

SERVIÃO AND BELU: COLONIAL CONCEPTIONS AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL PARTITION OF TIMOR

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Introduction

Few if any of the European colonizers in Southeast Asian understood the ethnic and geographical denominations in the areas they attempted to govern. As a consequence, they often bluntly transformed indigenous geographical conceptions. In low-technological, largely illiterate societies, such as found in the eastern parts of the Southeast Asian Archipelago, the affects of colonial authority were particularly evident. Stefan Dietrich has demonstrated how, on the Island of Flores, Dutch colonialism transformed the traditional divisions in the early twentieth century, and created a number of new vassal principalities with no basis in the old hierarchies.¹

The present study concerns the processes the colonial powers, the Dutch and particularly the Portuguese, used to create artificial pseudo-ethnic divisions on the Island of Timor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that even now resonate in contemporary conflicts. The present division of Timor between Indonesia and Timor Leste has long been known as the result of long-term military and diplomatic rivalry between the Dutch and the Portuguese. Between the mid-seventeenth and the early twentieth century, these two contending colonial empires slowly created the roughly equal division that is visible on the map today. In addition, another division that was made, purportedly based on the distribution of Timorese ethnic groups. The Portuguese and by extension Anglo-Saxon historiography of the island, regularly mentions the two “provinces” of Servião and Belu (Provincia dos Bellos), situated in the western and the central-eastern part of Timor respectively. Although these “provinces” did not exactly correspond to the Dutch and Portuguese spheres of colonial power, Servião tended to fall under the Dutch, and Belu mostly under the Portuguese.

However, the exact nature of these two concepts remains problematic. The name of Servião clearly corresponds to the principality known to Dutch sources as Zerviaen, Sorbian etc.² This land, however, did not include the western part of Timor, but was restricted to a mountainous and rather inaccessible area in the north-west that was of comparatively limited political significance. Belu, on the other hand, was known to Dutch ethnographical literature as the Tetun-speaking area of central Timor.³ In the Portuguese-dominated areas further to the east, at least a dozen distinct languages were spoken, some--but far from all--related to Tetun.

¹ S. Dietrich, *Kolonialismus und Mission auf Flores (ca. 1900-1942)* (Hohenschaftlarn: Renner 1989).

² A folk etymology of the name Sorbian derives it from the Atoni Pah Meto words Sole (to separate) and Bian (part). See H. G. Schulte Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni of Timor* (Den Haag: M. Nijhoff 1971), 315.

³ The ethnic designation Belu literally means “friend.” See A. B. de Sá, *A planta de Cailaco 1727; Valioso documento para a História de Timor* (Lisboa: Agencia Geral das Colónias 1949), 11.

The geographical definition both Servião and Belu shifts substantially depending on which European colonizer defined the concept.

In this article, I will discuss the early documentary evidence for the names of Servião and Belu, from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries to determine the context in which the two names arose. I wish investigate the original meanings were of the two concepts and determine why the colonial powers, and especially the Portuguese, transformed these meanings in the process of attempting to manage Timor. The sources for this study include, first, the considerable body of published Portuguese texts relating to early colonial Timor and second, the voluminous Dutch archival data on Timor from the VOC archive. Third, I make use of the oral traditions of various Timorese groups that have been recorded during the last two centuries. By reading these three sources together, we can obtain a fuller picture of the early historical geography of Timor than has yet been offered by the standard texts.

The standard Portuguese accounts

The first thing to do is to scrutinize the main early Portuguese texts that detail the Servião-Belu division, and detect irregularities in their use of the concepts. The following Portuguese report on the island, written after 1769, is apparently the source of some later historiography.

[The island] is divided in the Provinces of Servião and Belu by a grand chain of lofty mountains which almost goes from the north to the south. [...] The Province of Servião is governed in turns by the two families of [H]ornay and [da] Costa; the chief of the governing family has got the appointment of Tenente General, and the other that of Capi[ta] Mor. The petty kings of the Province of Belu, whose number is legion, have got the appointment of colonel. In olden times they did not serve any other banner than the Portuguese. Those whom they made war with were not only the one against the other, but also with the Dutch and even the Portuguese governors, who had many differences with them. At the present, however, many have accepted the Dutch banner in Timor as well as on Solor. In the Province of Servião the kingdoms who fly the Portuguese banner are those of [Oe]cuss[e], where the Tenente General resides, Liphao, Nammutte [Noemuti], Tulugritte, Batugade, Fialara, Tuli[c]ão, which [latter two] are abandoned since they were bested by the Dutch; and those who fly that [Dutch] banner are Amamebao [Amanuban], Amanassa [Amarasi], Eusente and Eucase. In the Province of Belu those who fly the Portuguese banner are the kingdoms of Lamaquine, Lanqueiroz, Balibo, Saneré, Simião, Baibao, Liquisa, Mahere, Fatuboro, Roadelle, Atossabe, Motael, Genovatte, Eramira, Sicas, Camanassa, Allas, Ramião, Humallara [Uma Laran], Cloco, Bibisuso, Tirismonte [Tiro-Mauta], Titiluro, Bibiluto, Luc[a], Corni, Loculata, Daslor [Dilor], Biquaque [Viqueque], Samoro, Dotte, Dille [Dili], Manatuto, Sifoi, Licoré, Maubere, Lalupa, Vemasse, Tatoso, Sarão, Hera and Matarrufa. Maubará flies the Dutch banner.”⁴

This information may be complemented by a verbose memorandum from 1811, the *Instruções do Conde de Sarzedas*, submitted by the viceroy of Goa to the incoming governor of Solor and Timor, containing information considered useful for the bettering of “the

⁴ A. F. de Moraes, *Subsídios para a história de Timor* (Bastorá: Rangel 1934), 22-26.

decadent state and the neglect in which the Island of Timor is plunged.”⁵ Under the heading of “Estado politico” the details of the traditional division are given thus:

The Island of Timor is populated by native inhabitants, with a distinction between the Belunese [Bellos] and the Vaiquenos, in opposition to each other. They constitute, so to say, two provinces and two nations. In the eastern part the Belunese inhabit the province called Belu [a provincia denominada dos Bellos], and in the western part the Vaiquenos inhabit the province called Servião. These two provinces are divided in kingdoms; Belu comprehends 46 more or less powerful ones, but all are free and independent among themselves, and have according to lists achieved in 1722-1725, 40,000 armed men, 3,000 shotguns and the rest with swords, cleavers, assegais and bows and arrows. The Province of Servião has got 16 kingdoms, who all recognize as their superior Senobay [Sonba’i] with the title of emperor [imperador], who is king of the Kingdom of Servião, of which the province has got its name. This province has got 25,000 fighting men, 2,000 shotguns and the rest with assegais, bows and arrows, swords and cleavers. In that way the whole island of Timor is divided in 62 kingdoms, besides the Kingdom of Kupang which is at the southern point of the island, in which the Dutch have their fortress that has also got the name of Kupang. [...]

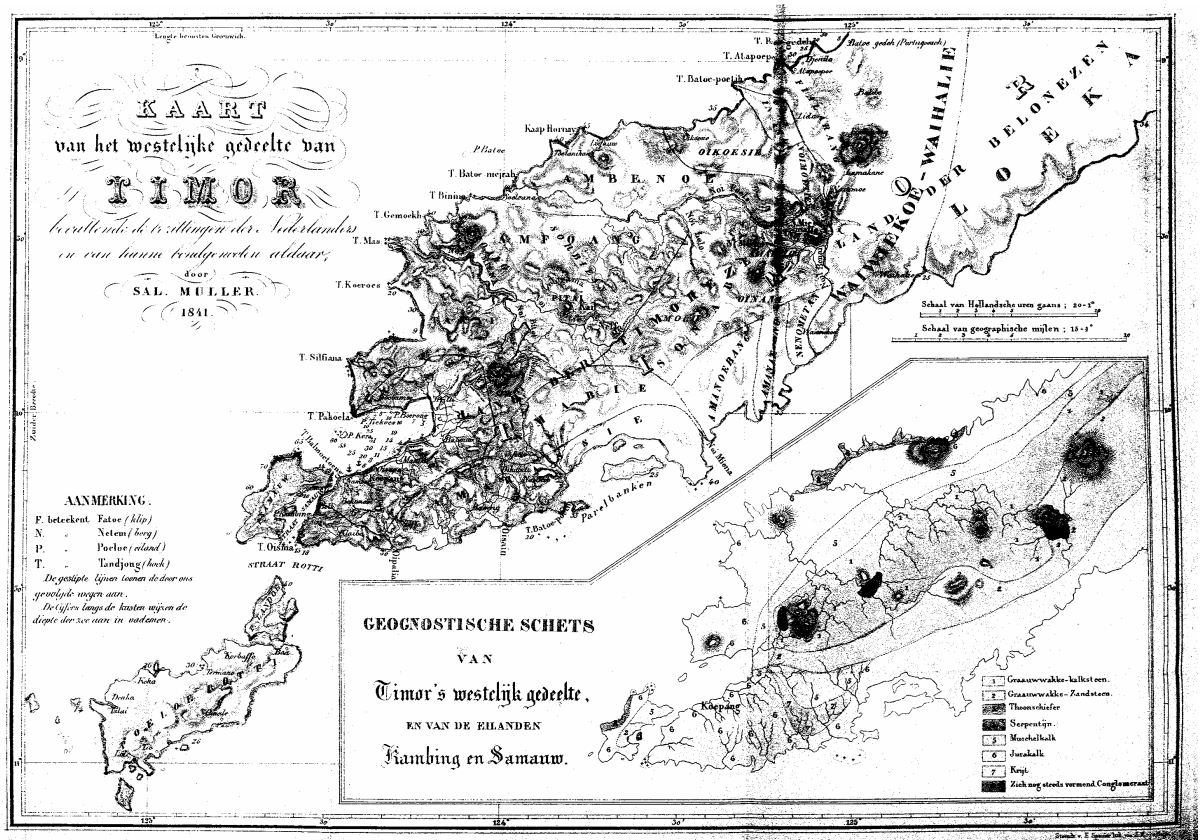
In the whole of the island is produced sandalwood, beeswax, cotton, tobacco, wooden containers, sea animals, kauri, rice, large corn, beans, corn, tamarinds, large cinnamon, coconuts, ginger, saffron, long pepper and salt. As regards the particular products of the various kingdoms as they existed there in the year 1726 [...] they are as follows, especially in the eastern part. [Then a long list of kingdoms with notes on what they produce] ... these are the 46 kingdoms of which the Province of Belu consists. The last-mentioned are those who constitute the frontier to the Province of Servião, which consists of the following: Drima [Dirma], Ascambeloe [Assem – Belu?], Vaale [Wehali], Amanato [Amanatun], Mena, Amanecy [Amanesi], Vaibico [Wewiku], Ocany, Servião, Mossy [Mosu?] that produce gold and green copper; Amaluno [Ambeno?] where the port of Lifáo is situated; Vaigame [Bikomi], Sacunaba that produces gold, Amanobau [Amanuban] that produces gold, Amarasse [Amarasi], Amassuax. The furthest point of the island in the west, which forms the Bay of Bababo [Babau], with Kupang that belongs to the Dutch, produces silver.⁶

These early descriptions offer several points of interest. First, the division is purportedly based on ethnic distinctions, conditioned by the perceived opposition between the Vaiquenos and the Belunese. The first term clearly refers to the Atoni Pah Meto, the group that forms the great majority in West Timor today. The latter denomination is puzzling. The Belunese as understood today are the Tetun speakers of Central Timor. Since the nineteenth century they have largely resided on the Dutch—now--Indonesian side. Of the East Timorese languages some, namely Galoli, Mambai, Idate and Tokodede are related to Tetun. However,

⁵ A. de Castro, *As possessões portuguesas na Oceania* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional 1867), 185.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 200-2.

about a dozen non-Austronesian languages are spoken in the easternmost part of the island—the exact number is still disputed.⁷ See Map below.



Dutch map of Western Timor/ Servião, c. 1841.⁸ Note division at approximately longitude 125°, which coincides with the modern division between Timor Leste and Timor (Indonesia). Belu is east of the division line.

Moreover, some of the kingdoms of Servião mentioned in the post-1769 account and the *Instrucções do Conde de Sarzeda* are clearly Belunese rather than Vaiqueno. Batugade, Fialaran, Dirma, Wehali and Wewiku were all Tetun speaking places known from Dutch political and ethnographical reports, and Wehali (Wewiku-Wehali) was traditionally known as the ritual centre of Belu. The perceived status of Wehali is actually confirmed in a document dated 1726, which mentions “the lands of Vayalle (part of the province of Servião),” where the Portuguese thought it feasible to make “a frontier trench of that province. . . . [whose] regime musters more respect than the other ones Sam who conspire against us.”⁹ The purported ethnic demarcation therefore seems to be a Portuguese convention, influenced by the colonial networks of the European powers in this period.

⁷ This mistaken belief can be traced back to the second half of the seventeenth century, when a missionary report asserts that “in this Island of Timor there are only two languages, distinct from each other, which are called Vaiquenos and Belos.” R. M. Loureiro, ed., *Onde nasce o sândalo, os Portugueses em Timor nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Ministério de Educação 1995), 147.

⁸ S. Müller, *Reizen en onderzoekingen* (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1857). Map drawn by S. Müller during the expedition of 1827-28.

⁹ A. F. de Morais, *Subsídios para a história de Timor*, 67.

Lastly, the concept of Servião purportedly refers not only to a “province” but also to a traditional political hierarchy. The so-called Emperor of Sonba’i was taken to be the paramount lord of all the Vaiqueno principalities. His personal land was indicated by the name of Servião, which in turn gave its name to the whole province. The title is expressly mentioned in a letter from the Viceroy of Goa to a local Timorese prince in 1720, which lists among the main rulers of the island a Dom Pedro Emperador de Servião whom the viceroy admonished to accept the dispositions of the Portuguese colonial administration.¹⁰ This Dom Pedro is also known from Dutch archival sources in the period 1704–26, where he is referred as “Keizer van Sonnebay” [Emperor of Sonba’i].¹¹

Colonial use of the geopolitical terminology was inconsistent and did not completely correspond to actual ethnic conditions. One conclusion to the tricky question of the Servião-Belu division, is suggested by the Portuguese historian Artur Basílio de Sá, who has proposed that the terminology is of Portuguese origins, but was based on indigenous concepts. The eastern principalities tended to be very small and were less influenced by colonial policies, but also less rebellious to the colonial establishment. The princes in the west, by contrast, had more resources to wield authority over their subjects, and were included in the Dutch network of power. The early Portuguese visitors thus perceived there to be two major zones of the island.¹² As for Belu, a very thorough anthropological study has recently been undertaken by Tom Therik, who points at the centrality of Wehali as a ritual navel with Timor-wide implications. Basing himself on L.F.F.R. Thomaz’s study of Tetun as, in Thomaz’s words, the “vehicular” language of most of eastern Timor, Therik suggests that there was a degree of unity among the countless small domains before the coming of the Europeans. A Tetun-speaking aristocracy based in Wehali and Luca, located further to the east, would have held hegemony over the many non-Tetun areas in eastern Timor, which would explain the extended meaning of Belu. Therik, however, does not discuss the concept of Servião.¹³ Sá’s and Therik’s conclusions differ in that Sá stresses the division as a colonial one, while Therik refers to concrete pre-European political conditions. It is therefore necessary to go a bit further and scrutinize the traditional hierarchies, and check them against the early archival materials.

Servião and Sonba’i--Belu and Wehale

In spite of three centuries of colonial presence on Timor, knowledge of the written word remained utterly limited in this low-technological society. Oral histories preserved the stories of the past that were essential for the identity of the many local principalities. *Mafefa*, experts on local traditions in West Timor, preserved origin stories, genealogies, etc. and transmitted their knowledge to the next generation.

Until 1962, a principality called Amfo’an was situated in the north-west of Timor. In the Dutch historical sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Amfo’an was

¹⁰ C. R. Boxer, *Asia Portuguesa no tempo do Vice-Rei Conde da Ericeira (1718-1720)* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional 1970), 107-8.

¹¹ Archive of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), National Archive, Den Haag (hereafter VOC), 1961, f. 4; VOC 2073, f. 23. The Timorese princes under Portuguese suzerainty usually bore Christian names besides their indigenous ones.

¹² A. B. de Sá, *A planta de Cailaco 1727; Valioso documento para a História de Timor*, 10-2.

¹³ T. Therik, *Wehali, The Female Land. Traditions of a Timorese Ritual Centre* (ANU: Pandanus Books 2005), 52; cf. A. McWilliam, *Paths of Origin, Gates of Life: A Study of Place and Precedence in Southwest Timor* (Leiden, KITLV Press 2002), 51-2.

thought to overlap with Sorbian, the Atoni Pah Meto form of the name Servião. In 2005, the present author interviewed Johannes Cornelis Banu, the *mafefa* of Amfo'an on the subject of local traditions, and inquired about the concept of Sorbian.¹⁴ According to Banu, Sorbian was actually a very early kingdom, which flourished before the principalities known from historical records. The realm, which was centred at Mount Mutis in West Timor, encompassed not only the Island of Timor but also the surrounding islands: Alor, Rote, Flores, Sumba and Sawu. It was headed by Kune Uf, lord Kune. After the disappearance of this realm, there were four major kings in the interior of Timor, namely Liurai in Belu, Sonba'i in Mollo (in the West Timorese highlands), Benu Le'u who later ruled Ambeno on the north coast, and Afo'an Le'u. At that time, the four kings arranged among themselves a set of games at Mount Mutis. Afo'an Le'u, the junior-most king, won. The three elder rulers gave him an area of land in the north-west called Sanam Timau. This land later became known as Amfo'an, and was henceforth ruled by his descendents.

The situation described above is a fairly typical Timorese origin story. Versions of such stories are often at considerable variance with each other, and this one is no exception.¹⁵ What is interesting with this particular story is the reference to Sorbian as an ancient kingdom headed by the Kune lord. A large number of stories recorded in West Timor take their departure from a set of royal brothers known as Liurai and Sonba'i. Liurai is the lord of Wehali near the south coast in Central Timor, which is understood to be the ritual centre not only of Belu but also of Timor in general.¹⁶

At a certain point, Sonba'i undertook a journey to the west. In an adventurous way, he attracted a daughter of the Kune lord, who wielded power in parts of West Timor and resided at the slope of Mount Mutis. By marrying the Kune girl, he was acknowledged as Kune's heir. Some traditions depict the transition as a peaceful one, while others assert that Sonba'i in the end worsted Kune by force. In either case, the enterprising prince founded the Sonba'i kingdom, which stands out as the ritually most prestigious realm in West Timor, although he did not actually wield conventional power over the neighbouring principalities.¹⁷ From an anthropological point of view, the theme of the legendary "foreigner king" is very common in Austronesian societies as a means of establishing a "historically" anchored precedence in a given society.¹⁸ Such a convention does not exclude that a historical event might lie behind the account. Well into the twentieth century, the descendents of the Kune lord were still symbolically honoured as the original lords of the land and even received a small part of the tribute harvested by the local princes.¹⁹

To sum up, the Sonba'i lord was the heir to Kune, whose ancient realm in one version is called Sorbian, i.e. Servião. Sonba'i himself was acknowledged as the highest title-holder in West Timor by the early European visitors. Of all the Timorese rulers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he alone is accorded the title of "emperor" in the official Portuguese and

¹⁴ The interviews with Johannes Cornelis Banu were conducted in Kupang, West Timor, 5 and 7 February 2005.

¹⁵ For some variants of the origin stories pertaining to Sonba'i and Amfo'an, see F. A. E. van Wouden, *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff 1968), 49-54.

¹⁶ A full discussion on the centrality of Wehali is found in T. Therik, *Wehali, The Female Land*, which is based on comprehensive anthropological fieldwork.

¹⁷ A. D. M. Parera, *Sejarah pemerintahan Raja-raja Timor* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan 1994), 178-86.

¹⁸ The phenomenon is discussed by J. J. Fox, "Installing the 'outsider' inside: the exploration of an epistemic Austronesian cultural theme and its social significance" (Unpublished paper 1995).

¹⁹ Interview, Alex Kune, Kupang, 29 June 2006.

Dutch documents—as seen above—although the same documents often depict him as a figurehead without any conventional executive powers. These conclusions do still not explain why the name of Sorbian was applied to the minor principality of Amfo'an by the Dutch colonizers. We will return to this question.

In terms of ritual precedence, Wehali was senior to Sonba'i and even claimed to have received tribute from the Sonba'i as late as the early twentieth century.²⁰ Wehali was thought of as the first land to have appeared from the waters in ancient time, and the navel of Timor (and, in a sense, the world). The title of Liurai (surpassing the earth) was originally associated with the ruler of Wehali, although it has since been devaluated and is now borne by any traditional East Timorese chief. Apart from Liurai there was however a figure residing in Wehali whose ritual status was still grander, the Maromak Oan (the child of God). In the Wehali system of hierarchy, the Liurai is thought of as the active, male ruler, and the Maromak Oan as the inactive, symbolically “female” one. The details of this comprehensive ideology as apprehended in the twentieth century can be found in the work of Tom Therik; for our purpose it is enough to note the major principles.²¹ Certain accounts have it that an early Maromak Oan begat three sons, who became the ancestors of the Liurai, Sonba'i, and Likusaen (Liquiça) rulers.²² In the scheme envisaged by this origin story Liurai headed the centre of Timor, Sonba'i the west, and Likusaen the east. Other pieces of information, picked up by nineteenth century visitors, have Luca rather than Likusaen as the third component.²³ At the same time, it is clear that the kind of power emanating from this hierarchical complex should not be seen as conventional political authority. The actual power basis of Sonba'i and Liurai was limited and fragile, which became clear in the early confrontations with the Dutch and the Portuguese in the seventeenth century.

We have thus seen that there were larger ritual systems on Timor that encompassed at least a large part of the innumerable petty domains on the island, systems that may be expected to lie at the basis of the colonial geographical division. The question remains if these systems ever corresponded to a political organization able to wield resources on a grander scale. We must therefore turn to the early European evidence.

The Early Colonial Encounter

The oral accounts contain no dates, and the European sources on Timor are sparse until the seventeenth century. It is therefore hard to know how far back in time the traditional hierarchies actually go. The number of generations in the Liurai and Sonba'i genealogies differs considerably from version to version, and does not allow us to draw any conclusions. In the precious few sixteenth century documents that mention Timor, some actually refer to a “King of Timor,” but the casual nature of the early visits makes this information uncertain.²⁴

A member of the Magellan expedition, Antonio Pigafetta, visited the island briefly in 1522 and speaks of four major kings of the island, Oibich, Lichsana, Suai and Cabanaza, who

²⁰ Interview, Dominikus Tei Seran, Laran, 30 January 2005.

²¹ T. Therik, *Wehali, The Female Land*.

²² F. H. Fobia, *Sonba'i dalam kisah dan perjuangan* (Unpublished manuscript 1984), 8-9.

²³ See E. Francis, *Ver slag van den Kommissaris voor Timor*, H 548, Archive of KITLV, Leiden. Luca was an important Tetun domain on the south coast of eastern Timor.

²⁴ Cf. Duarte Barbosa, who in 1516 stated that Timor “has its own independent king.” See M.L. Dames (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (London: Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society 49 (1921), 195.

were “brothers.” Of these, Oibich was the foremost.²⁵ Here we clearly encounter Wewiku, Likusaen, Suai and Camenaça. In the later sources Waiwiku is often mentioned in pair with Wehale, and was ritually counted as one of the “posts” of Wehali.²⁶ Likusaen, also known as Liksan or Liquiça, was at the apex of a ritual hierarchy in East Timor, and was thought to originate from (Waiwiku-) Wehale.²⁷ Suai-Camenaça was another Tetun-speaking diarchy; according to certain traditions recorded in modern time it was involved in the same hierarchical structure as Likusaen.²⁸ It therefore seems that a Belunese political hierarchy was in existence by the early sixteenth century, which encompassed substantial parts of the island. There are clear parallels to the hierarchy known to later ethnographic data.

As the trade in sandalwood began to attract foreign seafarers to the island, the reports and cartographic surveys grew increasingly detailed and more reliable. According to a medical encyclopedia published in Goa in 1563, Servião appears in the form of Cerviaguio. Together with Mena (in present-day Biboki in West Timor), it was the main port on Timor’s north coast where sandalwood could be traded. The corresponding ports on the south coast were Batumean (in Amanatun) and Camenaça (in south-western Timor Leste). The presence of this information medical encyclopedia, indicates that these places already had a certain economic importance by the late sixteenth-century.²⁹ In fact, no modern place called Sorbian exists today on Timor’s coast. The place by that name was probably the trading outlet of the Sorbian realm. The name recurs on an early Portuguese map from 1613 as “Servião Reino,” the Kingdom of Servião. It is marked out as a particular spot some distance to the west of Lifau in the present Oecusse Ambeno enclave, but still far from the western point of the island.³⁰ From the crude cartography on the map, Servião might be either at Naikliu in Amfo’an, or possibly Citrana in the west of the Oecusse Ambeno enclave. It is the only place in this part of Timor indicated as a “kingdom” on the map.

Unfortunately the Dutch reports written after their arrival to Timor in 1613 add little. Up to the 1640s they mention a number of kingdoms on the coast, such as Mena, Assem, Amanuban, Batumean and Camenaça, but nowhere do the names Servião, Sonba’i, Belu or Wehali appear. The pattern of the monsoon winds made access to Timor difficult for much of the year, and trade could only be carried out in short periods. The traders of the Dutch East Indies Company gathered information on the commercially important coastal areas, but obviously had a very vague idea about the inland. Even when taking this into account, it is striking that the larger ritual hierarchies are never mentioned in the partly detailed Dutch and Portuguese reports between 1522-1641. The geographer Manoel Godinho de Eredia (c. 1600), for example, mentions a large number of places, including the two “imperial” realms of Mena

²⁵ C. C. F. M. Le Roux, “De Elcano’s tocht door den Timorarchipel met Magelhães’ schip ”Victoria”,” in *Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150 jarig bestaan* (Weltevreden: Kolff & Co. 1929), Vol. II, 34.

²⁶ T. Therik, *Wehali, The Female Land*, 49.

²⁷ Unlike Tom Therik, *Wehali, The Female Land*, 49-50, I think there is very little doubt that Lichsana represents Liksan, i.e. Likusaen.

²⁸ P. G. Spillett, *The Pre-Colonial History of the Island of Timor Together With Some Notes on the Makassan Influence in the Island* (Unpublished manuscript 1999), 251-3.

²⁹ A. de Roever, *De jacht of sandelhout; De VOC en de tweedeling van Timor in de zeventiende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers 2002), 85.

³⁰ A. Faria de Morais, *Sólor e Timor* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias 1944), between 112 and 113; H. G. Schulte Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni of Timor*, 162.

(on the north coast) and Camenaca (at the south coast), but not Servião and Wehali.³¹ Early missionaries and traders sometimes understood Mena to be the most important kingdom, even “the King of Timor.”³² All this may suggest that Wehali was much less of an empire before the coming of the Europeans than sometimes proposed. A ritual hierarchy of sorts certainly existed during this period, acknowledged by the Tetun aristocracies on the island but probably not wielding Timor-wide power in its own right. Rather, it seems likely that the numerous small “kingdoms” (which strictly speaking rather had the characteristics of chiefdoms) found reason to acknowledge the status of Wehali as a vehicle of conflict solutions and larger temporary political enterprises.

The information on Servião and Wehali comes with the dramatic events in 1641-42, which inaugurates the steady foreign presence on the island. It casts some light on the indigenous structures that were affected by the intrusion of outsiders, and it is therefore justified to look at the sources in some detail. Islamic Makassarese seafarers from Sulawesi had frequented the Timor area since long as traders, and had been able to construct a political network as well. Many of the oral traditions mention early contacts between the Makassarese and the local Timorese elites. There are stories of generally amicable contacts with the central lord in Wehali, and even family ties.³³ It goes without saying that the details are unreliable since they are recorded very late, but the general picture is not inconsistent with the European accounts.

A Makassarese fleet attacked the Portuguese in Larantuka on Flores in early 1641 and proceeded to assault some coastal areas of Timor for the next few months. Certain principalities agreed to pay tribute to Makassar while others were badly ravaged. When the fleet finally withdrew the Portuguese – largely consisting of mestiços, so-called Topasses – sent an expedition to the north coast that persuaded the rulers of the devastated localities of Mena and Lifau (here meaning Ambeno) to accept Christianity--and by implication--the protection of Portugal. Successful missionary forays were also made in Amanuban, Luca, Kupang and a principality called Amafao, which seems to be Amfo’an. The missionary chronicle of the Dominicans, the *Historia de S. Domingos*, relates the consequences of the Portuguese enterprise:

The King of Toló [the Makassarese kingdom of Tallo’] (favoured by his armada, and hoping to return more powerful) reduced to his obedience those that he could, and among them the [King of] Vajalle, to whom he gave a bonnet, a pledge (among these people) to accept his sect [Islam]. This Vajalle is like an emperor, whom all the kings on the island acknowledge with tribute as being their sovereign. Now taking the part of the King of Toló, he invited some and threatened others, and took to all suspensions and threats. The principal were the King of Manubão [Amanuban], the Queen of Mena, the King of Lifao, and the King of Servião. The greatest fear penetrated them, and they now made their speeches to the King of Toló, promising to adopt the

³¹ J. V. Mills [ed.], “Eredia’s Description of Malaca, Meridional India, and Cathay,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8:1 (1930), 254.

³² Compare B. Biermann, ‘Die alte Dominikanermission auf den Solorinseln,’ *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 14 1924, 37, and *Documenta Indica*, Vol. V (Rome 1956), 350-1.

³³ P. G. Spillett, *The Pre-Colonial History of the Island of Timor Together With Some Notes on the Makassan Influence in the Island*, 158-72. Spillett claims to have located the gravestone of a wife of the Makassarese ruler of Tallo’, dated 1637, at Hera close to modern Dili.

practice [of Islam] with the Vajalle, who let his kingdom embrace the sect of Mafamede.”³⁴

When the tilt towards Islam among these domains was known in the Portuguese base in Larantuka, it caused alarm, since the work of the Portuguese and the padres ran the obvious risk of being ruined. The Portuguese had dominated Timorese ports since the early decades of the seventeenth century, in order to control the sandalwood trade and ensure deliveries of this commodity to South China. There were therefore religious as well as commercial reasons to intervene decisively on Timor at this time. The captain-major of the sea, Ambrosio Dias, sent 150 musketeers, natives of Larantuka, who were accompanied by two Dominican padres. They sailed to the roadstead of Mena. The Dominican chronicle relates that the detachment, after contacting the rulers of Mena, Lifau and Amanuban,

. . . climbed up the vast lands of the King of Servião, who was the first object of punishment. The king retired to his mountains at the time, not entrusting the many people who followed him, with the resolution to await a battle. With that our men entered the land and went on to devastate it and plunder it without resistance. This was seen and bemoaned by the inhabitants (who blamed the king, whose erroneous stance had reduced them to such misery).³⁵

The king had to accept the conditions offered by the Portuguese, hand over the bonnet that symbolized his conversion to Islam, and accept Christianity. After the conclusion of peace, the victorious detachment returned to Larantuka. The Dominican chronicle continues:

But the Vajalle insisted on threatening the Queen of Mena and the King of Manubão for having received the baptism; and the King of Damitião [Batumean] because he had not resolved to receive him; and he gave notice to the King of Toló about what had been committed, and what the King of Servião had committed, insisting that he should not wait with the armada, and give time for the assistance from Larantuca. But at that time his [Raja Tallo's] calamitous death took place; nothing was effected [by the Makassarese] up to the time that the Vajalle, ignorant of this, proceeded in the arrogance of dominating the island.³⁶

A new expedition from Larantuka was dispatched to deal with the threats of the Wehale ruler. Ninety musketeers and three padres arrived at Mena. Two padres were sent with some people to the kings of Batumian and Servião, and convinced them to join in a league against Wehale who had threatened them. Various baptisms took place among the aristocracies of the allied kingdoms. The Dominican chronicler describes how the Portuguese and their allies marched in the heat along the rocky roads and arrived to the frontier of Wehali, whose ruler met them with a major force, “cheeky and haughty.”

The captain led the [battlecry] “Santiago” and invested such valour and flame in our men that many enemies fell at the first musket salvo. The Vajalle turned

³⁴ L. de Santa Catharina, *Historia de S. Domingos. Quarta parte* (Lisboa: Panorama 1866), 300.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 300.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 300. Muzaffar, the ruler of Tallo', passed away suddenly in May 1641, shortly after his return to Makassar. He was allegedly poisoned by his wife, hence the “calamitous death” of the chronicle account.

back and passed a river with many people, and made his way through the scrubland. In that way they [the Portuguese] went on without meeting any resistance, letting the villages suffer the hostilities of iron and fire, until coming to the court where the army rested at night, and there was no lack of abundance at the table, which increased the joy of victory. At the following day, as the recklessness of pursuing the enemy in the scrubland had been proved, it was found that the best council was to return. Having set fire to the palaces of the Vajalle, they came to Batimião and were received by the king, and by that of Amanence, with demonstrations of joy, for the bid for victory and the grand consequences of that.”³⁷

We do not hear what actually happened to the Wehali ruler after his ignominious defeat at the hands of the Portuguese. Much of his prestige must have been destroyed through the burning of the royal centre, although reading between the lines we get the impression that the Portuguese victory was far from complete. The Wehali lord is not associated here with Belu, but is rather thought of as the suzerain of all the petty kings on the island. The notion of the Dominican chronicler that the lord was an emperor-like figure on an island-wide level must be evaluated--the more important the enemy was, the more significant was the triumph for the Catholic creed and for Portugal. Also, Wehali appears here in a rather peculiar situation, where Makassar and Wehali had found opportunity to increase each other's position and prestige; the context seems to suggest that Wehali attempted to overlay its ritual prestige with the politico-religious authority of Islam but failed to secure sufficient allegiance from the neighboring domains. Still, the description of Wehali from a missionary point of view strangely echoes the claims held to this day, that Wehali was once a Timor-wide center of ritual authority.³⁸

We have thus seen that there was an early ritual centre, Wehali, which is however not associated with the concept Belu in the oldest sources. We have also seen that an extensive domain called Servião existed by the sixteenth century, though there is no hint in the sources that it held precedence over the coastal kingdoms in western Timor.

Belu and Wehali after 1642

We now must look for references to Wehali and Belu after 1642. During the next hundred years, Wehali is only mentioned irregularly in the European sources. A new and quite possibly worse devastation took place in November 1665. Again Wewiku-Wehali and another principality called Cailaco were accused by the Portuguese mestiço leaders who resided on the north coast of maintaining a correspondence with the Makassarese, whom the Portuguese still wished to keep out of Timorese politics at any cost. One of the Portuguese leaders, Mateus da Costa, staged an attack on Wewiku-Wehali and Cailaco that was once again successful. The weaponry and leadership of the small Portuguese community still posed a challenge to the indigenous polities. The captured inhabitants of the domains were sold as slaves and the Portuguese soldiers collected a large amount of booty.³⁹ Wehali is mentioned in Portuguese documents a few times in the first half of the eighteenth century, in a context

³⁷ Ibid, 302.

³⁸ These claims were emphasized by Dominikus Tei Seran, the present claimant of the Liurai title of Wehale, in an interview that the present author made with him in Laran village, Belu, 30 January 2005.

³⁹ VOC 1257, f. 710.

which implies that the Portuguese well understood its centrality, but very seldom cared about this part of Timor.

On the other hand, the concept of Belu (Provincia dos Bellos) becomes established in the sources in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The idea that Belu comprised the entire central-eastern part of the island was still not quite developed by this time. The Dutch East Indies Company entertained contacts with some of the easternmost principalities of Timor, Ade and Manatuto, in the 1660s, but the rather verbose Dutch reports do not mention Belu in this context. They do mention, however, that Ade and Manatuto stood in a traditional subordinate relationship to the important Tetun domain of Luca in the southeast, which by implication made large areas of eastern Timor potentially “Belunese.”⁴⁰ From the Dutch materials, it moreover appears that Mateus da Costa “subjugated the whole Belunese coast” about 1670, and that Ade and Manatuto went the same way.⁴¹ This subjugation was more like a vague tributary relationship than a colonial rule as generally understood, and meant that the domains had to observe Portuguese trading regulations. The Portuguese kept their stronghold in Lifau in West Timor, which meant that the possibilities of monitoring the eastern areas were limited. The preponderance of Tetun (Belunese) aristocracies in large parts of eastern Timor apparently made it feasible to lump the new conquests together in a “Provincia dos Bellos.” The latter would soon be considered to constitute “a mayor parte desta ilha” as a report from 1702 has it.⁴²

Colonial denominations apart, the old ritual hierarchy was still important among the traditional Timorese domains. This can be seen from its use in a revivalist movement that planned to expel the servants of the Crown of Portugal in the early eighteenth century. A letter from 1734 mentions the plans of the insurgents for “the enthronement of their three kings Sonobai, Liquiça and Veale” in place of the foreign masters.⁴³ Just as in the oral traditions recounted above, the lords of Sonba’i, Likusaen and Wehale were ideally thought of as heading the west, the east and the centre of the island. In the documents from this period there is also sometimes mention about a “league of the Belunese” that was led by various Tetun-speaking princes and not specifically centred on Wehale – at least not in Portuguese eyes.⁴⁴ For periods this league was actively supporting the Portuguese administration against rebels, which illustrates the rapidly shifting political allegiance of local polities in relation to the colonial suzerains.

Dutch documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are ambivalent in their use of Belu. Sometimes the reports take over the Portuguese use, referring to the whole of eastern Timor. At other times, Belu denotes a political organization centred on the Liurai of Wehali.⁴⁵ All this seems to suggest that there was a friction between colonial and indigenous uses of the concept, which was not entirely grasped from the Dutch horizon.

⁴⁰ VOC 2285.

⁴¹ VOC 1275, f. 663; W. P. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Den Haag: M. Nijhoff 1968), Vol. III, 757. A Dutch document from 1756 refers to “the kings of Belu, Ade and Manatuto” who in olden times (i.e., in the seventeenth century) were alleged to have been allied to the East Indies Company. From the Dutch angle, Belu and Ade-Manatuto thus seem to have been conceptually separated; see VOC 2941, f. 73.

⁴² A. T. de Matos, *Timor português 1515-1769* (Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa 1974), 229.

⁴³ A. de Castro, *As possessoes Portuguezas na Oceania*, 241-2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 252, 301.

⁴⁵ VOC 2239, *Dagregister* [daily record], sub 16 July 1732.

The political dominance of the Portuguese *mestiços* in Timorese affairs was finally broken in 1749, when an ambitious attack against the Dutch post in Kupang ended in a disastrous failure. Large West Timorese areas fell away from the Portuguese sphere as a consequence of this defeat. One of those who preferred to join the Dutch was Wewiku-Wehali. When a large number of Timorese princes concluded a formal contract with the Dutch East Indies Company in 1756, one of them was Jacinto Correa, Grand Prince of Belu and raja of Wewiku-Wehali. In the verbose diplomatic report submitted to the Company authorities, Jacinto is identified as holding sway over a large number of smaller polities in the central parts of the island, including Dirma, Lakekun, Samoro, Fatolete, Letisoely, Batobora, Lankero, Suai, Atsabe, Reimean, Diribate, Maroba, Lidak, Doalilo, Soekoenaba, Biboki, and Insana. He also claimed suzerainty over the neighbouring rulers of Manufai, Tiris, Alas, Luca, Viqueque, Corara, and Banibani.⁴⁶ Taken together, these various lands would constitute a quite substantial part of Central-East Timor, a fact that lends some color to the Portuguese use of the geographical concept of “Belu.” That the Portuguese and the Belunese ideas about hierarchy and precedence were at variance was less important here. Although an indigenous geographical term lay at the basis, Belu, as understood by the Portuguese colonial officials, was clearly of colonial origins since it excluded the essentially important domain of Wehali. Rather, it was a way of dealing with innumerable principalities under one heading. Why the colonial power chose not to count the all-important Wehali to Belu is unclear – possibly since, in line with Sa’s hypothesis, Wehali’s power resources were larger than the small eastern domains, and thus seemed more akin to Servião. At any rate, its status as a client of Portugal was seen as an asset up to the mid eighteenth century. But as Wehali’s wide-reaching pretensions were suddenly at the disposal of the Netherlands, the matter took on a different meaning. Luckily for the Portuguese position, the symbolic nature of Wehali’s suzerainty prevented the eastern principalities from actually joining the Dutch Company. The initiated account of Timor by the Frenchman Pelon (c. 1778) asserts that the lands on the south coast practically stayed out of reach of both Dutch and the Portuguese at the time.⁴⁷

Servião and Sorbian

The historical origins and transformations of Servião are less clear than Belu, and require some circumstantial investigations in seventeenth century sources. What, to begin with, was the location of the “Kingdom of Servião” described in the Dominican chronicle? Several indications point to the extensive realm later known as Sonba’i, rather than Amfo’an-Sorbian in the north-west. The Dominican chronicle characterizes Servião as a “vast,” mountainous territory, geographically close enough to Wehali to be intimidated into compliance. Also, Amfo’an (i.e. Sorbian), seems to be mentioned separately by the chronicler as Amafao. Strangely, the name Sonba’i does not occur in this context, but it appears some pages later in the Dominican chronicle in the context of events in the 1650s. In Dutch archival sources it only appears in 1649, by which time it was an expansionist kingdom that allied with the Portuguese in an effort to subjugate large part of West Timor. One of the realms that was attacked by Sonba’i was Sorbian – it is not clear from the texts how extensive the Sorbian realm was by this time.⁴⁸ We are therefore left with a highly bewildering impression; in spite

⁴⁶ VOC 2941, f. 77.

⁴⁷ J.-B. Pelon, *Description de Timor Occidental et des îles sous domination hollandaise (1771-1778)* (Cahier d’Archipel 34 2002), 8-9.

⁴⁸ P. A. Tiele, ed., *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel* (‘s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff 1886), Vol. III, 476.

of the later Portuguese identification of Sonba'i and Servião, they were apparently *not* identical in the mid seventeenth century.

The key to understanding the relations between Servião and Sorbian lies in a few Dutch documents from the late seventeenth century. The Dutch writings, unlike those of the Portuguese, are consistent in their use of names. After their establishment in Kupang in 1653, the Dutch began to explore the possibilities of exploiting West Timor, and cast their eyes at the sandalwood resources to the north-east of Kupang. A report from 1689 remarked that the Bay of Babau (today usually known as Teluk Kupang) neighbored the land of Zerviaen, which included the most serviceable sandalwood. If the Dutch managed to appropriate this area, the wood could comfortably be brought to the bay and loaded on Dutch keels. However, at the present time, Zerviaen obeyed the Portuguese mestiço ruler in Lifau, António Hornay. Thus the valuable wood was brought over land to Lifau with great effort and hard work, to be loaded on ships from Macau – sandalwood was in great demand in China for incense production. The Company feared to fall out with the resourceful Hornay, and so they were denied this profitable opportunity.⁴⁹

At the same time, discontented Timorese aristocrats were defecting from the Portuguese sphere. In 1658, a part of the Sonba'i subjects moved from the highlands to join the Company in the Kupang area. With Dutch support a new “emperor” was set up in opposition to the Portuguese-controlled Sonba'i polity in the inland. A minor exodus from Sorbian to Kupang took place in 1683 under a brother of the King of Amfo'an, and in 1688 a regent of Sorbian called Ama Taebenu showed up with a number of followers. These congregations were henceforth known as “Amfo'an” and “Taebenu” after their places of origin, which remained under Portuguese suzerainty for the time being.⁵⁰ All the new groups were treated by the Dutch as subordinated allies and settled around the port.

In 1693, the Dutch opperhoofd or resident in Kupang interviewed leading Taebenu grandees about the recent history of Sorbian. The grandees spoke about “the old heritage [erffenis], since about 50 years ago it was conquered by the Sonba'is. Since that time they [the Taebenus] had remained residing in Amarasi, and after the Sonba'is abandoned their land 32 or 33 years ago, they once again took possession of [Sorbian].”⁵¹

Relations between the immigrant groups were not always amicable. In January 1696 a row between Sonba'i and the Taebenu groups threatened to disturb the peace. At the root of the conflict lay a status issue. The Taebenu immigrants from Sorbian, it was claimed, “are also Sonba'i people, and also descended from the ancestral house of Amfo'an.” They were therefore commanded to yield tribute to the Sonba'i ruler, but declined to do so. The matter was discussed in a general meeting arranged by the Dutch authorities. Present were the ruling Empress of Sonba'i and the chiefs of Taebenu and Amfo'an. The latter chief acted in a diplomatic way and showed his ritual respects before the empress. The Taebenu aristocracy, however, though not actually denying that they were Sonba'i people, vehemently refused to submit.⁵² The incident was to cause trouble among the allies of the Company some years later. This, however, is outside the concern of this article.

⁴⁹ *Consideratien tot speculatie [...] op het reguard van het Eylandt Timor* (Unpublished manuscript 1689, H49:v, Archive of KITLV, Leiden, The Netherlands).

⁵⁰ The difference between Sorbian and Amfo'an seems to be that the former was a territory, and the latter a dynastic group. Oral traditions indicate that Taebenu were executive regents (*siko*) rather than “kings” in the Sorbian area.

⁵¹ VOC 1531 n. p.

⁵² VOC 1577, *Dagregister* [Daily record], sub 2-3 January 1696.

These pieces of information thus indicate that the migrant groups who came from Sorbian were from one perspective considered to be Sonba'i divisions. At the same time, Sorbian was only considered to have been in Sonba'i hands for less than two decades, from the 1640s to c. 1660. Of course, this is too short time for an identification of Sonba'i and Sorbian to have taken root, if Sorbian was only a minor land in the northwest. Rather, we must consider the possibility that the expansion of Sonba'i spoken of in Dutch sources was really a political reshuffling where the new rulers took over an extensive inland area with a trading outlet in the northwest. Judging from later Timorese tradition, Servião -Sorbian might have been an early domain governed by the Kune family, which was later subdued by a Tetun aristocracy which claimed Wehali roots. At any rate there was a perceived affinity between the aristocracies of Sonba'i and Sorbian-Servião, where the former endeavoured to claim suzerainty over the latter. What the prerogatives of the Sonba'i lords were like before 1649 is unclear, but at least they were able to retain a superior ceremonial status in western Timor until modern time, apparently based in part on their superseding of the old Kune lords.

All this is necessarily rather speculative. We may stand on firmer ground when claiming that there were important economic aspects of relations between the inland and the north-western coast. From the recent well-researched study of Arend de Roever, we now know that the trade in Timorese sandalwood only took off in the sixteenth century, after the Portuguese arrived in Southeast Asia. Foreign traders brought various utensils and luxury goods to the low-technological societies on Timor, something that could reinforce the political capabilities of local rulers. Access to the good sandalwood forests became crucial in order to partake in the profits offered by the new commercial networks.⁵³ One may deduce that a few Servião aristocrats, the Amfo'an and Taebenu chiefs, were sent to the northwest in order to handle the best sandalwood found in this part of Timor. They would allow their retainers cut the wood and transport it to the seaside, where it would be picked up by foreign traders. Most probably the trading outlet took the name of the central realm: Servião, Sorbian.⁵⁴ Due to the distance from the original land, they later became increasingly autonomous princes.

To sum up, Servião seems to have been an early West Timorese domain of some importance, dominating much of the interior. At a time it was taken over by the Sonba'i aristocracy, perhaps as a consequence of its defeat by the Portuguese in 1642. The commercially vital north-western part, known by the Dutch as "Sorbian," went its own way after c. 1660, though its aristocracies were still claimed to be "Sonba'i." The Portuguese, sensing his paramount ritual importance among the Atoni Pah Meto, later claimed the Sonba'i lord to be the Emperor of Servião. That the Portuguese hailed his position as "emperor" of entire West Timor—which does not quite correspond to indigenous Timorese conceptions—seems to point at his being a useful tool of legitimation for the colonial powers as long as they kept him under their thumb.

Concluding Remarks

The borderline between the Dutch and Portuguese spheres of power on Timor was established through diplomatic agreements in 1851, 1859 and 1916. Shortly before the latter date, the respective powers were finally able to suppress the independence of the many small principalities of the island. In that respect, a colonial rule as conventionally understood only commenced some two centuries and a half after the beginning of the European establishment

⁵³ A. De Roever, *De jacht op sandelhout*.

⁵⁴ A similar assumption has previously been made by H. G. Schulte Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni of Timor*, 162. Schulte Nordholt, however, believes that the Sonba'i dynastic group was dominating Servião since long, which, as pointed out, there is reason to doubt.

in the mid seventeenth century. The distribution of principalities pertaining to Servião and Belu in the documents of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century already more or less corresponded to the modern areas of Indonesian Timor and Timor Leste. This, of course, neither adds nor subtracts to modern conceptions of national affiliation, which only took shape during the twentieth century. Rather, it indicates what areas proved susceptible to Portuguese colonial domination due to a complicated combination of historical factors.

The geographical terms “Servião” and “Belu” were both based on hierarchies that clearly existed long before the beginning of Western political domination. Their direct political influence was limited; the traditional rulers were the highest in rank among the Atoni Pah Meto and the Tetun speakers, respectively, but only in terms of ritual precedence. Nothing suggests that these principalities had any political status comparable to Western states before the arrival of Europeans. They did not meet the criteria of an early state as discussed by Claessen and Oosten, which includes a sufficient number of people to form a stratified society, control over a specified territory, a system for yielding an economic surplus, and an ideology that justifies a hierarchical organization.⁵⁵ At the most, they may have met these criteria within their immediate spheres in the inland of West Timor and the south of Central Timor. Rather, these comprehensive hierarchical systems find parallels in the ritual rulerships in some other parts of the archipelago, such as Minangkabau (up to 1815) and Klungkung on Bali (up to 1908), which to Western outsiders appeared as irrelevant and lacking in power, but who actually constituted “kingdoms of words” with a considerable regional significance.⁵⁶

To conclude, the Portuguese took over Servião and Belu, but in doing so they transformed them and interpreted them according to the political landscape as they understood it. Some aspects of the division ran counter to indigenous Timorese perceptions. The central Belunese lands, including Wehali, were allocated to Servião, and the Sonba’i lord was conceived as the Emperor of Servião--an idea not found among the Atoni Pah Meto kingdoms, who rather related themselves genealogically to Sonba’i. Local knowledge was thus transformed into colonial knowledge which implied an idea of executive, solid and formalized power not found in the traditional Timorese system. Servião and Belu became tools to handle the complicated realities of more than 60 minor principalities, whose ritualized connections largely escaped the observer from the outside.

Regarding the political division of the island found today, one may tentatively ask whether the discrepancy between the colonial and traditional political divisions have had consequences in our own time. As a matter of fact, the indigenous hierarchy has not quite played out its role. Integrationists who in the late 1990s wished to see a Timor under Indonesian flag, were not slow to refer to the old ritual division with the Maromak Oan at the apex, and his three executive Liurais in the west, the centre and the east. But the colonial borders, secured over the centuries by bullets and treaties, in the end turned out to be the more endurable.

⁵⁵ H. J. M. Claessen & J. G. Oosten, “Introduction,” in H. J. M. Claessen and J. G. Oosten, eds., *Ideology and the Formation of Early States* (Leiden: Brill 1996), 5.

⁵⁶ J. Drakard, *A Kingdom of Words; Language and Power in Sumatra* (Selangor: Oxford University Press 1999); M. Wiener, *Visible and Invisible Realms; Power, Magic, and Colonial Conquest in Bali* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press 1995).