Everyone present was invited to drink some wine.

4. Two chickens were killed as offerings to the clan’s ancestors. A red chicken was offered first followed by a white chicken. The chicken’s entrails were tested. As they are in good condition it symbolized that the ancestors had accepted the offerings and were pleased.

5. The offerings of rice and chicken were cooked within the *ume le’u*. Everyone present was invited to partake in chicken, rice and wine using *ume le’u* serving dishes and traditional spoons.
was previously worn as a pilu (D): headscarf by meo. Inside this cloth was a woven bok’of (D): a meo belt. Other le’u objects wrapped inside the meo belt included a small piece of red cotton cloth, said to be ‘very old’, molo (D): silver coins and a noen bena (D): circular medallion worn as part of meo ceremonial attire.

Figure 43: Printed 19th century European imitation batik cotton le’u textile inside Site A ume le’u, village B, Biboki.

Figure 44: Person C unwrapping the sacred Bok’fa cloth in ume le’u, village B, Biboki.
Figure 45: The sacred Bok'fa textile held in Site B ume le’u, village B, Biboki.
This meo belt was traditionally worn tied around the lower back and waist, hence its name bok’of (D), which means ‘lower back’. It features a front and back panel. The sacred meo belt in the ume le’u consisted of only one panel and was in poor condition. It was decorated with the ‘very old and sacred’ Bok’fa motif (Person E., comm., 19 October, 2003, Kefamenanu). This meo belt was and continues to be considered as the ‘original’ Bok’fa motif, which remains popular amongst the clan’s textile artists and members today.

The body of the meo belt was woven in plain weave using hand-spun, undyed cotton. The motif had been executed using naturally dyed coloured cotton threads including small amounts of green and yellow threads with a reddish-pink colour being dominant. Dark blue thread had been used as an outlining device on the motif. This ‘original’ Bok’fa motif was made using the buna, the discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique. The clan believes this ‘original’ Bok’fa textile to be ‘extremely old’, but no further information about its age was available.
This 'original' Bok'fa motif is not stylistically typical of other Biboki or Atoin meto motifs, varying from any geometric or zoomorphic motifs belonging to the Atoin meto people. This suggests that this 'original' Bok'fa motif, stored at the site B ume le'u in village B, is a motif derived from an outside influence Indian patola or imitation-patola trade cloth.

The 'original' Bok'fa motif consists of several design components encased within one another (Figure 46). A small, central hexagon is encased in larger shape enclosed within a rectangle. This rectangle is framed within two symmetrical decorative borders, which is encased within an outline, alluding to another hexagon. This motif could be likened to a kotak-kotak (I); repeated 'box-like' form, however, the horizontal hexagonal shapes (as evident in Figure 45) appear as discreet bands of motifs joined only at the tip of each hexagon. This Bok'fa motif features four hooks or curled protrusions as part of the decorative border. These hooks may be an attempt by the clan's textile artist to 'adapt' the motif to include Mak'aif motifs, based on regional aesthetic preferences and local design customs.

Additional evidence that supports the claim that the 'original' Bok'fa motif (Figure 45) was derived from an Indian patola or trade cloth is provided by Hunt Kahlenberg (2003, p. 87). She presents a meo belt decorated in the supplementary weft wrap technique with 'a pan Indonesian motif featuring a central diamond with four curled
projections’. This *meo* belt is attributed as being made during the 15th – 16th century. Hunt Kahlenberg (2003, p. 87) explains ‘The belt appears to have another influence… Some of the hook shapes remain but they are less obvious in the formality of the composition’. This example is strikingly similar in design elements with village B’s ‘original’ *Bok’fa meo* belt, as both feature the dark blue outlining device, not common in Biboki motif aesthetics.

![Figure 47: Timorese meo belt, Hunt Kahlenberg 2003. The Possessions of the Ancestors, Hali Magazine, Issue 131, p. 85.](image)

According to Hunt Kahlenburg (2003, p. 87) Arab traders coming to Timor seeking sandalwood introduced such a motif through textiles or carpets. In particular, she refers to a group of Indian resist dyed cotton, from this same period of time, that were recently collected in East Timor. She suggests that the medallions on the 15th – 16th century *meo* belt share the same design sensibilities with the motifs on these Indian trade cloths.88

88 Further information about these Indian trade cloths recently collected from East Timor has not been able to be ascertained.

Figure 49: Detail of cotton, single warp ikat tube-skirt from Belu Regency. Source: Taylor (ed) 1994, *Fragile Traditions: Indonesian Art in Jeopardy*, p. 95, Figure 4. Moss collection.
Figure 50: Illustration of the motif appearing on the Belu Regency tube-skirt from the Moss collection as listed in Figure 49.

Figure 51: Detail of cotton and silk, discontinuous, supplementary weft wrap 'original' *Bok*’*la* motif stored in *ume le’u*, village B, Biboki.
Another textile that resonates with the *Bok’fa* motif from village B is a tube-skirt documented by Moss (1994) from Belu Regency, West Timor. This tube-skirt features two wide bands of a motif similar in form to the ‘original’ *Bok’fa* motif. A similarity appears in both the inner hexagonal form and the outer hexagonal form. Interestingly, the Belu tube-skirt cited by Moss replicates the motif in a single warp ikat technique whilst the ‘original’ *Bok’fa* motif from village B and the unprovenanced *meo* belt motif cited by Hunt Kahlenberg were created using the supplementary warp wrap technique. The central design element in each of these three motifs share a similarity as illustrated below (Figures 48, 49, 50 and 51). It is proposed that the design inspiration for each of these motifs was the same design, that of an Indian *patola* or imitation-*patola* trade cloth featuring the new Motif Type (Group 4.2).

In the instance of the ‘original’ *Bok’fa* motif, owned by clan B, it is possible that the design was copied by a clan textile artist from a *patolu* or imitation-*patolu* trade cloth that entered the region through the port of Mena, on the central, north coast of Timor. Village B is an isolated village located inland from the ancient, busy port of Mena where the *Neno Biboki* oversaw the trade of sandalwood. At this location it is likely that foreign cloths, including *patola* and Indian trade cloths, were paid to inland villages in return for sandalwood and other goods.\(^{89}\) Whilst some of these trade cloths would have eventually been taken to be stored at Tamkesi, in the Biboki kingdom’s sacred heart,\(^{90}\) others would have been given to warriors, lords and

\(^{89}\) Mena was considered to be the busiest of the twelve Timorese ports (Spillett 2002).
\(^{90}\) The ritual centre of the Biboki kingdom, Tamkesi, is built on a rocky outcrop high on a mountain with expansive views over the Biboki lands. Often referred to as a ‘sacred heart of Biboki’ Tamkesi consists of two hilltops linked by a ridge, representative of cosmic dualism found in the Atoin meto world view. Traditionally, the kingdom’s sacred objects were kept in Tamkesi, due to its inland location which ensured the protection of the kingdom’s wealth. The *Neno Biboki* (D); the sacral lord of the realm lived in Kaubele village, close to Mena, the ancient coastal port located on the north coast where he oversaw trade of sandalwood, giving the kingdom easy access to trade goods and trade routes.
administrators by the *Neno Biboki* to bestow favour (Silab, pers., comm., 31 October 2003, Kefamenanu).

An alternative theory about how clan B accessed an Indian *patolu* or trade cloth from which the ‘original’ *Bok’fa* motif was inspired, could be explained through the clan’s links with East Timor. An Indian trade cloth may have entered clan B’s treasury via East Timor, prior to their migration to Biboki. Evidence, presented in Chapter Six, indicates that hand-painted Indian textiles entered East Timor. Therefore, it is probable that Indian *patola* cloths and block-printed trade cloths also reached East Timor.

Alternatively, an Indian *patolu* or trade cloth may have been exchanged into village B via networks of established interaction across the island of Timor. These pre-colonial networks existed across the island due to intermarriage between clans or tribute exchange obligations (Bennett 1998, p.44). Whether the ‘original’ *Bok’fa* motif was copied prior to clan B’s migration to West Timor or whether it was exchanged from East Timor into clan B following their relocation to village B remains unknown. However, this conjecture suggests that numerous possibilities existed for Indian textiles to enter village B and to inspire the clan’s prized *Bok’fa* motif.

### 7.3.1 RITUAL PRACTICES AND SACRED TEXTILES IN VILLAGE B

The ‘original’ *Bok’fa* sacred textile was described as ‘*meo kasib bnapa*’ (D): the cloth that ‘gives immunity to *meo* warriors’. This ‘original’ *Bok’fa* textile, deemed to contain protective qualities for *meo* during times of conflict, is a restricted motif, only for use by clan B members (Person E, comm., 19 November, 2003 Kefamenanu).

Previously, belts decorated with the *Bok’fa* motif could be worn by men from clan B. All of these *meo* belts, and by implication the *Bok’fa* motif, were made using the *buna*: discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique. The *meo* belt with *Bok’fa*
motif is stored and left undisturbed inside the ume le’u during times of peace (Person A, pers., comm., 8 October 2003, village B). At times of war, the meo belt and other le’u objects from within the ume le’u were ritually heated and cooled. The ceremony for heating was known as Belis Fesof Matani and the ceremony for cooling was known as Ma Nikin Oetene. Ceremonies would continue for one day and one night. During these ceremonies the sacred objects from the Site B ume le’u, including the ‘original’ Bok’fa motif meo belt, were opened and placed on top of other sacred le’u cloths used as mats.

The severed heads collected by clan B meo during war attacks were kept outside the village boundaries for one day and one night upon the meo returning to their village. When returning from war bringing a human head the women of the clan dressed as meo, greeted their warriors and proceeded to dance the likurai kicking the decapitated head of the enemy. Later the head was buried (Person A, pers., comm., 8 October 2003, village B; Person E, pers., comm., 19 November, 2003 Kefamenanu).91

This le’u ‘original’ Bok’fa meo cloth continues to be used as a benta (D); mat on which sacred objects are placed during clan ceremonies and during cleansing and renewal of the ume le’u. It is still considered to be a sacred textile by clan members, as supported by its preservation and storage in site B ume le’u and its ongoing use as part of ritual and ceremonial activity by the clan.

The rarity and preciousness of patola and Indian trade cloths combined with their dominant red colour may explain why a patola-inspired motif, such as the ‘original’ Bok’fa motif was included as meo attire designs. The colour red is associated with courage, war, manliness, victory as well as the Lord of the Heavens in the Atoin meto

91 Other dances performed during this time included the likuseni, nabso and the bonet (Tulasi H.N., 8 October 2003, Kuluan village, Biboki; Yeager & Jacobson 2002).
world view (Leibrick 1994, p. 17). Due to village B’s inland location, amongst rugged terrain, it has remained relatively isolated from outside influence. In such a remote village two or three centuries ago, foreign red cloth would have been exceedingly rare and extraordinarily impressive. This fact, combined with the unusual motif structure found on Indian *patola* and imitation-*patola* trade cloths, was likely to have inspired the ‘original’ *Bok’fa* motif, causing it to be attributed with sacred qualities and the power to provide immunity to *meo*.

### 7.4 CONCLUSION

The three examples of *le’u* sacred textiles presented in this chapter all indicate, with varying degrees of certainty, the presence and influence of Indian *patola* and imitation-*patola* trade cloths on the ritual practices of the three Biboki clan groups discussed. In Case Study One the block-printed imitation-*patola* Indian trade cloths (Figure 34 and 38) are still in the Nai Lopo clan’s possession. In the instances of village A and village B it is proposed that their *l’eu* textiles stored in site A and site B respectively, are locally produced *patola*-inspired textiles (Figure 45).

These Indian imitation-*patola* textiles and the *patola*-inspired textiles they inspired were incorporated into the highest levels of Atoin meto ritual activity. Enshrined in clan origin narratives, absorbed into *meo* rituals, attributed with the power for life and the power to protect, their significance cannot be underestimated. Used as ceremonial objects in sacred water ceremonies to ensure the life and fertility of the kingdom, Indian *patola* and *patola*-inspired textiles were central to the ritual practices of Atoin meto clans. However, in Biboki each response, as articulated in the three case studies presented in this chapter, there appears to have been local factors pertaining to clan history, location and specific ritual practices which have shaped and made each clan’s response unique.
These case studies illustrate that Indian *patola* and trade cloths entered Timor through various means over several centuries. In the instance of Nai Lopo clan, located at Oenaem village their Indian trade cloths (Figure 34 and 38) arrived via inter-island family migration, entering West Timor ten generations ago, either late 18th or early 19th century. At village A the *Biboek’sa* tube-skirt was made by a member of the royal family of Insana who had access to luxury goods through trade and tribute. These luxury goods included Indian *patola* or imitation-*patola* trade cloths which inspired her creation of the ‘original’ *Biboek’sa* motif over seven generations ago, approximately early – mid 19th century. Similarly, at Village B, the *Bok’fa* motif *meo* belt is considered to have been inspired by a trade textile, accessed by the clan via trade or gift-giving exchanges between clans. This ‘original’ *Bok’fa meo* belt is similar to the belt cited by Hunt Kahlenberg, which she ascribes as being 15th – 16th century.

The textiles presented from the three Case Studies have been incorporated into the Atoin meto classification system as heated objects. In the instance of Case Study One and Three, the textiles were also classified as masculine. Arguably, in all three cases the prestige associated with these cloths is also linked to their foreign origins, colour and association with rulers.

‘Attributions of foreignness in Timor cosmology fulfil ritual requirements of power being regarded as “outside”, and new motifs or materials resulting from interaction with the outside world have been culturally brokered by rulers and noble classes’ (Bennett 1998, p.43).

Additionally, the colour red was traditionally worn only by Biboki aristocrats. As the majority of Indian *patola* and trade cloths were brilliantly coloured red, this feature would have supported the inclusion of these textiles, and the locally made *patola*-inspired textiles, into clan ritual practices.
The maintenance of these sacred textiles over this length of time indicates the prestige and value attributed to them by their owners. Their status as ritual objects is beyond that of commodity. By virtue of their continued physical presence and the ongoing significance within each clan’s ritual life, these textiles remain highly prized and significant objects. The historic, cultural, symbolic and ritual significance attributed to these cloths since their arrival in West Timor and their consequent adaptation and interpretation into local textile techniques and aesthetics indicates their singularised, inalienable status. These imitation-\textit{patola} and \textit{patola}-inspired textiles are not only central to the ritual lives of the clan’s discussed; as while they remain respectively in the possession of each Atoin meto clan they also continue to be central to each clan’s identity: past and present.
CHAPTER 8 - THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN PATOLA AND TRADE CLOTHS ON ATOIN METO TEXTILES.

8.0 INTRODUCTION
This chapter considers the influence of Indian patola and trade cloths on the textile motifs of West Timor. Having established the existence of a range of Indian imitation patola and patola-inspired cloths in Timor in Chapter Six and their inclusion into ritual practices in Chapter Seven it is now possible to consider the characteristics of several Atoin meto motifs containing influence from Indian patola and imitation-patola textiles.

The main focus of this chapter considers the three case studies of le’u textiles as discussed in Chapter Seven and their broader influence on contemporary Biboki textile motifs and design layouts. This analysis aims to provide insights into the past and continuing influence of Indian patola and imitation-patola trade cloth motifs on Atoin meto textiles.

8.1 SHARED DESIGN ELEMENTS BETWEEN INDIAN PATOLA AND TRADE CLOTHS WITH ATOIN METO TEXTILES
The following comparisons provide some visual examples of shared design characteristics between Indian patola and trade cloths and Atoin meto textiles. In an attempt to establish differing ways in which Indian textiles influenced Atoin meto designs several examples of Atoin meto cloths are presented below. Each textile features a visual resonance with an Indian textile, either through the adaptation of Indian textile motifs or the incorporation of Indian textile design layouts. These examples are drawn from various published sources, observations and personal communications in the field as well as from a selection of private and public collections (Refer to Appendix 6A).
8.1.1 KOTAK-KOTAK - INTERLOCKING HEXAGON

Bühler and Fischer (1979, p. 149) initially made a link between Indian *patola* cloths and Atoin meto cloths when they cited two single warp ikat men’s cloth wraps from Amanuban, TTS, West Timor, as examples of *patola* influence on Atoin meto textiles (Figure 52). The central design elements of these two textiles (IIC 4593 and IIC 4590) feature a central circular design element framed within either a diamond or hexagonal form appear to be derived from Indian textile motifs. These central forms both have elements radiating from them, a series of dashes or small lines in the case of IIC 4593 and *Mak’ait* hooks in the case of IIC 4590.

![Figure 52: Details of two single warp ikat motifs from Amanuban. Source: Bühler and Fischer, 1979, The Patola of Gujarat, Vol 2, Figure 227 & 228. Museum der Kulturen, Basel, IIC 4593 and IIC 4590.](image)

Another significant feature of textile IIC4593 is the use of repeated interlocking hexagonal forms. Atoin meto textile makers refer to repetitive, hexagonal box like designs as *kotak-kotak*. The use of *kotak-kotak* in textile motifs is attributed in West

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92 These textiles were collected by Alfred Bühler during a field trip to Timor in 1935 and are part of the Museum der Kulturen, Basel. The inventory cards documenting these textiles are annotated as follows:

Iic 4593: Woven Cloth; 3 lengths stitched together; warp technique, warp dyes blue and white ground; Length 238 cms, width 99.5 cms; Amanoeban.

Iic 4590: Woven cloth for men; 2 lengths stitched together; warp technique, warp dyed blue on white ground; Length 208 cms, width 57cms; Amanoeban. (Kunz, pers., comm., 13 November 2003, Basel).
Timor to outside influence (Silab pers., comm., 31 September 2003, Kefamenanu) and is a likely response by Atoin meto textile artists to the interlocking hexagonal motifs found in Indian *patola* and trade cloths.

In the case of IIC 4590 the repeated diamond form creates a ‘zig-zag’ band which is defined across the design field. However, these ‘zig-zag’ bands run parallel across the design field, rather than becoming interlocked, as is common with the lozenge form from the popular Biboki *Mak’aif* motif. Various Biboki motifs feature parallel ‘zig-zag’ bands running across the centre field as seen in IIC 4590. Such ‘zig-zag’ bands, appearing in Biboki textiles are potentially a response to the repeated interlocking geometrical forms found in Indian textiles and result from the use of hexagonal motifs as illustrated below (Figures 53, 54, 55, 56, 57 and 58). The central motif encased within the diamond form in IIC 4590 is also replicated in the Biboki motifs illustrated below (Figures 56, 57, 58 and 59).

![Image](image1.png)  ![Image](image2.png)

**Figure 53:** Detail of single warp ikat textile with motif *Fut Nik No’o*. Made by Yuliana Nahas, Sainuip village, Biboki, 2003. Private collection.

**Figure 54:** Detail of single warp ikat textile with motif *Fut Tem Ninaf*, maker unknown, Sapaen village, Biboki, 2003. Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, IND 01841.
Figure 55: Detail of single warp ikat textile with motif *Fut Biboek'sa*. Maker unknown, circa 2004.

Figure 56: Detail of single warp ikat textile with motif *Fut Bok'fua*. Maker unknown, Matabesi village, circa 1990. Yayasan Tafean Pah Collection.

Figure 57: Detail of single warp ikat textile with motif *Fut Noa Ketaf*. Maker unknown, Sapaen village, Biboki, circa 2003.

Figure 58: Single warp ikat textile with motif *Fut Hau Sufa*. Made by Agnes Muti, Sainuip village, Biboki, circa 2003.
Figure 59: Single warp ikat textile with motif *Kobasa*. Susana Mutik, Kuluan village. 

Some examples of Indian *patola* and trade cloths that demonstrate the hexagonal motif and the resulting ‘zig-zag’ bands are evident in Motif Type 23 a, b and c. (Figures 60 and 61). The continued use of these hexagonal formed motifs in Indian cloths is also evident in a contemporary block-printed cloth (Figure 62).

Figure 60: Gujarat *patolu* Motif Type 23a featuring an interlocking geometric motif. 

Figure 62: A contemporary Indian block-printed cloth with interlocking geometric motifs. Source: Patola Resist Dyed Fabrics of India, Mapin, Ahmedabad, p. 62.
8.1.2 ADAPTATION OF BANDS OF MOTIFS FROM INDIAN PATOLA AND IMITATION PATOLA CLOTHS.

An Atoin meto man’s cloth wrap (Figure 63) was acquired in the 1950’s and subsequently donated to the Volkenkunding Museum Nusantara Delft in the 1970’s (Mr Pim Westerkamp, pers., comm., 18 May 2004) (Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara Delft, n.d., p. 69) is attributed as being from Amanuban, TTS, West Timor. This cloth consists of three panels of hand-spun cotton stitched together. The two side panels have been made using the *sotis*: warp faced alternating float weave, whilst the centre panel has been made using the *buna*: discontinuous supplementary weft wrapping technique. This centre panel predominantly features zoomorphic motifs in evenly spaced horizontal bands. Of particular interest is one panel which features a geometric motif (Figure 64).

Figure 63: Man’s cloth wrap made with supplementary weft and discontinuous supplementary weft wrapping technique. Maker unknown. Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara Delft, Textile S451-296.
This band of geometric motif, executed using dark blue cotton, resonates with a motif appearing in the border motif of *patola* Motif Type 25 (Figure 65 and 66). When the two bands of motif are compared with one another (Figures 64 and 65), a similarity of design is evident. This evidence suggests the incorporation of discreet design components from Indian *patola* cloths into the established and locally recognised Atoin meto design layout and aesthetic.

Furthermore, this motif features a central circular motif housed within a central lozenge shape. A series of dashes occur around the outer edge of the diamond. This form is encased within a hexagonal shape, similar to the textile previously cited above in 8.1.1. (Figure 52: Museum der Kulteren, Basel, IIC 4593). This evidence suggests that discreet motifs from foreign cloths may have been embraced and incorporated into the existing Atoin meto motif repertoire.
8.1.3 ADAPTATION OF MOTIFS FROM INDIAN PATOLA AND IMITATION PATOLA TRADE CLOTHS

The Biboki motif Hau Sufa, which depicts a flower, resonates patola influence. An example of the Hau Sufa motif, made by Maria Tefa from Matabesi in South Biboki circa 1993 was noted by Leibrick as a two colour warp ikat textile of particular interest. Leibrick surmised that the motif Hau Sufa is possibly of Indian derivation, copied from either an Indian double ikat patola or trade cloth (1994, p. 43).

Viewing a single warp ikat Biboki textile featuring the hau sufa motif (Figure 67) alongside a sarasa\(^3\) cloth from the Threads of Life Textile Centre\(^4\) collection (Figure 68), a resemblance between the motifs is evident. Both cloths feature a radiating motif and a horizontally oriented zig-zag border that serves to create the medallion

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93 Sarasa cloth is a Gujarati term meaning ‘beautiful, excellent’ and became used as a name for Indian trade cloths (Gittinger 1982, p.27-28).

94 Threads of Life Textile Centre is a commercial gallery based in Ubud, Bali which trades in high quality contemporary Indonesian textiles. It also supports the revival and maintenance of traditional textile techniques in Indonesia through a range of projects and initiatives.
form for the motif. The *sarasa* cloth is a printed, cotton cloth of uncertain origins. It is possible that the inspiration for these two motifs, a radiating, eight pronged form, was derived from the popular *jilamprang* basket of flowers *patola* motif (Figures 69 and 70). It is possible that the Biboki *Hau Sufa* motif was simplified and elongated in the process of adapting the motif to the single warp ikat technique and to the thicker hand-spun cotton thread available in Biboki.

![Image](image1.png)

**Figure 67:** Detail of single warp ikat textile with motif *Hau Sufa*. Private collection of Cath Elderton.

**Figure 68:** Single warp ikat textile with motif *Hau Sufa* as described in Figure 66 and cotton *sarasa* cloth from Threads of Life collection.

![Image](image2.png)

**Figure 69:** Illustration of *jilamprang* Motif Type 11. Source: Bühler & Fischer, 1979, The Patola of Gujarat, Vol 1, p. 69. Figures 70 & 71.
The *Hau Sufa* motif has been adapted in recent times to create *Hau Sufa Kolo* motif, depicting a bird and flower. As motif *Hau Sufa* becomes reinvented into new motifs such as *Hau Sufa Kolo* (Figure 71), the original influence continues to be transmitted into contemporary motifs.

Figure 70: Illustration of *jilamprang* Motif Type 12. Source: Bühler & Fischer 1979, The Patola of Gujarat, Vol 1 p. 73.

Figure 71: Detail of single warp ikat man’s wrap textile with motif *Hau Sufa Kolo*. Made by Maria Abuk, Matabesi village, Biboki.
8.1.4 DESIGN LAYOUT REFLECTING INDIAN PATOLA AND IMITATION PATOLA INFLUENCE.

A man’s cloth wrap, made by Sebastianus Mambait from Unab village, Insana, was acquired by David Steinberg circa 2000 (Figure 72). This cloth is made with commercially spun cotton thread. It features a *patola* design layout including a mirrored centre field, bordered with a *tumpal* border and framed within a series of bands running along the length of the textile. The centre field also features an interlocking motif featuring male and female figures, a star motif and a floral motif. The star motif and the band of geometric shapes separating the *tumpal* border and the main field reflect *patola* influence. Although the majority of design elements included in this cloth do not reflect specific *patola* motifs, its overall aesthetic resonates the geometric and interlocking nature of Indian *patola* motifs.

Furthermore, the design field of Sebastianus Mambait’s textile is based on a *patola* design field with the centre field, enclosed within stripped framed selvedge borders and bands of horizontal geometric design at either end, including *tumpal* borders. The same motif appears on a man’s cloth wrap presented by Yeager & Jacobson (2002, p. 292). Sebastianus Mambait, attributes this design to influence from nearby Rote, as she was inspired to create this motif, known as *Kaun ana* or *Rote*, by a cloth worn by a Rotenese silversmith who visited the region circa 1970’s. This illustrates the influence of *patola* cloth also entered via inter-island exchange, as textiles from Rote were heavily influenced by *patola* cloth and were likely to have reached Timor via inter-island migration and migratory workers, such as silversmiths. However the striped side panels in Sebastianus Mambait’s *Fut Kuan ana* textile are a distinctive textile design device found in Mollo, Insana and Biboki textiles, suggesting that newer motifs have been incorporated within the existing design formats of textiles in North Central Timor.
8.2 INFLUENCE OF SACRED INDIAN IMITATION PATOLA TEXTILES ON BIBOKI MOTIFS.

The following examples illustrate the influence of Indian patola or trade cloth motifs on Biboki motifs as well as the neighbouring regions. Initially, textiles from the three case studies presented in Chapter 7 are discussed. These examples are followed with additional examples from Insana and Belu.

8.2.1 INFLUENCE OF NAÏ LOPO SACRED TEXTILES ON LOCAL TEXTILE PRODUCTION.

As outlined in Chapter Seven the sacred le’u textiles belonging to the Naï Lopo clan, the block-printed Indian textile featuring Motif Type 25 (Figure 34) and New Motif Type (Group 4.2) (Figure 38) entered the ritual practices of the clan. However, due to the high status attributed to these Indian imitation patola trade cloths as sacred le’u textiles, the clan members are reluctant to reproduce either motif. The motifs on these le’u textiles, held in Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah ume meo, have never been
replicated by local textile makers from the Nai Lopo clan. It was explained that in order to copy the motifs from the le’u textiles permission from the Nai Lopo ancestors would need to be granted. Such permission has never been requested due to concerns that this would incur the wrath of their ancestors. Without ancestral consent it is considered by the clan members as disastrous to proceed (Nai Lopo, Klemens, pers., comm., 2 October 2003, Oenaem village).

Another explanation as to why the le’u textile motifs have never been reproduced by Nia Lopo clan members is due to the dominant use of the sotis: warp-faced alternating float weave technique in the area of Oenaem, in South Biboki. This region is the home to migrant groups from the Insana kingdom, where sotis weaving technique is commonly practiced. It is probable that the sotis technique was less suitable for the replication of these Indian imitation trade cloth motifs than the single warp ikat technique of neighbouring clans. It has been documented that some lineages in Insana are customarily forbidden to make single warp ikat textiles. It is believed that transgression of this taboo may result in physical paralysis to the offender (Leibrick 1994, p.17).

Whilst these Indian patola imitation textiles have not influenced the motif repertoire of the Nai Lopo clan, they have remained inalienable objects due to their classification as le’u objects and consequent preservation within the Nai Lopo ume meo. The high, singularized status attributed to these Indian imitation-patola block-printed trade cloths in the Sonaf Lalim Neno Konpah ume meo is reinforced by the reluctance of the Nai Lopo clan members to request ancestral permission to reproduce these motifs.
8.2.2 INFLUENCE OF ‘ORIGINAL’ BIBOEK’SA TEXTILE ON LOCAL TEXTILE MOTIFS

The motif Biboek’sa, as depicted on the ‘original’ Biboek’sa tube-skirt held at village A, belonging to the aristocratic clan, was previously discussed in Chapter Seven (7.2 and 7.2.1). Unfortunately, due to cultural restrictions, it was not possible to photograph this textile. It is considered that this ‘original’ Biboek’sa motif is a patola-inspired motif derived from the New Motif Type (Group 4.2), (Figures 24, 39). This Biboek’sa motif has continued to be woven into textiles throughout the Biboki region becoming one of the most ubiquitous motifs produced in Biboki today.

Until the early 1970’s this ‘original’ Biboek’sa motif was highly restricted and was only occasionally reproduced within aristocratic circles. However, during the early 1970’s the aristocratic clans Us Boko and Us Kenet were relocated from their original village Tupun, North Biboki as part of a government initiated relocation programme. This relocation scattered the aristocratic clans across various parts of Biboki including Tokbesi, Tunbesi, Luniup and Am Ome villages. Such social upheaval contributed to the fracturing of social and cultural restrictions previously placed on the royal Biboek’sa motif. Restrictions surrounding the use of motif Biboek’sa, which was previously only able to be made and worn by members of the aristocratic Us Kenet and Us Boko clans, were weakened. Consequently, commoners began to weave the Biboek’sa motif largely for sale to recently established markets outside of Biboki. However, it remains rare that a commoner would wear the Biboek’sa motif as it remains associated with the Us Kenet and Us Boko clans. This remaining prohibition indicates the authority and esteemed cultural value still attached to the Biboek’sa motif (Marthe, Ane, pers., comm., October 18 2003, Kefamenanu).

95 The majority of Us Kenet clan live today in Am Ome village. Us Boko clan is located at Kaubele village.
Two different versions of the *Biboek’sa* motif are recognised by the aristocratic Us Kenet and Us Boko clans (Ane, M. pers., comm., 23 October 2004, Kefamenanu). These two versions of the *Biboek’sa* motif were arguably derived from the ‘original’ *patola*-inspired *Biboek’sa* tube-skirt held at village A. This claim is supported by Yeager & Jacobson (2002, p. 147) who have documented three motifs as ‘older motifs which have been revived’ (Figure 73). Yeager & Jacobson sighted these motifs at Tokbesi and Tunbaen villages, locations where Us Kenet clan members were relocated in the early 1970’s. Furthermore, the first of the three motifs (Figure 73a) was described by Yeager & Jacobson as a motif belonging to the wife of the Raja, reinforcing the relationship between this *Biboek’sa* motif, the Biboki aristocracy motif and the sacred ‘original’ *Biboek’sa* tube-skirt held at Tamkesi. Three ‘older’ versions of *Biboek’sa* motif have been documented in *futus*: single warp ikat contemporary textiles (Figures 73 - 83).

![Figure 73 a, b, c: Three illustrated *Biboek’sa* motifs referred to as ‘older motifs that have been revived’ by Yeager & Jacobson, 2002. *Textiles of West Timor*, p. 147, Figure 118.](image)

The following images and illustrations give some insights into the ‘original’ *Biboek’sa* motif versions of this acclaimed motif, and the three versions, incorporated into Biboki tube-skirts and men’s cloth wraps.
8.2.2.1 *BIBOEK’SA MOTIF - VERSION ONE*

The first version of the *Biboek’sa* motif featured in a tube-skirt made by Theresia Timo from Matabesi village, Biboki, circa 1970 (Figure 74). This single warp ikat tube-skirt is made with hand-spun cotton and features a version of the *Biboek’sa* motif incorporated into a series of linear bands. These bands of motifs feature abstracted and simplified design elements as compared with the *Biboek’sa* motif appearing on the ‘original’ *Biboek’sa* tube-skirt held at village A, which features the motif as an all-over, repeat design. Nonetheless, the central motif on Theresia Timo’s tube-skirt is visually related the ‘original’ *Biboek’sa* motif held in village A.

![Figure 74: Biboek’sa Version One - Detail of single warp ikat tube-skirt with an older version of Bibokek’sa motif. Made by Theresia Timo, Matabesi village, Biboki, circa 1970. Collection of Yayasan Tafean Pah.](image)

Another example of version one *Biboek’sa* motif is a hand-spun cotton tube-skirt from Ponu (Figure 75), North Biboki (Yeager & Jacobson, 2002, Plate 138). This cloth also shares similarities with the ‘original’ *Bibo’ek’sa* motif held at Village A. Yeager & Jacobson refer to this ‘ikat-stripe sarong’ as featuring a series of plain and ikat bands alternating between elements of the abstracted and simplified *Biboek’sa* motif.96 Yeager & Jacobson (2002, p. 149) consider these textiles to be an older style of

96 Bands of motif appear across the tube-skirt is indicative of *tais isbaina*, used in situations where marriages occurred ‘within the family.’ In such instances either the family of the man or woman present the woman with this specially made *tais*, in order to protect her from any harm or unwanted negative forces resulting from this incestuous marriage.
sarong and refer to the motif on these tube-skirts as ‘a new copy of an older style’ motif. The extended length of this tube-skirt and Theresia Timo’s tube skirt (Figure 74) are approximately 2 metres in length which are similar to the dimensions of the sacred ‘original’ Biboek’sa tube-skirt at village A, indicating their intended use as either ceremonial objects or burial attire.

Yeager & Jacobson 2002, pp. 149 - 150) comment on the dominant use of the colours red and white and the use of a black outline device, intended to ‘highlight’ Ponu tube-skirt. This colour combination and dark outlining feature also appears on the Indian patola New Motif Type (Group 4.2); (Figures 24 and 39).


This beti naek from Ponu (Figure 76) was also made in the 1970’s and indicates the manner in which the Biboek’sa motif was applied to men’s cloth wraps, which consisted of a central white panel and two outer panels which features Biboek’sa motif in single warp ikat. This cloth originates from the Insana and Biboki border region. Reflecting this geography, this cloth features the central white panel traditionally featured in men’s cloths from Insana, whilst the outer panels feature the Biboki kingdom royal Biboek’sa motif (Yeager & Jacobson, 2002, Plate 129).

Figure 77: Biboe’ksa Version One - Detail of single warp ikat, cotton, beti naek. Made by Paulina Hati, Sapaen village, Biboki, 2003. Collection Yayasan Tafean Pah.
This detail from a man’s hand-spun cotton *beti naek* was woven by Paulina Hati, Sapaen village (Figures 77 and 78). In this more recent image the Version One *Biboek’sa* motif, black outlining of the motif has been replaced with a black background, lessening the amount of red appearing in this motif. This example illustrates its use in the centre panel of a man’s cloth wrap, bordered with the two side panels of stripe ikat, characteristic of Biboki men’s cloth wraps.

The final example of *Bibokek’sa* motif version one (Figure 79), illustrates how the motif has become reduced and simplified. For example, the use of red has been reduced to being sparingly used as a complementary colour on a black background. The black outlining has been completely removed in this version of the motif.
**8.2.2.2 BIBOEK’S A MOTIF - VERSION TWO**

A second version of the royal Biboek’sa motif appears on this *Tais Ha Ma Tete Teun*\(^97\) executed in both *futus*: single warp ikat and *buna*: discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique (Figure 80). Made in 2004 by Susanna Mutik of Kuluan village, this second version of the *Biboek’sa* motif is attributed as also being one of the oldest versions of this *Biboek’sa* motif. As a master weaver of Biboki, Susanna Mutik recalls this motif being woven by her grandmother (Mutik, Susanna, pers. comm., 2005, Kefamenanu). It’s complexity and similarity to New Motif Type (Group 2.4) Figure 39 is evident.

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\(^{97}\) The phrase ‘*Tete Teun*’ refers to the use of three bands of *buna* on a tube-skirt.
Another *Tai's Ha Ma Tete Teun* has been made by Marthe Ane of Luniup village (Figure 81). Marthe Ane has the privilege of making and wearing *futus* and *buna* versions of the *Biboek*’*sa* motif as a member of the aristocratic Us Kenet clan. Her social status allows her to wear three bands of *buna* on her tube-skirt (Figures 6 and 7 are images of *Biboek’sa* motif in *buna* technique). Not all Biboki single warp ikat motifs have an accompanying *buna* motif, suggesting a higher prestige associated with those motifs that can be interpreted in the esteemed *buna* technique. One possibility is that *buna* technique was preserved for significant motifs resulting from foreign influence.  

![Figure 81: Biboek’sa Version Two - Single warp ikat and discontinuous supplementary weft wrap, cotton, Tai's Ha Ma Buna Tete Teun. Made by Marthe Ane, Luniup village, Biboki, 2004. Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, IND 03043.](image)

Another two textiles indicate the different application of the version two *Biboek*’*sa* motif, firstly as a motif *seluruh (I)*: an all over repeat motif on a *bet ana*. The other example involves this motif being applied to a *tais isbaina*. Here the motif appears in bands alternating with stripes on a tube-skirt. As previously discussed, his type of cloth is worn by women who have married inappropriately.

98 Other Biboki motifs that are also executed using *buna*: discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique include motif *Mak’aiif, Biboek’sa, Pansue, Bok’fa* and Hau Sufa.
8.2.2.3  **BIBOEK’SA MOTIF - VERSION THREE**

*Biboek’sa* motif – version three, was featured on the 1994 Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory catalogue cover of the Biboki textile exhibition *Binding Culture into Thread*. This was the first occasion that *Biboek’sa* motif formally ‘went outside’
the Biboki kingdom and consequently a ceremony requesting permission from the ancestors for this motif to be used in this public manner was held at village A (Meta, pers., comm., 7 October 2003, Kefamenanu). The textile used for this catalogue cover, featuring the *Biboek’sa* motif version three, was made in 1983 by Wilhemina Bano, Am Ome Village, Biboki (Figure 84 and 85). Although classified as *Biboek’sa* motif and originating from Am Ome village, where the aristocratic Us Kenet clan live, this motif represents only the central component of the *Biboek’sa* motif in a repetitive design layout (Figure 84). This central component is another variation of the same design element presented earlier which appears on the Amanuban textile IIc 4593 (Figure 52 and 73c).

![Figure 84: Biboek’sa Version Three - Detail of single warp ikat, cotton, bet ana. Made by Wilhelmina Bano, Am Ome village, Biboki, circa 1993. Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, IND 01845.](image)

### 8.2.2.4 RECENT VERSIONS OF *BIBOEK’SA MOTIF*

As previously discussed the *Biboek’sa* motif remains one of the most popular motifs produced in Biboki since the weakening of cultural restrictions, as previously described, in relation to this motif have occurred. Innovation has occurred with this popular *Biboek’sa* motif in the Biboki region, due three possible reasons. One reason is that those makers, who are not members of the aristocratic clan with natal
rights to produce this royal Biboek’sa motif, chose to replicate only part of the motif, in order not to contravene cultural taboos by transgressing their social status in relation to the motif. Alternatively, textile artists from other clans do not possess the required technical ability or knowledge of the motif to reproduce Biboek’sa motif accurately, thus it has increasingly been adapted (Meta, pers., comm., 19 June 2005, Darwin). A third option is that this innovation reflects a renewed sense of ownership of this motif.

Nonetheless, the selection of contemporary versions of Biboek’sa motif presented below are evidence of the continuing influence of this patola-inspired motif in Biboki. These more recent versions of the motif are either variations or abstractions of the previously mentioned three versions of the ‘older version’ Biboek’sa motifs (Figures 73, 74, 80 and 85).

Figure 86: Biboek’sa motif - Detail of single warp ikat, cotton, bet ana. Maker unknown, Matabesi village, 2004. Yayasan Tafean Pah Collection.
8.2.2.5 **BIBOEK’SA ANA MOTIF**

The most recent version of the *Biboek’sa* motif, developed in 2004, is known as *Biboeks’ana* motif, otherwise known as ‘baby *Biboek’sa’* (Figures 89 and 90). This motif was created by master weaver Marthe Ane, Luniup village, member of the aristocratic Us Kenet clan and socially well positioned to facilitate this new motif. Listed below are two versions of the *Biboeks’ana* motif.
8.2.2.6 HYBRID VERSIONS OF BIBOEK’Sァ MOTIF
The Biboek’sァ motif (Figure 45) has become combined with other Biboki motifs, thus creating a new range of ‘hybrid’ motifs. One example made by Mrs Maria Bano, the wife of the village leader of Tokbesi village, South Biboki, testifies to this predilection for change and adaptation of the Biboek’sァ motif. During the 1980’s Mrs Maria Bano created a single warp ikat textile. This textile combines Biboek’sァ and Mak’ァlf motifs together, thus creating a new hybrid motif (Figure 91).

Figure 91: Detail of single warp ikat, cotton, beti naek with motif Mak’ァlf and Biboek’sァ. Made by Maria Bano, Tokbesi village, Biboki, circa 1985.
8.3 INFLUENCE OF SACRED TEXTILES ON LOCAL TEXTILES AT VILLAGE B

The ‘original’ Bok’fa motif (Figure 45) discussed earlier in the third case study presented in Chapter Seven (7.3) was derived from the meo belt stored in clan B at Site B ume le’u. It is proposed that the Bok’fa motif on this meo belt is a patola-inspired motif. Furthermore, the Bok’fa motif remains a restricted motif, only able to be made by clan B members or by women who have married into the clan.

However, in the instance of the Bok’fa motif it was produced and preserved as a le’u textile in the buna technique. The use of the highly esteemed and exacting buna technique to recreate this proposed Bok’fa patola-inspired motif supports the high value attributed to Indian cloths by the clan B. Furthermore, the use of this Bok’fa motif to adorn and protect meo underlines the extremely high value they were attributed. Presumably this value was transferred from the original Indian cloth from which the motif was copied. Arguably, the status of these cloths was as singularized and inalienable objects.

Aristocratic women, who had the requisite skill and time to adapt foreign textile designs to the time consuming and intricate buna technique would have been responsible for the production of the restricted Bok’fa motif. As previously stated, such women would also have had the greatest opportunity for access to foreign cloths, such as Indian patola and patola-inspired cloths, as illustrated by the following anecdote.

8.3.1 BOK’FA MOTIF CONTEMPORARY VERSIONS

In 1967, for the first time, the wife of the leader of clan B, Theresia Sako decided to copy the Bok’fa motif held in the clan B ume le’u from the buna technique into the
futus single warp ikat technique. Theresia Sako commenced this process using the sacred bok'fa meo belt textile stored inside the Site B ume le'u as her guide (Figure 45). However, during the process she reputedly lost her eyesight for three days and nights. Realising she had not asked permission from the ancestors to undertake this conversion of the motif from one technique into another a ceremony was held to request permission from the ancestors. Following the ceremony, Theresia Sako’s sight was restored. The final textile, the first Bok’fa motif to be made in the warp ikat technique, was deemed successful by fellow clan members. This story suggests the power attributed to the Bok’fa motif and reinforces the need for care when replicating this motif. To this day members of the clan B perform a ritual requesting permission from their ancestors prior to commencing a textile with Bok’fa motif (Person E, J, 19 November, 2003, Kefamenanu).

99 Fut nane describes this process of reinterpreting a motif from buna technique into single warp ikat technique.

100 When a woman makes Bok’fa motif she must have a ceremony before commencing production of the textile. One ceremony occurs from the commencement of the production and another ceremony to conclude the textile’s production. Offerings, including red chickens, must be made. The ceremony requests permission from the ancestors for their help while making the cloth. If the ceremony does not occur it is believed the weaver will become confused or sick and the result is not as good. After the ceremony the woman ikats the threads inside the house so that any errors she may make while tying the motif into the threads are not publicly seen. Once the ikat process of the motif is completed the closing ceremony may occur (Meta, pers., comm., 7 October 2003, Kefamenanu).
Figure 92: Ceremony requesting permission from the clan ancestors to open the sacred Bok’fa textile, stored inside the Site B umé le’u, village B, Biboki.

Several versions of the motif Bok’fa were evident during 2003 and 2004 in Kuluan village indicating experimentation and development in the use of this motif since it was adapted into the single warp ikat technique in 1967. Version One of the Bok’fa motif is considered by clan members as the most traditional form of this motif and was the motif created by Theresia Sako using the futus single warp ikat technique in 1967 (Figure 93). It consists of an all over repeat pattern which forms a series of interlocking hexagonal kotak-kotak shapes and is illustrated in a cloth woven by Person F. It is interesting to compare this motif with evidence presented in Chapter Seven (Figures 48, 49, 50 and 51) as the visual similarity between this recent version and these older imitation-patola versions is striking.
Four other versions of this *Bok’fa* motif have been developed, indicating the contemporary level of innovation and experimentation with this motif in the area (Figures 94, 95, 96, 97 and 98).

Version Two consists of the adaptation of the *Bok’fa* motif into a series of striped panels (Figure 94 and 95). The use of striped vertical panels down the length of the cloth is a design feature of Atoin meto men’s cloth wraps. Within these vertical, warp bands the *Bok’fa* motif alternate with bands of warp stripe ikat.
Version Three of the Bok’fa motif has also evolved into an interlocking repeat pattern, however, the centre field differs again from the previous two examples (Figure 96).

Version Four and Five are hybrid versions of the Bok’fa motif (Figures 97 and 98). Margaretha Eno’s family has created a motif that incorporates both the Mak’aiif and Bok’fa motifs (Figure 97). This hybrid motif was originally made using the buna technique by her grandmother (Eno, pers., comm., 8 October 2003). The use of the buna technique indicates the status accorded to this motif. Similarly, Version Five features a recent hybrid version consisting of Bok’fa and Beab Kataf motifs whereby the central component of the motif has become abstracted and simplified (Figure 98).
Both of these hybrid motifs indicate the ability of clan B textile artists to adapt and innovate with motifs.

Figure 97: *Bok’fa* and *Mak’alif* motifs - Version Four (hybrid motif). Detail of single warp ikat, cotton, *bet ana*. Made by Person H, village B, Biboki.

Figure 98: *Bok’fa* and *Beab Kataf* motifs - Version Five (hybrid motif). Detail of single warp ikat, cotton, *bet ana*. Made by Maria Efi, Tunesi village, Biboki.

Finally, the *Bok’fa* motif can also be executed in the *buna* discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique as demonstrated by this tube skirt from Village B (Figures 99 and 100). As previously discussed, only certain motifs in Biboki can be executed in this prestigious weaving technique. This example, including the *Bok’fa*
buna technique illustrates that the *Bok’fa* motif was highly valued (and remains highly valued) by clan B, as it remains one of the few motifs executed in *buna* in Biboki.

Figure 99: Detail of single warp ikat and discontinuous supplementary weft wrap weaving technique with *Bok’fa* motif. Luisa Ane. Circa 2004, village B.

Figure 100: Detail of discontinuous supplementary weft wrap weaving technique with *Bok’fa* motif. Maker unknown, Circa 2004, village B.
8.4 CONCLUSION
This chapter began by presenting a selection of Atoin meto textiles that have visual similarities with Indian *patola* and imitation-*patola* trade cloths. This evidence indicates some shared features in the motifs and design layouts between Indian *patola*, imitation-*patola* and Atoin meto textiles. Most notably is the use of the *kotak-kotak* interlocking hexagonal box design (8.1.1), the inclusion of discreet bands of motifs (8.1.3), the incorporation of *patola* design layouts (8.1.4) as well as the adaptation of specific motifs from Indian *patola* and imitation-*patola* trade cloths to Atoin meto textiles (8.2 and 8.3).

Additional evidence from the two case studies of the *Biboek’sa* and *Bok’fa* motifs (Case Studies Two and Three respectively) indicate that Indian *patola* and Indian trade cloths influenced the textile production of the clans in the region. Contrary to these two instances the evidence from the sacred imitation-*patola* textiles from Nai Lopo clan (Case Study One) indicates that the presence of Indian trade cloth did not directly influence the clan’s local textile production. From these three examples some broader conclusions may also be reached.

The contemporary versions of the *Biboek’sa* and *Bok’fa* motifs form part of a continuum of evolving design repertories that existed from as early as two hundred and fifty years ago, as evidenced by the tube-skirts held at village B. This time frame may even be longer, as the age of the ‘original’ *Bok’fa meo* belt remains undetermined. This evidence suggests that processes of change, adaptation and incorporation occurred as foreign textile motifs, namely Indian *patola* and imitation-*patola* cloth motifs, were introduced into the Biboki region circa 18th and 19th centuries, if not earlier. The evidence presented also indicates the proliferation of contemporary versions of *Biboek’sa* and *Bok’fa* motifs over the past three decades with numerous variations and adaptations of these traditional motifs still being created today, as illustrated by the ‘new’ *Biboek’sa*, *Biboeks’ana*, *Bok’fa* and hybrid
motifs. This evidence indicates the continuing influence of Indian *patola* and trade cloths on Atoin meta textile production.

Textile production techniques contributed to the transferability of motifs from *patola* and Indian trade cloths in Biboki. The nature of the technique used, whether *futus*, *sotis* or *buna* techniques has implications for the status accorded to the motif. The difficulty of reproducing an Indian *patola* or trade cloth design with the *sotis* warp-faced alternating float weave technique in Oenaem village is one explanation why the motif was possibly not copied. In the instance of clan B sacred *Bok’fa meo* belt motif, it was replicated using the *buna* technique. As previously described, *buna* technique is largely the preserve of the aristocracy as it requires extensive time and skill to make. Consequently, this technique is only sparingly used by commoners. Hence, the use of *buna* contributed to and reinforced the status of both the textile and the motif.

As the evidence indicates, the *Biboek’sa* and *Bok’fa* motifs can be reproduced in both the *buna* and the *futus* single warp ikat technique (Figures 80, 81, 99 and 100). In the instance of the ‘original’ *Biboek’sa* tube-skirt held at clan B, the single warp ikat technique was used to adapt the *patola* New Motif Type (Group 4.2). However, due to the length of this tube-skirt, it is likely only aristocratic woman, such as the Queen of Biboki, had the skill, time and materials available to undertake the process of adapting the *patola* motif to the single warp ikat technique. More recently, evidence of a *buna* version of this *Biboek’sa* motif exists (Figures 6, 7 and 80), affirming the high status attributed to the *Biboek’sa* motif. Similarly, the ‘original’ *Bok’fa meo* belt was executed using *buna* technique, adding to the status and power attributed to the motif. This raises the question of whether foreign designs from Indian *patola* and imitation *patola* trade cloths were initially replicated in *buna*, due to the high status of both the technique and the foreign cloths that were copied. Traditionally, few Biboki single warp ikat motifs have an accompanying *buna* motif.
The restricted nature of motifs initially prevented the wider circulation and exposure of these motifs within the Biboki region and ensured their prestigious status. However, since the demise of the traditional power system following the establishment of Republic of Indonesia in 1945 restrictions began to diminish and restricted motifs were more freely woven. Reproduction of the Biboek’sa and Bok’fa motifs appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon with the earliest known Biboek’sa motif (other than the ‘original’ sacred Biboek’sa tube-skirt) being Theresia Timo’s tube-skirt which was made in the 1970’s (Figure 74) and the Bok’fa motif transition into the single warp ikat by Theresia Sako in 1967 as version one Bok’fa motif (as illustrated by Figure 93).

Restrictions still apply to the Bok’fa motif and ceremonial permission is requested during the making process. The motif can only be made by women of the Tualsi clan. In relation to motif Biboek’sa there remains a hesitancy attached to wearing this motif by Atoin meto people if not a member of the aristocratic Us Boko and Us Kenet Biboki clans. However, the motif Biboek’sa enjoys wide spread popularity amongst contemporary textile artists in Biboki with variations of Biboek’sa motif continuing to develop. The ceremony requesting ancestral permission held in Biboki in 1994 to request permission for the Biboek’sa motif to be reproduced as the cover of an exhibition catalogue indicates the sacred nature of these proposed patola-inspired motifs. This sacred value attributed to these textiles which continues to be respected in Biboki, illustrates a continuum in the significance of these Atoin meto patola-inspired motifs since the 18th century, or possibly earlier, until today.

The placement of restrictions on the le’u textiles, in relation to their reproduction, is further evidence of the significant status these textiles were attributed. In the instances of village A and village B, the restrictions placed on the Biboek’sa and Bok’fa motifs respectively served to preserve the sacred quality and powers of these motifs. In the instance of the Bibokek’sa motif, these restrictions also affirmed this
motif’s association with the aristocracy. These restrictions applied to both the making and ceremonial use of these powerful le’u textiles, resulting in the ‘original’ Bok’fa and Biboek’sa motifs rarely being seen by the broader community. In the case of the Bok’fa motif of village B, the use of the intricate time consuming buna: discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique also served to reinforce the motif’s status and power. The restrictions applied to the Nai Lopo sacred textiles, forbidding their reproduction, have ensured that their status as inalienable objects is retained.

Finally, these three case studies indicate that the patola designs were preserved in Biboki textiles by being assumed into the local repertoire of single warp ikat and buna motifs. This response was also in keeping with the broader phenomenon that occurred across eastern Indonesia, as illustrated by the earlier examples of textiles with patola influence from Sumba, Lembata and Rote. However, each region, including Biboki, incorporated this foreign influence into its existing aesthetics and design formats.
CHAPTER 9 - CONCLUSION

9.0 INTRODUCTION
Indian patola and trade cloths were a highly valued trade commodity across Southeast Asia, including Indonesia where their influence was far reaching. Used as commodities to fuel the international spice trade in the nearby Moluccas and the sandalwood trade from Timor, Indian textiles had extensive influence in the islands of eastern Indonesia. Indian patola and trade textile motifs and design fields were embraced and incorporated into local textile designs and ritual practices of this region.

9.1 THE ENTRY OF INDIA PATOLA AND TRADE CLOTHS INTO WEST TIMOR
This thesis has identified the presence of Indian Indian patola and trade cloths, both double ikat silk patola and mordant hand-painted and block-printed cloths that were traded into West Timor and nearby regions circa 16th – 19th century. In Chapter Six (6.7) evidence and discussion of various Indian patola and trade cloths that entered Timor was presented. This survey of textiles drawn from public and private collections provides evidence of textiles that originated from India and also have a Timorese provenance, demonstrating that Indian textiles were traded throughout West Timor and East Timor. Although this survey is not exhaustive, it provides new evidence of a diverse range of Indian textiles that entered the region of West Timor and neighbouring East Timor.

This evidence indicates that various types of Indian textiles including full length double ikat silk patola, shorter double ikat silk patola made in response to trade demands, hand block-printed cotton trade cloths, hand-painted Indian trade cloths and Indonesian printed trade cloths based on Indian textile designs, entered the region and were revered and incorporated into local clan treasuries. Furthermore, although not the focus of this thesis, evidence of foreign plain hand-spun textiles,
presumed to be of Indian origin, and a 19th century European printed imitation batik textile batik have also been identified.

The evidence presented in this thesis establishes the extent of Indian *patola* and trade cloths that entered into the region and the manner by which they entered the island of Timor. Their entry into Timor was facilitated through numerous means including inter-island migration, inter-island trade, direct trade with Europeans and as a specific form of gift exchange used by the Dutch VOC to gain favour with the Atoin meto aristocracy. The extensive system of trading ports along both the north and south coast of West Timor enabled the entry of Indian textiles in return for local commodities. This trade ensured the introduction of luxury foreign goods, brokered by Atoin meto aristocrats, with Chinese, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, Makassan, Dutch and Portuguese traders, suggesting that Atoin meto people of West Timor experienced widespread foreign contact, albeit concentrated in coastal areas.

From coastal ports the distribution of foreign prestige objects, such as Indian *patola* and trade cloths, into the inland regions of West Timor occurred as payment in exchange for inland commodities such as sandal wood, beeswax and human slaves. Alternatively, prestigious foreign goods were traded as a form of tribute to inland kingdoms. It is possible that such Indian textiles and objects were later redistributed to smaller kingdoms and chiefdoms in return for allegiance, protection during war and as part of marriage alliance exchange goods. However, limitations were placed by the VOC on the number of prestigious Indian textiles entering the region ensuring their heightened value as symbols of status and prestige. Hence, their preserve was as possessions of aristocrats and warriors, another factor which illustrates the high value these Indian textiles were attributed.

In order to analyse the influence these Indian textiles had on Atoin meto ritual practices it is necessary to recognise that the value attributed to these textiles was
such that they inspired locally made interpretations of *patola* motifs, referred to as *patola*-inspired motifs. This practice was either a response to disintegration and deterioration of the original Indian trade textile or an attempt to incorporate the design motif into specific clan textiles for ceremonial purposes including *meo* attire. However, it appears that *patola*-inspired motifs were not commonly replicated, but were reserved for specific functions within the clan. These motifs were also attributed with an extremely high value, akin to that of the original Indian *patola* or trade cloth.

**9.2 THE ADOPTION OF INDIAN *PATOLA* AND TRADE CLOTHS INTO ATOIN METO RITUAL PRACTICES**

This thesis has identified the significance of Indian trade textiles and locally made *patola*-inspired motifs in Atoin meto rituals and social practices. Three case studies, outlined in Chapter Seven, considered how Indian textiles (including *patola*, imitation-*patola* trade cloths and locally produced *patola*-inspired textiles) were incorporated into Atoin meto ritual practices in the Biboki region. The evidence in this chapter was predominantly, but not exclusively, drawn from the Biboki region of West Timor.

The circulation of these Indian textiles within the aristocratic and warrior echelons of Atoin meto society indicates their significance and consequent adoption into the classification system of the Atoin meto and their association with power. The entry of foreign Indian textiles into the ritual practices of the Atoin meto placed additional status upon these textiles. The type of rituals these textiles were associated with indicates that they were considered critical agents reinforcing the survival and fertility of the clan.

In Case Study One these sacred, *le’u* textiles, act as conduits enabling direct communication with the clan’s ancestors and are featured in the clan’s origin narratives. These textiles were also central to the clan’s head hunting practices. Similarly, in Case Study Three, the *patola*-inspired *Bok’fa* motif, served as *meo* attire
and a ceremonial object critical to the clan’s warfare and head hunting practices directly providing power and protection to the clan’s warriors. This *Bok’fa* *meo* cloth also serves as a conduit with the clan’s ancestors. Case Study Two documented the royal *Biboek’sa* motif of the Biboki kingdom, which arguably was inspired by an Indian *patola* motif. This *Biboek’sa* motif is central to ceremonial practices pertaining to the kingdom’s well being and appears on a sacred textile reserved for use by the kingdom’s Raja. This motif is likened to the sacred water source, considered to be the ‘essence of all life’ within the kingdom’s realm. Its symbolic association as ‘life giving’ is central to its significance and use in water ceremonies officiated by the Raja, critical to human survival in this dry and harsh environment.

In the instances of Case Study One and Three, these *imitation-patola* and *patola*-inspired sacred textiles formed components of dual complementary opposites. These textiles were classified as ‘outside, hot and masculine’ objects denoting their *le’u* sacred status. Imbued with these qualities and their association with head hunting, a potent ritual activity aimed at affirming and increasing the clan’s status, their existing sacred significance was heightened. The political nature of head hunting is expressed in these textiles through their attributed ‘power to protect’. The textiles were believed to invoke enmity magic enabling the clan to symbolically and politically to benefit from head hunting practices. The symbolic nature of head hunting as a fertility rite in Atoin meo society is consistent with the Indian trade textile (Figure 38) imitation-*patola* textile (Figure 34) and the *Bok’fa* *patola*-inspired *meo* textile (Figure 45) being imbued with sacred qualities that enable them to regenerate and to ‘gain power over time’. As the ‘source for life for everything’ these textiles represent direct links with the clan’s ancestors and allow communication with ancestors.

The significance of these cloths to facilitate communication between the living clan members and the ancestors is believed to result in the continued flow of blessings
from the ancestors to the living clan members. This relationship is perceived as critical for the continuation of clan life. Furthermore, in each case study, these Indian trade cloths and locally made *patola*-inspired cloths are considered as *soea*, heirloom objects passed from generation to generation. In this capacity they represent the continuation of the clan, a fundamental pillar of the traditional founder focused Atoin meto social structure.

The classification of these clan textiles as *le'u* sacred objects resulted in cultural restrictions being placed upon their use, viewing and reproduction. Such restrictions served the purpose of reinforcing the inalienable status attributed to these textiles and ensured their limited reproduction. These restrictions illustrate that whilst outside influence was embraced by Atoin meto people, it was relegated to a specific, singularized role within both the ritual practices and the textile motifs used by various clans. These restrictions, although recently weakened due to social and political change, still apply today.

Whilst incorporation of these Indian trade textiles and *patola*-inspired textiles into the classification systems and the ritual life of the Atoin meto occurred, it is important to emphasise that the specifics of each clan’s response was different. The ‘social life’, role and function of each of the Indian *patolu* or trade cloths that entered the region was undoubtedly shaped by a range of factors relating to the local textile production techniques, aesthetics, cultural restrictions, taboos, ritual practices and clan ceremonies. These individual responses are partly explained by the remote, isolated and often politically autonomous nature of inland Atoin meto clans and communities, a major contributing factor enabling the retention and preservation of their ancient cultural practices.

The sacred status of the singularized, prized original Indian textile was incorporated into the *patola*-inspired textile as the evidence from Case Study Two and Case Study
Three illustrates. The continued sacred le’u status of these patola-inspired textiles and their continued presence in Atoin meto ceremonial houses reinforces this status. In Case Study Three the patola-inspired ‘original’ Bok’fa meo textile continues to be regarded as a conduit for communication between the living clan members and their ancestors, indicating its ongoing status and relevance to the clan.

9.3 THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN PATOLA AND TRADE TEXTILES ON THE LOCAL MOTIFS OF THE ATOIN METO

The influence of Indian patola and trade textile motifs, on the local textile motifs of the Atoin meto, was considered in Chapter 8 and verifies that Indian patola and trade textiles did influence the textile production, motifs and designs of the Atoin meto. This, with evidence presented in Chapter Seven, establishes that patola-inspired motifs evolved in response to Indian textiles in Atoin meto regions. This evidence presented has been predominantly, but not exclusively, drawn from the Biboki region of West Timor.

However, the nature and extent of this influence differs from other regions of eastern Indonesia. It appears that the Atoin meto were extremely judicious about what they adapted and incorporated from Indian textiles into their own textile repertoire. The evidence presented in this thesis suggests that foreign motifs from Indian textiles were incorporated, to varying degrees, into Atoin meto textiles according to local technical constraints and preferred textile production techniques. Other influencing factors include aesthetic preferences, the clan’s locale, social structure and cultural protocols.

The evidence presented indicates that the process of creating a locally patola-inspired motif was brokered by the Atoin meto aristocracy and that it was the role of the head man’s or Raja’s wife to undertake such replication and the introduction of new motifs into the clan’s repertoire. However, this process was dependent upon the textile production techniques available to the clan’s weavers. Some Indian textile
motifs may have been more suitable for replication in specific Atoin meto textile techniques than others. Nonetheless, this evidence suggests that innovation and new motifs did occur, indicating that Atoin meto textile motifs were not static and fixed.

The three examples of evidence all indicate different responses based on differing techniques and cultural preferences. However, the response of local Atoin meto textile artists to the Indian cloths which they encountered suggests a layered and nuanced influence. This influence varied amongst clans, according to their own local traditions and the nature of the foreign cloth that they encountered.

The response of the Atoin meto to influences from Indian trade textiles is based on their strong clan based identity which is reflected in their varied and individualistic, clan motif repertoire. The influence of Indian patola and trade cloths varied according to numerous factors, thus making any outside influence less obvious and conspicuous. Also the range of techniques and aesthetic variations available to Atoin meto textile artists has meant that influence from Indian sources was embraced according to each clan’s situation. As the evidence indicates, three different responses were recorded in each case study in relation to three different textile weaving techniques.

9.4 CONCLUSION

The evidence presented in this thesis indicates that the Atoin meto response to Indian patola and trade cloths was circumspect and variable. The importance of retaining local notions of identity, as articulated through textiles, was a critical aspect of Atoin meto society and is exemplified by the varied and different responses to Indian textiles in relation to both ritual practices and textile production. The incorporation of these Indian textiles into the clan’s highest ritual activities, reinforcing the clan’s survival, ensured that these textiles were enshrined in ceremonial clan
houses as inalienable objects. The consequent cultural restrictions placed on these treasured textiles contributed to limit their visibility in the community as well as hinder the incorporation of their motifs into local textile design repertoires, also having the effect of reinforcing their significance and singularized status.

This viewpoint provides an alternative perspective to scholars such as Maxwell (2003b, p.227), Gittinger (1979, pp.182 – 183) and Hunt Kahlenberg (1977, p.92) who have suggested that Indian *patola* and trade cloths had marginal impact on the rituals and textile traditions of the Atoin meto. This thesis illustrates that although the influence of these foreign textiles was not widespread, the potency of their significance and influence on the clan’s highest ritual activities and most restricted textile motifs, should not be underestimated.

It is only in recent years that the influence of these Indian *patola* and trade textiles on local Biboki motif repertoire is becoming more widespread. Previously restricted *patola*-inspired motifs are increasingly seen, worn and made within Atoin meto society. This exposure is due to a lessening of cultural restrictions due to relatively recent social and political change. Furthermore, cloth is now produced for sale to markets outside of the immediate Atoin meto region, creating a new demand for these textiles. These changes have resulted in a number of the traditional *patola*-inspired motifs becoming abstracted and innovated into newer contemporary motifs. Even though these motifs are based on Indian textiles from one to four hundred years ago these motifs retain their relevance and popularity in Biboki and the broader Atoin meto society. As documented, in Chapter Eight, these motifs are being adapted and revived into popular, contemporary motifs.

Due to the historical nature of this topic, along with the rate of removal of traditional cultural property from locations in West Timor, the linking of Atoin meto motifs back to Indian textile influence remains problematic. Nonetheless, it is probable that other
Biboki and Atoin meto motifs incorporate elements that originally came from Indian textiles and that those elements continue to be woven into contemporary textiles today. The adaptation of the Indian *patola* and trade cloth motifs into the ritual life and textile production of the Atoin meto continues to retain significance and relevance, suggesting that the transformative qualities attributed to Indian textiles within the world view of the Atoin meto continues to serve and protect those to whom these textile traditions and rituals belong.
Appendix 1 - The *Ta Poen Olef* Ceremony

The importance of weaving as a ‘skill for life’ for Atoin meto women is recognised in a special ceremony, *Ta Poen Olef*, which occurs soon after the birth of a daughter in West Timor. This ceremony recognises and honours the placenta as a ‘friend’ to the child as a result of it providing nourishment to the foetus during gestation. The *Ta Poen Olef* ceremony respectfully formalizes the separation of the child and the placenta and ensures that the daughter will be blessed with the necessary skills and qualities in order to survive and succeed in life. If this ceremony is overlooked it is feared that disruptive and negative forces may hamper the child’s well being.

Immediately following the birth of the baby the placenta is stored in a piece of broken *nae* (*D*): clay pot. Two or three days later a small group of the baby’s relatives, aunts, uncles and grandparents, take the *nae* pot to a nearby *kusambi* (*D*) tree: *Schleichera oleosa* (*L*), which is regarded by the Atoin meto people of Biboki as having sacred and healing powers. For a baby girl, the tools of spinning thread – *ike* (*D*): wooden spindle, *suti* (*D*): dish for the spinning the spindle, *abu* (*D*): ash and *ab’meto* (*D*) cotton used for spinning thread, are placed in a basket. For boys the same ceremony occurs, however it emphasises the skills of farming and dancing. A small *tofa* (*D*): a digging tool used for weeding and preparing land before planting seeds accompanies the placenta.

Together, the *nae* containing the placenta and the basket of tools are carried by the grandfather (the father’s father) of the baby and placed high up in the branches of the *kusambi* tree. There it remains. Beneath the *kusambi* tree the women relatives sit and weave. They spin thread. On occasions they sing and perform the traditional *likurai* dance. These actions are performed to request their ancestors to bestow on the baby the skills of an adept weaver and dancer. For if she has the skill to weave cloth, she has one of the most revered skills for life (Barrkman 2004).
Appendix 2 - Biboki Motifs
The contemporary repertoire of Biboki motifs, as documented in 2004 during fieldwork are listed below.

Futus: single warp ikat motifs include:

Fut Aibauna
Box or coffin motif, Sapaen village
Fut Aun Tuanfa
Tumpal border motif, common throughout Biboki
Fut Batola
Batola plant motif, Matabesi village
Fut Beab Kataf
Stalk of a plant used for building houses motif, especially in North Biboki such as Lunuip, Kuluan, Matabesi villages
Fut Biboek'sa
Royal motif of Biboki kingdom
Fut Biboek'ana
Baby version of Biboek'sa, originating from Luniup, throughout Biboki
Fut Bik Lu'u
Gecko motif, Kuluan village
Fut Bok Fua
A small motif often contained within the centre of various motifs depicting oe mata, sacred water sources and tiem fua watermelon or bok fua pumpkin seed; common throughout Biboki
Fut Falo
Ear-ring motif; Luniup village
Fut Bok'fa
Meo motif
Fut Hau'sufa
Flower motif, common throughout Biboki
Fut Kobasa
Crocodile motif, Matabesi village; due to intermarriage this motif is known by other names in other villages. For example it is known as Seni No'oikfa in Kuluan village. It is also a term used to describe an isosceles triangle design on engraved tobacco boxes
Fut Kolo
A combination of flowering tree, birds and Mak'aif motifs
Fut Kolo dan Hau'sufa
A combination of bird and flower motif, Sapaen village
Kolo Manu
Chicken motif, Pantae village
Fut Mak'aif Ese
One hook motif
Fut Mak'aif Nu
Two hooks motif
Fut Mak'aif Teun
Three hooks motif
Fut Mak'aif Ha
Four hooks motif
Fut Mak'aif Nim
Five hooks motif
Fut Mak'aif Ne
Six hooks motif
Fut Mak'aif Hiut
Seven hooks motif
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Mak’aif Faun</em></td>
<td>Eight hooks motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Mak’aif Elak</em></td>
<td>Nine hooks motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Mak’aif Neut</em></td>
<td>Ten hooks motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Mak’aif Naek</em></td>
<td>Large hook motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Mak’aif Ana</em></td>
<td>Small hook motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Mak’aif ma Beab Kataf</em></td>
<td>Combination of <em>Mak’aif</em> and <em>Beab Kataf</em> motifs: common throughout Biboki. This motif is also known as <em>Fut Ai’Lorsa</em> in Kuluan village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Nik’noo</em></td>
<td>Leaf motif, Sainuip village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Noa Ketaf</em></td>
<td>Coconut leaf motif, Kuluan village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Pansue</em></td>
<td>Star motif, Sapaen village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Phia no’o</em></td>
<td>Bitter melon leaf motif, common throughout Biboki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut San sain no’o</em></td>
<td>Small leaf motif, common throughout Biboki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Sene Boin’fa</em></td>
<td>Gong motif, Ketmoen clan, Kuluan village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Tem Ninaf</em></td>
<td>Bird in flight with extended wings, Sapaen village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Teuf Sufa</em></td>
<td>Sugar cane motif, common throughout Biboki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Tato Sufa</em></td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Atoni</em></td>
<td>Human figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Aim</em></td>
<td>Unidentified, Amleni clan, Sapaen village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Tote</em></td>
<td>Land motif, common throughout Biboki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Makais</em></td>
<td>Chain motif; Kuluan village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Bien Ta’o</em></td>
<td>Unidentified. Kuluan village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Meuk Te’e</em></td>
<td>Bird droppings motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Nieuk Sa</em></td>
<td>Small bird, denoting rain, in flight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fut Seluruh</em></td>
<td>Generic term for any motif which is an ‘all over’ motif</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Buna*: discontinuous supplementary weft wrap technique motifs include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Bun Mak’aif Ese</em></td>
<td>One hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bun Mak’aif Nu</em></td>
<td>Two hooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bun Mak’aif Teun</em></td>
<td>Three hooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bun Mak’aif Ha</em></td>
<td>Four hooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bun Mak’aif Nim</em></td>
<td>Five hooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bun Biboek’sa</em></td>
<td>Royal motif of Biboki kingdom, worn only by the aristocracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bun Pansue</em></td>
<td>Star motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bun Hau Sufa</em></td>
<td>Flower motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bun Atoni</em></td>
<td>Human motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motif Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bun Falo</td>
<td>Earring motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bun Ni’Noo</td>
<td>Seed motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bun Meo No’oiab’fa</td>
<td>Cat foot motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bun Nia No’ana</td>
<td>Worn by commoners in combination with Fut Mak’aif</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Appendix 3 - Collections contacted to identify Indian *patola* and trade cloths with a Timor provenance.**

The following museums were contacted to enquire whether they held Indian *patola* or trade textiles, collected from Timor, in their collections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashmolean Museum, Oxford England</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalamkari Foundation housed at the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Cologne, Germany</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum der Kulturen, Basel, Switzerland</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Darwin, Australia</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPTD Museum Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timor, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Indonesia</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Art Gallery of Australia, Canberra, Australia</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne Australia</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, Australia</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria &amp; Albert Museum, London, England</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of International Folk Art, Neutrogena Collection, Santa Fe, USA</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapi Collection, Surat, India</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara, Delft, The Netherlands</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4 - Evidence of *Patola* and Trade Cloths in Timor

Based on a survey of museums and private collections, the existence of India *patola* and trade cloths in Timor is documented below. Such evidence indicates the presence of these textiles in both West and East Timor, up until as recently as 2003. Additional anecdotal evidence is also provided where it provides further insights into the uses of these textiles. This evidence indicates the type of *patola* and Indian trade cloths that were introduced into West Timor: their motif type, construction method and where possible an approximate period of entry is suggested. Where known, information about how they entered Timor is provided.

(i) Indian Patola cloth, provenance Belu Regency, West Timor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution:</th>
<th>UPTD Museum Daerah Propinsi NTT, Indonesia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registration Number</td>
<td>309 / 05. 01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>150 x 400 cms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region of production:</td>
<td>Gujarat, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials:</td>
<td>Hand-spun silk, natural dyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique:</td>
<td>Double ikat technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motif:</td>
<td><em>Jilamprang</em> Motif Type 11d (Bühler &amp; Fischer 1979, Plate VIII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated era:</td>
<td>Possibly 18th – 19th century</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The UPTD Museum Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur textile collection includes a double ikat hand-spun silk *patola* cloth (cited above as (i) collected from the former Raja of Belu in 1996 / 97101. The documentation of this *patola* cloth states that the Raja received it as a gift from the Dutch VOC so as to facilitate the trade of sandalwood and wax in the region. The museum’s register documents the textile to be a royal

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101 The UPTD Museum Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur has a number of *patola* and trade cloths acquired from Alor. The most predominant *patola* motif found in Alor was the *jilamprang* motif. An example of a printed Indian cotton trade cloth was also collected from nearby Alor, registration number 329.03.00 collected in 1993/94.
soea heirloom and was only to be used by the aristocracy for sacred ritual activity.102

Figure (ia) UPTD Museum Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur Register entry for textile 309 / 05.01.

102 Alfred Mahk, a dealer of artifacts and textiles in Soe, West Timor recalled attending an agricultural fertility ceremony in Belu in the early 1990’s that occurred every five to seven years. This ceremony included the opening of the *ume le‘u* and the unfolding of a full length *patola* cloth. The cloth, which had a *jilamprang* motif, was laid on the ground and exposed for several hours, before being returned to the *ume le‘u*. (Mahk, pers., comm., Soe, 2 October 2003).
This *patola* cloth is described in the UPTD Museum Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara, Timur Register as *Kain Patola / Cinde / Taisuta Kabasa / Malaesina Nosi Sina*. The term ‘*kain patola*’ refers to double ikat *patola* cloth. ‘*Taisuta*’ refers to silk tube-skirt. ‘*Kabasa*’ refers to the use of tumpal border. The term ‘*kabasa / kobasa*’ is attributed to a *dos (I)*: type tobacco box, which is often silver and engraved with a decorative border motif of isosceles triangles (Refer to Figure 58 for an example of *Kobasa* motif). The term ‘*Malaesina Nosi Sina*’ is a reference to Chinese people, possibly suggesting ownership or introduction to the area of this type of cloth via Chinese traders.

![Figure (ib) Gujarat *patolu* cloth. UPTD Museum Daerah Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur, 309/05.01.](image-url)
(ii) Indian *Patolu* Cloth, provenance Alor and Kupang Regency, West Timor.\(^{103}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Private collection:</th>
<th>Nikolas Sir Klomang, Kupang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registration Number:</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region of production:</td>
<td>Gujarat, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motif type:</td>
<td><em>Jilamprang</em> Motif Type 11d (Bühler &amp; Fischer 1979, Plate VIII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials:</td>
<td>Hand-spun silk, natural dyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique:</td>
<td>Double ikat technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated era:</td>
<td>Possibly late 18th - early 19th century</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This Indian double ikat *patolu* cloth was brought to Kupang, when Nikolas Klomang’s family migrated from Kaiera village to West Timor, Kecamatan Punter, Kabupaten Alor. It has been part of the Klomang family heirlooms for a minimum of six generations. Nicholas’s mother, who is a weaver, has copied the motif from this *patolu* for use in warp ikat textiles she has woven.

103 The identity of the owner of this textile is documented in Bennett (2005) *Speaking with Cloth: Cerita dalam Kain*, Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, p. 68.
(iii) **Indian Trade Cloth, provenance Alor and Kupang Regency, West Timor.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Private collection:</th>
<th>Nicholas Sir Klomang, Kupang.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registration Number:</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motif Type:</td>
<td>Motif Type 25 (Bühler &amp; Fischer 1979, Plate XXIII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region of production:</td>
<td>India or possibly produced in Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials:</td>
<td>Hand-spun cotton, mordant dyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique:</td>
<td>Block-printed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated era:</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This Indian or Indonesian block-printed trade cloth has a Motif Type 25. This cloth was brought to Kupang, when Nikolas Klomang’s family migrated from Kaiera village, Kecamatan Punter, Kabupaten Alor to West Timor. This textile has been part of the Klomang family heirlooms for a minimum of six generations. Nikolas’s mother, who is a weaver, has copied the motif from this textile for use in warp ikat textiles she has woven (Klomang, pers. comm., 4 November 2002, Kupang).

![Figure (iii) Nikolas Klomang with block-printed Indian imitation-*patola* cloth, Kupang 2002. This cloth has been in the Klomang family for over six generations.](image)
(iv) Gujarat silk patolu cloth (a), provenance Kupang Regency, West Timor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Private collection:</th>
<th>Private collection, Kupang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registration Number:</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motif Type:</td>
<td><em>Jilamprang</em> Motif Type 11d (Bühler &amp; Fischer 1979, Plate VIII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions:</td>
<td>Approximately 5 metres x 1 metre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region of production:</td>
<td>Gujarat, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials:</td>
<td>Hand-spun silk and natural dyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique:</td>
<td>Double Ikat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated era:</td>
<td>Presumed 18th – 19th century</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Gujarat silk patolu cloth](image)  

*Figure (iv) Gujarat *patolu* cloth, private collection, Kupang, 2003.*
(v) Gujarat silk patolu cloth (b), provenance Kupang Regency, West Timor.

Private collection: Private collection, Kupang
Registration Number: Not applicable
Dimensions: Approximately 5 metres
Region of production: Gujarat, India
Materials: Hand-spun silk and natural dyes
Technique: Double Ikat
Motif Type: *Jilamprang* Motif Type 11d (Bühler & Fisher 1979, Plate VIII)
Estimated era: Presumed 18th – 19th century

Figure (v) Gujarat *patolu* cloth (b), private collection, Kupang, 2003.
(vi) Gujarat silk patolu cloth (c), provenance Kupang Regency, West Timor.

Private collection: Private collection, Kupang
Registration Number: Not applicable
Dimensions: 82 x 190 cms
Region of production: Gujarat, India
Materials: Hand-spun silk and natural dyes
Technique: Double Ikat
Motif Type: Motif Type 25 (Bühler & Fischer 1979, Plate XVIII)
Estimated era: Presumed 18th - 19th century

Figure (vi) Small patolu trade cloth, private collection, Kupang, 2003.
In 2003 a privately owned textile collection in Kupang contained three Indian *patola* cloths (cited as Figures iv, v & vi). The owner commented that Indian *patola* cloths are either collected from the Belu Regency or the nearby island of Alor. She was unable to remember which textile came from which region. Two were full size double ikat silk *patola* with the *jilamprang* motif. The third *patolu* was smaller in size, measuring 82 cms wide x 190 cms length. The dimensions of this textile are consistent with *patola* cloths that were made specifically for the export market (Divall 2001, Fig 3.3). 104 This Motif Type 25 was specifically made for the export market and the accompanying border, including the *pal* or heart shaped leaf motif also appeared in various exported *patola* and trade cloths (Divall 2001, p. 86). A detailed description of this Motif Type 25 is available presented by Bühler and Fischer (1979, pp. 106 – 109).

104 In addition to thirteen examples of this motif in the Basel Museum collection this motif has also been identified in Ahmedabad, Leiden, Amsterdam, Bern and Frankfurt collections. All these cloths were collected from Indonesia (Bühler & Fischer 1979, p. 106).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Private collection:</strong></th>
<th>Michael Abbott QC, Adelaide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Registration Number:</strong></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions:</strong></td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region of production:</strong></td>
<td>Gujarat, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Materials:</strong></td>
<td>Hand-spun silk and natural dyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Technique:</strong></td>
<td>Double ikat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motif Type:</strong></td>
<td>(Bühler &amp; Fischer 1979, Plate VIII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Estimated era:</strong></td>
<td>Presumed 18th – 19th century</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Michael Abbott QC is an ardent collector of textiles. He collected from eastern Indonesia and Timor during the 1970’s. He collected approximately ten Indian trade cloths and six patola from West Timor during this period. He recalls the *jilamprang* motif was most commonly found on Indian patola cloths in West Timor (cited above in vii). On one occasion he collected an Indian *patola* with the elephant motif. Mr Abbott QC commented that usually the *patola* were not in very good condition although one or two pieces were the best condition he had ever seen (Abbott,. pers., comm., 12 July, 2003, Canberra).

![Patolu cloth collected by Michael Abbott QC, in West Timor circa 1970's.](image_url)
(viii) Deccan trade cloth, provenance Belu Regency, West Timor.

Institution: National Gallery of Australia, Canberra
Registration Number: 1994.1456
Dimensions: 166 cms x 230 cms
Region of production: Dacca, India
Materials: Hand-spun cotton, natural and mordant dyes
Technique: Hand-painted and resist dyed using batik.
Motif Type: Fantastic two-headed creature standing on two elephants
Estimated era: Attributed 17th – 18th century

This Indian trade cloth was made in the Deccan region of India in the 17th – 18th century. It is attributed with Belu region, West Timor provenance. It was acquired by the National Gallery of Australia in 1994. The design on this textile consists of a pair of cloths stitched together to form a fantastic two-headed creature standing on two elephants. There are also two elephants under each wing and two elephants in each mouth, creating unusual imagery for a trade cloth. This cloth is attributed with being ‘a ceremonial cloth and sacred heirloom’ (Maxwell 2003a, p. 133).

(ix) Gujarat ceremonial hangings (A), provenance Los Palos, East Timor.

Institution: Currently unknown. When photographed, this cloth was in the possession of Raja Soba Laga, Los Palos, East Timor.

Registration Number: Not applicable
Dimensions: Not available
Region of production: Gujarat, India
Materials: Hand-spun cotton, mordant dyes
Technique: Hand-painted
Motif Type: Ramayana scene
Estimated era: Attributed 17th – 18th century

This hand-woven cotton ceremonial hanging, hand-painted with mordant dyes, depicts the Indian Hindu epic, the Ramayana. At the time of being photographed in the early 1990’s it formed part of the royal ancestral soea (I): sacred heirlooms of Raja Soba Laga of Los Palos in East Timor. Local tradition attributed the arrival of these sacred textiles during the Javanese Majapahit era (13th – 15th century), indicating inter-island trade as one means of these cloths entering Timor (Bennett 1998, p. 43). Similar cloths, depicting the Ramayana, attributed with being collected from eastern Indonesia, are held at the Victorian and Albert Museum, London (Guy, pers. comm., 7 April, 2006). A number of such cloths have also been found in Bali and Sulawesi, bearing the VOC stamp, indicating that they were produced prior to 1800’s. Guy maintains that Ramayana cloths were made specifically for the Indonesian market (Guy 1998, p. 117).
Figure (ix) Detail image of Indian Ramayana cloth photographed in Los Palos, East Timor by Paul Ryan circa 1998.
(x) Gujarat ceremonial hanging (B), provenance East Timor.

Institution: Museum of International Folk Art, Neutrogena Collection, Santa Fe

Registration Number: Not Available

Dimensions: 264 x 81 cms

Region of production: Gujarat, India

Materials: Hand-spun cotton, mordant dyes

Technique: Hand-painted and resist dyed

Motif Type: Figures of Entertainers

Estimated era: Attributed 18th century

This cotton ceremonial cloth is peopled with cowherd farmers, courtiers, nobles, foot and equestrian soldiers and palanquin bearers, set within decorative borders typical of west Indian workshops. Hindu deities are also depicted. This design is attributed with being made specifically for the Indonesian market. This cloth was found in East Timor, location unspecified (Guy 1998, p. 117).

Figure (x) Ceremonial hanging from Museum of International Folk Art.
Source: Guy 1997. Woven Cargoes, Figure 154.
(xi) Gujarat ceremonial hanging (C), provenance East Timor.
Registration Number Not applicable
Dimensions: 472 x 77.5 cms
Region of production: Gujarat, India
Materials: Cotton, mordant dyes
Technique: Block-printed and hand-painted resist dyed
Motif Type: Figures of Entertainers
Estimated era: 18th century (Radio carbon dated 1750 +/- 45 years)

This Gujarat cotton block-printed and painted mordant dyed and painted resist dyed cloth features entertainers within a floral and geometric framework. Radio carbon dating indicates it was made in the 18th century. The cloth was found in East Timor and is said to be part of a pair or series of cloths. Such textiles represent a previously unrecorded aspect of the Western Indian trade cloths in Indonesia, due to the unusual imagery and the use of fine cotton, not typical of trade cloths intended for eastern Indonesia (Guy 1998, p.114).

Figure (xi) Hand-painted Indian ceremonial hanging. Source: Guy 1998. Woven Cargoes, p.114, Figure 150. Kalamkari Foundation housed at the Rautenstrauch Joest Museum, Cologne.
(xii) Gujarat ceremonial hanging (D), acquired 1994 from Los Palos, East Timor.

Institution: Museum der Kulturen, Basel
Registration Number: IIc21178
Dimensions: 5.25m (length)
Region of production: India
Materials: Cotton, mordant dyes
Technique: Block-printed and hand-painted resist dyed
Motif Type: Six panels framed with architectural elements, with each panel depicting sequence of bird images.

Estimated era: Based on C-14 Analysis:
Analysis A - 1410 -1530;
Analysis B -1536 – 1635.
(Khan Majlis, 2006. p. 117).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Ceremonial Cloth (F), provenance Los Palos, East Timor.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Institution:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Registration Number:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region of production:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Materials:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Technique:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motif Type:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Estimated era:</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is considered by Barnes (2002, pp. 58 - 59) that this textile forms part of a group that were produced over a period of two hundred years and links this cloth with other examples provided above (cited as x, xi and xii, xiii). These textiles are considered to have been collected from Los Palos in East Timor, where they were recently held as sacred heirlooms by the royal family.

*Figure (xiiiia) Detail of a ceremonial cloth, Gujarat, traded to eastern Indonesia or East Timor. Barnes 2003. Trade, Temple Court, Indian Textiles from the Tapi Collection, pp. 58 – 59, TAPI 01.54.*
Figure (xiiib) Detail of a ceremonial trade cloth, Gujarat, traded to eastern Indonesia or East Timor. Source: Barnes 2003. Trade, Temple Court, Indian Textiles from the Tapi Collection, pp. 58 – 59, TAPI 01.54.
Appendix 5 - Atoin Meto Meo Armbands

Indian trade cloth was also used to form part of the meo attire as the following two examples demonstrate.

The first example is a meo armband which originated from Amanuban, TTS (Mahk, pers., comm., October 2005, Soe). This armband illustrates the use of sections of block-printed Indian trade cloths as part of the material used to form these decorative components of the meo attire. In this instance it is a segment of red and white block-printed cotton cloth, used to decorate the armband. However, the amount of cloth used is too small to ascertain the exact motif printed on the cloth.

A second meo armband, also decorated with block-printed Indian trade cloth is also attributed as originating from TTS (Mahk, pers., comm., October, 2005, Soe).

Figure (ivx) Meo armband, made with Indian block-printed trade cloth, leather and animal hair. Private collection of Alfred Mahk.
Figure (vx) Meo armband decorated with block-printed Indian trade cloth and decorated with leather and silver Dutch coin. Private Collection of Alfred Mahk.
# Glossary of Terminology

## A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abas (D)</td>
<td>cotton before being spun into thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ab kase (D)</td>
<td>commercially spun cotton thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ab meto (D)</td>
<td>hand-spun thread made from cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adat (D) (I)</td>
<td>customary law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aijao (D)</td>
<td>casuarina tree: <em>Casuarinaceae</em> (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aluk (D)</td>
<td>shoulder bag used for carrying betel chewing implements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaf (D)</td>
<td>people of commoner status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am’nanut (D)</td>
<td>Supreme Being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am’nas (D)</td>
<td>season of hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asam (I)</td>
<td>tamarind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atoin (D)</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atoin amofet (D)</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atoin amonet (D)</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atois (D)</td>
<td>leader of the prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atupas (D)</td>
<td>ritual ruler; sleeping one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bae’k (D)</td>
<td>the skill of dancing and drumming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebe (D)</td>
<td>traditional Atoin meto dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belis (I)</td>
<td>customarily bride price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benta (I)</td>
<td>mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bet ana (D)</td>
<td>decorative narrow shoulder cloth, worn by both women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beti naek(D)</td>
<td>man’s blanket / sarong made from two or three woven panels stitched together, tied and wrapped around their waist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beti tais (D)</td>
<td>ceremonial wear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bok’fua(D)</td>
<td>pumpkin seed; name of Biboki motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bok’of (D)</td>
<td>type of belt worn by meo as attire; also the lower back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonet (B)</td>
<td>a traditional Atoin meto dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buna (D)</td>
<td>discontinuous, supplementary weft wrap weaving technique; used as a decorative device</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
camat (I) a contemporary Indonesian political position as head of the kecamatan, local region

D
Dawan indigenous language of Atoin meto people
dufla (I) man’s head scarf
dulang (D) type of flat basket
dupatta uncut length of cloth used as clothing in India

F
feto (D) female
fut unu (D) old motif
futu (D) woven belt, is used to tie the beti naek in place
futus (D) single warp ikat weaving; refer to ‘warp ikat’

G
geringsing (I) double ikat cloth

H
hau’kama (D) weaving loom and equipment
hau monef (D) sacred tree located in front of ume meo and ume le’u

I
ikat (I)/(E) Indonesia word ‘to tie’: also name of technique for resist dyeing thread before weaving ‘ikat’ cloth; this term is used in English language to refer to ikat textiles
ike (D) spindle
ike, suti, keo (D) tools used in the spinning of cotton
ibiana (D) a pair or set of objects

J
jagung (I) corn

K
kabi (D) bag used for carrying betelnut, woven from leaves
kain (I) cloth
kanaf (D) clan
kanot (D) the skill of weaving baskets
kapas (I) hand-spun cotton
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kap e benet (D)</td>
<td>mat or wrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapur (I)</td>
<td>lime powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kebaya (I)</td>
<td>a type of blouse worn by women in Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kebupatan (I)</td>
<td>regency, an administrative unit below provincial level consisting of several districts (kecamatan) and led by a Bupati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelim</td>
<td>tapestry or slit tapestry weave technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepala desa (I)</td>
<td>village leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kluni (D)</td>
<td>lying place, resting place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotak – kotak</td>
<td>six sided hexagonal forms appearing in motifs in Atoin meto textiles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuan (D)</td>
<td>small hamlets that grouped together form villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuфа (D)</td>
<td>gebang palm; Corypha elata (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusambi (D)</td>
<td>Schleichera oleosa (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le’u (D)</td>
<td>sacred objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le’u musu (D)</td>
<td>ceremonial practices (invoking enmity or hostility); refers to a dwelling specifically constructed for the housing of meo le’u musu objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likurai (D)</td>
<td>traditional Timorese dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lopo (D)</td>
<td>an open air shelter and granary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lontar</td>
<td>Borassus sundaicus (L); palm used for thatch, making alcohol, baskets etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lotis</td>
<td>Tetum term for supplementary weft weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumbung (D)</td>
<td>rice barn in the top of the lopo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lungi (G)</td>
<td>uncut length of cloth used as clothing in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma’a</td>
<td>a term used by the Toraja of South Sulawesi to describe imported Indian cotton textiles; applied to long, narrow textiles, hand-painted on hand-spun cotton made by the Toraja; ma’a cloths were often hung as banners and combined both local indigenous motifs and Indian textile design elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mak’aif (D)</td>
<td>hook and lozenge motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maputu (D)</td>
<td>hot; a state of ceremonial heating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata air (D)</td>
<td>refers to water source and is also a name for a component within a Biboki textile motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maus (D)</td>
<td>tribute payment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengkudu (I)</td>
<td><em>Morinda citrifolia</em> (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meo (D)</td>
<td>head hunting warrior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meo naek (D)</td>
<td>senior head hunting warriors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mestico (I)</td>
<td>people of mixed race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minikin (D)</td>
<td>cold; a state of ceremonial coolness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mis’okan (D)</td>
<td>supernatural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo (D)</td>
<td>silver coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mone (D)</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monet tok tan’ni (D)</td>
<td>refers to sets of skills required for life.  (Refer to Appendix 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monte (D)</td>
<td>beadwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtasa (D)</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutisalah (I)</td>
<td>necklace made with Indian Pacific red glass beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’ taiba (D)</td>
<td>the long sarong worn and tied at either end for a corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabso (D)</td>
<td>traditional Atoin meto dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae (D)</td>
<td>earthenware pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasapu nahanik (D)</td>
<td>ceremonial cooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neno anan (D)</td>
<td>the one who sleeps; ritual ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nila (I)</td>
<td><em>Indigo tinctorial</em> (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noen bena (D)</td>
<td>disc worn by men and women aristocrats and <em>meo</em> warriors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neno Biboki(D)</td>
<td>ritual leader of the realm of Biboki: also known as the Kaiser or Raja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noh bati (D)</td>
<td>formal regalia worn by head hunting warriors; Naubasu clan, TTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odhani (G)</td>
<td>cloth wrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe le’u (D)</td>
<td>sacred water source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe mata (D)</td>
<td>water source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pal (G)</td>
<td>name of motif similar in shape to a bodhi tree leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakaian adat (I)</td>
<td>ceremonial attire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panu (D)</td>
<td>name of ceremonial house at the sacred realm of Biboki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedalaman (I)</td>
<td>inland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pao es pan’no (D) guardian of Tamkesi, the ritual centre of Biboki

pasisir (I) coast

pallav (G) decorative end section of a sari

patola (G) plural form of patolu; made with hand-spun silk thread and are decorated with motifs created by using the double ikat technique whereby both sets if threads, the warp and the weft, are resist dyed prior to the fabric being woven

patoli (G) small patolu cloth

patolu (G) singular form of patola

paus kenet (D) ammunition belt worn by meo (head hunting warriors)

pili (D) traditional head scarf

R

rumah adat (I) ceremonial house

S

sarasa (G) Gujarati term for ‘beautiful, excellent’ which became a name used to describe Indian trade cloths

selendang (I) shawl or scarf

sirih pinang (I) betel nut

slit-tapestry weave tapestry weave in which the adjacent areas of colour are separated by slits in the woven fabric, achieved by repeatedly turning back the discontinuous weft threads around adjacent warp

smanaf (D) vital force, soul, spirit

soea (D) sacred heirloom/s

songket (I) supplementary weft weave

sotis (D) warp-faced alternating float weave

suni (D) warriors sword

suti (D) dish used for spindle when spinning cotton

T

Ta Poen Olef (D) ceremony occurring at birth (Refer to Appendix 1)

tabby weave plain weave

taen tune (D) gebang palm: Corypha elata (L)

tais (D) woman’s tube-skirt

tais ha ma buna (D) woman’s tube-skirt made using single warp ikat technique decorated with buna technique
tais isbaina (D) used in situations where marriages occurred ‘within the family.’ In such instances either the family of the man or woman present the woman with this specially made tube-skirt, in order to protect her from any harm or unwanted negative forces resulting from this incestuous marriage.

tais luik metan (D) woman’s tube-skirt made using single warp ikat technique.

tapestry weave weft faced plain weave, with discontinuous wefts usually of different colours, woven back and forth with their own pattern areas.

tarum (I) Indigofera tinctorial (L)

taum (D) Indigofera tinctorial (L); three types of indigo are known to grown in West Timor. They are known as:

* Tau Kesa;* the largest of indigo plants, but not the best for depth of colour

* Tau Tiaum is* the smaller of the indigo plants, considered best by local weavers for colour

* Taufu* is grown in the forest and not used for colour.

tebê (D) traditional Atoin meto dance.

teta'e (D) back-strap looms and weaving equipment.

toe (D) ritual speech.

tofa (D) a digging tool used for weeding and preparing land before planting seeds.

tumpal (G; I) series of iscosoles triangles, forming a border motif found on Indian and Southeast Asian textiles.

twining a decorative looping technique used sparingly to prevent unravelling: two or more weft (or warp) threads are worked together by spiralling around each other while encircling successive warps (or wefts).

U

uab meto (D) didactic, ritual speech.

ume (D) basic family unit; clan group.

ume le’u (D) clan ceremonial house.

ume meo (D) clan ceremonial house for ritual activity related to head hunting practices.

Usîf Neno (D) Lord of the Sun.

W

warp the parallel threads that run longitudinally on a loom or fabric.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warp ikat</td>
<td>a resist dyeing process whereby the warp threads are bound with dye-resistant ties in patterned arrangements, and then dyed; depending on the number of colours required and the intricacy of the design, this process is repeated several times; once the dyeing process is completed, the ties are removed and the patterned warp threads are woven with an undecorated weft thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weft</td>
<td>the traverse threads that run horizontally on a loom or fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weft ikat</td>
<td>a resist dyeing process whereby the weft threads are bound with dye-resistant ties in patterned arrangements, and then dyed; depending on the number of colours required and the intricacy of the design, this process is repeated several times; once the dyeing process is completed, the ties are removed and the patterned weft threads are woven with an undecorated warp thread</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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