

**The indigenous music of East Timor and its relationship to the social
and cultural mores and *lulik* worldview of its autochthonous people**

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University's Digital Repository**, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

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DEDICATION

As I began to write the conclusion of my thesis, I received the news that Justino Valentim, a Fataluku elder and friend had just died. I was shocked and saddened; he was not an old man and was highly regarded as a leading authority on indigenous Fataluku culture. He had meticulously transcribed and documented much of this culture in personal archives, including 850 *vaihoho* (ancient Fataluku chants). He had generously shared some of this material with me in the years between 2011 and 2014 and assisted with the Fataluku transcriptions and translations for my book *Lian husi klamar: Sounds of the soul* (2012). He was delighted when I gave him a copy because at last there was a book in an indigenous language (Tetun) that detailed so much of the indigenous musical culture of East Timor. He and I had discussed the prospect of a Fataluku translation of my book as many Fataluku people do not speak Tetun. The work was to start in 2015 and I was looking forward to our collaboration; rest in peace dear man.

Not long after the news of Justino's death I learned of another death, that of Salvatore da Costa Pereira, a cultural custodian who had also shared memories and information about his culture with me. The passing of these elders made me realise that I have been very privileged in the friendships and associations that I have made over the many years of fieldwork along with the many unforgettable experiences accumulated along the way. I have been the recipient of extraordinary hospitality in East Timorese homes and village communities across the nation and my understanding of these people has been greatly enriched by these associations.

This research would not have been possible without the time and generosity of the East Timorese who performed their indigenous music, shared their stories and information so enthusiastically and willingly assisted in so many ways the research process. I thank them most humbly for the trust they placed in me and for sharing their musical culture, trusting me to capture it accurately.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title	1
Declaration of original authorship	2
Dedication	3
Acknowledgements	4
Table of contents	7
Abstract	11
Nomenclature	12
Keywords	14
Background	15
i. Background to my involvement with East Timor	15
ii. Tekee Tokee Tomak: a field project	16
Introduction	18
i. The purpose of this thesis	18
ii. The importance of this study	18
iii. Structure of the thesis	19
 <u>PART ONE</u>	 Historical, social and cultural overview and Methodology
 CHAPTER ONE	 <u>Historical overview</u>
1.1 The land	24
1.2 Ancestral origins	26
1.3 Migration and language	27
1.4 Mythical origins	29
1.5 Trade	32
1.6 Colonial influence	33
1.7 Occupation	35
1.8 Summary and reflections	36
CHAPTER TWO	<u>Societal mores</u>
2.1 Three categories of East Timorese	38
2.2 The displacement of village society during Indonesian occupation	39
2.3 Indigenous political power	41
2.4 Indigenous ritual power	43
2.5 Indigenous judicial system	45
2.6 The family unit	47
2.7 <i>Fetosa-umane</i> , wife giver, wife taker	48
2.8 Summary and reflections	50
CHAPTER THREE	<u>Cultural mores</u>
3.1 Defining culture	51
3.2 Animist beliefs and ancestral worship	52
3.3 <i>Lulik</i>	56
3.4 <i>Uma lulik</i>	58

3.5	Ritual	61
3.6	The significance of the betel chew	62
3.7	Summary and reflections	64
CHAPTER FOUR	<u>The rituals of life and death</u>	65
4.1	<i>Lia moris</i> – rituals of life	65
ii.	Rituals of birth	65
iii.	Rituals of marriage	67
iv.	Rituals of <i>uma lulik</i>	68
v.	Rituals of war and headhunting	70
vi.	Rituals of initiation	71
vii.	Rituals of agriculture	72
4.2	<i>Lia mate</i> – rituals of death	74
4.3	Summary and reflections	77
CHAPTER FIVE	<u>Music of East Timor, existing knowledge, new questions</u>	78
5.1	Previous research on the music of East Timor	78
5.2	Relevant conclusions from previous chapters	78
5.3	Questions raised by the limits to existing knowledge	80
CHAPTER SIX	<u>Methodology</u>	81
6.1	Method	81
6.2	Primary and secondary field research	82
6.3	Classification schemes	83
6.4	Organology	85
6.5	Taxonomy or partonomy	86
6.6	A watershed in the search for a classification	87
6.7	A scheme for classification	88
6.8	Field trips and recording methods	89
6.9	Musical Transcriptions	89
<u>PART TWO</u>	<u>Findings of the research</u>	90
CHAPTER SEVEN	<u>The musical instruments used for indigenous music</u>	91
7.1	Musical instruments which are beaten	93
7.2	Musical instruments which are shaken	120
7.3	Musical instruments which are blown	122
7.4	Musical instruments which are pulled	130
7.5	Summary and reflections	132
CHAPTER EIGHT	<u>Song and dance and their relationship to the musical instruments used for indigenous music</u>	134
8.1	Timbral techniques used by the voice in indigenous song	135
8.2	Role of song	138

8.3	Role of dance	148
8.4	Dahur	148
8.5	Tebedai	151
8.6	Bidu from Kovalima	155
8.7	Dances of Oekusi	156
8.8	Dance which is presented as theatre	158
8.9	Role of musical instruments in song and dance	160
8.10	Summary and reflections	162
CHAPTER NINE	<u>The place of indigenous music within the mores of East Timorese society</u>	163
9.1	The function of music in human society	164
9.2	The meaning of music to the East Timorese	165
9.3	The function of music as a means of communication amongst the East Timorese	166
9.4	The function of music as expression for the East Timorese	171
9.5	The social function of music in East Timorese society	176
9.6	Role of the musician in East Timorese society	178
9.7	Relationship of the musical instruments to <i>lulik</i>	179
9.8	Summary and reflections	186
<u>PART THREE</u>	Results of the research	187
CHAPTER TEN	<u>The relationship of <i>lulik</i> and the indigenous music</u>	188
10.1	<i>Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo</i> : A multimedia enactment of a Mambae origin myth	189
10.2	An interpretation of <i>Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo</i>	191
10.3	The significance of objects placed inside <i>uma lulik</i>	196
10.4	Reflections on questions and answers from interviews	198
10.5	An explanation for the musical instruments being considered <i>lulik</i>	200
10.6	The relationship of the ancestors to musical instruments	201
10.7	The musical instruments: two kinds of <i>lulik</i>	202
10.8	A scheme for classification	203
10.9	The significance of the material substance of the musical instruments to <i>lulik</i>	205
10.10	The relevance of gender to the musical instruments	207
10.11	The role and usage of the musical instruments in contemporary East Timorese society	208
10.12	Factors which emerged from the diagrams	210
10.13	Summary and reflections	210
CHAPTER ELEVEN	<u>Summary and Conclusion</u>	212
EPILOGUE		217
APPENDICES		218
A.	<i>Uma lulik</i> (sacred house) variations in structural emphasis across ethnolinguistic groups of East Timor	218

B.	<i>Tais</i> patterns showing variation in the different clan groups across East Timor	219
C.	Origin Myth from the Carabaulo clan (Hicks, 1976, pp. 65–66)	220
D.	Kemak origin myth of the first <i>uma lulik</i> – transcribed by Andrea Molnar (2005)	221
E.	<i>Hisik Fini</i> – To Sprinkle the Seeds – Wehali ritual – Tom Therik (2004) Wehali: The female land: The traditions of a Timorese ritual centre.	222
F.	Wehale Harvest Prayer: Transcribed by Tom Therik (2004, p. 201) Wehali: The female land: The traditions of a Timorese ritual centre.	223
G.	Physical Properties of the Indigenous Musical Instruments of East Timor	224
H.	Musical Properties of the Indigenous Musical Instruments of East Timor	228
I.	Ethnographic Properties of the Indigenous Musical Instruments of East Timor	233
J.	Different <i>bijol meto</i> from Oekusi	237
K.	<i>Baba-dook</i> rhythm patterns from different ethnolinguistic groups	238
L.	<i>Pengbi</i> : Native Chinese wind instrument Rongshui Miao autonomous county	241
M.	Examples of <i>nels</i> and <i>sits</i>	242
N.	List of those interviewed and clan location	246
O.	Answers to questions asked: Do you think the musical instruments are <i>lulik</i> ?	247
P.	Belief that the origins of the first ancestors of the Makalero people being giants	248
Q.	Details of Field Trips undertaken - prior to PhD candidature and during PhD candidature	249
REFERENCES		252
GLOSSARY		267
LIST OF FIGURES		271
LIST OF AUDIO EXAMPLES		275
LIST OF AUDIOVISUAL EXAMPLES		277

ABSTRACT

This thesis defines the indigenous music of East Timor and the range and variety of its musical instruments and investigates their place within the societal and cultural mores of its autochthonous people. The island of Timor is a convergence of two major cultural groups, Austronesian and Melanesian, and as a consequence East Timor comprises many ethnolinguistic groups. My empirical research revealed diversity in the indigenous music across these groups, a reflection perhaps of the heterogeneous origins of the peoples who migrated to its shores. The indigenous cultures throughout East Timor, including musical are passed on by oral transmission and have been subjected to many influences and changes over the course of time. East Timor was on a trading network and influences from these other nations affected indigenous cultures. Centuries of invasion and occupation have also impacted the island culture. The widespread destruction by the departing Indonesian armed forces in 1999 affected the indigenous music to the extent that much of it is now regarded as endangered. Prior to this current investigation little had been written about East Timor's indigenous music, nor has its relationship to *lulik*, the society and the cultures of its autochthonous people been considered in any detail.

Empirical field research has shown that indigenous music is part of East Timorese society and culture rather than a separate entity. Therefore this thesis examines the society and culture of its autochthonous people as part of the investigation and looks at relationships between the indigenous music and these other aspects. East Timorese society is structured through a powerful system of extended marital alliance creating complex relationships between clans and its underlying indigenous belief system is based on ancestral worship. At its core is *lulik*, considered the spiritual root of all life. *Lulik* is a complex concept, with many layers, and the governance of *lulik's* sacred rules and regulations shapes most relationships in East Timorese society. As well as exploring the relationship between *lulik* and the indigenous music and societal and cultural mores of East Timor, this thesis proposes a scheme of classification which represents this relationship.

NOMENCLATURE

“There are sixteen national languages recognised by the Democratic Republic of East Timor” (Dunlop, 2012, p. xvi). One of the national languages Tetun, is the *lingua franca* for most of East Timor, excluding those who are from the Fataluku and Baikeno ethnolinguistic groups. The names of musical instruments, songs, and dances may vary across language groups. “For example, the *kakeit* (Tetun), a jaw harp, is also known as *knobe* (Baikeno), *snarko* (Mambae), *rai rai* (Waima), *nagu* (Makasae), *pepuru* (Fataluku) and so on” (Dunlop, 2012, p. xvi). The orthography of Tetun is in a state of flux and so spellings of Tetun names varies in the Tetun dictionaries consulted during the course of the research and writing of the thesis. Whilst some readers may recognise some places and names by spellings codified during the period of colonisation by the Portuguese, the spellings of many words, has changed, for example, “Lautem is now spelt Lautein to conform to the new codification of the Tetun language being proposed by the Instituto Nacional de Lingüística (INL) in Dili, East Timor” (Dunlop, 2012, p. xvi).

The names of musical instruments played for indigenous music by the autochthonous East Timorese will be referred to in italics by their Tetun (or other language) names with an English explanation provided when they are initially introduced and for the rest of the thesis only by their Tetun names. The music played by the indigenous East Timorese which they regard as traditional will be referred to as indigenous music. Further discussion on the group regarded as indigenous East Timorese can be found in section 2.1 of this thesis. The musical instruments which the East Timorese regard as traditional will be referred to as musical instruments or traditional musical instruments. Further discussion on the reasoning for using the term traditional and musical instruments regarded as traditional by the East Timorese can be found on pages 92 and 93 of this thesis. Dance and song used in indigenous music regarded as traditional by the East Timorese will be referred to as indigenous song and indigenous dance. References to the indigenous culture and society of the autochthonous people of East Timor will be referred to as indigenous culture and indigenous society.

There are numerous indigenous languages in East Timor as cited above. This suggests that there may be diversity in the cultures of these language groups. The word ‘culture’ is used in the thesis in broad strokes and when discussing the culture of the East Timor, the author is referring to the commonality across these linguistic clan groups. When using terms such ‘culture’ (singular and plural), ‘indigenous culture’, ‘society and culture’, ‘indigenous culture of East Timor’ and ‘indigenous musical culture’, the author is referring to culture in general terms as it relates to all indigenous East Timorese that is, pan-East Timorese culture. The culture of specific ethnolinguistic groups is at times discussed and analysed to ascertain whether there are any patterns of difference, similarity or variation between cultures of specific clan groups and the pan-East Timorese indigenous culture.

A glossary is provided which may help to clarify an instrument name, dance, musical (or other) term. The nation of Timor-Leste is also known as East Timor, however the indigenous population generally refer to their country as Timor. This would be confusing in the context of this thesis as it could be misconstrued as including West Timor. Consequently I have adopted the English spelling of East Timor throughout this thesis.

Western labels have been given to pitches, pitch ranges, and intervals. This has been done as an analytical tool for western readers and is often an approximation.

There were a large number of personal communications involved in the research for this thesis, these are cited as; personal communications. There were 32 people interviewed. These interviews were recorded or documented through notes translated and transcribed, these interviews are cited as; interview, for clarity and conciseness.

During the course of the research for this thesis I wrote the book *Lian Husi Klamar: Sounds of the Soul* (2012). The book and the thesis use similar images as much of the material gathered during the field research for the thesis was also used for the book. The deep etched images of musical instruments used for the book were also intended for the thesis as they clearly illustrate these objects. Where the image was solely intended for the book and published there I have cited it. Where the image was acquired for the thesis and came to be used in the book, I have cited its original source only.

KEYWORDS

Traditional, indigenous, East Timor, East Timorese, music, instruments, culture emerging, oral tradition, classification, partonomy, taxonomy, organology, ethnomusicology, ethnolinguistic, autochthonous, ancestors, origin, migration, occupation, *lulik*, *uma lulik*, sacred house, dance, song, ritual, performance, *lia na'in*, cultural custodian, *liurai*, *tara bandu*, death, myth, society, culture, mores, function, musical, struck, blown, sound, *barlake*, *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*

BACKGROUND

- i. Background to my involvement with East Timor
- ii. Tekee Tokee Tomak: a field project

i. Background to my involvement with East Timor

In 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor. Twenty-four years of suffering and resistance by the East Timorese followed until its independence in 1999. Activists from around the world supported East Timor's struggle during those years, amongst them were the brothers Martin and Robert Wesley-Smith. Robert, who lived in Darwin, was a passionate advocate for the East Timorese and assisted the resistance on many levels. His reputation as an activist put his name on the list of those banned from entering Indonesia (which included East Timor) during the years of occupation. Martin is an Australian composer who wrote many audiovisual compositions about East Timor's struggle for independence during the years of occupation. In 1999, Martin wrote a composition called *X* for clarinet and audiovisuals, which is about the popular resistance leader Xanana Gusmão and the struggle for independence. *X* was written shortly before Gusmão's release from Cipinang prison in Jakarta, Indonesia, where he had been imprisoned for seven years. The visuals in *X* are explicit in their portrayal of human rights abuses and the suffering endured by the East Timorese. Although I was well aware of the situation of East Timor it was not until I started performing *X* that I became involved in actively assisting the East Timorese, particularly East Timorese artists and musicians. I played *X* in a concert in Darwin in 2000. At the end of this performance there was no applause for five minutes after the piece ended just the sound of people quietly weeping. Several audience members were East Timorese living in Darwin. In September of 2001 just two weeks after the terrorist attacks on 9/11, I played a concert tour in the USA which included *X*. The same emotional response to the piece was to be repeated for the whole of that concert tour.

In April 2002, I was invited to visit East Timor with Martin and Robert Wesley-Smith to give a number of concerts in the capital Dili and remote villages beyond it. We three had no idea what to expect as we flew into Dili. I never imagined the effect that journey would now have on my life. The country was abuzz with the fervour leading up to the elections for the first president of the world's newest nation. "We were swept along in the excitement, and fell under the spell of the country, its people and its culture" (Dunlop, 2012, p. x). I played *X* and another audiovisual piece *Welcome to the Hotel Turismo* in these concerts. We went into villages with little or no electricity, often using generators supplied by local priests and village leaders for our sound amplification and projection needs. Martin and I were concerned that showing the content of these pieces to the East Timorese, many of whom were traumatised by their experiences during occupation, would rekindle memories that they were likely trying to forget. Community leaders who asked us to do these pieces assured us that the East Timorese needed to know that their experiences during occupation were not isolated. This understanding was confirmed in comments made after performances by some audience members. That was my first realisation that to a large degree, East Timorese society is based around the immediate village that a person comes from and that many members in fact do not travel far beyond its boundaries. As we toured East Timor "elders from a couple of villages remarked on the need to preserve their music for posterity. They were concerned that their indigenous musical culture would die with them" (Dunlop, 2012, p. x). I had no idea what this music sounded like at that time, nor did I see or hear any evidence of this music as we journeyed around the country.

We did hear music though. Groups of young people playing guitars and singing popular songs, Portuguese-style dance bands and singing from church congregations and choirs, but we heard and saw little else. At that time the evidence of the destruction of buildings, farming land, crops, animals, roads and of essential services such as electricity, was visible everywhere. Refugees as a result of the events of 1999 were still in camps across the border in Indonesia. East Timorese society was fractured and understandably, given all the problems, little attention was given to indigenous musical culture. We learnt from locals that, along with everything else, many musical instruments had been destroyed.

ii. Tekee Tokee Tomak: a field project

“I left East Timor after that first trip feeling enriched by all I had seen and heard” (Dunlop, 2012, p. x) and wanted to know more about these people and their culture. At that time my Tetun¹ was almost non-existent apart from a few basic phrases. With much bravado and naivety I returned in 2003. This was the first of many trips to East Timor to record indigenous music. Some vital contacts were made from the outset, some almost accidentally, such as those which put me in touch with an artist community, Arte Moris,² and a tiny audiovisual archive, CAMSTL (Centro Audiovisual Max Stahl Timor Leste).³ These two organisations and their members were eager to be involved in the process of researching and recording their native music.

The East Timorese from these two organisations knew little at that time about the musical instruments played for indigenous music, apart from the *baba-dook* (small drum) and *tala* (handheld gong). The dance *tebedai* (line dance accompanied by *baba-dook* and *tala*) and *dahur* (circle dance accompanied by song) was better known, but not regularly performed in the various villages from which came the East Timorese members of Arte Moris and CAMSTL. My working relationship with the members of Arte Moris and CAMSTL developed over the years into one of trust and friendship. I realised with hindsight how fortunate I was to be accepted into these two communities. I was shown and told things about East Timorese culture via my East Timorese research assistants that were seldom shared with foreigners.

These young people (they were all under 30) from Arte Moris and CAMSTL were from villages all over East Timor. When going to a particular village they would organise the succession of events which allowed a musical performance to take place for me to make a recording. Most of these members of Arte Moris and CAMSTL had not seen or heard the music from their own villages that were performed for these recordings. I was curious as to why this was the case, and over time learnt that for a variety of reasons the music played for us is seldom played nowadays.

¹Tetun, the *lingua franca* for many East Timorese, “is an Austronesian language of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch. It originated in southeastern Celebes and is distantly related to Malay-Indonesian and most of the languages of Indonesia, the Philippines and the Pacific” (Hull, 2006, p. xi).

²Arte Moris is a community of visual artists, initially set up as a free art school by Swiss artist Luca Gansser and his wife Gabriela in 2002.

³Max Stahl is a cameraman who filmed the massacre of Santa Cruz on November 12, 1991. His film footage made public to the world the atrocities by the Indonesian military to the East Timorese. He subsequently filmed interviews with resistance leaders, and activities leading up to independence. His hundreds of hours of footage are now the main body of the film archive material in CAMSTL.

By 2009 the music recorded through the Tekee Tokee Tomak project was attracting interest from the international community, living both within and outside of East Timor. The project had recorded on film more than sixty hours of indigenous music. A DVD compiled from some of this film footage was made available to the general public. Audiovisual presentations about the indigenous music were conducted in some Australian schools and in conferences. After viewing the DVD, Hans Klemm, the United States of America's Ambassador in Dili, was keen to assist the documentation of the project's findings in a publication. In May 2010, a few months after I commenced my candidature in a doctorate of music I was awarded the funding for this publication by the Ambassador of the United States of America's Cultural Preservation Fund. The result was the book *Lian husi klamar: Sounds of the soul*, a bilingual publication in Tetun and English with accompanying DVD and CD, published in 2012. The book was aimed primarily at a readership of East Timorese, many of whom are semi-literate, and also foreigners interested in the musical culture of East Timor. Consequently the book is image rich and the language straightforward. *Sounds of the Soul* is included as an addendum to this thesis. Armed with the raw materials I had gathered from field work from 2003 to 2010, and the desire to deepen the research, I took these efforts to the level of the PhD in 2011.

INTRODUCTION

- i. The purpose of this thesis
- ii. The importance of this study
- iii. Structure of the thesis

i. The purpose of this thesis

At the time of thesis submission very little written research existed about the indigenous music of East Timor. That which does exist mostly refers to music contained within descriptions of other events in the society and culture, and relationships between music and *lulik* (Sacred, holy, forbidden, spiritual source of life, core of moral standards) have not been discussed in these publications. Until now the indigenous music of East Timor and/or its material objects have not been formally classified. The purpose of this thesis was twofold: first, to identify the material objects of the indigenous music of East Timor, its musical instruments and to investigate their place within the social and cultural mores⁴ of the East Timorese. Second, to develop a system which best represented the material found in the research and through this classification ascertain what kind of relationship, if any, existed between *lulik* and the indigenous music and the societal and cultural mores of the islanders.

Central to my research was the investigation of the nature of the relationship, if any, between *lulik* and the indigenous music and the societal and cultural mores of East Timor, and whether it was possible to represent these relationships in a scheme of classification. In each of the components (*lulik*, music, society and culture) studied, there were tangible and intangible elements. These elements needed investigation to determine whether there were discernible relationships between them, and if so, to develop an appropriate scheme of classification which illustrated these relationships. Research consisted of my primary field research of audiovisual recordings, interviews, photographs and written material from my field note books, as well as the existing documentation by others about the historical background of East Timor and its social and cultural customs.

ii. The importance of this study

I commenced field research in 2003, and discovered that the indigenous music of East Timor was a hidden culture and difficult to access. There were few intact musical instruments with which to play this music as most had been destroyed by the Indonesians during occupation (1975–1999). Many of the people who knew this music had died without imparting their knowledge to the next generation. These two factors placed this music in a fragile state; perhaps in danger of extinction.

During the course of research it became clear that the indigenous music was an integrated part of the cultures of the autochthonous East Timorese. The investigation needed to be framed in such a way that

⁴The Latin; *mōrēs* is the plural form of *mōs*, meaning manner or custom. Mores are “a set of moral norms or customs derived from generally accepted practices. Mores derive from the established practices of a society rather than its written laws ... The term mores was coined by the sociologist William Graham Sumner (1840-1910)” (“Folkways and Mores”, 2015). “Mores consist of those ways of doing things which are current in a society to satisfy human needs and desires, but which include judgements as to societal welfare. As such, mores contain embedded philosophical and ethical principles of right and truth that guide attempts to live well and satisfy interests under the current conditions” (Manning, 2015, p. 14).

any relationships which might be revealed could be analysed. As no scheme of classification had been undertaken for the indigenous music of East Timor, careful consideration had to be given to the other elements which made up the whole life of the East Timorese, not just the music. *Lulik* is of central importance to the East Timorese, and it is not only appropriate to investigate the relationship of *lulik* to the music, but it is also of fundamental importance in the framing of a classification scheme.

iii. Structure of the thesis

My thesis is divided into three parts. Part One consists of a historical study of the East Timorese and broadly discusses their social and cultural mores as well as reviewing existing literature, methodology and approach to the issues of classification. Part Two consists of my findings and discusses the musical instruments played for indigenous music and musically-related activities and the place of these in the mores of the society. Part Three elaborates the results of my research.

PART ONE Historical, social and cultural overview

In **Chapter One** the origins of the East Timorese are discussed, including migrations and occupation in order to understand the differences, variations and/or peculiarities in culture, particularly music as performed across the ethnolinguistic groups. The geomorphic features of the island of East Timor are examined to determine whether these have any bearing on similarities or differences between ethnolinguistic groups especially their social structure and cultures.

In **Chapter Two** the societal mores of the East Timorese are discussed. This is necessary in order to be able to evaluate the relationship of the indigenous music to the society. Three main ethnic groups living in East Timor are identified; however the only group which observes indigenous cultural practices is the indigenous East Timorese. From this point onwards, any mention of the East Timorese refers to the latter group – the indigenous East Timorese. The difficulties encountered by the indigenous East Timorese in maintaining their customary practices under Indonesian occupation, are set out. The importance and place of *lulik* as the essence of East Timorese society is highlighted and its place in the overall study considered carefully before looking at the place of music in the social and cultural mores of East Timorese society.

In **Chapter Three** the indigenous belief system of the East Timorese is examined, highlighting the elements of animism and investigating the most important rituals of the East Timorese. The importance of ancestors and ancestral worship, and the significance of *lulik*, *uma lulik* (sacred houses) and associated symbols to their belief system, is explained. The rituals of the East Timorese are classified into two main groups, rituals of life and rituals of death.

In **Chapter Four** further discourse on the rituals of life and death of the East Timorese is necessary before considering the place of indigenous music within these rituals. The significance of *barlake*⁵ (traditional matrimonial contract) is discussed and also the importance of the *uma lulik* (sacred house) to rituals of life and death. An examination of the rituals of death is necessary in order to understand the importance of the relationship between the living and the dead.

⁵ *Barlake* involves “an exchange of goods between the families of the affianced couple” (Hicks, 2012, p. 124).

In **Chapter Five** the existing literature on the indigenous music is reviewed. Based on the information collated in the first four chapters, a set of research questions are proposed that will assist in the analysis of my empirical knowledge of the indigenous music and a consideration of its place in, and any relationships with, East Timorese society, culture and *lulik*.

In **Chapter Six** I explain my methodology and outline the different components of the study needing to be addressed. I explain the methods of my primary research as well as examining different classification systems, discussing their merits and limitations in the process of developing a suitable scheme.

PART TWO Findings of the research

In **Chapter Seven** the musical instruments used for indigenous music by the East Timorese are identified and the reasoning explained for determining their status as traditional or not. Central to this reasoning is the significance of the ancestors. Issues of acculturation regarding the origins of the instruments, and their preliminary classification, are discussed. The instruments are initially grouped into two main groups: those which are beaten and those which are blown, with further groups added, including those shaken or pulled and their musical attributes discussed.

In **Chapter Eight** the place of song and dance in the indigenous music of East Timor is explained. The role of song is considered first because sometimes song is the only form of music used in certain rituals and often the only accompaniment to the *dahur* (circle dance). The two main forms of dance are *dahur* and *tebedai* (line dance) as well as variations of these. The role of dance generally in the society is discussed. Some song and dance is used for theatrical performances to tell a story and examples will be given. Further consideration of these forms is discussed in my interpretation of the findings in Part Three of the thesis.

Chapter Nine looks at the possibility of the musical instruments played for indigenous music having *lulik* status through analysis of the data collected from interviews. As a prelude to this, the role of music in human society is discussed within categories of communication, expression and social usage and then its role in East Timorese society. The question of gender, both of the musical instruments and in the playing of them is addressed and whether this has any bearing on the perceived *lulik* qualities of the instruments.

PART THREE Results of the research

In **Chapter Ten** my interpretation of the relationship between *lulik*, the indigenous music, the instruments, song and dance and the society and culture is explained through analysis of the myth of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*. This is a myth in the period before *lulik*, when the world is taken from darkness to the world of light and the creation of *lulik*. The importance of the role of the ancestors to my hypothesis, in determining which musical instruments are traditional (including the human voice and dance), is discussed. A series of diagrams with *lulik* as the constant, serve to illustrate the relationship of *lulik* to the music and society and culture.

Chapter Eleven concludes the thesis. Explanations are given for the necessity of the research and the outcome of the findings and the classification developed. I discuss my research questions and the

conclusions reached. In the summation the scope for further research is recognised and possible directions elaborated.

PART ONE

Historical, social and cultural overview

CHAPTER ONE**Historical overview**

- 1.1 The land
- 1.2 Ancestral origins
- 1.3 Migration and language
- 1.4 Mythical origins
- 1.5 Trade
- 1.6 Colonial influences
- 1.7 Occupation
- 1.8 Summary and reflections

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an appropriate historical background which will enable the reader to engage with the music in its context in later chapters. The indigenous music found across the ethnolinguistic groups of East Timor displays diversity in style, a reflection perhaps of the heterogeneous origins of peoples migrating to its shores. Mythical origins of musical instruments were often referred to by informants, and ancestors were frequently mentioned as having a significant role in many aspects of the culture across clan groups, including the musical. Now the indigenous music of East Timor is infrequently played. A broad study of the landscape of the island of Timor and historical origins of the people who settled there may help explain variances in the musical culture, clarify the role of ancestors and offer explanations why performances of the indigenous music are not as prevalent these days.

Early archaeological explorations suggest that the earliest settlers arrived on the island of Timor about 35,000 years ago (Glover, 1969; Lape, 2006; O'Connor, 2003; O'Connor & Veth, 2000) and migrations by Austronesian and Melanesian peoples occurred several thousands of years ago (Fox, 2003). Later followed the traders; first the Chinese, then Indian and Arabs, and centuries later, European explorers, merchants and Christian missionaries (Boxer, 1947; Dames, 1921; De Silva, 2011; Fox, 2003). Jolliffe (1978) writes: "With the Portuguese came African slaves, conscripts to the Portuguese army" (p. 16). In 1975 the Indonesian army invaded East Timor; occupation ensued until 1999 followed by administration by the United Nations and its agencies.

Differences in social and cultural mores may be attributed to the rugged geography of the island. It made travel between villages difficult and clan groups remained relatively intact for generations because they were isolated. This can be observed in the variation in the design of *uma lulik* (sacred house) across clan groups (see Appendix A). Differences can also be found regarding the location of the musical instruments. For example, some of the musical instruments of the Fataluku people were located in the far east of the island; instruments such as the *kakal'uta* (suspended log xylophone) and *fiku* (palm trumpet). These instruments are not found amongst the Mambae people, located further west on the island. There are also similarities in the music of some ethnolinguistic groups not in close proximity with each other that are puzzling. For example, the distinctive style of singing from the island of Ataúru, north of the main island of Timor, bears similarities to a style of singing found in Motohoi located on the south-eastern coast.

It is necessary to broadly discuss the historical background and geographical characteristics of East Timor to better understand the reasons for these similarities and differences before identifying the musical instruments, songs and dances of the indigenous East Timorese and evaluating their place within their societal and cultural mores.

1.1 The land

The island of Timor⁶ is part of the Malay Archipelago and the largest and most easterly of the Lesser Sunda Islands. The western portion of the island of Timor, West Timor belongs to the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur⁷ (Figure 1).

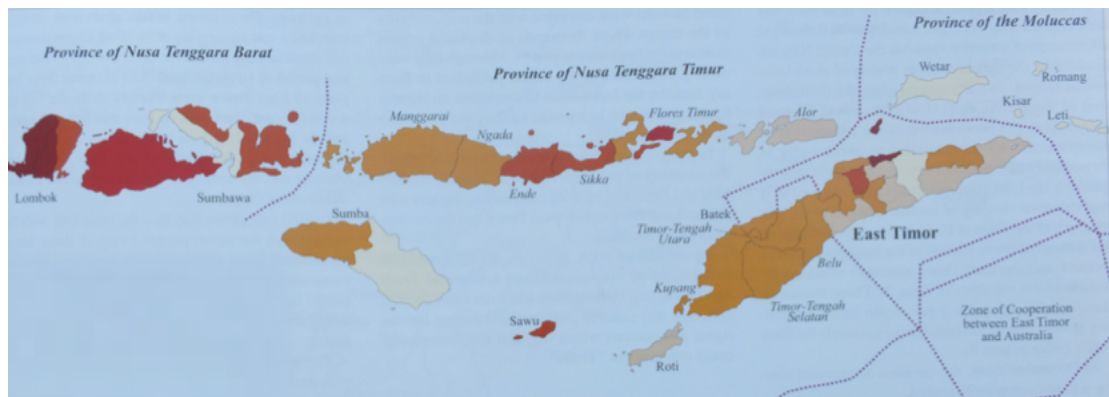


Figure 1. Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (Durand, 2006, p. 25)

The island of Timor lies between the Savu and Timor Seas, respectively called *tasi fetu* (female sea, generally calm) and *tasi mane* (male sea, generally rougher) by the East Timorese, separating it from the Indonesian Archipelago in the north and Australia to the south. The islands which make up Wallacea⁸ and Papua are located to the north-east of the island of Timor (see Figures 2 and 3).

⁶ Timor comes from the Malay word for east, so East Timor can be translated in English as east east.

⁷ Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) is a province of Indonesia; in Indonesian it means Eastern Southern Islands. NTT is located in the eastern part of the Lesser Sunda Islands. It includes the islands of Flores, Sumba, Adonara, Alor, Ende, Komodo, Lembata, Menipo, Rincih, Savu, Semau, Solor, Rote and the defined western portion of the island of Timor.

⁸ Alfred Russell Wallace, was a nineteenth century British naturalist, biologist, anthropologist, geographer and explorer. He formulated his ideas on evolution by observing wildlife in the islands of Southeast Asia. He was impressed by the sudden difference particularly in bird families when he sailed some twenty miles east of the island of Bali and landed on Lombok. On Bali the birds were clearly related to those of the larger islands of Java and Sumatra and mainland Malaysia. On Lombok the birds were clearly related to those of New Guinea and Australia. As a result he marked the channel between Bali and Lombok as the divide between two great zoogeographic regions, the Oriental and Australian. Today this dividing line extends northward between Borneo and Sulawesi and is referred to as Wallace's Line (Van Oosterzee, 1997). The Island region between Java and Papua New Guinea is referred to as Wallacea (<http://www.radford.edu/~swoodwar/CLASSES/GEOG235/zoogeog/walline.html>).



Figure 2. The Wallace Line in 1968 (Durand, 2006, p. 30)

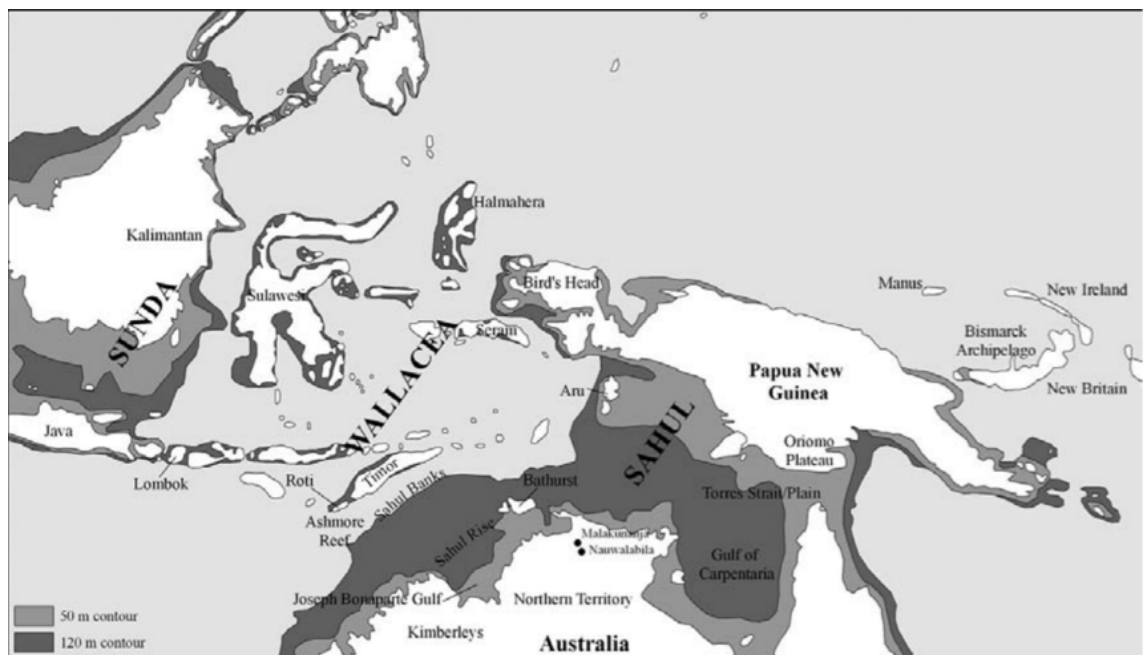


Figure 3. Map of Wallacea, Timor, Sahul and Sunda (Allen & O'Connell, 2008, p. 32)

East Timor has been an independent country since 2002. It includes the eastern half of the island of Timor, the enclave of Oekusi situated in the middle of the north coast of West Timor, the island of Ataúru due north of East Timor's capital Dili and the island of Jako a few hundred metres off the most easterly part of the main island. It is 265 km long (east-west), 92 km wide at its maximum, and encompasses an area of 14,609 square kilometres.

The Lesser Sunda Islands are volcanic and diverse in climate and landscape. Most of Timor is mountainous and the cordillera runs longitudinally from the east coast to the border with West Timor. The highest mountain Ramelau measures 2,963m in height. Ramelau is also known as *Tata Mai Lau* (Ancestor) and sacred to the East Timorese as they believe this mountain to be the spiritual home of their ancestors (Byrne, 1998, p. 74). The source of the river system throughout the island begins in the cordillera. These rivers often change course in the wet season due to the torrential rains which cause flooding. North and south of the cordillera are thin strips of savannah hugging the coastline. The quality

of the soil throughout the country is inconsistent. Although many of the mountainous valleys are fertile with plentiful water supply, the soil quality of the coastal regions is more arid so farming is arduous and crop production variable.

Until the twentieth century hardly any roads serviced the island: “after three hundred years of occupation, there has not been a mile of road made beyond the town and there is not a solitary European resident anywhere in the interior” (Wallace, 1869, p. 151). The lack of infrastructure made it difficult to traverse the island (Forbes, 1885). At that time the resident pony was the prized form of transport. Otherwise people walked and this is still the main mode of transport for most East Timorese. Now there are more roads but often these are barely passable due to poor construction methods, erosion and landslides that are the result of frequent flooding. Villages remain isolated which may serve to explain some of the on-going differences in the indigenous culture from village to village. For instance, differences in the patterning of the *tais*, (see Appendix B) the variation in architectural design and decoration of *uma lulik* (see Appendix A) are due to differences and variation in origin myths and ritual customs (Clamagirand, 1980; Fox, 2011; Hicks, 1976, 1984, 2003; Lazarowitz, 1980; Molnar, 2005; Morris, 1984; Therik, 2004; Traube, 1980, 1986). Differences also exist in the indigenous music, both in terms of the distribution of the musical instruments across East Timor, and their usage. There is also substantial regional variation in song and dance (Dunlop, 2012).

East Timor’s climate is as diverse as its landscape. Located in the southern monsoon belt, it is tropical, hot and humid in the coastal areas but simultaneously more temperate and even quite cold in the mountain regions. There are two seasons, the wet from November to April, and the dry from May to October; however, in the south of the island there are often two separate wet seasons. In some areas particularly on the north coast, the wet season barely makes its presence felt and the area often experiences drought and water is a scarce commodity throughout the year. The vegetation of the island is also diverse, from lush jungle to sparse and spindly bushland in areas of minimal rainfall. Erosion is commonplace due to the lack of vegetation and scouring by heavy rains during the wet season. East Timor seems to be a convergence of landforms and climates which “reflects the island’s position at the confluence of tropical Indonesia and the dry north-west of Australia” (Dunn, 2003, p. 2).

1.2 Ancestral origins

Located at the most easterly part of East Timor are the imposing caves of *Ile Kére Kére*.⁹ They are located on a secluded cliff platform hundreds of metres above sea level. Clearly visible on the rock wall of one cave are paintings.¹⁰ One is of a boat (see Figure 4) evidence that man’s arrival on the island of Timor was more than 35,000 years ago (O’Connor & Aplin, 2007, p. 86). It is thought that the first humans came to Timor by boat from the Pleistocene continents of Sunda and Sahul in Wallacea (Clark, Leach, O’Connor,

⁹ *Ile Kére Kére* are one of the groups of caves in the Konis Santana National Park, situated in the easterly part of the Lautein District in East Timor. These caves are well known for their rock art and fossil remains, which date back as far as 35,000 years ago.

¹⁰ I visited these caves on a field trip to East Timor in July 2010.

2008). Positioned between two of the caves is a large carved wooden totem which the Fataluku¹¹ (local ethnic group) call *ete uruha'a – ai to 'os*. The totem and the caves of *Ile Kére Kére*, including their surroundings, are regarded as *lulik* by local people (Lape, 2006).



Figure 4. Cave painting at *Ile Kére Kére* depicting a boat (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)

Since the arrival of these first people to the easterly part of the island of Timor, peoples of many different ethnic origins have converged on the island. The history of Timor prior to European arrival was largely orally transmitted. “The original inhabitants of Timor were thought to have been the Atoni (people of the dry land). The Tetum speaking Belu (southern plains people), were believed to be more recent intruders” (Jolliffe, 1978, p. 16). The island of Timor was made up of a number of kingdoms. The largest and most powerful was the kingdom of Waiwiku-Wehali¹² which was divided between the Atoni, and Belu Tetum (Gunn, 1999; Therik, 2004). There were four domains of this kingdom in what is now West Timor and many more in what is now East Timor. The kingdom of Wehali was the most dominant until the Portuguese defeated them in 1642 (Gunn, 1999; Taylor, 1999; Therik, 2004). There was a hierarchy of rulers under the supreme *liurai* (ruler) of Wehali: “The first located in South Belu (the coastal plain), the second in Sonbai, (to the west of the island) and the third in Suai-Kamanasa, to the south-centre of the island” (Taylor, 1999, p. 2).

1.3 Migration and language

Indigenous East Timorese are descendants of two major linguistic families, one Austronesian and the other Papuan (Capell, 1944). Archeological, historical and cultural evidence suggests the Papuan were the oldest inhabitants (McWilliam & Traube, 2011, p. 6). The physical appearance of the East Timorese “are closely allied to the true Papuans of the Aru Islands and New Guinea” (Wallace, 1869, p.142). “The East Timorese did not speak a common language, as there were no books or centralised kinship” (Gunn, 1999, p. 104). The anthropologist Traube (1986) explains the importance of the history of the island linguistically over the centuries:

¹¹ Fataluku is a language of Papuan origins spoken in the far eastern end of the island of Timor, in the Lauten district.

¹² Wehali means the land of the woman, based on origin myths. Wehali were made up of plains people and dry lands people. The influence of the Wehali kingdom once extended over two-thirds of the island, joining petty tribal kingdoms into a unified political system.

The linguistic situation reflects a long history of migrations and a convergence of peoples bearing distinctive cultural traditions. The island seems to have been a meeting ground for two major cultural influences, the one Indonesian and coming from the West, and the other Melanesian and coming from the East. This history of diversity is reflected in Timorese oral traditions. Each of the peoples of Timor represent themselves as being descended from either original, autochthonous inhabitants of the land, or from ancestral invaders who are traced back to a mythic homeland overseas. Interethnic relations are represented with a distinction between insiders and outsiders. (p. 24)

Today there are sixteen national languages recognised by the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, twelve with Austronesian origins¹³ and four languages of Papuan origin (Hull, 2006) (see Figure 5). The most widely spoken indigenous language is Tetun. There are also other languages or dialects apart from those recognised as national languages by the government.

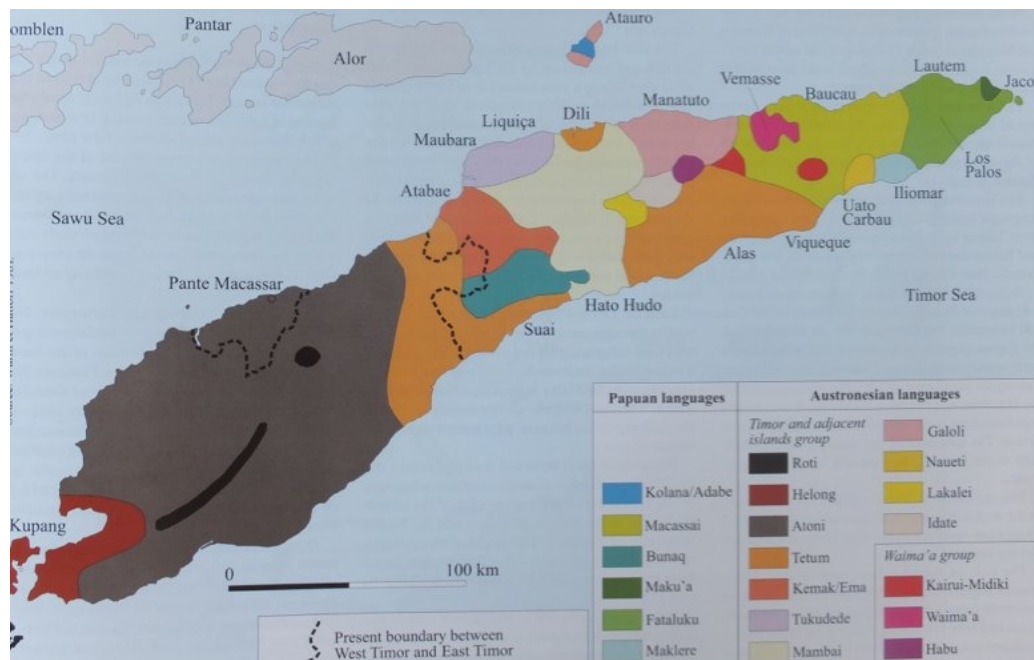


Figure 5. Map illustrating the main ethnolinguistic groups in East Timor (Durand, 2006, p. 47)

Research conducted by the archaeologist Glover (1969) unearthed stone-age artefacts such as flint, bone and shell which suggested Timor's society 4500–5000 years ago was agrarian and that the society was reliant on introduced domestic animals and crops (p. 107). Glover's excavations also unearthed pottery relics with designs matching the Sa-Húyn-Kalany pottery tradition suggesting evidence of Austronesian migrations. These immigrants, known as *Belu*, settled on the north coast of the island of Timor and gradually moved inland, displacing the Melanesians, known as *Atoni* (Gunn, 1999, p. 34). "From these early and probably subsequent migrations of Austronesian speakers derive the majority of the languages

¹³ The Austronesian languages are Tetun, Habun, Galolen, Atauran, Kawaimina, Bekais, Idalaka, Mambai, Kemak, Tokodede, Baikenu, and Makuva. The Papuan languages are Bunak, Makasai, Makalero and Fataluku.

now spoken in Timor” (McWilliam & Traube, 2011, p. 6). This process continued until the arrival of the Europeans in the sixteenth century.

The East Timorese instrument the *lakadou* (tubed zither) may have arrived with the one of the Malay migrations to Timor. The *lutong* and *kecapi* tubed zithers (see Figure 6) found in Malaysia,¹⁴ were prototypes of many of the tubed zithers found in South East Asia (Garfias, 2004) and look very similar to the *lakadou* (see Figure 7).



Figure 6. The *lutong* zither, Malaysia (photograph: Raine-Reusch, May, 2002)



Figure 7. The *lakadou* tubed zither from East Timor (photograph: Dunlop, 2009)

1.4 Mythical Origins

The mythical origins of East Timor were woven into a story of the people over successive generations: “Timorese myths and legends not only offer a clue to origins, but are also rich in history and ethnography” (Gunn, 1999, p. 37; Morris, 1984). One of the most well-known and endearing origin myths is about the creation of the island of Timor itself: the story of *The boy and the crocodile*. The head of the crocodile is believed to lie at the very east of the island and the tail is the most westerly part of West Timor. The mountain ranges are believed to be the craggy back of the crocodile. The tale is also an allegory about kindness and enduring friendship. Many variations of this myth have been retold over the years in literary and poetic settings. Xanana Gusmão, the first president of East Timor and one of the

¹⁴ The *lutong* is a tubed zither from Sarawak, Malaysia. It is a quiet instrument played by women to accompany singing and sometimes dance. It is made of bamboo with four strings which are cut from the surface of the bamboo. Small sticks are placed under the strings to keep them taut and held in place with a braided rattan band at each end. The player sits on the ground and plucks the strings with her fingers.

leaders of the resistance during Indonesian occupation, wrote the following poem about the crocodile myth:

Grandfather Crocodile by Xanana Gusmão (1998)
(dedicated to Mara B. Neves, Lisbon)

Grandfather Crocodile
The legend says
and who am I to disbelieve!

The sun perched atop the sea
opened its eyes
and with its rays
indicated a way

From the depths of the ocean
a crocodile in search of a destiny
spied the pool of light, and there he surfaced

Then wearily, he stretched himself out
in time
and his lumpy hide was transformed
into a mountain range
where people were born
and where people died

Grandfather crocodile
- the legend says
and who am I to disbelieve
that he is Timor!

The crocodile is regarded by the East Timorese as their spiritual grandfather and called *Avó*, Tetun for The Grandfather, which is different to the Tetun word for one's own grandfather *abó*. *Avó* is part of the *klamar* (the soul or spirit) of East Timor.

There are many East Timorese myths about the origins of the first ancestors. The anthropologist Molnar (2005) was told by the Kemak people from Atsabe in 2002 that, "The first ancestors were giants emerging from the earth holding a *tais buci* (white flag)" (para. 3.3d). Possibly the *tais mutin* (white *tais*) worn for the line dance, *bidu tais mutin* by the Tetun Terik speaking peoples of Suai Loro on the south-western coast, is a remnant of this myth. The dance is one of stately welcome, and the women hold a large square piece of *tais mutin* in front of them as they dance, perhaps being a reference to the ancestral *tais buci*.

For the East Timorese, life is cyclic. Belief in ancestral origins divides the world into the upper world *rai sa'un* and the underworld, or sacred world, known as *rai lulik*¹⁵ which is central to the belief system and societal structure, and is strongly held even today (Hicks, 1976, 1984, 1990). East Timorese believe “the masculine deity called *Maromak*¹⁶ lives in the sky, which is part of the secular world” (Hicks, 1990, p. 2). The first humans are believed to have emerged from the earth, a thread that runs through origin myths of different clan groups (Hicks, 1984; Molnar, 2005). The Caraubalo people from the kingdom of Vikeki for example, believe that the first people climbed out of two holes in the ground called the “vagina of Muhuma¹⁷... and clambered from the vagina by seizing a *liana* (creeper) to pull themselves onto the earth” (Hicks, 1984, p.1).¹⁸ The *liana* creeper is regarded as *lulik*.

Cosmic order underlies the social conventions and organisation of East Timorese society displayed in rituals, sacred objects, the arrangement of the *uma lulik* and the other houses in villages, even the villages themselves. The precise placement of rocks and trees in the altar place of each village, even the way a fence must be built, is also defined by cosmic guidance (Hicks, 1984; Traube, 1986).

When the Portuguese arrived on Timor in the sixteenth century the Mambae people, the largest ethnolinguistic group in East Timor, welcomed them as kindred spirits. They believed the *Malaea* (foreigners) were their younger brothers returning to them. This belief follows the mythical story of the interaction of an elder and younger brother as told to the anthropologist Traube (1986): “From the elder brother are descended all the peoples of Timor, with the Mambae as their eldest representatives. From the younger brother are descended the people whom Mambae classify as *Malaea*, a category that includes all non-Timorese” (p. 2).

The mythical origin of ancestors to the East Timorese is of fundamental importance to their animist beliefs and to the foundation of the sacred. As these origin myths are retold by each generation, passing on the history of the island and the villages, they become more embellished with each retelling (Gunn, 1999).

¹⁵ The underworld *rai lulik* is the sacred world of the East Timorese strongly associated with ancestors and highly respected and revered.

¹⁶ *Maromak* is believed to be a male deity since Christianity arrived in Timor. Before that *Maromak* was believed by some ethnolinguistic groups to be female.

¹⁷ From the Mahuma were born the ancestors of the people who live in Caraubalo. Myth has it that when the dry land had entirely arisen, two vaginas, one on each side of the boundary between Caraubalo principedom and the neighbouring principedom of Loi Huno appeared. That was called the vagina of Mahuma (Hicks, 1984, p. 1).

¹⁸ This reference is to the origin myth of the Caraubalo people. After the island of Timor had been formed a vent called Mahuma appeared on the surface of the land and from it climbed a pair of brothers, Rubi Rika and Lera Tiluk, and their sister, Cassa Sonek, who as first-comers claimed the land that is now Caraubalo. Their descendants, who now reside in the Mane Hat and Mamulak villages, became in the course of time the aristocrats (*datos*) and the land owners (*rai na'in*) of Caraubalo *suku*. Rubi Rika, Lera Tiluk and Cassa Sonek were followed out of the vent by other people. The descendants of these people became commoners and tenants of the three siblings, and they founded descent groups that today inhabit the four other Tetun-speaking hamlets of Caraubalo (Hicks, 1976, p. 31).

1.5 Trade

Historically, the island of Timor lay on the trading route between Java and Suluwasi. Chinese, Javanese, Indian and Arab nations in particular traded with the Timorese before the arrival of Europeans to the island (Gunn, 1999; Hamashita, 2009; Molnar, 2009; Taylor, 1999). There was only one item of interest to these passing traders as one early Chinese document cited by Rockhill (1915) states: “The island has no other rare product but sandalwood which is abundant and which is bartered for with silver, iron, cups [porcelain], his-yang ssu pu [a kind of cloth] and coloured taffetas” (Fox, 2003, p. 6).

Some traders, particularly Chinese, settled in Timor; their descendants are the Chinese Timorese¹⁹ who operate many of the local businesses and shops throughout the island. This process of trade left an indelible mark on the indigenous music of East Timor (Gunn, 1999, p. 34). A fine example, are the *sits*²⁰ (songs) and *nels* (chants) which accompany the circle dance, the *bonet*, which is still performed today by the Metonese people: they are the inhabitants of West Timor, including Oekusi. *Nels* resemble Chinese characters, the different parts of a particular character only suggest rather than give meaning. The brass ankle bells worn by the dancers of the *bsoot*, another dance of the Metonese people, are also believed to have had their origins in China (see Figure 8).



Figure 8. *Bano*, ankle bells from Oekusi, East Timor (photograph: Dunlop, 2005; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The priest Richard Dashbach, who has lived amongst the people of Oekusi for more than 30 years and studied their culture with a scholarly interest, was curious about the origins of the *bano*. Local cultural custodians told him that once an anthropologist had visited Oekusi and seen ankle-bell dancing and wanted to know where the bells came from. This same anthropologist later visited a museum in northern China and saw the same bells there. He assumed that as there was extensive trade between China and Timor it was likely the bells originated in China (interview, February 20, 2012).

Another example of the influence of Chinese trade on the indigenous music is the *au*, a bamboo wind instrument (see page 118) located in Tokodede clan groups on the north coast of East Timor about fifty kilometres from the border of West Timor. The *au* bears remarkable similarities to the *pengbi*, an endangered instrument, found only in southwest China’s Guanxi Zhuang region (“Protection of endangered”, 2010).

¹⁹ There are three main divisions of ethnic groupings of East Timorese today: Indigenous Timorese, Chinese Timorese and Mestizo Timorese (who are of Portuguese descent).

²⁰ *Sits* are songs. *Sits* are sung to accompany the *bonet* (circle dance). The first part of the circle starts a *sit* and inserts a *nel* into it; before they are finished the second part of the circle begins another *sit*, and finishes it without inserting any *nel* into it (Dunlop, 2012, p.72).

The *morteen* necklace (see Figure 9) is evidence of the visits by Indian traders and found throughout East Timor. Prized by the East Timorese it is worn as part of their traditional dress for special occasions. It is also one of the gifts of exchange in *barlake*. The *morteen* beads are made from molten glass that originated from South India where drawn glass beads have been made for 2000 years (Barrkman, 2008, p. 102).



Figure 9. *Morteen* glass beads (Dunlop, 2012, p. 31)

1.6 Colonial influences

The first Europeans to arrive on the island of Timor were Portuguese at the beginning of the sixteenth century with the initial intention to trade, as suggested in the accounts of Duarte Barbosa, written in 1518:

In this island there is abundance of white sanders-wood [sic] which “the Moors in India and Persia value greatly, where much of it is used. In Malabar, Narsyngua and Cambaya it is esteemed”. The ships “of Malaca and Jaoa [Jawa]” which come hither for it bring in exchange axes, hatchets, knives, swords, Cambaya and Paleacate cloths, porcelain, coloured beads, tin, quick-silver, lead and other wares, and take in cargoes of the aforesaid sanders-wood, honey, wax, slaves and also a certain amount of silver (Dames, 1921, pp. 195–196).

The reference to other items traded were to become part of the indigenous culture of Timor such as the much prized *surik* (sword) and *bobakasa* (double headed drum) (Dames, 1921; Molnar, 2009). Originally the *bobakasa* was a marching drum and gave the drum roll to accompany the daily ritual of running the Portuguese flag up the flagpole, so the East Timorese not only adopted the drum but later the associated rituals.

During the first half of the sixteenth century the Portuguese traders and missionaries established bases in Solar, Flores and Timor intermarried with local women, placing them in strategic positions within the marital system of the people in these Eastern Indonesian Islands, particularly with the Timorese. These people were known as a Portuguese-speaking *mestiço*, called The Topasses²¹ or Black Portuguese (Dunn, 2003; Gunn, 1999; Morris, 1992).

In 1556, Dominican friars from Portugal arrived at Lifau, now called Oekusi, charged with converting the local population to Christianity. Only a few friars were sent to the settlement at any one time. Travel from Lifau to the nearby mountain regions was difficult so the influence of the friars did not really extend beyond Lifau. The first Portuguese Governor was stationed in Lifau in 1701, which, at the time, was under the control of the Topasses. Portuguese rule of the colony was unsettled as they were under constant pressure from Dutch and indigenous Timorese rebel forces as well as the Topasses. The Topasses became

²¹ The Topasses were a multilingual group; Portuguese was their language of status but also used for worship; Malay was their language of trade, and most Topasses spoke a local language of Flores as their mother tongue (Fox, 2003, p. 7).

pivotal in the struggle for the control of Timor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although the Topasses shared ethnic origins with the Timorese, the latter always regarded them as black foreigners (Boxer, 1947; Gunn, 1999; Morris, 1992).

At about the same time the Portuguese settled in Lifau the Dutch landed further west on the island on the coast near Kupang and for the next three centuries these three groups struggled for control of Timor; the Dutch in the south-west of the island, the Portuguese in the north-east and the Topasses in the central part of the island. The Portuguese finally succeeded in destroying the Wehali kingdom in 1642 and the Atoni people retreated westwards to dominate most of West Timor (Fox, 2003; Gunn, 1999; Molnar, 2000; Taylor, 1999; Therik, 2004). In 1769, the Portuguese found the pressure of running the settlement from Lifau too difficult, so they made their way east and re-established their base at Dili. Colonial rule from Dili was not easy either, as there were numerous rebellions from indigenous chiefs (Fox, 2003; Gunn, 1999; Taylor, 1999) and alliances between the Portuguese and the locals were unstable: “Today’s loyal ally might be tomorrow’s rebel” (McWilliam & Traube, 2011, p. 7). Indications are that the Portuguese neglected the colony as Forbes (1887) documented in her journal, “Dili is a lifeless town with dilapidated buildings” (p. 231).

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the Portuguese launched military campaigns to bring the indigenous Timorese under control in a bid to make them, as they saw it, part of a civilised European society. The Manufahi rebellion was one of the most notorious and it was led by the *liurai* Dom Boaventura, who managed to unite many other *reinos* (territories). The Portuguese had to import reinforcements from Goa, Mozambique and Macau to crush the rebellion. In 1912 they defeated Boaventura and his allies. There was a huge loss of life on the part of the defeated Timorese (Dames, 1921; Gunn, 1999; Taylor, 1999).

Some of the musical instruments used for indigenous music today may have found their way to East Timor with some of the troops brought in from African colonies at this time. One example is the *kakal’uta* (log xylophone) which bears a remarkable resemblance in sound and rhythms to marimba and xylophones found in Portuguese colonies in Africa (Mozambique and Angola) (Barz, 2004; England, 1995; Kubik, 1976, 1994b) (see Figure 10).



Figure 10. *Kakal’uta*, a suspended log xylophone (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

The ongoing struggle for control of the island by the Dutch was eventually settled with the Treaty of Lisbon in 1914. This created the division of Timor into West Timor under Dutch sovereign rule and East Timor, including the enclave of Oekusi, under the domain of the Portuguese (Gunn, 1999; Molnar, 2009; Taylor, 1999). However, “The actual ability of the Portuguese to control this territory remained tenuous” (Fox, 2003, p. 16).

In the aftermath of the battle of 1912, the Portuguese abolished the Indigenous Timorese Kingdoms and divided East Timor into ten administrative districts (Fox, 2003; Gunn, 1999). Lack of consideration was given to the placement of the divisions which often cut right through ethnolinguistic clan groups. These administrative districts were called *concelhos* with each of these divided into subdistricts called *postos* consisting of a number of *suku* (villages) and these further subdivided into *aldéia* or *knua* (hamlets). District heads were Portuguese or Mestiço and these appointed the village and hamlet heads, known as *xefe de suku* who were local.

Life in East Timor was further disrupted and its people displaced several times after that. During the Second World War the Japanese invaded East Timor in 1941 and occupied the island until 1945. This invasion was in response to allied forces using East Timor as a forward base to protect Australia following the bombing of Pearl Harbour in 1940. More than 60,000 East Timorese, approximately 13% of the population, were believed to have been killed by the Japanese in those years in retribution for helping Australian and Dutch commandos who were evacuated from the island in 1943 leaving the East Timorese to their fate for the remainder of the war. Most towns and villages were destroyed as the result of heavy bombing from the air by the Japanese and local people were left homeless and starving (Dunn, 2003; Gunn, 1999; Taylor, 1999).

In the decades following the Second World War political repression grew, enforced by the Portuguese Prime Minister Salazar’s secret police (Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado or PIDE). After the revolution in Portugal in 1974 which ousted the Salazar regime came a brief period of independence for the East Timorese when they broke away from Portuguese colonisation on November 28, 1975 (Taylor, 1999). This independence was only formally accepted by six countries, several of whom were former colonies of Portugal (Durand, 2006, p. 18).

1.7 Occupation

On December 7, 1975, Indonesian forces invaded East Timor. The aftermath of the invasion and the following 24 years of occupation devastated East Timorese society. “A report of the situation noted that villages as we knew them before the Indonesian Invasion simply don’t exist any more. All village life has stopped” (TAPOL report, cited in Budiardjo and Liem, 1984, p. 76).²² The destruction of human life, property and land was widespread (Briere, 2004; Dunn, 2003; Jardine, 1995; Martin, 2001). To a greater

²² TAPOL means political prisoner in Indonesian. It is a UK based organisation that was established by Carmel Budiardjo in 1973 (<http://www.tapol.org/about-us>). Budiardjo was a political prisoner in Indonesia following former President Suharto’s rise to power in 1965. TAPOL campaigns for human rights, peace and democracy in Indonesia.

extent than any previous incursion into East Timor the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia wrought havoc on the fragile society and cultures of East Timor.

The effects of the Indonesian occupation are still very evident today, one example being the displacement of the people from hamlets and villages ending up in makeshift dwellings beside main roads. More than a third of East Timor's population, approximately 260,000 people were killed as a result of the occupation by Indonesia (Dunn, 2001). This occupation also had an extremely destructive effect on the indigenous culture and society of East Timor (Aditjondro, 1994; Briere, 1996; Byrne, 1998). Occupation did not mean that East Timorese culture ceased to exist; it meant that it took on a more mobile structure, "ironically the displacement precipitated by the Indonesian invasion may have reinforced the value of origin places" (McWilliam & Traube, 2011, p. 11).

In 1999, a UN-run referendum was held for the East Timorese to decide between independence or greater autonomy within an Indonesian mandate and 78.5% of East Timorese voted for independence (Martin, 2001, p. 138). In the aftermath of this referendum the TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia or Indonesian National Armed forces) and its militia accomplices damaged or destroyed more than 70% of the public buildings of Timor and the majority of private houses (Kingsbury, 2000, p. 185). Many people were killed and many were herded across the border into West Timor and placed in refugee camps. Half a million of East Timor's population (60%) were displaced during this time. In the years following the rebuilding of East Timor many UN and non-government organisations came into Timor. Services on every level had been destroyed and the priority of international aid was directed to housing and rebuilding of basic infrastructure such as water supply, sanitation and electricity (Kingsbury, 2000, p. 185). It is only in the last few years that it has been possible to direct attention to rebuilding the indigenous cultures and rekindling their values. The indigenous musical culture was badly damaged and now is mostly hidden. There are now deep concerns for its survival by *lia na'in* and other village elders.

1.8 Summary and reflections

Based on the survey within this chapter, the following main points emerged from the analyses of the landscape, ancestral and mythical origins, as well as the influences and effects of migration, trade and occupation.

- The difficult landscape isolated some clan groups and shaped tribal patterns and communications, enabling variance in the musical culture of tribal groups.
- The waves of trading and invasion introduced new instruments such as the *bano* with the Chinese traders and *kakal'uta* with the Portuguese colonisers. Many groups of people migrated to the island of Timor and no single group has dominated the culture which may explain why there is such diversity in the musical culture of East Timor.
- Origin myths share similar themes in many ethnolinguistic groups and these and cosmology have shaped the role of music and performance.

- Invasion generally dealt terrible blows to the musical culture with the destruction of musical instruments and discouragement of musical performances.

In the next chapter the social mores of the indigenous East Timorese are discussed so that the role of indigenous music within these mores can be considered.

CHAPTER TWO

Societal mores

- 2.1 Three categories of East Timorese
- 2.2 The displacement of village society during Indonesian occupation
- 2.3 Indigenous political power
- 2.4 Indigenous ritual power
- 2.5 Indigenous judicial system
- 2.6 The family unit
- 2.7 *Fetosa-umane*, wife giver – wife taker
- 2.8 Summary and reflections

The previous chapter looked at the geography and historical background of the East Timorese and how these have helped to shape the musical culture of the island. This chapter reviews the available information about the society of the East Timorese and their mores and examines how these factors may have affected the musical culture. As one of the main aims of this thesis is to build a framework which may reveal the possible relationship between the music and the cultural/spiritual founding concept of *lulik*, this must be placed in a context of the overall social beliefs and actions of the society.

2.1 Three categories of East Timorese

Historical evidence indicates that many different ethnic groups came to the island, either for migration, trade, occupation or on humanitarian missions. Of particular interest to this research were the migrations of Austronesian and Melanesian people. The pattern of differences between these two races is evident in observations from the field trips across East Timor such as variation in the weaving patterns and the architectural design of native houses.

Before looking at the musical instruments of East Timor played for indigenous music and their usage in musically-related activities, it is necessary to identify the group of East Timorese people who follow the indigenous customs of the society and culture and to consider any external influences which may have impacted these traditions.

There are three main ethnic groups in East Timor today. These are indigenous Timorese, Chinese Timorese and Portuguese Timorese. The indigenous Timorese are identified as being of “mixed Malayo-Polynesian descent and Melanesian/Papuan stock” (East Timorese Government, 2012). They are often referred to as *maubere*, “A common masculine name found among the Mambae” (Traube 2011, p. 119). The meaning of *mau* is man and *bere* means friend and *maubere* was “used by the Mambae as a greeting” (Dos Reis & Pakaryaningsih, 2004, p. 31). The Portuguese rulers and elite used the term “*maubere* to mean backward and poor” (Dos Reis & Pakaryaningsih, 2004, p. 31) in order to “separate them from the Mestiço” (Molnar, 2005). Fretilin²³ adopted *maubere* as being synonymous with the resistance. The lyrics of the song *O*

²³ Fretilin (Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente) is a significant nationalist political party in East Timor. “Fretilin was founded in the wake of the overthrow of the Caetano regime, by educated Timorese elites in the coastal capital of Dili, many of them recently returned from university study abroad” (Traube, 2011, p. 118).

Hele Le, one of the best-loved songs of the resistance, expresses the importance of being *maubere* and when it is sung, the participants form a circle and dance and sing with passion and gusto.

O hele le
O hele la
ami isin maubere
klamar mos maubere (anon)

O hele le
O hele la
 our bodies are Timorese
 also our souls are Timorese

The Chinese Timorese are the descendants of the Chinese traders who came to East Timor many centuries ago and the Mestiço Timorese are the offspring of intermarriages between Portuguese and Indigenous Timorese (Hull, 2011). In 1699, when Dampier visited Lifau, then a Topasses settlement, ‘China-Men, Merchants of Maccao’ were living among the Topasses (Fox, 2003, p. 19). The Chinese Timorese and the Mestiço Timorese are generally more affluent than the indigenous Timorese (Dunn, 2003, p. 10). Martin and De Sousa (2004) explain the hierarchy of these groups:

Society was discriminated [sic] by class and race. At the top of the structure were the Portuguese, under them were the Mestizos, followed by ethnic Chinese. Indigenous East Timorese came last and were always the lowest priority in education, health and social services. (p. 92)

When Indonesia invaded East Timor the Chinese Timorese were heavily persecuted and many fled into exile (Taylor, 1999, p. 69). “500 Chinese Timorese were killed on the first day of the Indonesian invasion December 7, 1975, they were seen as scapegoats in the crusade against international communism” (Inbaraj, 1999) despite many being involved in commerce.

The “Mestiço Timorese were regarded as the ruling class of East Timor” (Dunn, 2003, p. 10). Many of this ethnic group also fled East Timor for the duration of the occupation, fleeing first to Portugal and then to other parts of the world (Australian Information Service, 1975; Ribeiro, 2009; Thatcher, 1992). Only the indigenous Timorese performed the indigenous music of East Timor during my years of field research (2003–2014), consequently the Chinese Timorese and Portuguese Timorese will not be discussed any further. For the remainder of this thesis the term East Timorese refers to the indigenous Timorese groups.

2.2 The displacement of village society during Indonesian occupation

No discussion of the mores and musical culture of East Timor would be accurate if it did not take into account the ramifications of the Indonesian invasion of 1975. Whilst some amongst the indigenous East Timorese were forced to flee in 1975 (Cardoso, 2000), the bulk were largely left behind after the Indonesians invaded the island and many of them enlisted with

Falintil²⁴. They were to spend the next twenty-four years hiding in the mountains, fighting under the Commanders of Falintil many of whom were exalted as heroes.²⁵ The East Timorese women were also an integral part of the resistance (Conway, 2010; Cristalis & Scott & Andrade, 2005; Sequeira & Soares, 2011) and risked their lives for the clandestine roles they undertook throughout the occupation.²⁶

East Timorese villages disappeared under occupation and the roles of men and women as they existed in the villages altered dramatically during this time.²⁷ “Villages were destroyed and the surviving populations were relocated for ease of control by the occupying forces next to busy roads or into strategic camps” (Taylor, 1999, p. 71). Indications by Budiardjo and Liem (1984) suggest that of the estimated 74,000 residents in the rural villages of Baukau district, 61,000 were forcibly relocated to the town of Baukau (p. 81). “The pinnacle of Timorese culture is the house. Four hundred traditional villages were burnt to the ground during the Indonesian occupation” (Briere, 2011). The East Timorese suffered terribly at the hands of the Indonesian occupiers throughout the occupation (Conway, 2010; Dunn, 2003, pp. 243–302; Taylor, 1999, pp. 114–131). Education was rudimentary, and when the Indonesian occupiers reopened schools after the invasion Martin and De Sousa (2004) indicated that, “the quality of the system was poor” (p. 93). The Indonesian occupiers’ re-education programs²⁸ ensured that the East Timorese had very little mainstream education during their school years and school attendance was often erratic during more volatile times. According to Governor Carascalao, “Some 14 years after invasion, 92% of the East Timorese population remained illiterate” (Taylor, 1999, p. 129).

Due to the displacement of villages and subsequent atrocities carried out by the Indonesian military, the customary way of life and observance of rituals for many East Timorese was difficult (Byrne, 1998, p. 24). Restrictions were placed on many of the different aspects of ritual practices making it difficult for the East Timorese to perform them: “Licenses had to be

²⁴ Falintil was established in 1975, and began as the military wing of the political party Fretilin in East Timor. Falintil is an acronym for *Forças Armadas da Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste* (The Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor) (“Overview of FALINTIL” 2005).

²⁵ Some of the prominent leaders were, Nicolai Lobato (deceased), the first President of East Timor in 1975, Nino Konis Santana (deceased), after whom the first national park in East Timor is named, David Alex (deceased), Xanana Gusmao, captured and imprisoned for seven years in Indonesia and became President (2002) and subsequently Prime Minister of East Timor (2007–2015) and Taur Matan Ruak, elected President of East Timor in 2012.

²⁶ Resistance during Indonesian occupation was organised in three parts: the military; the armed resistance of the *Falintil*, the internal clandestine structure; and a political and diplomatic front outside the country (Hohe, 2002, p. 578).

²⁷ US AID (American agency) estimated some 300,000 East Timorese were living in resettlement camps. These people were not allowed beyond the camp boundaries and consequently were not able to plant or harvest food (Taylor, 1999, p. 88).

²⁸ All schools in Timor outside the Catholic system banned Tetun and Portuguese. Javanese culture was introduced systematically and classes taught only in Bahasa Indonesia. There was a strong emphasis on *Pancasila*, the national ideology of Indonesia – the values of Javanese society and military culture. There was a lot of physical education and singing of Indonesian nationalist songs and not much academic work (Taylor, 1999, p. 128).

applied for to play musical instruments” (Byrne, 1998, p.44) more likely due to the musical instruments being an integral part of many of the ritual ceremonies.

The restrictions that applied to the burial of the dead were particularly distressing for the East Timorese whose ritual ceremonies around such events often lasted weeks. The new rules stated, “the dead were to be buried in a coffin within 24 hours” (Byrne, 1998, p. 44) whereas for centuries the East Timorese maintained the practice of leaving their dead to rot for days or weeks. “For weeks relatives of the deceased continued to arrive and as each one viewed the corpse, it has become a mass of putrefaction emitting a pestilential odour” (A. Forbes, 1887, p. 438). This was an important part of the rituals of death and the journey of the body to the afterlife. For clans such as the Mambae, the rotting of the flesh is an essential part of the burial ritual. This was explained by Traube (1980): “... the external decayed flesh is incorporated into the black earth. This black topsoil was always associated with fertility and the common theme amongst the Mambae was that nothing could thrive or flourish without the black earth of decay and death” (p. 302). The introduction of these laws and restrictions interrupted the cycle which unites life and death for the East Timorese.

The *lia na'in*, (cultural custodians) who pass on the traditions and stories of their village to the next generation were to be gradually silenced by the authorities and their line of descent discouraged from following the traditions of their culture. “When the vote was cast in favour of independence,²⁹ the Indonesians delivered their final retribution before they were thrown out, by reducing most of East Timor to ashes”³⁰ (Lapsley, 2006, p. 201), including most of their *uma lulik*, sacred objects, carvings and musical instruments. After the departure of the Indonesian military in 1999, the East Timorese began the long process of rebuilding their villages and farms. “Social life in the villages and scattered settlements is once again focused on the seasonal rhythm of agriculture and the rituals of exchange that mark life-cycle ceremonies and the conduct of rural sociality” (McWilliam & Traube, 2011, p. 1).

2.3 Indigenous political power

The political makeup of Timor, with its numerous kingdoms and rulers, goes back centuries (Fox, 2003, p. 16; Schulte-Nordholt, 1971) and is connected “to the way of the ancestors and to the sacred *lulik*” (Ospina & Hohe, 2001, p. 65). The East Timorese had a structured society based on a well-conceived political philosophy (Hohe & Nixon, 2003). Fox (2003) observed “in the long history of European contact with Timor, virtually no commentator has credited the Timorese with a political philosophy or sought to explore and treat seriously indigenous ideas of authority” (p. 16).

²⁹ Of the 451,792 registered voters, 78.5% voted for independence in the UN ballot, 1999, in East Timor (Huang & Gunn, 2003).

³⁰ It was estimated by the World Bank in 1999 that 75% of the population was displaced in the weeks following the ballot results and 70% of physical infrastructure was destroyed.

East Timor is predominantly an agrarian society³¹ made up of many ethnolinguistic clan groupings mostly of patrilineal descent, however a few are matrilineal³². Clan groups live in *knua*,³³ which are small hamlets made up of “as few as three to as many as twenty houses” (Ospina & Hohe, 2001, p. 20). Often a fence of stones or sticks encloses the *knua* and in the centre of the *knua* is a place “where sacred communal rituals are performed” (Thatcher, 1988, p. 7). Several *knua* make up a *suku*³⁴ (village), each *suku* is governed by the *xefe suku* (village chief), who is elected by the people of the village³⁵. If those elected to power, for example the *xefe suku*, do not respect traditions, “they may face difficulties in maintaining and exercising authority” (Brown, 2012, p. 65). This proviso applies also to government at the national level. Trindade (2008) states that, “the position for political power is connected to the way of the ancestors and the *lulik*. If the wrong person acts as political ruler this would mean misfortune for the whole community” (p. 15). A collection of *suku*³⁶ make up a *rai* or *reinu* (kingdom) (see Figure 11) which “is a specific geographical territory referred to as ancestral land which combined a number of houses” (Ospina & Hohe, 2001, p. 22). These are ruled by a *liurai*; often referred to as the lord of the land and the indigenous ruler; his position is inherited (Ospina & Hohe, 2001, p. 22). Whilst it was generally accepted that *liurai* were usually males, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century the rulers of many kingdoms were *liurai* queens (Hägerdal, 2013b).

³¹ “Over 70% of East Timorese are rural, and depend on subsistence food production” (Brown, 2012, p. 60).

³² “The Wehali (who regard themselves as the ritual centre of the island of Timor) is a clan where descent is matrilineal, and *Maromak* (God) is believed to be a female deity. All property belongs to women and men are exchanged as husbands in marriage” (Therik, 2004). An article by Douglas Kammen in *Archipel* 84 (2012) revealed that in the middle period of colonial rule in East Timor there was an upsurge of female rulers in the officially listed kingdoms (pp. 47–60) and 29 had rulers who were queens at some stage.

³³ *Knua* (Tetun), the name for a small hamlet can differ across ethnolinguistic groups; for example, the Mambae word for hamlet is *fada* and the Wehali name is *leo*.

³⁴ *Suku* is the Portuguese word given to a village—the Tetun word for village is the same as it is for hamlet, *knua*. East Timorese these days will identify a *knua* as a smaller collection of houses than a *suku* and a *knua* is generally a family grouping.

³⁵ In a *suku* in Viqueque, the elected *xefe suku* is a descendant of the *liurai* but clearly prefers to use the democratic system and describes his own legitimacy as obtained through the electoral process rather than his family heritage. Nonetheless, there are still cultural considerations that he must take into account in exercising local leadership, as he explained: “A leader who does not respect the elders will at some stage have to step down, and the elders will not choose someone who does not respect them” (Tilman, 2012, p. 202).

³⁶ In Tetun plurals are spelt the same as in the singular.

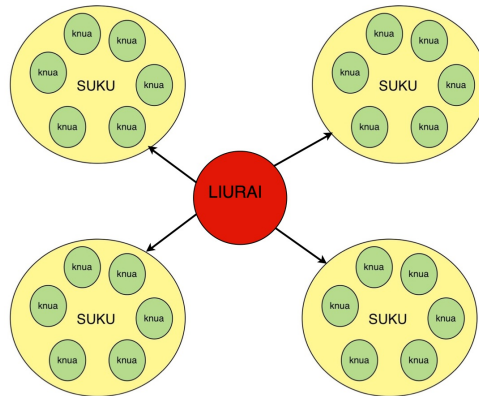


Figure 11. Diagram of the structure of the kingdom³⁷ (Dunlop, 2013)

The tribal council is formed by the *xefe suku* from all the *suku* in a *reinu*, and take their advice and direction from the *liurai*. The *liurai* inherits *sasan lulik* (sacred or holy items) which are possessions identifying his divine right to rule; objects such as the *rotan* (cane), *kaebauk* (silver or gold headdress), *morten* (coral beaded necklace), *beluk* (silver medallion) and musical instruments such as *baba-dook* (handheld drum) and *tambor* (double-headed standing drum) (Tilman, 2012, pp. 199–200). The *liurai* is still culturally important in many communities although they now have no formal governing power.³⁸ For example, although they do not have a say in the national central government in Dili, their advice and opinion on certain matters may be considered at central level, as “their *uma lisan* (cultural house) remains strong” (Tilman, 2012, p. 199). At a village level, “people will still listen to the *liurai*” (Brown, 2012, p. 65) whenever there is a problem, even though the *liurai* does not have formal governing power:

Even recently, the main powers at the local level were still with the *liurai*, village chief, the hamlet chief and the traditional elders. The *liurai* remained a very central figure, since he was the point where clandestine powers, traditional political concepts and the modern world collided. He was still the crucial point of contact for the relationship between the “inside” and “outside” – between the local level and the government. (Hohe, 2002, p. 580)

2.4 Indigenous ritual power

“The traditional power is the *lulik*, because according to the stories, the one that holds the *rota* and the flag has the power to rule, that is the person named *liurai*” (Ospina & Hohe, 2001, p.

³⁷ This diagram takes an arbitrary number of *knua* and *suku* to illustrate the kingdom of the *liurai*, the number of *knua* and *suku* varies from kingdom to kingdom.

³⁸ When the Portuguese defeated the rebellions in 1912, they redivided the colony into districts as a means of replacing the indigenous political system with one which could be independent of kinship alliance, devised to thus diminish the power of the *liurai* (Taylor, 1999, p.12).

65). The *uma* (house) is also of great importance to the East Timorese, particularly *uma lulik* and *uma lisan* have important roles to play within the structure of ritual power. The following myth about the origins of the first house of Wehali illustrates its importance:

The first house was called *uma rai Lale'an*³⁹ (the house of Earth-Sky) occupied by *Ho'ar Na'i Haholek*, (daughter of the first woman and mother of the sons who ruled the domains of Timor). This house was regarded as a dark house or a sacred house. It was sacred because according to myth, the first dry land was formed from the umbilical cord of *Ho'ar* and on this dry land stood the first house of *Ho'ar*. The house is identical with the first dry land and the navel of the first woman. (Therik, 2004, p. 151)

The ancestry of a clan stems from a house of origin, whose members are lineally related either by matrilineal, or patrilineal descent. Ancestral worship is of central importance in East Timorese society.

The *uma lulik* and *uma lisan* are the symbolic tangible houses, which form the medium between the natural and supernatural world. The *uma lulik* is the sacred house which holds the ancestral relics of members of the same lineage: “narrative history is recited, collective rites are performed, the tangible link between a group and its past” (Traube, 1986, p. 70). It is often decorated with objects such as buffalo horns, carved pigeons or *kaebauk* on the roof peak (see Appendix A). The importance of the *uma lulik* will be discussed in Chapter Three. The *uma lisan*⁴⁰ is the cultural house. It is a central part of the identity of the East Timorese, connecting them with their ancestors: “*Uma lisan* represents all the deceased ancestors, even though their bodies have died, their spirits continue to live around us, and they are always close to us through the *uma lisan*” (Tilman, 2012, p. 193).

The *liurai* is considered the ruler on earth and subordinate to *Maromak*, who is the spiritual ruler of the cosmos. The *lia na'in* (cultural custodian), *lulik na'in* (sacred owner) and *Matandoc* (healer), are subsidiary to the *liurai*. The *katuas* (male elders) and *ferik* (female elders) cooperate with the level above, and their advice is often sought (see Figure 12). Elders are respected by the community and sit on village councils.

The role of the *lia na'in* is complex. As well as being cultural custodian he is also responsible for the care, peace and stability of his community. The *lia na'in* is a medium to the world of the ancestors, calling for their help and guidance; for example, the assurance of prolific crops and

³⁹ The explanation given to Therik (2004), pointed out that in former times there were no ordinary houses because there was no dry land. The earth was still covered with water. Out of this primordial sea grew a banyan tree. *Ho'ar*, the daughter of the first woman, lived on top of this tree. The living space on top of the tree was called *lale'an* (sky) and constituted her house. At that time, the distance between sky and earth was only as tall as a banyan tree. Therefore, this very first house is called the house of Earth-Sky (p. 153).

⁴⁰ *Lisan* incorporates governance embedded in what is grasped as an ancient unity with ancestors, the natural world and the unseen world of spirit (Brown, 2012, p. 36). Given the continuing vitality of *lisan*, government officials and other commentators routinely acknowledge that customary authorities retain varying levels of leadership alongside elected *xefe* (chiefs). A common way to refer to the intersection of these authorities is that customary leaders manage “cultural” affairs, while elected authorities deal with “administrative” matters (Brown, 2012, p. 60).

the general smooth running of the community. *Lia na'in* are also responsible for conflict resolution within the *knua* or *suku*: “Conflict is dealt with in the *uma lisan* through the *nahe biti bo'ot* tradition, (rolling out the big mat) a localised system of conflict management” (Tilman, 2012, p. 194).

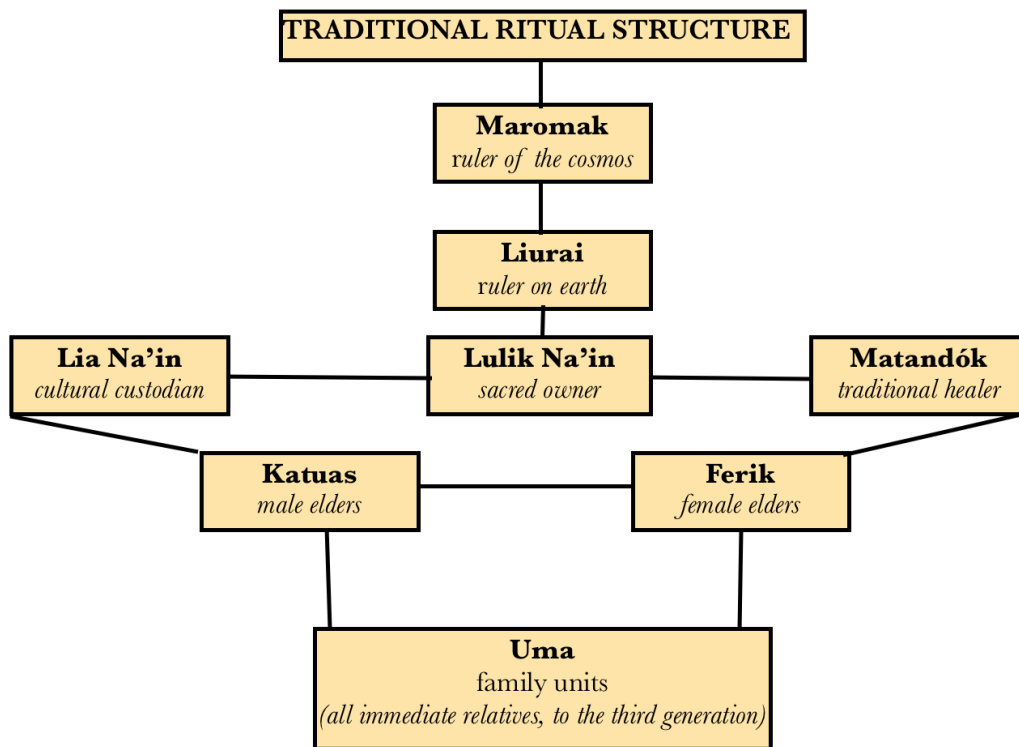


Figure 12. Diagram of the indigenous political structure

2.5 Indigenous judicial system

A vital part of indigenous governance is *tara bandu* (indigenous justice), one of the customs of *uma lisan* (Da Costa, 2012). *Tara bandu* (*tara* – to hang the problems, and *bandu* – prohibition) is an old tradition which involves ceremonies conducted in public to settle disputes and to reach peaceful resolutions, that are “sanctioned through the power of the ancestors and established through commitment between all members of the *uma lisan*” (Tilman, 2012, p. 194). East Timorese artist Tony Amaral (2013b) explained *tara bandu*:

It is traditional governance with its own rules and regulations. People in each village make their own *tara bandu*, which is an altar where they go to solve problems. Every village has its own *tara bandu*, it will have the same name but there are different rules for each

village.⁴¹ If there is a dispute between two parties, a *tara bandu* is created where the problem exists. Seven rocks are placed at its base and these are thrown behind the people who are in dispute. Then betel nut, uncooked rice and meat are shared with the different parties involved in the dispute, as well as the *lia na'in* – who usually acts as the facilitator.

Tara bandu is both a tangible and intangible concept. In its tangible form, the basic design of *tara bandu* can be seen in Figure 13. The *tara bandu* is usually located in a central place in a village, often near the *uma lulik*. The physical structure of Mambae designed *tara bandu* is described by Traube (1986) as:

A round, tiered structure built of stone and earth. A circular wall of “interlaced rocks” encloses a flattened mound of “piled earth”... At the centre of the cairn a ring of tall slender bark plants (*buka*) encircle a huge hollow rock ... the altar post shrine, the *ai-tosa*, which is often called *mau maena*, “male fellow”. Approximately five feet in height and two feet in circumference, the post branches out into three prongs, described as “teeth” in ritual language ... Flat offering stones called “placing stones” surround the base of the post (p. 159).



Figure 13. *Tara bandu*, in Mulo, a Mambae village (Dunlop, 2012, p. 30)

The tree trunk construction is significant. It is generally accepted that the central prong represents *Maromak*,⁴² and the prongs on either side represent the male and female. The tree

⁴¹ “There are also different descriptors used across the country for *tara bandu*, entailing nuances specific to each region. For example, Fataluku-speaking communities prefer to use the word *sikua*, which refers to the harmonization of people with each other and their environment. Other words that can be used to refer to this type of ceremony include *kahe-aitahan*, *kaitaitahan* and *tara-aitahan*. These all refer to hanging or draping articles symbolic of *tara bandu*, and commonly include the holding of a large public ceremony, that may follow a public meeting to determine particular sanctions, or fines for certain activities. Punishment for breaking the conditions of a *tara bandu* can take the form of both physical sanctions and abstract or supernatural repercussions. These may include spells cast upon those who contravene the regulations of the *tara bandu*, depending on the cultural context. Historically, such regulations have not been written down (Brandão, Motaras & Wassel, 2013, p. 10).

⁴²One belief amongst the Mambae is that, “On the final lap of the father in his long journey from the upper world, he is said to settle upon the central prong and gaze down at Mother Earth, who awaits him at the base of the post (Traube, 1986, p. 165).

trunk is considered masculine and the mound of earth and rocks feminine. The Mambae envisaged the shape of the pronged trunk as a Y, and the following myth is associated with it:

Long ago Father Heaven, commanded by his consort (now buried in the bowels of the earth), raised his two arms creating a Y shape and commanded the rocks, trees, grasses, birds and animals to fall silent, thus dividing his children into “speaking” and “nonspeaking” mouths. He marks this profound moment by planting a tree from which he suspends a solitary leaf, and issues man, the youngest of his children, with the responsibility of speech. Since that time, the buffalo horn (representing the silent elder kin), has called man (the younger “speaking” mouth) to gather at Father Heaven’s tree (the Y-shaped pole) to commune with the spiritual beings”. (Byrne, 1998, p. 49)

As an intangible concept there are different kinds of *tara bandu*. One regulates people-to-people relations, another regulates people-to-animal relations and yet another regulates people’s relationship to the environment (Brandão, Motaras & Wassel, 2013).

The rituals of *nahe biti bo’ot* and *juramentu* are important components in the dispute and resolution practices of *tara bandu*. *Nahe biti bo’ot* or in its more common usage *nahe biti*, is “a woven mat which is rolled out. The traditional elders and village members take their place on it to discuss matters of community interest and resolve disputes” (Trindade, 2008, p. 19). Ancestral worship is also central to the belief system of the East Timorese, and the ancestors⁴³ who have a role to play in *nahe biti*, are “summoned at the beginning of the ceremony as witnesses to the *nahe biti bo’ot* ritual and validate the proceedings. Their presence makes the process binding, and any failure to accept the outcome is believed to have serious consequences” (Vieira, 2012, p. 8). The ceremony is sealed with the ritual of *juramentu*, which involves drinking a mixture of blood from an animal sacrifice and *tua sabu* (native palm wine).

2.6 The family unit

Although the family unit is placed on the bottom rung of the political structure (see Figure 12), the family is the anchor of the society (Fox & Sather, 2006; Niner, 2012; Thatcher, 1988). The most respected unit in each individual family is the grandparents who are the role models for the family and next in line to the ancestors. The mother and father share roles in the family, from raising their children to daily tasks on the farm. The father is the “life taker” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 3) and the dominant member of the family in most clan groups: “in rural families the father manages family finances and has the ultimate say in decision making concerning the family” (Thatcher, 1988, p. 7).

Women are the bearers of life and the mother is the “life giver” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 3). “Women can be powerful within their own domestic sphere; however the family is also the realm where women encounter the greatest control” (Niner, 2012, p. 140). The mother is respected because she bears children and is socially responsible for their moral education. She prepares her daughters for the role of wife and mother, training them in the skills needed for

⁴³ “The ancestors are the secure point to the past. They are the ones that have established the system and if their descendants disregard it they have to fear ancestral punishment. The traditional system was the most suitable in the stateless environment to guarantee social stability” (Trindade, 2008, p. 15).

bringing income into the family; for example, basket making, bead making and teaching them to weave *tais*. “The mother teaches her sons to be good husbands so that they will care for and protect their own wife and children in a respectful manner” (Thatcher, 1988, p. 7).

The eldest sibling in the family commands the same respect and obedience as a parent: elder sisters look after the younger siblings. Brothers are responsible for the welfare of a sister until her death and after that they are responsible for her children (Thatcher, 1988, p. 7).

2.7 Fetosa-umane, wife giver – wife taker

The customs associated with *fetosa-umane* are central to the structure of East Timorese society. *Fetosa* means “wife-receiver” (Brandão, 2011, p. 6) that is the husband’s family, and *umane* is the “wife-giver” (Brandão, 2011, p. 6) or the wife’s family. *Fetosa-umane* is regarded as an important tradition for providing peace, harmony and stability in the society, and “effectively dictate the norms of family and social life in Timorese communities” (Brandão, 2011, p. 11). Whilst *fetosa-umane* is practiced by all ethnolinguistic groups in East Timor there are some differences between them depending on whether the group is of patrilineal or matrilineal descent. For example, the Wehali group is matrilineal and it is “the men who are exchanged as husbands in marriage, never the women. In legend, Wehali is the ‘husband-giver’ to other areas of Timor” (Therik, 2004, p. xvii). “Bride wealth payments” are not practiced amongst the Wehali (Therik, 2004, p. 101); they believe that to do so degrades a woman and they view *barlake* “as a ritual and equal exchange that is the basis of regulating relationships in indigenous society” (Niner, 2012, p. 14).

The power of the marital alliance system of the East Timorese was never underestimated by the Portuguese as a letter written in 1882 from the Governor of Timor, Major Vasquinos to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Macau shows:

Marital alliance is our Governments’ major enemy because it produces an infinity of kin relations which comprise leagues of reaction against the order of the Governors and the dominion of our laws ... there has not yet been a single rebellion against the Portuguese flag which is not based in alliances which result from marital exchange ... the major service that the (Catholic) Mission could provide its government is to bring an end to these pagan contracts which are also directly opposed to Catholicism. (Guterres, 1997, p. 12)

In spite of the efforts of the Portuguese and their Catholic Church to weaken the marital alliance system; or the social upheaval created by the invasions of the Japanese and Australians in the Second World War (Taylor, 1999, pp. 12–18), the marital alliance system remained strong (Byrne, 1998, p. 44).

The customs of *fetosa-umane* are divided into *lia moris* (life rituals) – that is, engagements, marriages, births, and *lia mate* (death rituals) such as funerals and burials (Brandão, 2011, p. 17). These rituals are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four. The *lia moris* customs are an essential part of the *fetosa-umane* structure. *Barlake* “bride-price” (Hull, 1999), or *folin*, as it is sometimes called, is an integral part of the customs of *fetosa-umane*:

It is a cornerstone of indigenous practices, integral to a wider, complex system of social action and ritual exchange. This system has sustained life in the challenging environment of the island and through a long and recently concluded war with Indonesia. These practices engender a deep sense of identity and meaning for most people and are dominant in the day-to-day regulation of life in the villages and towns where 80 percent of citizens reside. (Niner, 2012, p. 138)

The groom's family pays *barlake* to give respect to the bride and her family acknowledging the time and effort taken in raising her (Niner, 2012, p. 142). Compensation is also given to the bride's family for the loss of their daughter who will no longer be a member of the family's labour force. The goods exchanged can vary in kind and quantity across ethnolinguistic groups. The groom's family pays with buffalo, as buffalo provide the means for the bride's family to generate wealth.

The bride's family in reciprocation gives items such as *tais* and jewellery. "Goods from the wife's family are symbolically more valuable or richer, because they are coming from those associated with fertility or the sacred source of life" (Niner, 2012, p. 142). Once the formal proceedings of *barlake* have been negotiated, the bride goes with her husband to live in his village.⁴⁴ In matrilineal groups it is the husband that goes to live with his wife's family. Some of the *barlake* a bride's family received will help to provide *barlake* for her brothers when the time comes for them to marry thus continuing the necessary "flow of wealth"⁴⁵ (Therik, 2004).

Barlake is usually never settled in full with the union of a marriage but paid in instalments when necessary until death for various significant ceremonies held by the husband's family serving as a way of insuring that their daughter and her offspring will be respected by her husband. A *lia na'in* explained this role of *barlake* to Niner (2012): "*barlake* protects both man and woman from violence: people will protect you as *barlake* is no secret, it is public knowledge and people will *tau matan* (keep an eye on you) and protect you" (p. 142).

The following diagram devised by Hicks (1984), illustrates the different unions of the marital alliance system (see Figure 14).

⁴⁴ If the groom in patrilineal communities cannot pay the agreed *barlake* then he must go and live with his wife's family and work for them until the payment has been made through his efforts.

⁴⁵ The Wehali believe they are the source of life, and that life flows from the centre to the periphery, which is delineated as a garden and the source of wealth. The flow of life runs in the opposite direction to the flow of wealth, and the periphery becomes the life-taker and wealth-giver (Therik, 2004, p. 76).

UNIONS IN THE MARRIAGE RITUAL			
LEVEL	TERMS OF OPPOSITIONS		
UNION	CREATION		PRODUCT
1. sexual	bride + bridegroom	=	infant
2. political	wife - givers + wife takers	=	political alliance
3. cosmic	ancestral ghosts + human beings (sacred + secular)	=	success of 1 & 2

Figure 14. Unions in the marriage ritual (Hicks, 1984, p. 52)

2.8 Summary and reflections

Based on the survey within this chapter the following key points emerged from the analyses of the societal mores, the effects of Indonesian occupation, indigenous political and ritual power and the structure of the judicial system and family unit.

- The indigenous East Timorese, also known as *maubere*, were identified as the ethnic group that play the indigenous music of East Timor.
- The importance of indigenous political and ritual power was identified as fundamental to the societal structure and the role of the *uma lulik* and *uma lisan* in creating a medium between the natural and supernatural worlds.
- The family unit is the principal unit and traditions of *fetosa-umane* and the marital alliance system, play an important role in maintaining harmony between the sacred and secular world which is crucial for the well-being of the society as a whole.
- The displacement of East Timorese society as a result of Indonesian occupation made it difficult for the indigenous people to maintain and practice their political and ritual customs and the music associated with these customs.

The next chapter discusses the cultural customs and rituals of the indigenous East Timorese, including the belief system, particularly *lulik* and its importance in ritual and on social occasions. The place of the musical instruments played by the East Timorese for indigenous music may become apparent through an examination of the cultural mores.

CHAPTER THREE**Cultural mores**

- 3.1 Defining culture
- 3.2 Animist beliefs and ancestral worship
- 3.3 *Lulik*
- 3.4 *Uma lulik*
- 3.5 Ritual
- 3.6 The significance of the betel chew
- 3.7 Summary and reflections

The previous chapter identified the indigenous Timorese as those who follow the traditions. It also examined the village system and the Indigenous clan groupings and hierarchies and the impact of the Indonesian invasion. In spite of this impact the indigenous cultural systems still exist in some areas revolving around political, ritual and judicial power. The ancestors are a key belief structure affecting all these power relations as well as many aspects of village life, family and clan. The importance and role of *lulik* was established as fundamental to the societal mores for the society to function smoothly.

This chapter looks at the belief system of the East Timorese and the place of the ancestors within it. A more detailed exploration of *lulik* is necessary to determine the degree of significance to the belief system and whether there may be a relationship between *lulik* and music. If there is a relationship between them, then there is a need to establish the role of both *lulik* and the ancestors in relation to the cultural mores of the East Timorese.

3.1 Defining culture

Culture in the general context of traditions and customs is “the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next” (Matsumoto, 1996, p. 16). Tyler (1871) suggests it is “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (p. 1).

Swartz and Jordan (1976) write that society is “the largest group people think of themselves as belonging to” (p. 104), suggesting that culture and society are inextricably linked. Kroeber (1948) suggests that culture is bound with society: “there can obviously be no culture without a society” (p. 252). Keesing (1976) expands this further suggesting that society is made up of:

members of a population distinct from surrounding populations in a number of ways: they live in separate communities, speak a common language, share the same body of customs, and interact with one another more closely and more often than with outsiders (p. 143).

The previous chapter identified the laws, morals and social customs of the East Timorese. The above definitions of culture suggest that East Timorese culture and society may be intrinsically bound together.

East Timorese society has been identified in Chapter Two as consisting of three elements. First, indigenous political power, structured on three levels: that of the kingdom, the village and the family, built on a foundation of *fetosan-umane*. Second, is indigenous ritual power which gives consideration to

cosmic participants and ancestors within this structure. Third, is the indigenous justice system, its participants being those who make up the structure of indigenous political power in the kingdom.

The core of East Timorese culture lies with its animist beliefs (Brandão, 2011) and associated customs. These are often communicated in ritual multimedia performances made up of music, theatre, language, costumes and certain foods. Animist belief and its associated rituals will now be broadly examined to determine the place of music within these customs.

3.2 Animist beliefs and ancestral worship

The belief system of the indigenous East Timorese is based on animism⁴⁶ which is the foundation of their culture (Ospina & Hohe, 2001). Exploration of the East Timorese belief system is necessary to fully comprehend the significance of certain objects used in rituals performed by the East Timorese. Reference to some of these was made in Chapter Two, along with a discussion of the mythical origins of Timor and which were passed down generationally by those permitted to tell them.⁴⁷ As successive generations of storytellers die, they join their immortal ancestors, and become part of the *klamar* (soul, spirit).

The spirit is often associated with the heart, and the soul with the head⁴⁸ and with the ancestors who are revered. Many East Timorese find it difficult to define *klamar*, saying that it can be quite personal. *Klamar* is thought of “as a composite structure consisting of a material aspect, the body (*lolon*) and the soul (*klamar moris*)” (Hicks, 1976, p. 40). The Makasae people believe that “a child is born when a soul enters a body and when the soul flees, the body dies” (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 143).

Although the East Timorese are “considered nominally 90% Catholic” (Rawnsley, 2008, p. 10) it is the indigenous belief system that takes precedence amongst the majority of East Timorese and central to their ancestral worship. This thesis highlights particular groups' approach to these beliefs/customs as examples.

The Tetun concept of their social universe is that the earth is populated with both living human beings, that is, *ema roman* (bright people, clear ones, those who are visible) and ancestors, that is, *ema kukun* (dark people, those who are invisible). (Therik, 2004, p. 187)

The ancestors are regarded as important as *Maromak* for many East Timorese (Therik, 2004, p. 202) and as indicated by the words for the Wehale chant celebrating *hamiliis* (the first harvest rite). It is performed to ask the ancestors to stay in the garden so that it will keep producing good harvests.

<i>ah bei sia, tua no nurak</i>	oh ancestors, young and old
<i>ah Fatumea ee Marlilu Haholek</i>	oh <i>Fatumea, Marlilu Haholek</i>

⁴⁶ The term animism is derived from the Latin word *anima* meaning breath or soul. It is a belief that a soul or spirit exists in every object, even the inanimate. In a future state this soul or spirit would exist as part of an immaterial soul (Hefner & Guimaraes, 2014).

⁴⁷ “Stories of origin can usually only be chanted by an *adat* or *lia na'in*” (Therik, 2004, p. 41). The East Timorese believe that if someone who is not permitted to tell a story (or preside over a ritual) does so, it is considered bad *lulik* and misfortune may fall on that person, even extending to their family or village.

⁴⁸ *Klamar* refers to the spirit of the people. It is their inner strength and is what gave them the ability to resist and sustain the struggle against foreign occupation. *Klamar* also resides in the heart of men, but “soul is about the ancestors. In humans, the living counterpart, that soul resides in the head” (F. Magalhães, personal communication, September 28, 2012).

<i>uma metan sia ee uma lulik sia</i>	oh the black houses, the sacred houses
<i>bei sia iha kukun kalan</i>	ancestors who are in dark and night
<i>ah ina Maromak ama Maromak</i>	oh mother Maromak, father Maromak (Therik, 2004, p. 202)

The East Timorese believe life is cyclic and that birth and death come from the same source. There is a fine balance between the cosmos and supernatural worlds and the natural world and ancestors play a pivotal role between these worlds. The East Timorese further believe that they come from the earth “the underworld, (*rai laran*)”⁴⁹ (Hicks, 1984, p. 4) and will spend time on the earth “the upperworld, (*rai*)”⁵⁰ and with death they will return to the earth, “the underworld” (Hicks, 1984, pp. 4–6):

The first human beings were believed to have issued from the underworld, and to have returned there after death in a cycle reaffirmed symbolically in the rites of passage embracing birth and death. The baby exits its mother’s womb (the underworld) enters the upper world, grows up, dies and is buried (i.e., reinstated in the underworld) in a subterranean womb where dwell fertility spirits, souls of recently deceased persons, demons and ancestral ghosts (Hicks, 1990, p. 103).

The relationship of the East Timorese to these worlds is composed of a delicate balance of opposites, the most basic of which is life and death. Their society may be regarded as dualist with the cycle of exchange constantly being renewed. This will be elaborated when specific rituals are discussed in Chapter Four. The East Timorese classify animism according to three principal elements which *Aman Maromak* (Father God) created and which the East Timorese adhere to; they are:

Na’i - Tasi – God of the sea: belief in the sea and its inhabitants such as fish, crocodiles, turtles, octopus, sharks and other sea creatures.

Na’i - Raiklaran – God of the earth: belief in the earth and natural resources such as stones, mountains, land, wells, trees, particularly banyan trees, bamboo, and animals such as geckos, crows, snakes.

Na’i - Lalehan – God of the sky: belief in the sky and its components such as planets, the sun, the moon and stars (Brandão, 2011, p. 13).

The relationships between the cosmos and the material world are illustrated by Hicks (1990) as a vertical axis of cosmology (see Figure 15). He suggests a “Cosmos consisting of three strata, (sky, earth’s surface and earth’s interior – the dwelling place of the ancestral spirits) which are defined by two spatial relations, up (*leten*) and down (*kraik*)” (p. 89).

⁴⁹The Tetum word *rai laran* also means inside world, or, the underworld below the earth’s surface which is identified as a female god, called *Rai Inan* (mother earth), who is a nurturing, caring deity (Hicks, 1976, p. 27). The underworld below the earth’s surface is considered feminine by the East Timorese.

⁵⁰ *Rai*, (earth) is the profane or secular world, which is above the earth’s surface and this is the masculine world (Hicks, 1976, p. 27).

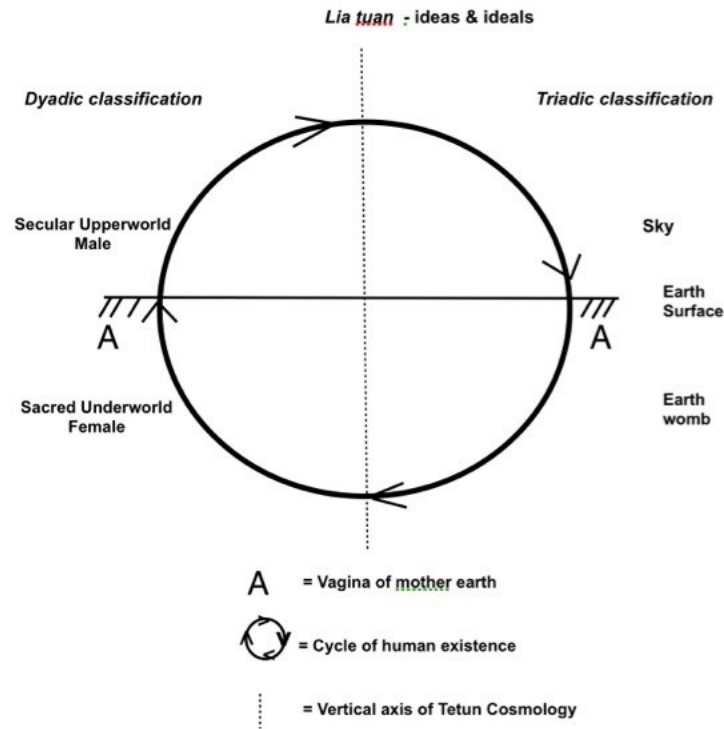


Figure 15. Vertical and horizontal axis of Tetum cosmology (Hicks, 1990, p. 91)

The rituals of the East Timorese are based on recurring themes and symbols. The most important of these are earth, rocks (or stones) and trees. The East Timorese believe that spirits live in these objects and “animal sacrifices were directed towards ancestral spirits and other spirits believed to inhabit wood and stones” (Gunn, 1999, p. 38). The earth represents the mother, the feminine, the giver of life and sacred and is referred to as *rai lulik* (Hicks, 1976, p. 31). A Mambae axiom has it that “the source of all things is the earth” (Traube, 1986, p. 24). This statement attests to the reverence the East Timorese have for the earth and the content of many chants⁵¹ used in their rituals and confirms the respect and relationship the Mambae have for these objects as the chant below exemplifies:

<i>Hauta luli</i>	The rock is sacred
<i>Aia luli</i>	The tree is sacred
<i>Baba luli</i>	The drum is sacred
<i>Badeira luli</i>	The flag is sacred (Traube, 1986, p. 51).

The East Timorese call earth *rai inan* (earth mother) harbourer of the spirits, who possess “*lulik* qualities and authority to hinder or help humans” (Hicks, 1976, p. 32). Myths of origin mention rocks (or stones) and trees having association with the feminine or sacred world. The Makasae call certain rocks “pregnant stones, that is, the stones of origin” (Hicks, 1990, p. 30) and according to myth (see Appendix D) the

⁵¹ There are references to different chants throughout the thesis; other examples can be found further on in this chapter with the reference to the Wehali chant associated with birth rituals, Appendix F, the harvest prayer, and Chapter Four, rituals of birth and death.

“wombs of human females are linked to the wombs of buffalo and pregnant stones”⁵² (Hicks, 1990, p. 31). Myth has it that “baby stones are created when the mother stone is impregnated by the bull buffalo, at the time baby stones are born, so is a human child and a buffalo calf” (Hicks, 1990, p. 31).

In one myth the imagery applied to the creation of the domains of Timor (see p. 27) is represented by reference to trees.⁵³ The creation of the first ancestors of the Wehali points to the particular significance of the banyan tree, which spread throughout Timor along with the people: “Out of the primordial sea grew a banyan tree (*ai hali*). It was in this sea that the only woman on earth *Ferik Ha'in Raikkularan* gave birth to a daughter *Ha'ar Na'i Haholek*” (Therik, 2004, p. 151). This myth suggests that the reason why *uma lulik* are often built near banyan trees is because the site of banyan trees are often themselves considered *lulik*.⁵⁴ The Wehali chant below illustrates the practical uses of the tree and the symbolism of the first line alludes to its associated myth of origin:

ka'an ne'e tubu ti'an baa hali
aa foin ha'oak

The umbilical cord grew into a banyan tree,
and so the saying goes

Maromak nahonu hali leon di'ak

The Bright One has provided a good dense
banyan tree

soe nahon la sar, karas hat ne'e

Its shade provides shelter to the four “chests” of
the house

soe nahon la sar, kbelan hat ne'e

Its shade provides the shelter to the four “ribs” of
the house

sei Bere Lelo Babesi hali leon di'ak
sorin balu leo feto, balu leo mane

This banyan tree is called the strong Bere Lelo
one half of the shade is called “female” shade,
the other half is “male” shade

leo feto leo mane, balu la sasin

The female hamlet (clan) and the male hamlet
(clan) were both in the shade.

(Therik, 2004, p. 151)

⁵² “Certain stones called pregnant stones, are used in different ritual contexts and on occasions to symbolise *rai lulik*; usages that suggest that childbirth, birth of buffalo calves and the birth of baby stones from the mother stone, correspond in a symbolic sense to the primeval emergence of the three founding ancestors, Rubi Rika, Lera Tiluk and Cassa Sonek from the great vent Mahuma” (Hicks, 1976, p. 31).

⁵³ “When the three female ancestors landed on the beach of Fatumea, they planted a banyan tree which produced three different types of branches. These three branches represent three domains. The branch of *ai hali* (banyan tree) represents the domain of Wehali, the branch of *ai biku* (biku tree) represents the domain of Haitimuk” (Therik, 2004, p. 181). The third branch, the middle branch, represents *Maromak*.

⁵⁴ The grounds around a banyan tree are often considered *rai lulik* (sacred ground), and therefore taboo for cultivation (Hicks, 1976, p. 38).

3.3 Lulik

Integral to the animist belief system is *lulik*. Its importance to the East Timorese cannot be underestimated. *Lulik* is a Tetun word, meaning “holy, sacred, taboo and forbidden” (Therik, 2004, p. 186). Another definition of *lulik* is offered by Hicks (2003) ;“to prohibit, to be prohibited, impeded by rites or laws, that which is sacred, venerated untouchable” (p. 25). It is a fundamental core belief of East Timorese society; “the ritual centre, the cosmos, the divine, the spiritual world, the ancestors, the root of life, the moral standards and the core values” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 3).

Lulik has already been mentioned with relation to symbolism and its use referenced in some of the chants and terms. The dualist nature of the world, according to the East Timorese, has the sacred as its starting point and from this devolves the secular or the profane which complements the other. Trindade’s *lulik* circle (see Figure 16) clearly illustrates the place of *lulik* as the ritual centre of the society and the duality of the society through “the interconnectedness between *lulik* as masculine and feminine” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 4). The colours of the circle are significant. The three colours associated with *lulik* are white, green and black. “white for *lulik*, the creator and spirit of the ancestors, green for the feminine, fertility, peace and prosperity and black symbolises male, strength, power, security” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 7). The green insider bubble (the feminine) and black outsider bubble (the masculine) and the arrows to and from the central *lulik* circle to these bubbles “represent the flow of values where the outsider provides protection and security to the insiders in exchange for life, peace, prosperity and fertility” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 4).

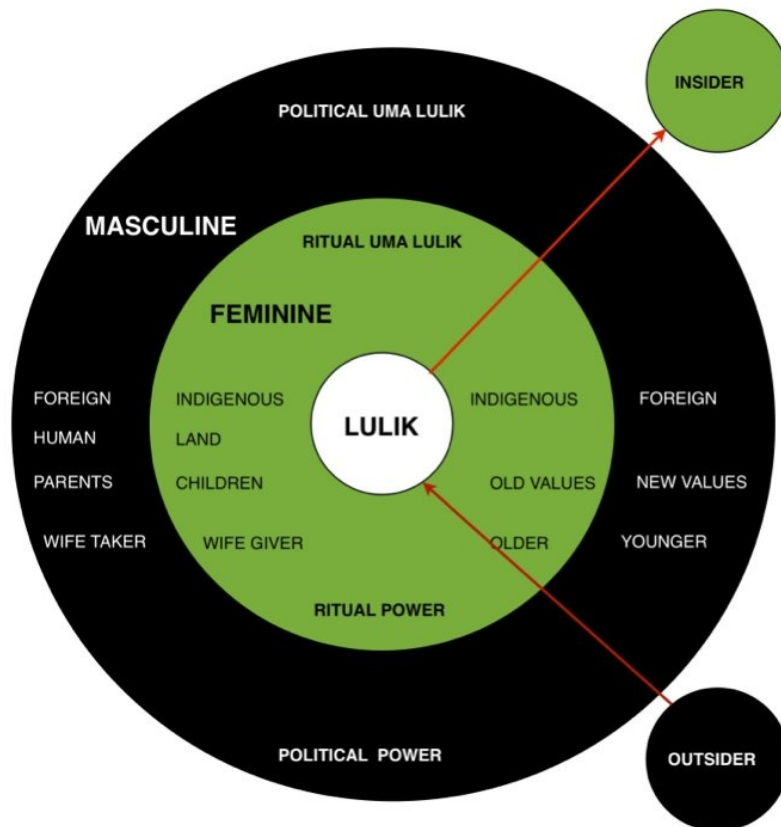


Figure 16. *Lulik* circle (Trindade, 2011a, p. 3)

Lulik may be better understood in the context of its complementary opposite. As some of the meanings of *lulik* are holy and sacred, it may be logical to look at antonyms of these words such as profane or secular. *Sa'un* or *sau* (Tetun Terik) is often mentioned as a direct opposite of *lulik* and means secular (Hicks, 1976, 1984, 1990, 2003; Therik, 2004). Hicks (2003) explained further that *sau* is “to lift a prohibition; or to dispense from an obligation, to exempt or free” (p. 27). He describes *sau batar* as a ritual for the corn harvest “which makes corn available for profane use ... the profane or secular world (*rai*) being the habitat of human beings” (p. 27). The Tetun word for secular according to Hull (2006) is *sekulár*, which is a Portuguese borrowed word. In considering the question of dualism in East Timorese society, *sekulár* is the opposite of sacred; however there are connotations of Christianity contained in the meaning of both these words. Arguably a more appropriate antonym to *lulik*, may be the word profane, as suggested by Hicks. The Tetun term for profane is *la'ós lulik*.

Another element of *lulik* is a sense of the untamed and wild. An antonym of *lulik* regarding the aspect of untamed and wild is the word *midar*, which means tame or sweet. Many ritual ceremonies of the East Timorese refer to a taming or cooling of the *lulik* such as *sau-batar*. The ceremony is performed in order for the corn to be cooled or tamed, to “secularise the corn or to liberate it from taboo” (Therik, 2004, p. 63) making it safe for people to eat. The corn is grown in the earth, the domain of the ancestors and the sacred. During the growing time until harvest the corn is part of the profane world, prohibited, untamed and hot, so if humans eat the corn before it is cooled or tamed the East Timorese believe they may get sick.

For centuries the Catholic Church regarded the East Timorese animist faith and *lulik* as uncivilised: “The church forbade people to believe in trees, *lulik* (sacred items), stones and other items” (Ospina & Hohe, 2001, p. 52). Because of the attitude of the Catholic Church to the East Timorese indigenous belief system, and later the efforts of the Indonesians throughout occupation to curtail indigenous customs, the East Timorese today are “often ashamed and afraid to talk about *lulik* as they have been led to believe that it is a negative belief system” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 1).

Lulik, Therik (2004) indicates, has “something to do with people, and something to do with places” (p. 186). The relationship of *lulik* to people was explained by Trindade (2011a) in more contemporary terms: “In people-to-people relationships, *lulik* determines how Timorese should behave in social interactions within the society, *lulik* in this case acts as the moral standard” (p. 1). A good example of this is “*lulik* regulates the relationship, rights and obligations of younger and older brothers, husbands and wives, within the structure of *fetosan-umane*, children and parents, brothers and sisters, and so on. *Lulik* creates social contracts between the Timorese” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 1). *Lulik* is more than a religious belief “it is a philosophy ensuring peace and tranquility [sic] for society as a whole, achieved through a proper balance between different and opposing elements” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 2). He also suggests that *lulik* has all kinds of rules and regulations which have been set by the ancestors. The consequences of breaking a *lulik* when it is considered as a rule is explained by Therik (2004): “by breaking a *lulik*, harm will come not only to the individual concerned but to the community at large as well as the earth” (p. 186). Trindade refers to this as “*Malisan*, that is, the Timorese believe the bad luck and misfortune that befall them are punishments for disregarding *lulik*” (2011a, p. 11). Certain places are regarded as *lulik*, and “it is not

necessary to avoid those places, but certain rules or *lulik* must be observed when one is in a *lulik* place” (Therik, 2004, p. 186). Therik also elaborates on the rules of *lulik* to do with place to include space: “*lulik* also has something to do with space and place, just as members of a clan, an ancestral origin group, share an array of common ancestors, they also share common sacred places” (p. 187).

The East Timorese regard many objects as being *lulik*. These are known as *sasan lulik* as previously mentioned in Chapter Two (section 2.3). *Lulik* is the ritual centre of customs such *fetosa-umane*. These customs will be discussed in detail in the rituals of *lia moris* in Chapter Four; “Timorese view the *fetosa-umane* relationship as a *lulik* where both the wife taker (sic) and wife giver (sic) are not allowed to have conflict or violent relationships” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 13). *Lulik* is the essence of indigenous ritual power and connected to the ancestors Ospina and Hohe (2001). Some of the customs of *tara bandu*, in particular the custom of *juramentu*, are regarded as *lulik* rituals. *Lulik* was used by the East Timorese to fortify themselves against their enemies: “Timorese used the notion of *lulik* as their strength to resist and fight the Indonesians throughout occupation” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 13).

3.4 Uma lulik

The major material object of *lulik* is the *uma lulik* (sacred house), (see Figure 17). *Uma lulik* and *uma lisan* are the ceremonial houses which are the symbolic medium between the natural and supernatural worlds.



Figure 17. A Midiki *uma lulik* (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)

The *uma lulik* is the “ritual house” (Hicks, 1976, p. 26), belonging to all members of the same group of agnates with shared ancestral origins; “the *uma lulik* was perceived to be the residence of the first ancestors” (Ospina & Hohe, 2001, p. 19). According to an unnamed CNRT⁵⁵ leader, “we always have a close relation with our *uma lulik*, because the *uma lulik* is a symbol for Timorese culture” (Ospina & Hohe, 2001, p. 19). The *uma lulik* is the focal point of most rituals. The architectural design and decorations of *uma lulik* have some variations across ethnolinguistic clan groups (see Appendix A). The

⁵⁵ CNRT stands for National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction. It is an East Timorese political party.

internal features of most *uma lulik* are similar, consisting of one room, a large central post often with objects hanging from it, several *biti* (woven mats) on the floor, a hearth surrounded by several large stones and a place for the guardian of the *uma lulik* to sleep, sometimes a wooden bed frame and sometimes a loft.

The *uma lulik* is “the building set aside for the storage of the descent group’s sacred possessions and it is that place more than any other where the interests of ghosts and kin most tangibly converge” (Hicks, 2003, p. 91). The “heirlooms of the ancestors” (Ospina & Hohe, 2001, p. 19) are *lulik* and treated with reverence and stored inside the *uma lulik*. These sacred objects are the symbolic connection to the cosmic world of the spirits and may include very old *tais*, remnants of old flags, sacred swords, spears and musical instruments. All objects stored in the *uma lulik* are *lulik*. Some items which are used during each year are stored in the *uma lulik* such as the rattan and the flag which are symbols of ritual political power.

When an *uma lulik* is built (or replaced) this involves participation of the affines and agnates and neighbouring villages who belong to the *uma lulik* participating in the construction which can take several months and involves specific rituals and ceremonies in the building process (Libbis, 2012). The rituals involved during the construction of the *uma lulik* will be outlined in Chapter Four. Symbols of *lulik* often adorn the roof gables of many *uma lulik*. These decorations distinguish the *uma lulik* of one ethnolinguistic group from another. A cylindrical wooden structure with numerous moon-shaped pieces of wood jutting out from it resembling the metal *kaebauk* (headdress worn by for ceremonial occasions) adorns the pinnacle of the roofs of Mambae *uma lulik* (see Figure 18).



18. Roof decorations of a Mambae *uma lulik* (photograph: Dunlop, 2007)

The feature on the gable of many of the *uma lulik* of the Naueti clan in the village of Babulo (see Figure 19) are pigeons, which are regarded as “feminine, the symbol of fertility, peace and prosperity” (Trindade, 2011a, p. 7). These are protected on each side by imposing carved buffalo heads, representative of the masculine which Trindade (2011a) explains as “symbols of strength, security and protection” (p. 7).



Figure 19. Roof decorations of a Naueti *uma lulik* (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

The pinnacle of the roof of this *uma lulik* from the Makasae clan is characterised by pigeons and doves, both symbolic of peace, fertility and the feminine (see Figure 20). The white colour represents *lulik*.



Figure 20. Roof decorations of a Makasae *uma lulik* (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)

The buffalo horns of the Midiki *uma lulik* below (see Figure 21) is typical of the region.



Figure 21. Roof decorations of a Midiki *uma lulik* (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

The custodian of the *uma lulik* in any patrilineal clan group is generally the oldest man, or, oldest woman in matrilineal clans in the village. They are considered the earthly representative of *lulik*, often with their spouse until their death.

3.5 Ritual

Ritual is synonymous with words such as custom, tradition, ceremony, worship and rite. Ritual is part of the traditions of any human society and involves particular gestures, words and often music: “Ritual is a kind of activity like speech or dancing that man as a ceremonial animal happens naturally to perform” (Needham, 1985, p. 177). Leach (1968) writes: “the two common usages for the words rite (ritual) are ceremony and custom” (p.176) and that, “human beings use rituals primarily as a medium of communication” (p.176).

Every human society has rituals to celebrate the different stages of life, from birth to marriage to death. “Rituals begin with the invocation in ritual language and conclude in offerings” (Lewis, 1996, p. 111). These rituals may be conducted in a religious setting but whether so or not they usually involve prescribed ceremony and language, often one person with the necessary qualifications officiates over the proceedings. The ritual language of these occasions follows certain procedures and customs often with music incorporated in them. In literate societies the formula, language and traditions of the rituals are usually documented in writing.

In preliterate societies all aspects of rituals, their concepts, codes of behaviour, language, gestures and music are memorised and passed on generationally by instruction. Any documentation that exists of rituals and the language used in them may be the first written account made after generations of oral transmission. The anthropologists (Forth, 1998; Fox 1980, 1988; Fox & Sather, 2006; Hicks, 1976, 1990, 2003; Lazarowitz, 1980; Renard-Clamagirand, 1989; Traube, 1986) have documented their observations of rituals in Eastern Indonesia and East Timor which has enabled their knowledge and understanding of rituals in these societies to be studied by those outside it. For humans, success in their endeavours often depends on sacred beings and rituals as a medium for their communication.

East Timor society “is steeped in ritual tradition” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 87). There are two main categories of rituals for the East Timorese, *lia moris* which are the rituals of life and *lia mate*, rituals of death, these rituals are an essential part of the structure of *fetosa-umane*. The main rituals of life are those associated with birth, marriage and agriculture. The East Timorese are largely an agrarian society and there are many rituals for the various stages of the agricultural calendar year. In his studies of the Makasae Lazarowitz (1980) indicates that “the ritual field⁵⁶ can be viewed optimally in the annual agricultural cycle” (p. 150). These rites will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Rituals are based on the idea of cyclic exchange and are conceived as complementary opposites, as two parts of the same whole. Within the notion of complementary opposites is one meaning of *lulik*, that is, heated or untamed and its opposite *midar*, that is, tamed or cooled. Rituals employ certain oppositions in order for harmony or balance to be maintained; for example, “cool/heat, raw/cooked, tasteless/salty, life/

⁵⁶ The reference to ritual field here is in the discussion of ritual.

death” (Therik, 2004, p. 177). In her studies of the Mambae, Traube (1986) says; “The Mambae conceive of life as a gift that requires a countergift [sic] ... it is the perishable product of a cycle of exchanges” (p. 11). Similar to the Mambae notion that life is a cycle of exchange, Lazarowitz (1980) suggests that the life cycle of the Makasae is “an individual’s relationship with the spirit world, is a never ending proposition and one which is continually being renewed” (p. 150) suggesting that the whole system functions to maintain stability in society.

3.6 The significance of the betel chew

Before any further investigation of *lia moris* (the rituals of life) and *lia mate* (the rituals of death) of the East Timorese takes place, the importance of betel nut to these rituals needs to be examined. Betel nut is used as a medium between the real world and the supernatural world. It has an important role to play in most ritual ceremonies. Rituals will often begin with an offering of betel nut to communicate intentions to the ancestors. Betel is often one of the items placed with the dead in funeral rituals, as it is regarded as “an essential item to accompany the deceased to the spiritual world” (Rooney, 1995, p. 8).

Betel nut is chewed by people throughout Asia, the Pacific and Africa and its use dates back to antiquity. “Based on linguistic evidence the custom seems to be native to the Indonesian archipelago. The earliest archaeological evidence dates back to 10,000BCE to a Spirit Cave in North-Western Thailand, where remains of *areca catechu*⁵⁷ have been found” (Rooney, 1995, p. 6). It is a leaf also used in indigenous medicine and healing. In East Timor it is an essential part of the tool kit of the *Matandók* (healer). Other uses are in convivial social gatherings.

There are three main ingredients for an effective betel nut chew; the areca nut (*bua*), the betel leaves (*malus tahan*)⁵⁸ and lime powder (*ahu*).⁵⁹ The lime powder is stored in a separate container (*ahu fatin*). This container may be made of coconut wood, metal or even bone and is sometimes elaborately carved (see Figure 22).

⁵⁷ The *areca catechu*, is the botanical name for a variety of palm that is cultivated across Asia, Africa and the Pacific. It bears fruit all through the year commonly known as betel nut.

⁵⁸ Betel is a creeping vine and the leaf is used to wrap around the areca nut seed and the slaked lime.

⁵⁹ The lime is ground to a powder and normally mixed with water for chewing. The source of the lime powder in some countries, “comes from mountain lime and in others from sea shells, mollusk and coral which are pulverised by burning and then crushing to make the fine powder” (Rooney, 1995, p. 2).



Figure 22. *Ahu fatin* from Oekusi, East Timor (photograph: Dunlop, 2013)

“According to the universal classification of food, the areca-nut which is ‘hot’ and the betel leaf which is ‘cool’ complement each other and are, therefore, in harmony” (Rooney, 1995, p. 7). The East Timorese either sprinkle the lime powder on the betel nut leaf or rub some of the powder onto their gums as a prelude to chewing the areca nut. In ritual ceremonies slices of the areca nut are covered with betel leaves and generally placed in a container, usually a box made of woven palm or bamboo called *mama fatin* (see Figure 23). The presentation of the betel nut offering varies according to the regulations of the ritual. Once the betel nut offering is made this means “the ancestors have been informed of the purpose of the rite” (Therik, 2004, p. 198) and the rest of the procedure of the ritual can now take place.



Figure 23. A presentation of betel leaf and areca nut (photograph: Amaral, 2014)

For a good betel nut chew the East Timorese take a leaf from a betel vine and sprinkle it with powdered lime from the lime container:

the leaf is twisted tightly to prevent the powder spilling out and together with one or two slices of areca nut it is stuffed into the mouth. A minute’s chewing produces a spittle (areca blood) ranging in colour from scarlet to brown. (Hicks, 2003, p. 46)

The content of this spittle is sometimes used to tell fortunes, usually within the context of a ritual ceremony. Sometimes it is combined with other ingredients in the performance of some ritual ceremonies such as the washing of the water buffalo which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

East Timorese will offer one another betel nut socially. Betel nut is mildly narcotic, so once chewed it is a relaxant and helps to loosen tongues of those participating. In social gatherings when people join in a *bua malus* (Tetun) chew, they relax and the *bua malus* becomes the conduit for story tellers and in this way oral history (real and mythical) is transferred.

3.7 Summary and reflections

Based on the survey within this chapter the main findings to emerge from the analysis of the cultural mores, are as follows:

- The belief system of the East Timorese is based on ancestral worship. The elements of animism such as rocks and trees are of symbolic importance and relationships between these and the cosmos, earth and living creatures appear to have some significance in understanding the attributes of musical instruments, activities and rituals as will be revealed in subsequent chapters.
- The dualist nature of East Timorese society and identification of objects as being masculine or feminine may appear to be pertinent when discussing the musical instruments, their usage and the possible significance of gender, both in the playing of those instruments and of the objects themselves.
- *Lulik* is of central importance to the governance and beliefs of the East Timorese. The identification of certain elements of the earth and cosmos being *lulik* is necessary in order to understand the rationale for certain customs and the necessity for certain rituals. The relationship of ancestors and *lulik* may prove to be one of significance when discussing any possible relationship between *lulik* and the musical instruments played for indigenous music.

A broad outline of ritual was presented in this chapter, identifying two types of rituals; those of life and those of death. In the next chapter I will broadly discuss these rituals which may provide further understanding of *lulik* and help to clarify the place of indigenous music within them.

CHAPTER FOUR

The rituals of life and death

- 4.1 *Lia moris* – rituals of life
 - ii. Rituals of birth
 - iii. Rituals of marriage
 - iv. Rituals of *uma lulik*
 - v. Rituals of war and headhunting
 - vi. Rituals of initiation
 - vii. Rituals of agriculture
- 4.2 *Lia mate* – rituals of death
- 4.3 Summary and reflections

The previous chapter identified some of the tangible and intangible aspects of the cultural mores of East Timorese society. The intangible aspect included the animist belief system and the significance of ancestral worship and *lulik* central to these beliefs. The tangible aspects of these mores discussed included the *uma lulik* and its significance to the belief system as well as a broad study of betel nut rituals and the significance of the betel chew.

A study of the rituals of the East Timorese is necessary to provide a holistic picture of the indigenous culture before identifying the musical instruments and associated musical activities of the East Timorese. The most significant rituals of life and death will be discussed, looking at the practical use of elements of animist beliefs (including the place of the ancestors and *lulik*) to these rituals.

There is some variation in the customs of these rituals across the ethnolinguistic groups of East Timor. Some rituals involve elaborate public ceremonies, others are more private for the immediate family, and, a few are held in secret. Rituals follow certain codes of conduct and if they are not carried out in accord with custom, or the ancestors are not properly informed, the East Timorese believe there may be serious consequences which may result in misfortune, illness or even death.

4.1 *Lia moris* – rituals of life

Lia moris (rituals of life) include birth, certain rites of passage to adulthood such as initiation ceremonies, marriage, the building of *uma lulik* and agricultural rituals. The Mambae⁶⁰ refer to *lia moris* rituals as “white rituals” (Traube, 1986, p. 11) and *lia mate* rituals as “black rituals”. (Traube, 1986, p. 11)

ii. Rituals of birth

Kasu ai knaer (cleaning up the path)

The Wehale believe that if there are difficulties in the birthing process, they are due to “sins or transgressions which may have been committed during the pregnancy” (McWilliam, 1994, p. 60), so before a baby is born, the ritual of *kasu ai knaer* (cleaning up the path) or “to untie the string” (Therik, 2004, p. 188) is performed to ensure an uncomplicated birth. Through the language of the ritual the unborn baby and mother are protected from curses and the position of the foetus checked and if necessary

⁶⁰ The Mambae is one of the largest ethnolinguistic groups and their language is the second most widely-spoken ethnolinguistic language, in East Timor. They are regarded as the original *maubere* and there are 131,000 Mambae speakers, as taken from the 2010 National Census (Paul, Simons & Fennig, 2014).

rearranged by the *matandók* (shaman) to ensure a straightforward delivery. The *matandók*, says the following prayer whilst rubbing a concoction of blood from a chicken, water and sorghum blossom on the mother's body: calling upon the ancestors for spiritual help and guidance:

<i>Ah ... matabian sia, tuan no nurak, na'in no ata</i>	Oh Ancestors, old and young, nobles and commoners
<i>Ami tama mai husu mai hakmasin</i>	We humbly come in front of you
<i>Matak no malirin bodik hunan no klaut</i>	Asking for raw and cool for the flower and the nut
<i>Sara no lituk, banin no satan bodik funan no klau ne'e</i>	Close and protect, border and shut the flower and the nut
<i>Hosi anin no loro manas no krakat</i>	From wind and sun, heat and anger
<i>Hosi lia at lia moras</i>	From curse (lit. bad words) and condemnation (sick words)
<i>Bei sia iha kukun kalan, feto no mane, tua no nurak, na'in no ata</i>	Grandparents in the dark and night, women and men, old and young, nobles and commoners
<i>Hodi husu kmaan no muti mos baa funan no klau ne'e</i>	(We) plead for forgiveness (lit.light) and pardon (white) for this flower and nut (Therik, 2004, p.189)

After the chant the ceremony is over, mother and unborn child are then considered protected and ready for the birth.

Naboris oan – to make the baby come alive

In this ritual the midwife⁶¹ comes to the house and lays out the necessary items for childbirth.⁶² Once the baby is born the gender of the baby is announced. The umbilical cord is stored in a ritual place, often “in a pouch on the ritual shelf” (Hicks, 1990, p. 33). The East Timorese believe that whilst the unborn child is in the womb it is part of the sacred world, the ancestral world, the forbidden world, untamed and hot (Hicks, 1990, p. 33). Birth is a private affair. After the birth there are several rituals observed with some variation in the performance of these across ethnolinguistic groups where the mother and child are confined until they are “ritually cooled” (Therik, 2004, p. 192). Until this happens they are regarded as hot and untamed and a threat to society. These “metaphors of wild/tame” (McWilliam, 1994, p. 61) have parallels throughout East Timor's ethnolinguistic groups. After the confinement of mother and child, the

⁶¹ Midwifery is an inherited position in each clan group (Therik, 2004 p. 191).

⁶² The list below was given to Therik by an indigenous Catholic priest from the Wehali:

1. A bunch of *luan* bananas – commonly used as baby food by the Tetun people
2. A pottery bowl for boiling water
3. A big pot for water storage
4. A small pot to store the after-birth
5. A strong piece of string used in parturition
6. A knife made of bamboo, for cutting the umbilical cord and believed to be sharper than an ordinary knife with infection less likely to occur
7. A piece of black cotton thread, spun by the mother, for tying the umbilical cord
8. A black handmade sarong *tais haboris* only used for parturition. This sarong is passed on from mother to daughter and when it has worn out it becomes a sacred item (p. 214)

Wehali perform the ritual “taking out the hot ashes”⁶³ (Therik, 2004, p. 194) and then mother and child are allowed to join society.

The afterbirth and umbilical cord are placed in a place of significance such as a clan shrine or buried by the mother under a significant tree or bush. After the umbilical cord falls off there is a naming ceremony for the baby, which is a private affair for the family. In some ethnolinguistic groups this involves more ritual detail than others. In some clans there is no ceremony and the parents of the child just pick a name. “If an infant cries too much or rejects its mother’s milk the parents conclude it disapproves of their choice for its first name, so they change it” (Hicks, 1976, p. 36). Other rituals associated with birth, also private rituals for close family members, are the *faematam* (eye-washing ceremony) and the *tesifuk* (hair-cutting ceremony) performed when the child is one year old.

iii. Rituals of marriage

The rituals of marriage and custom of *barlake* have been discussed in some detail in Chapter 2.7. Marriage includes the proposal, the negotiations of *barlake* and the “ceremony of incorporation” (Forman, 1980, p. 160). *Barlake* endures beyond the marriage of a man and woman until death when the final *barlake* exchange is made. The ceremony of incorporation can only take place once the agreed amount of *barlake*⁶⁴ is paid: “The major gift of marriage is the bride” (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 117).

The main gifts of the wife-takers (husband’s family) are buffalo, horses and swords. The wife-givers (bride’s family) gifts will normally be cooked foods (rice and pork), *morteen*⁶⁵ (beads) and *tais* (indigenous weaving). These gifts have symbolic significance and material value. *Morteen* is a wedding gift equivalent in value to one buffalo. The buffalo and horses are animals that work for the groom’s parents to produce food. They are presented to the bride’s father in recognition of his efforts producing

⁶³ A coconut is cut in half and its flesh removed and the mother uses it to wash her hair. She burns the husk the ashes created are mixed with water and used to shave the baby’s head, a rite performed by a clan leader. The hair (symbolic of life) is stored in the other half of the coconut. Some of the ash mix is rubbed on the baby (to protect it) and some is sprinkled on the father and onlookers. There is much laughter as this is a joyful rite. The sprinkling of the ash water is symbolic, as society has to be cooled off to keep the new-born baby alive. Afterwards dark food is prepared to inform the ancestors the baby is about to be taken outside (Therik, 2004, p. 194).

⁶⁴ The amount of *barlake* paid varies across ethnolinguistic groups. Some sources say, “it depends on the wife-taker’s financial status” (Brãndao, 2011, p. 17). For others “the amount is determined by the amount of bride wealth paid for the bride’s mother and grandmother rather than the wife-taker’s ability to pay” (Forman, 1980, p. 159). *Barlake* is a symbolic gesture of respect offered to the family and *uma lisan* of the bride to be. On a practical level, a significant portion of *barlake* is needed “for consumable goods for those hosting these cultural celebrations” (Brãndao, 2011, p. 17).

⁶⁵ The *morteen* is divided by two large black, white and red Venetian glass beads, and a metal bauble, representing the unification of the male and the female through marriage. Mythology suggests the orange beads were precious stones dug from the earth. However, analysis indicates that *morteen* beads are made from molten glass and originate from south India where drawn glass beads have been made for 2,000 years (Barrkman, 2008, p. 102).

food for his daughter from her infancy. The pork and rice (cooked food), represents the labour of the woman.⁶⁶

Once the agreed amount of *barlake* is exchanged, the ceremony of incorporation takes place. The couple wear traditional dress and each wears *kola* and *rabi* (a *tais* sash) over the shoulder (see Figure 24). The sashes are symbolic of the “clothes the woman was born in” (Forman, 1980, p. 162). Certain additional customs are observed when the bride enters the husband’s lineage house.⁶⁷ Following the incorporation ceremony, festivities celebrating the marriage take place, which include agnates and affines of both the bride and groom.



Figure 24. Bridal couple in Kutet, Oekusi (photograph: Dunlop, 2008)

iv. Rituals of *uma lulik*

Uma lulik are “of great symbolic and functional importance” (Palmer, 2011, p. 153) and are rebuilt about every thirty years. Many *uma lulik* were destroyed in the first wave of invasion by Indonesia in 1975 (Brown, 2013, p. 8) and many more in 1999 (Molnar, 2005). As a result there has been a revival in the building of *uma lulik*⁶⁸ since independence (Barnes, 2011, p. 23). During the resistance to Indonesian occupation from 1975 to 1999 the concept of *uma lulik* was of vital importance to the guerrillas even though the tangible *uma lulik* had been destroyed. They would hold ceremonies to help them maintain their spirit and strength: “The guerrillas all believed in the traditional house” (Brown, 2013, p. 6).

⁶⁶ “Life is created through the mixing of two bloods *uai* and two sperms *uai buti*, considered white blood, both blood and sperm are produced in male and female by the transformation of food, especially rice and pork, food represents the flesh (dew) of Mother earth and Father sky’s sperm and blood (rain)” (Forman, 1980, p. 160).

⁶⁷ In the Makasae custom “the bride carries a *gi kida gi toka* (spindle and cotton basket) to weave *tais* for her and her husband. The bride drops her cloth over her back onto the ground as she follows her husband to his lineage house where they will sleep before going to his garden home. Her mother-in-law picks up the cloth and drapes it over her own shoulder tells the bride to kick the threshold as she enters and then following the couple climbs the bamboo steps to the house and has a betel chew, her own husband waits beneath the house. Several days later, the bride’s parents accompany the bridegroom’s mother to the groom’s lineage house. They cover their daughter’s footsteps (*ilu uai safe la’a*) and present a roasted pig and cooked rice to the wife-takers” (Forman, 1980, p. 162).

⁶⁸ Between 1999 and 2004 there were 150 to 200 *uma lulik* constructed or reconstructed. This number meant that there were 30 to 40 *uma lulik* restored each year (Loch, 2007 p. 291).

Whilst numerous rituals involve the *uma lulik*, the main ritual directly associated with *uma lulik* is the act of rebuilding it which involves a lot of people. The entire lineage of the *uma lulik* to be built comes together as well as descent groups from other *uma lulik*, knowing that when required, the assistance will be reciprocated. Building materials are needed and large amounts of food required to feed everyone. This is an example of the practicality of the system of *fetosa-umane* and *barlake* as all the affines and agnates of the wife-giver/wife-taker group are expected to contribute (money, food, labour). The dragging of special trees down mountains requires the physical effort of hundreds of people. The logs in the photograph below (Figure 25) were recently dragged down Mt. Matebian⁶⁹ for rebuilding a Naueti *uma lulik* and the entire village was involved in the process. The wood used for building *uma lulik* “depends upon the species of trees that happen to grow locally” (Hicks, 2008, p. 172).



Figure 25. Tree logs for rebuilding a Naueti *uma lulik* (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)
(note: the vines are threaded through eyelets carved in the trunk to drag it down the mountain)

Skilled local craftsmen “devise the building’s architectural form as well as the opinion of local ritual specialists, whose duty it is to ensure that form and function correspond to ancestral-sanctioned fiat” (Hicks, 2008, p. 176).

The rebuilding of the *uma lulik* is associated with renewal and life. Through housing the sacred relics of the ancestors it has associations with death. The rituals for the rebuilding of *uma lulik* by the Mambae are described by Traube (1980):

The ceremony for rebuilding Mambae *uma lulik* begins with two deaths ... the symbolic death of the old house, which is said to have grown old, dirty, shabby, ugly and withered – like an old person. The ceremony begins with ritual killing of grass, trees and bamboo for the construction of the new house. These plants must die so that men can build houses with their corpses. In myth, this hierarchical relation between man and his elder brothers is established in the ban (*badun*) – the elder law under which Heaven silenced rocks and trees so they would not scream when men struck them. Now men repay their silent suffering with *keo*.⁷⁰ In the climax to the ritual a buffalo is sacrificed in a ceremony

⁶⁹ The sacred mountain situated on the borders of the Makasae, Midiki, Naueti and Tetun Terik clans. Many of these clan groups have their *uma lulik* on Mt Matebian.

⁷⁰ “*Keo* means, ‘things play’. It is a ritual action which refers to one specific and recurrent sequence within a performance” (Traube, 1986, p. 17).

known as *rai boban* (beating of the earth). The explicit end of the ceremony is to plant and anchor the *ramun* (root) of the house, that is, its centre columns by smoothing and beating down the earth ... The house too must 'nurse' from the cool wet underground breast, thus maintaining its moistness which protects it from destruction by fire. A pig is killed as well, and is dedicated to the white chest of the underground milk. The flesh of the buffalo belongs to the black earth into which it will decay. While half the buffalo is eaten at once, together with the pig as milk, the other half of the carcass is left to rot on the altar for seven days and seven nights (pp. 311–312).

There are similarities in the rituals for rebuilding *uma lulik* across ethnolinguistic groups, another example being those the Kemak demonstrate. Care is always taken to respect nature; offerings are always made to nature according to the customs of ancestral myths.⁷¹ The method of constructing Kemak *uma lulik* still follows the design described in the Kemak origin myth of the first *uma lulik* (see Appendix D). The rebuilding of *uma lulik* is a time-consuming process that usually takes many months. Those involved still need to tend their farms during this time. At the inauguration of the sacred house, a buffalo will be sacrificed, and a major feast takes place (Libbis, 2013).

v. Rituals of war and headhunting

The rituals of war and headhunting are placed together, one being the product of the other. Headhunting was one of the expressions of war: "the heads of enemies taken were stored in special sacred places" (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 210). The head was the trophy and symbolic of success in battle and also revenge. Heads taken in battle also had to be "cleaned and smoked" (McWilliam, 1994, p. 64) to make them safe (to the society). At the end of the battle they would be ritually incorporated with other smoked heads "impaled on poles surrounding the cult house" (McWilliam, 1994, p. 64). In the past war was regarded as a masculine activity.⁷² In more recent times, such as the Indonesian invasion and occupation it involved the whole society.

⁷¹ Myth has it that when villagers wanted to make an *uma lulik* or indeed any house the ancestors had to climb down into the earth cave of the first giant ancestors and ask what to do. The ancestors gave them a small plaited basket and betel/areca quid [*taka ana* with *da'a no bo*] and prayer beads [*loi ana*]. The four ancestors (original villagers) made a *menaka* (stone platform) from four stones and on top of the platform they placed an offering with the sacred beads [*loi ana*]. After the offering the earth and the trees did not scream when wounded and it is still like that today (Molnar, 2011 p. 101).

⁷² Centuries ago when the East Timorese went to war men from the village gathered, dressed for battle, each with a chicken under his arms to have his fate read to determine whether he would go to war or not (some men had to stay at home to guard the village). The *dato-luli* (chief priest) would sacrifice a buffalo in front of the assembled and call on the men to come forward with their chicken which the *dato-luli* slew. According to ritual, if the animal died with its right foot elevated and the betel juice thrown onto the man turned scarlet then *Maromak* (in this case *dato-luli*, Maromak's earthly representative) dictated that the man went to battle. The man would turn away from the *dato-luli* and brandish his sword saying, "I'm a man, I'm brave" and take his place amongst the chosen warriors. However if the chicken died with its left foot elevated, and the betel juice thrown onto the man had turned brown, he remained behind to look after the women, children and crops. For the duration of battle the *dato-luli* stayed in the *uma lulik*, to keep the fire burning. If he went outside the *uma lulik* it was believed disaster would befall those on the battlefield. The *dato luli* only drank hot water because to drink cold water meant the spirits of the men would not prevail. The *dato luli* welcomed returning warriors ahead of the rest of the villagers (Forbes, 1885, pp. 445–446).

There were certain ritual processes for warriors going into battle. For example before the Makasae went to battle, they undertook the war ritual of *mo'a dada*, to gain powers for war. Men dressed in battle attire.⁷³ For the duration of war, sexual abstinence was observed as part of the customs of war and headhunting. To break these customs was believed to have adverse consequences. War cries held particular significance. Prior to the Metonese going into battle they would perform war cries which “functioned as a curse to make the transgressor powerless” (Middelkoop, 1963, p. 27).

During war agriculture could take place but not the associated rituals because these were normally performed by men. When a war ended men could not return to their villages until they were ritually cleansed. Across ethnolinguistic groups there are variations in the customs regarding this process. For example, the ritual for a Makasae warrior returning from battle is: “a man’s wife accompanied by other women from the village meets her husband in the forest where she throws water, an egg and ash from the home hearth over his head before he can return come home to participate in domestic activities” (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 210). For the Metonese the ritual cleansing involves a “remarrying of their wives in order to tame them by exchanging betel nut” (McWilliam, 1994, p. 64).

vi. Rituals of initiation

Circumcision and other initiation rituals McWilliam (1994) suggests are to “enhance well being and strength” (p. 67). Circumcision was “performed as an initiation into the sphere in which both marriage and headhunting have to function” (Middelkoop, 1963, p. 396). Only men and boys participate in initiation rituals and they are conducted “outside domestic society” (McWilliam, 1994, p. 69) and involve a ritual heating and then a ritual cooling in order for them to be able to return as insiders to society again.

Other rituals which are part of initiation are tooth filing and skin piercing. The ritual of tooth filing was believed necessary “as a form of domestication of the sharp and “wild” teeth of youth to the blunted and “tame” teeth of the adult member of community” (McWilliam, 1994, p. 69).

vii. Rituals of agriculture

The main rituals of agriculture are those associated with the planting and harvesting of crops, in particular the rice and corn crops. If rituals for agriculture are not carried out properly the East Timorese believe crops will fail. Rituals of agriculture are conducted by farmers to inform the ancestors of their present intentions and to seek their help (or blessing) to ensure a fruitful harvest.

Ritual of washing the buffalo’s feet

The first rituals of agriculture are associated with planting and preparing the soil. The buffalo is used to till the soil in preparation for planting. There are two kinds of agricultural gardens, the wet garden and the dry garden.⁷⁴ The ritual of washing the buffalo’s feet is a wet rice garden ritual and performed because the buffalo is regarded as male while the mud on its feet is from mother earth (female) and must be removed from the buffalo’s feet so that harmony is restored. The ritual takes place after the rice field is tilled for

⁷³ The Makasae warrior’s battledress was “a traditional male loin cloth and headdresses of rooster feathers” (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 210).

⁷⁴ “The wet garden reflects cyclical progressions such as birth, and the dry garden reflects continuity and solidarity” (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 158).

the second time. It is a private ritual, performed only by men wearing loin cloths and “the guardian⁷⁵ of the sacred house” (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 151). The ritual⁷⁶ as described by Lazarowitz’s observations of the Makasae, involved the ritual feeding of sacred rocks, symbolically feeding the ancestors.

After the ceremony of washing the buffalo’s feet, a ritual called *oulo mele* (Makasae for the name of a bird) is performed. “A small rock ... is placed in the centre of the wet rice garden. The rice is sown ... the ceremony identifies one bird to whom food will be fed in order to protect the entire crop from all birds”(Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 154). Chicken and rice is also fed to the sacred rock during this ritual.

Hisik fini: To sprinkle the seeds

Hisik fini is the Wehale name given to the ritual to “make the seeds come alive” (Therik, 2004, p. 197). Although known by different names across the ethnolinguistic groups the ritual has the same purpose and similar customs are followed. The Makasae call this “*halo batar moris*, to make the corn come alive” (Hicks, 1976, p. 62). Its purpose is to cool the seeds considered untamed or heated before they are planted and to make them fertile. Not all seeds are treated ritually only seeds which are considered native.⁷⁷ Ceremonies will include a betel nut offering, often the contents of the betel chew being made into a juice form with other ingredients (for example, coconut water or animal blood) and sprinkled on the seeds as part of the ritual. Some kind of cooked food offering involving rice or corn and meat will be made and these rituals will end with the planting of the seeds, feasting and festivities. See Appendix E for a detailed description of this ritual as performed by the Wehali.

Harvest rituals

Harvest rituals are the most publicly celebrated of the agricultural rituals accompanied by celebration and feasting. The main focus of harvest rituals is to cool or tame the produce so it is safe for eating.⁷⁸ The most significant harvest ritual is *sau batar*. *Sau batar* has other names across ethnolinguistic groups. The Fataluku call this “*cele hopune* or *cele wahoho*” (E. Adams, personal communication, October 14, 2013)

⁷⁵ The guardian of the sacred house is a designated elder, often the eldest male in the clan of a particular *uma lulik*.

⁷⁶ A large flat rock is near the gate entrance to the sacred garden and inside there is a short table and a tall table. Under the short table is a large flat sacred rock. The guardian (of the garden) kills a chicken and speaks over it. The other men come into the corral with the buffalo and the guardian locks the gate with a piece of leaf. All food used in the ceremony must come from the plantations attached to the sacred house. Betel nut, meat and rice is placed on a banana leaf and arranged in opposites. The rocks and the men are fed, the food from the short table is shredded and given to the sacred rock under it. Food from the tall table is fed to the rock near the gates. The men take two portions of food from each of the rocks and the guardian takes some food for his wife. After they eat they all participate in a betel chew and spit the contents of the chew into a coconut. This is mixed with coconut water and sprinkled over the buffalo by the guardian who leaves after he has washed the buffalo’s hooves. The men dine in front of the corral and afterwards it is opened and the buffalo allowed to graze (Lazarowitz, 1980, pp. 152–154).

⁷⁷ Ritual seeds and fruit are: *hare leten* (dry rice), *tora* (foxtail millet), *lena* (sesame), *batar tasi* (sorghum), *batar malae* (maize). Only those considered native can be blessed (Therik, 2004, p. 197).

⁷⁸ Whilst crops are growing, they are considered wild, untamed, forbidden and heated because they are in the earth which is regarded as the sacred world and *lulik*. This is why they must go through a process of ritual cooling.

and the Wehali (Tetun Terik) call this *hamiliis*.⁷⁹ There are harvest rituals for different crops, such as corn, the rice gardens and coffee; these rituals are also important for ensuring the continuity and fertility of agricultural crops. The corn harvest will be used as an example of the harvest ritual. The themes of this ritual are similar to those used with other crops.

The main purpose of *hamiliis* is to ritually cool the corn so that it is safe for eating. Participants pull out seven or eight whole corn plants from their crop. One is tied to the post in the *troman*⁸⁰ area of their garden. Another plant is tied to the front post of the garden and four plants are erected in the four corners of the garden. In the ceremony each man takes a bunch of corn cobs home along with one or two plants. One of which is erected in the place that his wife and mother-in-law use to weave *tais*; if the house raises cattle, one is erected on the gate of the stable; and one bunch is offered to the man's natal house. The rite for *hamiliis* begins with the tradition of offering betel nut to the ancestors by the nominated *ferik rai* (female elder). Once the betel nut is distributed, the elders (male) recite the harvest prayer (see Appendix F). This signifies that the first harvest of corn has officially commenced and festivities are celebrated with family and friends (Therik, 2004, p. 200).

The second stage of the corn harvest is called the *bata mana'i*, where ritual offerings of corn are laid on the graves of ancestors. The children take this corn home and simultaneously women light candles on the graves. Offerings of meat and corn are prepared and cooked without salt.⁸¹ The male guardian symbolically feeds the ancestors by taking cooked cobs of corn and meat and throwing them backwards over his shoulder (Therik, 2004, p. 202). The communication with the ancestors in this rite asks for their assistance for a fruitful harvest. The first ritual is one of festivity and noise celebrating the "harvest of the living humans garden" (Therik, 2004, p. 206) while the second ritual is silent, "the harvest of the ancestors' garden" (Therik, 2004, p. 206).

4.8 *Lia mate* – the rituals of death and burial

The connection between the living and the dead is fundamental to the East Timorese, recognising there cannot be life without death. This idea of death being part of the cycle of life is one that runs through ethnolinguistic clans; for example, the Makasae believe "death threatens the idiom of life giving exchanges and is therefore perhaps life itself in the broadest sense" (Forman, 1980, p. 165). After observing death rituals of the Carabalo Tetum, Hicks (2003) commented that "life derives [sic] from death and that humanity depends on the spirits it has invented for the perpetuation of life. A dead soul becomes a ghost; an agent of death becomes an agency for life-affirming fertility; and kin become ghosts" (pp. 132–133).

⁷⁹ *Hamiliis* is a ceremony performed after the first harvest, so children who love to eat young maize can do so without waiting for it to ripen. *Hamiliis* is a compound word derived from the word *halo* – to make – and *miis*; fresh water is called *we miis* and the term *miis* in this context is paired with *masin* (salty). This comes from an origin myth: "when the earth was made, we did not know whether the sea was *masin* or *miis*, so *hamiliis* can be translated as tasteless or unsalted" (Therik, 2004, p. 200). The second meaning of *hamiliis* is to cool.

⁸⁰ A *troman* is made of a post called *ai toos* (strong wood) on which to hang the coconut and a few flat stones as places to offer sacrificial meat (Therik, 2004, p. 198).

⁸¹ If food is cooked with salt in *hamiliis* it is regarded as heated and dangerous to eat, so food has to be offered plainly without flavour (Therik, 2004, p. 202).

Their firm belief that death is necessary for life ensures that the East Timorese are very particular about the processes of death and burial. The correct order of proceedings for the disposal of the dead is necessary to make certain that not only the spirits of the dead will journey to the afterlife in a manner satisfactory to all concerned, but that in doing so the harmony between the living and the dead (whose souls eventually join their ancestral spirits) is maintained: “Death is not regarded as a single event, but as a process” (Traube, 1986, p. 200).

The final exchange of *barlake* must take place before the funeral of the deceased can formally begin. Sometimes this exchange will take place many years after a person has died. During explorations in Timor, Forbes (1885) observed “dead bodies, folded at the thighs and wrapped in mats – relatives of the *Dato* waiting to be buried” (p. 434). These bodies had been waiting thirty years for the final exchange of *barlake* to be made so they could be buried. The Mambae call certain rituals of death *taen maeta*,⁸² “to bury or, to plant the dead” (Traube, 1986, p. 200). During a *taen maeta* ceremony “the soul of the deceased is released and joins its ancestors in the mountains”⁸³ (Byrne, 1998, p. 43). The *taen maeta* is performed as a “high ritual drama” (Traube, 1986, p. 216). The place of music within this ritual will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

The indigenous customs for disposal of the body and soul of a person are treated as separate rituals, particularly in modern times as contemporary law prevents this practice of burial. The reason for the burial of a person only after the flesh had started to rot was the belief that it was important for the flesh to have begun to decay before it is incorporated into the black earth. This is called *rai metan* and this black topsoil is associated with fertility as “nothing can flourish or thrive without the black earth of decay and death” (Traube, 1980, p. 302). For the Bunak the black earth is described as food for cultivated plants; as Friedberg (1980) explains, “the human flesh – that of dead bodies is transformed into plants” (p. 285).

Although death for the individual is accepted as final, the soul is believed to linger, and the rituals for the journey of the departing soul to the ancestral world are important. The Makasae believe that the soul “dies seven times in seven years and has to be buried six times by its fellow souls before ascending to the clouds” (Forman, 1980, p. 165). When children die they are buried without ceremony: “people think the soul of a child goes to talk with the sea, to *halimar* (play) with the sea” (Hicks, 1976, p. 115). There are specific rituals for the soul of a child because there is uncertainty over the final destination of a child’s soul.⁸⁴

⁸² The performance of a *taen maeta* can last from a week to several months.

⁸³ The mountains referred to are Mt Ramelau for the Mambae, and Mt Matebian for the Makasae, Naueti, Midiki, Tetun Terik and Makalero (Byrne, 1998, p. 43).

⁸⁴ “Five days after a boy dies and four days after a girl some coconut half shells are placed outside the mother’s hamlet ... bamboo ash is sprinkled inside each shell and placed on the ash is a leaf from the *fuka* shrub (*Calotropis gigantea*) ... hand-spun cotton is put on top of the leaf. Every morning for seven days the mother visits the ritual ensemble and squirts breast milk onto it before returning the leaf to the ash. The ash symbolises the hearth and the cotton the infant’s clothes. The leaf merely serves as a container for liquid. The purpose is to deceive the dead soul so when it returns from the sea and wishes to revisit its mother at home to slake its thirst and warm itself in its clothes by the fire, into believing that the juncture where it encounters ash and milk on the paths is in fact its home so it will venture no further. Were it to actually enter its former house the mother would fall ill” (Hicks, 2003, p. 116).

The first process in the ritual of death, in the case of an adult, is a period of internment, either inside the house they were born in, a cult house,⁸⁵ or a death house.⁸⁶ There are practical reasons for this, as it is customary for the corpse to be viewed by close relatives who may take time to arrive. In the past, burial could not take place until it had been viewed by the most important members of its family. Betel is offered by a female elder of the deceased when people come to pay their respects. Whilst the body is held the relatives of the deceased sing *mate lia* (songs of death) around it: “The *mate lia* are sung up to seven days after the funeral” (Forman, 1980, p. 165). The *mate lia* will be discussed in Chapter Eight of this thesis.

The funeral which disposes of the corpse of the person takes place after the exchanges of the final *barlake* takes place. There are variations across ethnolinguistic groups on the customs of funerals; however in all groups the deceased’s body is placed in a coffin. In the past the body would have been “wrapped in a *biti*” (Hicks, 2003, p. 119) and there is reference to the coffin in former times being a boat (Hicks, 2003, p. 120). The *mate lia* below⁸⁷ describes the coffin as a boat, and indicates that the journey will not be smooth, because the dead one’s soul wants to remain with its living kin:

They launch the boat on the sea
The boat does not go
They push the boat into the sea
The boat does not go
The boat is secured with a weight
The boat is secured with a rope (Hicks, 2003, p. 125)

The Mambae also believe the soul after death journeys across water⁸⁸ to join its immortal ancestors: “Buffalo horns from long past sacrifices are laid on the ship of the dead and dispatched to the sea” (Traube, 1986, p. 202). At the present time the body of the deceased is placed in a coffin and buried in the ground. The Makasae believe that the body’s rotting flesh returns to Mother Earth’s womb to be transformed into plants which in turn become food to humans (Forman, 1980, p. 164).

The carried coffin is accompanied by a procession of the affines and agnates of the deceased to the cemetery. Some of the mourners have specific tasks en route and the wailing continues throughout. In

⁸⁵ “The Mambae have a house of the white, and a house of the black, the latter is the female house of birth and fertility, the breeding place of humans and animals. It is also the house of death where corpses are laid out” (Traube, 1980, p. 299). The Mambae refer to the corpse being returned to the cult house, thus connecting birth and death.

⁸⁶ In some communities a number of temporary structures are erected, one where the corpse is placed, known as the death house, where the coffin is placed and mourners sit wailing and chewing betel. A pair of platforms is built, one for the preparation of food, and the other for washing dishes. Another structure is built with no walls, which is where people will eat the feast after the burial. When the mourning period is finished all structures are knocked down (Hicks, 2003, p. 119).

⁸⁷ The original language was not given in the cited text, just the english translation.

⁸⁸ “In a Mambai theory of the afterlife, the dead who depart overseas are transformed into various forms of marine life. *Loh Buti* and *Loh Meta* the sacred eels who guard the entries of the springs are the leaders of this marine host. As mediators between the land and the sea and between, below and above, their role is to negotiate a cosmic exchange” (Traube, 1980, p. 194).

clans such as the Carabaulo, there are theatrics performed by the family of the deceased which Hicks (2003) witnessed.

The family along with the spirit of the deceased, will try to prevent the procession and the pall bearers (usually bachelors from the village) from removing the corpse. These “tussles” occur seven times with the final one resulting in the soul relinquishing its body [see audiovisual example 1]. The procession cannot pass other villages. Two girls lead the way carrying flowers, each girl carries a pouch with ingredients for betel-chew, one is the pouch of death the other the pouch of life. The first is buried with the deceased the second goes back into the deceased’s house. The coffin is lowered and a cloth is placed between the earth and the coffin. Once the coffin is in place this cloth is wrapped over the coffin and incantations and wailing continues. Once the coffin is buried the girls place flowers on the grave, which are replaced three times over a period of days. Once the third bunch has withered, the death house and other structures are destroyed (pp. 125–130).

There are some variations of rituals and incantations at the graveside when a corpse is buried. Keening by the mourners continues after the burial, integrated with feasting and betel chews.⁸⁹ The Mambae organise the funeral in a number of stages. The departure of the spirit is referred to as the *maet toli*. It is believed that after burial the dead make nocturnal visits and stay in parts of the house. The *maet toli* is performed to wake the spirits so they can be sent on their journey. *Toli* means “to dispatch, send away” (Traube, 1986, p. 218) and *maet* means death. The *maet toli* begins in the house where the body was interred. Many people are in the cult house to witness proceedings, during which ritual incantations are chanted by a priest who first orders the dead to “pack their belongings for the journey” (Traube, 1986, p. 218) and then to go southwards on a route past villages and places familiar to them in life. The *tolis* for the dead are regarded as powerful, as the dead are sent away and afterwards there are celebrations called *tom maeta* (to follow the dead).

The relatives of the deceased wear black armbands (men) or black pieces of cloth pinned to their shirt (women) for one year after the death. Once the year is up a ceremony called *keta mate* or *kore metan*⁹⁰ (to remove the black) takes place which “makes the dead soul a ghost” (Hicks, 2003, p. 130). This ceremony involves considerable feasting and at the end of it the personal belongings⁹¹ of the deceased are destroyed. The remains, remnants regarded as *lulik*, are scattered beyond the village. With this ceremony the soul is “installed in the sacred world, the domain of the dead, but simultaneously the source of life” (Hicks, 2003, p. 132).

4.9 Summary and reflections

Based on the survey within this chapter the main points to emerge from the analysis of the main rituals of life and death are as follows:

⁸⁹ “The betel is provided by the affines of the deceased and administered by the head of the opposite clan section” (Ellen, 1991, p. 112).

⁹⁰ “In times before the modern laws requiring burial in three days the *keta mate* might not take place for up to nine years after death” (Hicks, 2003, p. 131).

⁹¹ These possessions include the deceased’s sacred jar, bamboo drinking cup and spoon and the pouch of life (betel nut) (Hicks, 2003, p. 131).

- The rituals of life and death were identified and their associated customs broadly studied. Through this process the importance of ancestors to the East Timorese and the relationship that exists between the living and dead became clear. Many ritual occasions involve ancestors being fed from a special place, usually a flat rock before or at the same time as the living during a rite. Further examination of these rituals will take place in Chapter Nine to determine the role of music within them.
- Metaphors based on the animist belief system confirmed the importance of objects of nature, many natural objects such as rocks, earth and trees. These objects may prove significant when identifying and discussing the attributes or indications of their links to indigenous music and musical instruments in the following chapters.
- The description of certain rituals to “cool” or “tame” people or objects, particularly in birth, initiation, harvest and war rituals, serve to demonstrate a practical insight or understanding of some of the dynamics of *lulik* and assist clarification of the structure of *lulik* overall. This may also prove beneficial when postulating a hypothesis as to whether or not there is a relationship between *lulik* and indigenous music.
- Life and death are complementary opposites. The broad study of the rituals of both life and death has provided an understanding of the dual preoccupations of the society. This may prove pertinent not only when analysing the place of the musical instruments played for indigenous music but also in determining a possible category for classifying them based on this concept.

The next chapter discusses the existing literature of the indigenous music of East Timor and raises questions which my research findings may answer and looks at schemes for classifying the music found during the fieldwork.

CHAPTER FIVE

Music of East Timor, existing knowledge, new questions

- 5.1 Previous research on the music of East Timor
- 5.2 Relevant conclusions from previous chapters
- 5.3 Questions raised by the limits to existing knowledge

The purpose of this chapter is to review the extant literature of the indigenous music of East Timor. In this context, and based on the information collated in Chapters One to Four, a set of research questions will be proposed to assist in the development of a coherent area of study about the indigenous music of East Timor. As will become evident in this chapter there has been very little research into the music and there has been no understanding of the possible relationship between *lulik* and indigenous music, or this music's relationship to the social and cultural mores of the East Timorese. Until this time, to the best of my knowledge, no framework has ever been considered for classifying the indigenous music, its material objects and any relevant relationships.

5.1 Previous research on the music of East Timor

Whilst literature was available in Portuguese, particularly on ethnological and historical aspects of the indigenous cultures of East Timor, as well as publications on these topics in other languages such as Indonesian, research did not reveal literature on the ethnomusicological aspects of these cultures. The evidence I am looking at is based on the available literature written in English and works which have been translated into English from other languages. Research by English speakers, mostly anthropologists in relation to the indigenous music have been made within the broader subjects and interests of their anthropological research.

Investigation by Forbes (1885) includes descriptions of instruments such as the *fui* (flute), which he called a "signalling pipe". Studies by Traube (1986) suggest that music is important in ritual ceremonies and that music is used as a medium to communicate between the world of the living and the world of the spiritual ancestors. Further evidence of the relationship between music and the spiritual world and the cosmos was researched by Byrne (1998), who suggests that music has a significant role in ritual ceremonies. Explorations by Middelkoop (1963) demonstrate that some of the rituals of headhunting in West Timor involved music which may play all night. Celebrations of a successful raid would include singing and dancing with foot bells. Observations by King (1963) suggest that the music of the East Timorese "possesses a richness and complexity of structure and design" (p. 130). The music she witnessed included intricate dances such as the eagle dance and a rarely viewed *titir* (drum in the shape of a human torso) and other instruments to scare animals from eating crops such as the *farafara* (palm trumpet) and *kakalo* (bamboo slit drum). King further indicates that song plays an important role in the passing on of oral history; "the singing goes on day and night until the whole story is told" (p. 137).

5.2 Relevant conclusions from previous chapters

A broad study of the history of East Timor and geomorphology of the island, as well as the social and cultural mores of the East Timorese, revealed information which will assist in developing a coherent investigation about the indigenous music of East Timor.

The diversity of the musical culture may be due to several factors such as the rugged landscape, which isolated some clan groups. Certain instruments arrived with traders who went to specific parts of the island, such as the Chinese to Oekusi. The instruments they left there, such as the brass ankle bells, are not found in other parts of East Timor. Inaccessibility due to the rugged terrain may have been a contributing factor. At the present time performances of indigenous music are rare. Information from Chapter One revealed that the Indonesian invasion and occupation generally dealt terrible blows to the musical culture with the destruction of musical instruments and discouragement of musical performances. Further investigation of the effect of the Indonesian occupation revealed that huge numbers of East Timorese were displaced during this time making it difficult for the East Timorese to maintain and practice their indigenous political and ritual customs. Three main ethnic groups were identified as being East Timorese; the Chinese Timorese, the Portuguese Timorese and the indigenous Timorese, the latter group being recognised as the ethnic group that plays the indigenous music of East Timor.

Origin myths share similar themes in many ethnolinguistic groups; further investigation may or may not reveal mythical origins of the musical instruments themselves. The belief system of the indigenous East Timorese is based on ancestral worship and central to this is *lulik* which was identified as being the essence of the society; many examples were given of its practical use in the chapters looking at the cultural and societal mores. The *uma lulik* is the main tangible object of *lulik* and is the medium between the natural and supernatural worlds. Objects stored in the *uma lulik* are regarded as *lulik* by the East Timorese. Certain elements of the earth and cosmos were identified as being *lulik*. The elements of animism such as rocks and trees are of symbolic importance and relationships between these and the cosmos, earth and living creatures may have some significance in understanding the attributes of musical instruments, activities and rituals. The relationship of ancestors and *lulik* may prove to be one of significance when discussing any possible relationship between *lulik* and the indigenous musical instruments.

The description of certain rituals to “cool” or “tame” people or objects, particularly in birth, initiation, harvest and war rituals, serve to demonstrate a practical insight or understanding of some of the dynamics of *lulik* and assist clarification of the structure of *lulik* overall. This may also prove beneficial when formulating a hypothesis as to whether or not there is a relationship between *lulik* and the indigenous music.

East Timorese society was identified as one of complementary dualism. The traditions of *fetosa-umane* and the marital alliance system plays an important role in maintaining harmony between the sacred and secular world, which is crucial for the well-being of the society as a whole. The role of the feminine and masculine in the society may be relevant when discussing the musical instruments, both their usage and the material of the objects themselves. Life and death are complementary opposites.

The main rituals of life and death were identified and their associated customs broadly discussed. The broad study of the rituals of both life and death in this chapter provide an understanding of the dual preoccupations of the society. This may prove pertinent not only when analysing the place of the musical instruments but also in determining a possible basis for classifying them based on this concept. The importance of ancestors to the East Timorese became apparent as well as the need for the

relationships that exist between the living and dead to be harmonious. Many ritual occasions call on ancestral guidance; they are treated with utmost respect. Further investigation may reveal the role of music in these rituals.

5.3 Questions raised by the limits to existing knowledge

This body of existing knowledge is profoundly limited with regard to the musical instruments and musical culture of East Timor, let alone any research on the connections between music and cultural and societal mores. The following is a list of essential questions that need answering in order to be able to develop a sophisticated understanding of this matter.

1. What are the musical instruments played for indigenous music by the East Timorese?
2. What are the activities and uses of these instruments in East Timorese society?
3. What are the songs and performance styles regarded as indigenous in East Timor?
4. What are the functions of the indigenous music in East Timorese society?

One of the clear indications that emerged from the review of existing research was that ancestors and the concept of *lulik* were central to East Timorese beliefs, which raises the further questions:

5. Is there a relationship between the indigenous music and the ancestors?
6. Are the instruments and the music *lulik*?

If so then:

7. Is there a relationship between *lulik* and the indigenous music?

Again if so:

8. Is it possible to create a framework to classify the instruments and repertoires which incorporates the connections and interactions to *lulik*?

This chapter drew together all the threads of existing research that were explored in Chapters One to Four and identified the essential questions that this research project would concentrate on. The next chapter deals with possible methodologies, approaches to the research data gathering and systems of classification.

CHAPTER SIX

Methodology

- 6.1 Method
- 6.2 Primary and secondary field research
- 6.3 Classification schemes
- 6.4 Organology
- 6.5 Taxonomy or partonomy
- 6.6 A watershed in the search for a classification
- 6.7 A scheme for classification
- 6.8 Field trips and recording methods
- 6.9 Musical Transcriptions

The original aims of this research project were to (a) understand the music; (b) relate it to culture and *lulik*; and (c) form a classification system. The comprehensive review in Chapters One to Five has established that whilst there is a substantial body of work relating to the history, cultural, social and ritual background of East Timor, there is very little on the music and its material artefacts and nothing on its relationship to cultural values such as *lulik*.

This current chapter will outline the methodological approaches used to undertake the project, and the methods of collection of the considerable volume of data required to satisfy the aims as stated above. The approach to the research, or methodology in this project is framed by the goals of the research, the pragmatics of working in the field in a society that has undergone many upheavals, and a degree of reflection on the varied approaches used in ethnomusicology over the last century. Early comparative musicology used an empirical frame to undertake what was seen as “scientific” recording, testing and measurement of discrete music cultures. This approach evolved particularly through the 1960s and 1970s into a socially located understanding, where anthropological methods became very widely used and researchers sought to grasp the emic understanding of the music. Towards the end of the twentieth century, researchers had moved towards an advocacy approach with methodological insights into the impact that the researcher actually makes or can make through their interaction.

6.1 Method

The method in this research is a composite that combines the recording and measurement of information, detailed interviews with a wide range of informants, and through the agency afforded by the publication of my book, *Lian husi klamar: Sounds of the soul*, providing a very clear participant advocacy role for the music expressed in the expectations of many of the sources, informants such as the cultural custodians and village leaders and elders, as well as the performers, field research assistants and translators. The project overtly aimed to prevent the music from becoming extinct in line with the wishes of the informants.

In addition the search for ways to understand the relationship between *lulik* and the music and the surrounding cultures requires a method that includes all these different approaches, as it is a combination of an endeavour at emic understanding, blended with advocacy and anthropological approaches. It is an

attempt to make the human, the cosmological and the musical, form an integrated representation of these ancient arts in ways that honour the deeply held beliefs and phenomenology of the culture bearers.

The primary methods used are material data collection, semi-structured interviews, recording and analysis of performances. The analytical methods also include the transcription and content analysis of interviews and the construction through triangulation of these sources of an organology or matrix of some kind that hopes to represent the relationships between all the different types of inputs, material, social and metaphysical.

The registers of writing in the thesis make use of a mix method approach which includes the incorporation of personal experience. Whilst the register of writing is often ethnographic, there are times when it is autoethnographical. This is necessary in order to provide context and to place the factual information and analysis in relationship to the lived experiences of the people, including the researcher. Autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyse (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno) (Ellis, 2004; Holman Jones, 2005). The analysis of personal stories as suggested by Jones (2013) needs to be in relation “to the social and cultural structures inherent in the *outer* world”. Bartleet (2009) explores the idea of *outside-in* dynamic being counterbalanced by an *inside-out* dynamic. In her narrative she draws on personal experiences and positions these “in relation to significant cultural issues ... and broader methodological issues within the field of autoethnographic writing”(p. 715). Bartleet goes on to explain that she “foregrounds personal experiences and then zooms outwards to see how they fit within a broader framework” (p. 715). Laurel Richardson (2000) has this to say about methods of inquiry “by writing in different ways, we discover new aspects of our topic and our relationship to it” (p. 923). Through using autoethnography as one of the approaches to the research and writing, particularly in Part Three of the thesis the author hopes to reveal significant broader issues in the relationship of the music to the culture and *lulik*.

6.2 Primary and secondary field research

I conducted ethnological field research in East Timor from 2003 to 2014. This field research documentation consists of audiovisual material recorded from 2003 to 2010 as well as the material contained in field note books from that period. This was independent research conducted prior to my enrolment as a doctoral candidate. Taking into account the extensive field work from this period, I was aware that I may have formed opinions that needed to be tested and verified. A more systematic approach to the fieldwork was required including structured interviews and an analytical approach to the identification of the musical instruments used for indigenous music and their properties and cultural roles. The scope of the data gathering also needed to broaden to include information on the cultures and societies of the different ethnolinguistic groups in order to attempt a deeper understanding of *lulik* and its relationship with the musical culture.

Ethics approval was granted by the University of Newcastle for the field research undertaken from 2011 to 2015. This research included audiovisual recordings with the addition of oral interviews conducted with musicians, cultural leaders, custodians and visual artists. I was reasonably conversant in Tetun with an intermediate ability in the language. This enabled me to make a reasonable effort with interviews in

Tetun, and East Timorese translators assisted with the more complicated dialogues and translations from the other indigenous languages spoken in East Timor. Whilst there were specific questions asked, the interviewed often took tangents from the initial line of questioning and interviews invariably turned into discussions with others listening who would sometimes join in, providing much more scope to the subject than the planned line of questioning may have intended. Detailed examination, recording of information and analysis of the material objects of the indigenous music as well as their musical attributes was undertaken so that a scheme of classification could be developed.

Observations were also made of the social structure of villages visited on these field trips. Cultural aspects such as different weaving patterns of *tais*, design of traditional houses, decorative carvings and also the physical landscape were documented in notebooks. Photographs were taken to assist in understanding the broader aspects of the society and culture as well as similarities and differences between the many ethnolinguistic groups.

East Timorese research assistants were essential for the entire period of field research, both in locating musicians and arranging with cultural leaders the permission for performances to take place, and as acting as translators to explain local and wider meanings of words and actions. This was necessary as some of the musicians recorded only spoke a clan language and did not speak Tetun, Portuguese, Indonesian or English. Whilst some of the performances recorded in the field research were spontaneous, that is, played as part of a bonafide cultural or social activity, many were planned. This is because indigenous music is rarely performed these days, and only occasionally did these spontaneous performances coincide with my field trips. The infrequency of performances is because many instruments were destroyed by the departing Indonesian army in 1999, and also because so many of those with the knowledge of this music have died without being able to pass on their information. Consequently international music, including church music, has replaced indigenous music for many celebrations. The material from the field research conducted from 2003 to 2014 is now stored with the archives, PARADISEC (The Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures, <http://www.paradisec.org.au/home.html>) and CAMSTL (Centro Audiovisual Max Stahl Timor Leste) in Dili, East Timor as well as in a storage facility in my studio.

Transcriptions were made of field recordings, along with interviews for further analysis. A content analysis was made of interviews and both sets of material became essential in identifying not only which musical instruments were used for indigenous music, but also with regard to my examining their potential relationship to *lulik* within the framework of cultural and societal mores.

6.3 Classification schemes

To develop a scheme for classifying the indigenous music and instruments of East Timor as well as considering *lulik* within the framework necessitated examining the work already documented by others on the subject of classification systems. Explorations by Kunst (1959) suggested that ethnomusicology is “our science” (p. 1) and the appropriate word for describing the study of the music of humankind. Other research by Merriam (1964) pointed to the study of music “as part of human culture” (p. 39). Further investigations by Blacking (1973) alluded to music being contextualised as the “tonal expressions of human experience” (p. 31) and that as such, social context and cultural experience must be included in the

study of music (Rogers, 2012; Rogers & Symons, 2005). In his studies of Venda music,⁹² Blacking suggested the melody of a song is derived from the story of the song, by responses to social experience (Byron, 1995, p. 65). Further research of African music by Bebey (1975) suggested that sounds are taken from nature and incorporated into music. Another perspective was provided by the studies of Zemp (1978, 1979, 1981) who suggested that one-third of the repertoire of instrumental pieces is inspired by sounds that occur in nature (p. 59).

In the post-Blacking era, there has been a consensus that music should be considered within the realm of society, whereas research by Tenzer (2003, 2006, 2011) suggested that music should also be considered in its own right. Explorations by Bebey (1975) imply that whilst social and cultural aspects are important, the focus of many social events will be the music itself.

In the early days of grouping musical instruments, the sound generation of the instrument was the basis for its classification. Research by Hornbostel and Sachs (1961) devised a scheme based on how an instrument vibrates to produce sound and developed categories of phones: four main categories being aerophones, membranophones, chordophones and idiophones. Other studies by Zemp (1978, 1979) classified the 'Are' music and bamboo instruments of the Solomon Islands according to whether they were blown or beaten. The early classification schemes were organologies; studies by DeVale (1990) suggest that organology is "the science of sound instruments" (p. 4). Investigations by Kaemmer (1993) point to an approach which was beyond the sound production method but with a wider focus on society and music for developing a scheme of classification. Some researchers felt the term musical instrument could be a misleading one in the identification of instruments that make music. Research by Fischer (1986) suggested that musical instruments would be better categorised as sound-producing instruments. Investigations by Flintoff, Melbourne and Nunns (2004) used the term "singing treasures"(9) for the musical instruments of the Maori as the sounds produced were similar to singing.

Research methods in the late twentieth century by ethnomusicologists such as Hood (1971), Dournon (1981), Wachsmann (1984) Kartomi (1990) Nettle (1994) and Laviolette (2007) evolved to include cultural aspects as well as morphological and sound characteristics in organologies. Investigations by Johnson (1995) suggested organologies needed include "such aspects as cultural meaning, symbolism, mythology and iconology"(p. 258). Studies by Dawe (2001) implied that "the study of musical instruments is as much about the study of ethnomusicology, anthropology, and cultural studies as it is about the study of physics, wood science, and biological systematics" (p. 275).

Investigations by Kartomi (2001) suggested that no scheme is infallible for classifying musical instruments but that various schemes are a compromise "between the demands of logic and inclusivity in the real world of instruments seen in their socio-musical contexts" (p. 307). She further suggested that schemes of classification are diverse having evolved from just systems with acoustic and morphological properties to schemes incorporating spiritual, cosmic or even sexual criteria with the characteristics of the

⁹² The Venda are a Southern African people who mostly live near the South Africa–Zimbabwean border. "Venda music is not founded on melody but on the rhythmical movement of the whole body; the importance of body movement reflects the fundamental relationship between music and dance and the emotional impact of music as well as the social and physical experiences associated with its performance" (Byron, 1995, p. 54).

instruments themselves. Research by Flintoff, Melbourne and Nunns (2004) alluded to musical instruments being a focal point in a culture and given cosmic status according to their origins as the Maori people believe the musical instruments are “gifts from the ancestors”(10). Another inquiry by Mora (2005) suggested that music should be placed within a framework of mythology, spirituality, cosmology and culture due to the connectedness of the place of music in that society. A study of the *Iatmul*⁹³ people by Spearritt (2009) suggested the instruments come from ancestors and that they have special status in ritual musical performances that can last for hours, implying that music is integral to the spiritual.

The research of the indigenous music of East Timor was of a culture that has for the most part been transmitted orally. Kartomi (2001) identified schemes used in classification according to whether they are observer imposed, that is “literarily-transmitted” (p.13) or culture emerging “orally-transmitted”(p. 13), that is, displaying “the broad ideas or the identity of the culture that produced them” (p. 13). The schemes Mora and Zemp used in classifying musical cultures were culture-emerging and paradigmatic, according to Kartomi (1990, pp. 20–21). There were similarities in both these musical cultures to the East Timorese, particularly regarding the place and relationship of music to the culture of its indigenous people and close parallels between the indigenous music of the T’boli regarding myth, the cosmological and supernatural beliefs.

6.4 Organology

Organology was used to classify musical instruments, focusing on the morphological and sound characteristics of the instruments themselves. DeVale (1990, p. 4) suggests that the meaning of organology is “the science of sound instruments” (p. 4) whilst Roda (2007) argued that within organology there should be consideration for the “human – instrument relationships”(para 1). The approach to organology has changed over centuries, particularly in the latter part of the twentieth, and in the twenty-first century, due to the methods of research by ethnomusicologists such as:

Hood (1971), Wachsmann (1984), Dournon (1992), De Vale (1990) and Kartomi (1990) among others, have examined musical instruments beyond their purely physical form and have tended to look at such aspects as cultural meaning, symbolism, mythology and iconology, seeing musical instruments more as signifying objects of music material culture than as sound-producing objects alone. (Johnson, 1995, p. 257)

Dawe (2001) indicated that “centuries of scientific work are being combined with new perspectives offered by the cultural study of music” (p. 276). The School of Music at Australian National University (2013) described organology on their website as “the study of musical instruments as technological and sound-producing objects, and the cultural heritage behind them” (Australian National University, 2013, para 1). Currently organology is a more flexible scheme of classification, not merely focusing on the material and acoustic aspects of a musical instrument but including the cultural and social environments from which they come.

If my thesis was to be structured as an organology, then a scheme was needed to frame it that best represented the multidimensional strands of the material studied. The indigenous music was more than its material objects, so the intangible aspects of the music had to be taken into account. Taxonomic schemes

⁹³ The *Iatmul* people live along the middle Sepik River in Papua New Guinea.

are often used in the classification of musical instruments, however they are unidimensional schemes. My findings had revealed several layers and a partonomy may prove more suitable, so both these systems were examined.

6.5 Taxonomy or partonomy

Margaret Kartomi (2001) identified four kinds of schemes that were generally used in the classification of both orally transmitted traditions and literary traditions. They were taxonomy, tree, paradigm and typology arrangements. The first two Kartomi indicated, are “unidimensional schemes” and the latter two are “multidimensional schemes” (p. 307).

Taxonomy is a hierarchy based on discrete sets of one class. A “taxonomy has some degree of hierarchical arrangement” Górska (2002, p. 105). Taxonomy used for the classification of music arranges the morphological and acoustic properties of musical instruments in a logical scheme and there are no overlapping groups. Kartomi (2001) suggested that the taxonomy is “distinguished by the culture or group that created it rather than intellectually imposed by the observer” (p. 307). Another scheme Kartomi identified as unidimensional is the tree scheme which is “a downward classification in the form of a branch diagram governed by one character at each step” (p. 307). Taxonomic arrangements appeared to be straightforward, but whilst a taxonomy could be useful for classifying the morphological and acoustic attributes of the musical instruments, they are nevertheless unidimensional schemes. Grouping the musical instruments used for indigenous music by the East Timorese in a unidimensional classification would not be the most appropriate system, as the interrelationships between the music, *lulik* and other parts of East Timorese society and culture are multilayered. However, a taxonomy may be useful as an interim way to group the instruments into logical divisions, such as the way they are played to produce sound, as represented in the example below (see Figure 26).

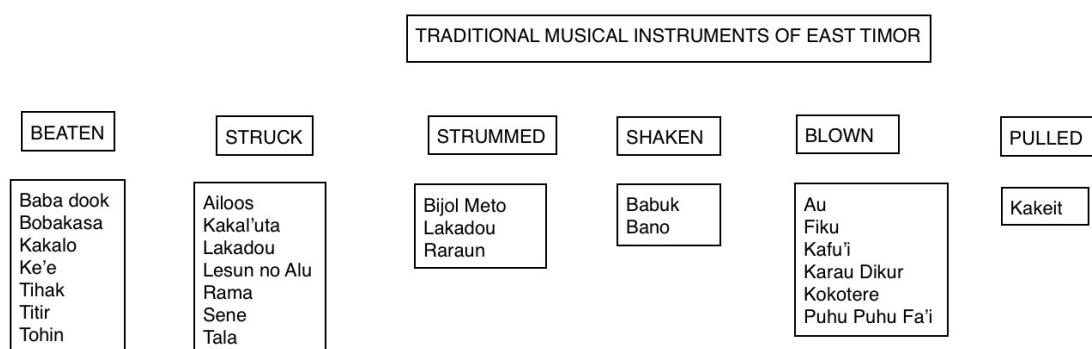


Figure 26. Taxonomy of the musical instruments of East Timor

Experimentation with this structure involved taking the various components such as function in society and creating a number of taxonomical diagrams. However, there were limitations to these, as the different components were displayed as isolated, non-intersecting units. They failed to illustrate the relationships between the indigenous music and *lulik* and the societal and cultural mores that had been identified in the field research. The musical instruments were part of a bigger picture, not the central or main objects. A partonomy may illustrate the relationships of the parts within the whole framework more clearly.

A partonomy is a hierarchy that deals with “part-whole” relationships. “The parts are either directly or indirectly dependent on one another, and they differ in the degree of their essentialness, that is: the degree to which the functioning of other parts of a given whole is dependent on them” Górska (2002, p. 108). Witkowski and Brown (1978), explained that, “taxonomies are based on “kind of” relationships (e.g., “an oak is a kind of tree”) and partonomies on “part of” relationships (e.g., “a toe is a part of a foot”)” (p. 430). Brown (1976) suggested “a partonomy is a hierarchical system of one or more labeled parta,⁹⁴ each of which is either immediately or non-immediately possessed by an entity which is not a parton of that partonomy, i.e., The Whole” (p. 400).

The different parts of the collection being classified appear to have a significant link to *lulik*, which is the essence of East Timorese society and culture. Thus, if *lulik* represents the “whole” and the music, society and other aspects of the culture the “parts”, then perhaps a partonomy would be the best way to structure the classification. Górska (2002) suggested that the “part-whole relation is diametrically different from the relationship between a type and a subtype”(p. 110). Using this model, the type and subtype would then be the musical instruments themselves, while the part-whole relationship would be both the musical instruments as the tangible objects of the indigenous music and the music’s role in relation to *lulik* and the cultural and social mores.

The main component of my research focuses on the musical instruments and looks at their use in musically-related activities, as well as considering cultural and social characteristics. It was evident to me that as these were part relationships that intersected, a multidimensional scheme may be more suitable, or perhaps a hybrid scheme developed from elements of some of the schemes examined. Other multidimensional schemes identified by Kartomi (2001) are paradigm and typology. She describes typology as “a multidimensional or multicharacter form of arranging objects according to the simultaneous intersection of categories, it is a scheme governed by several characters per step” (p. 307). A paradigm she describes as “a group of objects by application of more than one dimension and simultaneously based on the horizontal and vertical intersection of facets” (p. 307). Both paradigms and typologies are associated with culture-emerging schemes. The path of classification of the indigenous music which included related aspects of society and culture was beginning to emerge.

6.6 A watershed in the search for a classification

Initially the musical instruments were classified using the universal scheme devised by Hornbostel and Sachs (1961). However, this was a taxonomical scheme and Eurocentric in its terminology and did not illustrate the multi-layers of the material found in the investigation of the indigenous music or the nature of the society and cultures studied. Moreover, the East Timorese musicians, informants and research assistants had no idea what most of the terminology used by Hornbostel and Sachs meant. Since the 1930s, “a few museologists and musicologists began to criticise the Hornbostel and Sachs’ scheme and attempted to improve it” (Kartomi, 2001, p. 285). Clearly others had looked for ways to improve on the Hornbostel and Sachs’ scheme and whilst an initial classification of the indigenous music of East Timor experimented with that model, a classification was needed that reflected the many layers of the findings

⁹⁴ “A parta is part of an entity – described as ‘possessed by’ that entity. A parton itself is an entity which can possess a parton or parta” (Brown, 1976, p. 400).

and allowed better representation of the relationships between the various parts. Further taxonomical diagrams were tested to try to find a way to classify the material; however it became apparent that a taxonomy on its own isolated the various components too much, making it a scheme that was not satisfactory in illustrating the multidimensional relationships.

The findings involved more than the material objects of the indigenous music and a classification needed to consider more than the morphological and acoustic aspects of the musical instruments. These instruments were not entities, but rather part of a whole so the classification had to represent these parts. Kartomi (1990) suggested that:

Classifications are often synopses or terse accounts of a culture's, subculture's, or individual's deep-seated ideas about music and instruments, as well as, in some cases, philosophical, religious, and social beliefs. In fact taxonomical organology is far from being a dry, clinical study and is better not approached in a purely formalist fashion. (p. 7)

The musical activities for which the instruments were used also needed to be considered as did the more abstract associated elements such as the mythological and cosmological. In other words, the ways in which *lulik* relates to the music and the society and culture. As *lulik* was central to the societal and cultural mores, perhaps *lulik* should also be central in the classification scheme.

Apart from the material collected about East Timorese society on field trips extensive reading about East Timor's history, societal structures and cultures was undertaken. My initial observations in East Timor suggested that *lulik* was a key concept to the East Timorese. Some of the questions put to informants were directed to *lulik*; for example, "Do you think the musical instruments are *lulik*?" Through the answers given and the extended discussions that often ensued, a connection emerged between indigenous music, its material objects and *lulik*.

6.7 A scheme for classification

Through a study of taxonomy, organology and partonomy, the scheme for classifying the musical instruments used for indigenous music by the East Timorese evolved into a hybrid scheme. The whole study may be an organology, but a complex one. Through the course of the investigation the multiple relationships between different strands of the research were revealed and needed to be considered as part of the framework of the scheme. The material objects of the indigenous music would need to be represented as part of the relationships with regard to the music, *lulik*, the societal and cultural mores. Some kind of multidimensional scheme was necessary and the hierarchy of a partonomy seemed most appropriate, since it would deal with these part-whole relationships.

Initially the instruments were grouped in a unidimensional scheme according to their morphological and acoustic properties. Different diagrams and schemes were devised to ascertain whether there was a relationship to the indigenous music and the societal and cultural mores. It had become very clear from the field work that musical instruments and their related activities were one part of a whole, and not isolated entities.

6.8 Field trips and recording methods

There were nineteen field trips undertaken prior to commencing my PhD between 2003 and 2010 and six field trips undertaken during my PhD research to record musical instruments, song and dance and interviews. The detail of dates and places of these field trips can be found in Appendix Q. Occasionally some of the performances were spontaneous that is, played as part of a bonafide cultural or social activity; however many were organised specifically for the recordings. This is because indigenous music is rarely performed these days, and only occasionally did spontaneous performances coincide with my field trips. East Timor is mostly a patriarchal society apart from the Wehali residing in Kova Lima. Even though women were participants in many of the performances recorded, mostly I was only able to interview males on the subject of the indigenous music, often it would be the musical director and on some occasions the *lia na'in* (male) and/or *Xefe Suku* (male). It is difficult to interview women who are in touch with their traditional culture as males tend to be protective of them and women defer to the them. I did seek out female interviewees where possible but it was difficult to interview women. This may have led to some bias in the data, but this was inevitable given the circumstances. Occasionally I was able to interview women (Leo Guterres, Palmira Lopez, Berta Pereira) and their responses are documented in appendix N.

The technology I used in recordings was both audio and audiovisual. The audiovisual equipment was a Sony DVCam recorder, model DSR-PDX20P, with a 48-bit recorder and so, for the first five years of recording, this was also the only method for audio recordings. This was used in conjunction with a microphone mounted on the camera and two microphones, a Sony electret condenser microphone and a Sennheiser K6 ME 64 condenser microphone. The tapes were Sony Digital Video Cassette 60-minute tapes [DVM60]. The audio recorder used was a H4 zoom recorder; this was used from 2007. Various still cameras were used, numerous Canon digital powershot cameras, a Fujifilm EXR 16 Mega CMOS digital camera and a Nikon D80 SKR digital camera. The following chapters in Part Two and Part Three of the thesis discuss the findings of the recordings made during these field trips.

6.9 Musical Transcriptions

The use of both Western and cypher notation has been used in this thesis for transcriptions of songs. This was done as a benefit to those reading the thesis who read Western musical notation. Some East Timorese readers understand Western notation and many more read cypher notation. All notations of transcriptions are approximations and the field recordings are the ultimate source of events, however, it is felt that these representations are sufficiently accurate for the purpose of the thesis. The Finale software was used for transcriptions of all musical notation with some amendments made to the software such as the removal of bar lines.

PART TWO

Findings of the research

CHAPTER SEVEN

The musical instruments used for indigenous music

- 7.1 Musical instruments which are beaten
- 7.2 Musical instruments which are shaken
- 7.3 Musical instruments which are blown
- 7.4 Musical instruments which are pulled
- 7.5 Summary and reflections

Chapter Four identified and examined the main rituals of life (*lia moris*) and rituals of death (*lia mate*). It was revealed that some of the rituals of life intersect with rituals of death, as in the cases of those of war and headhunting. The connection between the living and the dead was identified and the importance of the cycle of exchange was explained. The significance of the role of both ancestors and *lulik* was demonstrated in the study of these rituals. Some rituals are noisy rituals and some silent. The significance and place of the indigenous music to the rituals of life and death and other rituals will be discussed in Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven.

My research revealed 24 instruments (not including the human voice) used for indigenous music by the East Timorese. Initial information was documented on spreadsheets (see Appendices G, H & I). This chapter discusses these musical instruments and examines their physical and musical attributes. The information collected has been largely obtained through actual observation and from personal communications with musicians who play these musical instruments. The knowledge of playing and making the musical instruments and the associated myths of origin of some of them has been passed down orally and where available will be commented upon. The East Timorese call this teaching “*aman ba oan*⁹⁵ which means father to child” (Byrne, 1998, p. 4). Those interviewed believe the origins of the musical instruments are ancestral, whether the actual existing instruments were inherited from ancestors or a newly made one using the skills and knowledge passed to the maker by ancestors. Many of those interviewed said the skills they acquired for playing these musical instruments had been taught to them by parents or grandparents. The legacy of the ethnomusicologist Blacking (Byron, 1995), suggests that “exceptional musical skills and skills at making musical instruments could only be acquired from the spirit world” (p. 180). The spirit/ancestral world became an important consideration in the identification of the musical instruments of East Timor which are regarded as uniquely traditional.

The interviewees also believed that the origins of music and its place in the culture were born with them: “Culture, music and *lulik* was born with us, they are one” (A. Mendonça, interview, June 30, 2012). This was a constant theme with informants. Belief in the ancestors and their significance as the source of knowledge about the culture (including musical) was universal amongst all those interviewed.

Acknowledgement of the importance of ancestors is sometimes carried out in rituals as Ameta Mendonça explained: “We can only use *bobakasa* in *lulik*, we cannot even put it on the ground, the same for *baba-dook*. We give food and betel nut offerings to the ancestors as respect to them for giving us the instruments” (interview, June 30, 2012).

⁹⁵ *Aman ba oan* is the indigenous form of education in Timor where fathers (maritally aligned elders) teach the next generation the genealogy of the family, and the philosophy, mythology, music and dances of the clan (Byrne, 1998, p. 4).

As well as examining the responses to questions by informants about the origins of the musical instruments of the East Timorese, I ruminated on the meanings cited for music and for traditional musical instruments, as the East Timorese refer to these instruments as *instrumentu tradisional*. They use this term to differentiate between the instruments they use for playing indigenous music and instruments such as guitar, violin and drum kit, which are commonly used for playing music in the Portuguese dance bands and for genres such as reggae, pop and rock which exist in East Timor.

“Tradition and traditional are among the mostly commonly used terms in the whole vocabulary of the study of culture and society” (Shils, 1971, p. 123). Handler and Linnekin (1984) describe tradition as “an inherited body of customs and beliefs” (p. 273) and Adams (2011) goes on to suggest that tradition is “the handing of beliefs and customs by one generation to another, either by word of mouth or by practice” (para. 3). UNESCO (2011) describes cultural tradition as being : “inherited from ancestors and passed on to descendants” (para.1). Tradition is subject to reinvention and “there has always been change in tradition” (Gillespie, 2010, p. 8) through reinterpretation and appropriation. “A new type of music invented by someone now cannot be a tradition yet. But it may become one as time passes” (Kubik, 1986, p. 53). The changes which occur to tradition can be “dynamic, just as is culture and the people who form and transform it. It is a human construct and configuration, altered through time to create meaning for its adherents and in their world” (Kidula, 1999). This is particularly pertinent with regard to East Timorese music, which has been influenced by interaction with cultures as far away as Portugal, China and Africa. It is also significant because of the high level of disturbance to social, cultural, ritual activities during the Indonesian occupation, and the subsequent interest in the revival of this music afterwards.

Traditional music can be defined as: “Music passed mostly unchanged between generations of informal players, usually without notation, and played mostly by ear” (Eyers, 2012, para. 1).

Several ethnomusicologists draw attention to the necessity of studying the ways in which different cultures variously define the concept of music. Specifying the distinction between music and noise or non-music is basic to the understanding of music in any society (Blacking, 1973, p. 4; Herndon & McLeod, 1982, p. 248; Meriam, 1964, p. 63). Research by Blacking (1973) describes music as “humanly organised sound” (p. 10). Meriam (1964) argues that:

if one group accepts the sound of the wind in the trees as music and another does not, or if one group accepts the croaking of frogs and the other denies it as music, it is evident that the concepts of what music is or is not must differ widely and must distinctively shape music sound. (p. 63)

A musical instrument we might accept is “an object that has been adapted for the purpose of making sound which is deliberately generated by humans” (Montagu, 2007, p. 1). Fischer (1986) labels musical instruments “sound producing instruments”, arguing that the term “musical instruments is misleading and hinders the recognition of the true meaning of these instruments” (p. 2). A traditional musical instrument is not so easily defined. However, by taking the meaning of traditional and musical instrument, a traditional musical instrument is an object which is adapted to produce sound, often characterising a culture and passed on generationally, either as objects or the knowledge of making and playing them. In addition traditional musical instruments tend to be uniquely made, often by the musicians playing them:

“they are never mass-produced ... instrument-making depends largely upon the natural materials available” (Bebey, 1975, p. 40). The musical instruments regarded as traditional in East Timor likewise are individually made.

The criteria for determining which instruments are traditional involved my examining the information given to me by the East Timorese interviewed and musicians recorded alongside the above definitions. The passing on of the knowledge for making and playing these musical instruments generationally from ancestral origins became significant in my analysis. Musical instruments whose origins may have been traced from early migrations of people to East Timor were included as traditional, as East Timorese believed their origins to be ancestral irrespective of place; one example being the *rama* which resembles mouth bows from the African continent (Balfour, 1976; Kubik, 1976; Lo-Bamijoko, 1987). Research by Gunn (1999) found the Portuguese used Ataúru as a prison for colonial dissidents including Africans (Gunn, 1999, p. 43). Instruments such as the *rama* likely arrived with Africans many generations ago, but were adopted by the East Timorese and then with the methods for making and playing them passed on to subsequent generations. The analysis of materials of construction, methods of sound production and acoustic technology of the musical instruments was also taken into account in establishing the reasons why some of the musical instruments are considered traditional and others such as the violin and guitar, although widely used, are not.

The instruments are divided into the broad categories of (a) musical instruments beaten, (b) musical instruments blown, (c) musical instruments pulled and (d) musical instruments shaken. The largest number of musical instruments fell into the category of musical instruments which are beaten and these shall be discussed first.

7.1 Musical instruments which are beaten

Ailoos, Baba-dook, Bijol meto, Bobakasa, Kakalo, Kakal'uta, Lakadou, Lesun no Alu, Ke'e, Rama, Raraun, Tala, Tihak, Titir, Tohin

Ailoos – leg xylophone

(Observations from field trip: July 17, 2008, 3.00 p.m., Secretariat of State for Culture, Dili)

The *ailoos* is a wooden leg xylophone instrument (see Figure 27) which is found, these days, in Suai Loro, Kovalima.⁹⁶ This style of leg xylophone also exists in Papua suggesting Melanesian origins (Blench, 2014).

⁹⁶ The *ailoos* is an endangered instrument that few people know how to play or how to perform the dance it accompanies, *bidu ailoos*. Fortunately, two elders from Suai Loro still know how to make, play and dance *bidu ailoos*; Prisca de Lima who played *ailoos* in her youth and Mr. Johanes Bere, now working for Secretariat of State for Culture in Dili. Collaboration between these elders and the Secretariat of State for Culture in 2008 ensured that the next generation will be taught the culture of *bidu ailoos* so that it should not die out.



Figure 27. Topside of an *Ailoos* (photograph: Dunlop, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

In the past the *ailoos* was played in ensemble by four female musicians, who sat opposite each other to play. Gender and the musical instruments will be addressed comprehensively later in the thesis (Chapter Ten, 10.10). These days due to the scarcity of instruments I was only able to find two musicians at any one time able to accompany the dance *bidu ailoos* (see audiovisual example 2). Each player has two wooden keys lying across their slightly parted lower legs. This arrangement allows for some resonance from the keys as they are beaten (see Figure 28). The *ailoos* is played by holding a wooden beater (approximately 20 cm x 2 cm) in the right hand and vigorously striking the centre of the middle of the length of the keys. The keys are approximately 50 cm in length, 8 cm in width and 2 cm in depth. As they are all handmade there are slight variations. They are tuned to eight different pitches but these can vary as no two instruments are the same.



Figure 28. Angelina Mesqita De Lima & Meliana De Fatima Da Cruz playing *ailoos* (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)

The pitch of *ailoos* sets is likely to vary but difficult to generalise as, at present, only two incomplete sets have been located. The *ailoos* in the Secretariat of State for Culture collection had three pairs of a set. The pitches of the first pair were E^b and A^b (E^b above middle C and the A^b below middle C). The pitches of the second were B^b and E^b (B^b below middle C and the E^b above). The pitches of the third were A^b and B^b (below middle C). In Suai Loro only two pairs were available. The pitches of one pair were A and C[#] (C[#] above middle C and A below). The pitches of the second pair were A and B (below middle C). The *ailoos* played by Johanes Bere (audio example 1) was recorded as he sat on a ceramic tiled floor in the basement of the Secretariat of State for Culture building and the *ailoos* played by Angelina Mesqita De Lima & Meliana De Fatima Da Cruz (audio example 2) was recorded whilst the players were sitting on the sand at a beach (observations from field trip: October 6, 2011, 5.00 p.m., Suai Loro). The tone quality in both examples is bright and clear with a loud dynamic. The example in audio example 1 resonated more due to the hard surface area the player was sitting on. The ostinato rhythm played for the duration of the dance *bidu ailoos* (audio example 2) does not change its pattern for the duration of the dance (see Figure 29).



Figure 29. *Ailoos* ostinato rhythm for *bidu ailoos* (transcription: Dunlop, 2014)

The dancers of *bidu ailoos* are male. They wear traditional dress and woven bamboo ankle bells called *babuk*, and dance between the pairs of women. These days the players usually sit in a row and in this arrangement the dancers perform in front of them (see Figure 30).



Figure 30. *Bidu ailoos* dancers Fideles Barros and Domincos Cardoso (photograph: Amaral, 2014)

***Baba-dook* – handheld drum**

(Observations from field trip: January 27, 2011, 5.00 p.m., Baukau)

The *baba-dook*, a truncated conical single-headed, hand-held drum, found throughout East Timor (see Figure 31).



Figure 31. *Baba-dook* (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The *baba-dook* shell is made of wood, the shell-end opposite the drumhead is open and the skin stretched across the drumhead is mostly made of goat hide. “Occasionally other skin is used, such as bat wing, or the renal cortex from the kidney of a buffalo” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 47). The drum sound differs depending on head tension, drum dimensions, degree of taper of the drum shell, wood used and the kind of animal

skin used. Dimensions vary for the *baba-dook*. The average size is 30 cm to 40 cm in length with a diameter at the drumhead of 12 cm to 16 cm. Some *baba-dook* have a shoulder strap attached from the drumhead to the base, others do not. Clan groups such as the Makasae, snare the *baba-dook* with twine or metal wire fastened firmly across the skinhead, creating a rattle when the drum is struck (see Figure 32).



Figure 32. Snared *baba-dook* (photograph: P. Lee, 2011)

Only women play the *baba-dook*, standing to play. It is held under the left arm, the drum tucked firmly against her waist with the elbow crook holding it in place. The drumhead is in front of her and both hands play the drum. The left hand is held slightly higher than the right hand in playing position (see Figure 33). Most of the movement comes from flattened fingers moving from the proximal phalanges so that the pads of the fingers beat the drum close to the centre of the skinhead, causing it to vibrate. The vibrations resonate down the drum shell creating a non-pitched sound (audio example 3). The *baba-dook* is generally played whilst dancing the dance *tebedai*.



Figure 33. Detail: woman playing the *baba-dook* (Dunlop, 2012, 0. 47)

Different rhythm patterns are played on the *baba-dook* when accompanying *tebedai* and there are variations of these across clan groups (see Appendix K). When a song is sung with *baba-dook* accompaniment the words are more important than the drum rhythms. This relationship will be discussed further in Chapter Eight. The *baba-dook* has a resonant warm and mellow tone when played at the centre of the skinhead and a brighter timbre when beaten closer to its edge.

The *baba-dook ki'ik* is a smaller version of the *baba-dook*. Dimensions for the *baba-dook ki'ik* vary but are usually proportionally smaller and/or narrower than the *baba-dook* and the sound is brighter and less resonant (see Figure 34).



Figure 34. *Baba-dook* (right) and *Baba-dook ki'ik* (photograph: Dunlop, 2010)

***Bijol meto* – string instrument**

(Observations from field trip: January 10, 2005, 6.30 p.m., Oekusi)

The *bijol meto* (see Figure 35) is hand carved and located mostly amongst the Metonese from Oekusi; however, there are also similar models located on the island of Ataúru. The *bijol meto* is played for individual entertainment, at parties and to accompany song.



Figure 35. *Bijol meto* (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

The main body is carved from a single piece of wood hollowed out and the back is flat (see Figure 36). The soundboard is glued onto its top and a sound hole is cut near the centre of the soundboard. A fretless finger board is fitted to the body and four strings made of fishing line are fastened to a leather tailpiece which is attached to back of the body (see Figure 37). The strings are stretched across the bridge (some models have a bridge, some do not) and over the sound hole to fasten onto tuning pegs (see Figure 38), which are screwed into the back of the neck at the top of the instrument.



Figure 36. *Bijol meto*, side profile (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)



Figure 37. *Bijol meto*, tailpiece detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)



Figure 38. *Bijol meto*, tuning pegs detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

The instrument is held across the body and strummed with the right hand while the left hand presses the strings down on the fingerboard to create chords. The pitch of the tuning strings on *bijol meto* as well as its physical appearance and size vary from instrument to instrument (see Appendix J). When *bijol meto* is played with song the accompaniment is chordal. The predominant chords of the field recording (audio example 4), were B Major $\frac{5}{3}$, E Major $\frac{6}{4}$, F# Major $\frac{7}{4}$, B Major $\frac{6}{4}$. The *bijol meto* has a light resonant tone

quality. In appearance the *bijol meto* and has similar physical attributes to the *braguinha*⁹⁷ “It is likely that the *bijol meto* is an instrument that was probably introduced by the Portuguese” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 119).

***Bobakasa* – double-headed side drum**

(Observations from field trip: January 27, 2011, 5.00 p.m., Baukau)

The *bobakasa* is a double-headed, cylindrical drum (see Figure 39). It is known as *bobakasa* by the Makasae. This drum is also located with the Naueti who call it *tambor*, and also the Mambae who call it *kak*. The *bobakasa* “arrived with the Portuguese to be used in their flag raising ceremonies” (C. Silveiro Fernando, interview, July 4, 2012). The *bobakasa* is also used a marching drum and both “the flag and march drum are important in ritual as well as myth” (Traube, 1986, p. 60). The reference to flag and drum, are images which are “ubiquitous themes in ritual oratory” (Traube, 1986, p. 60). “The *bobakasa* is regarded as sacred and highly respected by the people” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 101). “The Timorese swear oaths to the flag, which is deeply respected in Timor and they can also swear oaths in the name of *bobakasa*” (A. Mendonça, interview, February 2, 2011).



Figure 39. *Bobakasa* (photograph: Dunlop, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The drum skin is made from that of a young female goat. This is chosen for practical reasons because “in the mountain regions where the drum is played there is not much sun, so the skin of the female goat stretches better than the skin of a male goat” (B. Nokorau, personal communication, July 3, 2012). The drum shell can be made from a variety of materials. The one below (see Figure 40) is located in the Mambae village Noulou and made of metal (Observations from field trip: January 26, 2013, 11.15 am, Noulou).

⁹⁷ The Braguinha “was a four-stringed instrument from Braga, Portugal, which made its way to Hawaii during the migration of Portuguese to the islands in the late nineteenth century. There it became known as the ukulele, or the “jumping flea”: *uku* in Hawaii means flea, and *lele* means to jump or leap” (Beloff, 1997).



Figure 40. Metal *bobakasa* (*kak*) from Noulu (photograph: Dunlop, 2013)

There are different methods employed to attach the drum skin to the drum shell and in practice no two drums are the same. The drum skin is laced to the shell with palm or hemp cord using a band of palm wood to brace the drum. This provides the means for keeping the skin in place and allows the two skins to be secured to the drum shell (see Figure 41). One side of the drum is snared. The drum sticks, *bobakasa girte*, to give them their Makasae name, are thin wooden sticks with knobbed ends. The drum (Figure 39) has a diameter of 35 cm with a depth of 14 cm, while the sticks are 32 cm in length.



Figure 41. *Bobakasa*, lacing detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)

The male drummer⁹⁸ stands to play the *bobakasa* (see Figure 42) which is fastened to his shoulders by shoulder straps secured to the drum and the *bobakasa* hangs in front of him at waist height. He beats the centre of the right side of the drumhead with both drum sticks. The vibrations resonate through the drum shell and vibrate the snared drum-skin (audio example 5). The drum is non-pitched and the sound is deep and resonant. The rattle from the snare doesn't dominate, but blends with the general timbre of the drum. It is always played loudly and the rhythm pattern is repetitive in duple time (audiovisual example 3).

⁹⁸ "Only males are allowed to play the *bobakasa*" (A. Mendonça, interview, February 2, 2011).



Figure 42. *Bobakasa*, played by Ameta Mendonça (photograph: P. Lee, 2011)

***Kakalo* – bamboo slit drum**

(Observations from field trip conducted by G. Howell, January, 2011, Los Palos)

The *kakalo* is a bamboo slit drum (see Figure 43) found these days in the eastern part of East Timor, mostly amongst the Fataluku people. In the past the *kakalo* was located in other ethnolinguistic groups living in the Eastern part of East Timor such as the Makasae and Naueti whose name for *kakalo* is *bobakasa-au*.



Figure 43. *Kakalo* (photograph: Tony Hicks, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The *kakalo* is made by taking a segment of bamboo node to node and cutting it flat with a machete. Then a slit is cut into the centre of the flat side right down the length of the bamboo. Part of the next segment of bamboo is kept so that a handle can be carved. No two *kakalo* are the same size (see Figure 44).



Figure 44. A collection of *kakalo*, made in workshops in Los Palos in January 2011, by Australian musician, Tony Hicks, under the instruction of Señor Mario da Costa (photograph: Hicks, 2011)

The player holds the handle with the slit facing outwards so that it doesn't touch the ground. Then he or she "strikes the side of the *kakalo* with a small bamboo beater" (Dunlop, 2012, p. 109) and the vibrations resonate down the hollow tube (see Figure 45). It is capable of different sounds depending on its dimensions and also on where it is hit as demonstrated in the YouTube video, "Making East Timorese Instruments" (Howell, 2011). Larger *kakalo* are capable of sounding resonant while the smaller instruments are less sonorous. The tone quality and rhythms are non-specific (see audio example 6). In the past children were often given the task of playing the *kakalo* "providing a form of music while you work and to keep foraging animals out of the crops" (King, 1963, p. 133).



Figure 45. Fataluku boy playing *kakalo* (photograph: Howell, 2011)

In the past *kakalo* is thought to have been used to accompany dance:

When *kakalo* accompanied dance the player put it horizontally on the ground resting it on two rocks to make it sound better and then hit the *kakalo* with a beater on the uncut side of it or on the flat cut side of it. (J. Valentim, interview, October 1, 2011)

***Kakal'uta* – suspended log xylophone**

(Observations from field trip: October 2, 2011, 4.30 p.m., Los Palos)

The *kakal'uta* is a suspended log xylophone which hangs horizontally (see Figure 46), “made from the wood of the *pokura* tree which is found in the jungle of the Lautein District” (A. Santos, personal communication, October 2, 2011)



Figure 46. *Kakal'uta* (photograph: Dunlop, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

“In the past *kakal'uta* was played by the farmers who lived in the fields, to scare away monkeys and cockatoos from eating the crops” (J. Valentim, interview, October 1, 2011). Now “it is occasionally played in festivals” (Dunlop, 2012. p. 109) and sometimes to accompany freeform dance as demonstrated in a YouTube video clip filmed at a cultural festival in Los Palos (De Sousa, 2010). The *kakal'uta* is made up of a set of three cylindrical wooden logs suspended from a branch wedged horizontally between two small trees to play (see Figure 47). There can be one or more sets and is often played in pairs (audiovisual example 4). Each set varies in size as no two sets are the same. In the set measured, one log was 80 cm in length, the second, 84.5 cm, and the third, 85 cm, the length influencing the pitch. The diameter of the logs varied, according to the natural form of branches: the first log for example, varied in diameter from 7 cm – 9 cm – 10 cm along its length. The height of the *kakal'uta* was 100 cm from top to lower log, suspended with rope made from hemp⁹⁹ or palm fronds plaited.



Figure 47. *Kakal'uta*, played by Abilio dos Santos (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)

⁹⁹ Hemp refers to twined plant material commonly known as sisal.

The player stands behind the suspended logs of the *kakal'uta* and holding a wooden beater (approximately 28 cm x 3 cm) in each hand strikes the suspended logs near the centre and alternates between the three log keys. These keys vibrate when beaten with the logs themselves being the main resonators.

There are variations in the pitches from *kakal'uta* to *kakal'uta* as no two sets are the same. When played as a pair the suspended *kakal'uta* are played in unison by two players beating a fast and repetitive rhythm and always played loudly (see Figure 48). The pitches of the *kakal'uta* on the recording are G[#], B, and C. The timbre of the *kakal'uta* is clear, resonant and suggests a pentatonic tonality (audio example 7).



Figure 48. Rhythm patterns of the *kakal'uta* (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)

The sound created by the *kakal'uta* bears similarity to the marimba¹⁰⁰ “the African xylophone is the ancestor of the Latin American marimba” (Bebey, 1975, p. 86). Soldiers from Africa were stationed in the Lautein District during the rebellions in the early 1900s (A. Guterres, personal communication, June 15, 2011). So it is possible that the origin of the *kakal'uta* in East Timor may date back to this time.

***Ke'e* – four-legged goblet drum**

(Observations from field trip: January 9, 2005, 11.00 a.m., Baki)

The “*Ke'e* is a freestanding, four-legged, single-headed conical drum” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 69) located with Metonese people in Oekusi (see Figure 49) and “is played with the gong ensemble, *leku sene*, to accompany the *bsoot*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 69), a freeform dance (audio example 8: audiovisual example 8). Generally the *ke'e* are made of coconut palm wood although some are made with other local wood. Buffalo skin is stretched across the drumhead. Its height ranges from 50–55 cm and the walls of the drum shell can be quite thick (up to 3 cm), with a diameter of approximately 35 cm at the drumhead. Its four legs are all carved from the same piece of wood as the drum shell and these are between 6 cm to 12 cm in height.

¹⁰⁰The word marimba comes from Kimbundu dialect, one of the Bantu languages in Angola, a country also colonised by the Portuguese (Merriam-W, 2013).



Figure 49. *Ke'e* (photograph: Dunlop, 2005; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

“Four women squat around the drum” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 69). One woman beats the drum with the palms of both hands striking the drum-skin near its centre. The vibrations resonate down the drum shell to create the sound, which is moderately loud, slightly dulled and non-resonant. This may be due to the thickness of the walls of the drum shell and the proximity of the drum to the earthen ground. The *ke'e* is always played in ensemble with *bano* (ankle bells) and *leku sene* (gong ensemble) with the latter dominating the soundscape. The women play the *ke'e* in relay as it is tiring to maintain the consistent beat vital to the ensemble and dancers (see Figure 50). The ensemble of *ke'e*, *bano* and *leku sene* accompanies the dance the *bsoot*. In the *bsoot* women beat the *sene* (gongs) “*sin nlekun sene*” (they beat the gongs) and also the *ke'e* (drum). “The dancers follow the *sene*, not the *ke'e*. The *ke'e* is like the base drone of a bagpipe adding body and atmosphere” (R. Daschbach, interview, February 20, 2012).



Figure 50. Metonese women playing *ke'e*, Kutet, Oekusi (photograph: Dunlop, 2008)

The rhythm played on the *ke'e* for the *bsoot* is a repetitive ostinato (see Figure 51).



Figure 51. Rhythm pattern *ke'e* (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)

Lakadou – tubed zither

(Observations from field trip: November 29, 2003, 6.00 p.m., Dili)

“The *lakadou* is a tube zither” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 52) made of bamboo (see Figure 52). It is mostly located in the Mambae-speaking¹⁰¹ districts of Manufahi, Emera, Ainaro, Maubisi, and Likisá.¹⁰² These districts are located in the cooler mountain regions “where the best bamboo for making the *lakadou* grows” (M. Pereira, interview, April, 16, 2004).



Figure 52. *Lakadou*, tubed zither (photograph and deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The *lakadou* is made from a segment of bamboo cut from node to node. These vary in size with the average being about 10 cm in diameter and 45 cm in length. On the back of the *lakadou* is carved a rectangular hole (3 cm x 8 cm) (see Figure 53) which helps to amplify the sound. One end of the tube of the *lakadou* is open, with the other closed by the natural nodes of the bamboo, with a small hole in its centre. At each end of the tube there is a plaited band made of palm-string or bamboo and the strings are incised from the smooth surface of the bamboo from plaited bands and usually between six and 18 strings are cut from the surface of the bamboo. The number of strings on the *lakadou* varies. Moveable bamboo bridges are placed under each string, and the strings are tuned by sliding the bridges along underneath them: “The pitches the strings of the *lakadou* are tuned to, are based on the key of the song that is about to be sung” (M. Pereira, interview, April 16, 2004).



Figure 53. *Lakadou*, detail of the back (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

“The pitch of the intervals between the strings is arbitrary depending on the number of strings for each instrument but ranging generally from a major 2nd to a perfect 4th” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 52) in pitch. In the

¹⁰¹ There are different dialects of Mambae in the Mambae-speaking administrative districts of Aileu, Ainaro, Emera, Likisá and Manufahi.

¹⁰² “Many years ago the *Lakadou* was played in other parts of East Timor both by Tetun Terik from Viqueque and also the Midiki and Kairui people” (S. Da Costa Pereira, interview, July 9, 2010).

musical example given (see Figure 54), the top stave is played by the player striking the open strings with beaters. This example was transcribed from a recording of an eight-stringed *lakadou* (audio example 9).

Once tuned, the pitch stays in place for a long time but eventually the bamboo strings stretch and will need to be re-tuned. The gap between each string is 1 or 2 cm, so that if a string breaks then another can be incised in the gap between to replace it. When the back-up string breaks the *lakadou* cannot be used anymore and a new instrument must be made. Each *lakadou* lasts up to five or six years unless termites eat them in the meantime (Dunlop, 2012, p. 52).



Figure 54. Excerpt of two players playing *lakadou* (transcription: Dunlop, 2006)

The *lakadou* can be played solo, or by two musicians, either male or female. “If there are two players they must have a special connection so they can sense the spirits when they play” (M. Pereira, interview, April 16, 2004). When there are two musicians one musician strums the strings whilst holding the *lakadou* against his body,¹⁰³ with the hole at the back ideally pressed against their bare-skinned stomach to amplify the sound (see Figure 55). Then, using their left index finger, they cover and uncover the small hole in the middle of the end of the tube which is closed off creating variety in tonal colour. Simultaneously he or she strums the strings with a plectrum made from buffalo horn or bamboo (audiovisual example 5). The plectrum is also used to “clean the grooves between the strings, which improves sound production” (M. Pereira, interview, April 16, 2004). The second musician sits or stands at the left side of the first player and using bamboo beaters (0.25 cm x 24 cm to 0.50 cm x 38 cm in size) strikes the strings at one end. The notes he plays are of a bright, clear tonal quality in contrast to the more resonant tone quality of those strummed thus creating several layers of sound, rhythm, and tonal colour.



Figure 55. *Lakadou* played by two players (photograph: Dunlop, 2004)

¹⁰³ Females do not use this technique. They usually either play it solo, holding it transversely and strumming it, or they will pair up with a male and will be the player whose role is to strike the strings with the two small beaters.

When there is one player, the *lakadou* is held across the body and only strummed with a plectrum or else the player sits on the ground with the *lakadou* balanced along their legs and plays by striking the strings with the beaters (see Figure 56). In this configuration there is a more limited tonal variety and simpler rhythms and pitches used than when played by two musicians.



Figure 56. *Lakadou* played solo (photograph: Dunlop, 2003)

The *lakadou* is often used to accompany song and dance. When played with songs, the sound of the *lakadou* is more important than the song. The skills for playing *lakadou* are passed on as an oral tradition to each new generation of players. Only a few people are considered talented enough to be able to make the *lakadou*, which is regarded as “a gift passed on by the ancestors”¹⁰⁴ (M. Pereira, interview, April 16, 2004).

The East Timorese believe some of their musical instruments have mythical origins and the *lakadou* is one such instrument. The late Francesca Da Costa, (personal communication, October 3, 2004), a *lakadou* player from Holarua, a sub-district of Same, related the following myth:

Long ago there lived two brothers. One day they wandered into the forest and as night fell became separated. The younger brother was frightened and turned himself into a bamboo plant so no wild animal would hurt him, but he couldn't turn himself back into a man. When he didn't return home the older brother went out looking for him. Eventually he heard him singing in the wind and found the bamboo plant that was his brother. The spirits came to him, told him to cut the top segment off the bamboo and instructed him to make the *lakadou*. He started to play it, and felt as if he had found his younger brother.

***Lesun no alu* – mortar and pestle**

(Observations from field trip: January 13, 2005, 11.15 a.m., Kutet)

Lesun no alu is a tool used to pound corn or rice; it also doubles as a musical instrument used by workers as a rhythmical accompaniment to song. People from many cultures “spread over Australia, Pacific

¹⁰⁴ Historically the *lakadou* is related to the tube zithers found over 2000 years ago in parts of South East Asia. The tube zithers found in Malaysia (*lutong* and *kecapi*) were prototypes of many of the tube zithers found in South East Asia, which in turn created the *valiha* from Madagascar (Garfias, 2004). Several such instruments as the *lutong* from Malaysia (Raine-Reusch, 2002) and the *s'ludoy* from the Philippines (Mora, 2005), are very similar to the *lakadou*. It is possible that the *lakadou* arrived with the Malays centuries ago.

Islands, Africa and Asia” (Sachs, 2006, p. 29) use the repetitive ostinato rhythms of mortar and pestle to accompany songs whilst they work. This kind of music-making is found throughout East Timor.

The *lesun* is a large wooden log carved out to make a curved hollow trough and usually laid horizontally on the ground. Some models however, are cylindrical and upright. The *alu* are between 2 and 2.5 metres in length. The workers stand on each side of the mortar and begin pounding the grain. The workers on one side pound together in unison (see Figure 57), alternating with those on the opposite side of the mortar, taking care not to hit each other or each other’s pestle. The *lesun no alu* are non-pitched and make a resonant sound with the vibrations created by the action of the pestle pounding into the mortar. “Once a steady rhythmic ostinato is established a solo vocalist often leads the singing of a song, which helps pass the time while working” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 113). A good example of this tradition is the song *Pankalalále*¹⁰⁵ (audio example 10; audiovisual example 6) .



Figure 57. *Lesun no alu*, Tetun Belu from Kamanasa pounding corn and singing (photograph: Dunlop, 2006)

Sometimes two rocks are used instead of the wooden mortar and pestle particularly when pounding corn. The funeral song *Inbeluk* (audiovisual example 7) is sung by women as they pound rocks to grind the corn. They set up the rhythmic ostinato as they pound and after a while they accompany it with song.

***Rama* – musical bow**

(Observations from field trip: July 7, 2012, 1.30 p.m., Makadade)

“The *rama* is a musical mouth bow found only on the remote island of Ataúru¹⁰⁶ to the north of Dili” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 114) (see Figure 58).

¹⁰⁵ The *Pankalalále* is a Baikeno song from Oekusi and is sung when pounding rice in a wooden trough for the funeral banquet of a recently deceased clan member. The pounding of grain is done before the burial when the deceased’s body is still present (Dunlop, 2012, p. 140).

¹⁰⁶ “The Portuguese used Ataúru as a prison for colonial dissidents, mostly mainland East Timorese and Africans from their colonies, in particular from São Tomé e Príncipe as well as Angola” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 114). The *rama* resembles mouth bows from Eastern Angola, in particular the *sagaya* (Kubik, 1976, p. 101). This similarity extends both to their physical characteristics and the way they are played.



Figure 58. *Rama* (photograph: Ray, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The *rama* is approximately 60 cm in length. The bow back is made of bamboo with a thin wire string fastened firmly at each end of the bamboo. The string is taut which helps to keep the bow curved. A smaller wire braces the bamboo and string together and divides the bow string into two lengths. It is beaten with a stick about 24 cm long and 0.25 cm diameter fashioned from the wood of a coconut palm tree.

To play it the player holds the *rama* out horizontally with his left hand. The flat of the bamboo bow back is balanced against the musician's lower lip at the lower end so the wire brace lines up with the middle of the player's mouth¹⁰⁷ which is the main resonator for the sound (see Figure 59). The player holds a small beater in his right hand and strikes the bowstring with it to produce the rhythms he plays. By adjusting his oral cavity and changing the air speed and pressure the player is able to produce overtones from a few fundamental pitches through the sympathetic vibration of air on the string. Although the sound is soft, it is sonorous and resonates quite well (audiovisual example 9).

There are three fundamental pitches on the *rama* (on the recorded example they were D, A, C). Pitch can vary from instrument to instrument. Overtones can be heard over the fundamental D an octave higher on the recorded example. The East Timorese say "there are only three pitches for the *rama* and because of this we believe the sound of the *rama* is related to the sound of the *tala*, which also has three pitches" (A. Martins, interview, July 3, 2012).



Figure 59. *Rama* played by Clemente Forces (photograph: Ray, 2012)

There are two distinct tunes on the *rama* each with a regular beat. The first is a slower tune which the East Timorese from Makadade call a walking tune (see Figure 60) and the second tune is more upbeat and

¹⁰⁷ The method of playing the *rama* also has similarities in method of playing and function to some of the mouth bows from Melanesia, struck with arrows which men and boys play for personal entertainment or more rhythmically defined for dancing Fischer (1986).

is used as an accompaniment to dance (see Figure 61), specifically *tebedai*. In the recorded example (audio example 11) the two tunes are played consecutively without a break.



Figure 60. *Rama*, walking tune (transcription: Dunlop, 2012)



Figure 61. *Rama*, dancing tune (transcription: Dunlop, 2012)

***Raraun* – strummed string instrument**

(Observations from field trip: January 25, 2012, 3.30 p.m., Suai Loro)

The *raraun* is a four-stringed instrument which is handmade and resembles a *braguinha* in appearance. However the size is more like a small guitar with similar methods of playing as well (see Figure 62). The *raraun* also bears similarities in appearance to the *bijol meto*. However, the body of the *raraun* is larger and its fingerboard is proportionally shorter in length to the body of the instrument. Whereas the fingerboards of the *bijol meto* measured are proportionally much longer than their bodies, which are also smaller than that of the *raraun*. The *raraun* is much heavier than any of the *bijol meto* found during research. The *raraun* is located with the Tetun Belu from Kova Lima.



Figure 62. *Raraun* (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The body is carved out of one piece of wood, with thick walls (more than 1 cm in places) and the instrument is heavy. The soundboard of the one measured is approximately 0.5 cm thick and glued on top. There is a small sound hole in the centre of the soundboard – approximately 4 cm x 4 cm in the one pictured (each instrument is handmade so there is considerable variation in size and appearance). A fretless fingerboard is fastened to the top of the body and the length of the fingerboard varies. The one pictured is a little more than half the length of the body. The *raraun* has four strings, which are fastened to a leather tail piece (see Figure 63) and stretched across a bridge to wind onto pegs that plug into the back at right angles to the neck (see Figure 64).



Figure 63. *Raraun*, detail of tailpiece (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)



Figure 64. *Raraun*, detail of tuning pegs (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

The approximate tuning of the strings of the recorded example (audio example 12) are F[#], G[#], A[#] and C[#] (two F[#]s below middle C to the C[#] a fifth higher than this bottom pitch). The *raraun* player strums the open strings, playing the same chord as a drone ostinato in time with his singing, or, more accurately, vocalising making guttural sounds like yodelling, sliding and long melismatic phrases. The singer's pitch is much higher than the strummed chords often in falsetto range he can attain and does pitches more than an octave above middle C. The pitches are indeterminate and any words used are mostly meaningless.

The ensemble of *raraun* and voice” accompanies elegant choreographed line dances such as *bidu tais mutin*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 49) and *bidu makikit* (the eagle dance) danced by the Tetun Belu from Suai Loro (audiovisual example 10).¹⁰⁸

Tala - gong

(Observations from field trips: July 17, 2007, 1.00 p.m., Mulo; January 27, 2011, Baukau)

When a special guest arrives at a village or other significant place the sound of the gong will ring out to welcome them. Gongs are found throughout South East Asia. They can be either melodic or non-melodic and are usually played in ensembles. Of these the melodic gong ensemble of Indonesia, the gamelan, is probably the best known. There are also non-melodic gong ensembles, the variety most commonly found in East Timor (Dunlop, 2012, p. 48) (see Figure 65).

¹⁰⁸ There are dances and instruments in West Timor that are similar to those of East Timor. The Tetun Belu are located in the border districts of Kova Lima Timor-Leste and West Timor. The *raraun* (called *bijola* in West Timor) and the style of singing by the vocalist is played by the Tetun Belu for the same purpose (in East Timor and West Timor) to accompany dance (Kartomi, 2000). It is probable the instrument came from the times of Portuguese or Dutch colonisation. Like the *bijol meto*, its small cousin, the *raraun* bears similarity to the *braguinha*.

The arrival of the *tala* to Timor in dates back to around the fourteenth century¹⁰⁹ and is believed to have been “purchased from the Chinese traders, for until recently the East Timorese did little metallurgical work, except in silver and gold” (King, 1963, p. 135). “The Tetun for gong is *tala*, although each language group in East Timor has a different name for the gong. For example, in Makasae it is called *dadili* whereas the Mambae call it *dadil*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 48) and in Baikeno it is called *sene*.



Figure 65. *Tala* (photograph: Dunlop, 2007, deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The *tala* in East Timor “are mostly bossed, which means that the centre of the instrument is raised, while the rim can be shallow or deep. The *tala* in Baukau are bossed with a deep rim like those found in central Java” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 48) (see Figure 66).



Figure 66. Deep-bossed *tala* (photograph: Dunlop, 2010)

In most of East Timor the *tala* is suspended with the musician holding the string or rope handle in one hand and the beater in the other (see Figure 67). The player strikes the *tala* with the beater alternating between the rim and the centre of the *tala*. The body of the *tala* “is the main resonator and the vibrations of sound emanate from the centre” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 48) amplifying the sound. A bossed *tala* has a bright, vibrant, resonant sound: if they have a deep rim they can resonate for some time after the note is struck and be quite sonorous. The tone quality of the flat *tala* is less resonant as it doesn’t vibrate for as

¹⁰⁹ By the Fourteenth century Chinese and Javanese documents refer to their trade with East Timor (Fox, 2003, p.6). However trade with the Chinese was centuries earlier so it is likely the *tala*’s arrival to Timor was much earlier than the fourteenth century.

long as the bossed variety and the sound dissipates quickly. More than one pitch is possible on a bossed *tala*, by striking either the rim, or the flat surface area, or the bossed centre. Pitches vary from instrument to instrument factors being mass and diameter, and whether they are a flat gong or a bossed gong. Many of the *tala* recorded had two pitches, often a perfect 5th apart, one pitch for the bossed centre and another for the rim. The *tala* recorded in the Mambae village of Mulo (audio example 13) was pitched with E centre and B rim.



Figure 67. Hand-held *tala* in playing position (photograph: Dunlop, 2009)

“The *tala* is one of the instruments used to accompany the *tebedai*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 48). Generally “one woman plays the *tala* and the rest of the women play *baba-dook*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 48) as they dance as a group. There are different rhythm patterns for the different functions of the *tala*. For the *tebedai* the *tala* player strikes the gong two or three times (see Figure 68) to signal that the dance may begin.



Figure 68. Rhythm of *tala* to introduce a *tebedai* (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)

The *tala* has several variations of rhythm patterns played in the welcome to visitors and the figure below is a common one throughout East Timor, usually played with two instruments (see Figure 69). Often the *tohin* and/or *baba-dook* will also be played in the welcome and when they do, they play on the beat.

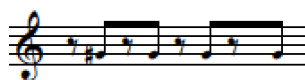


Figure 69. A rhythm of the *tala* played to welcome guests (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)

The Metonese in Oekusi play an ensemble of gongs called *leku sene* (see Figure 70) to accompany the *bsoot* (audiovisual example 8); *in leku* (baikeno) means, “she beats”. The *sene* consists of five hanging gongs on a vertical beam, played by three women (see Figure 71).



Figure 70. *Leku sene* (photograph: Dunlop, 2008; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)



Figure 71. *Leku sene* played by women in Kutet, Oekusi (Dunlop, 2012. p. 69)

The structure of the ensemble was explained by the priest from Kutet, Richard Dashbach:

The first, which is also the smallest and the highest in pitch, is called *toluk*. This starts the dance, gives the rhythm, sets the pace and calls the pauses in the dance all by the way it is beaten. The next two gongs, hanging vertically one above the other, are collectively called *teufnaij*. They are the ones the dancers generally follow. The final two gongs, also hanging vertically one above the other, are called *kbola*. These are bigger than the *teufnaij* and so have a deeper bass quality. The gongs are beaten in 2/8 time and play in rapid rhythm. Dancers generally follow the middle set of gongs, the *teufnaij*. However, if the *teufnaij* player is not beating as hard as the other gong players, or if the sound of the *teufnaij* does not carry, dancers will follow the *kbola*, or even the *toluk*. Dancers with *bano* are expected to synchronise with the *leku sene*. If the players of *leku sene* are out of time then they are sometimes reprimanded by the dancers. When they are both rhythmically synchronised the coordinated sounds of *sene*, *ke'e* and *bano* is very hypnotic. (interview, February 20, 2012)

***Tihak* – single-headed drum**

(Observations from field trip: July 8, 2012, 1.00 p.m., Makili)

The *tihak* is essentially a large *baba-dook* in physical appearance. It is from the village of Makili and is one of the few instruments on the island of Ataúru. The *tihak* is a large, single-headed, truncated conical drum with an open-ended base made of locally grown wood (see Figure 72). Goat skin is stretched over the drumhead which is sometimes elaborately fastened to the drumhead by rolling the skin under itself and this is tucked under the bamboo brace. This brace fastens to a second which is secured to the drum with nails (see Figure 73). It is similar in shape to the *baba-dook* but much larger.



Figure 72. *Tihak* (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

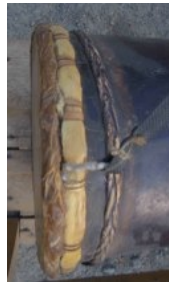


Figure 73. *Tihak*, detail fastening skin to the drumhead (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

The *tihak* varies in length from between 90 to 100 cm, with its drum shell walls at between 1 cm to 2 cm thick and the diameter at the drumhead is 25 to 30 cm. The *tihak* is played in a transverse position. The drummer usually sits cross-legged on the ground balancing the base end of the *tihak* on his crossed left leg, then, by placing his right foot under the drum, the drumhead of the *tihak* is elevated off the ground, maximising the possible resonance and forte dynamics. The player holds the drumhead end of the *tihak* in place with his left hand (or holds the rope handle if there is one) and beats the drum with the palm of his right hand striking more towards the edge of drumhead. The vibrations created resonate down the drum shell producing a deep resonant sound (approximately A^b on those recorded). The *tihak* is used to accompany song and here the player beats a slow repetitive rhythm as he sings (audio example 14). The rhythm varies according to the song sung. The drum is used to accentuate or punctuate the rhythm of a song and is used sparingly. Sometimes the singing starts first and then the drum joins in, whilst at other times the drum will set the tempo by beating one note every three beats (audiovisual example 11).

***Titir* – single-headed drum**

(Observations from field trip: July 7, 2012, 3.00 p.m., Illiomar)

The *titir* is a drum played by Fataluku, Makalero and Makasae clan groups located in the eastern part of East Timor: “*Titir* in Makalero means; big sound” (O. Da Costa, interview. July 1, 2012).

The basic shape for all *titir* is the human torso and there is a male and a female version of the drum. The male drum is called *titir nami*, and the female drum is *titir tufur*. “Each family clan either has a female or a male drum” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 101). Different *knuas* have different designs for *titir nami* and *titir tufur*, depending on the clan’s totemic animal belief.¹¹⁰

The *titir* pictured (see Figure 74) measures 94 cm in length. Currently, the designs for female and male are not carved on the drums that can be publicly viewed. The drum shell and solid base is carved out of one piece of wood. The drum skin is goat and there are two rope braces to draw the skin onto the drum shell. The skin is rolled back on the first rope brace (see Figure 75) and the second brace (rope) is tied to the drum about a third of the way down lacing from the first brace tightly fastening to the second rope brace. Wooden chocks are fixed under the second brace to tension the drumhead. Two drumsticks approximately 45 cm in length are used to beat the *titir*.



Figure 74. *Titir nami* (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)



Figure 75. *Titir nami*, detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

¹¹⁰ “If the family believes that their ancestors came from the crocodile then they worship the crocodile and believe that it will be the protector of the family a crocodile is carved on the *titir*. If the family believes their ancestors came from monkey then they worship the monkey so the monkey will be carved on the *titir*. The same goes for the snake, and so on” (J. Pereira, personal communication, November 15, 2011).

The *titir nami* and *titir tufur* stand upright when they are played. As a rule, the most important male (usually an elder) in the village takes the drum sticks and strikes the skinhead at its centre seven times daily for seven days when the occasion warrants it being played. The vibrations created by striking the skinhead resonate down the drum shell creating the sound, which I suspect does not resonate well as the vibrations would be absorbed into its thick wooden base.¹¹¹

“During Indonesian occupation *titir nami* and *titir tufur* were burned by them along with the *uma lulik*, as the drums and other instruments were always kept inside the *uma lulik* structures (Dunlop, 2012, p. 101). Recently has there been a revival of these drums and their associated customs. The *titir* as it existed before the Indonesian invasion (see Figure 76) was researched by King (1963) who indicated the *titir* was a rare instrument even in 1963:

Carved from the butt of a large palm, the huge squared feet, with toes pointing slightly inwards, were planted firmly on the plinth as it stood in the *suku*, supremely aware of its own importance. Small arms extended from the sides, fingertips level at one point with the sacred crocodile which crawled up the bulging legs towards the lower trunk of the body: a rudimentary marking of penis and navel decorated the front of this male drum while its female counterpart, smaller in every way, carried the crocodile carving in the abdomen (p. 133).



Figure 76. *Titir* (photograph: King, 1963)

***Tohin* – double-headed standing drum**

(Observations from field trips: October 5, 2004, Blaro; July 17, 2007, 1.00 p.m., Mulo)

The *tohin* is found in the Mambae-speaking regions of Timor and is especially associated with ceremony and ritual. It is “a large, cylindrical, unpitched, double-headed drum” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 98) (see Figure 77): “*Tohin* means *baku maka'as*, to play loud or play hard” (M. Pereira, interview, July, 2012).

¹¹¹ I was unable to hear the drum as no-one had died. This drum can only be played when someone dies or to sound the alarm. The Makalero people are very superstitious about playing the drum outside of these two occasions. They regard the *titir* as *lulik* so descriptions of the sound of the *titir* came from the villagers.



Figure 77. *Tohin* (photograph: Dunlop, 2007; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

“The wood for making the *tohin* comes from the mountainous regions of East Timor” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 98). The instrument varies in size but on average “approximately 40 cm in diameter and 35 cm in length and the beaters often measure about 5 cm x 35 cm” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 98). The skin of the *tohin* is buffalo stretched over the drumhead and nailed into place by large wooden nails (see Figure 78). Sometimes the skin is glued or braced with palm wood or metal to the drum or nailed with metal nails as in Figure 77.



Figure 78. Detail skin head fastening, *tohin* (Dunlop, 2012, p. 93)

The *tohin* is often suspended by tying it to a fence or it can also be positioned on the stones at the base of a *tara bandu* to play (see Figure 13), or even occasionally placed directly on the ground. “The *tohin* is only played by men” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 98) and it is believed to be *lulik*. The player uses two large wooden beaters and strikes the centre of the drumhead with considerable force. The vibrations resonate down the drum shell to the second skin. It has a loud, resonant, deep tonal quality. If the *tohin* is resting directly on the ground the sound of the drum can be muffled and lack clarity. “It is exhausting to play and drummers usually play in relay” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 98) so the sound and rhythms are sustained throughout the particular occasion for which it is being played (audiovisual example 12).

The rhythm is constant and repetitive; the example given below (Figure 79) is a common rhythm pattern. Often the *tohin* will lead an ensemble with this rhythm then *tala* will join in and occasionally *baba-dook* (audio example 15). Sometimes it is played as a solo to emphasise a proclamation or chant by a village leader. On such an occasion it may be placed at the base of the *tara bandu*.



Figure 79. A rhythm for *tohin* (transcription: Dunlop, 2012)

7.2 Musical instruments which are shaken

Babuk, Bano

***Babuk* – bamboo ankle rattles**

(Observations from field trip: July 17, 2007, 3.00 p.m., Dili)

Babuk are ankle rattles made of bamboo woven into hexagonal shapes which are filled with beans (see Figure 80). They are worn by male dancers when they dance *bidu ailoos*. The bells are wound firmly around the dancers' ankles (see Figure 30) and have a soft rattle sound created by the movement of the dancers which causes the seeds to rattle against one another in the bamboo shell creating slight vibrations. A unison rhythmic ostinato is set up by the dancers to co-ordinate with the rhythm of the *ailoos* which is maintained throughout the dance (audiovisual example 2).

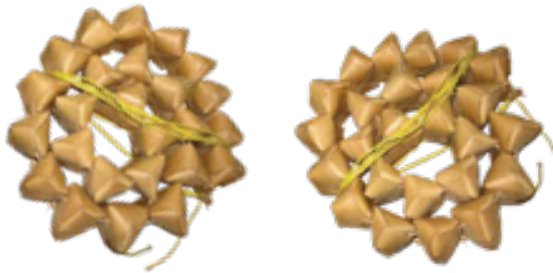


Figure 80. *Babuk* (photograph: Dunlop, 2008; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

***Bano* – brass ankle bells**

(Observations from field trip: January 1, 2005, 12.00 p.m., Illiomar)

The *bano* (see Figure 81) are worn by dancers of the *bsoot*,¹¹² one of the eight dances of Oekusi. They are “made in Pasabe, a remote village in the mountains of Oekusi, near the border of West Timor” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 67). It is thought that the brass bells so used originally came from China.

¹¹² In the past the *bsoot* was more stylised. “The dancers do not have to wear *bano*, sometimes they wear chicken feathers or goatees from goats or the *babuk*.” (R. Dashbach, personal communication, August 3, 2011).



Figure 81. *Bano* (photograph: Dunlop, 2005; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The bells used for *bano* are made of brass.¹¹³ The device is heavy with each strand having about 24 bells on it, and weighing 4 to 5 kilograms. The individual bells measure between 1.5 cm and 2 cm in diameter and depth. These are threaded together on a length of palm twine with bamboo connector tubes, 0.5 cm in diameter and 2 cm in length. Each bell has a small metal ball inside it which jangle against the exterior of the bell and the action of metal against metal creates the vibrations which make an unpitched sound. The sound created from several dancers wearing the bells is relentless and the full effect is a loud cacophony of jangling, metallic sounds (audio example 8). Each strand of *bano* is wrapped around the dancer's ankle with lengths of cloth placed between the bells and the skin to prevent the bells from cutting the flesh (see Figure 82). Dancers maintain a rhythmic ostinato in unison in duple time as they dance.



Figure 82. *Bano* wound around a dancer's ankles (photograph: Bennetts, 2005)

The ostinato rhythm pattern (see Figure 83) has an accent on the first quaver of each pair. The dancers interlock with the rhythm being kept by the musicians playing the *leku sene* and *ke'e* (audiovisual example 8). "They must all keep strict time together for the dance to be fluid and continuous" (Dunlop, 2012, p. 67).



Figure 83. Rhythmic ostinato of *bano* during dance (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)

¹¹³ These days the bell makers also make aluminium bells which are not as heavy and sound different. This was upon the initiative of Richard Dashbach a priest in Kutet who has commissioned elders in the area to teach youngsters the dances in an effort to promote the indigenous dances which are in danger of dying out.

7.3 Musical instruments which are blown

Au, Fiku, Kafu'i, Karau dikur, Kokotere, Puhu puhu fa'i

***Au* – bamboo wind instrument**

(Observations from field trip: July 20, 2008, 11.00 a.m., Likisá)

The *au* (see Figure 84) is a bamboo wind instrument. Field research located the *au* only amongst the Tokodede ethnolinguistic group in the district of Likisá. It is made up of two cylindrical tubes of different diameter and length, one fitting inside the other. The larger tube of the *au* measured was 100 cm x 10 cm in diameter, with the thinner, longer tube, 120 cm x 4 cm in diameter, fitting inside the larger tube. Both ends of the slimmer (inner) bamboo tube are open whereas the outer bamboo tube is closed at the bottom by the natural nodes of the bamboo.



Figure 84. *Au* - wind instrument (photograph: Dunlop, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

“The player blows into the inner tube, and the vibration from the air travelling down the inner cylinder resonates to the outer cylinder encasing it” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 121), amplifying the sound (see Figure 85).



Figure 85. Jaineito Pereira De Aroujo playing *au* (Dunlop, 2012. p. 120)

“There are three pitches (B^b, E^b and A)” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 121) in a bass register (see Figure 86), produced by the player altering his oral cavity and blowing overtones (audio example 16). The *au* provides a harmonic and rhythmic ostinato in ensemble playing and has a soft, resonating tone. It is a musical instrument used as a bass accompaniment in indigenous ensembles which may include *lakadou* and *kafu'i boot*. These days it is sometimes played as part of the Portuguese-style dance bands where it provides a bass rhythmic ostinato.

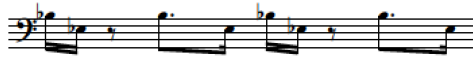


Figure 86. Rhythm and pitch of the *au* (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)

“The *au* has a remarkable resemblance to the *pengbi*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 121) (see Appendix L), “an endangered traditional musical instrument of Rongshui Miao County, Southwest China’s Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region” (“Protection of endangered”, 2010) suggesting the influence of the Chinese¹¹⁴ at an early stage.

***Fiku* – palm trumpet**

(Observations from field trip conducted by G. Howell: January, 2011, Los Palos)

The *fiku* (Makasae) also known as *pai koe-koe* or *koke* (Fataluku) is a small palm trumpet found amongst Makasae and Fataluku ethnolinguistic clan groups. “It can be various lengths from 25 cm to 50 cm and is made from tightly wound bamboo leaves shaped into a cone” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 108) (see Figure 87).



Figure 87. *Fiku* (photograph: G. Howell, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

To play it the player must purse their lips, insert their tongue into the mouthpiece and blow hard. The air vibrates down the cone to create the sound. This is demonstrated well in the YouTube video “Making East Timorese Instruments” (Howell, 2011). More than one sound is possible if the player inserts a finger or fingers into the bottom of the cone. The sound created is coarse, loud and unstable, changing with each player (audio example 17). It is used to scare animals from eating the crops, and children are often be given this task. “*Pai* means pig in Fataluku” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 108), and one suspects that, “no self-respecting pig would have stayed hunting for food amongst crops too long when they heard the sound of the *pai koe-koe*” (King, 1963, p. 133). It is also played on demand for festivals and people curious to hear it.

***Kafu’i* – indigenous flute**

(Observations from field trips: January 2, 2005, 12.30 p.m., Illiomar; January 8, 2005, 11.00 a.m.; Kutet; January 21, 2006 12.15 p.m., Kasa; January 1, 2011, 3.30 p.m., Gildapil)

¹¹⁴ Elder Wei Tingcai from Rongshui Miao County has for decades made efforts to protect the Pengbi from extinction. The Chinese came to the island of Timor centuries ago trading with the Timorese and many stayed. They tended to settle in communities throughout the island. A community of Chinese Timorese live in Likisa, a village in the Tokodede ethnolinguistic group (where the *au* is found).

The *kafu'i* is an indigenous flute found amongst the Metonese, Tetun Terik, Mambae, Bekais and Kemak people in the mountain regions of Oekusi, Kovalima, Ainaro and Bobonaru, and has similar attributes to the *feku* (indigenous flute) found in the mountain regions of West Timor, which is understandable as the Tetun Belu are in both East Timor and West Timor.

There are several different models and sizes of *kafu'i*. They are fipple (end-blown) flutes, held at an oblique angle from the body to play and made of wood or bamboo, each providing different attributes. The most common wooden *kafu'i* is made of locally grown wood and has no finger holes. It may be decoratively carved (see Figure 88).



Figure 88. Wooden *kafu'i*, with no finger holes (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

There are some varieties which have one or two holes (see Figure 89).



Figure 89. Bamboo *kafu'i* with finger holes, Makalero clan group (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

Wooden *kafu'i* with no finger holes have two fundamental pitches, the first produced by blowing straight down the tube of the instrument, and the second by covering the hole at the end whilst blowing. Depending on the proficiency of the player some overtones can be produced (audio example 18). There are pitch variations between instruments as there is no standard size for wooden *kafu'i*.

It is not uncommon to see a wooden *kafu'i* “tied to a farmer’s work belt along with his machete” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 112) (see Figure 90). This one was photographed during a field research trip to the mountainous village of Gildapil, near the border of West Timor. The farmer uses the *kafu'i* “to call the buffalo and also when hunting to lure small birds” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 112), as it is capable of producing sounds similar to birdsong. The *kafu'i* can also be used to “scare birds away so they don’t eat the crops, and is also played for pleasure during breaks from work” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 112).



Figure 90. *Kafil'i* on a Bunak farmer's tool belt, Gildapil (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)

The bamboo *kafil'i* are found in much of the eastern part of East Timor with Fataluku and Tetun Terik clan groups, and also the Tokodede people further west located in the administrative district of Likisá. Like the wooden variety they are end-blown and held obliquely. They have two or more finger holes with the length of the *kafil'i* varying from 18 cm to 80 cm. The bamboo *kafil'i* pictured below (Figure 91) has six finger holes and fundamental pitches of F[#], G[#], B, C[#] and D[#]. Overtones are achieved from these fundamental pitches producing free-form melodies with non-specific rhythms or metre.



Figure 91. Bamboo *kafil'i*, Ossu (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

A small piece of cane (see Figure 92) “is bound in place with string over a hole at the mouthpiece end of the *kafil'i*, which functions as a register hole and gives the instrument the ability to play upper and lower octaves” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 113) and complex melodies (audio example 19). It has a pitch range from A above middle C to the F two octaves above that. When Marco Amaral da Silva, who played the bamboo variety of *kafil'i* pictured above (Figure 91), was asked whether the melody he played had any meaning, he responded: “it is a tune I learnt from my ancestors and when I play it, I am thinking about the past and all the people who were lost in the bad times.” (personal communication, January 21, 2006). This *kafil'i* is generally played as a solo instrument and its melodies are passed on by oral tradition.



Figure 92. *Kafil'i* mouthpiece detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)

Other examples of the bamboo *kafu'i* played by the Tokodede people located in the village of Likisá are the *kafu'i boot* (big flute) and *kafu'i ki'ik* (small flute). Both these instruments have four finger holes (see Figure 93). The *kafu'i boot* photographed measured 80 cm in length and 1.5 cm in diameter, and plays the range of an octave, B^b – B^b (from the B^b just below middle C). The tone quality is dark and mellow (audio example 20). The *kafu'i ki'ik* in the example measured was 65 cm long with a diameter 1.5 cm, with a range of an octave A – A (from the A above middle C). The tone quality is varied with the high notes producing a bright clear sound, whilst the low notes have a darker sonority.



Figure 93. Abilio Soares Rai Gua from Likisá playing *kafu'i boot* (Dunlop, 2012, p. 113)

***Karau dikur* – buffalo horn**

(Observations from field trip: January 24, 2008, 5.00 p.m., Atsabe.)

The *karau dikur* is the natural horn made from the buffalo (see Figure 94) and found in the central mountain regions of Timor. “Sometimes, the buffalo used for the *karau dikur* is killed in secret and other times, in front of many people,” (E. Sarmiento, personal communication, July 5, 2008). The East Timorese believe there is something special about the buffalo horn used for *karau dikur*. Many of them are polished or oiled until the surface becomes smooth and shiny.



Figure 94. *Karau dikur* (photograph: Dunlop, 2009; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The *karau dikur* varies in length from 30 cm to 60 cm as no two are the same. It has a conical bore which opens at the bell end, with a small hole at the mouthpiece end. It is played by holding the horn in a transverse position, placing the mouthpiece in the corner of the mouth and, with a firm embouchure,

pursing the lips to blow (see Figure 95). The air vibrates down the bore, creating the sound. The tone quality is sonorous.



Figure 95. *Karau dikur*, played in a transverse position, Mulo (photograph: Morley, 2014)

The *karau dikur* has a pitch range of a major third, and the actual notes vary from horn to horn due to size differences. The higher note is an overtone produced by alteration of the oral cavity. When blown the lower note is sustained with intermittent leaps to the higher note, which is played using a wide vibrato ranging to almost a semi-tone apart, above and below the fundamental (audio example 21).

The *karau dikur* is an instrument associated with ceremony and announcement. Different sounds are produced for different people. For example, there might be three sounds for the *xefe suku*, and in the past there would be five or six sounds for a *liurai*. However, it can also be used for ordinary people as well and is often used to herald the monsoonal rains in the wet season (Dunlop, 2012, p. 90).

***Kokotere* – palm trumpet**

(Observations from field trip: January 2, 2008, 1.30.p.m., Venilale)

The *kokotere* is the name the Midiki and Makasae give this palm trumpet. It is also known as *pokotere* by Naueti clan groups and *keko* or *koke* by the Fataluku people. “It is a trumpet-like instrument made of bamboo and palm leaf that comes originally from the central mountain regions to the east of East Timor, that is: Baukau, Lautein and Vikeke” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 90). The bamboo tube must be absolutely straight. The one pictured was 1.5m in length, with an inner diameter of 5 cm (see Figure 96).



Figure 96. *Kokotere* (photograph: A. Pereira, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

The conical palm bell of the *Kokotere* pictured, measured 40 cm in length and had a diameter of 16 cm. It is fastened to a bamboo tube extension which must match the size of the bore of the existing bamboo tube (see Figure 97).



Figure 97. *Kokotere*, bell detail (photograph; A. Pereira, 2011)

“The mouthpiece has a rectangle of 12 to 14 cm x 0.5 cm cut out of the bamboo into which is inserted a “tongue” or reed made out of a thin wedge of bamboo or a slither of buffalo horn flush with the hole and held in place by twine or tape” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 90) (see Figure 98).



Figure 98. *Kokotere*, mouthpiece detail (photograph: A. Pereira, 2011)

The two pitches on the *kokotere* recorded (audio example 22) are the F and A^b below middle C. To produce the sound the *kokotere* is held transversely with both hands, one each side of the mouthpiece (see Figure 99).

The player blows into it whilst pushing the palm “tongue” down and vocalising with his vocal cords, which creates a flutter tongue or growling effect on the A^b. This vibrates the palm tongue and amplifies the sound down the tube and bell. The player then sucks the palm tongue up in a continuous motion, producing a sound of resonant tone quality (Dunlop, 2012, p. 91) (audiovisual example 13).

In the past accidents “sometimes happened to musicians when they played where they sucked the tongue right out of the mouthpiece and choked. Perhaps this is why not many people play it anymore” (A. Guterres, personal communication, April 25, 2012).



Figure 99. *Kokotere*, performed by Amando de Jesus (photograph: A. Pereira, 2011)

The fragile palm bell does not last very long so when the occasion for which the *kokotere* was made is finished “the musician tends to throw away the bell and sometimes the whole instrument, thus we surmise the *kokotere* is essentially a disposable instrument” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 91). The bamboo tube also does not last very long, and because the finding of completely straight bamboo lengths of 1.5 m lengths is difficult, this may be another reason the *kokotere* is rare.¹¹⁵ The skills for making and playing the *kokotere* are passed on by oral tradition “from the ancestors” (A. de Jesus, personal communication, January 27, 2011).

***Puhu puhu fa’i* – conch shell horn**

(Observations from field trip: February 2, 2014, 12.30 p.m., Los Palos)

Puhu puhu fa’i is a conch shell horn blown transversely and played by the Fataluku clan group. “In most of South East Asia and the Pacific the conch shell horns are end blown. The transverse conch shell is believed to have been introduced by the Austronesians” (Blench, 2014). This reference is to the transverse conch shell located on Goodenough Island, Papua and New Guinea. The design of the *puhu puhu fa’i* is identical to the transverse conch from Goodenough Island. Whilst the Fataluku language is a Papuan language it is curious that the transverse conch shell may have been introduced by the Austronesians to Papua and New Guinea. One could hypothesise given the unusual way of blowing across the mouth-hole of the *puhu puhu fa’i* that it arrived with the early Austronesian migrations to East Timor. The *puhu puhu fa’i* is an instrument of announcement and welcome. Its usage is similar to the *karau dikur*, which is not an instrument played by the Fataluku people.

¹¹⁵ While the *kokotere* was prevalent in Portuguese and Indonesian times, it is rarely played these days. In my search for performers only two musicians could be located: one from Wai-ole, a village to the east of Venilale, and another musician from a remote Makasae village near Kelikai on Mt Matebian.

A hole approximately one centimetre in diameter (see Figure 100) is drilled about two to three centimetres from the posterior end of the spire of the shell. The player places his lips over the hole and blows vibrating his lips as with a bugle or trumpet. Those who explained the method for playing *puhu puhu fa'i* were unable to demonstrate it and did not know anyone else who could play *puhu puhu fa'i*. This instrument was on display in the premises of the organisation Many Hands. Fataluku elder Justino Valentim provided consultation during this field trip, however, he did not know anyone who still played the *puhu puhu fa'i*.



Figure 100. *Puhu puhu fa'i* (photograph: Dunlop; 2014, deep etch: J. Lee, 2015)

7.4 Musical instruments which are pulled

Kakeit

***Kakeit* – jaw harp**

(Observations from field trips: July 7, 2004, 2.00 p.m., Trilola; January 18, 2005, 11.30 a.m., Pasabe)

“The *kakeit* is a mouth instrument otherwise known as a jaw harp, jew harp or mouth harp. The East Timorese bamboo version (see Figure 101) closely resembles some of those found in South East Asia¹¹⁶ (Dunlop, 2012, p. 118). The *kakeit* is found in many parts of East Timor, being more prevalent amongst Atauran, Fataluku, Makasae, Mambae, Metonese and Waima clan groups. There are many names for the instrument, depending on the language group of the people. For example the Baikeno speakers call it *knobe*; the Fataluku call it *pepuru*; the Makasae call it *nagu*; in Mambae it is *snarko*; and, in Waima it is called *rai rai*.

¹¹⁶ It is thought that “the jaw harp had its origins in Asia ... bamboo examples are played throughout Asia and Polynesia, but because of the basic structure of the single reed concept, it is possible that the instruments evolved in various ways independently rather than from one single source. The Polynesian types, for instance, require the player to find an optimum part of the reed, which is then tapped or bounced upon a bony part of his wrist or knuckle, allowing the reed to vibrate through the frame. Filipinos and North Vietnamese, on the other hand, have instruments that are plucked with the thumb or finger. A common method, however, that is found from Bali to Siberia, Japan to Nepal, is a string-pull: this type that was found in Inner Mongolia dated circa 4 BCE” (Wright, 2004).



Figure 101. *Kakeit* (photographed and deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)

There are two main varieties of *kakeit* found in East Timor: the bamboo string-pull jaw harp, and the metal jaw harp with a metal tongue, which is plucked. When neither of these is available, the player may use a leaf (see Figure 102) (see audio example 23; audiovisual example 14).



Figure 102. Leaf *knobe* (*kakeit*) player Sipriano Lafu Kolo (photograph: Dunlop, 2005)

The bamboo string-pull *kakeit* is usually cut from a single piece of bamboo (some though are cut from a single piece of coconut wood or mangrove root) and measures between 10 cm to 14 cm in length. It has a bamboo tongue with a piece of string measuring 10 cm to 12 cm tied to the end of it. The player holds the *kakeit* in his left hand and places the tongue of the *kakeit* in front of his open mouth (see Figure 103). He gently blows on the tongue and uses his right hand to pull the string (attached to the *kakeit*'s tongue) causing the instrument's tongue to vibrate. By altering the position of his own tongue either to the roof or the bottom of his mouth, and then as well having a relaxed throat cavity, he is able to produce pitches above a fundamental. The metal version is made from one piece of thin metal which has been bent, to which a thin metal tongue is attached. The player plucks this tongue, while making alterations to his oral cavity, tongue and air column. There are variations in the pitches produced, depending on the material used and the ability of the player. The pitches produced by the bamboo string-pull *kakeit* on the recording had a fundamental of B, (one octave below middle C) with overtones predominantly on the B, A and F[#] below middle C, and occasionally a C[#] above middle C. Often the sound produced on the *kakeit* is soft, although in the recorded example played by Graciano Belo the sound resonates strongly (audio example 24; audiovisual example 15).



Figure 103. *Kakeit*, played by Clemente Forces (photograph: Ray, 2012)

The *kakeit* is usually played for personal pleasure often whilst minding goats or buffalo.

“In Same, a Mambae village, people sometimes play it to scare the corn beetles away so they won’t eat the crops. The *kakeit* is sometimes played during courtship by young men to woo young women” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 119). One Waima¹¹⁷ story about courtship used musical instruments in the wooing: “if a young man plays the *rai rai* below the window of a girl he loves, she will fall in love with him. The girl in response is meant to play the *kafu’i*, indicating her desire to be wooed” (G. Belo, personal communication, July 6, 2004).

The *kakeit* is a musical instrument which also has mythical origins. Myth has it that an orphan made the first *kakeit*. East Timorese Elder Fernando Pires related the following mythical story about the *kakeit*:

One day an orphan was blowing through two bits of old tin trying to make music. He decided to make an instrument so he would always be able to play. When he finished making the *kakeit* he took it to the market place to play. People were so impressed they started asking him about his music. The boy said he played his instrument so that the spirit of his dead parents would remember to look after him. The people liked the boy and his *kakeit* and asked him to teach them and to make more *kakeit*. Over the years people played the *kakeit* whenever they wanted to honour their ancestors or ask for their blessing (Pires, 1998).

7.5 Summary and reflections

The main points revealed by this research of the musical instruments used for playing indigenous music were:

- The origins of some musical instruments suggest acculturation as a result of migrations to East Timor over many centuries. For example, instruments such as the *raraun*, *bobakasa* and *bijol meto* are believed to have arrived with the Portuguese. Other instruments may have been introduced to East Timor via the Portuguese conscripts to its army from other colonies; for example, African conscripts, who may have brought instruments like the *kakal’uta*, and in the early twentieth century African prisoners who were incarcerated on the island of Ataúru may have brought the *rama* with them. Other

¹¹⁷ An endangered indigenous language spoken by people located near Baukau.

instruments such as the *bano* and *au* are believed to have origins with the Chinese. Other instruments such as the *ailoos* suggest Papuan origins and the *puhu puhu fa'i*, played transversely, suggests Austronesian origins.

- Whilst the extant literature suggests that the origins of many of the musical instruments may have been with people arriving to East Timor over the centuries, the belief by East Timorese interviewed during the field research was that the origins of all the musical instruments identified were ancestral. The origins of some musical instruments are believed to have been mythical and these factors needed consideration in this investigation.
- The identification of musical instruments and the decision as to which musical instruments were considered traditional to the East Timorese was based largely on the belief of the East Timorese interviewed that the musical instruments came from their ancestors either directly as inherited musical instruments, or as imparted knowledge and skills for making them.
- The East Timorese believe culture, *lulik* and music is born with them. The culture of *aman ba oan* was recognised as being vital in the passing on of cultural knowledge, including music.
- Apart from some gongs the musical instruments identified as traditional were all handmade.
- When songs are sung with the *lakadou*, the sound of the *lakadou* is more important than the song.
- The human voice is a musical instrument, and is the one most commonly used by the East Timorese in music making. In many instances the voice is of primary importance in music-related activities and dance is often inseparable from the musical instruments regarded as traditional.

Following the findings about the instruments detailed in this chapter, the next chapter will present the findings relating to the actual music, the songs and dances of East Timor. Amongst other aspects, the relationship between musical instruments regarded as traditional and song will be examined to ascertain the inter-relational significance, including whether some musical instruments other than *lakadou* are also regarded as more important than the songs they accompany. I will also evaluate the role of the human voice in the indigenous music of East Timor.

CHAPTER EIGHT Song and dance and their relationship to the musical instruments of the indigenous East Timorese

- 8.1 Timbral techniques used by the voice in indigenous song
- 8.2 Role of song
- 8.3 Role of dance
- 8.4 Dahur
- 8.5 Tebedai
- 8.6 Bidu from Kovalima
- 8.7 Bilet, takaneb and bsoot the dances of Oekusi
- 8.8 Dance which is presented as theatre
- 8.9 Role of musical instruments in song and dance
- 8.10 Summary and reflections

The material objects of the indigenous music of East Timor, the musical instruments, were identified in the previous chapter. Their musical and physical attributes were analysed and historical and the mythical origins of some of these musical instruments were revealed.

This chapter looks at the place of these instruments of the East Timorese in musically-related activities. Song and dance are an integral part of the indigenous music of East Timor and are necessarily involved in the many activities that include music, and therefore need to be examined within this study.

The Tetun word for dance generally is *tebe*. The two main dance forms in East Timor are the line dance, *bidu* (also called *tebedai*), and the circle dance known as *dahur*. The *bidu* is stylised and often carefully choreographed. The performers are a select group of people (usually women) from a clan group who meticulously rehearse the dance prior to performance. The *dahur* is usually much more spontaneous involving many people who together form a large circle and sing whilst they dance. The *dahur* is danced at parties and festive occasions by any or all of those in attendance.

The human voice is of course a musical instrument, but in East Timor, its role is often similar to the role of the other musical instruments identified as traditional in the previous chapter. This chapter will also examine the function of songs regarded as traditional in East Timorese society. Song is sometimes the only musical accompaniment to dance with the participants singing whilst they dance. In certain rituals the only music is the human voice, and often this will be delivered more as chant¹¹⁸ than song.

Incantations are often sung, sometimes melodically and at other times declamatory in the manner of speech, or a mixture of both. There are many such songs sung for the rituals of life and death in East Timor as well as part of daily life. However, for the purposes of this study, only a selection of songs will be examined. The songs chosen illustrate different attributes of these songs, such as timbral variation, character, structure and pitch. Some of the songs included are accompanied by musical instruments.

¹¹⁸ Chant as it is used by the East Timorese, can be defined as being made up of a series of syllables and/or words that are recited, or, sometimes sung to the same note or a limited range of notes with little rise and fall of the pitch of the voice.

There is “a rich tradition of singing” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 126) in East Timor. There are songs for many occasions, ranging from those of everyday life to those utilised in the most sacred rituals. Song plays an important role in societies where cultural and musical traditions are passed on orally, providing a mechanism for handing down the history of a clan or village. “Songs are sung for many everyday occasions to help lighten the burden of daily physical work” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 126). For example, “songs are sung when grinding grain” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 126), where the accompaniment is the regular rhythm provided by the pounding poles¹¹⁹ into the mortars containing the grain. “Songs are sung to buffalo, fishermen sing to the turtles and songs” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 126) are sung during the hunting of the manta ray. The East Timorese also “sing to the nautilus shells¹²⁰ before they take them to decorate their traditional houses” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 126), while songs are sung to the trees¹²¹ before they are felled to build houses, and “children sing songs in their games” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 126). “Songs of death honour those who have died” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 126) and songs of welcome are sung to warriors returning home from battle. When songs are sung for the dead the lyrics are topical, recounting stories about the deceased, and in the process telling the history of that person’s clan. “The singing goes on day and night until the whole story is told” (King, 1963, p. 137). “Precise detail is important, so that no harm will come to the deceased’s spirit or to the remaining clan members. The singing also serves to guide the spirit in its journey back to its ancestors” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 126).

8.1 Timbral techniques used by the voice in indigenous song.

The human voice as a musical instrument is the most widely used for music making in East Timor. Whilst singing can be interpreted as “the vocal production of musical tones” (Koopman, 1999), Kelsey (1949) suggests “the art of singing is a mere specialised extension of the normal speech facility” (p. 216) raising the question: “Is singing merely talking on a tune?” (p. 217). Singing in preliterate societies is often talking on a tune. This may involve such divergent timbral qualities such as percussive sounds from the tongue, yodelling and glottal stops. Research on the role of the voice in African music by Francis Bebey suggests that “any individual who has the urge to make his voice heard is given the liberty to do so; singing is not a specialised affair. Anyone can sing” (1975, p. 115).

There is a strong tradition of choral singing in East Timor, through the influence of Catholicism brought to Timor by the Portuguese. The singers of choirs are trained to develop voices with sonorous tone qualities. However the singing of song in indigenous music is often part of everyday life, and additional timbral effects are often added to the singing of songs, or may even become the dominant feature of a particular song. Singers sometimes vocalise to produce various different effects, other than the singing of pitched notes to produce a melodic line; for examples, yodelling or ululation, slides, falsetto or declamatory in the manner of speech. Often the words used in songs are meaningless and many extended

¹¹⁹ Some mortar and pestles are stones; a flat stone as the mortar and a smaller rounder stone for the pestle.

¹²⁰ The nautilus shell is regarded as *lulik* by the East Timorese. “If they don’t sing to the nautilus shell before they take them to decorate their houses they fear something bad will happen to them” (J. Valentim, interview, October 2, 2011).

¹²¹ “The trees which are cut down for *uma lulik* are regarded as sacred and if they do not treat the trees respectfully then bad luck will befall those who cut the trees down, or even to the whole clan” (C. Silveiro Fernando (interview, July 4, 2012).

vocal techniques are used to fill out the song. A good example of this style of singing is that performed by the player of the *raraun*. He sings improvised melismatic phrases to single meaningless vowel sounds which are embellished using some of the vocal effects already mentioned (see audio example 12). The extended techniques dominate the vocal accompaniment to the song and seem to be more important than the few pitched notes. They also provide a timbral contrast to the repetitive drone of the open strings strummed on the *raraun*.

Another example of this style is provided by the player of the *lakadou*, who, after he has been playing for a while will spontaneously improvise vocal techniques such as tongue rolls, glottal sounds, vibrato, ululations, bends and slides (see audio example 9; audiovisual example 5). These effects and the timing of their entry are spontaneously placed “when the player feels like adding them” (M. Pereira, interview, April 5, 2004). Pereira goes on to say that “it is the sound of the *lakadou* that is more important than the song or vocal effects being sung with it” (interview, April 5, 2004). Whilst it requires a specialist musician to play *lakadou* those who sing indigenous music are not music specialists, as anyone and indeed everyone sings.

Typically songs will start with a solo voice leading the singing setting the pitch and tempo, and the rest of the participants responding to the lead phrase. The person leading a song may change during the singing of that song. The criterion for the lead singer is not based on whether he or she has a beautiful tone or voice or can sing in tune. Singing in indigenous East Timorese society bears similarities to other preliterate societies such as those still found in parts of Africa. Bebey (1975) suggests that tonal beauty is certainly recognised in African singing, but “this does not mean that his or her singing springs from Western criterion – criteria such as melodic perfection, correctness of pitch, finish or purity of tone” (p. 115). Often the criteria for determining the lead singer in East Timor may be the status of that person in the society. These days it will usually be the elder who still knows the words of the relevant song and will therefore lead with the rest of the participants joining in after the initial phrase. Sometimes the lead singer may have a coarse or raspy voice, such as in the *vaihoho*¹²² (Fataluku poems) sung by women in Tutuala¹²³ (audio example 25), because they rarely sing anymore so are out of practice. The voice of the lead singer may also be thin and frail due to their age, as with the lead singer for the funeral song *Lolan* (see audio example 26). In this recording the lead singer was the most senior male clan elder in the family of the deceased. Although his voice was frail it presided over the rest of the singers. His status designated him to be lead singer and out of respect for his position his voice had to be the most prominent with the rest of the family joining in the singing. In the recording their voices remain in the background and their lyrics are not as clearly annunciated (perhaps also because they did not confidently know the words). The lead singer is often the most articulate and confident with his words, so his voice dominates over the others in the recording. The lead vocalises with more pitch bends, slides and greater pitch and timbral

¹²² There are 848 Fataluku poems (or more usually, verses) that are the texts used for *vaihoho*. They are sung or chanted (or a mixture of both) for occasions such as *uma lulik* ceremonies, harvest ceremonies, marriage (or *barlake*) ceremonies and *funerals*. *Vaihoho* are often sung in groups of four to six singers who sing as pairs maintaining eye contact with each other as they sing. One singer usually sings a few pitches like a pedal point with his/her pair singing melismatic phrases over one or two syllables. Sometimes the same phrase will be repeated by another pair of singers in the group and the pitch will often be higher or lower than the previous pair.

¹²³ Tutuala is a Fataluku village.

variety than the rest of the clan singing. The transcription below (see Figure 104) is of the male lead part of *Lolan*.¹²⁴

Lolan
Bunak

Figure 104. *Lolan*, sung by family Martina Sose (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

Another example of this style of singing, using extended vocal techniques to embellish the melodic line, is the Makili song *Tuli Peon* (audio example 27) sung by the male members of the Makili clan, a fishing community on Ataúru.¹²⁵ The *Tuli peon* is sung to announce that it is time to construct another traditional fishing boat: “When people hear this song, they know that it is time to *taa ai* (cut the tree) from the mountains, make the boat and drag it to the sea” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 137). One fisherman leads the song and then each subsequent verse is led by a different fisherman. The lead singer embellishes his melodic line with melismatic phrases, pitch bends, slides, declamatory speech, virtually delivering the song as spoken songs. It is free form and somewhat improvised, with each singer entering and varying his solo at whim. Some will sing shorter phrases and others much longer ones. The chorus knows exactly when is the right time to enter in much the same way that members of a jazz ensemble will know when it is time to cut in on the solo improvisation. The chorus sings with a small pitch range, repeating the same few notes. They set the tempo, keeping a rocking rhythmical pulse. In the transcription of *Tuli Peon* (see Figure 105), in the first part of the song as it was recorded, the first solo line is a lot longer than the next two entries. In the excerpt transcribed, some of the singers who take over the lead also sing long phrases

¹²⁴ *Lolan* is a Bunak song, but, like many songs in East Timor the language is often an older form whose meaning has been lost over the generations. People sing it verbatim. “These songs are sung so seldom now that younger generations don’t really know the words” (D. Soares, interview, January, 2014).

¹²⁵ On the island of Ataúru there are very few musical instruments I am aware of: I have seen only the *tihak* (a large standing drum), the *rama* a mouth bow and *kakeit* a jaw harp. Dance is mostly accompanied by song and unaccompanied singing is the most common form of music making on the island.

in a similar style to the first singer. The rendition of each solo singer conveys the character of his personality, some being more extroverted than others. The chorus has a limited pitch range with repetition on certain pitches, and the rhythm is almost the same every time it is sung with the rhythm and tempo of the song suggestive of the rocking motion of a boat when it is at sea.

Tuli Peon
Makili

Figure 105. *Tuli Peon*, sung by men of Makili (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

8.2 The role of song

One use of song is to ease the burden of labour, as for example when hauling the massive logs down the mountains for building *uma lulik* or carving boats (as cited by the example of *Tuli Peon*). Fishermen sing as they row out to change their nets, or call people together when it is time to catch certain marine life, such as *metxi* (sea worm) or the *kelbeli* (manta ray). Farmers sing whilst weeding crops or for festive occasions. Singing may be the only accompaniment to dance and the words sung sometimes “tell a joke or poke fun at authorities” (Dunlop, 2012, p.126). There are songs of sorrow and lament, children sing whilst playing games and adults sing lullabies to children to put them to sleep.

Song has an important role in many of the ceremonies for *lia moris* (rituals of life) such as birth, marriage, the various stages of building of *uma lulik*, agriculture, war and headhunting and *lia mate* (rituals of death) starting with the final exchange of *barlake*, followed by the funeral ceremony and finally the *toli* (to dispatch or send away the spirit of the deceased).

Song is one of the ways the history of ethnolinguistic clans has been passed down through the generations in East Timor. The melodies of songs are said to have remained unaltered passed down through the generations, while the words of the songs change to reflect contemporary or topical subjects, a good example being funeral songs, where the words will usually have references to characteristics of the recently deceased. A fine case in point is *Pankalalále*, sung by Pasquela Eko and her family from Kutet, Oekusi (audio example 10). “*Pankalalále* is sung by the family of the deceased whilst pounding corn in a wooden trough which is being prepared for the funeral banquet. This is done before the burial, when the body of the deceased is still present” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 140). The transcriptions of *Pankalalále* (see Figure 106 and Figure 107), have different texts.¹²⁶ In both versions of the text, the sung melody remained the same. When I initially recorded the *Pankalalále* in 2005, the text of the musical transcription (Figure 106) was different from the words sung in January 2011 for Padre Richard Daschbach in Kutet, Oekusi (Figure 107). When Daschbach gave me this transcription in March 2011, he commented that the words given to him by Pasquela Eko were different from a version she had given him years earlier of the same song.

Pankalalále
Baikeno

Pan-ka-la-lá-le e i o-le ma-nu nan-i-ko be-ti o-le ma-nu nan-i-ko be-ti o-o

le o-le o-le-ka-l ko-i ai maun be-lu ba e maun sa la la-la la la

o o 5 5 3 3 5 3 2 o 7 7 7 7 6 5 1 o 5 5 5 5 3 3 1 1

o sei-ki na-meu na man ai ma-nu na-ko nai jan Pan-ka-la-le-nao na-ko me nao na

-ko ia ma-o ma-e la le mu-lai hau bakan fi la le i Mnao kum bae mfaikum

bae sia-la sia-la lo hai on i le bae to-li ka-se le bau to-li kae-sle hais e nu-en hais

e nuen a-no lou lou ak ko san Sa-la nun bai tu-nan tun a-na le mum-nau nek-ma bae

Lo-lu ak sa-la a-ho-e ho-e ki-ta le kol ak-ba-li bae

Figure 106. *Pankalalále* sung by Pasquela Eko in 2005 (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

¹²⁶ Translation of either version of the song into English is difficult because much of the meaning of the words has been lost as the language being used is an ancient form of the *Baikeno* language no longer spoken in Timor by the East Timorese.

Pankalalále

o le manu nani ko beti	Mnao kum bae, mfain kum bae, sia la sia le lo hai on i.
maun belu ba,	Husi kolo husi kolo lo ri ri kolo bae.
e maun sa la la, la la la la.	O ri ri ri hai dober bae, hai dober bae.
Seiki nameu na man,	Bani bani sae bi sol-solo bae, solo bae.
ai manu nako nai jan.	Bani bani sae bi sol-solo bae, solo bae.
Pankalalále nao nako me,	O ra ri kakoe, seik-seiki jambua no'o bae,
nao nako ia ma-o ma-e.	tabua ba mabe mese.
La le mulai hau bakan fi la le i.	Le e la le, e la le ei la lei e la lei aloi ho-e hau.
Lolu ak lolou, i ho-e,	O le e sa kita kolo kol sai alumta bae.
le bae toli kaisla ho-e,	Pankalalále e i
lou lou ak ko san.	a le manu nani ko beti,
Sala nunbai tunan.	o le o le manu nani ko senu,
Tun ana le mumnau nekma bae.	o a o le, o le a talei ka koe.
Le bae toli kase,	E maun belu ba, e maun sa la la, la la la la.
le bau toli kaesle hais e nuen.	Seiki nameu na man,
Lou-lou ak sa,	ai manu nako naijan.
ahoe, kita le kol, akbali bae.	Pankalalále nao nako me, nao nako i ma o ma e,
Sala nunbae tunan	la le mulai hau bakan la le i.
tun ama mumnau nekat bae	Mnao kum bae, mfain kum bae,
	sia la sia le lo hai on i.

Figure 107. *Pankalalále* sung by Pasquela Eko in 2011 (transcription: Dashbach, 2011)

We can instance the Makasae song *Boituka* (see Figure 108) as one such song (audio example 28) “sung when the building of the *uma lulik* is completed” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 131). It begins with a phrase sung by the lead singer and the chorus repeats this phrase. The structure of the song continues as a call and response while the singers dance the *dahur* as they sing.

Boituka
Makasae

Figure 108. *Boituka*, sung by Grupi Rebenta (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

Song is sung on many occasions during the agricultural calendar year. Song is a good distraction for farmers at their labours, say, when weeding the crops. For example the *muiskatele* is sung by Baikeno people “whilst weeding corn crops” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 76). *Muiskatele* is a form of the *bonet* which is a circle dance, however *muiskatele* is not considered a dance. It is considered one of the *bonet* genre because of the form and style of singing (audio example 29; audiovisual example 16). Another form of

the *bonet* is the *oebani* which is “sung or chanted whilst tying the harvested corn in the fields before it is hung in the cooking area” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 76). The *Pankalalále* is also a *bonet* and chanted or sung whilst pounding corn for the funeral feast.

A *bonet* is the Metonese *dahur* from Oekusi, “performed while chanting classical poetry” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 72) and although it is performed as a *dahur* (circle dance) it needs to be analysed as a song or chant as the participants slowly move in a circle as they chant/sing. The *bonet* is performed whilst chanting classical poetry made up of *sits* (songs) and *nels*¹²⁷ (chants) (see Appendix M for examples of *sits* and *nels*). “A *nel* is a presentation in dance and song form of some facet of Metonese life and were originally sung in royal circles, however later they were sung by everyone” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 72).

The priest Richard Daschbach has conducted years of research into Metonese culture and offered the following explanation of the *sits* and *nels*:

Nels preserve ancient Metonese poetry, which, as it has been repeated verbatim through the centuries even though now they are mostly unintelligible to modern Metonese. In ancient times *nels* were recited only by the *Tobe* (custodian of tradition). Then it filtered down to local *Adat* priests (*Tobe*) and local *Adat* heads (*Ketua Adat*). The two are not the same. The story goes, in one area, that formerly *Adat* and *Adat* would compete with other *Adat* and *Adat*. One would compose a *nel* in the highly figurative, compressed (coded) language common to the genre. His competitor would have to “crack” the code and expound its meaning, also in verse. *Nels* were often made up for the occasion, and were geared to “tie up,” that is, confound the ones designated to answer. There were sometimes heavy fines for failing to crack a *nel*. Nowadays, if one party “ties up” another party by reciting a set *nel* – which requires another set *nel* to “untie themselves” – and they forget it, they have to buy *tua* (alcoholic) drink for the other party. The chant consists of set songs that don’t change and are 10 to 15 seconds in length. The verse-story consists of 15 to 20 short verses, each a few seconds in duration. The verse-story or any of its verses are called *nel*. A caller is the *Akón Nel*, who is part of the circle in some areas, while in other places he stands in the middle of the circle by himself. A verse-caller may compose his own verse-story, but would be expected to do so in the genre of classical poetry. Few could do so now. The focus of the *bonet* is on the words not the melody. The *bonet* circle is divided into two sections that overlap whilst singing. The *Akón Nel* calls out the verse of a *nel*. The first section of the circle starts a *sit* and inserts the verse into it. Before they are finished, the second section of the circle begins another *sit*, and finishes it, without inserting any verse. The *Akón Nel* is already calling out the next verse before the second group has finished, and so on. When the verse-story is finished the *Akón Nel* will say so in a short verse. Then a short chant is sung together so everyone knows the *nel* (verse-story) is over. The chant is called: *O nunuh matau toel*. Then the *Akón Nel* intones the two set closing verses. After each verse both halves of the circle sing a set chant: *Hainu kolo liu soe*, putting the two closing verses into this chant one by one. The *bonet nel* is now finished. Another one may now be started. An example of how a *bonet* might be sung is as follows:

¹²⁷ “*Sits* and *nels* were ancient poetry, grammatically and syntactically trimmed and cut making them susceptible to a number of translations. In this respect the *nels* resemble Chinese characters. The different parts of a particular character only suggest, rather than give meaning. The different parts of a Metonese *nel* or *sit* only suggest rather than give meaning (they are too short to do otherwise). The modern Metonese doesn’t know with certainty the meaning of most of the *sits* and *nels*” (R.Daschbach, personal communication, May 20, 2011).

Akòn nel : “*O pipje nat au maun.*”

First section of the circle sings:

“*Hainu kolo liu soe, akakoe, o - le -ane,*
O pipje nat au maun, nu-u laleok, behe na se,
sin he nkaen, nkaen kolo la liu soe.”

Before they are finished, the second circle begins:

“*O lilo maun, e maun ana, e, e-e-sa-se,*
paleo he nkae, nkae kolo la liu soe.”

This second circle doesn’t insert any verse into it and before they have finished the *Akón Nel* calls out the next verse, and so on.

The chanters place long and short accents over specific words of the text.

Akòn nel: *O/ pipje nat au maun*

Chanters: *O/ pi-[˜]ip-[˜]je ná-ta-u-u máun*

Akòn nel: *O/ bati fai fai*

Chanters: *O/ ba-a-ti [˜]fái, je-e-en [˜]fái*

Verses of a particular *nel* can be inserted into any *sit* and the same *sit* is used during the entire *nel*. The *sit toben*, or covering song, is sung by the second half of the circle. This can also be any *sit*, but usually the same *sit* is sung during the entire *nel*. The rhythm of a *nel* verse (and of the *sit*) is 2/2. It is maintained by inserting meaningless syllables when needed or by glottal stops on a particular vowel. The initial “O” present in some *nels* isn’t part of the rhythm. It is pronounced in a higher, lengthened tone, as though leading into the verse it precedes. In practice, the glottal stops will not always be clearly enunciated, especially after a cup or two of the *tua*¹²⁸ brew. A good *bonet* will keep to the hypnotic rhythm (see audiovisual example 17). A good *Akón nel* will keep the *nels* moving and call them in order. Most of the chanters know some or most of the *nels* to some extent, but not enough to become *Akón nel* (personal communication, May 20, 2011).

Planting and harvest are the most important events in the agricultural calendar year. Planting rituals are more private and use incantations rather than musical instruments and song. Harvest rituals are celebrated with festivities which attract large crowds. They are accompanied by song and both forms of dance, that is, *dahur* and *bidu* (or *tebedai*). The songs associated with harvest festivals tend to accompany *dahur* (circle dances). A good example is *dahur odi* (audio example 30), a Makasae song, habitually “sung after the rice is harvested” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 128) (see Figure 109).

¹²⁸ *Tua* is an alcoholic palm wine, brewed throughout East Timor.

Dahur Odi

Makasae

ai na - na le - le le ma - ta lo - deu ai na - na

le le le ma - ta lo - deu O ku - lu mu - tu de -

da de-da ku - lu tu - la na - wa wo e - le le le le

e - le - le lau - kai ba - la e - le le o he - le le le le

hai hai hai ha - la lai hai ha - la lai tu - tu ku - ku

oi oi oi oi oi oi oi

Figure 109. *Dahur odi*, sung by Grupu Rebenta (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

Song is also used in seaside village communities to call people together for hunting. A good example is the Fataluku song *Vetere* (see Figure 110) sung when it is time to fish for the *metxi* (sea worm), and tells the story of the *metxi*. Theatrics go with this song as Alfeo Sanches Pereira explained: “one man from the village wades out in the sea to see if there are *metxi*, if there are, he calls out to everyone, *metxi hai mau* (*metxi* are here and coming). To call to the *metxi* the villagers will say *uh metxi o*” (personal communication, September 25, 2011). Although this song would normally be sung unaccompanied, the singers in this recording felt more at ease singing to the accompaniment of a guitar (audio example 31).

Vetere

fataluku/lovaia

Me-ci nal a ku-ru mu-cu nu' ute ma ri te a u-ru u - ru a po-ko po - ko ki-na-mo-ko u-su-ro-it

e-mer-re nu ma'-u a ta-pa u-su-ro-i i-na ta-ka ta - ka u-na u-na-me a me-ci na - me a

u-na-u-na-me a me-ci na-me a ca-pa-ku sau - ke me-ci sau - ke ca-pa-ku sau - ke

me-ci sau-ke e - he ve-te-re da-la-mai o le-le sekur i-ra mu-cu a-se-na va-ri fa-la a-sa sai o

va - ri fa - la mi-re ja - ne - ti - ti ja - ni e na rei rei a - si - no rei - rei a - si - e - na - ta - rei rei

Figure 110. *Vetere*, sung by Etson Caminha, Adilson Caminha, Ananias Carlos, Alfeo Sanches Pereira (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

At a certain time of the year, the Tokodede people of the seaside village Dair hunt *kelbeli* (manta ray).

The ritual of *kelbeli* is passed on by the ancestors and called *Lekiseri*. Lucas Lopes explained this ritual:

During season when *kelbeli* is hunted, a man whose official title is *Ivu Lama* calls the *kelbeli* which we regard as *lulik*. Three special boats are used for the hunt, called *Ese-Mau Mekei*, *Manu-Tasi Mekei* and *Toda-Balu Mekei*. The men who row the boats also have special titles, *Durumudi*, *Marinero* and *Durawatu*. *Durawatu* has the task of killing the *kelbeli*. The song *O Wailo* is sung by the men as they hunt the *kelbeli*. When the *kelbeli* is brought back to shore it is taken and killed on the special stone mat called *biti a'e*, which has a shape similar to the *kelbeli*. (personal communication, July 17, 2010).

An elder leads the singing of *O Wailo* (audio example 32) and the chorus follows. The style of singing is call and response although there is some overlap of parts. The end of phrases fall in pitch, almost to slides, with spoken speech towards the end of them (see Figure 111).

There are also songs children sing in their play and the words have been passed verbatim through the generations. One such song is the Fataluku song *Tupukur ulute*. “The language is an ancient form of Fataluku” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 146) and people no longer know the meaning of the words. Children sing this song sometimes with their parents, or other adults. They sit in a circle and do finger games in time to the beat as they sing. “During the song they tweak their own ears and then hold one another’s ears, as they move and sing the rest of the song” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 146). Alfeo Sanches Pereira retold the story as it relates to the game and song of *Tupukur ulute*:

One story about *Tupukur ulute* is that the owl hides in a dark place where the devil is thought to be hiding too. The children are afraid of the owl and they hold their ears with their fingers and sing so they won’t be afraid (personal communication, September 25, 2011).

“Originally *Tupukur ulute* was more a chant than a song” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 146). However currently, it is more often sung in East Timor as this recorded version demonstrates (audio example 34). The influence of reggae can be heard in this version of *Tupukur ulute* as this style of music has become popular in East Timor in recent times. The note ‘A’ in the recorded version repeats many times suggesting that in its original form *Tupukur ulute* was chanted (see Figure 113). It is still performed as a chant as well as song in Fataluku communities to this day.



Figure 113. *Tupukur ulute*, sung by Etson Caminha, Adilson Caminha, Ananias Carlos, Alfeo Sanches Pereira (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

Research has not revealed many songs which are specifically lullabies in Timor; rather a parent may sing non-specific songs to their babies to put them to sleep. The anthropologist Margaret King also observed in the 1960s that there was little evidence of lullabies; “a notable absence of musical life is the lullaby ... I have found only three specific lullabies in the whole of Lauten, a curious gap as music plays such a fundamental part in the lives of these people” (1963, p. 135). One lullaby I was able to record was an old Fataluku lullaby *Ai Lolole* (see audio example 35), (see Figure 114). The translation of the song was provided by Osme Gonçalves.

Ai lo lo le, sa lo lo le... kene-kené taya. Na'u kene taya...
Ai lo lo le, sa lo lo le... kene-kené taya. Na'u kene taya...

Moco pal upen I'e na'u kene taya, kene-kené taya. Na'u kene taya

Ai lo lo le, sa lo lo le Na'u kene taya... kene-kené taya
Ai lo lo le, sa lo lo le. Na'u kene taya... kene-kené taya

*Pala hai la'a apa tali molu, nala hai la'a ili tali molu
Pua raka petel oo na'u kene taya, lauluk petel oo, kene-kene taya*

*Ai lo lo le, sa lo lo le... kene-kene taya. Na'u kene taya...
Ai lo lo le, sa lo lo le... kene-kene taya. Na'u kene taya
Pala hai la'a ira tali molu, nala hai la'a veru tali molu...
Moco pal upen ie naukene taya. Moco nalu palin ie kene-kene
taya...
Omoke nu taya, na'u kene taya, kene-kene taya, tepere nu taya*

Mummy and Daddy need to sleep

Now you are with me, you and I are brothers

Mummy and Daddy will be back soon

sleep, sleep quietly

Mummy is going to the garden to get some food for us

Daddy is going to the mountain to get water for us

please sleep, be quiet

Mummy and Daddy will be back soon, don't worry (interview, October 5, 2011).

Ai Lolole

Fataluku



Figure 114. *Ai Lolole*, sung by Osme Gonçalves (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

8.3 The role of dance

Dance is a vital part of indigenous music. Some dances are accompanied by musical instruments only, some only by song and, occasionally, by both. The verb for dance in East Timor is *tebe* which also means “to kick” (Hull, 2006, p. 196). “There are two main forms of dance in East Timor; the circle dance *dahur* and the line dance *bidu*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 29). The most commonly performed *bidu* is *tebedai*. *Dahur* is usually accompanied by song and most *tebedai* are accompanied by *baba-dook* (handheld drum) and *tala* (gongs).¹³¹

The *bidu* found in Kova Lima may be accompanied by other instruments. The *bidu tais mutin* (dance with white tais) and *bidu makikit* (eagle dance) are usually accompanied by *raraun*. The player sings vocals;

¹³¹ Some *tebedai*, for example those danced by the Makasae, often have both instruments and song accompanying them.

nowadays *raraun* is often joined by *rabeka*¹³² (violin) to accompany these dances. More accurate forms of *makikit* such as the *makikit* danced by the Kemak people (see audiovisual example 18) use *baba-dook* and *tala*. The *bidu ailoos* also found in Kova Lima is danced by male dancers wearing the bamboo ankle bells *babuk* and they are accompanied by the *ailoos*. *Tebedai* in Kova Lima is generally referred to as *likurai*. *Liku* means to dance or shake the upper body especially the elbows. In Oekusi the dance which most closely resembles *bidu* is the *bsoot* and the dancers wear *bano* (brass or aluminium ankle bells), and dance to the accompaniment of *sene* and *ke'e*.

Some dance is staged more as theatre, retelling mythical stories such as the Mambae tale of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* (audiovisual example 19). *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* were the son and daughter of *Don Tasi* (god of the sea) and they committed a crime of incest which begot a child named Absah. The repercussions of this act took the world from a time of darkness to a world that was light. *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* will be discussed in further detail in Chapter ten.

8.4 Dahur

Song is usually the only music to accompany the circle dance, the *dahur*. The rhythm of the song provides a steady pulse for the dancers and the melodic material is usually diatonic. There are variations in the structure of song sung for *dahur*. It is performed for many occasions in East Timor, such as, for welcoming visitors to the village, and during ceremonies for building *uma lulik*, or for *sau batar*. The *dahur* in an animated format is often sung and danced whilst threshing the rice (see audiovisual example 20). The vigorous movement of the dancers' feet helps to dislodge the rice from the plant, and the dancers in effect become a human threshing machine. The *dahur* is performed during various stages of *barlake* and marriage, and also for war and headhunting. The *dahur* is often performed spontaneously, with many people participating, for parties, as part of everyday life, perhaps after a game of football by the victors, when fishermen return with the daily catch and during festivities such as those celebrating Independence Day.¹³³

In some *dahur* the participants start singing together in unison repeating the melody and words for the duration of the dance, such as in the song *Labelain* from Nataboru, which is danced for indigenous weddings (see audio example 36). In other *dahur* once the circle is formed one person will lead the singing with the first phrase of the song and then everyone else will respond. Sometimes the response is a direct repeat of the lead part. In other songs the lead singer will then extend the initial phrase they sing, but the chorus continues to sing the same phrase. A good example of the structure of this kind of song is the Makasae song *Boituka* (see Figure 108), a *dahur*, which is sung to celebrate the completion of an *uma*

¹³² The violin likely arrived in East Timor with the Portuguese. It was played in the *bidu* performed by Grupu Lafaek from Kovalima. None of the other groups recorded during the field trip from July 2006 used violin in their instrumentation as they do not regard it as a traditional instrument. Violin is usually played in the Portuguese dance bands that are prevalent throughout East Timor.

¹³³ The official Independence Day recognised by the East Timorese government is May 20th. However, there are other days regarded as independence days by the East Timorese, such as November 28, celebrating the installation of the first East Timorese government after the Portuguese relinquished their colonial power in 1975, shortly before the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia on December 7, 1975.

lulik.¹³⁴ *Boituka* consists of two basic phrases as illustrated in the musical transcription. Initially the lead singer sings the opening phrase which the chorus repeats, then the solo sings a second two bar phrase. But the chorus sings the same phrase they previously sang, and the song continues in this fashion while they sing and dance a *dahur*. Another variation of *dahur*, also in the style of call and response, is that between the opposite sexes when both are dancing *dahur*. There is usually a lead given by a solo, then the males respond as a chorus, after which the females respond as a chorus to the males' phrase. Thus the song is structured in a series of repetitive phrases of the same length in a routine of call and response. Sometimes the melody may be harmonised a third or fourth above the given melody. If there is no harmonisation often the males will sing in unison an octave lower than the females. A good example of this is the song, *Hele-le-le joben*,¹³⁵ from Tilomar, Kovalima (see audio example 37), sung to accompany a *dahur* (see audiovisual example 21). Initially a lead is given by a solo female singer, then the males respond in chorus and this is followed by the females in chorus responding to the males, and so on. In songs such as *Hele-le-le joben* the melodic line is well known and will have been passed down through the generations. The lyrics do change however, "reflecting subject material from contemporary life" (Dunlop, 2012, p. 36), or they may be spontaneous and of a jocular nature. Sometimes the words or syllables are sensical and sometimes not. In *Hele-le-le joben* the title itself is meaningless. Indigenous East Timorese society is conservative and open demonstrations of affection between the sexes is uncommon. Physical affection in courtship is conducted discretely in private. The *dahur* is sometimes performed to provide a platform which allows for flirting, joking and courting.

Mention has already been made of the *bonet* in song (see section 8.2).

Bonet is the Metonese *dahur* from Oekusi, performed while chanting classical poetry. The form of the step and chants differ from place to place. In some places the participants lay their arms across one another's shoulders and sing as they move slowly around in a circle in an anti-clockwise direction. In other places they stand shoulder to shoulder as they shuffle in a circle, or they move in and out, toward and away from the centre of the circle as they dance and sing (Dunlop, 2012, p. 72).

As a *dahur* it is often sung and danced to welcome guests.

The *dahur* was also performed as part of the rituals of war. Prior to battle, a *dahur* would begin with a war-cry which "functioned as a curse and was based on the firm belief in transcendental justice" (Middelkoop, 1963, p. 27). He goes on to say that, "the contents of the chorus dance was [sic] reiterated in ritual parallelistic language as an announcement preceding and declaring the attack" (p. 27). Middelkoop explained the structure of the war cry in Timor as "a kind of stanza, with a striking instance of emotional belief in the conquering power of supernatural justice, it was an indispensable condition for successful warfare" (p. 27). His research also describes a *dahur* performed after headhunting expeditions or, usually both for war and headhunting sung: "as a preparation to bringing the skulls into the palace-yard of the chief a chorus dance had to be performed with repetition of the same stanza" (p. 30). The *dahur Semai* (see Figure 115 and audio example 38) is a good example of a *dahur* performed after

¹³⁴ Makasae people live in many different villages beneath and on Mount Matebian. Matebian literally means "the souls of the dead". The Makasae also build their *uma lulik* on Mt Matebian which they regard as a sacred mountain.

¹³⁵ *Hele-le-le* is used in the title of many songs in East Timor. It is a meaningless syllable used in song to carry melody.

headhunting by Fataluku people, for the same purpose as the *dahur* that Middelkoop¹³⁶ described. “*Semai* is a Fataluku war song with origins dating back before the time of Portuguese colonisation” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 132) in the sixteenth century and its purpose is explained by Osme Gonçalves:

Neighbouring tribes would sometimes raid each other’s villages and steal valuables such as livestock. In response to these attacks, warriors from the village invaded would go and take, as punishment, a member of the pillaging party and bring them back to their village. The offender’s throat would be cut and the head decapitated. The men would then place the head on the ground, form a circle and sing this song *Semai* as they danced slowly around the encircled head (interview, June 3, 2011).

Semai
Fataluku

se ro - lo mai - a se ro - lo ro - to ro - to se ro - lo mai - a Se se ro - lo mai a ca' u to - te ma - ni to - te ha - lu na co - te se sai se ro - lo ee ca'u to - te ma - ni to - te ha - lu na co - te

Figure 115. *Semai*, sung by Osme Gonçalves and members of Arte Moris (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

8.5 Tebedai

Tebedai means “following dance” and is performed throughout East Timor, with variations in style between the different ethnolinguistic groups (see Figure 116). It is a dance of welcome, performed when important guests visit the village, and also to “welcome warriors and heroes home from battle” (Kartomi, 2000, p. 23).

¹³⁶ Middelkoop’s research was undertaken in West Timor which included Oekusi – an enclave of East Timor. The same ethnolinguistic group is found all over the Western part of the island of Timor, from the border between East Timor and West Timor and included Oekusi.



Figure 116. *Tebedai*, performed by Grupu Los Palos (photograph: Amaral, 2014)

The *tebedai* is also performed in celebrations such as *sau batar* and the different stages of building *uma lulik*. Participants of *tebedai* wear traditional dress. Some clans wear distinctive headdress such as the *manu fulun* an elaborate headdress made of feathers worn by the Makasae dancers below (see Figure 117) and in other clans a simpler headdress is worn (see Figure 118), while in others the women will simply pin back their hair with a silver hair ornament. In some clan groups such as the Mambae, located in the foothills of Mt Ramelau, the men will wear decorations on their feet called *bibi fulun* made of goat hair (see Figure 119).



Figure 117. Grupu Rebenta, Makasae wearing *manu fulun* headdress for dance (photograph: P. Lee, 2011)



Figure 118. Silver hair ornament (photograph: Amaral, 2014)



Figure 119. Mambae dancers of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* wearing *bibi fulun* (photograph: Amaral, 2014)

The *tebedai* is mostly accompanied by the *baba-dook* and *tala*. The rhythms beaten vary from district to district. There are many examples of these rhythms across ethnolinguistic groups (see Appendix K). Two *tebedai* rhythms well recognised throughout East Timor are from field recordings in July 2004 from the Mambae village Holarua, a subdistrict of Same (see Figure 120).



Figure 120. *Baba-dook* rhythms for *tebedai* from Holarua (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)

In Fataluku the *tebedai* is known as *sikire*. The rhythms the *baba-dook* beat for *sikire* follow the rhythm of the words of certain verses of Fataluku poetry. When the *baba-dook* start to beat, the people know which song or chant is to be performed (see Figure 121).

Baba dook Kamanasa

Tepe Tou
Fataluku

Lome Takupei
Fataluku

Figure 121. Three *sikire* rhythms dictated by Justino Valentim (2013) (transcription: Dunlop, 2014)

The *tebedai* is a structured dance performed by women who form two lines with a minimum of four women in each line, although the maximum number of dancers can vary greatly. Generally it is women who play *baba-dook* and *tala* for the *tebedai*. Sometimes dancing between the two lines of women will be one or two males, brandishing *surik* (swords) and occasionally uttering cries whilst they dance. When the *tebedai* is performed there are two lines of dancers and a woman holding a *tala* heads one of the lines of dancers. The notes initially beaten on the *tala* are carefully contrived. Two or three beats are given, signalling that the dance may begin. Often this action is repeated at the end of the dance (audio example 39). After the woman has beaten the *tala* the rest of the dancers join in, tucking a *baba-dook* under their left arm at the elbow, and beating it with both hands. The same rhythm is beaten in unison by all the dancers playing *baba-dook*. Sometimes the *tebedai* is elaborately choreographed and whilst it is often a restrained dance (see audiovisual example 22), it can also be lively and fast (see audiovisual example 23).

The *likurai* is another form of *tebedai* that is performed by the Tetun Belu from Kova Lima. There are some essential differences between the *likurai* and *tebedai*. In the *likurai* there is an absence of *tala* so no one dancer leads the dance. The drummers start in unison, their bodies swaying in a more exaggerated fashion than most other *tebedai* and the rhythms of the *baba-dook* are faster and more compelling (see Figure 122). The *likurai* is also a more animated dance than most *tebedai* (see audiovisual example 24).

Baba dook Kamanasa



Figure 122. *Baba-dook* rhythms for *likurai* from the village of Kamanasa (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)

The many performances of the *likurai* recorded during the field trip in July 2006 were similar in structure. Most had a male participant (sometimes two males) who danced between the two lines of women, either brandishing swords, or holding a *tais kahe* (white *tais* sash) between their hands.¹³⁷ The male dancers are a commanding presence in the dance, performing in an extroverted manner shouting out vocal sounds with the syllable ‘ai’ at ad hoc intervals (audio example 40). An earlier observation by Middelkoop (1963) describes the *likurai* as being:

Performed in a long file moving on the rhythm of drum-beating. The head of the dance is a man, and his title is *likurai* also. The file of dancers moves as in a spiral and imitates the movements of a coiling snake or serpent. (p. 37)

The *likurai* was also described by Eugenio Sarmiento as being like a snake dancing:

Myth has it that in the past the *likurai* used to be danced by seven women who represented the seven heads of a snake. The male dancer in the middle of the women represented the old man of history who was looked after by the women. The women would eventually turn into the snake. The snake has a special place in East Timorese culture and rituals. These days when the *likurai* is danced the man represents the snake. (personal communication, July 5, 2010)

Liku means “shake the upper body or shaking from the elbows” (E. Sarmiento, personal communication, July 5, 2010). An explanation of *liku* in research by Middelkoop (1963) indicated that in West Timor the word *liku* was associated with serpents and blood:

An analysis of the compound *likurai* tends to corroborate the conception of the serpent dance, for *liku* is also the first part of the compound *likusain*, i.e. python. The stem *liku* again means “to shed blood” or, “the dripping of blood”... where the original Timorese word translated by “dripping” was also *liku*. (p. 37)

Likurai is normally performed as a dance of welcome. “In the past it was also danced to farewell warriors going to battle and then to welcome them home” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 36). The indication of *likurai* having a function at times of war is suggested by Kartomi’s (2000) observations of a *likurai*: “the women beat an assertive martial beat ... periodically changing to another rhythm pattern during the procession”. (p. 23)

8.6 Bidu from Kova Lima

The *bidu* is a “line dance which is mostly accompanied by *baba-dook* and *tala*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 37). The *bidu* is elegant, stylised and carefully choreographed. The dance *Bidu tais mutin* (dance with white *tais*) from the Tetun Belu village of Suai Loro, is a welcome dance, accompanied by *raraun* and a solo male voice (see audiovisual example 10; audio example 12). The dance begins with one of the dancers

¹³⁷ In some *likurai* males dance between the two lines of women, but they do so silently and do not vocalise or distract from the performance of the women.

placing a container with ingredients for betel chew in front of the area where the group will dance. The *raraun* player sings a legato melodic line “using the pitches of the traditional sasando scale.”¹³⁸ He uses other vocal effects in his singing, such as falsetto, yodel, slides and glottal effects” (Kartomi, 2000, p. 21). “The dancers synchronise to the rhythmic drone of the *raraun* and hold a large square of white *tais* in front of them as they dance” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 37). They wear traditional dress for the dance (see Figure 123), which may include a headdress of *kaebauk* and silver hairpins.



Figure 123. *Bidu tais mutin* Grup Lafaek from the village of Suai Loro (photograph: Dunlop, 2006)

The *bidu makikit* (eagle dance) is a stylised dance, accompanied by the same instruments as *bidu tais mutin* and shall be discussed in more detail in section 8.8. The *bidu ailoos* is danced by two male dancers wearing *babuk* (ankle bells) who in the past danced between four women sitting facing one another in pairs, each woman with a pair of *ailoos* balanced across her legs. These days the males usually dance in front of the women, who sit in a row (Chapter Seven, see Figure 30).

8.7 Dances of Oekusi

Originally there were eight dances in Oekusi.

1. Bilut
2. Takanab
3. Bsoot and Lelan (female version of Bsoot)
4. Bonet
5. Muiskatele
6. Oebani
7. Fekula
8. Kure

¹³⁸ The sasando is a tube zither from the Nusa Tenggara Timur province of Indonesia. The scales are either made up of the pitches c-e-f-g-b-c or the pitches c-d-e-g-a-c. (Hastanto, 2007).

“Of these only four are regularly performed: the *bilut*, *takanab*, *bsoot* and *lelan*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 60); the latter is danced by women and equivalent to the *bsoot*. The others are no longer performed as no-one knows how to do them anymore but their identifying names are mentioned here for the record.

The *bilut* is a freeform dance which individuals dance by themselves creating their own personal style. “The *takanab* is a poetic recital chanted by a reciter and a chorus, using mostly classical Metonese language (see audiovisual example 25). On arriving for a special visit respected guests may be greeted with a recitation of the *takanab*” (Dunlop, 2012, p. 60). It is also performed in indigenous ceremonies, such as during the building of traditional houses, before harvest festivals, or when a man seeks a woman’s hand in marriage. The subject matter is topical with stock phrases being added to it. It can also be the welcome that precedes performances of other dances of Oekusi. Richard Daschbach (personal communication, February 20, 2012) explained *takanab* thus:

Takanab is an art form, the reciter must be someone who knows how to perform it. Usually the *ketua adat* (head of the traditional house) will recite it as poetry; words and phrases using alliteration, rhythm and doublets. The chorus answers the second part of the doublet. The rhythm of the chant maintains a steady pulse.

Daschbach transcribed an example of the structure of a *takanab* as:

Reciter:	hit ‘tol ama tniku neno i nbi kuan Kutet ma
Chorus:	bale Kutet
Reciter:	ka neu fa sa, neuba he tsimo hit Anaet; tsimbe ma
Chorus:	tataim’e
Reciter:	neni i fef menu namnekben, fef kiti ma
Chorus:	namnekben
Reciter:	noel nsai neki nao, ain nfu ma
Chorus:	neki nao
Reciter:	nek mese ansao mese; fef keti kuk ma
Chorus:	han keti

The word “ma...” (and) is drawn out, as a sign for the chorus to respond. The chorus comes in with appropriate synonyms.

Translation

Reciter:	We’ve gathered and gathered (here) today in the village of Kutet and
Chorus:	the place of Kutet
Reciter:	For no other reason than to receive (welcome) our distinguished visitor; receive him and
Chorus:	receive him
Reciter:	Today bitter mouth has disappeared, sour mouth and
Chorus:	has disappeared
Reciter:	The river has flowed and taken (them) away, the wind has blown and
Chorus:	taken (them) away
Reciter:	(We are now) one heart and one breast, our mouths well ordered, and
Chorus:	our voices well ordered

In the execution of a *takanab*, many words and phrases have more than one synonym. Some in the chorus may answer with one meaning, while others answer with another. Sometimes the reciter will forget the “*ma*” or won’t enunciate it clearly, or the chorus won’t think quickly enough for an appropriate synonym. In those cases the reciter will just supply it and go on. At times the chorus will come in on its own with an unexpected synonym. The reciter with a clear voice, who knows his *takanab* language, who is at home speaking in public and who has practiced ahead of time with his chorus, will create a *takanab* of classical elegance. The chorus is composed of older men, as young men may not know many of the synonyms or figures of speech that lace *takanab* and so their understanding of them is limited (personal communication, February 20, 2012).

The general term for the foot-bell dance is *bsoot* (see audiovisual example 8; audio example 8).

Technically the word *bsoot* refers to the step the men use. They dance by lifting one foot and then stamping it, shuffling the other behind it, constantly keeping both feet moving. The *lelan* is the women’s version of the *bsoot*. The step is less varied than the men’s step and has a distinctive shuffle-like quality to it. The dancers of both *bsoot* and *lelan* wear a string of *bano* wound around each ankle.¹³⁹ These days each dancer creates his or her own style when dancing the *bsoot*. The *bsoot* is danced for many different occasions, for example at marriage celebrations (Dunlop, 2012, p. 66).

The *bsoot* is accompanied by the instruments *sene* and *ke’e* (see Chapter Seven). In the *bsoot*, the dancers follow the rhythm of the *sene*, not the *ke’e*. The resonance of the *ke’e* is like the base drone of a bagpipe adding body and atmosphere.

8.8 Dance presented as theatre

Most dance falls into two main groups, *tebedai* or *dahur*. There are also a few dance performances in Timor which enact a drama or retell a mythical story. These dances have rarely been performed since the beginning of Indonesian occupation. Two examples of this style of dance performance are the *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*, performed by the Mambae living in villages around Hatubuiliku nestled under Mt. Ramelau and the *makikit* (eagle dance) performed by Kemak, Bunak and Tetun Belu ethnolinguistic groups.

Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo (see audiovisual example 19) is a combination of dance, theatre and ceremony, passed on from the ancestors. Originally it enacted an old story of war between *Bui-Lelo* the Queen and *Mau-Lelo* the King.¹⁴⁰ The performance can only take place at the time of the full moon in May or June and continues for seven days and seven nights in a remote place away from the village. Face masks are specially carved for the performance and traditional dress worn. The participants paint patterns on their bodies with the blood from animals which have been sacrificed for the performance. The blood of these animals symbolise the victims of the war.

¹³⁹ The dances do not have to be done with foot-bells. They can also be performed with “chicken feathers tied to the feet, tufts of goat beard or palm leaves woven into cubes with pieces of wood inside each cube” (R. Daschbach, personal communication, February 20, 2012).

¹⁴⁰ Afonso Pereira, *lia na’in* of Mulo, the village where this dance is still known, did not elaborate any further with the explanation of this story as it is regarded as *lulik* and secret. It was not considered appropriate to share this myth with foreigners, otherwise something bad may happen to those who give out this information, or indeed something bad may happen to the foreigners themselves.

Several dances are performed as part of the *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*. They include the *sergala*, which is only performed by men. The lead singer introduces the beginning of the *sergala* half chanting and half singing and at the same time performing dramatic gestures in front of the rest of the assembled men who form a line and join arms over each other's shoulders. The men respond to the lead with the chorus whilst making stomping movements with their feet. A more individual free form of *bidu* is danced at various stages of the *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* called *ulik no baku meta leki*. Here the men brandish swords and perform a dance called *malae metan* to the beat of the *tohin* and *tala*. Women take a more passive role, dancing a stylised *bidu* and gesturing to the men with outstretched arms whilst holding palm fans. Unlike many *bidu* the women do not play instruments for this dance.

The music accompanying the *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* is played on *tohin*, *karau dikur*, and *tala*. Lia na'in Alfonso Pereira is one of the few people who still knows how to do the *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*. He explained that: "after the Portuguese arrived, *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* became characters representing good and evil, in other words they became God and the Devil (as understood by the Catholic religion)" (interview, January 25, 2014), and the ceremony's religious significance dates from that time.

The *Makikit* is the eagle dance. In Suai Loro a more modernised and stylised version of this dance is performed (see audiovisual example 26) than the one in audiovisual example 18 which is a more accurate version of the dance. The original dance is sometimes performed as part of the rituals for warriors returning from battle to make them non-*lulik*, or *midar* so they can be reunited with their families and village again. In a Kemak village Tapo in 2004, this dance was performed in ceremonies lasting five days to ensure returning warriors, who had been guerrilla fighters during Indonesian occupation, *midar*; that is, safe to live amongst the rest of the village. Elizabete Gomes (2009) expressed the significance of *makikit* to the East Timorese in prose and preceded the poem with an explanation:

It was believed from times long ago that the East Timorese most in touch with the land could communicate with the messenger birds, in particular *makikit* (the eagle). The *makikit* dance originally told the story of the eagle. During Indonesian occupation, *makikit* became the symbol of power and freedom, regarded as a messenger for the oppressed by the East Timorese.

Makikit

King of the great sky
 Open wings gliding free in open air
 A vision of courage and determination
 Lifting the spirits

Of the frightened eyes evading
 The claws of Suharto's tyranny

Listen to the whispers
 In the flap of its strong wings

The murmurs
 In the flutter of its feathers

Gliding through windy skies
 Spreading to the world

The voice of a people
 I have the right
 To dance my steps
 To sing out my voice
 To own my land
 To love my home
 I deserve peace
 I choose freedom

Makikit the great bird
 Messenger of the oppressed

(Elizabete Gomes, 1994)

Makikit is performed by the Tetun Belu, Kemak and Bunak ethnolinguistic groups of East Timor living in the border districts between East and West Timor. In its more accurate version it is a dance of mime and drama which is choreographed so the dancers imitate the movements of the eagle. It is accompanied on a *baba-dook* played by women. "The dancers wear traditional dress, often with elaborate headdress made of feathers" (Dunlop, 2012, p. 40). They usually hold a white *tais kahe* (cloth sash) between their hands to imitate eagles' wings. Often the dance will consist of a group of two to four male dancers who interact with a similar number of female dancers often half crouching as they hold the *tais* in outstretched arms. The *makikit* performed in the 1960s was described by Margaret King (1963):

Makikit tells the story of nesting female eagles, crouched protectively over their nests. Two female dancers portrayed the female eagles. The movements of attack and counterattack by the four male dancers (eagles) suggested the movement of eagles hovering in search of prey. From time to time the women moved from their semi crouched position, arms extended in graceful curves above their heads

using scarves to add to the impression of arching wings as they rose to defend their nests. They returned to their crouching position and the four male dancers continued their mime of attack and counterattack, the *baba-dook* beating a relentless rhythm which continued until the dance ended (p. 130).

8.9 Role of musical instruments in song and dance

The musical instruments associated with song and dance, which were discussed in Chapter Seven, sometimes accompany song, sometimes dance and sometimes both. More than half the musical instruments identified as traditional are played to accompany song and dance. Those which only accompany dance are the *ailoos*, *tala*, *bano*, *leku sene*, *ke'e*, *babuk*, and *rama*. Musical instruments which accompany song only are the *bijol meto*, *lesun no alu* and *tihak*. Those instruments accompanying both song and dance are the *baba-dook*, *raraun*, and *lakadou*. The *tohin* and *tala* are the only instruments played during enactments of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*; their function is to punctuate the ritual language of the drama. The role of musical instruments accompanying dance is to provide a constant rhythm for the dancers. In the case of the musical instruments of Oekusi it is imperative that the musical instruments and dancers function as an ensemble with a strongly co-ordinated rhythmic pulse. The tempo set by the *leku sene* and *ke'e* must be constant, in order for the dancers wearing *bano* to interlock and dance with ease. Likewise, the tempo set by the players of the *ailoos* must be consistent for the dancers wearing *babuk* to co-ordinate with the rhythmic pulse.

The role of musical instruments accompanying song only is to provide a constant pulse, whereas the *bijol meto* provides harmonic accompaniment with chords changing to the melody of the song. When musical instruments play to song, with the exception of the *lakadou*, the musical instruments are of secondary importance to the melody and the words of the song being sung. The *raraun's* function, when accompanying both song and dance is to provide a rhythmic ostinato for the dancers and the singer. The open strings of the *raraun* are strummed throughout, the chord provides a drone bass accompaniment for the singer, but is of secondary importance to the singing. However, when *lakadou* is played to accompany song, it is the sound of that instrument which is of primary importance, and not the melody or the words. Apart from the *lakadou* accompanying the Mambae song *O Maria* which tells the story of a farmer and his wife protecting their crops from marauding monkeys, the melodic phrases sung with the *lakadou* tend to be meaningless syllables.

The *baba-dook* accompanies both song and dance. The role of *baba-dook* in dance is to provide a consistent rhythmic pulse. The rhythms of *baba-dook* vary throughout ethnolinguistic groups (see Appendix K). The role of *baba-dook* in song is to introduce the song through the rhythm initially beaten. When a song is sung "the rhythm of the words, are often more important than the melody, or the meaning of the words" (C. Fernando, interview, July 4, 2012). This may very well be because, in many instances, the meaning has been lost. The *Naueti* clan lives on the southern side of Mt. Matebian and have only a few songs in their repertoire which they sing, or more accurately, chant. The rhythm of each song is distinct. The song about to be sung or chanted is never announced. Rather, female drummers will start beating the rhythm, and then the participants will recognise which song it is to be sung, and will promptly join in. Sometimes a *tebedai* will follow. The *Naueti* song, *sibalo* is a good example (see Figure 124). Some of the words of *sibalo* mean: "follow it, follow it, follow it the drum" (C. Fernando, interview, July

4, 2012). The meaning of the rest of the words has been lost, as the *Naueti* language has evolved over the centuries and the old language has been forgotten.

Sibaloi

Naueti



Figure 124. *Si-ba-loi*, a *Naueti* song (dictated by C. Fernando, 2012; transcription: Dunlop, 2013)

Most of the time the *tebedai* is accompanied by instruments only, although sometimes it will be accompanied by song as well: “When both *baba-dook* and song accompany *tebedai*, it is the song that is more important than the drum” (A. Mendonca, interview, February 2, 2011). On the western side of Mt. Matebian the *Makasae* clans have several dances which are accompanied by song and *baba-dook*. The *baba-dook* takes its rhythm from the metre of the words of the song being sung. The *Makasae* people mostly sing their songs, unlike the *Naueti* people who tend to chant rather than sing. A good example is the *Makasae* song *Tiki o lé lé* (see Figure 125 and audio example 41).

Tiki o le

Makasae

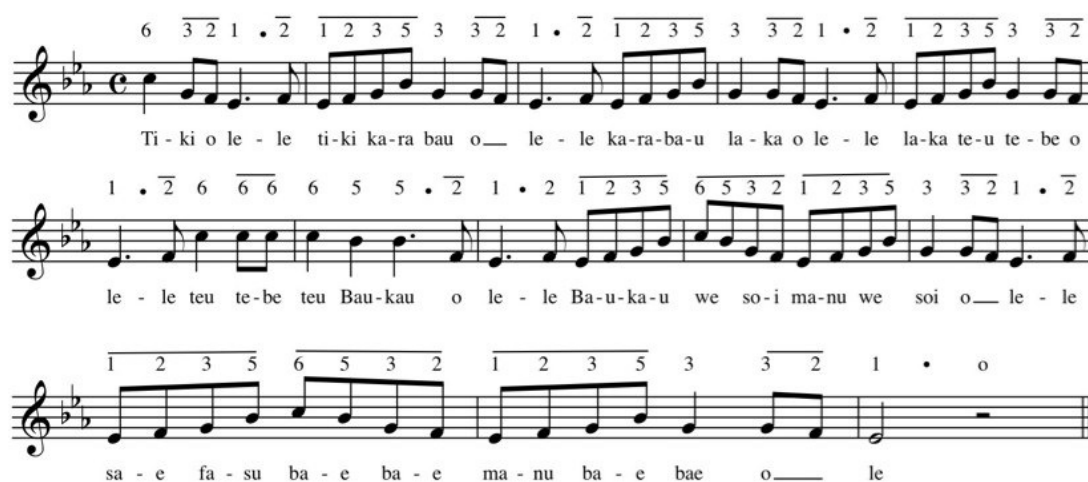


Figure 125. *Tiki o lé lé*, sung by Grupu Rebenta (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)

8.10 Summary and reflections

- The role of song and dance within the bounds of the indigenous music of the East Timorese was discussed identifying different kinds of song and dance and the occasions on which used.
- Those who sing indigenous music are not music specialists; anyone and everyone sings.
- The musical instruments used in the song and dance of indigenous music were identified and their role discussed. Curiously, no wind instruments are used to accompany song or dance, nor instruments which are pulled such as *kakeit*.
- Generally when accompanying song the musical instruments are of secondary importance to the voice. Songs, such as *si-ba-loi* demonstrated that the words are more important than the accompanying instruments and that the words dictate the rhythms to be played. The one exception is the *lakadou*. The sound of the *lakadou* is more important than the song or vocal effects being sung with it. Of the instruments which accompany both song and dance, the *lakadou* is the most complex in terms of its method of sound production, as it can be beaten and strummed simultaneously when played by two players. Its timbre dominates the soundscape and it is also the instrument that produces the most complex rhythms and pitches.

The next chapter focuses on the relationship and role of indigenous music and music-related activities within the mores of East Timorese society, and through this to discover whether there is any significance or relationship of this music to *lulik*.

CHAPTER NINE

The place of indigenous music within the mores of East Timorese society

- 9.1 The Function of music in human society
- 9.2 The meaning of music to the East Timorese
- 9.3 The function of music as a means of communication amongst the East Timorese
- 9.4 The function of music as expression for the East Timorese
- 9.5 The social function of music in East Timorese society
- 9.6 The role of the musician in East Timorese Society
- 9.7 Relationship of the musical instruments to *lulik*
- 9.8 Summary and reflections

The different kinds of dance and song performed within indigenous music and the role of the musical instruments in these activities were discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter examines the functions of music in East Timorese society as well as the role of the musician in East Timorese society.

Music was recorded and people interviewed across most available ethnolinguistic groups,¹⁴¹ there were similarities between some groups and notable differences in others. For example, the Naueti and Midiki people live in close proximity to the Makasae, and share similarities in language and customs. Although the Mambae and Tetun Belu live in proximity to each other, there are notable differences in rituals, the physical appearance of *uma lulik* and each group has a number of unique musical instruments. These are considerations in any analysis.

The music collected on field trips (2003 to 2014) was abundant in some villages but much less in others. Frequently, the music was more prolific in villages that were located more remotely from Dili. The musical instruments used for indigenous music had been totally destroyed during Indonesian occupation in some villages visited during field research; for example, Iliomar. Now there is a revival of instrument making and the associated cultural traditions. Some instruments are unique to particular villages, such as the *rama* which only exists in Makadade on the island of Ataúru. In some *suku* only one village may still perform indigenous music, such as the *suku* of Venilale, made up of eight villages. Only one of these, Fatulia, plays indigenous music. Musicians from the rest of the *suku* go to Fatulia to play music. The *lia na'in* (cultural custodian) of Fatulia, Salvatore Da Costa Pereira, explained why this is the case: “Venilale *suku* was one of the strongholds for Falintil, because of this the Indonesians destroyed many buildings in all its *knua* in 1999.” He went on to say: “before Indonesian occupation all Venilale *suku* played traditional music, now only Fatulia plays this music” (interview, July 5, 2010). These variables needed to be considered in evaluating the place of music within East Timorese society.

The characteristics of the indigenous music researched varied greatly across East Timor’s ethnolinguistic groups. The music accompanying dances performed by the Tetun Belu in Suai for example, was quite different to the music accompanying dances performed by the Metonese in Oekusi, even though both

¹⁴¹ The Lakaleri, Idate and Habu ethnolinguistic groups were not included in this research. Film material, which included music viewed in CAMSTL (Centro Audiovisual Max Stahl Timor Leste), showed musical instruments and activities similar to the ethnolinguistic groups of the Tetun, Midiki, Mambae and Makasae ethnolinguistic groups.

these ethnolinguistic groups are located in the western part of East Timor. The Metonese do not use *baba-dook* nor the formal structure of the *bidu* (line dance) that is performed by the Tetun Belu. They adopt a more free-form dance and wear the brass ankle bells *bano* along with accompaniment of the *leku sene* (gong ensemble) and *ke'e*.

Whilst some musical instruments are common to most ethnolinguistic groups throughout East Timor and the method of playing and the patterns of usage often similar, there are also some striking variations in timbre and rhythmic patterns across the island. The *baba-dook* is an excellent example of this phenomenon (see Appendix K). The Makasae, for example, snare the *baba-dook*, but other ethnolinguistic groups, such as the Tetun Belu, do not. One example of the variation in rhythms is the Naueti who take the rhythm of the *baba-dook* from the couplet of verses in their language. First the rhythm is introduced on the drum; when the verse is identified then it is then sung or chanted. The Tetun Belu, on the other hand, take the rhythm beaten on the *baba-dook* from the step of the dance about to be performed. The beat of both drum and dancer starts simultaneously.

Conjecture as to whether all, or some of the musical instruments are *lulik* or not, was based on information from informants, together with available publications about *lulik*. Opinion varied as to whether the instruments were *lulik* or not. Those from the Mambae and Makasae groups believe all instruments are *lulik*, but others such as the Fataluku believe that only some are *lulik*. The inherent property of certain musical instruments, such as the *baba-dook* can be shown to have mutable status from non-*lulik* to *lulik* and back to non-*lulik* again. This flexibility needs to be factored into the hypothesis of whether the musical instruments of East Timor can be considered *lulik*, or relating to *lulik* or not at all. Before examining these instruments and *lulik* in East Timor's context the function of music in human society in principle needs to be identified.

9.1 The function of music in human society

Music has multifaceted functions in human society. It is a medium for communication and expression and musical instruments, including the human voice, are its tools. Music appears to be essential to people, and their culture: "no human group without music has ever been discovered" (Kaemmer, 1993, p. 110). Blacking advocates that music is integral to human society: "music was a medium of communication between people ... it is a means of bringing people together" (Byron, 1995, p. 1).

Music is also often believed to be a means of communication between the living and the dead who are believed to maintain a presence as ancestral spirits in many societies. Communication through music is often delivered expressively (Stone, 2005). The effect of music on the performer and listener is individual but the social engagement is a shared experience (Blacking, 1973, p. 43). Music is one aspect of expressive culture often played in combination with other aspects such as literature, art, dance, religion (Kaemmer, 1993, p. 69). A family group singing a "keen" conveys an explicit message to the living who are listening. Music may be used intimately to express an emotion to another person, such as in a love song. The expression of love to another maybe a private exchange, but also the expression is a universal one and so is recognised and perhaps enjoyed in a wider social context by listening bystanders.

The main functions of music in human society is to express and communicate. Kaemmer (1993) suggests that there are “three components of the social system in understanding the role of music in human life, that is: the material, the social and expressive” (p. 150). He defines these three components of human life as:

- social: how people relate to those around them, kinship groups, performing groups
- material: food and shelter
- expressive: cognitive and emotional needs (1993, p. 7)

Two of these components clearly relate to the facets of music; expressive and social, for instance the use in ceremony. The other component is the material and how it relates to communication. Whilst communication is one of the forms of expression in music, it is the tangible use of communication by indigenous East Timorese society, whether to make announcements, convey information or, in its use as a practical tool of work which places it in a separate musical component.

The place of music in East Timorese society may be considered in terms of the social, expressive and material components of its society.

<u>Musical components</u>	–	<u>Societal components</u>
communication	–	material
expression	–	expression
social	–	social

There could be several ways of interpreting “material”, according to the components suggested by Kaemmer. The “material” of societal components could be defined as the practical use of music and musical instruments, such as instruments used for work and work songs. It is possible to partner “material” with “communication”, as well as limiting it to the material from which the musical instruments are made. Whilst considering these components of society and functions of music, it became evident that the functions of music were not isolated; that is, often a musical instrument and/or a related musical activity also had an expressive and/or social function as well.

9.2 The meaning of music to the East Timorese

When East Timorese interviewed were asked, ‘What is music about for you?’ often the answer was that “music is about life” (D. Ruas, interview, July 2, 2012; P. Ximenes, interview, July 11, 2012) Costodio Fernando, a Naueti *xefe suku* localised the question to include the society he comes from: “Music and the musical instruments are all about life, about our society.” (interview, July 4, 2012). The musician Manuel Pereira took the question to mean music in its uses, particularly incorporated within rituals and celebrations, and indicated that “music is one part of the ceremonies we do” (interview, July 9, 2012). Naueti elder Palmira Lopez took the question to mean the musical instruments: “the musical instruments are all part of our lives” (interview, July, 5, 2012). Ameta Mendonça took a slightly different viewpoint, suggesting that “music was born with life” (interview, July 30, 2012). Taking a similar viewpoint to Mendonça, Makalero elder Orlando Da Costa suggests that “the whole world is born with us already, so we can play music” (interview, July 1, 2012). These comments from East Timorese interviewed suggest that for the East Timorese there is no separate entity for music, it is integral to their existence.

9.3 The function of music as a means of communication amongst the East Timorese

Musical instruments are rarely played in isolation by the East Timorese; they are usually played in music-related activities such as dance, song or as part of the activities of daily life. Indigenous music and its musical instruments are used in numerous ways to provide communication amongst the East Timorese, with many examples of music and musical instruments being used to announce and convey information. This often involves a number of people with expressive and social components coming into play, as illustrated by these examples below.

Announcement and information

The *karau dikur* is a musical instrument used for announcement. It was once widespread but is now only located amongst clan groups living in the central mountain ranges mostly the Mambae,¹⁴² “People pay attention when they hear *karau dikur*, we use it to call people to attention” E. Sarmento (personal communication, July 5, 2008). In the past, if the wet season was late the Metonese would use the *karau dikur* through the agency of the ancestors to “call the rains” (R. Daschbach, personal communication, January 5, 2005). During the centuries of trade “*karau dikur* would often be blown to communicate to villages that a trading ship had arrived” (J. Trindade, interview, October 1, 2011). The *karau dikur* was also used to announce the arrival of an important person to a village: “Different numbers of sounds played would signal who was coming, for instance there would be three sounds for a *xefe suku*, and five or six sounds for a king or queen” (E. Sarmento, personal communication, July 5, 2008). Fataluku people use the *puhu puhu fa’i*, a conch shell, for announcement and its functions are similar but replace the use of the *karau dikur* because “we don’t have *karau dikur*” (J. Valentim, interview, January 31, 2014). In the past, the Makasae, Midiki and Naueti “used the *kokotere* for announcement” (A. De Jesus, personal communication, February 2, 2011).

Drums are also sometimes used as instruments of announcement, to herald the arrival of visitors, a death or birth of a clan member or as a warning of impending danger. The *tohin*, “calls people together and plays for different stages of Mambae death rituals (*maeta*) and alerts people when the next ritual is about to begin” (Traube, 1986, p.221). The main purpose of the *titir*, located with the Makalero people, is to announce approaching danger to the *knua*. Because it is seldom used one imagines that people would be attentive to its messages. When signalling danger, it beats continuously until everyone is assembled. However the number of beats played on the *titir* is always seven when announcing a birth, death or illness. The customs of the drum were described by Orlando da Costa:

When someone dies we take the *titir* from the *uma lulik* to the place where they have died and beat it seven times for seven days, then it must remain silent. We also beat the *titir* to tell people when there is a birth. We beat *titir* seven times when someone is sick. We kill a chicken and look at its insides to see what made him sick, it could be from playing *titir* when he should not have.¹⁴³ We also beat it seven times when he gets better (interview, July 1, 2012).

¹⁴² In the past *karau dikur* was more widespread, believed to be played by, Bunak, Kemak, Galolen, Makasae, Naueti, Baikeno and Tetun Belu ethnolinguistic groups, evidenced by *karau dikur* observed hanging in Kemak, Bunak, Baikeno and Makasae *uma lulik*. Custodians of these *uma lulik* indicate that these are ancestral relics which people in their clan groups no longer know how to play or use.

¹⁴³ In Makalero clans only certain elders are allowed to play the *titir*. If this taboo is broken people believe that the person who played it will get sick or even die.

For the occasions of birth and death, the initial role of the *titir* is to announce the event, and when people hear the drum they also know that this means they need to bring food (rice, corn, pigs, buffalo). Through the information conveyed a social event may occur, involving festivities depending on the occasion.

Another instrument of announcement is the *bobakasa*. The Makasae play “*bobakasa* when someone important dies like the *liurai*” (A. Mendonça, interview, June 30, 2012). The Naueti people also use *bobakasa* for the same purpose: “in Babulo the *bobakasa* is played when someone dies, announcing the death” (C. Fernando, interview, July 4, 2012).

Sometimes several different instruments are played to announce the arrival of visitors (see Figure 126). In a field trip to the Mambae village, Blaro in October 2004, we could hear the sound of the instruments announcing our imminent arrival about 30 minutes before our eventual arrival to the village. They told us we were the first *malae* (foreign) people to visit their village. The instruments used to welcome us on this occasion were the *baba-dook*, *tala* and *tohin*. The *tohin* is not normally a music instrument played to greet guests, but due to the importance placed on the occasion by the villagers, it was played in that welcome ceremony.



Figure 126. Welcome to visitors by female villagers of Blaro (photograph: Dunlop, 2004)

Song is also used to announce and disseminate information. For example, when the Tokodede song *O Wailo* is sung by the male elders of Dair, “it signals to the people that it is time to hunt *kelbeli* (manta ray)” (L. Lopes, personal communication, July 17, 2010). It is also sung by the men as they row the boats to communicate their intention to hunt *kelbeli* to their ancestors, essentially seeking their permission. This ritual was explained by Lopes as “very *lulik*, a tradition from the ancestors” (personal communication, July 17, 2010). When the people of Makili, a village on the island of Ataúru, hear the song *Tuli Peon* they know it is time to go up Mt. Makadade to cut down a tree for making another fishing boat. When the Naueti people hear the song *oo - aii* sung, they know “they must go and help drag the logs down from the mountain (Mt. Matebian) to build the *uma lulik*” (P. Lopez, interview, July 5, 5, 2012). When a designated Fataluku elder wades out to the sea to see if there are any *metxi* (sea worms) he signals to the rest of the people when he sees them that it is time to hunt *metxi* by singing the song *Vetere*.

Communication and material use

When considering the components of the social system, and the idea of music functioning as a material tool, this was found to involve social, communicative and expressive elements. Some of the musical instruments used by farming people in the fields function both as tools and as musical instruments played for pleasure. As a tool they communicate a message, as an instrument being played for pleasure they have an expressive and perhaps a social function when there is more than one person involved in the process. In the past *kakal'uta* as a tool was played by farmers to scare monkeys from eating the crops, warning the monkeys to keep out. It is also played as an instrument of expression for personal pleasure whilst minding animals in the field. *Kakal'uta* can be played by more than one person and in its modern use may entice others to dance free-form movements to its sounds when played for festive occasions. In this context it also takes on a social function. The *kakalo* and *fiku* are played by farmers to scare animals away, to prevent them from eating the crops, essentially sending them a message not to come near the crops. The *kafu'i*, often tied to a farmers' work belt along with his machete (see Figure 90), is played to call the buffalo home. Like the *kakal'uta* it is also played by farmers whilst minding the animals in the fields and as an instrument of personal pleasure, and in this context its function is expressive.

The actions involved in pounding grain with a *lesun no alu* (mortar and pestle) is twofold in its material function. It doubles as both a work tool, and a rhythmical accompaniment for song. The tradition of singing whilst pounding grain is a form of communication and expression. The situation is social as four or more people are usually gathered around the mortar pounding the grain and as they sing they are engaged in both work and a social activity. When the purpose of pounding the grain is for the preparation of a funeral feast, the content of the song often tells the story of the deceased. When people are engaged in the activity of pounding grain for such occasions, there is arguably a social and expressive component to the activity.

Lullabies and courtship songs

Some songs such as lullabies are expressive carry a message and serve a function. As there is interaction between the singer and baby there is arguably a social function. Research by Margaret King (1963) in the 1960s unearthed only three lullabies in East Timor and these were all Fataluku lullabies (p. 135). My research in East Timor has revealed only two songs specifically sung as lullabies, a Fataluku lullaby, *Ai lolole* (audio example 35) and the other Mambae, which I heard in 2004 but did not record. My observations of the East Timorese who sing to babies to calm them for sleep is that they tend to sing non-specific songs or tunes to children, often with no words or else meaningless syllables. The purpose of the lullaby is to assist its carer in rocking a baby to sleep. The lullaby functions as a form of communication and expression, with the baby hopefully calmed by the singing and going to sleep.

The love song is another example of song which communicates a message expressively within a social activity. In East Timor love songs are often sung by groups of people, usually in the form of a *dahur* with one gender singing and the other gender responding. The subject matter is often flirtatious and lighthearted in content rather than profound or aimed at a particular person. As the East Timorese are reserved when it comes to open displays of physical affection between courting couples, particularly in rural districts, so love songs can provide an acceptable means of courtship. *Lela gie gol*, a Bunak courtship song, is a good example of this. The Makasae love song, *Toforai gaw gine* (to make a woman), is another example of the love song, "usually sung by young unmarried men on any number of occasions,

as part of the *Roko* threshing song or other work songs dealing with agriculture. The *Toforai gaw gine*¹⁴⁴ songs are usually about a woman and man's relationship to her" (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 122).

Communication between the living and ancestral spirits

The previous paragraphs described the use of musical instruments (including song), as a means of communication from people to people or even from people to animals. Some musical instruments, including song or chant, have a function in the ritual processes of communicating to ancestral spirits. "Percussion instruments are used to establish contact with the other world. The Mambae believe the percussive sounds which circulate between this world and the other are at once a message sent and a gift offered to the cosmos" (Traube, 1986, p. 17). Communication to the ancestors may be for different reasons, such as asking permission (or blessing) from the ancestral spirits to undertake an earthly activity, as for example an intention to plant seeds¹⁴⁵ or to rebuild an *uma lulik*. Music forms a part of these rituals and may take the form of a chant, or chant with musical instruments punctuating the verses, or a song with dance. When music is performed as song and dance with instrumental accompaniment, it often takes a more central place in the rituals, as when playing in the ceremonies associated with the building of a *uma lulik*. In the Makasae *tebedai*, *Tiki o lé lé* (see audiovisual example 37) the participants drum as well as sing and dance. The multimedia display of music, dance and song, functions to notify everyone from the *knua* as well as the ancestral spirits that the *uma lulik* is rebuilt and ready for use. It is also played to welcome everyone to the festivities afterwards.

Rituals such as the planting of the seeds require a staged process. The first stage may include singing and dancing as a prelude to the festivities that take place before the planting, sometimes involving the whole community. In Wehali communities for example, "both women and men hold hands around a sacrificial pillar (*ai toos*) while dancing and singing" (Therik, 2004, p. 198) and the festivities can last all night. After these festivities the ritual of "sprinkling the seeds (*hisik fini* – Wehali) is performed by the men in secret in front of the *ai toos* with a designated elder chanting an invocation" (Therik, 2004, p. 198); the detail of ritual proceedings of *hisik fini* can be read in Appendix E. In both stages of these rituals music functions as part of the proceedings through the chant performed communicating with ancestors. The more boisterous music making in some agricultural festivities involves many people, both in the making of the music and in the enjoyment of it.

Communication may take other forms, such as the retelling of origin myths and ancestral tales. The retelling of these tales is usually the task of designated elders, who are permitted to tell them and are

¹⁴⁴ *Toforai gaw gine* are usually couplets tied together by a chorus of nonsense syllables. Within these songs certain metaphors are continually used and the most common is to equate women with plants which bear fruit for example:

bero lai wana gata na doukou bere

ai se toubo lete bero lai lase

Wild banana on the slope very fat

Your sword on wild banana cuts.

The translation of the verse is: here is a woman (wild banana tree) and a man – (the sword) and he wishes to have sexual relations with her but she refuses (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 122).

¹⁴⁵ At all stages of the agriculture calendar year the ancestors are informed and requested to help look after the crops to ensure a plentiful harvest.

regarded as *lulik*. There are several myths about the first ancestors. Gabriele Da Costa, a Mambae *lakadou* player from the village of Gleno, related one of these myths about two unidentified brothers who were giants and original ancestors. The myth was retold in an ancient form of the Mambae language, performed as a chant punctuated with musical interludes played on the *lakadou*. The language could not be translated, as the two chanter/musicians did not know the exact meaning of this old language, nor did any other clan members. However they had learnt the verses verbatim and knew the gist of the story. Foreigners, who included East Timorese not from that clan group, were not allowed to know the detail of this story as it was believed that bad *lulik* may befall them. Betel nut offerings had to be made to the ancestors prior to the two men performing this chant (see audiovisual example 28). It did not seem to matter to the East Timorese listening that they didn't know the exact content of the chant, as it was enough to know the context for performance. The use of the *lakadou* was integral in the retelling of the myth, serving to heighten the drama and providing a contrasted timbre to the bass drone of the chanters.

Another myth retold by Mambae elder Francesca Da Costa, tells of the origin of the *lakadou* (see Chapter Seven). It tells of two brothers separated in the jungle, the younger disguising himself as a bamboo plant and the elder making a *lakadou* under the instruction of the spiritual world, and by playing it is able to communicate with his lost (or dead) brother. In this context the *lakadou* becomes the medium of communication in myth between two lost brothers. Similarly, in the origin myth of the *kakeit*, the boy invents the *kakeit* (Chapter Seven) so that he has an instrument to play for his own entertainment and self-expression. It also functions as a means for him to communicate with the spirits of his dead parents. Over the years, generations of people play the *kakeit* to ask for their ancestor's blessing.

The East Timorese are spiritually connected to the earth and believe that the world is made up of "speaking mouths (humans) and silent mouths (all other animate and inanimate objects)" (Traube, 1986, p. 55). When a tree is to be cut down for building a house or a boat for example, it is sung to asking permission from the spirit of the tree so no harm will come to those involved in cutting it down. In the ritual of *kelbeli* when the fishermen are singing *O wailo* to *kelbeli* they are informing the ancestors of their intention to hunt *kelbeli* and as long as they follow the due process of the ritual, and then it is all right to hunt *kelbeli* because "the ancestors understand we need *kelbeli* for food" (L. Lopes, interview, July 17, 2010). The songs in these rituals function to communicate with the ancestors, seeking their permission and blessing.

Many of the rituals communicating an intention to ancestors do so through chant, such as the Wehali harvest prayer (see Appendix F). The prayer is chanted informing the spirits of the intention to harvest and requesting the ancestral spirits to provide an abundant crop. The *takanab* (see Chapter Eight, section 8.7) is another example of communicating a human intention to the ancestors. Although described as a dance, the *takanab* is more a chant in verse delivered by a chanter with a chorus of males responding (see audiovisual example 25). It is performed at the beginning of ritual ceremonies such as the opening of an *uma lulik* and harvest ceremonies. As they perform the *takanab* the chanters are informing the ancestors of the ritual occasion about to take place. Its function is multifaceted, first to communicate information to the ancestors and its second function is to welcome visitors.

In another form of chanting the Fataluku poems *vaihoho* are “performed in ceremonies for *uma lulik*, *barlake*, harvest and death” (J. Valentim, interview, January 15, 2013). The *Vaihoho* are sometimes performed as a means of communication between the spiritual world and the living world, for example, when an elderly clan member of importance has died.¹⁴⁶ The *Vaihoho* were also sung in the area of the sacred caves of *Ile Kére Kére* during archaeological explorations of the caves by archaeologists from Australian National University headed by Professor Susan O’Connor. She recalled often hearing the sound of the singing of these ancient chants during the excavations (personal communication, October 16, 2009). When I relayed her information to Fataluku elder Justino Valentim and asked if there was a reason they would have been singing *vaihoho* whilst the archaeological digs were in process, he said: “Yes, they would have been singing to the ancestors to ask if it were all right for the foreigners to be there” (interview, October 3, 2011).

Musical instruments serve to punctuate chants and actions in ritual performances, as mentioned earlier in the example of the retelling of the origin myth by Mambae *lakadou* players. During the recording of a *tebedai* in Mulo (field trip, July 7, 2007, 11.30 a.m.), a dispute between two *lia na’in* broke out with one saying the other had not followed due process in seeking permission from the ancestors to perform the *sergala* (a form of *tebedai*). The dance was suspended whilst the parties in dispute reconciled their differences. A ritual offering had to be made to appease the spirits of the ancestors. Instruments (*tohin*, *tala*, *baba-dook*) were played between the declamations of the *lia na’in*, serving to highlight the drama and thereby functioning as a tool of expression (see audiovisual example 29). The music performed in this example was an integral part of the ritual performance. Its function was multifaceted including communication, expression and social components. The social aspects of music were conveyed through the involvement of all the adult males of the village and after ritual offerings had been made to the ancestors of betel nut and chicken, the parties in dispute sat down to a meal of the sacrificed chicken and a cup of *tua* (palm wine). Some chicken meat was left on a stone at the altar-place as a symbolic gesture to feed the ancestors. Once this procedure had taken place the performance of the *sergala* could resume.

9.4 The function of music as expression for the East Timorese

Expressive uses of music in ritual

Some of the expressive uses of music in ritual also encompass the communicative and social functions of music. The function of music used in rituals, particularly those of harvest, headhunting, *uma lulik* and death is primarily social as these rituals are largely about reinforcing relationships. However, musical instruments are often used in ritual to punctuate the importance of an incantation or to highlight a drama, thus giving the music an expressive role. The role of percussive music played in ritual would usually include *tala*, *tohin* and *baba-dook* and apart from giving a regular beat and indications for movement, also provides a cue for words and delivery. Central to Mambae’s philosophy is the principle that:

Silent mouths must die so speaking mouths (humans) can live, the relationship is one of exchange conducted through ritual. Humans offer to the cosmos the loudest sounds that they can make, an extra human clamour pounded out on sacred drums and gongs (Traube, 1986, p. 18).

¹⁴⁶ The Fataluku only play music as part of death rituals for older people. There is no music played for the death of young people.

Loud dynamics are associated with “making a joyful noise” (Traube, 1986, p. 17). Music is integrated with the other components of ritual such as words and actions and plays an expressive role.

Music/ritual – War and headhunting

War cry

War cries were an important prelude to battle. The purpose of the war cry in Timor was described by Middelkoop (1963) as “a curse and was based on the firm belief in transcendental justice” (p. 27). He highlights its place within the context of music, specifically dance:

The contents [sic] of the chorus dance was reiterated in ritual parallelistic language as an announcement preceding and declaring the attack. The war cry – always a kind of stanza, is a striking instance of emotional, sometimes ecstatic belief in the conquering power of supernatural justice and was an indispensable condition for successful warfare (p. 27).

In other ethnolinguistic groups the war cry was also delivered as rhetorical verse; for example, the performance by the *liurai* from the Mambae village of Blaro (see audiovisual example 30). The *liurai* delivered the stanzas and women from the village played *baba-dook* and *tala* at the conclusion of each utterance, adding another dimension to the drama created by the *liurai*'s war cry.

Headhunting

When warriors returned from battle, often with the head of a victim, they were charged with emotion, triumphant in their victory. Often they would be welcomed back into the village to the accompaniment of gongs and drums. Warriors from the village Nunkolo¹⁴⁷ were engaged in musical activities involving dance after a successful headhunting expedition and observed by the anthropologist Middelkoop (1963) who described it thus: “the dance they performed is called *likurai*, performed in a long file moving on the rhythms of drum-beating. The file of dancers moves in a spiral imitating the movements of a coiling snake” (p. 37). The *likurai* was also performed by the Tetun Belu people, located in the southwest of East Timor (Suai), for the same purpose (see audiovisual example 24). The *likurai* is still danced now, though not on securing heads by the Tetun Belu, and the sound of the *baba-dook* beaten by the women is loud and compelling as are the actions of their movements whilst they dance and with the addition of the vocal sounds produced by the male dancer, a dramatic setting is created.

The emotion expressed in the songs and dances performed for headhunting is similar to those other ethnolinguistic groups such as the Fataluku *dahur Semai* (see audiovisual example 31). The *Semai* was performed when warriors returned to the village with a head: “The head is placed on the ground and a moving circle forms around it as the warriors sing *Semai*” (O. Gonçalves, interview, June 3, 2011). The *Semai* is an emotionally charged performance as the recorded example suggests and combines expressive and social components, both in the warriors dancing and in the singing of the song.

Death rituals

There are many similarities across the ethnolinguistic groups in the rituals surrounding death. These were mentioned in Chapter Four. There are also similarities in the role of music in these rituals. The role of musical instruments to announce death has already been identified. The musical instruments used for this

¹⁴⁷ Nunkolo is a village in the region Middelkoop studied. It is on the south coast of the island of Timor in West Timor. At one time the people from there and further east to where the Tetun Belu people now live in the region of Suai were all part of the Wehali kingdom. The people on both sides of the border between East and West Timor still share similarities in music, including the *likurai*.

purpose are large drums (*tohin*, *titir* and *bobakasa*), and/or *tala*. Their function is to announce the death and to call people together so they can prepare for the rituals following a death. Music has been identified as a means of communication in these rituals and also has an expressive function. The songs sung during death rituals are age-old melodies, the lyrics changing to reflect details of the life of the deceased. A good example is the Baikeno song *Pankalalále* (audio example 10). The monotonous action of pounding the grain with the *lesun no alu*, provides a constant pulse, to accompany the singing of the mourners. In the example recorded, the music functions as an expression of life, conveying through music and song, the story of the life of the deceased as well as a means for the bereaved to express their feelings.

The keening of the relatives of the deceased carries on for days and some clan groups have a prescribed number of days for keening. The Bunak song *Lolan* (audio example 26) is a song that is sung for seven days after a death. It is led by a male elder, and like the *Pankalalále*, the words reflect upon the life of the deceased. The verses of the *Lolan* also “talk about life and the other world which is the *lulik* world” (D. Da Costa, interview, January 20, 2014). In the case of the Fataluku people music is only played as part of the rituals of death for older adults. These rituals are called “*umun lipalu*” (J. Valentim, interview, January 30, 2013). Valentim goes on to explain that “the songs sung for *umun lipalu* are called *sau*, a form of *vaihoho*, the singing is delivered in the form of chant, where one male elder leads a chorus of men, harmonising in thirds” (interview, January 30, 2013). The death of children and youth are silent rituals; “when a young person dies there is no music because it is very sad. When an old person dies they have descendants so it is all right, but for young people, we only cry” (J. Valentim, interview, January 30, 2013). The function of these *vaihoho* is to convey the grief of the mourners. On the one hand, *le’ule* is a form of chanting performed for certain ceremonies such as those performed after a child is born: “there is no music in the naming ceremony just *le’ule*, chanting” (J. Valentim, interview, January 30, 2013). But various types of *le’ule* are used in other ceremonies too, such as *txai loru*, sung to express grief when an adult dies (see audio example 33): “*Txai loru*, a very sad song and when the mourners carry the body to bury it they sing this song as they walk along” (J. Valentim, interview, January 30, 2013). Following the burial of the dead there are festivities which usually include music, and these will be discussed further in section 11.4.

In East Timor there have been many ceremonies in the years post-Indonesian occupation for the reburial of the remains (bones) of people who died during that time as many such remains continue to be discovered in locations far from clan burial grounds. The bones are taken back to the villages from which the deceased came for reburial in their ancestral grounds. Julio Aparicio is a young East Timorese man from the village of Motohoi. His parents died of hunger in a concentration camp near Watalari during Indonesian occupation. Their remains were discovered in 2005 and returned to their village, Motohoi: “Their remains were placed in a sarcophagus and buried in front of the family’s *uma lulik* which had been rebuilt in that same year, as the previous *uma lulik* had been destroyed by the Indonesians during occupation” (J. Aparicio, personal communication, January 20, 2006). A period of keening took place during the first stages of the reburial ceremony. This was then followed by celebrations, and the musical components included the *baba-dook* and *tala* accompanying dance (see audiovisual example 32). The music served two purposes during the different stages of the reburial rituals (which lasted several days). First, was to express both the sorrow of his parents’ death many years earlier, and the sorrow of so many other people from that village who died during occupation and whose remains have not been found.

Second, in the days and nights that followed, music served to express the jubilation of the people who were liberated from their suppressors. The reburial of the remains of Aparicio's parents coincided with the rebuilding of the clan's *uma lulik*, which was celebrated as a joyous occasion.

Uma lulik

The rebuilding of an *uma lulik* involves whole communities and music is played as part of the ceremonies held during the different stages of its construction and completion. As with all rituals these are multimedia¹⁴⁸ performances. They start with offerings of betel nut to ancestors and finish with festivities including music and dance, involving many people. The function of music in these ceremonies is both expressive and social. Many people are involved in the building stages of *uma lulik*, from the initial cutting of trees for the wooden beams to the opening of the finished *uma lulik*. In villages where the construction of *uma lulik* requires huge wooden logs¹⁴⁹ (see Figure 25) these are cut and hauled from the top of the mountains. This is arduous work involving people of all ages. Sometimes music is performed before they start hauling the wood, as Naueti elder Palmira Lopez explained: "When we go up the mountain to pull the trees we do a *tebe liku*, we play *baba-dook* while we dance and this gives us strength to pull the trees which are very heavy" (interview, July, 5, 2012). Once the people are emotionally charged after performing a *tebe liku* they are ready to pull the wood. They sing as they haul the wood down the mountain (see audiovisual example 33). The ceremonies and festivities after an *uma lulik* is built can go for many days and the music played for these occasions serves both an expressive function and a social function. Further discussion regarding the place of music for *uma lulik* ceremonies will be discussed in section 9.4.

Harvest

Harvest rituals are times of celebration for the East Timorese. These are occasions that involve many people and festivities, including music and dance. Usually the musical instruments played include *baba-dook*, *tala* and sometimes other instruments depending on clan location accompany *tebe dai* and *dahur*. Mostly the *dahur* are accompanied by song, and festivities can go on for days. In Fatubesse the harvest celebrations are thanksgiving celebrations. During *sau batar* celebrations musician Manuel Pereira also gives thanks to the ancestors for the musical instruments in a ceremony in his home (see Figure 127).



Figure 127. Manuel Pereira giving thanks for the musical instruments (photograph: Dunlop, 2009)

¹⁴⁸ Multimedia performances include dance, drama, music, song, chants, costume, food and rites and on occasion theatrical stage props.

¹⁴⁹ In some ethnolinguistic groups, like the Tetun Belu, *uma lulik* are not made of wood but of bamboo and palm trees such as the Wehali *uma lulik* (see Appendix A).

I was invited to this ritual on April 16, 2009, 6.00 p.m. It started with an offering of betel nut to the ancestors as an expression of thanks for the musical instruments, and followed with an invocation to the ancestors for each of the musical instruments, with a short rendition on each instrument played by Pereira. After this it was reverently placed on a *biti* (mat) with the other instruments along with the ingredients for betel chew, *surik* (sword), *beluk* (medallion), *tua saba* (palm wine) and *morteen* (coral beads, precious to the East Timorese). These objects were placed on the *biti* as objects regarded by this Mambae clan as significant to their cultural traditions (see Figure 128).



Figure 128. Arrangement including *lakadou* at thanksgiving festival (photograph: Dunlop, 2009)

At the conclusion of this ritual performance a chicken was sacrificially killed and its liver read. The readings that evening were positive and those participating picked up instruments and played them loudly. Food was offered and music and song were played all night, celebrating a happy and joyful occasion. In Fatubesse the Mambae play *lakadou* and *tohin* as well as *baba-dook* and *tala*. The latter two instruments are the ones usually played for *sau batar* in many ethnolinguistic groups: “When it is *sau batar* then we play our instruments for ten nights and ten days, the songs sung are different to other villages though” (M. Pereira, interview, July 9, 2012). Pereira’s family is also responsible for sending messages via the playing of musical instruments to the people of neighbouring villages for announcements. Whilst music making in the example given here has a social function, it also incorporates an expressive and communicative function, communicating to the ancestors their gratitude in having these musical instruments to play and the gift and knowledge to do so and expressing their joy both for the musical instruments and the fruitful harvest.

Songs sung for harvest celebrations are generally up-beat and the expressive characteristics of the songs convey the joyous nature of the celebrations. Songs such as the Makasae *Dahur Odi*¹⁵⁰ (audiovisual

¹⁵⁰ *Odi* is Makasae for breadfruit. In Makasae “the breadfruit plant is a female symbol. Makasae verse has such metaphors in their songs which are continually used ... the verse is structured together as couplets, tied together by a chorus of nonsense syllables” (Lazarowitz, 1980, p. 122). The association of *odi* in this context is one of fertility, which correlates to harvest, having to do with fertility and plentiful crops.

example 34) are usually sung when the rice is ready to harvest and accompanies the *dahur* (dance). It is a lighthearted piece and expresses the festive nature of the occasion.

Music as self-expression

Sometimes the East Timorese also play instruments for their own pleasure, often whilst passing the time minding animals in the mountains. Earlier reference was made to the *kafu'i* and its role as an instrument used as a tool by farmers (see Figure 90). The farmer will also play *kafu'i* for his own amusement such as the tune played by Sebastiano Garcia, a Makalero farmer (see audio example 42). This tune is one of many he played whilst he minded the goats. When asked what his music was about, he replied: “I think about my ancestors and all the people who died during the war”¹⁵¹ (personal communication, January 2, 2005). The tune portrayed has a moving melody reflecting Garcia’s personal feelings.

The *kakeit* is often played by farmers whilst minding crops or animals. If they don’t have a *kakeit* to play often a leaf will serve the purpose. A leaf fashioned as a jaw harp is capable of producing melodies using fundamental pitches and overtones sliding from one pitch to the other as Angelo Ena a Metonese farmer demonstrated (see audiovisual example 14). The *rama* is also an instrument played for pleasure. The Makadade farmer Alexio Martins walks daily to his farm and often plays *rama* as he walks along; “when I play *rama* it makes me happy” (interview, July 7, 2012). The function of *bijol meto* is also to provide the accompaniment to songs spontaneously sung for simple pleasure. I first encountered *bijol meto* being played by a boy by the sea in Oekusi. I never observed girls playing *bijol meto*. Several boys walked along the beach laughing and singing to the accompaniment of strummed chords on the instrument.

The main purpose of playing the instruments mentioned here is for self-amusement and pleasure.

However, some instruments double up as tools of work, such as the *kafu'i* and one Mambae farmer, Pedro Da Costa, sometimes plays *kakeit* “to scare corn beetles from eating the crops” (personal communication, October 5, 2004).

9.5 The social function of music in East Timorese society

The bulk of musicians playing musical instruments regarded as traditional, who I recorded in East Timor between 2004 and 2014, were playing in a musical activity which involved other people, such as in song or dance. The East Timorese are a family-oriented people. Extended families live with and near each other, and the term “brother” or “sister” extends to cousins and friends. I was always amazed in the early days of field recordings when East Timorese field assistants, such as Maya Da Costa (July 2004), would introduced someone to me as “my brother”, or “my sister”. During that trip I estimated that Maya had more than thirty brothers and sisters. In fact the term brother and sister used by Maya really referred to friends or relations and like most East Timorese she regarded them as spiritual brothers and sisters. This example serves to illustrate that for the East Timorese the family is a large extended unit and community which is very important to the individual member. The more people involved in an activity, be it work or pleasure, the better. There is a practical side to this as well, because an activity that could end up being labour intensive or very costly, such as rebuilding *uma lulik*, the necessary resources that need to be called upon from extended families and friends to help can be vast. The social functions in music will often

¹⁵¹ The War referred to here is the Indonesian occupation 1975–1999.

encompass expression, communication and other art forms. A good example is *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*, a unique Mambae ceremony.

The *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* combines music, dance, theatre and chant: “It has not been performed since the war”¹⁵² (A. Pereira, interview, January 21, 2014). Now only Afonso Pereira and one other *lia na'in* know how to perform *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*. He explained the ceremony to me:

Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo is a darkness. In religion, there are two groups good and evil, or Queen and King. The people use animal blood to paint their bodies and it is performed at the time of the full moon in May or June. *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* was a King who lived between day and night. (personal communication, July 17, 2007)

Many people from neighbouring villages around Afonso’s village used to take part. It was performed in the past for special occasions¹⁵³. There was celebration and feasting during the week long event.

Dance and song as a stimulus for social participation

The social function of music in East Timor can be viewed from two perspectives. First, when there are several people involved in the actual process of making music. Second, the purpose the music is played for often involves an audience, actively or passively, establishing a social event. When considering the social function of music, dance is the musical activity which provides the best example, often involving many people when it is a *dahur*. The two main forms of *tebe*, *dahur* and *tebedai* involve groups of people to perform them (see audiovisual examples 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 33, 34, 37). *Tebedai* is performed with instruments and needs rehearsal for the coordination of the choreography of the dancers as the dance consists of between six to more than 15 women and they must synchronise to perform as the examples referred to indicate.

Tebedai is performed for occasions such as welcoming people to a newly built *uma lulik* or for the beginning of the festivities of *sau batar* such as the *sikire*, a form of *tebedai* (see audiovisual example 27). These rituals and social events bring many people together and often the *tebedai* welcomes them to the event. The *tebedai* was also used to welcome warriors home from battle escorting them back to the village; for example the *likurai* (see audiovisual example 24) and the *makikit* dance (see audiovisual example 18). These are joyous occasions with many people taking part in the celebrations either as performers or spectators.

The *dahur* is another dance involving large groups of people, as participants and spectators, a good example being the *Hele-le-le joben* danced by the *Tetun Belu* people (see audiovisual example 21). A *dahur* can last for hours and often engenders lively and boisterous music making. There are many occasions when *dahur* is sung and danced, such as in *sau batar* festivities, weddings, even during work; for example, the *dahur* danced just after the rice is harvested. As the participants dance the movement made by their feet threshes the rice (see audiovisual example 20). The music provides entertainment engaging them in social interaction and also distracts them from the strenuous nature of the action needed for the task.

¹⁵² War refers to the invasion and occupation by Indonesia from 1975 to 1999.

¹⁵³ These special occasions were not specifically elaborated on by those interviewed.

During the weeding of crops farmers often sing. One person leads the singing and the rest of the workers respond to the lead, either in unison or harmonising often in thirds (see audiovisual example 35). In this example these Bekais farmers are cutting the rice; the singing creates a scene which is convivial so diminishing the arduous nature of the chore. Similarly Metonese farmers sing *muiskatele* whilst weeding the crops maintaining a social and convivial atmosphere in their workplace (see audiovisual example 16). The function of *lesun no alu* is to pound grain and many songs are sung during this monotonous and strenuous task. The music performed during such occasions may relate to recent deaths such as the song *Pankalalále* (see audiovisual example 6) sung by the Metonese or *Inbeluk* (see audiovisual example 36) sung by the Tetun Belu. The *Inbeluk* can also be sung for other festivities such as *sau batar* or weddings.

Music played after the burial of a corpse (or their belongings) in many ethnolinguistic clans involves several functions. Music is played on the *baba-dook* and *tala* after the corpse is buried. Music, in the form of the “*baba-dook* and *tala* is played after the burial to lead the people back to the village. Music is also played to take the spirit of the dead away from the village to the ancestral world” (A. Mendonça, interview, July 30, 2012). The function of the musical instruments *baba-dook* and *tala* in these examples, indicate when different stages of the ritual processes of death will occur.

Children’s songs

Children’s songs are an occasion for social activity, played out as musical games with theatrical gestures half sung and half chanted. A good example is the Fataluku song and game *Tupukur ulute* (audio example 34). This song requires the involvement of several people, often a combination of children and adults. They interact with each other through the actions they perform during the song, such as tweaking one another’s ears and involving finger gestures. The theatrics and song are designed to distract the children and help them overcome their fear of the dark. As the theatrics of the participants become more comical during the song, with everyone laughing, the fears the children had before the song began are usually diminished by the end of the song.

9.6 Role of the musician in East Timorese society

In indigenous societies the musician’s ability is a minor factor as importantly, the musician may have inherited an instrument from his father or grandfather, or be the elected elder to play a sacred instrument, or simply have shown an interest in playing. The musician is generally part of a performance that involves other people as part of the musical activities, such as dance or song. The importance is the occasion, not the musicians involved. When considering the role of the musician in East Timor, the other participants must be considered as well, those who actively participate in musical activities such as dance and song as well as the onlookers.

Whilst there is recognition for musical talent amongst the East Timorese there is no formal training of musicians who play indigenous music. When an East Timorese musician is asked who taught them to play¹⁵⁴ the most common answer will be that they learnt it from their father, or grandfather, or they taught themselves by observing others. Those who play musical instruments are often farmers. For example, Manuel Pereira is a proficient player of *lakadou*, however his main occupation is farming. Alexio Martins

¹⁵⁴ The musicians who were asked the question, “who taught them to play”, were Marco Amaral Da Silva, Joao Baros, Graciano Belo, Francesca Da Costa, Armando de Jesus, Prisca De Lima, Sebastiano Garcia, Alexio Martins, Ameta Mendonça, Manuel Pereira and Paulino Ximenes,

is a farmer who also plays *rama*. The concept of a musician who earns his livelihood from this occupation is foreign to the East Timorese.

Certain instruments such as *tohin*, *titir* and *tihak* can only be played by designated elders in a clan, regardless of talent or proficiency, due to the status accorded to him in the village. In certain families, for example the families of Ameta Mendonça and Manuel Pereira, the knowledge of making and playing instruments has been passed down their families generation by generation: “Being able to make the *lakadou* is a gift passed on by the ancestors, not any one can make it. Only my youngest son has the gift to be able to make *lakadou* and I was the only family member of my generation to have that gift” (M. Pereira, interview, December 2, 2003). The East Timorese from Pereira’s clan group respect him as a *lakadou* maker because he is the only one who can make them. Francesca Da Costa lived in the *knua* of Holarua, and was able to play *lakadou* but often did not have an instrument. She explained “only old men in the mountains know how to make *lakadou*”¹⁵⁵ (personal communication, October 10, 2004).

In some societies, such as the Metonese from Oekusi, those who play the musical instruments are those who happen to be at hand, and the result is not always a satisfactory performance, as Richard Daschbach recounts in a story retold to him by an American anthropologist:

The gongs and drum sounded like a cacophony, as the dancers milled about, not at all in unison. They stopped and told the gong beaters to get their act together as they were out of rhythm. The women exchanged places and began again. It sounded even more cacophonous – but the dancers were now dancing in unison as if there was only one dancer. The gongs were now in the correct rhythm, even though the visitor’s ear wasn’t able to pick it out (R. Daschbach, personal communication, February 20, 2011).

A musical instrument may sometimes belong to particular individuals, as is the case with the *lakadou* Manuel Pereira plays. He made the *lakadou* and for him the relationship between the *lakadou*, the music and himself is personal. The *rama* Alexio Martins plays belongs to him. He made it and only he plays it. Often instruments played by one family are kept in their home, such as those played by Grupu Rebenta. The members of this group all belong to one family. Certain instruments in some clans are stored in the *uma lulik* and may be regarded as *lulik* because they belonged to an ancestor and/or because they are only played for *lulik* occasions. Other instruments are discarded by the players after use, such as the *fiku* and *kokotere* as the materials from which they are made does not last.

9.7 Relationship of the musical instruments to *lulik*

In Chapter Three *lulik* was explained and in Chapter Four its role was illustrated in many ways. In many field trips I was told a particular place couldn’t be visited because it was *lulik*, certain ground could not be stood on because it was *lulik*, certain stories couldn’t be told because they were *lulik*. It was explained to me that *lulik* meant sacred, taboo or magic. The forbidden aspect of *lulik* was demonstrated many times during field trips, such as the occasion when I wanted to hear what the *titir* sounded like and was told that it could not be played unless someone had died because it would be bad *lulik*.

¹⁵⁵ The day after this interview I went to Blaro in the mountains near Holarua and the elder who knew how to make the *lakadou* gave me one to give to Francesca Da Costa.

Lulik is the essence of East Timorese society and given this I was initially intrigued by the possibility that musical instruments themselves might be *lulik*. The premise for them being traditional was based on the belief that they came from the ancestors and the world of the ancestors is *lulik*. When informants were asked whether the musical instruments were *lulik* there was some consistency in the answers but also some variations and differences. It became clear that there would be no straightforward answer to this question. Different ethnolinguistic groups had different opinions about *lulik* and the idea of the musical instruments being *lulik*. Josh Trindade from the Naueti ethnolinguistic group had this to say about musical instruments being *lulik*:

Normally an instrument becomes *lulik* because they play it only during rituals, or they store it inside the *uma lulik*, or because this instrument was invented by someone who died a long time ago then it is *lulik*. All the *lulik* instruments in the beginning were not *lulik* and just made of ordinary materials but over time they became *lulik*. To make an instrument *lulik* it must be ritualised. Sometimes an instrument is lost or destroyed and a new one must be made, so we have to have a ritual to turn the material for the instrument into *lulik* material. There are ways of doing this (interview, June 29, 2012).

The *uma lulik* is “the building set aside for the storage of the descent group’s sacred possessions and the place where the interests of ghosts and kin most tangibly converge” (Hicks, 2003, p. 91). The sacred possessions contained therein are the symbolic connection to the spiritual world. When those interviewed were asked whether musical instruments stored in the *uma lulik* were *lulik* the reply was unanimous: “All objects stored in the *uma lulik* are *lulik*.” When the same people were asked which musical instruments are stored in the *uma lulik*, the following instruments were identified: *baba-dook*, *tala*, *titir*, *tohin*, *bobakasa*, and *karau dikur*.¹⁵⁶ Mambae elder, Antonio Magnus from Ainaru, emphasised the importance placed on storing musical instruments inside *uma lulik*: “we put musical instruments inside the *uma lulik*, we don’t use these things every day, they are for special occasions and they are *lulik*” (interview, January, 24, 2014). Additional instruments were mentioned as being stored in *uma lulik*. Leo Guterres mentioned that a *kafu’i* was stored in her family’s *uma lulik*. She believed it belonged to an ancestor and was stored there as an ancestral relic consequently it was *lulik*. However instruments not belonging to ancestors but made using knowledge passed on by them, such as *kafu’i*, were not considered *lulik* by many of the people interviewed. Those answering the question whether instruments stored in the *uma lulik* were *lulik*, were from Mambae, Makasae Makalero, Midiki and Naueti clan groups. People from Tetun Belu said that they did not keep musical instruments in the *uma lulik* but in the homes of either musicians or the *lia na’in*. They didn’t regard the musical instruments as *lulik* but *baba-dook* and *tala* are used for *lulik* occasions. Instruments located with Tetun Belu include, *baba-dook*, *tala*, *raraun*, *ailoos*. Likewise, apart from the *titir*, the Fataluku store musical instruments in people’s homes. Justino Valentim said: “we have *titir* in Luro, it is *lulik* and sometimes *baba-dook* and *tala* when they are played in rituals” (interview, January 2014). Apart from performances of *sikire*, which uses *baba-dook* and *tala*, the music for ritual occasions performed by the Fataluku is sung using one of the forms of *vaihoho*. Most other musical

¹⁵⁶ Those asked which instruments were stored in the *uma lulik* were: S. Da Costa Pereira, interview, January 27, 2011; C. Fernando, interview, July 4, 2012; L. Guterres, interview, January 29, 2014; A. Mendonça, interview, June 30, 2012; A. Pereira, interview, July 9, 2012; M. Pereira, interview, January 21, 2014; D. Ruas, interview, July 2, 2012).

instruments located with Fataluku people are used by farmers primarily to scare animals and chase birds from eating crops.

The Mambae accept the attitude that “if we take something we must give something back” (A. Pereira, interview, January 18, 2014). This ritual process, or cycle of exchange, is *lulik*. Earlier in this thesis this philosophy was explained as meaning those “taking” being speaking mouths (humans) and those “giving” being silent mouths (animals, birds, rocks, trees, earth). Some silent mouths are part of the spiritual world or mediums to that world. For example, the altar-place of the East Timorese is made up of rocks, earth and trees and is a *lulik* place. Musical instruments are made of material from silent mouths for the use of speaking mouths, and one of the functions of many of these instruments is to act as a means of communication between the world of the living and the ancestral world. Through association with this other world, the Mambae regard them as *lulik*.

The instruments used as a means of communication with ancestors by the Mambae are the *karau dikur*, *tohin* and *titir*, *baba-dook* and *tala* and these rituals are *lulik* (A. Magnus, interview, January, 24, 2014; A. Pereira, interview, January 21, 2014; M. Pereira, interview, July 9, 2012; E. Sarmento, personal communication, July 18, 2008). The Makasae, Midiki and Naueti use *bobakasa*, *baba-dook* and *tala* for the same purpose as the Mambae and these musical instruments are regarded as *lulik* by these groups. The Makasae treat certain musical instruments like *bobakasa* and *baba-dook* reverently:

Bobakasa can only be used in *lulik* we cannot even put it on the ground it is used only in special places. *Baba-dook* is *lulik* in the same way as the *bobakasa*, both instruments are special and used in *lulik* ceremonies. We give betel nut and food to the spirits, to give our respect to the musical instruments (A. Mendonça, p interview, June 30, 2012).

Naueti *xefe suku* Costodio Silveiro Fernando confirmed this respect for instruments: “Some people believe if the wind blows on a *bobakasa* and it makes a sound someone in the village will die”. He went on to say, “Only one grandfather knows the story about *bobakasa* and only he is allowed to tell it. We cannot tell it because it is bad *lulik* for us to tell a story like this”(interview, July 5, 2012).

The Makasae believe that all the musical instruments are *lulik*: “The culture (music) is born already with *lulik* so they are one” (A. Mendonça, p interview, June 30, 2012). Instruments located with the Makasae are *bobakasa*, *baba-dook*, *tala*, and in the past *kokotere*, *kakeit*, *kafu’i* and *karau dikur*, but these are no longer used. When Mendonça was asked whether the musical instruments were *lulik* and if so why, he replied: “All our musical instruments are *lulik*. They are from the ancestors and we use them in *lulik* ceremonies for example when we do ceremonies in the *uma lulik* or when we make a new *uma lulik*” (interview, June 30, 2012).

The Mambae interviewed (J. Arango, interview, January 25, 2013; F. Da Costa; interview, October 4, 2004; A. Magnus, interview, January, 24, 2014; A. Pereira, interview, January 18, 2014; M. Pereira, interview, July 9, 2012) also stated that all musical instruments are *lulik*. The instruments found amongst the Mambae are *karau dikur*, *tohin*,¹⁵⁷ *baba-dook*, *tala*, *lakadou*, *kakeit* and *kafu’i*. The first five are used in ritual ceremonies and the *lakadou* according to its origin myth was used as a medium to commune with

¹⁵⁷ *Tohin* is called *tambor* by some Mambae located in the *suku* (district) of Ainaru.

the spiritual world, as the story of the *lakadou* recounted by Francesca Da Costa suggests, with a living brother playing *lakadou* being able to communicate with his dead brother (personal communication, October 4, 2004).

The *karau dikur* now located mostly in Mambae communities is multifunctional, both as a musical instrument and a symbol of *lulik*, often adorning the gables of *uma lulik* or hanging in altar places.¹⁵⁸ Mambae believe percussive instruments are also a communication medium to the spiritual world. The *titir* is *lulik* to all Makalero people and many taboos and rituals are associated with its function, many of which have already been documented in this thesis. Domingus Ruas explained the rituals necessary when the *titir* is about to be played: “we take *titir* from the *uma lulik* and the whole village must be present but only one man is allowed to play it. *Titir* is *lulik* it is about life but we cannot tell you its story” (interview, July, 2, 2012).

The *tihak* located on Ataùru was believed to have been given to the Makili people by the ancestors according to Paulino Ximenes: “when we first came to Ataùru we had no instruments to play, the spirits showed our ancestors how to make *tihak*” (interview, July 16, 2004). When asked whether the *tihak* was a *lulik* instrument he replied: “it is *lulik*, it is associated with *Lepu Moto* and *Bakulau* which are secret statues we hide in the mountains near here. They are made from the same wood as *tihak* and these are *lulik* objects.” He went on to say: “when we sing with *tihak* it is for special occasions, for *sau batar* and when we sing to the statues” (interview, July 11, 2012).

The Baikeno people store all objects precious to the clan inside their *uma lulik* including the corn seed which is waiting to be planted. When the custodian of the family Eko’s *uma lulik* Francisco Eko was asked whether the musical instruments kept inside the *uma lulik* were *lulik* he said they were. He held up a set of *bano* and said: “these belonged to my grandfather and they are *lulik*” (personal communication, June 26, 2014). Eko went on to say that “everything which is special or important to the clan is stored in the *uma lulik*; all objects in the *uma lulik* are *lulik*, even the corn seed” (personal communication, June 26, 2014).

When considering the possibility of the musical instruments being *lulik* another factor had to be added following a comment made by Trindade: “in the beginning some musical instruments were not *lulik* and just made of ordinary materials but over time they became *lulik*” (interview, June 29, 2012). The musical instruments mentioned as *lulik* by different clan groups are made of materials that in ordinary life were non-*lulik*. One example is the Mambae drum *tohin*. The wood used to make a *tohin* is blessed before it is cut and made into the drum, then “a buffalo is sacrificed and its blood is used to bless the wood” (M. Pereira, personal communication, October 8, 2009). This ritual process is necessary in order to change the wood from non-*lulik* to *lulik*. Generally buffalo are not regarded as *lulik* while they are alive, and only buffalo killed under ritual conditions are considered *lulik*. The buffalo skin selected for making the drumhead of the *tohin* is given special treatment “sometimes the buffalo is killed in secret to make *tohin*, there is something *lulik* about this buffalo” (E. Sarmento, personal communication, July 5, 2008).

¹⁵⁸ The altar-place is usually built near the *uma lulik*. The structure referred to here is generally the branch of a tree which is a symbolic post.

Trindade elaborated on this saying, “In some areas they choose the albino buffalo, because they are regarded as more *lulik* they make the *karau dikur* from the horns of this buffalo as well as the skin for *tohin*” (interview, June 29, 2012). The materials used to make *tohin* were initially not *lulik* but had to go through a ritual process to make them *lulik* because the *tohin* as an object is regarded as a *lulik* instrument. Another instrument where a ritual process must be undertaken to change a material from non-*lulik* to *lulik* is the *titir*. Orlando Da Costa said that when a skin needs to be put on the *titir* “we have to do a special ceremony to kill the goat or buffalo, the whole family has to come” (interview, July 1, 2012).

The *baba-dook* and *tala* in some ethnolinguistic clan groups are *lulik* for some occasions but not for others. In Fataluku clan groups, for example, these musical instruments change their status from *lulik* to non-*lulik* according to the occasion. When played for the dance *sikire* as part of *uma lulik* ceremonies they are considered *lulik* but when they are played for festivities such as weddings they are not.

The skin used for the drumhead of the *baba-dook* can be from a variety of animals. The Makasae for example treat the skin as an important as part of the process of *lulik*: “*Bobakasa* is made of *bibi* (goat) skin and *baba-dook* is made of *mamik* (cow’s bladder). These instruments have different kinds of skin because they have different purposes in *lulik*” (A. Mendonça, interview, June 30, 2012).

Some of the rituals of the Portuguese and musical instruments associated with these rituals were adopted by the East Timorese and over time both the musical instrument, and the associated ritual for which it was brought to East Timor, became *lulik*. The marching drum for example, was played for flag raising ceremonies by the Portuguese. The East Timorese replicated this drum and called it *bobakasa* and adopted the Portuguese flag raising ceremony and both the ceremony and the musical instrument became *lulik*. “The flag represents the spirit of the nation and ancestors, so it is *lulik*” (T. Amaral, interview, July 9, 2013). Ameta Mendonça believes “the *bobakasa* came from the ancestors” (interview, June 30, 2012). Costodio Fernando also believes “the flag and its ceremony are *lulik*, we keep old flags belonging to ancestors in our *uma lulik*” (interview, July 4, 2012).

Whilst some musical instruments are found right throughout East Timor, there are others which are unique to particular ethnolinguistic groups. The map below (see Figure 129) shows the ethnographic location of the musical instruments used to play indigenous music. The identification of musical instruments common to all groups as *lulik* or non-*lulik*, and the rationale for doing so, varies across the ethnolinguistic groups. The Mambae people for example, believe the *baba-dook* and *tala* are *lulik* at all times, however the Fataluku people believe they are only *lulik* when they are played for certain ritual occasions. Instruments for pragmatic use, such as the *fiku*, *kafu’i*, *kakeit*, *kakalo*, *kakal’uta*, were considered non-*lulik* in clans which differentiated between some instruments being *lulik* and others not. The Mambae and Makasae clan groups believe all musical instruments are *lulik* however the only instruments for pragmatic use are *kafu’i* and *kakeit*.



Figure 129. Map with ethnographic location of traditional musical instruments (Dunlop/J. Lee, 2015)

Gender and sound

The dynamic of the sound and the gender of the instruments, as material objects and in the playing of them, needs consideration when evaluating the musical instrument's relationship to *lulik*, given that within the sphere of *lulik*, gender plays a significant role. In the diagram illustrating *lulik* (see Chapter Five, Figure 16) the feminine is in the realm of the *lulik* world. Josh Trindade explained that the world of noise is the domain of the masculine world and the world of silence or soft sound is the domain of the feminine world:

In my village we have two *uma lulik*, one masculine, one feminine. The most sacred is the feminine, because this is the symbolic house. No one lives there. We keep all the sacred objects in this house. It represents the feminine, so when we do rituals in this *uma lulik*, everything is quiet. Then in the second, the male *uma lulik*, we make loads of loud music so by having two *uma lulik* we celebrate both the quiet and the noisy (interview, June 29, 2012).

Trindade's opinion is that all the musical instruments are of masculine gender because they are noisy. Others also believed that all the musical instruments were masculine because they were "noisy and loud and noise is part of the masculine world" (A. Mendonça interview, June 30, 2012; J. Valentim, interview, January 30, 2013).

The perception of the instruments being of a particular gender was not something other people interviewed had thought about and they had no opinion on the matter. Those who believed that the instruments were of a specific gender came from Fataluku, Makasae and Naueti clan groups. All those interviewed had a definite opinion in the role of gender for playing the instruments. Makalero elder Orlando Da Costa indicated that "*titir* is only played by men" (interview, July 1, 2012). He also said: "We have male and female *titir*, *titir nami* (male) and *titir tufur* (female). When a male gets sick, you play the male drum and for female, you play the female drum, the same when someone dies." Those interviewed all agreed that *baba-dook* and *tala* were to be played by women. Those asked this question were from Fataluku, Makasae, Midiki, Naueti, Mambae and Tetun Terik clan groups (see Appendix N). The Mambae when interviewed all agreed that only men play *tohin* and *karau dikur* (A. Da Rosario, interview, January 24, 2013; A. Magno, interview, January 24, 2013; A. Pereira, interview, January 21, 2013; M. Pereira, interview, July 7, 2012). The Naueti, Midiki and Makasae interviewed each agreed that only men play the *bobakasa*, *kokotere* and *karau dikur* (A. de Jesus, personal communication, February 2, 2011; C. Fernando, interview, July 4, 2012; P. Lopez, interview, July 5, 2013; A. Mendonça interview, June 30, 2012; J. Trindade interview, June 29, 2012). Apart from *kokotere* these instruments are only used for ritual occasions.

The Metonese from Oekusi regard the playing of musical instruments for dance as "the business of women" (R. Daschbach, interview, June 22, 2014). However, both genders wear the ankle bells *bano* to dance the *bsoot* suggesting that Daschbach's comments are referring to the instrumental ensemble which accompanies dance, *leku sene* and *ke'e*. Musical instruments in which both genders play are the *lakadou*, considered an instrument requiring certain skill "played by those who have inherited the gift to play, and either man or woman can play it" (M. Pereira, interview, April 16, 2004), and the *rama*, normally played by males, "can be played by women if their husbands agree to teach them" (A. Martins, interview, July 7, 2012).

9.7 Summary and reflections

- The communicative, expressive and social functions of music in East Timorese society were identified, using examples from research undertaken in the field.
- The function of musical instruments and musically-related activities such as song and dance in East Timor was categorised according to the components of communication, expression and social usage. Some variation in function was revealed across the ethnolinguistic groups.
- Indigenous music as an expression of the life of the East Timorese was identified through many examples. The musical instruments according to those interviewed, were born with them.
- The connection of the musical instruments to *lulik* was examined, revealing variations across ethnolinguistic groups. Those from clan groups living in Mambae, Makasae, Naueti, Midiki, Makalero villages believed that all their musical instruments were *lulik*. Those from other clan groups only regard some instruments as *lulik*. Certain musical instruments regarded as *lulik* by some clan groups were not found in other locations in East Timor; for example, *tohin*, *karau dikur*, *bobakasa*, *titir*, are only found with the Mambae, Makasae, Naueti, Midiki and Makalero people.
- All those interviewed stated that instruments stored in the *uma lulik* are *lulik*, with variations across ethnolinguistic groups as to which instruments are stored in *uma lulik* or not.
- All relics belonging to ancestors are regarded as *lulik* and often include musical instruments.
- The gender of those playing the instruments identified with females playing *ailoos*, *baba-dook*, *ke'e*, *tala*, both males and females playing *fiku*, *kakalo*, *kakal'uta*, *kakeit* and *lakadou* and at times *rama* and *kafu'i*. The Metonese dancers wearing *bano* include both males and females. All other instruments were identified as being played by males only.
- The possibility of perceiving the musical instruments to be of a specific gender was raised. Mambae, Makasae and Fataluku informants consider the instruments to be masculine based on the dynamic of the instruments.

The various functions of the musical instruments regarded as traditional have been identified. In the next chapter a framework for classifying the music, including the instruments and musically-related activities will be devised using the findings of this and the previous two chapters in order to illustrate whether or not there is a relationship between the indigenous music and *lulik* and the cultural and societal mores of the East Timorese.

PART THREE

Results of the research

CHAPTER TEN

The relationship of *lulik* and the indigenous music

- 10.1 *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*: a Mambae multimedia enactment of an origin myth
- 10.2 An interpretation of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*
- 10.3 The significance of objects placed inside *uma lulik*
- 10.4 Reflections on questions and answers from interviews
- 10.5 An explanation for the musical instruments being considered *lulik*
- 10.6 The relationship of the musical instruments to the ancestors
- 10.7 The musical instruments: two kinds of *lulik*
- 10.8 A scheme for classification
- 10.9 The significance of the material substance of the musical instruments to *lulik*
- 10.10 The relevance of gender to the musical instruments
- 10.11 The role and usage of the musical instruments in contemporary East Timorese society
- 10.12 Factors which emerged from the diagrams
- 10.13 Summary and reflections

This chapter looks at the relationship between the indigenous music and its material objects, the musical instruments and *lulik*. This relationship is not something easily settled or verified because it is both hidden and ancient. I am mindful that as a foreigner I have had a rare and privileged opportunity to enter this world. However as an outsider I still have an emic understanding of the space I have entered. Based on this awareness and self-reflection I will also be examining and discussing my interpretation of these relationships. To place this understanding of *lulik* and my interpretation of how it relates to the indigenous music, I need to relate anecdotal experiences acquired in the process of collecting this music and noted in my journal. To contextualise these personal experiences the register of writing will be autoethnographic.

Through my field research in East Timor Between 2003 and 2014 and the knowledge gained I have developed an abiding respect for *lulik*. Some of this is influenced through observing the respect and care to *lulik* shown by local people as well as my personal experiences and situations where it seemed that *lulik* was the only credible explanation of certain events, as the following story I believe relates.

In January 2005 when I first went to Oekusi I recorded a song, *Pankalalále* which villagers from Kutet wanted to perform for me. *Pankalalále* is a funeral song and it is considered bad *lulik* to perform it unless someone has died. I did not insist on a recording being a bit nervous about possible consequences. However, *Pankalalále* is seldom sung these days and the villagers who wanted to sing it for me were concerned it would disappear when they died so they insisted that it should be recorded in the hope that one day younger generations might learn it and sing it again for funereal occasions rather than the songs of the church now mostly sung in its place. They thought it would be acceptable to the ancestral spirits that a performance which wasn't for the occasion of an actual funeral might be performed in the presence of a *malae* (foreigner). Two weeks later my mother suddenly died of a heart attack. I was inconsolable and could not shake off the feeling that in some way this performance of *Pankalalále* had contributed to her death. My reasoning was no doubt irrational, nonetheless the coincidence for me felt remarkable at the time. The visceral and compelling nature of the concept of *lulik* was suddenly brought home to me on

a very immediate basis. From that day, irrational or not, I have consequently been very careful in my dealings where matters of *lulik* are concerned.

10.1 *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo: A multimedia enactment of a Mambae origin myth*

Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo provides a good example of the role of music in multimedia performances. I also chose this myth because it provides a good example of the interrelationship between society, culture and *lulik*. “Mambae is one of the oldest and second largest ethnolinguistic groups after the Tetun in East Timor” (Molnar, 2011). Indigenous music plays a much greater role in some clan groups than others, and the Mambae is one of those groups where it does.

I first went to the Mambae village of Mulo in 2007 and after spending several days recording their indigenous music I sat down with elders Afonso Pereira and Fausto Mendonça to discuss the performances that had been recorded. Afonso told me about an ancient story from the ancestors a multimedia drama they call *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*. It was not possible to record it at that time because a performance of this drama would involve considerable preparation. At that time I was told that *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* was the story of war between *Bui-Lelo* (a Queen) and *Mau-Lelo* (a King). Later in Portuguese times these characters became God and the devil, (likely suggesting the influence of Christianity on an older story). The content of the drama was not elaborated upon but good and evil were the underlying themes. I asked if enough notice was given would they do a performance of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*. The answer was in the affirmative. Seven years later in January 2014, I went back in Mulo and met up with Afonso Pereira now a man in his 80s, to give him a copy of my book *Lian husi klamar: Sounds of the soul*. He was delighted to receive it, and when we again discussed the possibilities of him organising a performance of the *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* he was enthusiastic and keen for a permanent record of it to be made and so plans were made. He said that only he and another elder Fausto Mendonça knew how to do the *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*, and that they would need time to teach all those who would be involved. Afonso indicated that to properly perform it would require more than one hundred people and agreed a performance of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* could take place six months later. When we¹⁵⁹ finally recorded it in June 2014, we discovered the story of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* to be a lot different from the brief version I had originally been told. The *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* as it unfolded, is a tale of significance. It is an allegory which represents the transition between two worlds: from a world which was “dark”, that is, a time of no *uma lulik*, with no rules or regulations; to a world that was “light”, that is, the beginning of the period of *uma lulik*, together with *lulik* with its rules and regulations, and to the creation of a civil society.

Below is the version of the story of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* as told by Afonso Pereira to me in 2014:

In the beginning, when the world was dark there lived a brother, *Mau-Lelo* and his sister, *Bui-Lelo* in a place called *Blehetto Blelela*. They were *Don Tasi's*¹⁶⁰ children. One day *Bui-Lelo* was washing her hair in *Beto Hatumeta*. Strands of her hair stretched from *Beto Hatumeta* to the sea. Once it reached the sea *Mau-Lelo* appeared and he held on to the strands of *Bui-Lelo's* hair while he seduced her. They bore a son named *Absah*. When *Absah* grew up he asked his mother who his father was. His mother

¹⁵⁹ Due to the scale of the performance and the difficulty of the location it was necessary to have several people recording. As well as myself there was a crew of East Timorese cameramen and also foreigners Elizabeth Adams, Max Stahl, Zoe Morley and Alex Ben-Major.

¹⁶⁰ The East Timorese believe *Don Tasi* is the god of the sea.

didn't reply. *Absah* knew that there were not many other men in the world then so he concluded that his father must be his mother's brother and that his father had committed a crime of incest. *Absah* felt betrayed and knew he must right the wrong of his father and kill him. After *Absah* killed *Mau-Lelo* his remains were spread out everywhere, some were sent to clan leaders from the bottom to the tops of the mountains, and to the sea, for all to know that the law regarding incest was to be decreed. Killing *Mau-Lelo* righted the wrong he had committed and signifies that we should respect each other; for example, uncles respect nieces, nephews respect aunties, brothers respect sisters. When *Mau-Lelo* was killed the light took its rightful place as did the darkness. (interview, June 15, 2014)

The story Afonso Pereira told me seven years earlier was different and more ambiguous (see Chapter Eight, Section: 8.8). To speak of a sordid act about the incest of an ancestor that he regarded as shameful, to a foreigner who was a woman as well would probably have been uncomfortable for Afonso. Some years had passed between our first encounter and, perhaps the several meetings over cups of coffee along with the gift of my book *Lian husi klamar: Sounds of the soul* to him, may have been factors which enabled this gentle man to disclose a more accurate version of this tale.

In performances of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* the man who plays the role of *Absah* is a revered person who must ritually receive *bua malus* (betel nut) from the old women. *Siaka* is the ritual which follows. This involves the blowing of *ahu* (white lime powder) by the actor playing the role of *Absah* to his right, and then blowing it to his left, symbolically calling for the clouds and rain to cover the earth. These actions are called *bidu du ma sabai* (calling for rain to come) and *onor koko morma* (cloud is covering the earth), and are undertaken to prevent *Mau-Lelo* from leaving his house so *Absah* and his followers can capture and slay *Mau-Lelo*. *Siaka* must be done before *Mau-Lelo* is captured and slain (see audiovisual example 19 and Figure 130 below).



Figure 130. Afonso Pereira performing the ritual of *siaka* (photograph: Morley, 2014)

This performance of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* was staged amidst thick cloud and rain, a perfect atmosphere for the drama. This multimedia enactment included acting, dance, song, musical instruments (*tohin*, *tala* and *karau dikur*), chant, two makeshift huts of sticks and leaves, numerous horses and riders with all participants in traditional dress with many of the males brandishing swords. The highlight of the drama was the beheading of *Mau-Lelo* and the burning of the huts which had hidden him. The ritual aspects of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*, such as *siaka*, established the reverence and connection the living have for their ancestors in the retelling of this ancient tale.

The days of the rehearsal leading up to the recording of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* had been clear with bright blue skies. Mountain weather is often unsettled so this good weather seemed incredible luck. However, on the day the performance was scheduled to take place it teemed with rain most of the day. Afonso Pereira who was instrumental in teaching everyone the chants, dances, actions and even the correct way to beat the *tohin* for the drama and was very upset at the turn of weather. He blamed himself, stating: “I didn’t ask the ancestors properly for permission to do the performance so that is why it is raining” (interview, June 15, 2014). The rain did stop around 4pm and we all decided to go ahead with the performance as everyone had been prepared and patiently waiting all day. In hindsight, the setting in the mist and clouds couldn’t have been more auspicious in creating the perfect ambience for the drama. Perhaps this was a case of what the East Timorese deem “bad *lulik*” turning into “good *lulik*”. All of us later agreed that perhaps the ancestors may have had a hand in staging a setting that was perfect for the performance. What is regarded “bad *lulik*” and “good *lulik*” may be interpreted differently, depending on events as they meet an individual’s or group’s needs, as described in this example. Now I will discuss my interpretation of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*.

10.2 An interpretation of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*

The story and performance of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* serves to illustrate several things I believe. The music performed for *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* is one part of the rituals of this multimedia display but it is not the central focus. The music’s function is to heighten the drama and to punctuate the ritual language of the chants, which backs up comments made by those previously interviewed. Informants had said that, “music is part of our lives”, suggesting that life for the East Timorese is made up of many parts and music is one part that enhances a whole.

The Mambae are predominantly farmers, who live their daily lives according to the cycles of the agricultural calendar year. They still follow the customs set down by their ancestors generations ago, which include the observance of rituals, taboos and music making.¹⁶¹ Every detail of the performance of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* followed the script as memorised by Afonso Pereira which he taught to those involved in the performance. The music beaten out on *tohin* and *tala* served to punctuate the declamatory ritual language so passionately conveyed by Afonso Pereira, as well as providing the musical accompaniment for the dances. The dress of the performers wearing the black mountain *tais* distinctive to the Mambae (see Figure 131), complete with the men wearing the *manu fulun* (headdress) and *bibi fulun* (goat hair ankle adornment) with many brandishing a *surik* (sword), added to the intensity of the occasion. The

¹⁶¹ Mambae villages where indigenous music is rarely performed from my observation, were mostly villages that were destroyed and their inhabitants terrorised by the Indonesian occupier, or villages which are on the main road to the south of the island, with more exposure to the influences of foreign cultures.

setting for *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*, in the clouds and mist, complete with props of huts made of leaves, grass and trees especially made for the occasion and horses champing at the bit provided a scene of dramatic expectation.



Figure 131. Performers traditionally dressed for *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* (photograph: Morley, 2014)

I then realised that this multimedia performance of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*, so different from the story originally conveyed seven years earlier, was being shared with us in this elaborate and graphic performance because of the mutual trust that had developed between myself, our film crew and Afonso Pereira, allowing a very different, and perhaps closer to the original, telling of the story of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*. It indicated that Afonso and his clan group trusted that we would pass on this ritual of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* to the wider public of East Timor reliably and respectfully. This version of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* was a sordid tale of immorality about a world that was “dark” and how the slaying of *Mau-Lelo* took this world of darkness into a world that was “light” which is the world as it exists now. The tale of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* as told in this version signifies the defining moment between these two worlds. It is common in East Timor for foreigners (including East Timorese from other clan groups) not to be given accurate information, as here where two different versions of the story about *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* were told by the same person. Until trust is built up, the East Timorese tend not to divulge much information about their origin myths which they regard as *lulik*. They also tend to give information to foreigners which they think

they want to hear. However, when they trust a person and believe their traditions will be respected they sometimes tell a different truer tale.¹⁶²

Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo is an example of a ritual which includes music as one part of the multimedia display, not as the dominant art form, but to highlight the drama both through the use of the instruments and in the style of singing.¹⁶³ It clearly demonstrates that music is just one element in multimedia events that include song, dance and drama. The two main functions of the music are to highlight the drama and provide an accompaniment to the dances performed during the production. The men playing musical instruments were placed to one side of the setting not central to the drama and the women involved in the performance took on a more passive role than the men and also stood as a group to one side of the group of performers (see Figure 131). They were dressed in black mountain *tais*, their hair drawn tightly back and held in buns kept in place with beautiful silver hair ornaments. They wore bright orange *morteen* (beaded necklaces) and their lips were stained bright red from years of chewing *bua malus*. They beckoned to *Mau-Lelo*'s potential assassins with outstretched hands making small stilted movements. Perhaps they represented *Bui-Lelo* and her distress, knowing that her impassioned son was about to kill her brother who is also her lover? There was no clear explanation of the women's gestures nor why men played the *tala* during the drama. The *Tala* is normally an instrument played by women during *tebedai*. Men may very occasionally play *tala* for announcement or warning but not normally in rituals or for dance. The meaning of many of the gestures in *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* may have been lost in the process of oral transmission and the lack of performance.

The story of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* is the lynchpin between two worlds: the world of darkness that existed before *lulik* and the world of light that is the world governed by *lulik*, a vital component in creating a civil society according to J. Trindade (interview, June 23, 2014). In the past, *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* used to be performed at regular intervals¹⁶⁴ to remind people of the moral standards of the society. The ritual of *siaka* is vital to the drama, and itself a *lulik* act, calling on the ancestors to aid the living in their quest for justice to be done so that harmony can be restored to society. The ritual of *bua malus* offerings occur at the beginning of most ritual ceremonies or performances. This is often a silent ritual (that is, no music is played), and the *bua malus* is prepared and given out by one or two old women. In *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*,

¹⁶² The East Timorese are circumspect people, understandably, given the extended history of occupation. I have travelled to East Timor over a period of many years and now know that earning the respect and trust of the East Timorese takes time. When I published my book *Lian husi klamar* it was the first book about their indigenous musical culture in a language which many East Timorese could understand (Tetun), and this helped to cement the relationship I had developed with many East Timorese, including Afonso Pereira. After the performance of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*, Afonso Pereira took both my hands in his and said: "thank you for waking us up".

¹⁶³ The singing throughout the performance took the form of the reciter (*Absah* acted by *lia na'in* Afonso Pereira) vocalising and chanting incantations, followed by the chorus singing in response.

¹⁶⁴ No answer was given to my enquiries as to why the *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* had not been performed for many years. Afonso and other participants did indicate that the Indonesian invasion and occupation had had an impact, and many rituals were discouraged or outlawed. One could surmise that a ritual enacting the killing and beheading of a man may not have been looked on favourably by the Indonesians, who might have taken it as a criticism of their regime or enticement to violence. As the years went on, fewer people knew the detail of the ritual. The costs of staging *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* are considerable, which is probably also a contributing factor for sporadic performances.

when the *bua malus* is given to *Absah* and his accomplices, the ritual is accompanied by the sounds of *tala*, *tohin* and war cries.

It is usual in ritual for women to prepare and offer *bua malus* to the men involved in the ritual about to be performed. In this instance *Absah* is the male being offered the *bua malus* before he kills his father. In addition to offering *bua malus* it is usual for the women to prepare and give food to men, both in ritual and ordinary life, in keeping with their role as life-givers. Many rituals of the East Timorese are male-dominated and areas of taboo for women, as has been described in earlier chapters (see Chapters Three and Four). Women have specific roles in rituals: they beat the drums and gongs to farewell and welcome warriors from battle. They play an important role in the process of men becoming *midar* (non-*lulik*, tame) when they return from battle. War and its participants are considered *lulik*, in the sense of *lulik* being wild when they are at war. The East Timorese believe the female is the giver of life. Man as a direct opposite is viewed as the taker of life and in the story of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* there is a life taken. The giving of *bua malus* in *siaka* is performed as standard ritual procedure, communicating to the ancestors, their intent and need for help by way of camouflage. It is given by women (givers of life) as appeasement for the act of taking *Mau-Lelo's* life by men (life takers). The outcome, if successful, will give birth to a world which is light, and create a civil society.

Mau-Lelo's execution is not seen as an act of revenge, but as a sacrifice that will enable the world to change from dark to light. The delineation of the roles of the males as life takers and females as life givers is clearly defined throughout the ritual performance. Only men played the musical instruments involved in this performance of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*. The *Tohin*, and *tala* are played loudly, particularly when participants are dancing, with odd interjections from the *karau dikur*. Apart from the male playing *karau dikur* (also a theatrical performer), the musicians in this particular performance were placed at the side separate from the main body of performers (see Figure 132).



Figure 132. The placement of musicians in *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* (photograph: Morley, 2014)

Although *baba-dook* is usually played by women for ritual occasions by the Mambae, it was not played in this performance. The role of women was to give the *bua malus* and participate in the dance. Their role in the dancing was much more restrained than the men and they also sang in the chorus of the songs. If the initial role of the instruments in *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* is to announce or communicate to the ancestral spirits their intent to assassinate *Mau-Lelo* (in this theatrical retelling of the story), then perhaps this is the reason why only males are playing *tala*, since instruments played for announcement such *karau dikur*, *titir nami* and *titir tufur* are only played by men.

The *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* is a performance within the realm of *lulik*. The instruments used in this rendition included *tohin*, which is only used for *lulik* occasions; the *karau dikur*, which is also for *lulik* occasions; whereas the *tala* is used for both *lulik* and non-*lulik* purposes. All three instruments are capable of being played loudly. The function of the musical instruments in this performance of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* was to highlight the drama, and musicians were encouraged to make as much noise as possible. During the rehearsals of *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* the musicians were often reprimanded by Afonso Pereira if not making enough sound; he would then demonstrate loudly.

Apart from adding weight to the drama the musical instruments used in *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* were a conduit to the spiritual world. It is believed that percussive musical instruments played loudly are a means of communication with the ancestors and also “a gift offered to the cosmos” (Traube, 1986, p. 17). The assailants of *Mau-Lelo* are seeking help from their ancestors for their quest. The musical instruments used in *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* (excluding the sung human voice) were all percussive and in no way seemed to correlate with the singing, regarding pulse (see audiovisual example 19).

The East Timorese ask for the help of the ancestral spirits through *siaka* to undertake the assassination of *Mau-Lelo*. In return, they will build a society with moral standards, governed by the fundamentals of *lulik*. Such a moral contract is in keeping with the Mambae philosophy of life being a cycle of exchanges. The Mambae believes that each cycle of new life begins with a death. In a sense two deaths occur during this story, one *Mau-Lelo*’s, the other is metaphysical, being the death of an uncivilised “dark” world that phoenix-like, gives rise to the birth of a new civilised world that is “light”.

Can two negatives make a positive? In many countries including East Timor the act of incest is regarded as an offence (Legal Commission Services of South Australia, 2006, para 1; Moosa, 2015, para. 4). Deliberate intent to kill is wrong also, but this tale suggests that these two actions or wrongs which the East Timorese now view as bad *lulik* – were instrumental in making the world light. It should be emphasised that this viewpoint is formed from the moral standards of contemporary East Timorese society. The people today do believe that according to their ancestors (who passed on the story), that two “bad *lulik*” actions, that is two negatives, can make a positive: a new world, one that is light and based on *lulik*, an element believed necessary for civil society. This suggests that they don’t believe the second action was wrong, rather one to be viewed as retribution necessary to counter the incest. If the society in which this action was created was lacking in morals, why would the incest be viewed as a problem in the broader scheme of things in the first place? This was a question that could not be answered by those who were asked. However, this is a tale passed down the generations and it is just that, symbolic of the

creation of a civil society. They accept the tale for what it is, as told by their ancestors and pass it on accordingly.

10.3 The significance of objects placed inside *uma lulik*

To explain the significance of the objects placed inside the *uma lulik* I will now return to my own personal experiences.

In July 2014, I was invited into several *uma lulik* in Kutet, a Metonese village in Oekusi by their custodians. Over the years I have been invited into several *uma lulik* belonging to the Makasae, Mambae, Naueti, Midiki, Tetun Terik and Kemak by their custodians or *lia na'in*. The custodians of *uma lulik* are not necessarily the same in each community. Sometimes the custodian of an *uma lulik* may be a village elder, either male or female or even a couple. These *uma lulik* varied in their construction and shape (see Appendix A) as well as the ornaments on the gables of the roofs. However much of the interior design and content was similar across clan groups. All had an open hearth although placement of this was not uniform. In most of them there was a place to sleep for the designated custodian(s) with some *uma lulik* so occupied and others not. Small and very old bags made of animal hide hung from internal posts in many of the *uma lulik* visited as well as *surik* (sword) *rota* (cane) and *diman* (spear). Musical instruments either hung underneath raised *uma lulik* or else inside them (see Figure 133 and Figure 134).

In keeping with what I had seen inside other *uma lulik*, those in Kutet also contained *surik*, *rota*, *diman*, and bits of ancestral cloth, old headdresses and other personal remnants belonging to ancestors, along with the musical instruments played by the Metonese. Most objects I saw seemed very old, the leather bags hardened by weather contained old coins, and on some occasions, ancestral teeth. Everything was covered with a fine layer of the red dust peculiar to the area. The old custodian blended with his surroundings, standing inside the *uma lulik*, just one step away from being an ancestor himself.



Figure 133. *Tohin* stored underneath an *uma lulik* in Mulo (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)



Figure 134. *Tala* hanging inside a Metonese *uma lulik* in Kutet (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)

In all the *uma lulik* visited in Kutet hundreds of dried corn cobs hung in rows from their ceilings. Corn (*batar*) the main staple in this area (see Figure 135) is placed inside the *uma lulik* for protection because the seeds from the corn cobs are vital for the next year's crops. When I touched the sheath covering of one corn cob, it was very dry like parchment; so dry it felt as though it might disintegrate.



Figure 135. *Batar* hanging inside the *uma lulik* in Kutet (photograph: Stahl, 2014)

The East Timorese living in these mountain villages have few personal possessions. The items housed inside these *uma lulik* belong to the whole clan. These consist of objects which are either remnants from the past, having belonged to ancestors, or things necessary in the yearly agricultural cycle of the clan such as the *batar* (seeds). Also inside were articles used for ritual and precious to the clan and then often objects such as cooking utensils for use in daily life by the custodian of the *uma lulik*. I was told many times that everything inside these *uma lulik* was *lulik*, which was further evidence of the ubiquitous general nature of this concept. Material evidence of ancestors inside these dwellings created an aura; one could well believe that the *uma lulik* was a portal to the world of the ancestral spirits.

Outside these *uma lulik* in Kutet are *ni mone* (altar-place in Baikeno language). These are made of circles of rocks and the trunk of a three pronged tree, similar to the altar places found in other parts of East

Timor; however, with one essential difference – in Kutet wedged in the middle of each *ni mone* is a *fatuk* (flat rock) (see Figure 136). When rituals are performed a few pieces of meat are placed on the *fatuk* as offerings to the ancestors. In Tetun, this altar-place is called *tara bandu*. It has other names in other ethnolinguistic groups but serves the same function in them all. For example, in Mambae it is called *natar* or *ete uruha'a - ai to'os* in Fataluku.



Figure 136. *Ni mone* in front of a Baikeno *uma lulik*, Kutet (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)

10.4 Reflections on questions and answers from interviews

Whilst inside these *uma lulik*, where the presence of the spirits of the ancestors seemed so strong, I thought about some of the questions and answers to questions, that I had put to East Timorese musicians, cultural custodians, cultural leaders, artists and cultural advisors. The questions I pondered over were:

Where do you think your musical instruments came from?

What do you think your music is about?

What is the place of music in your lives?

I thought about the answers that had been given to these questions by my informants while I stood inside this *uma lulik*. All those interviewed cared about their musical culture and were concerned about its potential for survival. They had all shared information, stories and experiences beyond the specific questions asked, which helped me to gain a better understanding of the musical culture of East Timor.

I will now review those answers. Those interviewed¹⁶⁵ believe without exception that most musical instruments come from their ancestors. Music¹⁶⁶ for them is about life and/or from life, and for many, they said that role of musical instruments is to accompany performances – either in dance, rituals or song – or that they are used for self-expression. For most of the non-musicians, music is just one of many components in their lives and many believe that music is born with them (the sound of music, not the ability to play it).

For the musicians interviewed, music is a significant part of their lives and many of them play for community events and parties. Music is also a way for them to express their feelings. For some musicians the musical instruments they play are special; in other words, this group believes all the musical instruments are *lulik*. Yet other musicians interviewed said that they did not consider that all musical instruments are *lulik*, only some of them, and some, such as the *kokotere* player did not consider his instrument *lulik* often discarding it after use.

Many of the East Timorese musicians interviewed (who I categorised as musicians because they played the musical instruments for recordings), when asked what they did for a living said they were farmers. The ability to play a musical instrument is not generally perceived as something special to them, or to the communities they come from; they are just the people who can and will play when the need arises. The farmer walking to his farm carries his tools on his work belt, which includes his machete and *kafu'i*, both having a purpose in his daily work. Whilst I stood pondering the answers to these questions, I heard nearby the sound of a mortar pounding into a pestle, providing the accompaniment to a song being sung by a woman grinding *batar*.

At that moment I realised that I was still using labels and perceptions that are part of the musical world in which I was educated. My perception of the habits of the musician in East Timor for example was based on my understanding of the role of the musician in the society I was from, assuming that they would own the instrument they played and after paying for tuition would practice it on a regular basis. The idea of practising a musical instrument for hours (with the exception perhaps of the *lakadou*), is not a consideration for most East Timorese. Musical instruments are taken up and put down as needed as say,

¹⁶⁵ The musicians who were asked the question: “Who taught them to play?” were, Marco Amaral Da Silva (Tetun Terik), Joao Baros (Tetun Belu), Graciano Belo (Waima), Francesca Da Costa (Mambae), Sebastiano Garcia (Makalero), Armando de Jesus (Midiki), Prisca De Lima (Tetun Belu), Alexio Martins (Ataúran/Raklungu), Ameta Mendonça (Makasae), Manuel Pereira (Mambae), Abilio Soares (Tokodede), Paulino Ximenes (Ataúran/Resuk). Others (non-musicians) who were asked the same questions were Orlando Da Costa (Makalero), Augustino Da Rosario (Mambae), Costodio Fernando (Naueti), Leo Guterres (Makasae), Anjelu Kua (Baikeno), Cesario Lourdes (Makalero) Josh Trindade (Naueti), Justino Valentim (Fataluku), Laurindo Ximenes Amaral (Mambae), *lia na'in* Joao Arango (Mambae), Salvatore Da Costa Pereira (Midiki), Jose Ilu (Baikeno) and Afonso Pereira (Mambae).

¹⁶⁶ “Music” refers here to indigenous East Timorese.

when accompanying dance. Often, they are played by the nearest at hand or, whoever is most inclined to do so, whether singing a song, weeding a crop or playing a drum for a ritual.

Applauding a musical performance is not commonly done in East Timor. On one of my field trips I was recording a spectacular performance of Makasae dancers who sang and drummed as they danced. I had a friend with me who had never seen indigenous music being performed and when it was finished she clapped. The performers were startled and then laughed shyly. They had never been applauded after a performance before. The East Timorese (particularly in rural villages) play musical instruments and sing and dance as a natural part of their daily lives. The performers my friend had clapped would normally dance and play their music for the opening of an *uma lulik*, or during *sau batar* celebrations. In a society which places so much importance and emphasis on community, where communal living is the norm with extended families often all living under the one roof, musical instruments are seldom the property of one individual. Their use is shared by a clan group.

10.5 An explanation for the musical instruments being considered *lulik*

The musical instruments, or at least some of them, are stored inside the *uma lulik* in most clan groups, this action resulting in their *lulik* status. This is in accordance with the belief of all East Timorese interviewed that all objects including musical instruments which are stored inside their *uma lulik*, become *lulik*. These objects kept inside the *uma lulik*, are considered to have come from the ancestors or be associated with the ancestral world. The seeds of crops, for example *batar*, become *lulik*. When planted, they grow in the ground which the East Timorese believe is territory of the spiritual world. That sphere is *lulik* to the East Timorese, which is why the ripened *batar* must be made *midar* through the processes of *sau batar* ceremonies (see Chapter Three, Section 3.3).

There are a few exceptions to the *uma lulik* being the place of storage for musical instruments. Fataluku and Makalero clan groups, don't have *uma lulik*, but rather they have *adat* (traditional houses) (see Figure 137), which function for some of the same purposes as *uma lulik*. There is usually an altar-place nearby the *adat* house (*ete uruha'a - ai to 'os*). The purpose of *ete uruha'a - ai to 'os* was explained to me by Justino Valentim: "it is *lulik*, it is the place we go to ask for help from the spirits, only men can touch it and they do sacrifices at this place" (interview, January 30, 2014). When Valentim was asked where objects such as the musical instruments were stored, he said they were kept in the houses of the people who were designated to look after them (2014).¹⁶⁷ The musical instruments of the Fataluku are mostly used for non-ritual purposes. The human voice is the instrument used for ritual occasions by the Fataluku, specifically in the singing of *vaihoho*; these are ancient Fataluku verses chanted and/or sung usually for ritual occasions (see Chapter Eight, Section 8.1) (J. Valentim, interview, January 30, 2013).

¹⁶⁷ "The only instruments designated for ritual use by the Fataluku are the *titir* and the human voice" (J. Valentim, interview, January 31, 2014). The Fataluku, similar to the Makalero people use the *titir* for ritual purpose and store it under the *adat* house.



Figure 137. A Fataluku *adat* house (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)

When I asked Cesario Lourdes a Makalero visual artist, what the Makalero do in the absence of an *uma lulik* and where and how *lulik* rituals are conducted, he explained that the place to conduct *lulik* rituals is within each house:

There is a small place with three stones called *lian*. These are arranged in a certain way; they are in every house and are *lulik*. Fataluku people also have this place and it is called *achakaka*. There is a small stone in this place for each new clan that represents different languages. There is one big stone where they place the meat as offerings to the ancestors for rituals. Only men can touch these stones. We call the rituals we do here *nipere milolo* (*lulik* ritual). If something happens to me then I go to this place and do *nipere milolo* and then it will be ok because I “did” my *lulik*. *Nipere milolo* can only be done if you are married. (interview, January 15, 2014)

Like the rest of his clan, Lourdes believes that the first ancestors were giants. The story he told me which explains and supports this belief can be found in Appendix P. With the exception of the *titir*, the musical instruments of the Makalero are stored in either *adat* houses or ordinary houses. Lourdes, like so many East Timorese interviewed, reveres the ancestors and believes that the musical instruments come from the ancestors.

10.6 The relationship of the ancestors to musical instruments

The key to why the musical instruments can be perceived as *lulik* is the ancestors. The East Timorese regard their ancestral spirits as guardians of the earth, the ancestral world and every object associated with it is regarded as *lulik* by the East Timorese. Those interviewed were asked: “Where did your musical instruments come from?” The stock answer to this question was: “they came from the ancestors”. The musical instruments came directly from ancestors if they were musical instruments once belonging to

ancestors, or, indirectly as musical instruments newly made by East Timorese using the knowledge passed down to them by their ancestors. This belief of the East Timorese makes all the musical instruments *lulik* objects, based on their origin as directly or indirectly from the ancestors, and the ancestral world is *lulik*.

This led me to ask another question: “Do you think the musical instruments are *lulik*?” In hindsight I realised this question was ambiguous. Some interpreted this to be *lulik* in usage rather than *lulik* as an object, and the answers varied across ethnolinguistic groups according to how they interpreted the question (see Appendix O). In some ethnolinguistic clan groups most of those interviewed believed all the musical instruments were *lulik*; for example, most of the Makasae, Midiki and Mambae. Their interpretation of the question was that all musical instruments as objects were *lulik* because they believed that the instruments came from the ancestors. On the other hand, in regard to usage, they thought that only some musical instruments were *lulik*. In other clan groups, for example Tetun Terik, Fataluku and Makalero, their interpretation of the question was different from those in ethnolinguistic groups who believed that all the musical instruments are *lulik*. Many of this group believe some instruments are *lulik* and others not, but their answer was directed to usage. These same groups had also stated that all the musical instruments came from the ancestors and that all objects from the ancestors are *lulik*. For some of those interviewed they had not had a reason to consider whether the musical instruments were *lulik* or not prior to being asked this question.

The Metonese people, who had so generously taken me on guided tours into their *uma lulik*, believe that all the musical instruments are *lulik* because they are kept in the *uma lulik* when they are not used and also because they came from their ancestors. When my guide Angelu Kua was asked “whether he thought the musical instruments were *lulik*”, he answered:

The musical instruments are *lulik* because they come from our ancestors. We don’t use the musical instruments for *lulik* ceremonies, we just use them for parties and dancing. For *lulik* ceremonies we chant or sing unless they are quiet rituals and no music is played in these rituals. (personal communication, 26th June, 2014)

In his answer he had given me a two-fold explanation of the instruments – in terms of them being objects and *lulik* due to their ancestral origins, as well commenting on their usage, which is non-*lulik* for musical instruments located in his clan group.

10.7 The musical instruments: two kinds of *lulik*

Through the process of my research I became increasingly aware that the notion of *lulik* is extremely complex having many compartments in its intricate sphere of influence. There is the face value idea of what *lulik* is as explained briefly to the foreigner. When I first came across the word *lulik* in 2004, I was told it meant “sacred”, “magic” and “taboo”. I was not encouraged to ask further; I just had to accept that certain objects or places are *lulik* and not to question further. When I first came across the *tihak* from Makili, Ataúru, in 2004, I was not permitted to view it because it was *lulik* and also because I was a woman as well as a foreigner, and for these reasons it would be “bad *lulik*” for me to see it. I was disappointed but had to accept that viewing this drum was forbidden to me. However one of my male

companions who was trusted by these villagers explained to them why I wanted to look at it¹⁶⁸ and then it was okay for me not just to look at the *tihak* but make an audiovisual recording of it being played by a local man.

Lulik that is personal can often be more difficult to articulate. East Timorese often refer to *lulik* as “my *lulik*”. An example of this can be found in the statement by East Timorese visual artist Tony Amaral, accompanying his painting *Freedom of Expression*. Although *lulik* is very personal to him he was willing to share his thoughts:

The relationship between me and my art is not far from my *lulik*. Symbols of the animist religion of the East Timorese can be found in my work; for example, rocks, trees, the cosmos and the ancestors. When I was little, my family would do things together. At night time my father would point to the stars and tell me that all the stars were *abó* (grandparents), he also showed me which ones were *abó fulan* (grandfather or ancestor moon), *abó fitun* (grandfather stars) and *abó tasi* (grandfather sea). I paint my tradition, the ancestors and the spirits, but I never have seen them. These things are from the old *lulik* but as an artist I do have my own *lulik* which I express in my art. (interview, July 1, 2013)

Lulik can be tangible and/or intangible. An example of both tangible and intangible *lulik* is given in the following anecdote. When I was walking between *uma lulik* in Kutet, my guide Angelu Kua pointed out an almost hidden, innocuous flat rock on the side of the road. He told me that it was called *sae fenat* and *lulik*, as it is the guardian of the ancient village *Fail Lubu* (shady place) (personal communication, June 26, 2014). *Sae fenat's* physical state was *lulik* but only to those who knew about its existence, and its purpose as a place where offerings to the ancestors might be made. To others, even from the area, who didn't know its *lulik* significance, it was just a rock. With this newly acquired knowledge, the area surrounding this rock seemed to have an aura that was revered, due to the intangible presence of *lulik*, so we spoke quietly in this place fearing to disturb the spirits or guardian.

Tangible objects can be *lulik* both in their usage and handling. For example, the *bobakasa* is a *lulik* drum, its usage is *lulik* as is its care and treatment. *Lulik* can be mutable, that is, a musical instrument can be *lulik* in certain situations and then go back to being non-*lulik* soon afterwards. For example the *baba-dook* and *tala* are frequently used in *lulik* ceremonies, but afterwards they become ordinary musical instruments again able to be used on non-*lulik* occasions.

Musical instruments can also be non-*lulik* and through circumstance or time change become *lulik*, as previously explained by Trindade. (Chapter Nine, section 9.6)

10.8 A scheme for classification

A classification needed to address the indigenous music of East Timor and *lulik* as the two main parts of the scheme. Further elements need to be addressed within the spectrum of indigenous music, such as the

¹⁶⁸ This occurred during my early days in that part of East Timor in July 2004. I embarked on a project *Tekee Tokee Tomak* to document and record the indigenous music in an audiovisual format. This music was at that time considered by East Timorese elders to be in danger of extinction after their generation had died. The aim became a desire to capture music and make the findings available to all East Timorese.

musical instruments themselves and the activities employed in their use. Several diagrams to illustrate these various relationships would be required.

The diagrams created rely on the data and analysis of my field research. Initially I drew up diagrams in the form of mandalas; however, each unit was isolated and did not illustrate the relationships between *lulik* and the musical instruments and their various roles in musical activities. I experimented with sets of Venn diagrams as the interlocking ellipses which characterise these diagrams may enable any relationships that exist between musical instruments and *lulik* to be revealed. In each diagram an ellipse was centrally placed and labelled as '*lulik* origin' or '*lulik* usage' this ellipse connected or overlapped with other ellipses in the diagrams. Through these overlapping ellipses patterns emerged with the various aspects of the musical instruments connecting with the *lulik* ellipse revealing relationships. The scheme evolved into a structured multidimensional partonomy.

The diagram below (Figure 138) illustrates two kinds of *lulik* for the musical instruments; *lulik* due to origin and *lulik* according to usage. The separation of the instruments into the different ellipses of "only non-*lulik*", "only *lulik* usage", "song/chant" and dance is in accord with their usage within the sphere of *lulik* and non-*lulik*

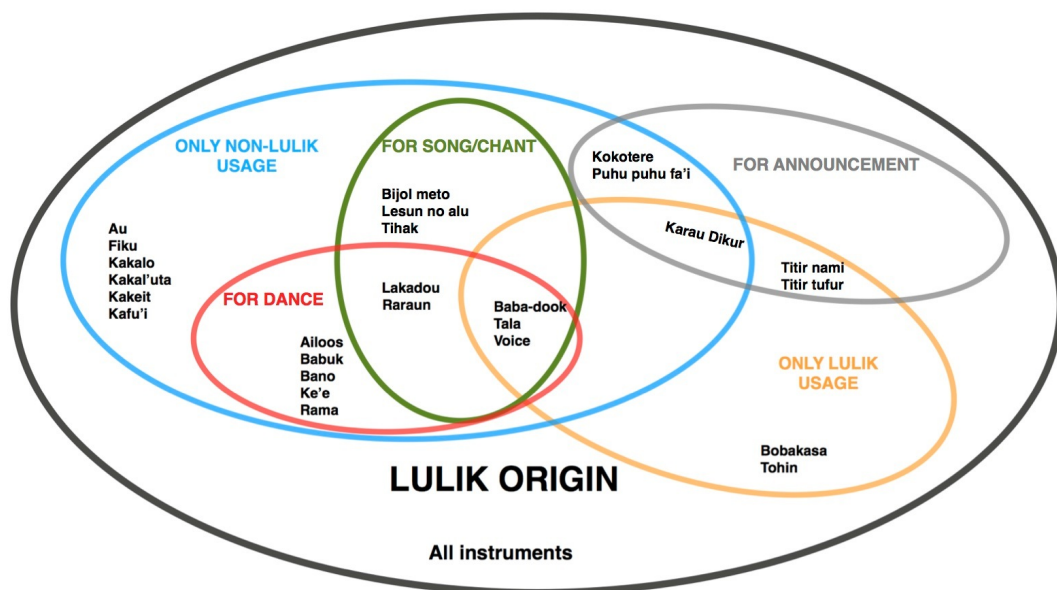


Figure 138. Diagram classifying the musical instruments according to *lulik* origin and usage
(Dunlop, 2014)

Based on the beliefs of my informants the diagram shows that the origins of the musical instruments are ancestral. All the musical instruments, as physical objects, are identified as *lulik* in the ellipse "*lulik* origin". The ellipses placed within the diagram interlock and illustrate the usage of the instruments in two

basic categories of *lulik* and non-*lulik*. The additional ellipses for song/chant, dance and announcement further clarify the usage of musical instruments within *lulik* and non-*lulik*.

The *tohin*, *titir nami*, *titir tufur* and *bobakasa* are only *lulik* in use and those used for both *lulik* and non-*lulik* purposes were *baba-dook*, *karau dikur*, voice and *tala*. The *titir nami* and *titir tufur* are included in the category of only *lulik* usage but placed within the ellipse of announcement. The announcements made on *titir nami* and *titir tufur* are to warn of impending danger, that is, of something that may result in bad *lulik* to the village or to announce a death, which in the rituals associated with the *titir nami* and *titir tufur* are part of *lulik*. The *karau dikur* is not included in the diagram as an instrument only *lulik* in usage. Although it is used for similar announcements as the *titir nami* and *titir tufur* within the realm of *lulik*, it can be used to herald announcements which are not *lulik*, as for example, announcing the arrival of an important visitor to the village. The *kokotere* and *puhu puhu fa'i* are used for announcements, but do not have a function in the announcement of activities associated with *lulik*. The human voice is included in this diagram because, as demonstrated in Chapter Eight it is often the only music source to accompany a musical activity and as such, has a role as the only music provided for occasions associated with *lulik*. This diagram shows that the voice is used for both *lulik* and non-*lulik* occasions within the musical activities of song and dance.

The diagram below (Figure 139) categorises the material substance of the musical instruments into bamboo, metal, animal parts and wood, and places some of them in overlaps of the ellipse '*lulik* usage', which might have a bearing on why certain instruments are used for *lulik* occasions. The *tala*, *baba-dook* and voice are inside the ellipse '*lulik* usage' and also outside this ellipse as they are used for *lulik* and non-*lulik* occasions. I considered the natural elements regarded by East Timorese as *lulik*, that is, certain rocks, trees, earth and animals. The materials used to make most musical instruments are wood, metal and animal products. I considered an axiom of the Mambae with the division of the world into humans (speaking mouths) and nature and animals (non-speaking mouths) (Traube, 1986, p. 18), and the cycle of exchange where "speaking mouths" are constantly required to make some form of compensation in ritual exchange to "non-speaking mouths". Percussion instruments such as *baba-dook*, *tala*, *tohin*, *bobakasa*, *karau dikur*, *titir nami* and *titir tufur* are often used as a medium to communicate to ancestors. Does this role substantiate the idea that the musical instruments could be regarded as being *lulik*? It is an interesting idea that the material of musical instruments is made from "silent mouths" to be later used by "speaking mouths" to communicate to the cosmological world.

10.9 The significance of the material substance of the musical instruments to *lulik*

The diagram below (Figure 139) categorises the material substance of the musical instruments into bamboo, metal, animal parts and wood, and places some of them in overlaps of the ellipse '*lulik* usage', which might have a bearing on why certain instruments are used for *lulik* occasions. I considered the natural elements regarded by East Timorese as *lulik*, that is, certain rocks, trees, earth and animals. The materials used to make most musical instruments are wood, metal and animal products. I considered an axiom of the Mambae with the division of the world into humans (speaking mouths) and nature and animals (non-speaking mouths) (Traube, 1986, p. 18), and the cycle of exchange where "speaking mouths" are constantly required to make some form of compensation in ritual exchange to "non-speaking mouths". Percussion instruments such as *baba-dook*, *tala*, *tohin*, *bobakasa*, *karau dikur*, *titir nami* and

titir tufur are often used as a medium to communicate to ancestors. Does this role substantiate the idea that the musical instruments could be regarded as being *lulik*? It is an interesting idea that the material of musical instruments is made from “silent mouths” to be later used by “speaking mouths” to communicate to the cosmological world.

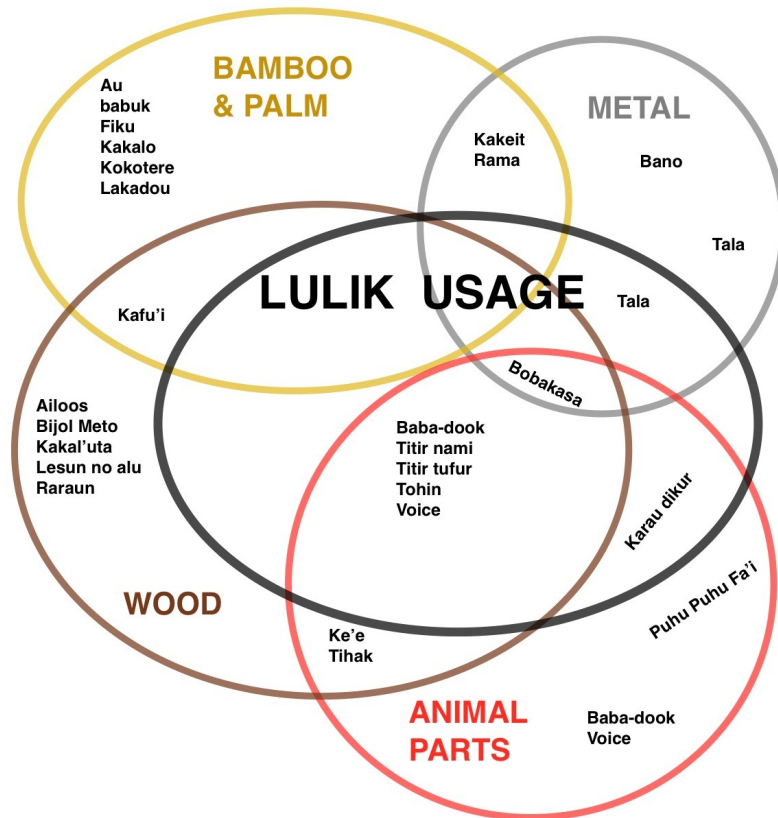


Figure 139. Diagram classifying the musical instruments according to material substance and *lulik* usage (Dunlop, 2014)

None of the instruments made from bamboo or palm are used for *lulik* occasions. Instruments made only of wood do not have *lulik* usage. One instrument made from metal (*tala*) is used for both *lulik* and non-*lulik* occasions and of the two instruments made only of animal parts, *karau dikur* and *puhu puhu fa'i*, only the *karau dikur* is used for *lulik* occasions. Instruments made of a combination of animal parts and either wood or metal are used for *lulik* occasions. Three of the four instruments made from wood and animal parts (*baba-dook*, *tihak* and *tohin*) are used for *lulik* occasions. Only one instrument in the category of animal parts, wood and metal (*bobakasa*), has *lulik* usage. Apart from *karau dikur*, all instruments used for *lulik* occasions are beaten and their dynamic range is loud. All instruments outside the *lulik* (black) ellipse are non-*lulik* in usage. The diagram below (Figure 140) classifies the instruments as melodic and non-melodic and how they relate to *lulik* in usage.

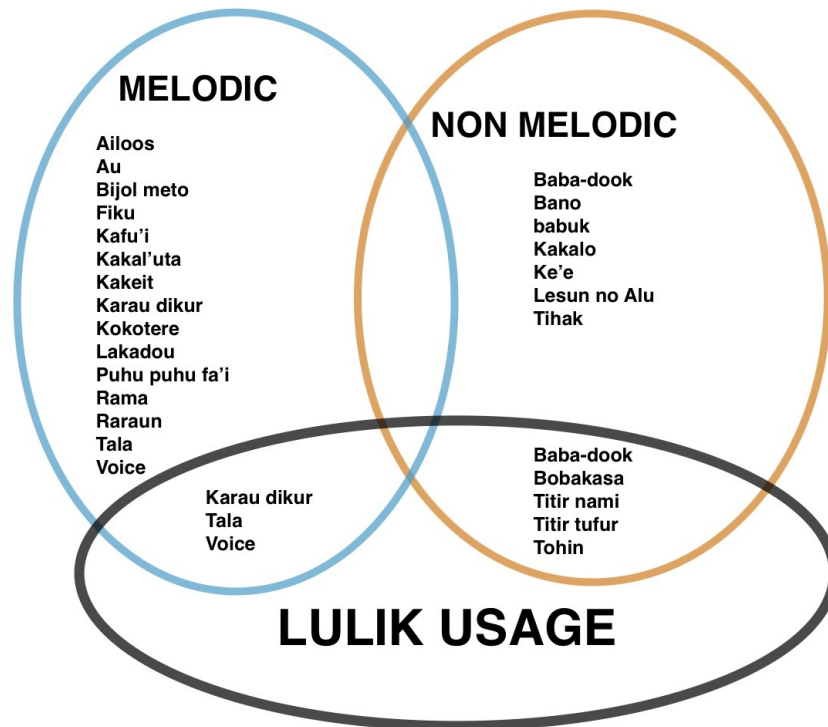


Figure 140. Diagram classifying instruments as melodic and non-melodic relating to *lulik* usage (Dunlop, 2014)

There are more non-melodic instruments (*baba-dook*, *bobakasa*, *titir nami*, *titir tufur*, *tohin*, *tihak*) played for *lulik* use than melodic and only three melodic musical instruments (*karau dikur*, *tala* and *voice*) are played for *lulik* ceremonies. Some melodic instruments such as the *karau dikur*, *tala* and *voice* are played for both *lulik* and non-*lulik* use and the *baba-dook* is the only non-melodic instrument played for both *lulik* and non-*lulik* use.

10.10 The relevance of gender to the musical instruments

The *lulik* circle (Chapter Three, Figure 16) illustrates the domains of masculine, feminine and *lulik* that make up East Timorese society. The East Timorese categorise their world into the masculine and the feminine and both have a role in *lulik*. Josh Trindade explained that the world of noise is the domain of the masculine and the world of silence or soft sound is the domain of the feminine. He clarified this relative to music: “The whole idea of music is that it is masculine because it is noisy, but within the kingdom of music you can also divide the musical instruments into masculine and feminine, because some of the musical instruments are quiet” (interview, June 29, 2012). This statement supposes that as the nuances of music range from loud to soft, loud being masculine and soft being feminine in turn, that the musical instruments could be categorised as masculine and feminine if they are soft-sounding instruments. By taking this idea that musical instruments such as *tala*, *baba-dook*, *bobakasa* would likely be masculine then instruments such as *kakeit* and *rama* in contrast would be feminine.

Those interviewed were all asked the following questions regarding the gender of the musical instruments:

“Do you think the musical instruments are masculine or feminine?”

The musicians interviewed were then also asked:

“Can this instrument be played by males or females or both?”

The first question was generally not understood, or appeared never to have been considered, or else the answer was not known by most of those interviewed. Some misinterpreted the question to mean the gender of the person playing the instruments. The Makalero interviewed were the only group to say that the gender of the instruments is both masculine and feminine based on the main instrument in their clan group being the *titir* and they have both a male *titir* (*titir nami*) and a female *titir* (*titir tufur*). Those who did think that the instruments were gender specific were from Makasae, Naueti and Fataluku clan groups and they said that all the musical instruments were masculine. This assertion was based on their knowledge of the instruments from their clan location and some of these instruments are not found in other clan groups (see Figure 129). Josh Trindade suggested that one of the characteristics of the male domain is noisy and the female domain is quiet. Using this information as the basis for the diagram below (Figure 141) I have depicted the instruments as masculine objects, on the basis that the musical instruments are noisy, and used this as the main criterion for identification according to gender, classifying them further according to gender of use and relevance to *lulik* practice.

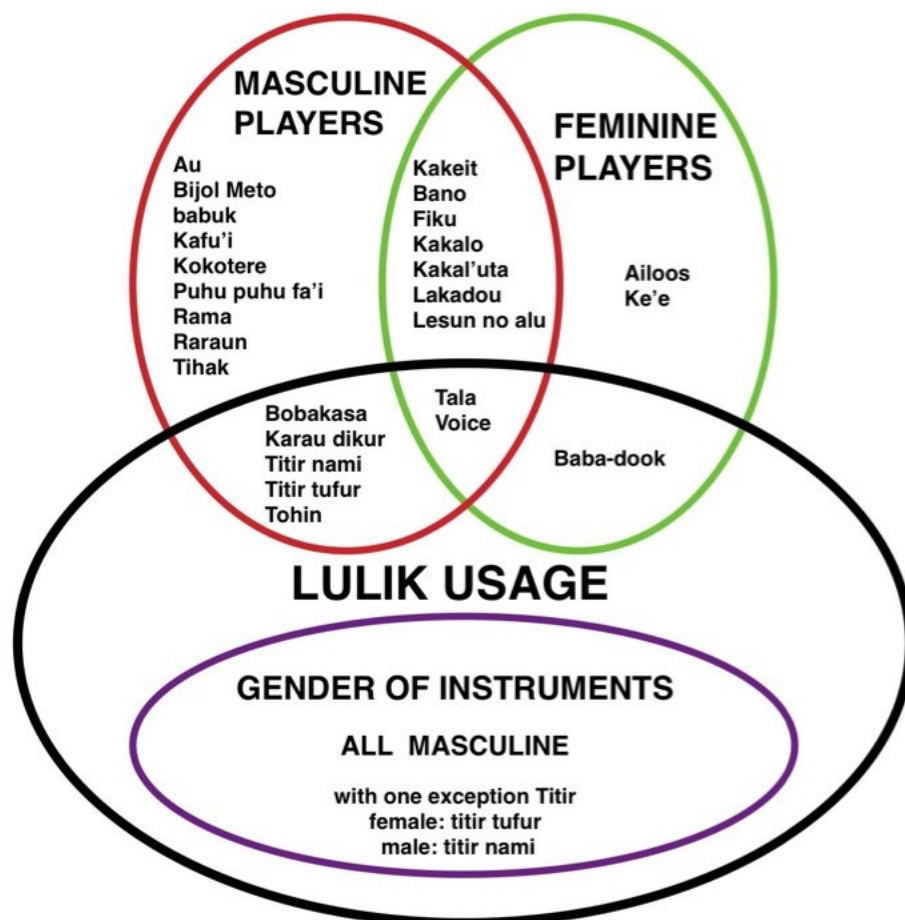


Figure 141. Diagram classifying the musical instruments according to gender and *lulik* usage
(Dunlop, 2014)

The *baba-dook*, *ailoos* and *ke'e* are played by women only, thirteen of the instruments are played by males only and nine are played by both genders. Apart from *baba-dook* and *tala* all instruments played for *lulik* occasions are played by males. The idea of the musical instruments being masculine objects is identified by the purple ellipse encompassed by the circle of *lulik* usage.

10.11 The role and usage of the musical instruments in contemporary East Timorese society

The diagram below (Figure 142) shows the use of the musical instruments in society either accompanying a musical activity, or as instruments performing a role in ritual, daily work or for pleasure, illustrating any relevance to *lulik*.

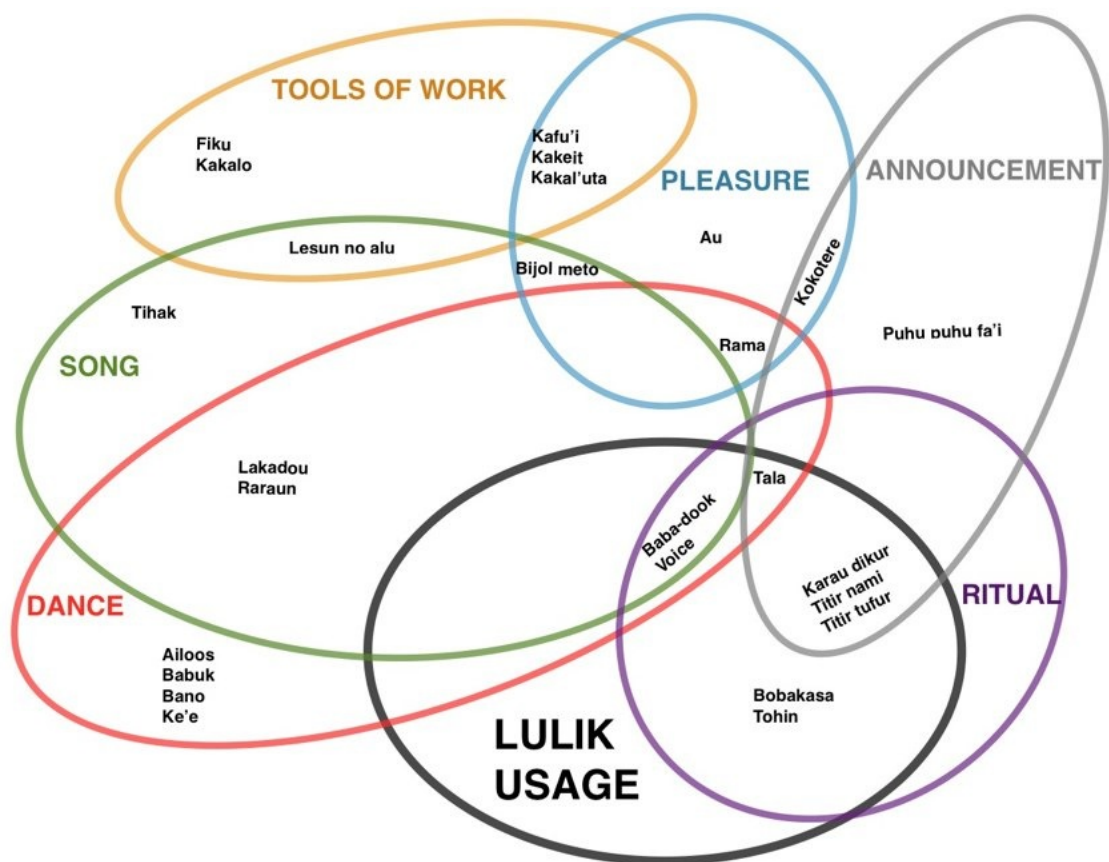


Figure 142. Diagram classifying the musical instruments according to their role in East Timorese society and relationship to *lulik* (Dunlop, 2014)

None of the instruments used as tools of work or played for pleasure have any link to usage for *lulik* occasions. Two of the instruments which accompany dance (*baba-dook* and *tala*) are used for *lulik* events as well as non-*lulik* occasions. Two musical instruments which accompany song (*baba-dook* and voice) are used for *lulik* rites. Three of the four instruments used for announcement are used in *lulik* occasions. All instruments which accompany ritual are used for *lulik* ceremonies. The human voice is used in all musical activities. Several instruments have dual usage; for example the *lesun no alu* is used as a tool of

work and also to accompany song. The *baba-dook* and *tala* are used in four musical activities including *lulik*.

10.12 Factors which emerged from the diagrams

The classification in the five sets of Venn diagrams have centred on a single ellipse in each diagram labeled “*lulik* origin” or “*lulik* usage”. By making *lulik* the central ellipse in these diagrams and overlaying the musical instruments in interlocking ellipses according to different criteria, their interrelatedness to *lulik* was displayed. Musical instruments which are used for *lulik* occasions are more durable than other instruments not so used (apart from drumheads which are made of skin). Drums are the only instruments used exclusively for *lulik*, and four of the six instruments with only non-*lulik* use are instruments which are blown and these instruments are all made of either bamboo or wood. Apart from the *tala* all instruments used for *lulik* occasion include animal parts as part of their material substance. Musical instruments which are used for *lulik* rituals are mostly beaten, non-melodic and loud. No musical instruments used for *lulik* ceremonies have dual usage as tools of work or are used for individual pleasure. Only three musical instruments used for *lulik* rites accompany dance and song. Apart from the *titir* and human voice all musical instruments are regarded as being in the masculine domain which may also have to do with the loudness of the instrument.

10.13 Summary and reflections

- Musical instruments are an intrinsic part of life for the East Timorese people. They are mostly communally owned and often played by whoever has the inclination to play at that time or place and they are rarely used as a solo instrument.
- The main criterion for assessing whether a musical instrument was traditional or not was based on the expressed belief that it came directly or indirectly from the ancestors.
- The ancestors dwell in the spiritual world which is *lulik*. All relics of the ancestors left on earth are consequently *lulik*. The musical instruments both as tangible objects passed on through generations or when made, perhaps very recently, are still believed to have come from the ancestors through instruction and based on this premise they are also considered *lulik* in origin.
- By asking the question “Do you believe these instruments are *lulik*?” two kinds of *lulik* relating to the musical instruments were revealed: These were musical instruments as *lulik* objects and *lulik* in usage.
- The usage of the musical instruments in relation to *lulik* has also necessitated examining the different activities which involve music to ascertain their place in the societal and cultural mores.
- A multidimensional partonomy is proposed to encapsulate the relationships between instruments, their objects and usage and *lulik*. This proposed system uses overlapping Venn diagrams.
- Determining whether the instruments are *lulik* or non-*lulik*, is based on the following: (1) most instruments are stored inside the *uma lulik*; (2) the belief of informants that the instruments originated from their ancestors; (3) the Venn diagram analyses classifying the musical instruments. Taken

together, these considerations revealed that *lulik* is a complex concept. Due to its physical and abstract state *lulik* is often open to misunderstanding and misinterpretation especially by *malae* (foreigners).

- The role of the ancestors in East Timorese society and culture has been an underlying thread throughout my research and this thesis. *Lulik* and ancestors are intrinsically bound. I contend that the indigenous music and its musical instruments are bound to both *lulik* and the ancestors; these are hugely intertwined and the relationship is layered and complexly significant.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Summary and Conclusion

I first visited East Timor as a musician playing the music of my own culture, western art music and knowing very little about the musical culture of the East Timorese but keen to find out. At that time the indigenous musical culture was a hidden one and although there was evidence of some of the musical instruments used to play it, none of this music was heard at that time. Eager to discover what this music sounded like, my explorations into the world of music of the East Timorese began in November 2003. The countless trips were unforgettable journeys. Hours of indigenous music were recorded from many of the ethnolinguistic groups with the assistance of local East Timorese guides. The more we explored this musical world the more we realised the fragility of the culture.

In those early years the East Timorese were still struggling to deal with the trauma and complete devastation of their country and people inflicted on them by the Indonesian military. The Indonesian forces had only been thrown out of East Timor a few years earlier (1999) and INTERFET¹⁶⁹ troops and UN peacekeeping forces were everywhere. It was not uncommon to see convoys of trucks taking refugees back to their villages, or what remained of them. Many refugees took several years to return. These were deeply traumatised people. On an early trip to East Timor when a convoy of more than fifteen vehicles was travelling east, my husband and I were asked to place our small children on the bonnet of the truck we were travelling in so that they could wave to the refugees returning home. This gesture, it was thought, would help to reassure them that if a *malae* child was there then their country was safe to return to again. We will never forget the haunted look on the faces of these East Timorese as they travelled back home.

In these early trips the recordings were mostly of elderly East Timorese who were keen for their music to be recorded. They were concerned this music would disappear with their passing, as transmission is oral. However, some musicians and music groups were apologetic about their performances, not because of the performance standards but because they were embarrassed by the content believing it to be backward or primitive. They believed the music they had performed for recordings was inferior to music of *malae* (foreigners). The young people at that time did not seem to be interested in their indigenous musical culture. After the expulsion of the Indonesian military, peacekeeping forces, NGOs and humanitarian aid came from all over the world. With them came a wide variety of international influences and models of cultural consumption that provided numerous distractions to the youth of East Timor including Western popular music.

By the end of 2007, several of the old people encountered and recorded were dead – musicians such as Pedro Tilman, who was a gifted *lakadou* player and had played for me with his cousin Manuel Pereira. They were the first musicians who played their indigenous music (see audiovisual example 5) for these early recordings. The vivacious and extrovert Francesca Da Costa was another musician who had passed away at the end of 2006. She also participated in one of the early recordings and as she played her *lakadou* she sang Mambae songs with gusto, relishing the attention to both her and her culture, even though the crowd of young people who gathered around laughed at her. Perhaps they laughed at her

¹⁶⁹ The International Force for East Timor (INTERFET) was a multinational non-United Nations peacekeeping task-force led by Australia to address the humanitarian crisis in East Timor during 1999–2000.

because they had not heard these old songs before, or, because she was so uninhibited singing in her elderly, thin voice. Some of the elders from Baki who performed the poetic incantation of the *takanab* so passionately are now dead. Other people from Baki no longer now know the chants these old people performed in 2005. However, a recording of their performance just in time, available in an audiovisual format, can now be accessed by the East Timorese.

To that extent the aims of this project have involved a degree of advocacy, to record, catalogue and provide some understanding of the indigenous music in the context of East Timorese society and culture, before it fades from the experience of its people and to contribute to the maintenance of this culture through its collection and preservation. The outcomes of this project will hopefully contribute to these aims in some way. The specific products of this project were:

The musical instruments categorised by how sound is produced

There are many more instruments beaten to produce sound – fifteen in total – than there are in the other categories. Six instruments are blown and only two instruments are shaken, both these being ankle bells. Only one instrument is pulled and that is the *Kakeit*. Almost all instruments regarded as traditional are handmade and no two instruments are the same dimensionally. The identification of the musical instruments considered traditional, is largely based on the belief by the East Timorese that the instruments come from their ancestors, either inherited directly or as the imparted knowledge and skills for making them. Many instruments in the majority of clan groups are stored inside the *uma lulik*. Apart from the *karau dikur* which is blown, all instruments used for *lulik* occasions are beaten. Apart from the *tala*, all instruments only used for *lulik* occasions, consist of animal parts and wood.

The role of the songs and dances and their relationship to the instruments

Singing is a musical activity in which most East Timorese participate. The human voice is an instrument and whilst it is used to sing melody, it is also used to embellish the instrumental accompaniment of instruments such as that of the *raraun* with vocal effects such as slides, glottal sounds, spoken speech and yodels; often the singing on these occasions uses nonsense syllables. Songs are sung to express feelings and emotion and for communication and not necessarily to other living people; they can be sung to the ancestors, asking for help. Song is often sung to inanimate objects such as shells or trees before they are to be taken to be used for building purposes so that the spirits understand that there is material need for these objects; if the spirits are not placated then the East Timorese believe misfortune will fall upon them and their families. Song is sung to relieve the burden of physical toil. Song is often the way the history of a clan group is passed on from one generation to the next. Song is mostly unaccompanied; however, sometimes it is accompanied by solo instruments such as *raraun*, *tihak* and *lakadou*. When song is accompanied by *raraun* and *tihak* the song is of primary importance even if, as in the case of the *raraun*, the song is largely made of meaningless syllables. However when song is sung with the *lakadou* the *lakadou* is of primary importance.

Two main forms of dance were identified; the *tebedai* which is a line dance and the *dahur* which is a circle dance. The *tebedai* has several variations in style such as the *likurai* and *bidu*. The *tebedai* and its variations are often elaborately choreographed and it is always danced with instruments, mostly the *baba dook* and *tala*. Some line dances are accompanied by solo instruments such as the *lakadou*, *raraun* and

rama. Sometimes the *baba dook* will accompany song; in some instances the rhythm of the song is first beaten by the *baba dook* and those participating will recognise the rhythm and join in the singing, the Naueti song *Si-ba-loi* being one fine example. Unlike the carefully rehearsed *tebedai* the *dahur* is usually a spontaneous dance with many people participating. Singing is generally the only accompaniment to the *dahur* and the musical ability of the participants is of no consequence. The *dahur* is often danced for hours in festive and celebratory occasions.

The role of music in the social and cultural mores

Music is often used in combination with other activities rather than playing a dominant role. For example when music is performed as part of the rituals of rebuilding an *uma lulik*, other activities are involved such as theatrics, incantations, betel nut offerings, costume and feasting. The *tara bandu* is an importance component of the societal and cultural mores; often a large drum (*tohin*) will be resting next to the physical object of *tara bandu*, the altar place. When a ritual of *tara bandu* takes place the drum is often beaten to punctuate the ritual language which may be sung or chanted. When the rituals of marriage take place, music will be one part of the proceedings, its role often being an expression of the joyous occasion. The role of music in rituals such as those of harvest may be one of communicating information to the ancestral spirits, asking for guidance. Later, as part of the festivities such as the harvest rituals, a lot of people are involved and music is one of the stimulants used for entertainment. Music has been mentioned as a means of communication; apart from communing with ancestral spirits it is used to warn of impending danger to the society. It is also used to gather and fortify people before war and to greet warriors returning from battle afterwards.

Music is used as a means of distracting the toil of labour; for example, songs are often sung when weeding a field or hauling the huge logs down mountainsides for building an *uma lulik*. These activities involve entire communities and the music provides a source of merriment. Music is sung by fishermen as they row their boats out for the daily catch and by loved ones who sing as they pound grain in preparation for the funeral rituals of a loved one. Music is sung as part of elaborate multimedia presentations which act out origin myths, the music being integral to these performances; often its role is to punctuate the language and actions of the drama. Music sung for the rituals of death provide a means for people to express their feelings for the loss they are suffering and often provides the medium for telling the story of the deceased's life.

The relationship between the musical instruments, music and *lulik* including a partonomy

By 2008, a number of the elderly musicians earlier encountered had died. It was regrettable that not enough time had been spent talking to them about their culture and their music, learning more about its place in their lives and the society in which they lived. It seemed that if action was not speedily taken to substantially document and detail their musical culture, an entire culture would vanish with the passing of the elder generation who still retained the knowledge and understanding of this musical culture.

In Chapter Ten the musical instruments were classified through the creation of a set of Venn diagrams to determine whether musical sets overlapped with *lulik*. Each diagram has a common thread, a black ellipse labelled *lulik*, *lulik usage*, or *lulik origin*. These revealed that many musical instruments do in fact have a connection to *lulik* as all the musical instruments regarded as traditional by the East Timorese are *lulik* in

origin based on the belief that all these musical instruments come from their ancestors, and by custom and law everything associated with that world is *lulik*. Coupled with this is the knowledge that the musical instruments are stored inside the *uma lulik* by many clan groups (notable exceptions are the Fataluku and Makalero who don't have an *uma lulik* and they in practice store their musical instruments in their houses), and all objects stored in the *uma lulik* (apart from the cooking utensils used by the guardian of the *uma lulik*) are regarded as *lulik*.

One of the problems experienced during the years of field research in East Timor was that the East Timorese, on first encounter, often provide different information about a subject or instrument than they might otherwise provide in subsequent meetings, with the latter information often being more detailed and accurate. Given the knowledge gained, particularly with regard to 'insider/outsider' it is unsurprising that the East Timorese were reluctant to share information about certain subjects, particularly those pertaining to the sacred. When the author spoke and understood Tetun better, the East Timorese were more open and forthright with information and their willingness to perform music. This also applied to those who were research assistants. As the years of field research went on, the East Timorese assistants, the musicians and cultural custodians and myself worked together, trusting one another with the common aim of documenting this precious culture and archiving it in the hope that it might again flourish with generations to come. In the early years of field recordings there was an expectation from the author that performances could be organised more quickly than they were. However, over time as more experience was gained, access was granted to some rare performances such as the *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo*. The lessons learnt were invaluable and will assist my research practices in the future.

The research terrain scrutinised has been broad, involving both the study of the indigenous music and then in considering its place in East Timorese society, as well as the implications for *lulik*. Whilst this thesis has substantially documented much of the indigenous music of East Timor, in some respects it has merely scratched the surface and there is much scope for further research starting with the musical instruments themselves. There are likely origin myths about some of these instruments from areas that were not revealed in this thesis. It is also likely there may be indigenous rituals involving aspects of music which still remain to be revealed.

The songs examined in this research are just a small sample of the indigenous songs that exist. Each fresh visit made to East Timor revealed songs and music not heard before. There is a need to document some of these songs, particularly those in languages which are now only spoken by a few people such as Lovaya, a Papuan language located near Tutuala in the far east of the island. There are likely to be other multimedia ritual performances similar to the unique *Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo* in other ethnolinguistic groups in East Timor. Many of the recordings made between 2003 and 2014 still need to be more systematically archived. This process has begun, in PARADISEC in Australia and in CAMSTL in Dili, East Timor, and some of this material stored in the CAMSTL archive has already been uploaded into UNESCO's Memory of the World Register. However, there is still much to be done. There is definitely scope for this material to be made more public, both in East Timor and internationally. This research provides a basis on which to document and build an archive of substance.

The indigenous music of East Timor is regarded by its autochthonous inhabitants as one part of the whole which makes up life as they view it. The essence of their lives is *lulik* which is central to their societal and cultural mores. Regard and respect held for the ancestors is of fundamental importance to their society.

Lulik and ancestors are intrinsically bound and the musical instruments regarded as traditional by the East Timorese and their use are connected to both *lulik* and the ancestors. The most substantial achievement of this work has been to look in depth at the relationship between the musical instruments used to play the indigenous music of East Timor, which could be examined from a western or etic view, and the *lulik* worldview which is an emic view of it for the East Timorese. Arguably this relationship is one of major significance in any understanding of the indigenous East Timorese culture.

Epilogue

When I began researching the indigenous music in 2003, those who knew it were elderly, and as I mentioned several of them have since died. As I started to write the conclusion to this thesis I learnt that Justino Valentim had just died. He was a veritable guru of Fataluku culture and imparted much of the knowledge of this culture to me. He was deeply concerned that Fataluku culture would eventually disappear, so when I gave him the bilingual book, *Lian husi klamar: Sounds of the soul* that I had written about the indigenous music in January 2012, he was delighted. It gave him hope that the musical culture might continue to be sustained. In 2014, the Ministry of Education in East Timor decided that it was high time a new syllabus was created for students and for the first time this would include indigenous East Timorese culture. *Lian husi klamar: Sounds of the soul* is the only book which is bi-lingual (Tetun and English) documenting the indigenous musical culture and it is to be used as a text for students in schools throughout East Timor.

APPENDIX A

Uma lulik (sacred house) variations in structural emphasis across ethnolinguistic groups of East Timor

NOTE: This is a representation of *uma lulik* from most of the Ethnolinguistic groups. The examples provided for Fataluku and Makalero clan groups are in fact *uma adat* (traditional cultural house). These two ethnolinguistic groups do not have *uma lulik*. Although *Uma adat* have a different function to *uma lulik* (traditional sacred house) the Fataluku and Makalero *uma adat* are included as they are representative of the architectural design for their traditional houses and the design of the *uma adat* and *uma lulik* within each clan group is similar.

APPENDIX B

Tais patterns showing variation in the different clan groups across East Timor



APPENDIX C

Origin Myth from the Carabaulo clan (Hicks, 1976, pp. 65–66)

This myth was told to David Hicks in 1967 by a member of the Carabaulo clan, a woman called Agostinha Soares, of Mane Hat Village. “It is often recited at birth rituals, it links the house womb with the human womb, buffalo womb, pregnant stone and a tree” (Hicks, 1976, p. 65).

Once upon a time a mother buffalo gave birth to a human daughter whom she named Bui Lailua. The girl was a princess. Inside a tree enveloped in dense foliage the mother built their house. One day when the buffalo was out walking human beings searching for food arrived at the house, ransacked it, and took the girl to their village.

On the way they stopped to let their womenfolk scoop water into their pitchers. While the women were doing this a prince came along hunting. As he came near he saw the princess. The prince fell in love with Bui Lailua on the spot, and wanted to marry her. She told him, “You’ve taken a fancy to me, but watch out! Mother’s a wild buffalo”. “I’m getting a horse to carry us away,” the prince replied. He got the horse, and together they rode off.

Bui Lailua’s mother arrived back at the tree to find her only daughter missing. She had gone! The buffalo smelt the girl’s trail, sniffed again to make sure, and trundled after her. The runaways reached the top of a nearby hill, looked back and saw the old animal lumbering up towards them. “Bui Lailua,” she panted, “why not stop for me?” Her daughter retorted, “Come *on* mother, I *have* stopped. “Then, to the prince,” the buffalo cow commanded, “Do the same, my son.” But instead of halting the prince took Bui Lailua to his home.

The buffalo eventually reached the prince’s house. Inside she could see them “eating” [copulating] in their *uma lolon*. Had she ever caught them! Furious, the buffalo charged at the building, making it buckle. She kept bashing away until its pillars, beams, struts and verandas were powder. She was so wild that even then she couldn’t stop. At the first onslaught the girl had said, “husband, go and collect every villager who owns a gun. Tell those without to bring their spears.” Hearing this her mother boasted, “No one can wound me. None of this rabble will be able to kill me. All they can do is make me tired, kill me, they certainly can’t. Would you wish me dead? I think I shall become a tree. You still won’t be able to kill me, no you can’t. Yes, I’ll turn into a “tree of many fruits”. I shall put down thorny bushes around my tree, so neither pigs nor dogs will be able to nibble at my wood. You’ll see. From within the tree I’ll make it blossom.” The village folk came to help Bui Lailua, but the buffalo’s horns slew many. During a lull in the carnage, she took her daughter to one side, showed her “the tree of many fruits” and entered its trunk.

The villagers chopped down the tree and examined it. Just as the old buffalo had predicted, the pigs and dogs could not nibble away at its pith. They returned to their homes. Four days later “the tree of many fruits” had blossomed. The prince and his wife could see that the trunk had become a pregnant stone, the buffalo’s horns were now made of gold, her hide was a magnificent piece of cloth, and her bones made of gold and silver. They carried their treasure home.

APPENDIX D

Kemak origin myth of the first *uma lulik* – transcribed by Andrea Molnar (2005)

(Northwestern University Illinois, “East Timor: An introduction to the history, politics and culture of Southeast Asia’s youngest nation”, part 3, 3.d).

Four ancestors, Loe Mau, Dada Mau, Pi Kali Mau and Kali Mau, went on a trip. They were heading to Liu Rai Tasi Balu, but only got as far as Lis Tete Bu Rema. It was very dark and they could not see the path. So they went to Loa Lae and Mau Lae to ask for a big male disc (*cumara*) and used this to light the path (*pilo sala*). On the way they went down to the River Luro and then went up stabbing the earth. They looked inside and saw Bu Leki weaving. They threw down a very sweet orange. The giant ancestress was surprised as the orange fell on the *tais*. She called up to them: “Speak Mambai” (as an aside, the teller explains, “the first language of Timor was Mambai”). Then she said: “Not bad!” Then the ancestors pulled up from that earth cave the sacred sword and spear and the sacred axe (*belaki luli, suri luli, ta luli*). Then the ancestors went to cut down some sacred trees (*ai*¹⁷⁰ *mamar, ai ta buci, ai ora, ai ili goru* and *ai taha buci*). There are no more sacred trees inside the earth, in the ancestral earth cave; they are all on top of the earth now. They cut down the trees to build houses but the sacred trees were so heavy, they could not lift them. So they piled the trees on the sacred spears and then they could easily lift them to take back to the village. First they made rectangular houses with no roof. Then they remembered and made long houses (*lobor*) with rooms for each family. Still they did not build a roof. When the big rains came, they were always wet. They observed that their dog was always dry. So one day they tied the lime container with a piece of cloth to the dog’s neck and followed the chalk line. When it rained, the dog hid inside the high grass (*lei: Imperata cylindrica*) and was dry. So they collected this *lei*-grass (*dut mau lei*) and covered their houses. However with heavy rains they still got wet so they went to get a central post and two supporting posts and made a round roof that they thatched with *lei*-grass. Now that is how we make our *uma lulik*. (pp. 100–101).

¹⁷⁰ *ai* is the tetun word for tree.

APPENDIX E

***Hisik Fini* – To Sprinkle the Seeds – Wehali ritual – Tom Therik (2004) Wehali: The female land: The traditions of a Timorese ritual centre.**

(Below is a summary of Therik's observations of this ritual).

This ritual is carried out to “make the seeds alive” and every man with a garden is obliged to bring their seeds to be “cooled” in the *uma fukun* (house of the head of the clan). Not all seed is included in this ritual, only seed considered ritual seed. Wet rice for example is not “ritual seed”. Only rice cultivated on dry land is ritual rice.

The day before (the ceremony) a young man is ordered to climb a coconut tree to pick a coconut which is considered “cooled” and that can do the job of cooling the seeds, it must be an unformed young nut and not have flesh inside considered “cooked”. The top part of the nut is cut so it does not separate from the rest of the nut. A few drops of sacrificial pig's blood are mixed with the coconut juice then hung on a rack on the hearth of the house. The same man must pick a branch of leaves *ai tahan malirin* “cool leaves” which are later used to sprinkle the liquid onto the seeds by the people who gather at the ritual place. The seeds needing blessing are piled in front of the sacred house. The *ferik* (old woman) who is the guardian of the house prepares a betel nut offering. The medium (communicating to the ancestors) is always a man, normally the head of the hamlet. He and the *ferik* distribute the betel nut boxes and pouches (each contains one slice of areca nut with a betel leaf) to those present. This ceremony is necessary to inform the ancestors and ask for their help for good growing conditions so the seeds will flourish. People firmly believe if they do not participate in the rite of *hisik fini* that their crops will be destroyed.

This ritual is accompanied by feasting and merriment, with the participants dancing and singing around the *ai toos* (sacrificial pillar) and festivities can go on all night. In the early morning when it is quiet the men bring their seeds to the garden, total silence is needed so the sleep of predators (birds and pigs) isn't disturbed. Before planting the owner of the garden has to cool the soil, coconut juice from a young unformed nut is sprinkled in a small area in the middle of the garden called *troman*. A *troman* is made of a post called *ai toos* (strong wood) the coconut is hung from this and a few flat stones laid around it as places to offer sacrificial meat. When the ground and seeds are ritually cooled planting can begin. Both men and women are involved in planting, once the seeds are planted they “have been ritually born, or have come alive”. (p. 199)

APPENDIX F

Wehale Harvest Prayer: Transcribed by Tom Therik (2004, p. 201) Wehali: The female land: The traditions of a Timorese ritual centre.

<i>Ab bei sia iha kukun kalan</i>	Oh ancestors in the dark, in the night
<i>bei feto bei mane</i>	female ancestors and male ancestors
<i>ama Tiku bei Tiku</i>	father Tiku, ancestor Tiku
<i>Emi kre'is ama Maromak</i>	You are the ones that live closer to Father, the
<i>Maromak iha leten baa, iha as baa</i>	(who lives) alone, (who lives) in the height
<i>Titu tuun baa ami</i>	Observe us from the above
<i>hutun no renu</i>	(your) folk and people
<i>iha boku fatik</i>	(who live) in the muddy place
<i>iha abut kakias</i>	(who live) in the orphan roots
<i>Iha Le'un Klot</i>	in Le'un Klot
<i>iha uma Makde'an</i>	in the house of Makde'an
<i>Ohin loron ne'e ami at hakserak tinan foun</i>	Today we offer the new year
<i>loron ami to'o mak ohin loron</i>	our day is due today
<i>dadi ohin loron ne'e ami ho'i hakne'an ne'e</i>	So today we want to kneel down
<i>ami Tiku bei Tiku</i>	Father Tiku, ancestor Tiku
<i>klaut no funan</i>	the sliced nuts (boys) and flowers (girls)
<i>atu rodi netik lilin oan ida</i>	are going to disturb you by lighting candles
<i>atu rodi netik batar oan ida</i>	disturb you by bringing maize
<i>atu rai baa bei sia</i>	(they) want to offer them to you
<i>iha tafatik</i>	in palaces
<i>iha uma kukun</i>	in dark houses
<i>iha uma kalan</i>	in night houses
<i>iha let</i>	in narrow places
<i>iha luan</i>	in broad places
<i>Dadi ha'ukan hakmasin bei sia iha leten iha as</i>	So, my plea, oh ancestors, who live in the height
<i>ta'an tilu hanono</i>	above
<i>tan ohin loron ne'e</i>	open your ears and listen
<i>klaut no funan</i>	because today
<i>atu rai netik manu oan ida baa emik</i>	the sliced nuts and flowers
<i>emi tanasak, emi kakaluk</i>	will disturb you by offering a chicken in
<i>no tenik batar oan ida fulin ida ka rua</i>	your baskets and your pouches
<i>atu rain baa emi rate sia iha</i>	and also one or two cobs of maize
<i>the uma kukun uma kalan</i>	(they) will lay down those things on your graves, in
<i>Dadi lia hau mak ne'e dei</i>	dark houses, the night houses
	that is all I want to say

APPENDIX G

Physical Properties of the Indigenous Musical Instruments of East Timor

INSTRUMENT NAME: LOCAL LANGUAGE	INSTRUMENT NAME: ENGLISH	MATERIALS	DIMENSIONS	DURABILITY
Aur Tetun	Bamboo wind instrument	Bamboo	Varies no two are the same. Consists of two cylindrical tubes one fitting inside the other. One measured: 100cm length x 10cm diameter, the thinner longer tube 120cm x 4 cm. Both ends of the inner bamboo tube are open, the bottom of the outer tube is closed by the the natural nodes of the bamboo.	Can last several years unless termites eat them
Fiku/ Tetun Palkoekoe Fataluku	Palm Trumpet	Bamboo Leaf	Varies no two are the same - length: 25 cm to 50 cm as no two are same size . It has a conical bore with diameter of approximately 1 cm at the mouthpiece end and varying in the diameter of the bell end from 8 cm to 20 cm. Some have one or two finger holes, others none.	Fiku not durable as leaves decompose quickly, essentially a disposable instrument
Kafu/i/ Tetun	Flute	Wood or bamboo	Varies no two are the same. Length: 18 cm - 80 cm in length. Wooden Kafu/i most prevalent with a hole at the top and bottom. Body often has a conical shape from 4.5 cm at the top end to 1cm at the bottom end. The bore is cylindrical. Some models have one or two finger holes. Bamboo Kafu/i measured had 5 finger holes and a reed bound with string to a register hole, length - 47 cm, cylindrical bore, 2 cm in diameter. The distance from the mouthpiece to the register hole - 7 cm, the first 3 finger holes - 3.5 cm apart, 4th finger hole was 6 cm from 3rd finger hole, 5th 3.5cm from the 4th. Bamboo kafu/i boot has 4 finger holes, length - 80cm, bore 1.5cm. Kafu/i Kik - length 65 cm bore 1.5 cm.	Wooden Kafu/i can last a long time. Bamboo Kafu/i less durable - more easily broken prone to termites eating them
Karau Dikur Tetun	Buffalo horn	Buffalo Horn	Varies no two are the same, from 35 - 60 cm in length, conical bore, the one measured was 35 cm length, diameter bell 11 cm, mouthpiece diameter 1 cm.	Durable - last a long time
Kokotere Makasae Pokotere/ Naueti	Palm trumpet	Bamboo, for tube, palm wood - the tongue, Bamboo leaf - the bell	Varies no two are the same. Length of one measured - 1.5 m long, bore - 5 cm diameter. Palm trumpet bore matches tube at connection end and is conical, diameter of bell end - 20 cm. The mouthpiece hole is rectangular 14 cm x 0.5 cm, a palm 'tongue' (or reed) balances inside the hole secured in place by twine or tape.	The palm bell not durable- often instrument is thrown away after use
Puhu Puhu Fai	Conch Shell Horn	Shell	Varies no two are the same. One measured: length 22 cm, mouthpiece hole 3cm from posterior end of the spire.	Durable - lasts a long time
Bijol Meto Oekusi	Hand made Ukelele	Wood, fishing line, animal hide	Varies no two are the same. One measured: whole length - 52.5 cm, fingerboard - 26 cm, body- 26.5cm, body width: 12 cm - 14.5cm, depth: 5.7cm, neck width: 3.5cm, 4 tuning pegs: 8 cm long & 1 cm thick, body wall: 25cm - 50cm thick. Sound hole: 2 cm x 2 cm, fingerboard is fitted into the body (dovetailed joints and glued), (others observed were carved in one piece on wood). Four nylon fishing line strings, tuned 4th apart, fretless instrument, strings close to the finger board - bridge .05 cm high, strings wound around the front of the pegs, and pass through holes on the headstock the top of the neck, front to back, fasten to the tail piece by threading them through holes punched into the leather tail piece and knotting them. tail piece is animal hide and fastened to a wooden peg at the back.	Can last several years unless termites eat them

INSTRUMENT NAME: LOCAL LANGUAGE	INSTRUMENT NAME: ENGLISH	MATERIALS	DIMENSIONS	DURABILITY
Lakadou/ Tetun	Bamboo tubed zither	Bamboo	Varies no two are the same. Tube is from one node to the next node of bamboo dictating length. One measured: 45 cm length, 10 cm diameter. The hole cut in the back of the <i>lakadou</i> - 3 cm x 8 cm. The strings are cut from the smooth surface of the bamboo, 8 strings on model measured (strings can vary from 7 - 24 cms). A plaited bamboo band at each end of the <i>lakadou</i> holds strings firmly in place. Two moveable bamboo chocks under each string for tuning. Placement varies for each string and tuning for each performance.	Durable unless termites eat them. Strings cut allow for a space between each string, so when a string breaks another can be cut from the allotted space. When the new string breaks then the <i>lakadou</i> must be replaced
Rama/Tetun Akiamo Makadade	Musical mouth bow	Bamboo, coconut wood (beaters), wire for the string	Varies no two are the same. On one measured, bamboo bow 80 cm - length, width of the bow centre - 1.5 cm, end - 5 cm, the length of wire string (called <i>aramé</i>) - 64 cm, a tuner wire (2 cm long) is attached to the string and bamboo bow and slides to a position keeping wire taut about 28 cm down the length of the wire. The beater - 24 cm length.	Can last several years unless termites eat them
Raraun/Tetun Terik	Hand-made guitar	Wood, coarsely woven cloth, nail, fishing line	Varies no two are the same. Dimensions on one measured: body is cut as one piece of wood (<i>ai-kalira</i>) and hollowed out. Sound board front is glued on top is 5 cm in depth and the walls of the body almost 1 cm thick. Fingerboard is fitted into the body (dovetailed joints and glued) - width 6 cm. Body - two pear-shaped equal proportions, width at belly 28 cm. Length of the body - 80 cm, fingerboard 46 cm, bridge - 3 cm high. Tail piece: cloth with a nail sewn across it to keep it straight and flush with the bridge. Strings - fishing line - fasten onto tail piece. At the headstock are four tuning pegs positioned front to back, the strings are fed through grooves and wound around each tuning peg.	Lasts a long time
Ailooos/Tetun Terik	Leg xylophone	Wood	Rare, (only one set in Timor). There are four sets of wooden keys, each pair slightly different in size from each other and within each pair one is a difference of 1.5 cm to 2 cm. Keys of one pair being 40 cms & 38 cm in length respectively, 4 cm thick (at widest point), another 38 cm (36 cm) in length & 4 cm thick, another 42 cm (40 cm) in length/4 cm thick, another 37 cm (35 cm) in length 4 cm thick. Two wooden beaters: 20 cm length, 2 - 3 cm thick.	Last quite a long time - the older the keys of the <i>ailooos</i> the more brittle the tone (wood becomes more dried out)
Bano/Baikeno	Brass ankle bells	Brass or aluminium, bamboo and palm twine (or hemp or cotton)	Varies no two are the same. Each bell (brass or aluminium) is 1.5 cm x 2 cm in size. Each have a slit and a small metal ball inside each bell. They are threaded onto a twine or rope length with bamboo tube connectors, (0.5 cm diameter - 2 cm length) between each bell with 20 - 24 bells on each string of bells (length 45 - 60 cm). Weight of these strands of brass bells varies: 4 - 5 kilograms (less for the aluminium bells).	Last a long time thought chord and bamboo sometimes needs to be replaced
Babuk/ Tetun Terik	Bamboo leg bells	Bamboo, seeds, palm twine	Varies no two are the same. Each bell between 1.5cm x 2 cm, made of bamboo leaves which is folded into a triangular shapes in which rice or corn seeds are placed, 23 -25 bells are threaded onto a twine chord.	Not durable as the bamboo leaves eventually rot
Kakalo/ Fataluku	Bamboo slit drum	Bamboo	Varies no two are the same. Length according to that of the bamboo node to node, extending to the second node. They are hollow, with the nodes at each end remaining closed, thus creating a resonating chamber. On one measured: 35 cm, 5.5 cm in diameter with a handle 16 cm long, cut as a continuation of the second node of bamboo. One side is cut flat with a slit 25cm in length is cut into it, 2 cm in width. The beater is made of bamboo of no specific length. The one pictured 15 cm in length.	Not durable. Essentially a disposable instrument, also prone to termites

INSTRUMENT NAME: LOCAL LANGUAGE	INSTRUMENT NAME: ENGLISH	MATERIALS	DIMENSIONS	DURABILITY
Kakai'uta/ Fataluku	Suspended log xylophone	Wood (<i>pokura</i>) and palm chord	Varies no two are the same. Consist of three wooden logs suspended horizontally (from a branch of a tree or similar) by hemp chord or palm twine, the logs are loosely held in place so they vibrate when struck. The one measured: 1st: log: length 80 cm, 2nd: 84.5 cm, 3rd: 86.5 cm, the diameter inconsistent, basically tree branches which has uneven diameters. Eg: one measured 7cm - 9 cm - 10cm. The height of the <i>kakai'uta</i> dropped from the suspended branch: 100 cm. The beaters 30cm x 3cm	Durable
Kakeit/ Tetun Rai Rai/ Waimea Snarko/ Mambae Knobe Baikeno Nagu Makasae Pepuru/ Fataluku	Jaw harp	Bamboo, (or coconut wood or metal or leaf), string	Varies no two are the same. One Bamboo <i>kakeit</i> measured: 11.5 cm - length, width at thickest end 2 - 3 cm, 1 cm at thinnest end. Tongue is cut out of the same piece of bamboo shorter than the whole length of the <i>kakeit</i> , in the one measured 9.4cm. 11cm length of string tied to the end of the <i>kakeit</i> for pulling at the tongue	Bamboo and wooden models - durable unless termites eat them. Metal models - durable
Lesun no Alu Tetun	Mortar and Pestle	Wood	Varies no two are the same. <i>Lesun</i> is a large wooden log hollowed out as a trough and laid horizontally on the ground length varies 1.5meters - 3 meters, height between 10 - 20 cms. <i>Alu</i> (poles) 2 - 2.25 meters x 5 - 8 cm diameter	Durable
Tala/Tetun Dadili/Maksae Sene/Baikeno Dadili/ Mambae	Gong	Metal & wood	Varies no two are the same. Some are bossed, unbossed, some have a deep rim and others thin rim. Some have a second raised circle between the bossed centre and the rim, others flat surface. Two measured: one smaller than the other. The larger: 26 cm diameter, Bossed centre 5.5 cm diameter, a raised centre of 16 cm diameter, rim depth 2.5 cm. The smaller: diameter 22 cm, bossed centre 5.5 cm, raised centre 14.5 cm, rim depth 2.7 cm	Durable
Baba-dook/ Tetun	Small single- headed standing drum	Wood, animal skin (usually goat), or bat wing or renal cortex from buffalo kidney, (palm twine or wire if snared)	Varies no two are the same. One measured: 38 cm in length, diameter of 16 cm at the skin-head, 14 cm at the base. Conical drum shell, circumference at the base 32 cm. The skin is pulled over the drum-head with twine sewn through the edge of the skin to a circular band made of bamboo or wire. 6 to 8 wooden chocks (shaped as a triangular wedge) are pushed into the circular band to keep the skin taut. A handle of skin and twine is attached to the drum, (some are snared, twine or metal string stretched across the skin-head)	Shell casing - durable, skin needs to be replaced at regular intervals

INSTRUMENT NAME: LOCAL LANGUAGE	INSTRUMENT NAME: ENGLISH	MATERIALS	DIMENSIONS	DURABILITY
Bobakasa Makasae Bobakasa Makalero Tamboor/Tetun Kak/Mambae	Double-headed drum	Wood, metal, bamboo, twine, animal skin (usually goat)	Varies no two are the same, depth of <i>bobakasa</i> most notable difference. The one measured: cylindrical drum shell, metal, 15.7 cm in depth, diameter of 36.4 cm. The drum sticks called <i>bobakasa girte</i> (Makasae) 32.2 cm length, diameter 1.5 cm. Double-skinned (goat) stretched across the drumhead laced with palm string which secured by bamboo band each end	Shell casing - durable, skin needs to be replaced at regular intervals
Ke'e/Baikeno	Single-headed four legged standing drum	Cocoanut wood, goat skin	Varies no two are the same. Conical drum shell open at the base end. Stands on four legs, one measured 12 cm length. Drum shell 55 cm length, 30 cm. The skin (goat) is drawn across the drumhead and fastened with nails, on some the skin is threaded with palm chord and laced to a band of same chord half way down the drum shell, kept taut with wooden chocks inserted between chord and shell	Shell casing - durable, skin needs to be replaced at regular intervals
Tihak/ Makili Baba-boot Tetun	Large single- headed drum	Wood, goat skin	Varies no two are the same. Drum-shell conical, 64 cm - length, diameter at the skin-head - 30 cm, diameter at the base of the drum shell 15 cm. A band palm string is nailed to the drum about 8 cm down from the drum head. Another band made of the roots of the <i>akadiru</i> tree (sour fruit tree) is fixed to the rim of the drum shell, palm rope from the <i>akadiru</i> band is looped onto another band of same material and secured to the drum shell. The skin is stretched over the <i>akadiru</i> band and tucked back into it and left in the sun to dry then stretched and pulled taut by the string laced to the band. A handle of rope is attached to the drum to assist in balancing it while playing	Shell casing - durable, skin needs to be replaced at regular intervals
Titir/ Makalero Fataluku, Makasae Titir Nami (male) Titir Nufur (Female)	Large single- headed standing drum	Cocoanut wood, animal skin, (buffalo or goat) palm twine or hemp	Varies no two are the same. There are two kinds of <i>Titir</i> : Male - <i>Titir nami</i> and female - <i>Titir nufur</i> . <i>Titir nami</i> is larger. The one measured was 90 cm - length conical drum shell, the base diameter 19.5 cm, length 10 cm solid wood, diameter of the skin-head 32.5 cm. Drum shell is hollow with skin one end and solid wood the other. The drum sticks, 39 cm - length. The skin is pulled over the drum-head and held in place with a circular band made of skin and rope, rope is laced through this band and looped in a half hitch to another thicker circular band made of rope. Ten to 12 wooden chocks - are pushed into the circular rope band to keep the skin taut	Shell casing - durable, skin needs to be replaced at regular intervals
Tohin/ Mambae Tamboor/Tetun	Double-headed drum	Wood and buffalo skin (some use nails for securing skin)	Varies no two are the same. Cylindrical drum shell, length of one measured the wooden drum shell was 35 cm, with a raised band of wood at the girth of the shell. Diameter of skinhead 42cm. The two drum sticks 35 cm length and 4 cm diameter. The way the skin is fastened to the drum shell varies. Some both skins nailed the the drum shell with metal or wooden nails. One measured skins on both ends laced together with thick rope chord	Shell casing - durable, skin needs to be replaced at regular intervals

APPENDIX H

Musical Properties of the Indigenous Musical Instruments of East Timor

Hornbostel/ Sachs Classification	Pitch	Method of Sound Production	Dynamics	Rhythm	Timbre/Tone	Solo/ ensemble
Au Aerophone	Three pitches: (audio example 16) B, E ♭, A below middle C, the pitches are created by overtones from a fundamental pitch (Eb). Pitches provide an ostinato in ensemble	Held vertically, bottom of the outer tube rests on the ground. The player places his mouth over top end of the inner cylindrical tube and blows, sound is amplified by tube encasing it. Circular breathing maintains the ostinato rhythm	Soft	A repetitive rhythm and regular beat maintained	Mellow, rich and resonant bass sound	Ensemble
Fiku Aerophone	Pitches vary as no two instruments are the same size. One fundamental pitch. More pitches are obtained by altering oral cavity to create a glissando, or by inserting fingers into the bottom of the cone	Held vertically at about 45 degree angle from the body. Player, purses lips, inserts tongue into the mouthpiece and blows hard, sound vibrates down the bell amplifying sound	Loud	No specific rhythms are intended, sounds repeated in an ad hoc fashion	High, course sound, similar to a duck decoy or party whistle	Solo
Katu'i Aerophone	Pitches vary no two instruments are same size. Wooden <i>katu'i</i> - no finger holes produce overtones from fundamental pitch (audio eg:18). <i>katu'i boot</i> & <i>katu'i kik</i> : pitch range about an octave. Pitch range of bamboo <i>katu'i</i> (audio eg: 19) is F # above middle C to F #, an octave higher. Freeform melodies on <i>katu'i</i> producing more than 2 pitches	Either played vertically or transversely. The player holds wooden <i>katu'i</i> vertically and blows across the mouthpiece hole. Some <i>katu'i</i> are held transversely and played by blowing across the mouthpiece hole, which may be at the end or in the middle of the <i>katu'i</i> these models produce 2-3 fundamental pitches	Soft to loud, variation possible	The rhythm irregular and often repetitive. Those with 1 or 2 pitches tend to make bird like rhythms	Wooden <i>Katu'i</i> : bright tonal quality like birdcall. Bamboo <i>katu'i</i> : sonorous depending on length of the <i>katu'i</i> - dark tone quality in low registers and brighter in high registers	Solo
Karau Dikur Aerophone	Pitch varies according to size. Usually a major 3rd (audio example 20) A to C #, achieved through blowing overtones from a fundamental pitch	Played in transverse position, small end held to mouth, purse lips blowing a fast air stream, the vibrations of the air and alteration of the lips amplifies inside the bore to produce the sound	Moderate loud to very loud	Long held notes, rhythm indeterminate	Sonorous, rich and resonant sound	Solo
Kokotere Aerophone	Two pitches in (audio example 21) F and A ♭ below middle C	Held transversely to play holding with both hands, one each side of the mouthpiece whilst blowing into it to push the palm 'tongue' down and vocalising with vocal chords, the palm tongue vibrates and amplifies sound down the tube/bell. The player sucks the palm tongue up repeats actions in a continuous motion, to maintain the sound	Moderate loud to loud	Two notes played as a rhythmic and melodic ostinato, the pulse is constant with a regular beat which is broken occasionally when the player breathes	A deep full-bodied and resonant sound, varies with a softer dynamic when player tires. The buzzing sound heard every 14 or so notes is raucous	Solo

Hornbostel/ Sachs Classification	Pitch	Method of Sound Production	Dynamics	Rhythm	Timbre/Tone	Solo/ ensemble
Puhu Puhu Fai Aerophone	Pitch varies according to size, similar to <i>karau dikur</i> a fundamental with 1 -2 overtones	Held directly 90 degree angle, pursed lips to blow, alterations to oral cavity varies pitch	Moderate loud to loud	Long held notes, indeterminately played	Sonorous resonant sound	Solo
Bijol Melo chordophone	Pitches vary as no two instruments are the same size. Can play chords, on (audio example 4) four predominant chords -BM 5/3, EM 6/4, F# M 7, BM 6/4	Held horizontally across the body, with sound hole faces out. Strings strummed, producing different pitches by depressing strings on fingerboard with fingers. Vibrating strings amplify in the instrument casing which acts as the resonator	Moderate loud to loud	Varies according to song accompanied. Ostinato rhythms	Resonant, mellow, tone	Ensemble
Lakadou chordophone	Number of strings vary from 7 - 24 as no two are the same. Tuning is arbitrarily decided depending on placement of chocks placed under the strings, and tension of the plated bamboo or palm twine band secured to each end of the tube. Lakadou in (audio example 9) is played by two people, has 8 strings with a range of D above middle C to the B a sixth higher). Player one strikes strings with beaters producing pitches G, A, B. Player two strums chords	Played by one or two players. Solo: Sits & it between thighs, strikes strings with two small wooden beaters, or holds it horizontally against torso amplifying sound when strings are strummed. The node on the left hand side of the instrument has a small hole in its centre, player covers and uncovers it with index finger to vary the tone, whilst strumming. Chords are played by depressing strings with fingers of left hand. Duo: one strikes the strings on left end of the <i>lakadou</i> with two small beaters whilst the other strums holding the instrument horizontally	Loud	Rhythm varies according to whether one or two play it and the song or dance it accompanies. Rhythms repetitive ostinato	Bright, percussive sound when struck. When strummed sound is more resonant	Ensemble
Rama chordophone	Three fundamental pitches (D, A, C) (audio example 8). Overtones created by altering the oral cavity. The Timorese believe there are only three pitches for the <i>rama</i> because it is related to the <i>tata</i> , which also has 3 pitches	Held in a transverse position with the bamboo bow placed against players lower lip. The player holds it in the middle of the bow with one hand and in the other takes a coconut wood beater and strikes the string whilst altering oral cavity and modifying the column of air, creating a resonating chamber which produces overtones through the sympathetic vibration of air	Soft	Two tunes, regular beat, repetitive. One tune faster (dancing tune) than the other (walking tune)	Soft, metallic, resonant with overtones	Solo + ensemble

Hornbostel/ Sachs Classification	Pitch	Method of Sound Production	Dynamics	Rhythm	Timbre/Tone	Solo/ ensemble
kaka'uta idiophone	Pitches vary as no two sets are the same. The pitches on audio example 3, were G #, B and C # -enabling a pentatonic tonality	Played by standing behind <i>kaka'uta</i> a beater held in each hand alternately strikes suspended logs loosely held in place by hemp chord allowing them to vibrate logs are the main resonators	Loud	Repetitive rhythms	Resonant with a clear sound	Solo + ensemble
Kakeit idiophone	The pitch varies as there are many different varieties. The pitch on audio example 22, had a fundamental of B, (an octave below middle C) with overtones of B, A and F # below middle C, with an occasional C # above middle C	Held in partially opened mouth enabling tongue to vibrate. Base of <i>kakeit</i> held in right hand, winds string tied to other end around index finger & pulls it whilst altering oral cavity & air column. Metal <i>kakeit</i> : tongue, plucked with the index finger of right hand, to produce sound	Soft to moderately loud	Repetitive rhythm in 2 layers - one plays ostinato the other the overtones	Initial fundamental sound is clear the overtones created from this note are resonant, mellow and sonorous in tone quality	Solo
Lesun no Aliu idiophone	Two pitches which vary as no two are the same	The player holds the <i>aliu</i> and beats it into the <i>lesun</i> , the vibrations in the chamber of the <i>lesun</i> resonate create the sound	Moderately loud to loud	Repetitive ostinato rhythm. The rhythm is dictated by the song it accompanies	Resonant sound	Ensemble
tala idiophone	Pitch varies according to size and if they are flat or bossed gongs. Mostly 2 pitches, perfect 5th apart, a pitch for the bossed centre and another for the rim. In (audio example: 7) pitches C # centre, and G # rim. Some <i>tala</i> are pitched a 4th apart	The player holds a rope handle of <i>tala</i> in one hand to suspend it and in the other a beater to strikes it with, beating alternately on the rim and the centre of the <i>tala</i> . The body of the <i>tala</i> is the main resonator, the vibrations of sound from the centre amplifies the sound	Loud	Repetitive regular rhythms as usually used for dance. As introduction to dance usually 3 evenly placed beats	Bossed: bright & resonant sound. Deep-rimmed: resonates longer when struck. Tone quality of flat <i>tala</i> - little resonance	Ensemble
baba-dook membranophone	Non-pitched	Player stands tucks drum against waist, right elbow holds it in place, both hands play it. Right hand on top other underneath. The fingers beat the drum close to centre of the skin-head, vibrations resonate down the drum shell creating the sound. The player dances as they play. Some are snared, (twine or metal wire) so it rattles when struck	Loud	Repetitive rhythm patterns. Different songs and dances have different rhythms	A resonant warm and mellow tone when playing at the centre of the skinhead, the tone is brighter when beaten closer to the edge of the skin-head	Ensemble

Hornbostel/ Sachs Classification	Pitch	Method of Sound Production	Dynamics	Rhythm	Timbre/Tone	Solo/ ensemble
Raraun chordophone	Tuning of the strings (audio example 12) F #, G #, A #, C #. The player strums the open strings playing the same chord, and vocalises indeterminate pitches often falsetto, syllables mostly meaningless	The <i>raraun</i> is held across the body, player sits and holds the fingerboard with the left hand whilst strumming with the right hand. The vibration of the strings is amplified by the wooden body of the instrument and sound hole which acts as a resonating chamber	Moderate loud to loud	Repetitive ostinato rhythms	Resonant, mellow	Ensemble
ailoos idiophone	Tuned percussion. (audio example 1) A & C #, (A below middle C, C # above middle C), A & B (below middle C). Pentatonic tonality	A pair of keys are laid across the lower legs of the player who strikes the keys with a wooden beater alternating between the two keys	Loud	A repetitive rhythmic ostinato for the duration of the dance	Bright and brittle non resonant sound	Ensemble
bano idiophone	Untuned percussion	A string of <i>bano</i> are wound around the dancer's ankles. Each bell has a small metal ball inside it and these jangle against the exterior of the bell and also each other as they dance, the action of metal on metal creates the sound	Loud	A repetitive ostinato of quaver rhythms, an emphasis on every second quaver	a relentless, loud non resonant sound	Ensemble
babuk idiophone	Untuned percussion	Bells wind around dancers ankles and produce a soft rattle as dancers move. The seeds to rattle against one another and the bamboo shell	Soft	A rhythmic ostinato as unison by dancers footfalls maintained throughout the dance	Soft and gentle sound	Ensemble
Kakalo idiophone	Untuned percussion instrument	Mostly held by its handle, slit faces out without touching the ground, allows it resonate. One side of it is struck. When accompanying dance it is laid on the ground with a chock under each end of it to clear it from the ground so it resonants, it is strike on either the uncut side or the cut side of the drum	Loud	Most commonly played in an ad hoc fashion with no specific pitches. Sometimes was used to accompany dance using a variety of rhythms	Resonant, hollow sound	Solo

Hornbostel/ Sachs Classification	Pitch	Method of Sound Production	Dynamics	Rhythm	Timbre/Tone	Solo/ ensemble
bobakasa membranophone	Non-pitched	Held by shoulder straps, drum hangs in front. Drum struck in centre of one side of skin-head with two sticks, causing vibrations down the drum shell, drum shell main resonator	Loud	Repetitive rhythm patterns, marching rhythms - in a duple meter	Sound is deep, resonant, slightly muffled	Solo
Ke'e membranophone	Non-pitched	Four women squat around <i>ke'e</i> , one beating with palms of both hands striking near the centre of the drumhead, the vibrations resonate down the drum shell to create the sound. It is tiring to maintain the consistent beat women beat in relay to maintain a consistent beat	Loud	The rhythm is repetitive and continues for the duration of a dance	Resonant, deep and slightly muffled	Ensemble
Tihak membranophone	In audio example 14: pitch A ♭	Held in a transverse position, player sits cross legged, drumhead is suspended off the ground by placing right foot under the drum, to maximise resonance of the sound. <i>Tihak</i> held in place with his left hand (or by the rope handle) and beats the drum with the palm of his right hand striking the outer circle of drumhead. The vibrations created resonate down the drum shell creating the sound	Loud	Rhythm varies according to song sung. <i>Tihak</i> accentuates rhythm of the song, beaten sparingly. Sometimes singing starts first and then drum joins in, other times the drum creates the tempo first	Deep, resonant and mellow	Ensemble
tikir membranophone	Non-pitched	Stand upright to play. Player strikes centre of the skin-head with sticks. Vibrations created resonate down the drum shell creating the sound, likely muffled : the vibrations would absorb into the wooden base. (I was unable to hear the drum as no-one had died)	Loud	The <i>tikir</i> is struck 7 at any time, single notes evenly beaten	Unable to hear the <i>tikir</i> , due to the physical nature of the drum it is probably a muffled tone	Solo
Tohin membranophone	Non-pitched	Often suspended by tying it to a fence but sometimes they are placed directly on the ground. The player takes both drum sticks and grasps them firmly and beats the centre of the skin head with considerable force, the vibrations resulting from striking the skinhead resonate down the drum shell to the second skin ,depending on the position of the <i>tohin</i> may produce a clear or slightly muffled sound. It is exhausting to play and drummers usually play in relay	Loud	Rhythm is consistent and repetitive often played ensemble with <i>tala</i>	Resonant and deep, sometimes depending on the position of the drum can be a bit muffled and sound lacking a bit of clarity	Solo + ensemble

APPENDIX I

Ethnographic Properties of the Indigenous Musical Instruments of East Timor

ETHNOGRAPHIC PROPERTIES	GENDER SPECIFIC	ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUP	FUNCTION: LULIK /NON LULIK	FUNCTION IN SOCIETY	ORIGINS/ ORIGIN MYTHS
Lakadou	Male and female	These days mostly Mambae in the past played by Makasae, tetun terik, Mediki and Naueiti peoples.	Non-lulik	Played to accompany <i>tebedai</i> . Sometimes used to accompany songs. These days it may be played in festive occasions as requested by officials as a solo instrument	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation. May have arrived with the Malay migrations. <i>Myth</i> told by Florencia da Costa "when Timor was a young country there lived two brothers. One day they went into the forest and were separated as night fell. The younger brother was frightened and turned himself into a bamboo plant so that no wild animal would hurt him, but he couldn't turn back into a man. His elder brother came looking for him. He heard him singing in the wind and found the bamboo plant that was his brother. The spirits told him to cut the top segment off the bamboo to make a lakadou. He felt he had found his brother when he played"
Rama Aklamo	Male only	Makadade	Non-lulik	Two functions: To accompany dance - <i>tebedai</i> or, for pleasure whilst walking to work on the farm. There are two distinct tunes - one for walking and the other for dancing	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation. Similar to musical bows from Angola. In the early 20th century, Portuguese used the island of Atauro as a prison, Angolans sent to Atauro at this time
Raraun	Males only	Tetun Terik	Non-lulik	Accompanies dance and sometimes a violin plays with it. The violin is played with no chin rest and and the bow held as a "pot grip" rather than the more classical way for holding the bow	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation. Probably arrived with the Portuguese, the <i>raran</i> bears similarities to the (4 string <i>braguinha</i> and the slightly larger instrument the <i>rajão</i> which had five strings)
Alloos	Females only	Tetun Terik	Non-lulik	To accompany the dance <i>bidu alloos</i>	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation

ETHNOGRAPHIC PROPERTIES	GENDER SPECIFIC	ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUP	FUNCTION: LULIK /NON LULIK	FUNCTION IN SOCIETY	ORIGINS/ ORIGIN MYTHS
Bano	Male and female	Baikeno	Non-lulik	Worn by dancers of the <i>bsoot</i> . A string of <i>bano</i> are tied to each ankle of the dancer	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation. Probable Chinese in origin came with traders to Timor from 7th century. An anthropologist visiting Oekusi noted the <i>Bano</i> and <i>bsoot</i> . Later travelling to Northern China he came across what looked like the same bells. He went back to Oekusi studied how the bells were made, how fixed to the feet and the dancing done with them. He assumed since there was extensive commerce for centuries with Timor and China it was likely that the bells he saw in Northern China were the same bells. (retold Daschbach: Priest Oekusi)
Babuk	Males only	Tetun Terik	Non-lulik	Worn by dancers of <i>bidu alioos</i>	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation
Kakalo	Male and female	Fataluku	Non-lulik	<i>kakalo</i> used to scare animals from eating the crops, particularly pigs, children may be given the task of playing the <i>kakalo</i> to scare pigs	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation
Kakai'uta	Male and female	Fataluku	Non-lulik	Originally played by farmers as an instrument to scare animals - particularly birds from eating the crops. Nowadays it is only played in festivals	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation. In the early 20th century Angolans were forced conscripts in the Portuguese army, sent to Timor to quell uprisings. <i>kakai'uta</i> resembles instruments found in Africa

ETHNOGRAPHIC PROPERTIES	GENDER SPECIFIC	ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUP	FUNCTION: LULIK /NON LULIK	FUNCTION IN SOCIETY	ORIGINS/ ORIGIN MYTHS
Kakeit	Male and female	Throughout Timor	Non-lulik	An instrument of pleasure. Often played by farmers whilst minding buffalo or goats. Some people play <i>kakeit</i> to scare off the corn beetle so they won't eat the crops. The Waima clan group use the <i>kakeit</i> (<i>rai-rai</i>) as an instrument in the conquest of love to woo a woman	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation. <i>Myth</i> : An orphan made the first <i>kakeit</i> . One day he was blowing through two bits of old tin trying to make music. He decided to make an instrument to play and took it to the market place to play. He played his <i>kakeit</i> so that the spirits of his parents would look after him. The people asked the boy to teach them and make more <i>kakeit</i> . Now people play to honour their ancestors or ask for their blessing
Lesun no Alu	Male and female	Throughout Timor	Non-lulik	Used to grind grain. Often people sing whilst grinding, particularly when preparing funeral feasts, then they sing about the recently deceased	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation
Tala	Females	Throughout Timor	Both Lulik and non-Lulik	Played in ritual ceremonies such as <i>sau batar</i> , opening of <i>uma lulik</i> and funeral ceremonies and to welcoming guests. Usually played in ensemble with the <i>baba-dook</i> for <i>tebedai</i>	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation
Baba-dook	Female rarely also males	Throughout Timor	Both Lulik and non-Lulik	Played to accompany the dance <i>tebedai</i> , and in ensemble with <i>tala</i> in ritual ceremonies such as funerals, during the building and opening of <i>uma lulik</i> , agricultural ceremonies and to welcome visitors to a village	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation
Bobakasa	Male only	Makasae, Tetun Terik, Naueti, Mambae	Lulik	Played for ritual occasions, and in flag raising ceremonies, (the flag is regarded as <i>lulik</i>). <i>Bobakasa</i> is highly respected by the people, oaths can be sworn in its name	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation. Probably came to Timor with the Portuguese to accompany marching and flag-raising ceremonies. The Timorese adopted the drum initially for the same purposes and then extended its use to other <i>lulik</i> ceremonies

ETHNOGRAPHIC PROPERTIES	GENDER SPECIFIC	ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUP	FUNCTION: LULIK /NON LULIK	FUNCTION IN SOCIETY	ORIGINS/ ORIGIN MYTHS
Ke'e	Male and female	Baikeno	Non-lulik	The <i>Ke'e</i> is played in ensemble with the <i>leku sene</i> (gong ensemble) to accompany dance (<i>bsooi</i>)	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation
Tihak	Male only	Makili	Lulik	Played to accompany certain songs sung by the <i>Makili</i> fishermen. Sometimes the drum sets the beat and other times the drum punctuates the rhythm of the song. The songs are often about everyday subject material, or about the sacred statues hidden in the jungle at the foot of the mountains	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation <i>Myth</i> : The ancestors had nothing to accompany their singing on the island, so they climbed to the top of Mt Makadade, asked the spirits for an instrument to accompany song. The spirits instructed them how to make the <i>tihak</i> . The drum is sacred because of the <i>lulik</i> story
Titir	Male only	Makalero, Fatauku	Lulik	Played to sound the alarm, when someone dies, for a birth. Drum was carved in the shape of a human torso with an animal carved into it (eg: snake, crocodile) to identify clans. Some have the male drum and some the female, these carved drums are kept hidden only certain men can view it. Stored on a shelf under the <i>uma adat</i>	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation During Indonesian times all the <i>titir</i> were burnt and with them the culture of stories and carving them. The modern <i>titir</i> has only recently begun to be made again, but the skill to carve designs on <i>titir</i> no longer exist
Tohin	Male only	Mambae	Lulik	Played in ritual ceremonies and to visitors. It is regarded as a sacred instrument as it is believed to contain a spirit. Stored in or under <i>uma lulik</i> . Often played at the foot of the <i>tara bandu</i>	Knowledge of making it passed on from generation to generation. <i>Myth</i> : That the <i>tohin</i> originated from Mt Ramelau. When the ancestors performed their ritual ceremony they didn't have instruments to accompany their singing. They killed a buffalo and decided to use the skin for a drum. Firstly they dried it and then they carved out a large hollow piece of wood from a <i>lulik</i> tree and stretched the skin over the hole at both ends. The blood from a buffalo is used in the making of the <i>tohin</i> to bless it. Secrecy and mystery surrounds it

APPENDIX J

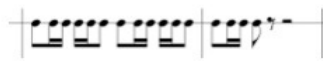
different bijol meto, from Oekusi



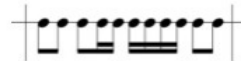
APPENDIX K

***Baba-dook* rhythm patterns from different ethnolinguistic groups - MAMBAE**

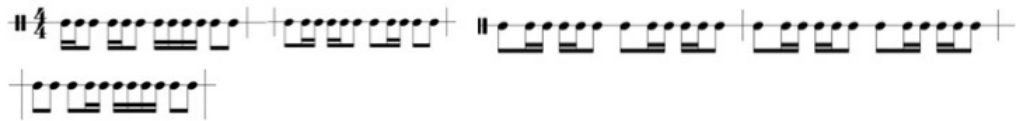
Three different welcome rhythms from Hatubuiliku



tebedai rhythm Hatubuiliku



tebedai rhythm Mulo



Three *tebedai* rhythms from Holarua



Tala and *tohin* welcome rhythms Blaro



tebedai rhythm from Rihau

FATALUKU

Cei - ce - ce - cei - ce - ce ma - man cai - lo - ru u - pu re - si rei - ko - ro ma - man cai - le - ru



Three *baba-dook* rhythms use for the dance *sikire*

BUNAK

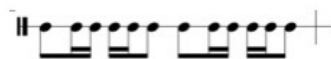


tebedai rhythm from Maliana



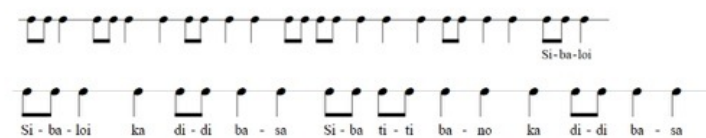
Two *tebedai* rhythms, Legore, Maucatar

MAKASAE



tebedai rhythm from Baukau

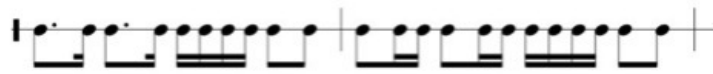
NAUETI



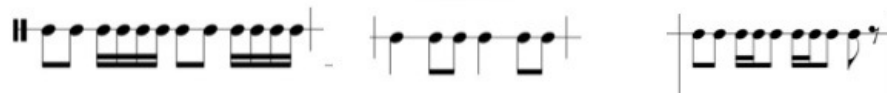
Tebedai rhythm from Babulo

TETUN TERIK (Vikeke)

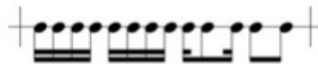
Three *tebedai* rhythms from Nataburu



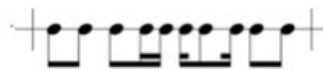
tebedai rhythm from Watelari

TETUN TERIK (Suai suku)

Three *likurai* rhythms from Kamanasa



likurai rhythm from Tilomar



likurai rhythm from Debos

APPENDIX L**Pengbi: Traditional Chinese wind instrument**

Pengbi: Traditional Chinese wind instrument Rongshui Miao autonomous county, Southwest China's Zhuang autonomous region. Photograph, Xinhua, China Daily, August 4th, 2010 (Tingcai, 2010).

APPENDIX M

EXAMPLES OF NELS AND SITS

NEL ONE

<i>O hai aim mitnin</i> <i>O bi nine fai fai</i> <i>O kaslul sa-an</i> <i>O slulu boen hele</i> <i>O Usi boen hele</i> <i>O tite faij mese</i> <i>O bati fai-fai</i> <i>O oinje npipis</i> <i>O pipse nat-au maun</i> <i>O pipse nat-au tuan</i> <i>O tuan-e-maun-Benu</i> <i>O tuan-e Uis maun Benu</i> <i>O in on lite</i> <i>O litje at au pah</i> <i>O litje at au tob</i> <i>(O au ak on i naleok ai ka a-ka-koe) optional</i>	<p>O come and hear In the night time</p> <p>O push it off at night... (rest unintelligible) O divide it into nights... (rest unintelligible)</p> <p>The lord is Sir Benu The lord is the high lord Sir Benu He's like glue (i.e. like a bond) He glues (bonds) the land together He glues (bonds) the people together</p>
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NEL TWO

<i>O au tem nin molo</i> <i>O molo hai kopas</i> <i>O korse nkoit sasi</i> <i>O sasi ma nak isu</i> <i>O isben nafek sala</i> <i>O au sal non mese</i> <i>O tupuk neu Bihenu</i> <i>O tupuk neu Biso</i> <i>O tupuk neu Bikusi</i> <i>O ai Bihenu tabal-bal</i> <i>O ai Biso tama ma'i</i> <i>O ai Bikusi senu-sekal</i> <i>O he taseun i-i-i seka</i> <i>O tamel bet nub</i> <i>O nok nain bien, bien 't nino Kosat</i> <i>O in on a-a-a lite, litje nat au pah</i> <i>O in on a-a-a lite, litje nat au tob</i>	<p>This <i>nel</i> speaks of the king of the lowlands, the da Costa dynasty</p> <p>(mostly unintelligible)</p> <p><i>tupuk</i> = a pile of</p> <p><i>bihenu</i> is forever; the palace of the original King Benu</p> <p><i>biso</i> is here now; the palace of the da Costas from the island of Solor</p> <p>The town of Oekusi... exchange... (unintelligible)</p> <p>We keep some, the rest is da Costa's, i.e.: the old King Benu doesn't disappear for good He's a bond, bonding the land He's a bond, bonding the people</p>
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NEL THREE

<i>O uis boen hele, tite faij mese</i> <i>O bati fai-fai</i> <i>Tamaub tais beti</i> <i>Mite mu sa-sa?</i> <i>Tais i mutai sa?</i> <i>Ni abse moni</i> <i>Monik haube kun</i> <i>Teli takbali</i> <i>Mitais 'm beti</i> <i>Bet nim bose</i> <i>Bafe lo'e natun</i> <i>Tai fut kase</i> <i>Boke lo'e natun</i> <i>Ni akon i</i> <i>Tuaf kon molo</i> <i>Kanbe pal-pala</i> <i>Meik 't mutai mana nau</i>	This <i>nel</i> speaks of the clothes men (the <i>beti</i>) and women (the <i>tais</i>) wear You wear out your <i>beti</i> and <i>tais</i> Now what? What's next? The cotton grows You draw it out (to make thread) You make balls of thread You make <i>taises</i> and <i>betis</i> The <i>beti</i> is the original type (of home-spun cotton) (unintelligible) The <i>tais</i> is store-bought patterns (unintelligible) (unintelligible) (unintelligible) We've come to the end Take this and see what you can do with it
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NEL FOUR

<i>O maeb mesi i</i> <i>Neu meob es nem</i> <i>Nem 't ma'oe solo</i> <i>Neu mat mesokan</i> <i>Okne ka manhinan</i> <i>Au fe maspe'u</i> <i>Neu kabuk no'o</i> <i>Sasaop kau mat ak</i> <i>Au matke nme'u</i> <i>Uhin ani</i> <i>Bi (insert name) tuakini</i> <i>Naok man kau, au kaeb lo'et nem</i> <i>Ok meonbe mnainbe malo'en</i> <i>Au lo'e utes an ko Bi (insert name)</i> <i>Akalke mam,sa le'e ni es</i> <i>Lof ka lo'e fa, saseol fut manu</i> <i>Lof mutfek manu, main alo le'u</i> <i>Fain oum main, sae liol belan</i> <i>Bel namkesin, kesin ko Bi (insert name)</i>	Tonight A knight (guest) has arrived They come to... the rest unintelligible To darkened eyes, ie, we don't know them (poetic) We don't know them I'm still sleepy-eyed Bring <i>kabuka</i> tree leaves (an eye medication) Brush my eyes (with it) My eyes are (now) clear I know (recognise them) It's the group of (insert name) Sweep me along, for the betel-nut purse is here We're going to chew it together with the guests I'll pass it around to you, - insert name The purse goes around But it's not the purse, it's this <i>nel</i> When you snap it , run off a bit When you come back, the <i>nel</i> is over The <i>nel</i> is over, you're received as a guest
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NEL FIVE

<p> <i>Mitmin kit kol fai-faije</i> <i>In he nkae tatek sekau kanan</i> <i>Ntek nates, tesan ko Bi</i> <i>Lof main koit, minouf ko Bi</i> <i>Haek ain to'an, uteut ko Bi</i> <i>Bi ----he nmouf, nabet on manu</i> <i>Maeb me i, oum he simbe lo'et</i> <i>Lo'e nis kau, utua toeb ko sa</i> <i>Utua san neuba naijan knit hu'e</i> <i>Maunse nkae naijan, puah klus luman</i> </p> <p> <i>Ho mit man</i> <i>Nukat ko Bi</i> <i>Hi luan-luan</i> <i>Mimaof puah-manus *</i> <i>Mimaof uki tefu</i> </p>	<p> Listen to the night bird calling It's calling out whose name It makes the rounds, and lands on you If you back off, we'll bring you down Stand your ground and we'll prop you up If you fall, you'll kick like a slaughtered chicken This evening, come get your pay You offer me the betel-nut, I'll pay back with what? (unintelligible) <i>Manus</i> leaves on the ground, <i>puah</i> is empty </p> <p> See for yourself (unintelligible) Your places, - the rest unintelligible Guard the <i>puah manus</i> Guard the bananas and the sugar </p>
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*** *Puah manus***

The betel-nut consists of the manus leaves or catkins, which grow on vines; and the puah nut which grows at the top of a long slender palm-like tree. The nuts grow in bunches, called ki'i. When the nuts are still very tender and unripe, they are called puah klus.

SIT

1. *O lilo maun, e maun ana, e, e-e-sa se,
pale he nkae, nkae kolo la liu soe*

Manu ki'ik ida, husik nia tanis... seluk labele komprende

A little chicken, let it cry... the rest, non-comprehensible
2. *Hainu kolo liu soe, akakoe, o-le-ane, nu-u laleok,
behe-na-se, sin he nkaen, nkaen kolo la liu soe
labele komprende*

non-comprehensible
3. *O feku bati feuk, se-e-le-mau, o-la-a mau, au-u tili tae, o-o-o-le
feku flauta... seluk labele komprende*

feku - flute... the rest, non-comprehensible
4. *O he le la, koa he le tebes e se-le-na-ma
e-hé-ama, o hó-o hé-e-lé-e-la
labele komprende*

non-comprehensible
5. *O-he pe, he le lu-u-at aum a he ta-saun, teuba hai noel,
noel a lu-u-at, seola hai moekta, o he-pe, he-le lu-u-at tu
noel- mota / seluk la komprende*

noel = river... the rest non-comprehensible
6. *O kolo laku lilo oef, o-o-eb lilo, lilo he le-e-na no,
ba-ha-a-na, he hama ba-e, o-o-o-le
kolo-manu // lilo=sinál alein de ne'e labele komprende*

kolo = bird lilo = sign... the rest non-comprehensible
7. *O fatu bena til, ba-ha-a boek, se-he-na-ne
he hau po-a, ne-e ka-bol, ano-e muit, sa-a-na-ne*

*Fatu bena= fatuk belar. Hau poa = ai hun nia kulit
Mu'it = karau*

*Fatu bena = flat rock Hau poa = bark of tree
mu'it = cattle... the rest non-comprehensible*
8. *Hama-u-bae, O-O-O-le, a-ka-a-koe, na-a-na-ne
O-le-a-ne, nu-nu-o-ma, ta-ah a-toe, se-e-na-ne
- labele komprende*

non-comprehensible

APPENDIX N

List of those interviewed and clan location

FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	CLAN LOCATION
Tony	Amaral	Tetun Terik (Watelari)
Joao	Aranjo	Mambae
Joao	Baro	Tetun Terik (Kova Lima)
Julia	Barbosa	Kemak
Amercu	Da Costa	Mambae
Fernanda	Da Costa	Tetun Terik
Orlando	Da Costa	Makalero
Salvatore	Da Costa Pereira	Midiki
Richard	Daschbach	American
Augustino	Do Rosario	Mambae
Costodio Silveriro	Fernando	Naueti
Osme	Goncalves	Fataluku
Leo	Guterres	Makasae
Elizabete	Gomes	Tetun
Anjelu	Kua	Baikeno/Metonese
Palmira	Lopez	Naueti
Cesario	Lourdes	Makalero
Antonio	Magnus	Mambae
Aleixo	Martins	Makadade/Atauran
Ameta	Mendonca	Makasae
Boaventura	Moreira	Tetun Terik
Afonso	Pereira	Mambae
Berta	Pereira	Kemak
Julianto	Pereira	Makalero
Manuel	Pereira	Mambae
Domingus	Ruas	Makalero
Abilio	Soares	Tokodede
Deolinda	Soares	Bunak
Josh	Trindade	Naueti
Justino	Valentim	Fataluku
Laurindo	Ximenes Amaral	Mambae
Paulino	Ximenes	Makili/Atauran

APPENDIX O

Answers to questions asked: Do you think the musical instruments are *lulik*?

Name	Clan	All	None	Some	Never considered	Don't know
Tony Amaral	Tetun Terik			✓		
Joao Arango	Mambae	✓				
Joao Baro	Tetun Terik				✓	
Julia Barbosa	Kemak					✓
Amercu Da Costa	Mambae					✓
Fernanda Da Costa	Tetun Terik				✓	
Orlando Da Costa	Makalero			✓		
Salvatore Da Costa Pereira	Midiki	✓				
Richard Daschbach	American				✓	
Augustino Do Rosario	Mambae				✓	
Costodio Silveriro Fernando	Naueti			✓		
Osme Goncalves	Fataluku			✓		
Leo Guterres	Makasae	✓				
Elizabete Gomes	Tetun					✓
Anjelu Kua	Baikeno/Metonese	✓				
Palmira Lopez	Naueti			✓		
Cesario Lourdes	Makalero			✓		
Antonio Magnus	Mambae	✓				
Alexio Martins	Makadade/Atauran				✓	
Ameta Mendonca	Makasae	✓				
Boaventura Moreira	Tetun Terik			✓		
Afonso Pereira	Mambae	✓				
Berta Pereira	Mambae					✓
Julianto Pereira	Makalero			✓		
Manuel Pereira	Mambae	✓				
Domingus Ruas	Makalero			✓		
Abilio Soares	Tokodede				✓	
Deolinda Soares	Bunak			✓		
Josh Trindade	Naueti	✓				
Justino Valentim	Fataluku	✓				
Laurindo Ximenes Amaral	Mambae	✓				
Paulino Ximenes	Makili/Atauran				✓	

APPENDIX P

**Belief that the origins of the first ancestors of the Makalero people were giants,
as told to the author by Cesario Lourdes, January 15, 2014, 4.30 p.m., in Dili.**

A long time ago a giant lived in the Naunilli Mountain which is near Iliomar and he walked to my village Fuat in five steps. He was the only giant who ever came there. Many people were scared of him and when he died they found his body, but he was too big to carry and bury so they cut him into four parts. They buried him in one continuous trench about five metres long. My grandmother said the grave is still in the cemetery, but not marked. Umar or Arson was his name and he was one of the *dark* people. People are still afraid of the ground he is buried in and it is a very *lulik* place. He also left a footprint on a stone and these stones and marks are *lulik*. In history we are told, in the time before our grandfathers and grandmothers, our ancestors were huge like giants. We ask why are we skinny and small now? There is no answer. In other parts of Timor they believed ancestors were giants. In Bobonaru and Marobo they have giant footsteps. In *Ili Kere Kere* there are paintings on the top of the rock, so we believe to get there they must have been giants. The *dark* people are associated with *lulik* and people like me are the *light* people. In our ancestors' time, they believed and worshipped the snake. They had ceremonies and gave food to the snake. In my village when someone is going to die the old grandmothers predict it and start crying saying that someone will die. These grandmothers never go to church and don't believe in god but, they still believe in the snake. Snake is part of the ancestors and *dark* people and they believe that when a person dies then the *dark* people come and take the soul of the human who is dying. We also believe that the *dark* people come and hunt humans for their souls. We believe the eyes of the *dark* people are red. My will is really strong and so is my belief in the *lulik*. But if I do something wrong then the *lulik* doesn't approve of me anymore. After that the *dark* people will come to hunt me down, in Tetun this is called *buan*. A light person can become a *dark* person; for example if I eat *dark* people food then I will become one of the *dark* people. They try to trick *light* people into eating their food. There is a strange thing about *dark* people food, when it is eaten, the food is never finished. It is like magic, so you will eat and eat until you cry and then you realise that you have eaten *dark* people food and have become a *dark* person. We know the difference between *dark* people and *light* people, *dark* people keep their windows and doors closed during the daytime. There are still *dark* people and they still hunt humans for their souls (C. Lourdes, interview, January 15, 2014).

APPENDIX Q

Details of Field Trips undertaken - prior to PhD candidature and during PhD candidature

FIELD TRIP	PLACES VISITED	LINGUISTIC GROUP	PURPOSE
20/11/03-6/12/03	Dili	Tetun	recording musical instruments/song/interviews
1/4/04-18/03/04	Dili	Tetun	recording musical instruments/song/interviews
	Manatutu	Galolan	recording musical instruments/song/interviews
5/7/04 - 18/7/04	Holarua/Same/Kaikasa	Mambae	recording musical instruments/song/interviews
	Nalaboru	Tetun Terik	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Triola/Baukau	Walma	Recordings of musical instruments/song
	Bikili/Makili/Atauru	Bikili/Makili	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Dili	Tetun	Recordings musical instruments
1/10/04 -6/10/04	Holarua/Same/Biaro/Tutuluru	Mambae	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
2/10/05-24/1/05	Iliomar	Makalero	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Tutuala	Fataluku	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Oekusi(Baki/Pasabe	Baikeno	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Gleno/Rihau	Mambae	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Aisabe	Kemak	Recordings musical instruments
	Fahisoë	Mambae	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
6/7/05-12/7/05	Maliana	Bunak/Kemak	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
5/1/06-29/6/06	Laga	Makasae	Recordings song
	Makadade/Bikili/Makili/Atauru	Atauran	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Baukau	Makasae	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Motohoi	Tetun Terik	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Fatulia/Venilale	Midiki	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Ossu	Midiki	Recordings musical instruments
4/7/06-18/4/06	Suai Loro/Satele/Casa Bauk	Tetun Terik	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Legore/Maukatar	Bunak	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance

FIELD TRIP	PLACES VISITED	LINGUISTIC GROUP	PURPOSE
4/7/06-18/4/06	Kamanasa/Fatu-isin/Tilomar/Debos/Matai	Tetun Terik	recordings musical instruments/song/interviews
	Ainaru/Kasa	Mambae	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
1/7/07 - 14/7/2007	Hatubuiliku/Mulu	Mambae	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
01/7/08-20/7/08	Manaloon/Welauu	Bekais	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Ramelau/Hatubuiliku	Mambae	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Likisa	Tokodede	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Kutet	Baikeno	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Dili	Tetun Terik	recording musical instruments
24/11/08-8/12/08	Bailbo	Bekais	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Fatubese	Mambae	recordings musical instruments/song/dance
15/01/09-30/1/09	Bugara	Tokodede	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Tutuata	Fataluku	recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Los Palos	Fataluku	recordings song
1/7/10-20/7/10	Dair	Tokodede	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Dili	Fataluku	recordings song
15/11-4/2/11	Baukau	Makasae	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Lebos/Gildapil/Lototoe/Maliana	Bunak	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Wai-oli	Midiki	Recordings musical instruments/song/dance
	Fuiloro	Fataluku	Recordings musical instruments/song/interviews
	Veniale	Midiki	interviews

FIELD TRIP	PLACES VISITED	LINGUISTIC GROUP	PURPOSE
30/09/10/10/10	Los Palos/Tutuāla	Fataluku	recordings of musical instruments/song/dance/interviews
	Suai Loru	Tetun Terik	recordings of musical instruments/song/dance/interviews
	Baukau/Kelikae	Makasae	interviews
	Veniale	Midiki	interviews
24/6/12-10/7/12	Baukau	Makasae	interviews
	Los Palos/Fuiloru	Fataluku	interviews
	Makadade/Bikili	Atauran	recordings of musical instruments/song/interviews
	Suai Loru	Tetun Terik	recordings of musical instruments/song/interviews
	Illiomar	Makalero	interviews
	Babulo	Naueti	interviews
1/1/13-26/1/13	Noulu/Same/Ainaru/Mulo	Mambae	interviews
	Suai Loru	Tetun Terik	interviews
	Los Palos/Fuiloru	Fataluku	interviews
	Babulo	Naueti	recordings of musical instruments/song/interviews
	Diji	Tetun	interviews
12/1/14-4/2/14	Suai Loru	Tetun Terik	interviews
10/6/14-28/6/14	Mulo	Mambae	recordings of musical instruments/song/dance/interviews
	Topu Honis	Baikeno	recordings of musical instruments/song/dance/interviews
	Baggia	Makasae	recordings of musical instruments/song/interviews

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GLOSSARY

<i>abó</i>	One's own grandfather
<i>ahu</i>	White lime powder
<i>aldéia</i>	Hamlet, or small village, generally consisting of members of the same extended family
<i>ai lolole</i>	A Fataluku lullaby
<i>ailoos</i>	A percussive musical instrument: leg xylophone. Each player has two wooden keys laid across their legs which they strike with beaters
<i>aman ba oan</i>	From father to son
<i>au</i>	A bamboo wind instrument made of two cylindrical tubes one inside the other
<i>Avó</i>	The spiritual grandfather. Often used in reference to the crocodile as being Avó
<i>baba</i>	Generic term for drum
<i>baba-dook</i>	Small drum held under the arm. It accompanies dances such as the <i>tebedai</i>
<i>babuk</i>	Bamboo ankle bells
<i>bano</i>	Brass ankle bells from Oekusi
<i>barlake</i>	Often known as "bride price" it is a matrimonial contract involving an exchange of goods between families of the affianced couple
<i>batar</i>	Corn
<i>beluk</i>	Silver medallion, usually worn by males around their neck as part of male traditional dress
<i>bibi fulun</i>	Goat hair ankle ornament
<i>bidu</i>	Line dance, usually accompanied by instruments
<i>bidu tais mutin</i>	Line dance, accompanied by the <i>raraun</i> . The dancers hold a white woven cloth (<i>tais</i>) in front of them as they dance
<i>bijol meto</i>	Home made ukulele, a small four stringed guitar, found predominantly in Oekusi and occasionally in Ataúru
<i>biti</i>	A rectangular woven mat often two metres long and one metre wide
<i>bobakasa</i>	Double-headed drum
<i>bobakasa girte</i>	Drum sticks for playing the <i>bobakasa</i>
<i>boituka</i>	Makasae song sung to celebrate the completion of a new <i>uma lulik</i>
<i>bonet</i>	Circle dance from Oekusi accompanied by song
<i>bsoot</i>	Dance from Oekusi accompanied by instruments
<i>bua malus</i>	The betel-nut consists of the <i>manus</i> leaves or catkins, which grow on vines; and the <i>puah</i> nut which grows at the top of a long slender palm-like tree. The nuts grow in bunches, called <i>ki'i</i> . When the nuts are still very tender and unripe, they are called <i>puah klus</i>
<i>cavaquinho</i>	Four-stringed Portuguese guitar
<i>dahur</i>	East Timorese circle dance. Dancers hold hands or place their arms around each other and sing and stamp their feet as they dance
<i>dahur odi</i>	A Makasae song habitually sung when the rice is ready to harvest
<i>dahur heletelele</i>	A Mambae dahur sung when the rice has been harvested
<i>diman</i>	Spear
<i>ele uruha'a-ai to'os</i>	The name in Fataluku for carved wooden totem

<i>fiku</i>	A handheld palm trumpet
<i>hele-le-le-joben</i>	A Tetun Terik song sung to accompany <i>dahur</i>
<i>inbeluk</i>	A Tetun Terik song sung for funereal occasions
<i>in leku</i>	She beats
<i>kafu'i</i>	Flute made of bamboo or wood
<i>kafu'i boot</i>	A flute made of bamboo more than a 50 centimetres in length
<i>kaebauk</i>	Silver headdress worn with traditional dress
<i>kakalo</i>	Bamboo slit drum from Lautein district
<i>kakal'uta</i>	Percussion instrument made of pair of pitched cylindrical tubes, similar in sound and rhythm to the marimba
<i>kakeit</i>	Mouth instrument, otherwise known as a jaw harp or mouth harp
<i>karau dikur</i>	Buffalo horn, blown on ceremonial occasions
<i>kbola</i>	The name of the timekeeper gongs played in the gong ensemble to accompany the dances of Oekusi
<i>ke'e</i>	Four-legged standing drum from Oekusi
<i>kelbeli</i>	Manta ray, the Tokodede clan group from the village Dair practice the ritual of <i>kelbeli</i>
<i>knobe</i>	Baikeno name for <i>kakeit</i> , a mouth instrument, a jaw harp or mouth harp
<i>knua</i>	Small village or hamlet, usually consisting of members of the same clan
<i>koke</i>	A conically shaped wind instrument made from tightly wound bamboo leaves
<i>kokotere</i>	Trumpet-like instrument made of bamboo and palm leaf, about 1.5m long
<i>labelain</i>	A Tetun Terik song usually sung during weddings
<i>lakadou</i>	Tubed bamboo zither
<i>lelan</i>	Version of the <i>bsoot</i> danced by women
<i>le'uile</i>	A form of chanting, performed in ceremonies of both birth and death
<i>lia mate</i>	The rituals of death
<i>lia moris</i>	The rituals of life
<i>lia na'in</i>	The keeper of the word, or custodian of the culture
<i>likurai</i>	Form of the <i>tebedai</i> , danced in Kovalima and accompanied by instruments <i>Liku</i> means to shake the upper body
<i>Liurai</i>	King, chief or noble
<i>lolan</i>	Bunak song sung for funereal occasions
<i>lulik</i>	Sacred, holy, taboo, or having a supernatural quality – spirit from ancestral roots
<i>makikit</i>	A dance of mime and drama performed by the Tetun Belu, Kemak and Bunak ethnolinguistic groups
<i>malae</i>	Person who is not East Timorese, foreigner
<i>Maromak</i>	The spiritual deity of the East Timorese
<i>manu fulun</i>	Traditional headdress, usually made of feathers
<i>maubere</i>	<i>Mau</i> means man and <i>bere</i> means friend, it was used by the Mambae as a greeting
<i>Mau-lelo</i>	A Mambae origin myth. <i>Mau-lelo</i> was a mythical figure believed to have been the first male on the earth
<i>Bui-lelo</i>	A mythical figure believed to have been the sister of <i>Mau-lelo</i>
<i>mestiço</i>	Offspring of East Timorese and Portuguese

<i>morteen</i>	Orange beaded necklace regarded as precious, is given as an exchange gift in weddings. The beads are thought to have come from India and are made from molten glass. The strand is divided by two Venetian glass beads and a metal bauble, representing unification of the male and female through marriage
<i>muiskatele</i>	A form of the <i>bonet</i> sung by Metonese farmers whilst weeding (corn) crops
<i>nel</i>	Ancient Metonese poetry, presented as chant
<i>ni mone</i>	Metonese altar-place
<i>nipere milolo</i>	Makalero term for <i>lulik</i> ritual
<i>o wailo</i>	A Tokodede song sung when it is time to hunt <i>kelbeli</i> (sting ray)
<i>pai koe-koe</i>	Medium-sized wind instrument made of tightly wound bamboo leaves shaped into a cone. Its main purpose was to scare the pigs from eating the crops. <i>Pai</i> means pig, and <i>koe-koe</i> is the sound the pig makes expressed in Fataluku
<i>pankalalále</i>	Baikeno song sung by Metonese clan group for funereal occasions
<i>rabeka mós violinu</i>	violin
<i>rai rai</i>	Waima name for <i>kakeit</i> , a mouth instrument, a jaw harp or mouth harp
<i>rai sa'un</i>	The upper world, or the secular world
<i>rai lulik</i>	The under world, or the sacred world
<i>rama</i>	Musical mouth bow, found on the island of Ataúru
<i>raraun</i>	Homemade four-stringed guitar, found in Kovalima and West Timor. It is known in Tetun as <i>biola</i> . In West Timor it is called <i>bijola</i>
<i>rota</i>	Sacred cane kept in the <i>uma lulik</i>
<i>sasando</i>	Tubed zither from the Nusa Tenggara Timur province of Indonesia
<i>sau batar</i>	Harvest ritual
<i>semai</i>	A Fataluku song, sung after success headhunting
<i>sene</i>	Baikeno language for gong
<i>sergala</i>	A form of <i>tebedai</i> performed by Mambae males
<i>siaka</i>	A Mambae ritual which involves the blowing of white lime powder to the right and left to call for ancestral assistance during the ritual of <i>Mau-lelo</i>
<i>sikire</i>	A form of <i>tebedai</i> danced by the Fataluku
<i>sit</i>	Ancient Metonese couplet which is sung
<i>snarko</i>	Mouth instrument, a jaw harp or mouth harp. It is called <i>kakeit</i> in Tetun
<i>suku</i>	East Timorese administrative district, made up of a number of smaller villages
<i>surik</i>	sword
<i>tala</i>	Gong in the Tetun language. Gongs in East Timor are mostly bossed, meaning that the centre of the gong is raised, while the rim can be shallow or deep
<i>tais</i>	Indigenous East Timorese weaving
<i>tais buci</i>	Flag made with white tais
<i>tais fetu</i>	Sarong made of <i>tais</i> worn by women sewn on one side to form a tube
<i>tais mane</i>	Sarong made of <i>tais</i> worn by men, usually a large rectangle
<i>tais mutin</i>	white <i>tais</i>
<i>takanab</i>	A chant in verse delivered by a reciter with a chorus of males responding
<i>tara bandu</i>	<i>Tara</i> : Means the rock, or to hang things. <i>Bandu</i> : Something that identifies the place and people, a forbidden place. Thus to hang up items via a public

	ceremony to show that it is for now forbidden to chop trees or harvest a crop in that area; those who break the prohibition come under a curse
<i>tebedai</i>	Line dance accompanied by drums and gongs. Sometimes elaborately choreographed
<i>tebedai mo letra</i>	A <i>tebedai</i> sung by the Tetun tarik peoples from Motohoi
<i>tebe liku</i>	A song which is sung as people haul the wood off the mountains for the building of <i>uma lulik</i>
<i>tihak</i>	Large drum laid sideways across the lap to play
<i>tiki o lé lé</i>	A Makasae <i>tebedai</i> performed during ceremonies associated with <i>uma lulik</i>
<i>tohin</i>	Large, cylindrical, single-headed drum that mostly sits on the ground
<i>tua mutin</i>	White palm wine
<i>tua saba</i>	Fortified palm wine
<i>tuli peon</i>	Makili song sung when it is time to cut down a tree to make a fishing boat
<i>tupukur ulute</i>	A Fataluku song sung by children so they won't be afraid of the dark
<i>txai telu</i>	A Fataluku crying song
<i>vaihoho</i>	Fataluku poems, which are performed as sung chants, usually with two or three voices harmonising with each other
<i>vetere</i>	A Fataluku song sung when it is time to hunt <i>metxi</i> (sea worm)
<i>uma adat</i>	cultural house
<i>uma lulik</i>	sacred house
<i>umun lipalu</i>	Fataluku term for rituals of death. The songs sung for <i>umun lipalu</i> are called <i>sau</i> , a form of <i>vaihoho</i>
<i>xefe suku</i>	Village leader elected by the people of the village as the person responsible to the district administrator

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (Durand, 2006, p. 25)	24
Figure 2.	The Wallace Line in 1968 (Durand, 2006, p. 30)	25
Figure 3.	Map of Wallacea, Timor, Sahul and Sunda (Allen & O'Connell, 2008, p. 32)	25
Figure 4.	Cave painting at <i>Ile Kére Kére</i> depicting a boat (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)	27
Figure 5.	Map illustrating the main ethnolinguistic groups in East Timor (Durand, 2006, p. 47)	28
Figure 6.	The <i>lutong</i> zither, Malaysia (photograph: Raine-Reusch, May, 2002)	29
Figure 7.	The <i>lakadou</i> tubed zither from East Timor (photograph: Dunlop, 2009)	29
Figure 8.	<i>Bano</i> , ankle bells from Oekusi, East Timor (photograph: Dunlop, 2005; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	32
Figure 9.	<i>Morteen</i> glass beads (Dunlop, 2012, p. 31)	33
Figure 10.	<i>Kakal'uta</i> , a suspended log xylophone (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	34
Figure 11.	Diagram of the structure of the kingdom (Dunlop, 2013)	43
Figure 12.	Diagram of the indigenous political structure (Dunlop, 2013)	45
Figure 13.	<i>Tara bandu</i> , in Mulo, a Mambae village (Dunlop, 2012, p. 30)	46
Figure 14.	Unions in the marriage ritual (Hicks, 1984, p. 52)	50
Figure 15.	Vertical and horizontal axis of Tetum cosmology (Hicks, 1990, p. 91)	54
Figure 16.	<i>Lulik</i> circle (Trindade, 2011a, p. 3)	56
Figure 17.	A Midiki <i>uma lulik</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)	58
Figure 18.	Roof decorations of a Mambae <i>uma lulik</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2007)	59
Figure 19.	Roof decorations of a Naueti <i>uma lulik</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	60
Figure 20.	Roof decorations of a Makalero <i>uma lulik</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)	60
Figure 21.	Roof decorations of a Midiki <i>uma lulik</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	60
Figure 22.	<i>Ahu fatin</i> from Oekusi, East Timor (photograph: Dunlop, 2013)	63
Figure 23.	A presentation of betel leaf and areca nut (photograph: Amaral, 2014)	63
Figure 24.	Bridal couple in Kutet, Oekusi (photograph: Dunlop, 2008)	68
Figure 25.	Tree logs for rebuilding a Naueti <i>uma lulik</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	69
Figure 26.	Taxonomy of the musical instruments of East Timor	86
Figure 27.	Topside of an <i>ailoos</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	94
Figure 28.	Angelina Mesqita De Lima & Meliana De Fatima Da Cruz playing <i>ailoos</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)	94
Figure 29.	<i>Ailoos</i> ostinato rhythm for <i>bidu ailoos</i> (transcription: Dunlop, 2014)	95
Figure 30.	<i>Bidu ailoos</i> dancers Fideles Barros, Domincos Cardoso (photograph: Amaral, 2014)	95
Figure 31.	<i>Baba-dook</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	95
Figure 32.	Snared <i>baba-dook</i> (photograph: P. Lee, 2011)	96
Figure 33.	Detail: woman playing the <i>baba-dook</i> ((Dunlop, 2012, 0. 47)	96
Figure 34.	<i>Baba-dook</i> (right) and <i>baba-dook ki'ik</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2010)	97
Figure 35.	<i>Bijol meto</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	97
Figure 36.	<i>Bijol meto</i> , side profile (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	98
Figure 37.	<i>Bijol meto</i> , tailpiece detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	98
Figure 38.	<i>Bijol meto</i> , tuning pegs detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	98
Figure 39.	<i>Bobakasa</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	99
Figure 40.	Metal <i>bobakasa</i> (<i>kak</i>) from Noulou (photograph: Dunlop, 2013)	100
Figure 41.	<i>Bobakasa</i> , lacing detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)	100
Figure 42.	<i>Bobakasa</i> , played by Ameta Mendonça (photograph: P. Lee, 2011)	101

Figure 43. <i>Kakalo</i> (photograph: Tony Hicks, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	101
Figure 44. A collection of <i>kakalo</i> , made in workshops in Los Palos in January 2011, by Australian musician, Tony Hicks, under the instruction of Señor Mario da Costa (photograph: Hicks, 2011)	102
Figure 45. Fataluku boy playing <i>kakalo</i> (photograph: Howell, 2011)	102
Figure 46. <i>Kakal'uta</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	103
Figure 47. <i>Kakal'uta</i> , played by Abilio dos Santos (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)	103
Figure 48. Rhythm patterns of the <i>kakal'uta</i> (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)	104
Figure 49. <i>Ke'e</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2005; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	105
Figure 50. Metonese women playing <i>ke'e</i> , Kutet, Oekusi (photograph: Dunlop, 2008)	105
Figure 51. Rhythm pattern <i>ke'e</i> (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)	105
Figure 52. <i>Lakadou</i> , tubed zither (photograph and deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	106
Figure 53. <i>Lakadou</i> , detail of the back (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	106
Figure 54. Excerpt of two players playing <i>lakadou</i> (transcription: Dunlop, 2006)	107
Figure 55. <i>Lakadou</i> played by two players (photograph: Dunlop, 2004)	107
Figure 56. <i>Lakadou</i> played solo (photograph: Dunlop, 2003)	108
Figure 57. <i>Lesun no alu</i> , Tetun Belu from Kamanasa pounding corn and singing (photograph: Dunlop, 2006)	109
Figure 58. <i>Rama</i> , photograph: Ray, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	110
Figure 59. <i>Rama</i> played by Clemente Forces (photograph: Ray, 2012)	110
Figure 60. <i>Rama</i> , walking tune (transcription: Dunlop, 2012)	111
Figure 61. <i>Rama</i> , dancing tune (transcription: Dunlop, 2012)	111
Figure 62. <i>Raraun</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	111
Figure 63. <i>Raraun</i> , detail of tailpiece (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	112
Figure 64. <i>Raraun</i> , detail of tuning pegs (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	112
Figure 65. <i>Tala</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2007, deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	113
Figure 66. Deep-bossed <i>tala</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2010)	113
Figure 67. Hand-held <i>tala</i> in playing position (photograph: Dunlop, 2009)	114
Figure 68. Rhythm of <i>tala</i> to introduce a <i>tebedai</i> (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)	114
Figure 69. A rhythm of the <i>tala</i> played to welcome guests (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)	114
Figure 70. <i>Leku sene</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2008; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	115
Figure 71. <i>Leku sene</i> played by women in Kutet, Oekusi (Dunlop, 2012. p. 69)	115
Figure 72. <i>Tihak</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	116
Figure 73. <i>Tihak</i> , detail fastening skin to the drumhead (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	116
Figure 74. <i>Titir nami</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	117
Figure 75. <i>Titir nami</i> , detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	117
Figure 76. <i>Titir</i> (photograph: King, 1963)	118
Figure 77. <i>Tohin</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2007; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	119
Figure 78. Detail skin head fastening, <i>tohin</i> (Dunlop, 2012, p. 93)	119
Figure 79. A rhythm for <i>tohin</i> (transcription: Dunlop, 2012)	120
Figure 80. <i>Babuk</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2008; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	120
Figure 81. <i>Bano</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2005; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	121
Figure 82. <i>Bano</i> wound around a dancer's ankles (photograph: Bennetts, 2005)	121
Figure 83. Rhythmic ostinato of <i>bano</i> during dance (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)	121
Figure 84. <i>Au</i> - wind instrument (photograph: Dunlop, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	122
Figure 85. Jaineito Pereira De Aroujo playing <i>au</i> (Dunlop, 2012. p. 120)	122

Figure 86. Rhythm and pitch of the <i>au</i> (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)	123
Figure 87. <i>Fiku</i> (photograph: G. Howell, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	123
Figure 88. Wooden <i>kafu</i> 'i, with no finger holes (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	124
Figure 89. Bamboo <i>kafu</i> 'i with finger holes, Makalero clan group (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	124
Figure 90. <i>Kafu</i> 'i on a Bunak farmer's tool belt, Gildapil (photograph: Dunlop, 2011)	125
Figure 91. Bamboo <i>kafu</i> 'i, Ossu (photograph: Dunlop, 2012; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	125
Figure 92. <i>Kafu</i> 'i mouthpiece detail (photograph: Dunlop, 2012)	125
Figure 93. Abilio Soares Rai Gua from Likisá playing <i>kafu</i> 'i <i>boot</i> (Dunlop, 2012, p. 113)	126
Figure 94. <i>Karau dikur</i> (photograph: Dunlop, 2009; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	126
Figure 95. <i>Karau dikur</i> , played in a transverse position, Mulo (photograph: Morley, 2014)	127
Figure 96. <i>Kokotere</i> (photograph: A. Pereira, 2011; deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	127
Figure 97. <i>Kokotere</i> , bell detail (photograph: A. Pereira, 2011)	128
Figure 98. <i>Kokotere</i> , mouthpiece detail (photograph: A. Pereira, 2011)	128
Figure 99. <i>Kokotere</i> , performed by Amando de Jesus (photograph: A. Pereira, 2011)	129
Figure 100. <i>Puhu puhu fa</i> 'i (photograph, Dunlop; 2014, deep etch: J. Lee, 2015)	130
Figure 101. <i>Kakeit</i> (photographed and deep etch: J. Lee, 2012)	131
Figure 102. Leaf <i>knobe</i> (<i>kakeit</i>) player Sipriano Lafu Kolo (photograph: Dunlop, 2005)	131
Figure 103. <i>Kakeit</i> , played by Clemente Forces (photograph: Ray, 2012)	132
Figure 104. <i>Lolan</i> , sung by family Martina Sose (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	137
Figure 105. <i>Tuli Peon</i> , sung by men of Makili (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	138
Figure 106. <i>Pankalalále</i> sung by Pasquela Eko in 2005 (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	139
Figure 107. <i>Pankalalále</i> sung by Pasquela Eko in 2011 (transcription: Dashbach, 2011)	140
Figure 108. <i>Boituka</i> , sung by Grupu Rebenta (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	140
Figure 109. <i>Dahur odi</i> , sung by Grupu Rebenta (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	143
Figure 110. <i>Vetere</i> , sung by Etson Caminha, Adilson Caminha, Ananias Carlos, Alfeo Sanches Pereira (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	144
Figure 111. <i>O Wailo</i> sung by elders from Dair (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	145
Figure 112. <i>Txai Telu</i> , sung by Luciano Gonçalves (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	145
Figure 113. <i>Tupukur ulute</i> , sung by Etson Caminha, Adilson Caminha, Ananias Carlos, Alfeo Sanches Pereira (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	146
Figure 114. <i>Ai Lolole</i> , sung by Osme Gonçalves (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	147
Figure 115. <i>Semai</i> , sung by Osme Gonçalves and members of Arte Moris (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	150
Figure 116. <i>Tebedai</i> , performed by Grupu Los Palos (photograph: Amaral, 2014)	151
Figure 117. Grupu Rebenta, Makasae wearing <i>manu fulun</i> headdress for dance (photograph: P. Lee, 2011)	151
Figure 118. Silver hair ornament (photograph: Amaral, 2014)	152
Figure 119. Mambae dancers of <i>Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo</i> wearing <i>bibi fulun</i> (photograph: Amaral, 2014)	152
Figure 120. <i>Baba-dook</i> rhythms for <i>tebedai</i> from Holarua (transcription: Dunlop, 2013)	152
Figure 121. Three <i>sikire</i> rhythms dictated by Justino Valentim (2013) (transcription: Dunlop, 2014)	153
Figure 122. <i>Baba-dook</i> rhythms for <i>likurai</i> from the village of Kamanasa	154

(transcription: Dunlop, 2013)	
Figure 123. <i>Bidu tais mutin</i> Grupu Lafaek from the village of Suai Loro (photograph: Dunlop, 2006)	155
Figure 124. <i>Si-ba-loi</i> , an indigenous <i>Naueti</i> song (dictated by C. Fernando, 2012; transcription: Dunlop, 2013)	161
Figure 125. <i>Tiki o lé lé</i> , sung by Grupu Rebenta (transcription: Dunlop, 2011)	161
Figure 126. Welcome to visitors by female villagers of Blaro (photograph: Dunlop, 2004)	167
Figure 127. Manuel Pereira giving thanks for the musical instruments (photograph: Dunlop, 2009)	174
Figure 128. Arrangement including <i>lakadou</i> at thanksgiving festival (photograph: Dunlop, 2009)	175
Figure 129. Map with ethnographic location of traditional musical instruments (Dunlop/J. Lee, 2015)	184
Figure 130. Afonso Pereira performing the ritual of <i>siaka</i> (photograph: Morley, 2014)	190
Figure 131. Performers in traditional dress for <i>Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo</i> (photograph: Morley, 2014)	192
Figure 132. The placement of musicians in <i>Mau-Lelo Bui-Lelo</i> (photograph: Morley, 2014)	194
Figure 133. <i>Tohin</i> stored underneath an <i>uma lulik</i> in Mulo (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)	196
Figure 134. <i>Tala</i> hanging inside a Metonese <i>uma lulik</i> in Kutet (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)	197
Figure 135. <i>Batar</i> hanging inside the <i>uma lulik</i> in Kutet (photograph: Stahl, 2014)	197
Figure 136. <i>Ni mone</i> in front of a Baikeno <i>uma lulik</i> , Kutet (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)	198
Figure 137. A Fataluku <i>adat</i> house (photograph: Dunlop, 2014)	201
Figure 138. Diagram classifying the musical instruments according to <i>lulik</i> origin and usage (Dunlop, 2014)	204
Figure 139. Diagram classifying the musical instruments according to material substance and <i>lulik</i> usage (Dunlop, 2014)	206
Figure 140. Diagram classifying instruments as melodic and non-melodic relating to <i>lulik</i> usage (Dunlop, 2014)	207
Figure 141. Diagram classifying the musical instruments according to gender and <i>lulik</i> usage (Dunlop, 2014)	208
Figure 142. Diagram classifying the musical instruments according to their role in East Timorese society and relationship to <i>lulik</i> (Dunlop, 2014)	209

LIST OF AUDIO EXAMPLES

Example 1.	<i>Ailoos</i> , Dili (Tetun Terik), musician: Johanes Bere, recording: Dunlop (2008)	94
Example 2.	<i>Ailoos, Suai Loro</i> (Tetun Terik), musicians: Meliana Fatima, Angelina da M. De Lima, recording: Dunlop (2008)	94
Example 3.	<i>Baba-dook</i> , Baukau (Makasae), musicians: Grupu Rebenta, recording: Dunlop (2011)	96
Example 4.	<i>Bijol Meto</i> , Oekusi (Baikeno), musician Jose Koa, recording: Dunlop (2005)	98
Example 5.	<i>Bobakasa</i> , Baukau (Makasae), musician: Ameta Mendonça, recording: Dunlop (2011)	100
Example 6.	<i>Kakalo</i> Los Palos (Fataluku), performers: villagers, recording: Howell (2011)	102
Example 7.	<i>Kakal'uta</i> , Los Palos (Fataluku), musicians: Daia So, Keila Vano, recording: Dunlop (2011)	104
Example 8.	<i>Bsoot</i> , Baki (Baikeno), performers: Villagers Baki, recording: Dunlop (2005)	157
Example 9.	<i>Lakadou</i> , Dili (Mambae), musicians: Manuel Pereira & Pedro Tilman, recording: Stahl (2003)	136
Example 10.	<i>Pankalalále</i> , Kutet (Baikeno), singers: Pasquela Eko & family Eko, recording: Dunlop (2005)	173
Example 11.	<i>Rama</i> , Ataúru (Makadade), musician: Clemente Forces, recording: Dunlop (2005)	111
Example 12.	<i>Raraun</i> , Suai Loro (Tetun Terik), musician: Joao Baro, recording: Dunlop (2005)	112
Example 13.	<i>Tala</i> , Mulo (Mambae), musicians: women from Mulo, recording: Dunlop (2007)	114
Example 14.	<i>Tihak</i> Ataúru (Makili), musician: Paulino Ximenes, recording: Dunlop (2004)	116
Example 15.	<i>Tohin</i> Blaro (Mambae), performers: villagers from Blaro, recording: Dunlop (2004)	119
Example 16.	<i>Au</i> Likisa (Tokodede), musician: Janito Pereira, recording: Dunlop (2004)	122
Example 17.	<i>Fiku</i> Los Palos (Fataluku), performers: local villagers, recording: Howell (2011)	123
Example 18.	<i>Kafu'i</i> Gildapil (Bunak), performers: villagers Gildapil, recording: Dunlop (2011)	124
Example 19.	<i>Kafu'i</i> Ossu (Kairui), musician: Marco Amaral da Silva, recording: Dunlop (2006)	125
Example 20.	<i>Kafu'i boot</i> Likisa (Tokadede), musician: Abilio Soares, recording: Dunlop (2008)	126
Example 21.	<i>Karau dikur</i> Atsabe (Kemak), musician: Rosario da Silva, recording: Dunlop (2005)	127
Example 22.	<i>Kokotere</i> Venilale (Midiki), musician: Armando de Jesus, recording: Dunlop (2011)	128
Example 23.	<i>Kakeit</i> Pasabe (Baikeno), musician: Angelo Ena, recording: Dunlop (2005)	131
Example 24.	<i>Kakeit</i> Trilola (Waima), musician: Graciano Belo, recording: Dunlop (2004)	131

Example 25.	<i>Vaihoho</i> , Tutuala (Fataluku), musicians: singers: Kasa Laku, Key Malae, Moru Asa, recording: Dunlop (2009)	136
Example 26.	<i>Lolan</i> Lebos (Bunak), performers: Martina Sose and Family, recording: Dunlop (2011)	173
Example 27.	<i>Tuli Peon</i> Ataúru (Makili), community Tua Koin, recording: Dunlop (2005)	137
Example 28.	<i>Boituka</i> Baukau (Makasae), performers: Grupu Rebenta, recording: Dunlop (2011)	140
Example 29.	<i>Muiskatele</i> Kutet (Baikeno), performers: villagers Kutet, recording: Dunlop (2005)	140
Example 30.	<i>Dahur Odi</i> Baukau (Makasae), performers: Grupu Rebenta, recording: Dunlop (2011)	142
Example 31.	<i>Vetere</i> Los Palos (Fataluku), musicians: Etson Caminha, Adilson Ananias da Costa Caminha, Ananias Carlos, Alfeo Sanches Pereira, recording: Dunlop (2012)	143
Example 32.	<i>O Wailo</i> Dair (Tokodede), performers: villagers of Dair, recording: Dunlop (2010)	144
Example 33.	<i>Txai Telu</i> Los Palos (Fataluku), musician: Luciano Gonçalves, recording: O. Gonçalves (2012)	145
Example 34.	<i>Tupukur ulute</i> Los Palos (Fataluku), musicians: Etson Caminha, Adilson Ananias da Costa Caminha Ananias Carlos, Alfeo Sanches Pereira, recording: Dunlop (2012)	146
Example 35.	<i>Ai Lolole</i> Los Palos (Fataluku), musician: Osme Gonçalves, recording: Dunlop (2012)	146
Example 36.	<i>Labelain</i> Nataboru (Tetun Terik) Antonio Alferedo Dos Reis Ornay directing villagers, Nataboru, recording: Dunlop (2004)	148
Example 37.	<i>Hele-le-le-joben</i> Tilomar (Tetun Terik), performers: villagers Tilomar, recording: Dunlop (2006)	149
Example 38.	<i>Semai</i> , Dili (Fataluku), performers: Osme Gonçalves and artists Arte Moris, recording: Adams (2011)	149
Example 39.	<i>Tebedai</i> Holarua (Mambae), performers: Grupu Beliku, Director Agapito Tilman, recording: Dunlop (2004)	153
Example 40.	<i>Likurai</i> Kamanasa (Tetun Terik), performers: Grupu Hadahur, recording: Dunlop (2006)	154
Example 41.	<i>Tiki o lé lé</i> Baukau (Makasae), Grupu Rebenta, recording: Dunlop (20011)	161
Example 42.	<i>Kafu'i</i> Iliomar (Makalero), musician: Sebastino Garcia, recording: Dunlop (2004)	176

LIST OF AUDIOVISUAL EXAMPLES

Example 1.	<i>Lia Mate</i> , theatrics of the spirit trying to escape from the coffin, Uatalari (Tetun Terik), camera: Stahl (2007) CAMSTL	76
Example 2.	<i>Ailoos</i> , Suai Loro (Tetun Terik), musicians: Angelina Mesqita De Lima & Meliana De Fatima Da Cruz, camera: Dunlop (2012)	94/120
Example 3.	<i>Bobakasa</i> , Baukau (Makasae) musician: Ameta Mendonça, camera: Dunlop, (2011)	100
Example 4.	<i>Kakal'uta</i> , Los Palos (Fataluku) musicians: Daisy So, Keila Vano, camera: Dunlop (2011)	103
Example 5.	<i>Lakadou</i> , Dili (Mambae) musicians: Pedro Tilman, & Manuel Pereira, camera: Stahl (2003)	107/136
Example 6.	<i>Pankalalále</i> , Kutet (Baikenu) singers: Pasquela Eko & family Eko, camera: Dunlop (2005)	109
Example 7.	<i>Inbeluk</i> , Suai Loro (Tetun Terik), singers: Amelia Baros, Amita Baros, Angela Baros, Paulina Baros, camera: Dunlop (2006)	109
Example 8.	<i>Bsoot</i> , Baki (Baikenu) performers: villagers from Baki Oekusi, camera: Dunlop (2005)	108/121 158
Example 9.	<i>Rama</i> Ataúru (Makadade), musician: Clemente Forces, camera: Dunlop (2005)	110
Example 10.	<i>Raraun in Bidu tais mutin</i> , Suai Loro (Tetun Terik), Raraun player: Joao Baro, Dancers: Grupu Lafaek, camera: RoslynDunlop (2006)	112/154
Example 11.	<i>Tihak</i> , Ataúru (Makili), musician: Paulino Ximenes, camera: Dunlop (2004)	116
Example 12.	<i>Tohin</i> , Blaro (Mambae), performers: villagers, Blaro, camera: Dunlop (2004)	119
Example 13.	<i>Kokotere</i> , Venilale (Midiki), musician: Armando De Jesus, camera: Dunlop (2011)	128
Example 14.	<i>Kakeit</i> , (leaf), Pasabe (Baikenu), Alesu Heti, camera: Dunlop (2005)	131/176
Example 15.	<i>Kakeit</i> , Trilola (Waima), musician: Graciano Belo, camera: Dunlop (2004)	131
Example 16.	<i>Muiskatele</i> , Kutet, (Baikenu) farmers and their families, camera: Dunlop (2005)	140
Example 17.	<i>Bonet</i> , Kutet (Baikenu), performers: Topu Honis, camera: Dunlop (2005)	142
Example 18.	<i>Makikit</i> , Tapo (Kemak), performers: Villagers, camera: Stahl (2004)	148/177
Example 19.	<i>Mau-lelo-Bui-lelo</i> , (Mambae), performers: Afonso Pereira, Fausto Mendonça and villagers of Mulo & Hatubuiliku, cameras: Ben-Major, Martins de Deus, Morley, Stahl (2014)	148/157
Example 20.	<i>Dahur Helelele</i> , Kasa (Mambae), performers: Farmers, camera: Dunlop (2006)	148/177
Example 21.	<i>Dahur, Hele-le-le-Joben</i> , Tilomar (Tetun Terik), performers: villagers, camera: Dunlop (2006)	149/177
Example 22.	<i>Tebedai</i> , Holarua (Mambae), performers: Villagers, camera: Dunlop (2004)	153
Example 23.	<i>Tebedai Mo letra</i> , Motahoi (Tetun Terik), performers: Studente presecundaria Uatalari, camera: Dunlop (2006)	153
Example 24.	<i>Likuraj</i> , Kamanasa (Tetun Terik), performers: Grupu Same, camera: Dunlop (2006)	153/172 177
Example 25.	<i>Takanab</i> , Baki (Baikenu), performers: Grupu Baki, camera: Dunlop (2005)	156/170
Example 26.	<i>Makikit</i> , Suai Loro (Tetun Terik), performers: Grupu Lafaek,	158

	camera: Dunlop (2012)	
Example 27.	<i>Sikire</i> , Los Palos (Fataluku), performers: Grupu Los Palos, camera: Dunlop (2014)	177
Example 28.	<i>Lakadou</i> , Gleno (Mambae), performers: Fernando and Gabriel, camera: Dunlop (2006)	170
Example 29.	<i>Sergala</i> , Mulo (Mambae), performers: Afonso Pereira directing villagers of Mulo, camera: Dunlop (2007)	171
Example 30.	<i>Tebedai</i> - War Cry, Blaro (Mambae), performers: George da Costa (<i>lia na'in</i>) & villagers, camera: Dunlop (2004)	172
Example 31.	<i>Semai</i> , Dili (Fataluku) singers: Osme Gonçalves & members of Arte Moris community, camera: Adams (2011)	172
Example 32.	<i>Lia Mate</i> : Uatalari/Mt Matebian (Tetun Terik), reburial ancestral bones Julio Aparicio's parents, camera: Stahl (2006) CAMSTL	173
Example 33.	<i>Dahur</i> for Hauling Wood, Mt Matebian/Uatalari (Tetun Terik), camera: Stahl (2007) CAMSTL	174
Example 34.	<i>Dahur Odi</i> , Baukau (Makasae), performers: Grupu Rebenta, Director Ameta Mendonça, camera: Dunlop (2012)	176
Example 35.	<i>Dahur</i> , Welauu (Bekais), performers: Welauu villagers, directed by Armando Cardosa, camera: Dunlop (2008)	178
Example 36.	<i>Inbeluk</i> , Kamanasa (Tetun Terik), singers: Grupu Hadahur, camera: Dunlop (2006)	178
Example 37	<i>Tiki o lé lé</i> , Baukau (Makasae), performers: Grupu Rebenta, Director Ameta Mendonça, camera: Dunlop (2011)	169