

Chapter 5. Genealogy and Topogeny: Towards an ethnography of Rotinese ritual place names

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Introduction

Initially, I wish to introduce the notion of “topogeny”. By “topogeny” I refer to an ordered succession of place names. I see the recitation of a topogeny as analogous to the recitation of a genealogy. Both consist of an ordered succession of names that establish precedence in relation to a particular starting point — a point of origin. In the case of a topogeny, genealogy, this is a succession of personal names; in the case of a topogeny, this is a succession of place names. Whereas considerable attention has been directed to the study of the significant genealogies, little attention has been given to the study of the recitation of place names. In eastern Indonesia, and among Austronesian-speaking populations in general, topogenies are as common as genealogies. Generally these topogenies assume the form of a journey: that of an ancestor, an origin group or an object. Often, however, it is difficult to distinguish place names from personal names and both cohere to form a combination of genealogy and topogeny.

Certain Austronesian societies give preference to topogeny over genealogy. Other Austronesians rely on both such ordering structures but confine themselves to different contexts. Too often, however, topogenies are disregarded as all but unintelligible prefaces to narratives. The variety of forms such topogenies assume is largely overlooked as are the contexts in which such topogenies are given. Indeed one of the critical comparative questions is in what cultural contexts genealogies are cited (as opposed to topogenies) as specific narrative devices among different Austronesian populations. This paper explores some of these issues as they apply to the Rotinese of eastern Indonesia. At the same time, it provides some explication of the use of place names in a particular form of Rotinese topogeny.

On Roti, personhood cannot be explicated without reference to place. Places may take on the attributes of persons, and persons the attributes of place. The interconnection is basic and thus place names can provide a useful starting point for the study of proper names.

The complexity that such names pose necessitates approaches from several directions. In this paper I examine aspects of the ethnography of Rotinese proper names by focusing on the use of place names in ritual language. Although this

examination may appear tangential to the issue of personal names, it is in fact crucial to an ethnography of Rotinese naming.

The Rotinese Context

The Rotinese have developed both elaborate genealogies and elaborate topogenies. Each of the eighteen domains (*nusak*) on the island has its own genealogy, which is centred on the dynastic line of that domain's ruler. This genealogy could be expanded to embrace the high nobles of the domain and, in some areas, to provide links to the founders of the domain's constituent clans. Such genealogies can extend to thirty-six or more generations and, as far as can be documented in the case of the domain rulers, were preserved orally with remarkable accuracy (see Fox 1971a). Generally, for members of commoner clans, genealogies were of less importance and were not greatly elaborated. The dynastic genealogies of each domain provided the structure for extensive political narratives that recounted the origin and development of the domain. This genre of oral narrative is told exclusively in the dialect of the particular domain.

By contrast, the elaboration of topogenies among the Rotinese occurs only in ritual language accounts of the origin of particular culturally important objects. These are "origin accounts", like virtually all other ritual language chants, but their purpose is also to account for the spread of particular objects. Hence they consist of a recitation of the place names of the island. Thus unlike genealogies which are generally concentrated, even in ritual language performances, at the beginning of a recitation, recounting of topogenies may require an entire recitation.

All topogenies must conform to the requirements of ritual language. Thus all places referred to in ritual language must have double names. Knowing the ordinary name of a place may provide a clue to its dyadic ritual name, but often the connection between the two is minimal. Ritual names, however, are not secret names. Such names are generally common knowledge and provide a further dimension to the knowledge about particular places. Knowledge of the ritual names of numerous sites is a specialization, confined to chanters who pride themselves on their ability to recite long ritual language narratives.

Names and the Cosmology of Place

The cosmology of the compositions in ritual language consists of three worlds. There is first a heavenly world which is referred to as *Poin do Lain*, or occasionally as *Ata do Lain*, "The Heavens and the Heights". This is the world presided over by the Sun and Moon. In opposition to this world is the world beneath the sea which is referred to as *Liun do Sain*, "The Ocean and the Sea". This world is the realm of the *Mane Tua Sain ma Danga Lena Liun*, "The Great Lord of the Ocean and the Chief Hunter of the Sea" whose personification is the

Shark and Crocodile. Between these worlds is the earth, referred to as Dae Bafak ma Batu Poin, literally “The Earth’s Mouth and the Rock’s Point”.

The identity of characters in these three worlds is often revealed in their names. Heavenly Creatures have names that include the terms for the sun, moon, stars or heavenly phenomena such as the rainbow or lightning. Thus there are names such as Patola Bulan ma Mendeti Ledo or Fudu Kea Ledo ma Tao Senge Bulan. By linking different chants, it is possible to detect a genealogical structure linking some of the descendants of the Sun and Moon (Fox 1997).

Creatures of the Sea are identified by the terms “sea” and “ocean” in their names or simply as Creatures of the Sea who form the retinue of the Lord of the Sea. Thus there are characters in the chants with names such as Lada Liuk ma Lole Saik, “Ocean Goodness and Sea Tastiness” or names such as Pata Iuk ma Dula Foek, “Figure Shark and Pattern Crocodile”.

Creatures of the Earth are far more numerous and their names far more complex. Many names include the terms for earth, rock, river, water — all of which serve as markers for specific places. Thus personal names are specifically linked to place.

The Names of Roti and the Symbolic Co-ordinates of Place

A place may have more than one ritual name and such names may have a simple and a more elaborate form. Thus, for example, the most common ritual name for the island of Roti (Lote in Termanu dialect) is Lote do Kale. However, this name may be elaborated as Lote Lolo Ei ma Kale Ifa Lima, “Lote of the Outstretched Legs and Kale of the Folded Arms”. The image is one of rest; legs stretched out and arms folded in the lap. Another name for the island that invokes a similar sense is Lino do Ne, “Quiet and Peace”. Yet another name for Roti, which was once current but is now rejected as inappropriate, is Ingu Manasongo Nitu ma Nusa Manatangu Mula, “The Land that Offers to the Spirits and the Island that Sacrifices to the Ghosts”. Roti’s population is now almost entirely Christian and hence this name is no longer considered suitable. It is a name from the past.

The island of Roti is conceived of as having a “head” (*langa*) and a “tail” (*iko*); a “right” side (*kona*) and a “left” side (*ki*). The “head” of the island is in the east (*dulu*), its “tail” in the west (*muli*). The “right” side of the island is to the south, the “left” side to the north. Reflecting on these co-ordinates, some Rotinese contend that their island is like an immense crocodile resting in the sea with its head raised slightly higher than its tail.

These co-ordinates are regularly used to identify places on and beyond the island. A few examples of place names composed of these co-ordinates may illustrate the underlying system. The island of Savu to the west of the island of Roti figures in Rotinese ritual chants. Because it is to the west, it is referred to as Seba Iko ma Safu Muli, “Seba of the Tail and Savu of the West”. The same

categories (west//tail) are applied to the westernmost domain on Roti, the domain of Delha, which is referred to, in ritual language, as Dela Muli ma Ana Iko, “Dela of the West and Child of the Tail”. By contrast, one of the ritual names of the domain of Diu is Diu Dulu ma Kana Langa, “Diu of the East and Kana of the Head”. One of the names of Thie, a domain in the southern and central part of the island, is Tada Muli ma Lene Kona, “West Tada and South Kona”.

The Ritual Names of the Domain of Termanu

Currently the most common name for Termanu is Koli do Buna. The following six-line parallel poem aptly illustrates the use of this name:

<i>Koli nai talada</i>	Koli at the centre
<i>Buna nai use boson</i>	Buna at the navel
<i>Te’o nai tutulin</i>	An aunt at the halting place
<i>Ina nai laladin</i>	A mother at the place to pause
<i>De lope tuli te’o dae</i>	As you go, halt at your aunt earth
<i>Ma lao ladi ina dae.</i>	And, as you pass, pause at your mother earth.

Koli do Buna can also form part of a more complex set of names. Thus Koli do Buna can become Koli Dale do Buna Dale, “Inside Koli or Inside Buna” or Lima Koli do Ei Buna, “The Arms of Koli or Legs of Buna”. Koli do Buna is, however, only the latest in a succession of names.

One of the most interesting features of ritual names is their historical dimension. Certain important sites may have a series of names that form a historical succession. Each name may thus be commemorative of a particular period or event. The ritual names of the domain of Termanu provide a good illustration of this historical succession of names.

Termanu has had at least five other earlier ritual names, each commemorating a stage in the extension of the domain and its prosperity:

1. Sina Seo ma Mau Daka
2. Ngginu Ia ma Ngganu Pa
3. Pesa Nesu ma Te Alu
4. Pinga Dale ma Nggusi Bui
5. Pada Kode do So Meo

Each one of these names carries a great weight of local exegesis. Thus the first, Sina Seo ma Mau Daka, refers to the warlike exploits of certain clans in the initial expansion of the domain. The second, Ngginu Ia ma Ngganu Pa, refers to containers for fish and meat, and alludes to a kind of rich, pre-agricultural period in the domain’s early history. The name defines a specific phase in the development of the domain that coincides with the deeds of particular ancestors.

Similarly, the third name, *Pesa Nesu ma Te Alu*, refers to the pounding of rice, thus alluding to the opening of new sources of irrigation in the south and east of the domain. *Pinga Dale ma Nggusi Bui* alludes to the incorporation of irrigated rice areas in the region south of *Fea Popi*, the centre of the domain, while *Pada Kode do So Meo*, “Monkey-Pada or Cat-Oath”, alludes to the period following *Termanu*’s bitterest dynastic dispute.

In short, ritual place names can succeed each other, almost as personal names in a genealogy do.

Narrative Topogeny: The Chant of the Origin of Rice and Millet

Some ritual chants consist almost entirely of topogenies. They provide an opportunity for the successive recitation of place names throughout the island. The most important of these topogeny chants recounts the origin of rice and millet. The chant is identified by the names *Doli do Lutu* or *Doli Mo ma Lutu Mala*, which are the ritual names for rice and millet, or alternatively by the names of the creatures of the sea that become rice and millet, *Bole Sou ma Asa Nao*. The background explanation for the arrival of these creatures on *Roti* (in the two versions of the chant which I have gathered) is so brief and tantalizingly cryptic that it is difficult to provide extensive exegesis. In one version, the explanation of the “origin” of rice and millet forms a kind of preface of some eighteen lines out of a total of over two hundred and eighty lines.¹ The chant is as follows:

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| 1. <i>Touk leo Bole Sou</i> | The man like Bole Sou |
| 2. <i>Ma taek leo Asa Nao</i> | And the boy like Asa Nao |
| 3. <i>Ala ke bibia iu</i> | They cut and hack the shark |
| 4. <i>Ma ala tati momola foe.</i> | And they slash and slice the crocodile. |
| 5. <i>Boe ma iu neu namanasa</i> | Then the shark grows angry |
| 6. <i>Ma foe ana nggenggele.</i> | And the crocodile becomes furious. |
| 7. <i>Hu ndia de tasi lu Asa Nao</i> | At this the sea rises with Asa Nao |
| 8. <i>Ma oli lama Bole Sou.</i> | And the estuary lifts Bole Sou. |
| 9. <i>Boe te lu neni Doli Mo</i> | So the tide carries Doli Mo |
| 10. <i>Ma lama neni Lutu Mala.</i> | And the flow carries Lutu Mala. |
| 11. <i>De nenin neu Mae Oe</i> | It carries him to Mae Oe |
| 12. <i>Ma nenin neu Tena Lai</i> | And carries him to Tena Lai |
| 13. <i>Fo Mae Oe Loek lutun</i> | To the fish-catch at Mae Oe Loek |
| 14. <i>Ma Tena Lai Laok dean.</i> | And to the sea-wall at Tena Lai Laok. |
| 15. <i>Besak-ka nupu non na dadi</i> | Now the coconut shoots begin to grow |
| 16. <i>Ma sadu puan na tola</i> | And the pinang shoots begin to appear |

17. *De li lakadodofun* The waves cover him
18. *Ma nafa lapopolin.* And the surf soaks him.

Both Rotinese exegesis on this version of the chant and lines in a subsequently recorded version identified Bole Sou and Asa Nao as a “small shrimp and tiny crab” (*poe-ana ma ni’i-ana*). They are described as biting and pinching a coconut and areca nut that carry them bobbing in the sea to the shores of Roti at a place called Tena Lai ma Mae Oe. This ritual site is located in the domain of Landu at the far eastern end of the island.

From Tena Lai ma Mae Oe, the topogeny begins and proceeds in a counter-clockwise cycle around the island: first toward the western end of the island, along the north coast and then back to the east along the south coast, returning finally to Tena Lai ma Mae Oe. This cycle is conducted by some women who successively pick up Doli do Lutu and carry them to a new field and plant them. Thus each name cited in the topogeny is supposed to be the name of a rice and millet field.

The versions of this chant that I have gathered come from the domain of Termanu. For Termanu, each name cited is indeed a rice field complex known as a *lala*. The names of other sites in more distant domains are in fact the most widely known names of these domains. In some cases, these names are not specific names of fields but general designations of the domains. However, in terms of the topogeny, all such names are described as they referred to rice or millet fields.

The chant is highly repetitious since each successive movement of the rice and millet follows a similar formulaic phrasing. A crucial feature of the chant is the close identification of women with specific fields. In some cases, women’s names are a variant of the field name; in other cases, the identity of woman and field is assumed to the extent that only the women’s names are cited. References to particular fields are implied.

Initially, in the chant, the planted rice and millet do not grow. The first woman to encounter Doli do Lutu (Bole Sou ma Asa Nao) bears the dual name Masu Pasu ma He Hai. She carries the rice and millet from Tena Lai ma Mai Oe to a field in the domain of Korbaffo, which takes its ritual name from its large bay, Tunga Oli ma Namu Ina (Follow the Inlet and Mother Harbour). These lines of the chant follow:

19. *Faik esa ma-nunin* On one certain day
20. *Ma ledo esa ma-teben* And at a particular time
21. *Tasi la huka papa* The sea opens its planks
22. *Ma meti la si unu.* And the tide tears wide its slats.
23. *Boe te inak-ka Masu Pasu* So the woman, Masu Pasu

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| 24. <i>Ma fetok-ka He Hai</i> | And the girl, He Hai |
| 25. <i>Neu nafadama lutu limak</i> | Goes to probe the arms of the fish-catch |
| 26. <i>Ma nafaloe dea eik.</i> | And goes to grope at the foot of the seawall. |
| 27. <i>Boe to neu nda lilima</i> | There they encounter [Doli Mo] |
| 28. <i>Ma neu tongo lololo.</i> | And there they meet [Lutu Mala]. |
| 29. <i>Doli Mo nasakedu</i> | Doli Mo is sobbing |
| 30. <i>Ma Lutu Mala namatani</i> | And Lutu Mala is crying |
| 31. <i>Fo nasakedu sanga inan</i> | Sobbing for his mother |
| 32. <i>Ma namatani sanga teon,</i> | And crying for his aunt, |
| 33. <i>Te hu inan nai Asa Nao</i> | A mother to Asa Nao |
| 34. <i>Ma teon nai Bole Sou.</i> | And an aunt to Bole Sou. |
| 35. <i>Besak-ka inak-ka, Masu Pasu</i> | Then the woman, Masu Pasu, |
| 36. <i>Ma fetok-ka, He Hai neu.</i> | And the girl, He Hai, goes [there]. |
| 37. <i>Ifa neni falik Doli</i> | Returns carrying Doli in her lap |
| 38. <i>Ma koo neni tulek Lutu</i> | And comes back cradling Lutu in her arms |
| 39. <i>De tulek Asa Nao</i> | She brings back Asa Nao |
| 40. <i>Ma falik Bole Sou.</i> | And returns Bole Sou. |
| 41. <i>Mai bei nai Tunga Oli na Namo Ina.</i> | She arrives at Tunga Oli and Namo Ina. |
| 42. <i>De sele lakaboboin</i> | They plant him with care |
| 43. <i>Ma tane lasamamaon</i> | And they sow him with attention |
| 44. <i>Te hu bokon ta dadi</i> | But the bending stalk does not grow |
| 45. <i>Ma do belan ta tola.</i> | And the heavy leaves do not appear. |

It is at this stage that the rice and millet are carried to Termanu by the woman, *Fi Bau ma Seda Kola*, and planted in the field, *Bau Peda Dele ma Kola Sifi Ndai*, the first of a series of rice fields where initially rice and millet do not grow. This segment of the chant is as follows:

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| 46. <i>Besak-ka inak-ka Fi Bau</i> | Now the woman, Fi Bau, |
| 47. <i>Ma fetok-ka Seda Kola</i> | And the girl, Seda Kola, |
| 48. <i>Ko'o do ifa nenin.</i> | Cradles or carries him away. |
| 49. <i>De sele nakaboboin</i> | She plants him with care |
| 50. <i>Ma tane nasamamaon</i> | And sows him with attention |
| 51. <i>Nai Bau Peda Dele fuan</i> | In the field at Bau Peda Dele |
| 52. <i>Ma Kola Sifi Ndai mon,</i> | And in the plain at Kola Sifi Ndai, |
| 53. <i>Te do belan ta dadi</i> | But the heavy leaves do not grow |
| 54. <i>Ma hu bokon ta tola.</i> | And the bending stalk does not appear. |

A succession of women — Kada Ufa ma Dila Latu, Hau Hala ma Kae Kopa, Leli Onge ma Fula Fopo and Soe Leli ma Pinga Pasa — each of whom can be identified with the site of a particular field complex on Termanu's north coast — come forward, take the rice and millet, and plant them; they do not succeed in getting them to grow. It is only when the woman, Lole Bako ma Fiti Nggoli, carries them with full ceremony and plants them in the field named Bako Bau Dale ma Nggoli Kai Tio that the rice and millet finally sprout and grow. This sequence of the chant is as follows:

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| 83. <i>Besak-ka inak-ka Fiti Nggoli</i> | Now the woman, Fiti Nggoli, |
| 84. <i>Ma fetok-ka Lole Bako</i> | And the girl, Lole Bako, |
| 85. <i>Ana tolo mu sasali</i> | She comes running |
| 86. <i>Ma nalai lelenu.</i> | And she comes dashing. |
| 87. <i>De neni pua lisu lasi boak</i> | She brings an areca nut round as a bowed cotton ball |
| 88. <i>Ma malu boa dongi aik</i> | And a betel fruit long as a barbed spear shaft |
| 89. <i>Pou leu pana-daik</i> | A sarong with <i>pana-daik</i> bands |
| 90. <i>Ma sidi soti tola-teek.</i> | And a ritual cloth with the <i>tolateek</i> stitches. |
| 91. <i>Mai de ana ifa so ko'o nenin.</i> | Coming, she carries or cradles him away. |
| 92. <i>De neu tane nasamamaon</i> | She goes to sow him with attention |
| 93. <i>Do sele nakaboboin</i> | And plant him with care |
| 94. <i>Neu Bako Bau Dale mon</i> | In the plain of Bako Bau Dale |
| 95. <i>Ma neu Nggoli Kai Tio fuan</i> | And in the field of Nggoli Kai Tio |
| 96. <i>Ma ana mole sepe do fua oli.</i> | And she celebrates the <i>sepe</i> -basket and lays the <i>oli</i> -basket [rituals]. |
| 97. <i>Besak-ka kalen-na didiku</i> | Now his kernel bends over |
| 98. <i>Ma pulen-na loloso.</i> | And his buds creep upward. |
| 99. <i>Boe ma besak-ka oku-bolu ma do-seek</i> | Now they yell and make noise [to drive away the birds] |
| 100. <i>Nai Bako Bau Dale mon</i> | In the plain of Bako Bau Dale |
| 101. <i>Do Nggoli Kai Tio fuan.</i> | And in the field of Nggoli Kai Tio. |

After this success, two more women from Termanu, Dulu Kilik ma Leo Lasuk and Pinga Peto ma Lu'a Lela, take the rice and millet and sow them in the field complexes of Ki Lama ma Le Ina and of Peto Lesi Ama ma Lela Bala Fia. Again the grains sprout and grow.

This is the last of the sequence of named rice fields in Termanu. After this the chant proceeds to describe the transference of the seeds and their planting in a circuit through the Roti domains. A brief segment for the domain of Loleh is sufficient to illustrate the repeated formula of the chant. Here the chant refers

to Loleh by its two most commonly known ritual names, Ninga Ladi ma Heu Hena and Teke Dua ma Finga Telu.

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| 174. <i>Boe ma inak bei Ninga Ladi</i> | The woman of Ninga Ladi |
| 175. <i>Ma fetok bei Heu Hena</i> | And the girl of Heu Hena |
| 176. <i>Inak bei Teke Dua</i> | The woman of Teke Dua |
| 177. <i>Ma fetok bei Finga Telu</i> | And the girl of Finga Telu |
| 178. <i>Inak-ka Tui Beba</i> | The woman, Tui Beba, |
| 179. <i>Do fetok-ka Oe Ange</i> | Or the girl, Oe Ange, |
| 180. <i>Ana if a do ko'o nenin.</i> | She carries or cradles him away. |
| 181. <i>De ana sele do tane</i> | She plants or sows |
| 182. <i>Neu Ninga Ladi do Heu Hena.</i> | In Ninga Ladi or Heu Hena. |
| 183. <i>De oku boluk ma do-seek.</i> | They yell and make noise. |

Finally, after completing a circuit of the island, Doli and Lutu are returned to the Tena Lai ma Mae Oe where they began by a woman identified with the domain of Landu. The chant concludes with the lines:

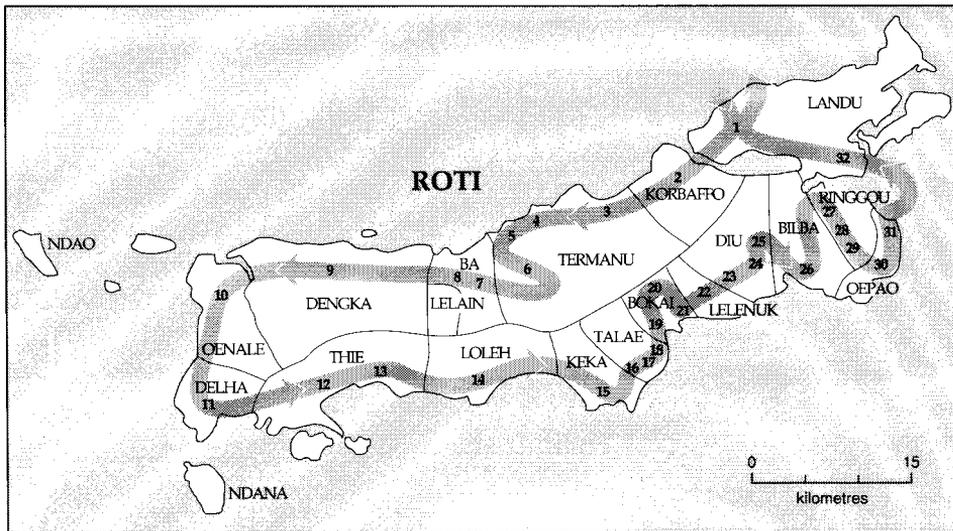
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|---|--------------------------------------|
| 275. <i>Boe ma fetok bei Soti Mori</i> | A girl of Soti Mori |
| 276. <i>Ma ina bei Bola Tena</i> | And a woman of Bola Tena |
| 277. <i>Inak-ka Liti Lifu</i> | The woman, Liti Lifu, |
| 278. <i>Do fetok-ka Henu Helok</i> | Or the girl, Henu Helok, |
| 279. <i>De ifa do ko'o nenin</i> | She carries or cradles him away |
| 280. <i>Ko'o mangananaun</i> | Cradles him gently in her arms |
| 281. <i>Ma ifa tapandondoen.</i> | And carries him tenderly on her lap. |
| 282. <i>De ana tane do sele</i> | She sows or plants |
| 283. <i>Neu Tena Lai do Mae Oe.</i> | At Tena Lai or Mae Oe. |
| 284. <i>Te fuak ta Tena Lai</i> | But there is no field at Tena Lai |
| 285. <i>Ma mok ta Mae Oe.</i> | And there is no plain at Mae Oe. |
| 286. <i>Boe ma ana tulek leo liun neu</i> | Then he goes back to the ocean |
| 287. <i>Ma falik leo sain neu.</i> | And returns to the sea. |

Mapping the Path of Rice and Millet onto the Body of the Island

Topogenies take various forms, defining different paths. The path of Doli do Lutu, for example, differs from that of the path of the great rocks of Sua Lai and Batu Hun that stand as the coastal landmarks of the domain of Termanu. These topogenies differ in their points of origin and of termination and, even more significantly, in the trajectories of their individual paths. The topogeny of Sua Lai and Batu Hun has its origin in Termanu; the trajectory of the path it narrates

proceeds eastward to the island of Timor where a transformation occurs that directs the journey of the two rocks back westward to a point — Pao Kala ma Peni Kea — at the southeastern end of Roti. From there, the path of the rocks follows a clockwise movement along Roti’s south coast and eventually back to the rocks’ “ancestral harbour” in Termanu on Roti’s north coast. By contrast, the topogeny of Doli do Lutu begins at Tena Lai ma Mae Oe — at the eastern end of Roti. The path of rice and millet involves a counter-clockwise circumambulation of the island from the “head” to the “tail” of the island, with a return to the place of origin at the head.

Just as any topogeny can be defined by its point of origin and termination, it can also be defined by the named places that mark the path between origin and termination. The topogeny of Doli do Lutu in this paper consists of a recitation of thirty-two ritual place names, all of which can be mapped onto the body of the island.



Map 1. The path of rice and millet

Ritual Place Names in the Topogeny of Rice and Millet

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| 1. Tena Lai ma Mae Oe | 17. Longa Fa ma Feo Ne |
| 2. Tunga Oli ma Namu Ina | 18. Sosolo Lean ma Batu Tanga |
| 3. Bau Peda Dele ma Kola Sifi Ndai | 19. Ko Solo ma Nilu Foi |
| 4. Bako Bau Dale ma Nggoli Kai Tio | 20. Keko Nesu ma Te Alu |
| 5. Ki Lama ma Le Ina | 21. Medi Daen ma Ndule Oen |
| 6. Peto Lesi Ama ma Lela Bala Fia | 22. Lenu Peto ma Safe Solo |
| 7. Tanga Loi ma Oe Mau | 23. Diu Dulu ma Kana Langa |
| 8. Pena Pua ma Maka Lama | 24. Pele Pou ma Nggafu Lafa |

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| 9. Dae Mea ma Tete Lifu | 25. Sapan Daen Oe Utuk ma Seun Oen Fi Bolo |
| 10. Nele Dene ma Nada Dano [Ni Le ma Lada Dano] | 26. Feni Fi ma Tane Bau |
| 11. Dela Muli ma Ana Iko | 27. Londa Lusi ma Batu Bela |
| 12. Tada Muli ma Lene Kona | 28. Saba Lai ma Dele Bui |
| 13. Tuda Meda ma Do Lasi | 29. Tua Nae ma Lele Beba |
| 14. Ninga Ladi ma Heu Hena | 30. Fai Fua ma Ledo Sou |
| 15. Tufa Laba ma Ne'e Feo | 31. Lifa Lama ma Lutu Oen |
| 16. Pila Sue ma Nggeo Deta | 32. Soti Mori ma Bola Tena |

Each individual recitation of a topogeny invariably reflects the knowledge and interests of its narrator. The topogeny examined in this paper was told by a narrator, S. Adulanu, from Termanu and it therefore gives greater attention to places within this domain. For other parts of the island, one or another of the ritual names of that domain are invoked to stand for its rice fields. Thus, in effect, the recitation relies on a general knowledge of the ritual names of the domains of Roti.

Map 1 shows the domains of the island of Roti with numbers to mark and identify the ordered sequence of places named in this particular topogeny. Since many of these place names represent domains, the map also shows these domains.

The Creation of Ritual Space

There exist only two ways of establishing succession — in time or in space. Genealogy functions to establish a succession in time. Topogeny functions to establish a succession in space. Genealogy relies on personal names; topogeny on place names. In both, points of origin and termination are critical. Topogenies have the advantage that they may form cycles by returning to an initial point of departure. Topogenies can be traced, relived, revisited. Genealogy may be more abstract but is often structured in a spatial mode — in Austronesian societies as some form of botanic icon like an immense tree, a clump of bamboo, a twisting vine. And the contours of these icons can be traced. For topogeny, it is the metaphor of the journey that is important. In the ritual chant I have examined, this journey traces the path of rice and millet. The specifics of the journey are part of the revelation of the chant.

The version of this journey of Doli do Lutu comes from Termanu and it is in relation to Termanu that it must be primarily interpreted. From this perspective, it establishes a relationship between Tena Lai ma Mae Oe and the principal rice fields of Termanu. Within Termanu, it establishes a relationship between Bako Bau Dale ma Nggoli Kae Tio, as the premier rice field of the domain, and all other rice fields. It goes beyond this and testifies to the importance of three fields on

the western side of the domain (of which Bau Dale, Peto and Lela are of great popular, historical significance): Bako Bau Dale ma Nggoli Kae Tio, Ki Lama ma Le Ina and Peto Lesi Ama ma Lela Bala Fia.

For Termanu, the chant creates a ritual space of specific localities. For the rest of the island, it is a recitation of political entities. It produces by way of place names what a genealogy does by means of personal names. Termanu is not the first of the domains, it is the navel and the centre of these domains.

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Notes

¹ The first version of this chant, which I refer to throughout the paper, was recorded in Termanu during fieldwork in 1965-66. It was given to me by S. Adulanu. At the time I was helped in transcribing and interpreting this chant by P. Malesi, from whom I later recorded a second version in 1977, while involved in filming on the island. The recording of P. Malesi reciting the second version of this topogeny was filmed by Tim Asch. The text of the first chant can be found in Fox (1971b:172-187).