



A Ilha e o Mundo

Rai-kotun no Raiklaran

TIMOR - LESTE

The Island and the World

Akihisa Matsuno, Kelly Silva, Silvia Garcia Nogueira, Susana de Matos Viegas (orgs/eds)

VOLUME I - TOMO II

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TIMOR-LESTE

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SECÇÃO VI

Kelly Silva

Saberes locais e políticas culturais em Ataúro

Desde 2010, quando o turismo foi eleito veículo central para expansão da sociedade de mercado em Timor-Leste, Ataúro passou a ser *locus* de várias práticas de governança, estatais e não-governamentais, nacionais e internacionais. A diversidade e beleza dos corais que cercam a ilha têm sido transformadas em recurso para atração de turistas e das infraestruturas de que necessitam para chegar até lá. Não por acaso, alguns têm chamado Ataúro de Amazônia dos mares.

Os trabalhos que compõem essa seção dos anais revelam diversidade, complexidade e beleza presentes muito além dos recifes de corais em Ataúro. Tais características marcam as relações entre humanos e não-humanos (plantas, animais, alimentos, artefatos) na ilha, em suas diferentes localidades, plasmando uma biodiversidade na qual a ação humana é fundamental e conectada com a história. Ademais, a resiliência das instituições e saberes locais – dos quais parte importante da reprodução social é dependente – e a plasticidade dos mesmos em seu encontro com agências homogeneizadoras, despontam como traços em comum nas análises aqui reunidas. Neste quadro, parte das discussões propõe que tais fenômenos sejam compreendidos como parte do patrimônio material e imaterial dos ilhéus, passíveis de exploração pelo mercado turístico – em que pese todo o risco e impactos que isso representa – à diferença do que sugerem narrativas de desenvolvimento hegemônicas. Chama-se também à atenção a necessidade de reconhecimento do valor de tais saberes pelo Estado e por responsabilidade coletiva em sua salvaguarda.

Ao lado de tais fatos, algumas outras tendências despontam por entre os trabalhos: as ações da Assembleia de Deus na ilha é vetor de radicais transformações nas instituições sociais características da Indonésia Oriental; o Cristianismo católico é menos deletério à reprodução destas mesmas instituições. Nas localidades em que o catolicismo é mais presente, como nos casos de Vila Maumeta, Macadade e Makili, saberes e práticas locais são mais vívidos. Não por acaso, é em Macadade e Makili que encontramos uma linguagem musical compartilhada presente de maneira mais pungente. Apesar disso, mesmo nestas localidades, parte destes saberes também estão sob ameaça.

As mulheres são agentes fundamentais nas dinâmicas de produção e reprodução da vida entre os ilhéus. São hábeis pescadoras e conhecedoras de crustáceos, além de terem tido seus papéis incrementados em dinâmicas domésticas em razão do maior engajamento dos homens com a economia de mercado. Impor-

tante notar, contudo, que os ganhos monetários advindos da economia de mercado são muitas vezes colocados ao serviço da reprodução das instituições locais. De outro lado, práticas de governança locais como o *tara bandu* têm sido mobilizadas para fins de salvaguarda e proteção dos corais de recife, recurso mor da indústria do turismo em Timor-Leste. Estamos, pois, diante de ecologias complexas e multi agentivas que desafiam quaisquer metanarrativas unilineares de desenvolvimento ou mudança social.

Finalmente, gostaria de registrar meu agradecimento a todos os colegas que atuaram como pareceristas dos trabalhos aqui reunidos: Dra. Lisa Palmer, Dr. Enrique Alonso-Población, Dra. Sara Niner, Dr. Philip Yampolsky, Dr. Daniel Simião, Dr. Alberto Fidalgo-Castro e Dra. Helen Abbott.

Local knowledge and cultural policies in Atauro

Since 2010, when tourism was elected as the main vehicle for expansion of the market society in Timor-Leste, Atauro became the locus of various governance practices, either governmental and nongovernmental, as well as national and international. The diversity and beauty of the corals that surround the island were transformed into a source of attraction of tourists and of the infrastructures they needed to get there. Not by chance, some call Atauro the Amazon of the seas.

The papers in this section reveal the diversity, complexity and beauty of Atauro beyond the coral reefs. In different locations of the island, such characteristics mark the relationship between humans and non-humans (plants, animals, food, artifacts), shaping a biodiversity in which human action is fundamental and connected to history. Furthermore, the resilience of institutions and local knowledge – on which an important part of social reproduction depends – and their plasticity in the encounter with homogenizing agencies emerge as common features in the analyzes gathered in this section. In this context, part of the discussions propose such phenomena to be considered material and immaterial heritage of the islanders, liable for exploitation by the tourist market – despite all the risk and impacts that this represents – contradicting the hegemonic development narratives. Attention is also drawn to the need of recognition of the value of such knowledge by the State as well as of collective responsabilization in its safeguard.

Alongside these facts, other issues emerge among the studies: the action of the Assembly of God in the island is a vector of radical transformations in the tra-

ditional social institutions of Easter Indonesia; Catholic Christianity is less adverse to the reproduction of these same institutions. In the places where Catholicism is more present, as in Vila Maumeta, Macadade and Makili, local knowledge and practices are more vivid. Not by chance, in Macadade and Makili we find a pungent presence of a shared musical language. Despite this, even in these locations, this knowledge is also partially under threat.

Women are fundamental agents in the dynamics of production and reproduction of life among islanders. They are skilled fisherwomen and experts in crustaceans, in addition to having had their roles increased in domestic dynamics due to the greater engagement of men with the market economy. It is important to note, however, that the monetary gains arising from the market economy are often placed at the service of the reproduction of local institutions. On the other hand, local governance practices such as *tara bandu* have been mobilized for the purpose of safeguarding and protecting coral reefs, the main resource of the tourism industry in Timor-Leste. We are, therefore, facing complex and multi-agent ecologies that challenge any unilinear metanarratives of development or social change.

Finally, I would like to express my thanks to the colleagues who reviewed the works here gathered: Dr. Lisa Palmer, Dr. Enrique Alonso-Población, Dr. Sara Niner, Dr. Philip Yampolsky, Dr. Daniel Simião, Dr. Alberto Fidalgo-Castro and Dr. Helen Abbott.

Matenek lokál no polítika kulturál iha Ataúru

Horikedas iha tinan-2010, bainhira hili tiha turizmu nu'udar motór sentrá hodi haburas sosiedade merkadu iha Timor-Leste, Ataúru sai fali hanesan banati ba hala'ok governasaun nian, estadu ka lae, nasional no internasionál. Fatuk ahuruin oiain no mesak furak hale'u rai-oan ne'ebá buras-sai nu'udar rekursu hodi konvida turista no, tatuir, halo infraestruturá ne'ebé presiza hodi bele to'o ne'ebá. Tanba ne'e hotu mak ema balu bolu Ataúru hanesan Amazona tasi nian.

Bainhira tau hamutuk hotu hodi hakerek seksaun ida-ne'e maka mosu-sai sasán tomak no oiain, kompleksu tebes, kapás no furak, ne'ebé la'ós fatuk ahuruin de'it iha Ataúru. Buat-karan ne'e hotu maka kesi moris ema ho moris seluk la'ós ema nian (ai-horis, balada, hahán, artefaktu) iha fatin barak hale'u rai-oan, hodi buras hala'ok ema nian hamutuk ho abut ne'ebé harii rai ne'ebá nia istória. La'ós ida-ne'e de'it maibé mós instituisaun no matenek-na'in lokál sira – hosi

ne'ebé buat hotu sosiál moris-mai – bele adapta bainhira hasoru ho ajénsia ne'ebé hala'o servisu hanesan baibain, hanesan ho fatin seluk, ne'ebé la adapta, ne'e mak lehat hotu kedas iha-ne'e. Iha kuadru ida-ne'e, haksasuk balu tuir dalan hodi komprende saida de'it mak ema rai-oan ne'ebá hahoris no ukun no fini-oan hirak ne'e bele esplora ho lala'ok turizmu – maski bele hetan todan hosi lala'ok ne'e – sei lahanesan dezentvolvimentu ne'ebé temi nu'udar ejemóniku. Ho ne'e hotu mak ami hakarak bolu atensaun katak Estadu mós tenke hahii tebes matenek lokál, nomós timoroan hotu, tanba responsabilidade atu proteje ema hotu nian.

Tatuir faktu ne'e, iha tendénsia balu seluk hosi ensaiu hirak hotu: hahalok hosi Assembleia de Deus iha rai-oan ne'ebá hatuur transformasaun radikál iha instituisaun sosiál ne'ebe mai hosi Indonézia Orientál; Kristianizmu Katóliku ladún kontra reproduasaun hosi instituisaun hirak-ne'e. Iha fatin ne'ebé katolisizmu mak iha liu, hanesan Vila Maumeta, Macadade no Makili, hatenek no hala'ok lokál buras liu. Tanba ne'e mak iha Macadade no Makili sira hananu ai-knanoik ho kmanek bainhira halibur malu. Maski nune'e, iha fatin rua-ne'e mós hetan tateran hodi bele lakon lisan.

Feto sira nu'udar ema fundamentál iha dinámika produsaun no reproduasaun moris nian iha rai-oan ne'ebá. Sira iha kbiit kona-ba kaer ikan no hatene barak kona-ba ikan-matafatuk no seluk tan iha tasi-okos nomós sira-nia knaar hodi hala'o servisu uma-laran bainhira mane sira badinas ho ekonomia merkadu nian. Tenke haree katak, maski nune'e, osan ne'ebé sira manán hosi ekonomia merkadu dala-dalas fó fali ba servisu reproduasaun nian iha instituisaun lokál. Ida fali maka governasaun ida, tuir lisan ho naran tara bandu, tau matan ba ahu-ruin iha tasi meti-ulun hodi buras rikusoin ba indústria turizmu iha Timor-Leste. Ne'e be, ita hotu, nune'e, hasouru tempu ho ekolojia kompleksu no ajente oioin, nune'e susar liu atu dezentvolvimentu ka mudansa la'o tuir hanoin ida de'it

Ikus, hodi remata, ha'u hakarak hato'o ha'u-nia obrigadu ba kolega sira-ne'ebé halibur hamutuk iha-ne'e: Dra. Lisa Palmer, Dr. Enrique Alonso-Población, Dra. Sara Niner, Dr. Philip Yampolsky, Dr. Daniel Simião, Dr. Alberto Fidalgo-Castro e Dra. Helen Abbott.

1. Reframing culture. Assembly of God cultural policies in Ussubemassu, Atauro¹

Kelly Silva²

Reframing culture. Assembly of God cultural policies in Ussubemassu, Atauro

The paper discusses the ways the Assembly of God has reframed people's engagement with typical institutions of Eastern Indonesia and such institutions themselves, in Ussubemassu/Beloi/Jerusalém, Ataúro. How the Christian search for equality challenges expectations of precedence among houses; the dissociation between culture and religion and the prevalence of the local institutional framework for negotiating people's material reproduction are the main issues the paper approaches.

Protestant Christianity. Missionization. Change. Equality. Eastern Indonesia.

Reenquadrando a cultura. Políticas culturais da Assembleia de Deus em Ussubemassu, Ataúro

O texto discute as formas como a Assembleia de Deus tem reestruturado o envolvimento das pessoas com instituições típicas da Indonésia Oriental e essas próprias instituições, em Ussubemassu/Beloi/Jerusalém, Ataúro. Como a busca cristã pela igualdade desafia as expectativas de precedência entre as casas; a dissociação entre cultura e religião e a prevalência do quadro institucional local para a negociação da reprodução material são as principais questões que o texto aborda.

Cristianismo protentante. Missionação. Mudança. Igualdade. Indonésia Oriental.

1. Research backing the hypotheses this paper argues to have been developed with the support of Brazilian and French state institutions. On the side of Brazil, this paper is a product of the CAPES grant 88881.172482/2018-01 and the FAP-DF Grant 0193.001529/2016. French ANR (Agence Nationale de la Recherche) funded part of my fieldwork by means of the project Cultural Policies, Local Heritage and Collaborative Approaches in Eastern Insulindia (ANR PROJECT 18 CE 27-020).

2. Universidade de Brasília, CNPq research fellow.

Hatada kultura ho oin-foun. Polítika kulturál hosi “Assembleia de Deus” iha Ussubemassu, Atauro

Testu ida-ne’e dada lia kona-ba oinsá mak “Assembleia de Deus” loke dalam atu ema hotu tutan malu ho instituisaun típika hosi Indonézia Orientál no instituisaun hirak ne’e rasik, iha Ussubemassu/Beloi/Jerusalém, Ataúru. Oinsá maka kristaun sira buka hetan moris hanesan ema hotu-hotu no hasouru susar hosi uma ida ba uma seluk; hakotu kultura no relijiaun no rai nafatin instituisaun lokál hodi hala’o negosiasaun ba reproduisaun materiál maka nu’udar kestaun prinsipál testu ida-ne’e hakerek.

Kristianizmu protestante. Misionasaun. Mudansa. Igualdade. Indonézia Orientál.

This paper discusses Assembly of God pastoral praxis in Atauro, on the basis of a 5 months fieldwork undertaken in Ussubamassu village (also called Beloi or Jerusalém) in 2019. It argues that Assembly of God’s pastoral praxis has effected at least three main transformations in the Ussubemassu people’s cosmology: 1. the decline of asymmetry and inequality as cultural values framing the relationships among houses (*lisan*); 2. the dissociation between *lulik* and *kultura* and 3. the Christianization of *kultura* and its use as a means for negotiating material reproduction exclusively.

On one hand, all of these hypotheses derive from dialogues with works which have identified the main institutions organizing social dynamics in Eastern Indonesia as a cultural region. These works allowed authors such as Van Woden, Fox (1980) and others to propose the very notion of Eastern Indonesia as a specific cultural region, characterized by the coexistence of the following institutions: 1. asymmetrical alliance between houses (or groups of origin) by means of marriage exchanges between fertility-givers and fertility takers, being the fertility-giver in a superior position before its fertility-taker; 2. diarchy of powers; 3. precedence; 4. binary ideology of classification; 5. membership to corporate groups as houses or groups of origin; 6. semantic parallelism in ritual parlance; 7. values of origin and ancestry.

So, I am supposing Atauro people’s social organization and cosmology have also been framed by these institutions across time and that part of them are being challenged by the Assembly of God’s pastoral projects.

On the other hand, I clarify that I understand *Kultura* as an emic signifier used to refer to practices and institutions perceived as indigenous, such as those which characterized Easter Indonesia as a cultural region or even those that are simply different from others (deemed foreign). Among many Catholic and also non-Christian people, *kultura* also entails mystical, supernatural contents as it is connected to worship practices involving ancestors and other spiritual beings, and

even what western cosmologies see as objects. In these cases, *kultura* is a synonym for *lulik*, a local category to the notion of sacred, amongst other potential meanings (cf. Bovensiepen, 2015 and Shepherd, 2019).

To support my hypothesis I organize this paper in three sections. The first presents fragments of the history of protestant missionary practices in Atauro and its expression in some phenomena occurring in the Island today. The connection between that past history and the present is explored by pointing out the search for equality as a foundation for collective interaction.

Hamos lulik (cleaning the sacred) is the subtitle of my second section, which discusses the dissociation of *kultura* from mystical practices and assumptions. To analyse such an issue I mobilize diverse phenomena: toponymy strategies of the Church, funerals and the Day of the Dead routines. Based on them I argue that the Assembly of God's pastoral project yields the Christianization of *kultura* institutional framework. In the final section, *Lisan* and material reproduction, I explore how *lisan* in Usubemassu has been transformed into a means strictly connected to material reproduction.

Protestantism and equality

At least three different missionary endeavours seem to have taken part in the plot of the Atauro people's adherence to Protestantism across the 20th century. An American missionary called Martin was active in the Island by 1930. There is no consensus about the denomination to which Martin was connected to. Some suggest he was at the service of the Baptist Church, others that he was a Lutheran missionary. They do not know anything else about him, apart from the fact that he was obliged to leave the Island after a short time there.

After WWII, Juliana and Franz Braz supposedly went to Atauro from Arlo. Durand (2004) reports that by the beginning of the 1960's, Juliana and Fraz led a community of 1350 people – almost 40% of the Atauro population at the time.

By sharing with me his knowledge about this community, one of the leading pastors of the Assembly of God in East Timor claimed the place where Juliana and Franz Braz lived and carried out their missionary work was called *Samarata*, an Indonesian language word that means "equals". After being obliged to move closer to Vila Maumeta by the Portuguese administration, they called the new place where they lived *Tetap Rata* which means "to make things flat". My interlocutor's recollection about Juliana and Franz actions highlights that the core of their work was to promote equality among people. They would have taught that there is no one better or higher than another, no one bigger than another. There should not

be anyone superior or inferior before anyone else or before God. Everyone would be equal and deserving of the same respect and treatment.

I came across this quest for equality on several occasions throughout my research in Atauro. I consider such anxiety to be an important challenge to the very institution of asymmetry and precedence (between houses) that is characteristic of Easter Indonesia. One of the most prominent examples of such anxiety presented itself to me in the “local law” for marriage negotiations of the Makadade suku, proposed in January 2014. The document set some rules regarding filiation, residency and material limits for negotiating rights in persons by means of marriage exchanges. Among the various articles that compose what is called “lei tradicional barlakeadu” one particular article stands out. After listing all the houses (*lisan*) existing in Makadade, the “lei tradicional barlakeadu” then proposes in article number 10:

About the classification and categorization of *lisan* in the Makadade suku:
The classification and category of the 17 *lisan* existing in Makadade suco is the same. There is no category or classification of *lisan* superior or inferior before any other (free translation by the author from the original text in Tétum language).

Different questions may be posed about the meaning of the content of this article. On this, I would like to share some considerations. Firstly, we know that laws are technologies of government and control (domestication). Secondly, Makadade is a suku where approximately 50% of people are Protestant and 50% are Catholic. Catholic Christianity has been much more tolerant to local values (such as inequality, and asymmetry) than Protestantism. Thirdly, *kultura* is an institutional framework whose *modus operandi* is marked by strong contestation, among other things because of its oral character. Considering all of these, the codification of the search for equality into law might mean that such is not really observed yet but it is a moral ideal to search for.

Another index of the way Protestant Christianity is changing the way people see inequality and asymmetry are some suggestions it presents about the making of gifts in marriage exchanges in Ussubemassu. According to Francisco, one of the elders from the village, the Assembleia de Deus (Assembly of God) suggests that marriage exchanges should not be managed as to exploit people, making them poorer. He said that *Kultura* should not make people poorer and that because everyone is codependent people know that if they exploit someone today they will be exploited by other ones tomorrow.

As it is known, one of the main expressions of asymmetry between wife-givers and wife-takers consists of the quality and quantity of money and goods exchanged in marriage exchanges and other life-cycle rituals. Wife/Fertility-givers are

superior in these relationships and as such are entitled to receive much more goods and money than to give them.

In fact, what is deemed as an excessive quantity (and quality) of goods employed in marriage exchanges in the main island of Timor-Leste is a phenomenon mobilized by Protestant Atauro residents to value their lifestyle and religion adherence. Broadly speaking, Protestant people in Ussubemassu are very proud of their asceticism and think about themselves and their life as much better than those existing in Dili, for instance.

Hamos lulik – towards the Christianization of kultura

At the very beginning of my research work in Atauro I was warned by local leaders that in villages like Ussubemassu, Akrema and Uaru Ana the *lulik* were all cleaned (*lulik hamos ona*). According to them, all people in the villages had converted to Assembleia de Deus Christianity and because of that they no longer believed in or had *lulik* anymore. They were saying they do not worship trees, stones, places, and that they also do not sacrifice to ancestors or to other supernatural beings. According to them all that exists in the world were Maromak's (understood by them as being the Christian God) creation, from whom all the power over the world emanates too.

Such an encapsulating process – by which local institutions are perceived as products of Christianity – also makes itself visible in the Assembly of God toponymy strategy for Atauro island.

For some decades now the Church has replaced local place names with names derived from biblical narratives. We have in the Island today a double-name system for various places. For the sake of brevity, I share here only the double-name system for the villages:

Local name	Christian name
Uaru Ana/Baru Ana	Jericó
Berau	Sileu
Bikeli	Belém
Makili	Damasko
Vila Maumeta	Canaã
Akrema	Sinai
Ussubemassu	Jerusalém

As I said elsewhere (Silva 2011, p. 158), Durkheim (2000) taught us that name places are parts of a cognitive system that guides people and allow them to recognize who they are in relation to others. Fox (1997), in his turn, pointed out that among Eastern Indonesian people there is a potential reversibility between genealogy and topogeny (1997: 12). So, to enunciate places in ritual contexts has the following functions: 1. to define origins and lines of precedence among related social groups; and 2. to provide a chronological succession of events so as to situate social actors in space and time. Additionally, we may remember the fact that some name places may be considered *lulik*, thus reminding people of a past consubstantiation between a place, a people, and other environment elements (Bovensiepen 2015).

If all of this were somehow at stake in places' local names in Atauro, replacing the local toponymy by a new and Christian one contributes to silence various local knowledge as well as the memory of facts which could hardly be included in Christian narratives coherently. To Christianize the name of the places also contribute to erase from them the supernatural powers to whom people endowed agency in the very process of place making. I see all these phenomena as playing a role in the purification plot enacted by the Assembly of God.

It is not by chance that the expression *cleaning the lulik* seems to express a process of sanitization, and purification (in Bruno Latour's sense), aimed at establishing the Christian God as the unique and exclusive supernatural source of agency. In other words, we are facing a claim about the monopolization of agency carved out in opposition to animistic and other ritual mystical practices which, on the other hand, attribute agency to words, objects, ancestors etc.

The material effects of these assumptions manifest themselves in the Day of the Dead. In strong contrast to what comes about in most of East Timor, the Day of the Dead in Ussubemassu is experienced as an ordinary day, without any kind of rituals. People claim that, on that particular day, they merely miss their deceased relatives or friends more than in other day. But there is no public function at the Church or any kind of public ritual in the cemetery to pay respect to the deceased. When I was in Ussubemassu I was expecting at least that people would clean the graves that day. But in fact, they did not it. Most people in Ussubemassu just followed their ordinary working routines during that day.

One year ago and even when drafting this very paper as a proposal I suggested that we are facing here a sort of secularization of *kultura* In Ussubemassu. I do not argue this anymore. It seems to me that we actually are before an attempt of encapsulating a local institution into a Christian metanarrative. In this plot, the Christian God acts as the origin of everything, including the ancestors and the *lisan*.

The Christian God is the unique supernatural being endowed with agency to act over the living³.

But the denial of *lulik* does not imply a rupture with other institutions that are typical of the region. On the contrary, the denial of a previous communion with ancestors and other supernatural beings did *not* imply people's disengagement with the *lisan*, the house. In fact, what seems to occur is rather a dissociation between the native categories of *lulik* and *kultura* – *lisan* is part of *kultura* – as to allow Ussubemassu people to resort to *kultura* to organize their collective and material life while adhering to Protestant Christianity at once and same time.

***Lisan* and material reproduction**

In Ussubemassu, the *lisan* (houses) have maintained its role as a key institution framing the following phenomena, at least: negotiations of rights in persons, land accesses, and conflict resolution. Between 8 and 9 houses make up of Ussubemassu community. They are: Ai Luli, Major, Koronel, Uhu Rala, Loro Piu, Aku Ai, Maseu, Tilman nai, and Maker. The centrality of the *lisan* (houses) in collective life in Ussubemassu firstly manifested itself to me during wedding rituals.

Everytime a house plans to take a woman in marriage, the house's men, both single and married, are summoned to present monetary contributions to this event. This is done months or even years before the wedding comes about so as to allow people to plan how they will organize their domestic finances so as to be able to contribute somehow. The money raised may be used to pay the costs involved in the wedding – be it those involved in the ceremony at the Church or the lunch offered to the marriage participants – or it may be used to produce the marriage gifts the groom's house will offer to the bride's house. All of these events are accurately designed by the Church and community leaders. Regarding this, it is important to know that the Assembly of God in Ussubemassu has a working group with the exclusive function of organizing parties, be them weddings, Christmas, pastoral activities, etc.

Weddings in Ussubemassu entail three diverse transactions regarding the bride, which are openly announced by the MCs and are enacted by the representatives of the following institutions: the *lisan*, the church and the state. So, during the religious ceremony, the bride is formally transferred to its new cult commu-

3. Elsewhere (Silva 2013), I registered an opposed trend, based on research done with ritual mediators (*lia nain*) in marriage exchanges. In some marriage negotiations among Dili dwellers spoke persons attempt to encapsulate Christians values into local institutions

nity. The leader pastor of the village from where the bride comes from presents her to the community and leader pastor of the village where the wedding occurs. Ideally and very often this village is the very one from where the groom is. It seems to me that patrilocal residency is very much observed among Ussubemassu and all Protestant Atauro people. This is because there is no expectation among the bride's family and house to receive the bridewealth when the wedding ceremony occurs. Usually the bridewealth is offered years after the wedding, only after the couple is in condition to bring together the resources to that.

It is after lunch is served that the special ritual moment for transferring the rights in the bride among the *lisan* (houses) occurs. For that, the groom and the bride's house spokespersons are invited to the stage. Then, they greet and thank all the guests and all those involved in the wedding and declare that from that moment on the bride is part of the groom's house (*lisan*). In order to seal the event, the fertility-taker (the groom's house) offers gifts to the fertility-givers (the bride's house). Such gifts are also reciprocated by the fertility-givers. As proposed by Graeber (2016), such gift exchanges seem to be only the recognition that fertility-takers and fertility-givers are in an alliance relationship and so in mutual indebtedness.

The last transaction in women occurring in the wedding is the transfer of the name of the bride from her village of origin to the husband's village. This is done by the suku's chiefs of the bride and the groom's respective villages. So, the suku chief of the bride's village declares that by means of wedding the bride has become a resident of her husband's village. An official document is then given to the chief of the suku where the wedding happens.

As it is usual, during the funerals the houses manifest themselves again. During my fieldwork I lost one of my dearest interlocutors, Albertina Araújo. For her funeral, the meals provided to all the ones presented were prepared using animals and other resources provided by her husband's fertility-takers. But the role *lisan* played in this event was limited to that. There was no mention to any supernatural agent or fact related to her house of origin during the funeral services and all that was ritually said about her life and death inscribed her trajectory in Christian institutions.

Another realm in which the *lisan* keeps its governance power is land rights. In Ussubemassu, rights in land have been determined by the trajectory of the houses in the place, as it is usual all over the country. The house which owns the larger part of land in the Ussubemassu is Ai Luli whose unique descendent affirms it to be a trunk from Manroni houses. For instance, the place where Compass facilities are placed today is part of Ai Luli land as well as all land which goes from there till the airstrip, in Kampum Baru. Migrant (*laorai*) houses as the *lisan* Coro-

nel have also received lands in exchange for supporting the original dwellers in wars. This is the case of the *lisan Coronel*, who has rights in land in various parts of North Ussubemassu.

To sum it up, I take these facts as indexes of the role *lisan* continues to play as an institution framing material reproduction among Ussubemassu people.

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2. Handling of crises in Makili (Atauro): Old and new challenges to a model of alliances

Gabriel Facal¹, Dominique Guillaud²

Handling of crises in Makili (Atauro): Old and new challenges to a model of alliances

Atauro's history is marked by droughts, famines and inter- and intra-island conflicts. The paper explores these various crises and examines the alliances that the local society of Makili, in the south-east of the island, had established in response to them: ancestral alliances with various elements of nature, generating solidarity between humans and non-humans; matrimonial alliances, sanctioned by the circulation of bridewealth binding the houses forming the local society. Despite the threats that modernity poses to these ancient alliances and notwithstanding new difficulties imposed by modern transformations, the inhabitants are confident in the resilience and coherence of their crisis management system.

Crisis. Non humans. Ancestrality. Atauro. Bridewealth.

Gestão de crises em Makili (Ataúro): Velhos e novos desafios para um modelo de alianças

A história de Ataúro é marcada por secas, fomes e conflitos inter- e intra-islândia. O artigo explora essas diversas crises e examina as alianças que a sociedade local de Makili, no sudeste da ilha, havia estabelecido em resposta a elas: alianças ancestrais com diversos elementos da natureza, gerando solidariedade entre humanos e não-humanos; alianças matrimoniais, sancionadas pela circulação de preços de noiva unindo as casas que formam a sociedade local. Apesar das ameaças que a modernidade representa para essas antigas alianças, e apesar dos novos desafios impostos pelas transformações modernas, as populações estão confiantes na resiliência e na coerência de seu sistema de gestão de crises.

Crise. Não-humanos. Ancestralidade. Ataúro. Preço da noiva.

1. UMR CASE, CNRS/EHESS.

2. UMR PALOC, IRD/MNHN.

Jestaun krize nian iha Makili (Ataúru): Dezafiu tuan no foun ba modelu aliansa

Istória Ataúru nian todan ho rai-maran bainhira udan-laek, hamlaha no konflitu iha sira-nia leet nu'udar rai-rohan ki'ik ida. Artigu ida-ne'e sei ke'e kle'an krize oioin no lehat aliansa ne'ebé ema lokál hosi Makili, iha parte sudeste, hatán ba lia hirak-hotu: aliansa hori bei'ala sira hamutuk ho sasán rai-nian, hodi kesi malu sira ne'ebé nu'udar ema ho sira seluk ne'ebé la'ós ema; aliansa kaben nian, ho mahon hosi barlake hodi hafolin feto no halo uma hamutuk hanesan hola parte iha comunidade lokál. Maski lisan antigu hirak ne'e hetan susar hosi moris modernu nian, populasaun fiar metin katak sira sei buras-hikas no hakat liu krize hotu-hotu.

Krize. Sira seluk ne'ebé la'ós ema. Iha bei'ala nia tempu. Ataúru. Barlake.

The island of Atauro presents particular socio-cultural features, inscribed in a linguistic background that is probably at the crossroad of the Austronesian and Papuan worlds, but which nevertheless have been under-studied. The island is also characterized by particular difficult conditions for human occupation, due to the variation in climatic conditions from one year to the next, the short rainy season and the scarcity of several resources including water and good arable land. These ecological difficulties were combined with social and political harshness, due to historical conflicts between Atauro's inhabitants and the surrounding islands or the mainland powers, and of the past competition between the island groups.

As a result of these difficult conditions, the theme of crises and the way they are handled by local populations reveal some local singularities when compared to studies carried out in East Timor on the relationship of human communities with their environment (see e.g. McWilliams 2011 on Fataluku; Bovensiepen 2011 on the spiritual geography of Laclubar district; etc.). In Atauro, the question of crises systematically brings out symbioses between bio-socialities confronted with the precarious environment. It also accounts for a complex and highly scalable social organization, transcribed in the territorial system, and designed to absorb the dynamics of conflicts within the social groups. Using the example of Makili, in the south-east of the island, our diachronic and territorial approach provides a better understanding of the risks that this society is facing, and of the available resources that it can count on to deal with these crises, until contemporary times. The data were collected by the two authors during several missions in Makili between July 2018 and December 2019 as part of the POPEI-Coll project³ with a view to discussing the restitution of results as desired by the population.

3. "Cultural Policies, Local Heritage and Collaborative Approaches in Eastern Insulindia", ANR-18-CE27-0020-02.

A. The polity of Makili in Atauro

The island of Atauro is divided into three dialectal areas (figure 1): *ratlungu* is spoken in the south-western area, which corresponds to the current *suco* (district) of Macadade; *hresuk* is spoken in the *suco* of Makili and in Vila; and the rest of the island, corresponding to the *suco* of Biqueli and Beloi, speaks *rasua*. These three dialectal areas correspond more or less to three individualized political and cultural entities. Makili, on the south-eastern flank of the old Manucoco volcano, is organized around the alliance of twelve clans or *uma lisan*⁴. Macadade is home to seven *uma lisan* spread from the south coast to the highlands. The rest of the island is divided between a third political ensemble, Mandroni, composed of seven *uma lisan* originally located in the north-central part of the island, whereas each hamlet on the coast presents a combination of *uma* of various origins, which do not seem to form between them a structured political grouping.

The origin of these polities is summed up in a well-known narrative: at the beginnings of times there was only the small island of Manucoco, limited to the summit of the volcano, where three brothers, standing back-to-back, shot an arrow to an opposite direction. Where their arrow fell, the sea dried up, and Atauro emerged (Guillaud 2019). Then the brothers set out to search for their arrow and discovered beings and things that gave birth to the present *uma*. The polity of Mandroni is attached to the eldest of the brothers, that of Makili to the middle one and that of Macadade to the youngest. In each ensemble, the *uma lisan* are bonded together by alliances and by the sharing of resources, illustrating Barraud's (2015: 233) remark on the importance of the relational aspect between the houses, rather than their individual character.

Makili is composed of twelve *uma lisan*, distributed into fifty-six currently identified customary houses, consisting of mother-houses (*ruma lela'it*, literally: "houses of the customary master") and their ramifications (*ruma-nan*)⁵. All these

4. Pannell (2006: 221) gives an efficient definition of the *uma*: "The term *Uma* has two basic levels of signification. On the one hand, *Uma* signifies a physical structure or dwelling. On the other hand, it denotes a group of related individuals who recognize a common ancestor, or group of ancestors, and share a common ancestral name." French researchers in Timor, among them Berthe and Clamagirand, favored a translation of *uma* by "house", and are followed in this by most of the contemporary authors. Hicks (1990:15) for his part, among the Tetun of Carabalau, describes the descent groups as "clans" for the original groups, and "lineage" for their more recent segments. Useful reference will be made to the analyses of Barraud (2015), who reviewed the different dimensions of the house and its approaches by different authors. This text is not, however, the place to enter further into this type of discussion, and we shall use the term "*uma*" or "*uma lisan*" to refer generally to the group of descendants claiming the same ancestry on the same territory, and "house" to refer to their segments and corresponding habitats.

5. "In Makili the people use "uma" to designate the clans, and "ruma" to specify both one the branches of the clan (one of the 56 customary houses) and the physical structure of the customary house.

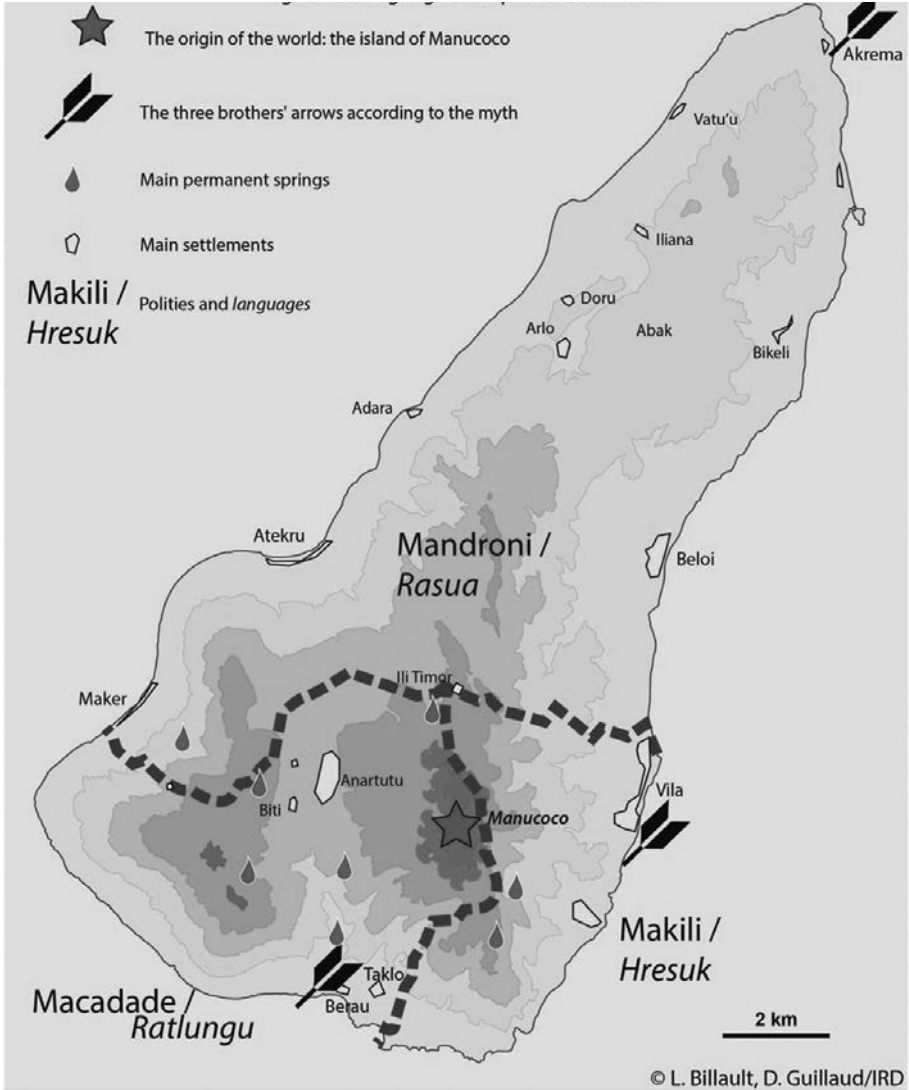


Figure 1. Languages and polities in Atauró.

houses are also designed as *ruma tua-meti*⁶, a term that refers to both the physical structure of the house and its status position. Some houses are difficult to identify as several may be clustered together or may gradually disappear. They can therefore present an indeterminate status, sometimes for several years, before the memory of the initial house fades away, or their new identity is affirmed.

6. *Tua* is the palm wine and *meti* the fish, two items that can be stored in these houses to be shared during social events.

In Makili, the system of alliance and the division of territory between the *uma lisan* reveals the principle of crisis prevention and resolution. Past and present crises seem to have been linked to the scarcity of environmental resources, which have generated territorial conflicts within or outside the *uma*. In reverse, territorial conflicts have hampered access to resources.

B. Past crises in Makili: a knock-on effect between scarcity of resources and territorial conflicts

Several types of narratives highlight the population's difficulties in dealing with different kinds of environmental crises, such as droughts and famines. In this economy of survival, the scarcity of resources triggered land conflicts, which were often resolved through a certain flexibility between the different categories of land-rights, but they could also take on a geopolitical dimension and break out into local wars.

The diachronic approach, based on the foundational stories of *umas* and the narratives linked to places, reveals an evolution in the nature of crises⁷. A first period (or modality) suggests enemies from nearby islands such as Alor, Kisar, Wetar, but also from more distant places related to the slave trade such as Buton and Makassar. The island is presented in this context as united against the raids carried out by enemies, some in "large boats with two or three sails", and mentions a system of watchmen houses installed at strategic points. The occupants of the boats would kill or abduct the inhabitants, but it is also mentioned that they would steal goats, collect swallow nests, and engage in trade. In this first period, the populations were settled far from the coasts, which were considered dangerous, in places whose difficult access bears witness to this insecurity. *Uma's* narratives and site visits attest of a harsh environment where water and access to coastal food were major constraints. Macadade's inhabitants indicate that in these times of piracy, all groups on Atauro were united in their struggle against the common enemy; internal conflicts on the island could have arisen thereafter. It is possible that external trade, even if perceived as deception by the islanders, led to the reorganization of local trade patterns (locals giving dried fish and other

7. The oral tradition of Akrema can give an idea of the extent of such crises. The local history is divided into three "periods", each ending with the virtual extermination of the population. The first period sees an epidemic where "people died with wounds on their bodies, and they were not buried; only a few survived" (smallpox?). Such an epidemic is unlikely to have spared the other regions of the island, although its memory is not present in Makili. The following periods in Akrema's history are similar to the ones identified in Makili, described hereafter.

items like wax in exchange for metal and various objects such as guns or gongs) and transformed the geopolitics of the island.

Initially, there may have been very localized conflicts between *umas* over the control of resources and power. In a second phase, the current polities of Makili, Macadade and Mandroni, each based on an alliance of *umas*, seem to have taken shape, establishing between them a lasting rivalry focused on limits and boundaries. Such crises could have been related to unequal access to resources: water, because perennial springs are scarce; food, linked to access to land, to forests and to coastal areas (fishing and collecting); raw materials such as bamboos, wood for boats, constructions etc.

In a third phase, actors from outside Atauro intervened on the island. The Portuguese, then present in the Dili area, entrusted their allies of Hera⁸ and Manatuto, who also appeared to be engaged in plunder and abductions, with the control of the island and the collection of taxes. The refusal of Macadade to pay this tribute was invoked as the pretext for a war where Makili and Mandroni (enlisted by Portugal and its allies?), defeated Macadade's warriors.

During these various phases of conflict, which also induced periods of food shortage, strongholds such as those of Heuknan and Domalok in Makili were built for refuge. The agricultural tax (*finta*) on food imposed by Portugal and the forced labour of the 20th century caused part of the island's population, especially men of working age, to flee to neighbouring islands (they subsequently returned).

Mobility has thus always been a solution to crises. Makili received refugees driven out of various areas of the island⁹; and some branches of local clans also left the village to find elsewhere resources that locally were beginning to be scarce (such as wine palms).

C. The modalities of crisis resolution: ancestry and alliance

In response to these past crises, of which the examples cited here give only a very limited overview, mechanisms to maintain the cohesion of society were in place. They involved different types of alliances to create social bonds, alliances with non-humans – who represented the environment placed thus under control –, and between humans – that ensured the cohesion between *umas*.

8. Spillett (1999: 232) mentions that (probably around the 18th century) Atauro was part of the kingdom of Hera; moreover, Makili is the name of one of the two noble houses of the kingdom of Hera.

9. This concerns the *umas* Hnua Le'en, founded by people from Macadade; Hatu Dalas, founded by brothers from Macadade; Tetoha, founded by a native of Arlo.

1. Allies in times of crisis: the founding ancestors

Narratives state that after the brothers' arrows had dried up the island of Atauro, some non-humans (animals and elements of the environment) became women and men who were the founders of some *uma lisan*, while simultaneously humans forged alliances with these entities. The non-humans are represented by various entities (shell, snake, bird, turtle, shark, field mouse, whale, pig, mango, cloud, and star) and matrixes (caves, giant clams, burrows, sky, the underwater realm...). Alliances with such entities seem to refer mainly to relations between the upstream/mountainous and downstream/maritime worlds, but also between the underground or underwater universe and the celestial world, and symbolize a fruitful complementarity between the resources from these different realms. Such alliances enabled Makili to survive food shortages and droughts but also to cope with numerous internal and external conflicts, e.g. the dangerous animals carved on *uma Hataur's* flying pirogue allowed two brothers to avenge the murder of their father by the people of Hera. Makili was also populated by hybrid beings, such as the winged man Ilibalek, and by outsiders, who brought with them their technical knowledge and material culture, such as blacksmithing and pottery. The same kind of alliances also typifies Macadade's *umas*.

These apical ancestors, the ultimate references of the narrative shared between the houses, are at the core of their solidarity. They refer to resources that are echoed in the names of the houses, often the same as the toponyms of their location, for example Ah'le'en: "under the mango tree"; Oprato: "the bamboo tree"; Noklete: "the leaning coconut tree", etc.

Generally speaking in the region, the authors have paid little attention to the meaning of these alliances between humans and non-humans. Van Wouden (1968: 39, 74) relegated them to totemism. Barnes (2011: 39) sees them as the unfolding of the takeover of nature by the ancestors, "setting the precedent for interactions with (...) the original 'owners' or guardians who inhabited the earth", or as the expression of a hidden dimension in which these first occupants would live. Kaartinen (2009) aptly invites us to examine the link between these myths of origin and the places they mention. And in fact, just as much as they evoke the alliances between the different environments of the island or the resources that these environments provide, these accounts of foundation and alliance between humans and non-humans are systematically based on toponyms that the narrators mention without hesitation. As such, they are also the territorial registers of the *umas*, and reassert the transmission of the lands and resources within various territories. Bovensiepen (2011: 50) in Laclubar explained how the spirits of the earth created human beings and raised animals, how some humans were born from the

earth and others from stones; she evoked the concept of *lulik* as encompassing all of these processes and connected it, interestingly, to the notion of autochthony, since the inhabitants of Laclubar were supposed to have emerged from the landscapes. In this sense, Atauro's founding narratives can also be read as the collective construction of autochthony. The omnipresent reference to non-humans in these narratives is both an identity and a territorial construction (referring to Fox's 2006 concept of "topogeny", an identity based on a combination of places), founding the *uma*'s legitimacy on nature, and allowing them customary control of the resources.

2. House-to-house solidarity based on bridewealth debts

Another mode of solidarity between houses lies in the matrimonial system (*sekngarin krauk*), which occupies a central place in Makili's social organization. Alliance is proscribed between people of the same *uma*, encouraging their branching out while at the same time strengthening links between them. This openness of the system contrasts with the model of women givers-receivers (*umane-fetosaun* system) that arranges a matrimonial circulation in a fixed sense, widespread across East Timor. In Makili, at the heart of the alliance is the bridewealth (*belis*), generally consisting of about sixty items, the exact number of which is defined by the bride's parents. These items are valiant spears (*osa lolon*), textiles / *tais* (*kngohi*) and machetes (*suri*).

The *belis* is present in several sequences of the alliance. Its exact amount is set at the time of the wedding proposal (*hresuk tete*). On the day of the wedding ceremony (*krauk sekngarin*), six items of the *belis* are given by the husband to his wife's family. These items mark the buying of the rights on the bride's descendance. Once displayed and appraised by the guests, the items are shared equally between the father of the bride (*ina ama*) (1a) and the in-laws of the father of the bride (*utalin*) (1b). The father keeps the *belis* items for one of his sons, the bride's brother (2a). The in-laws of the bride's father can do likewise: pay a debt to the father of the father-in-law's wife (2b) or marry one of his male members (2c). Thereafter, the groom's family will provide other items of the *belis* whenever the in-laws consider it necessary (opening of a house, inauguration of a boat, clearing of a field, funeral).

The payment of the *belis* may extend over several decades or even generations, with the groom's or bride's children or grandchildren taking over if it has not been fully paid during their lifetime. When the last item of the *belis* is brought to the in-laws, the debt is said to be paid off (*terik talikik*). Such settlement must be

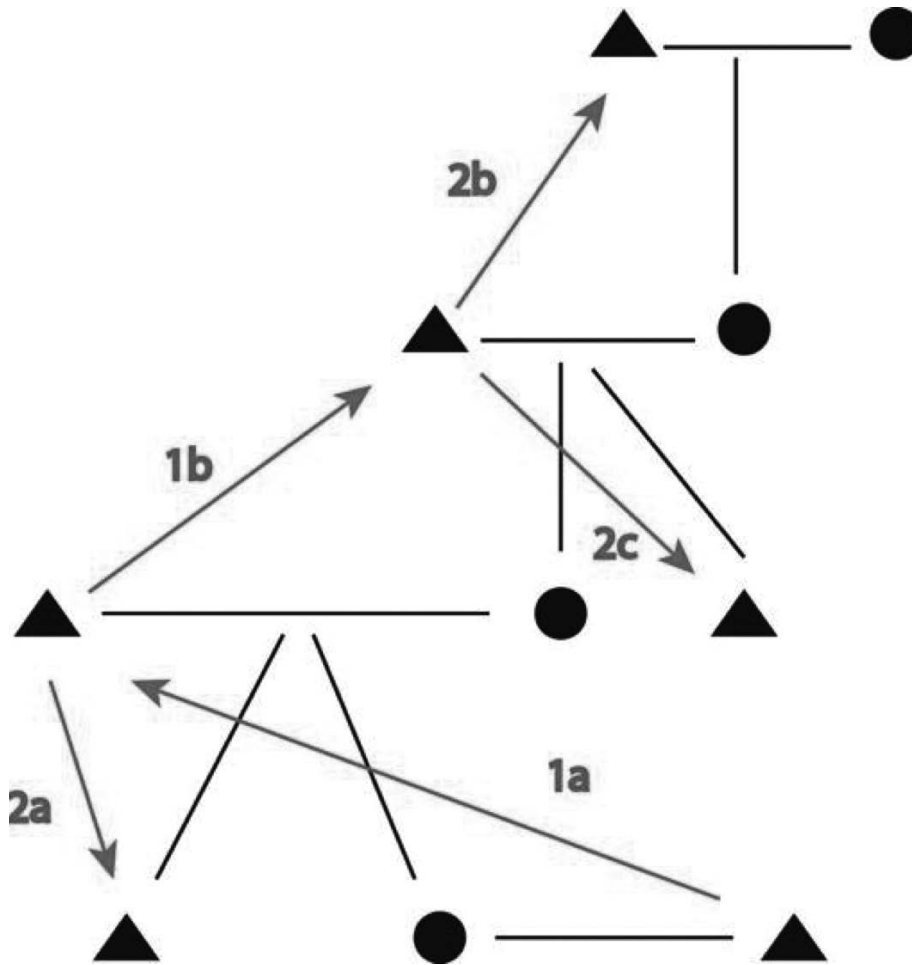


Figure 2. Example of the bridewealth circulation.
 Arrows indicate the circulation of the bridewealth. 1: primary sharing; 2: secondary circulation of belis; a-b-c: order of circulation.

preceded by an exceptional sequence of *pipainga'an*, a grand event during which a spouse who has accumulated sufficient wealth will give a large part of the *belis* to his in-laws.

For some, such as Fidalgo Castro (2015: 264), ritual exchange is to be seen as an instrument of credit and savings, and as a network of solidarity that goes beyond the immediate protagonists of the exchange and is understood at the level of the whole group, and on the span of several generations. Similarly, in the case examined here, without assuming any social determinisms nor functionalism, the ongoing ritual construction is to be read as a means of consolidating the social edifice in a context of scarcity of resources and of open competition for access to them.

According to this reading, the discontinuation of ritualized exchanges linked to alliance in a good part of Atauro (except for Makili for the moment) would be a sign of a loosening of the social cohesion, or at least a major shift towards a cohesion organized around the church.

A final point is that the main component elements of the *belis* (iron and textiles) originate from exchanges with populations from outside the island¹⁰. Coupled with their high symbolic value (spears/arrows and machetes as linked to war, textiles as hallmarks of identity and prestige), these elements express concern for peace stability, sustained by both exogenous commerce and internal capitalization-distribution.

D. Current crises – Scarcity of resources or renewal of the system?

The changes of modern times have eased some of the constraints of island life, and transformed or channeled old conflicts within the island and with the outside world. But they have also brought new crises to which today's society is trying to respond, raising questions about its dynamics and resilience.

1. Land crises

We have not yet had the opportunity to explore the impact of the cadaster launched in 2016 by the government, nor the position of the population *vis-à-vis* this endeavor. The government cadaster is based on the users' rights, and does not have the capacity (nor the aim) to register the various interlocking land rights that form the customary system. There is as yet no sale of land in Makili. While the *uma* has an inalienable appropriation of its territory, its sub-groups (or even those of another *uma*) also take over the territory and tend to become autonomous over time, blurring the original territorial map (see Figure 3). At the land-use level, the blurring is no less significant, because the theoretical use of the *uma*'s land by its members has shifted towards a situation where multiple "borrowers" cultivate the land of another *uma* on a long-term basis.

10. According to the respondents, iron came from the sky, or was exchanged with the neighboring Indonesian islands; textiles came from different regions of mainland Timor.

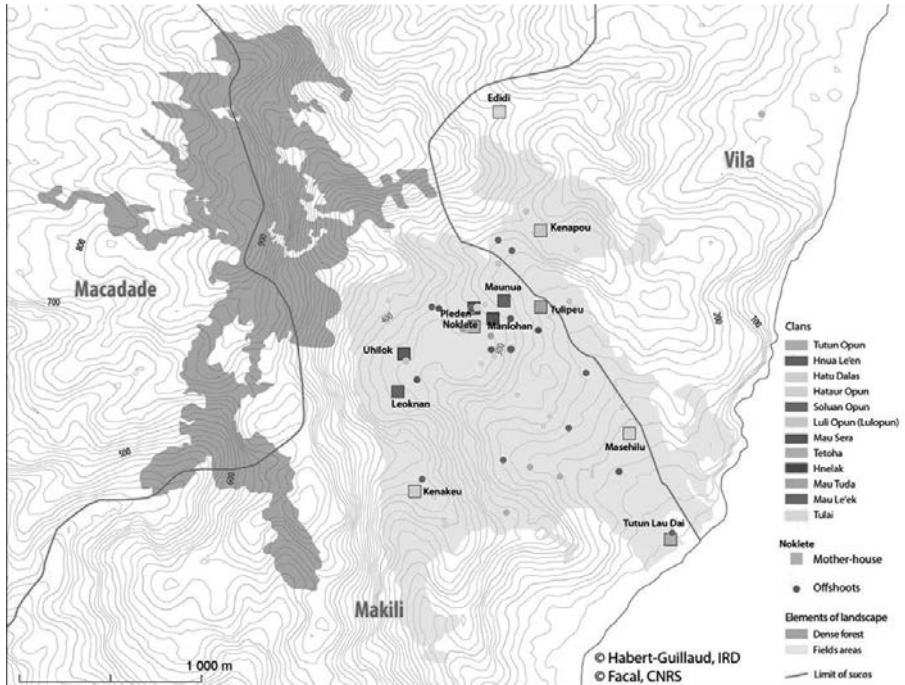


Figure 3. Houses and their offshoots in Makili.

The *belis* system is partly responsible for this. In the frequent case of a yet-to-pay bridewealth when the parents die, the children are still under their matrilineage although they have cultivated the land and stayed in the house from their patrilineage. The complexities of territory and alliance create a certain porosity in the land allotments, where norms of use overlap the *uma*'s appropriation. This *de facto* entanglement of rights involving different *umas* can also be read as an element of social cohesion. So far, the customary system has demonstrated its ability to settle land disputes, resorting ultimately on the arbitration of the ancestors. Moreover, the many customary tribunals that are set up to deal with questions of boundaries (as well as the gatherings to organize the different phases of a matrimony), are important moments of sociability during which knowledge about history and territory is expressed and passed on. However, this development increasingly questions the relevance of the *umas* as a benchmark for socio-spatial organization. The different regions of the island seem to be at different stages of this transformation.

2. Modernity and the erosion of structural responses to crises

The ritual proliferation observed in East Timor is not particularly noticeable in Atauro, where rituals are on the whole declining. This revival elsewhere in East Timor has often been presented as a consequence of the political change brought about by independence after 24 years of repression and prohibition under the Indonesian regime¹¹. However, Atauro would stand out in this scenario because customary rituals have become rarer or even have disappeared; and as Dana Rappoport (2020) points out, Atauro's many musical repertoires related to water rituals, navigation, and funerals are in danger of disappearing and are for many forgotten. The development of Pentecostalism in the island from 1978 onwards (Bicca 2011: 25) poses a threat to local cultures, even though Catholicism, more flexible towards local practices, remains firmly established in Makili. It might explain why the main mechanisms of social cohesion, such as the *belis*-based system, are still active in Makili, while in Macadade this system is extremely eroded¹² and has disappeared from the rest of the island. The demise of the *belis* system would pose a potential threat to the capitalization of bridewealth, and thus to the social cohesion within houses and families over the generations¹³.

The survival of a land and social system based on oral knowledge and on the circulation and redistribution of bridewealth is thus increasingly questioned. In the mid-1980s, despite resistances, the Indonesians imposed the displacement of the original habitat towards the coast (Bicca 2011); the sacred houses were far away on the heights and the houses' memory, largely linked to places, tends to fade away. Finally, since independence, young people seem to show less interest in the culture of the elders, and schooling, as well as the prospect of studying in Dili, inexorably distances some of them from their elders' knowledge.

3. What resilience in the context of modern crises?

While the notion of danger and insecurity has always been at the heart of Makili's narratives, a form of security or even comfort (electricity, basic necessi-

11. This corresponds to McWilliam's (2011) interpretation, which insists on the redistributive character of exchanges linked to rituals and matrimonial services in a context of the collapse of the market economy that followed Indonesian colonization.

12. Pentecotalism is indeed more present in Macadade than Makili, but Macadade's inhabitants also explained that their abandonment of *belis* was due to the availability of land in their territory, indicating that land shortages in Makili meant that the system of *belis* had to be maintained there. This avenue needs to be explored.

13. See Kelly Silva (2018) for a perspective on bridewealth competitive practices and definitions, in Dili.

ties, goods from village grocery stores, support from the church, solar panels, opening of telephone and 3G networks) is emerging today. But while food shortages are partly alleviated, this new context creates new needs that the local production systems cannot fully satisfy. New uncertainties are also arising; these are notably linked to climate change, with the noticeable lengthening of the dry season, its irregularity and a significant decrease in the flow of springs (which many ascribe to the disruption of ancient ceremonies). Even though pipes have been installed by the Indonesians and the Church, several water supply networks have proved to be inoperative or are now obsolete.

In the wake of all these modern crises and attractions, the solution of mobility plays a key role, and the regularity of transport to Dili allows for occasional or seasonal work migration to the capital. The nearby administrative center at Vila is also an attractive place. It remains to be seen whether these mobilities provide lasting solutions to crises situations. In any case, they mark an important change in the local Christian society, which is beginning to import external organizational and political models, marking the transition from a restricted social space to a broader one.

The internal conflicts of past times find new expressions in the political arenas provided by the introduction of the electoral system and by the economic shifts that occur through public and private development projects within the island. These changes lead to the constitution of patron-client networks. It remains to be seen whether they provide local communities with more sovereignty or whether they compete with the *uma* system, through challenging modes of interpersonal interdependence and individual opportunities.

Conclusion

As a last remark, we would like to point out that there seems to be a discrepancy between the Makilians' vision of these transformations and ours. Indeed, as anthropologists adopting a comparative perspective, both in space between the social groups constituting Makili society, and in time through a diachronic perspective, we can assess the deep transformations that the local society has undergone. Today, the island finds itself on the verge of other disruptions that could be caused by tourism development projects, which some observers are alarmed about. In contrast, while acknowledging important historical upheavals, such as climate change, Christianization, the Indonesian occupation, national integration and government development policies, the inhabitants focus on the forms of continuities in their social structure. These perceived continuities appear to be related to

the fact that Makilians are confident in their system of resilience to crises, embedded in forms of social coherence and cohesion.

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3. Between development policies and narratives of origin: an exploratory approach of biodiversity in Ataúro (Timor-Leste)

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Between development policies and narratives of origin: an exploratory approach of biodiversity in Ataúro (Timor-Leste)

Biodiversity is a central component of Ataúro's populations' intangible heritage, which extends far beyond the definition currently retained by development projects, that of a remarkable biodiversity as a backdrop for tourism. Society-plants relations are explored from four perspectives: the mythical or historical origin of plants, their treatment which combines spontaneous and cultivated categories, the plant as a material or immaterial resource, and finally, with reference to some species and to honey, the social practices and rules that regulate their access. The paper raises the question of confronting such local knowledge and practices with government standards for conservation and development.

Ataúro. Biodiversity. Vegetal biodiversity. Local knowledge. Intangible heritage.

Entre políticas de desenvolvimento e narrativas de origem: Uma abordagem exploratória da biodiversidade em Ataúro (Timor-Leste)

A biodiversidade é um componente central do patrimônio imaterial dos povos de Ataúro. Seus significados ultrapassam a proposta dos projetos de desenvolvimento, a de uma biodiversidade excepcional como pano de fundo para o turismo. As relações societal-vegetal são exploradas sob quatro perspectivas, a origem mítica ou histórica das plantas, o tratamento das plantas, do florestal ao cultivado, a planta como recurso material ou imaterial e, finalmente, a respeito de algumas espécies vegetais e ao mel, as práticas e regras sociais que regulam o acesso a elas. Levanta-se assim a questão do confronto dos saberes locais

1. UMR PALOC, IRD, MNHN, SU. Research project “*Cultural Policies, Local Heritage and Collaborative Approaches in Eastern Insulindia*”, ANR-18-CE27-0020-02.

2. UMR PALOC, IRD, MNHN, SU. Research project “*Cultural Policies, Local Heritage and Collaborative Approaches in Eastern Insulindia*”, ANR-18-CE27-0020-02.

3. UMR Eco-anthropologie, CNRS, MNHN, SU. Research project “*Cultural Policies, Local Heritage and Collaborative Approaches in Eastern Insulindia*”, ANR-18-CE27-0020-02.

e formas de manejo da biodiversidade com os padrões governamentais de conservação e desenvolvimento.

Ataúro. Biodiversidade vegetal. Saberes locais. Património imaterial.

Polítika dezvoltimentu ho istória hosi horiuluk: estudu hodi hagle'an kona-ba biodiversidade iha Ataúro (Timor-Leste)

Biodiversidade nu'udar fuan-klaran patrimóniu imateriál povu Ataúro nian. Buat hotu ne'e boot liu proposta hirak hotu kona-ba dezvoltimentu, katak biodiversidade exesional hanesan biti-kmanek hodi nahe ba turizmu. Estudu ne'e lehat relasaun ne'ebé iha entre sociedade no ai-horis tuir dalan haat, hun ba ai-knanoi ka istória ai-moris nian, oinsá tau matan ba ai-moris, hosi ai-laran ba natar no to'os, ai-moris nu'udar rekursu materiál ka imateriál no, ikusliu, hahú hosi ai-tahan laran no bá to'o bani-been, hala'ok no banati sosiál sira ne'ebé hatuur oinsá bele hetan ai-horis sira ne'e. Ne'e be, hafoti lia kona-ba matenek lokál hodi hala'o biodiversidade hamutuk ho banati hosi governu kona-ba konsersasaun no dezvoltimentu.

Ataúro. Biodiversidade. Matenek lokál. Patrimóniu imateriál.

Introduction

A century apart, two documents discuss Ataúro island's future. In 1916, the infantry captain Antonio Leite de Magalhães published *A Ilha de Ataúro, Notícia sobre a ilha e seus habitantes seguida de vocabulário*, a 24-page opuscle printed in Macau. While acknowledging the limited scope of his observations, Magalhães did not hesitate to describe the fauna and flora as “extremely poor”, except for the diversity of birds and fish. About thirty spontaneous or cultivated plant species of high economic value captured his attention and they were designed by their Portuguese name, and by their local denominations in Ratlungu or in Resuk. This was probably the first economic botany inventory in the island. Agricultural and artisanal practices were also briefly described. As future steps towards the island's development, he suggested to strengthen Portuguese infrastructures, to develop trade and agriculture based on coconut trees, areca, tobacco, various fruit species, and to encourage rice and corn production as food crops. As sources of wealth that would allow *capitalização*, he mentioned the sale of dried fish and pearls, as well as beeswax and swallow's nests, other high value products. With these measures in place, Ataúro would cease to be a null in the province's economic balance⁴ (Magalhães, 1916: 24).

4. “... sêr um zero na balança económico da Província.” (Magalhães, 1916: 24).

A century later, the island's population has grown from about 5,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, and its future is discussed in the *Plano de Ordenamento do Território da Ilha de Ataúro* approved in 2016 by the Council of Ministers (ZEEMS-TL, 2015). This plan focuses on tourism linked to biodiversity, whether marine – with diving and snorkeling – or terrestrial, with hiking activities and village stays. The planned infrastructures, today not yet implemented, respond to a wide range of tourist practices, from seaside resorts to eco-tourism. In addition to the marine diversity, the diversity of plants on the island provides the setting for a tourist scene that combines beauty and variety of landscapes with local emblematic productions, whether traditional or recent (wood carvings, basketry, fibre weaving or products appreciated by tourists such as coconuts) (Guillaud *et al.*, 2017). A new *capitalização* is now being based on local biodiversity as an economic resource, although it only marginally considers its local meanings and values.

While the state of East Timor, by promoting handicrafts and emblematic places, invests significantly in heritage policies as a lever for tourism, biodiversity is still struggling to emerge as a cultural asset. In Ataúro, it remains primarily an object of conservation with protected areas such as the Manukoko Reserve (4,000 ha) or a source of raw materials for emblematic products such as *tais* and other weavings, with vegetable dyes and fibers, wooden sculptures, etc. However, the biodiversity of Ataúro and of other Timorese regions represents a heritage with both tangible (biological) and intangible (knowledge and other associated cultural references) components that cannot be dissociated.

Moreover, in a context of great ecological vulnerability and in front of a globalization that generates its own models of development, it is urgent to recognize the role of local populations which, through their practices and knowledge, contribute to the existence of a biodiversity embedded in the society and its territory (Diaz *et al.*, 2019; Reyes, 2019). In that perspective, the objective of this paper is thus to show how the relationships that links society and biodiversity in Ataúro are an integral component of the island's intangible cultural heritage.

Studies on the relations between plants and societies are relatively few in Timor-Leste and, to our knowledge, absent on Ataúro, except for Hull's botanical linguistics work (2006) which mentions about twenty main cultivated plants, or for scattered data such as Magalhães'. The data presented here were collected between 2016 and 2018 during three fieldtrips of about ten days each in the region of Makadade⁵, located in the south-central part of the island, near the sacred

5. Makadade region is ratlungu-speaking. However, we indicate the name of plants or others elements linked with biodiversity in tetum in order to facilitate the reading. The few names in ratlungu are in bold type.

summit of Manukoko. They result from observations and short interviews carried out during different explorations of the surrounding areas and from more systematic surveys of cultivated species in the *to'os*. We gathered a corpus of data on about a hundred spontaneous or cultivated species, with their vernacular names, and they have been partly identified on the basis of photographs (but we did not collect any material). These data on the plants complement the extensive investigations carried out in Makadade and Makili about the origin narratives of the different social groups of Ataúro and about their territoriality.

From biodiversity to intangible cultural heritage

In Ataúro, four main reading keys can be primarily discerned to organize the material and immaterial components of vegetal biodiversity in their relationship to society: the theme of origins – whether the beginnings of the island or more recent history –, the treatment of spontaneous or cultivated plants, the treatment of plants as material and immaterial resources, and finally the social practices on which is based such management of plants. These are the key themes on which we have based our work, although relations between society and the vegetal realm are naturally more complex, and other interpretations are also possible.

1. Origins and temporality of plants

Plants are omnipresent in the narratives about the origin of the island and its cultural diversity, and they punctuate the stages of its material and social constitution. To make a quick summary, the ficus **muung** (*Ficus cf. variegata*) was the first tree of humankind on the very small island of Manukoko. A pig which ate its fruits metamorphosed into a woman and gave birth to two boys. One day they went out to fish with a fish trap that was brought back filled with all kinds of leaves and bamboo, thus signaling that space was no longer marine but terrestrial. These two brothers tested the magic of their arrows by shooting and killing the **muung** tree, before raising Ataúro from the sea⁶. As they explored the island, they left a watermelon and a citrus in the localities of Bikeli and Doru, which turned into

6. The story of Atauro's emergence from the sea, still well known today, was collected by Duarte (1984: 237 s.) and transcribed under the title *Os dos Irmãos* ("The Two Brothers"). Some current versions feature three brothers, who appear in other distinct stories, and are related to the division of the island into three linguistic areas.

two women who married a man, resulting himself from the transformation of a sheath that the brothers also left on their way in Abak (Guillaud, 2019).

Several clan (or houses, *lisan*⁷) names refer to plants: the hae (**lari** – *Imperata cylindrica*) and the fafulu (**luli** – *Bambusoideae*) are respectively at the origin of Ruma Lari in Makadade and Luli in Makili. In other localities of the island, plant names such as ai-kfau or **haru** (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), haas or **ah’ran** (*Mangifera* sp.), ai-sukaer or **ana’r** (*Tamarindus indicus*), hali or **muung** (*Ficus* cf. *variegata*) designate groups of descendants. Other phytonymes such as ai-dak or **i-leti** (*Schleicheria oleosa*) refer to places. Sacred *Ficus* are associated with emblematic places, springs, rock shelters etc. Individuals of other plant species as **i-mera** (n.i.⁸), **i-puti** (*Gyrocarpus americanus*), **laraho** (n.i.) also fall within this area of the sacred. In the past, the market in Makadade used to take place under a ficus before being moved to the center of the village of Anartutu. Both species and plant individuals are cultural and territorial markers.

The origin of the plants that are mentioned is an important element in their identity. There is a clear partition between cultivated plants from ancient and present times. Sorghum, batar-ain-naruk (*Sorghum bicolor*), millet or tora (*Setaria italica*) and tears of job, batar-fatuk (*Coix lacryma-jobi*), are ancient cultures but are still cultivated in some places. These cereals have been largely replaced by maize with varieties that are now considered as local, with the recent addition of so-called improved varieties. The geographical origin of the plants is frequently mentioned: a type of sinkomás (*Pachyrhizus* sp.) is considered to come from Australia; a bean (*Vigna umbellata*) was lost and then reintroduced from Indonesia; the anteriority of bitter cassava over sweet cassava (which would have been brought to Makadade from the village of Arlo) is affirmed; shade plants were introduced by the Portuguese, others by the Indonesians, etc. Invasive plants also have a meaningful origin: *Lantana camara* (**ilau karuk**) and *Chromolaena odorata* (**aper hatu**) are said to have originated from an ill-advised attempt by the United Nations to replace hae (*Imperata cylindrica*) in which rats swarmed, destroying the crops. This account is partly in line with the official history of these invasive species because even if their introduction was fortuitous, *C. odorata* does competes with *I. cylindrica* by rapidly overtopping it – and it is itself eliminated by another introduced and invasive species, the ai-kafé (*Leucaena leucocephala*)

7. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the concept of “house” or “clan” to designate the *lisan*. For the sake of simplification, we will use the term “clan” to refer to lineage groups that recognize a common origin and territoriality, and to “houses” to designate the habitats that correspond to them.

8. Unidentified.

(McWilliam, 2000). Therefore, the plants' history in Ataúro draws from different registers, that of the narratives of origin, and that of the circulation of cultivated (and invasive) plants, which followed the settlement routes and is also part of the recent or current history of the island.

2. Cultivated and spontaneous plants

The report of a soldier published in the *Boletim de Comércio, Agricultura e Fomento da Província de Timor* of 1915-1916, mentions that in Ataúro

... most of the indigenes didn't have hortas. Those on the coast lived on fish, palm juice, and some maize; they did not grow themselves maize but sailed to Dili to procure it in exchange for the fish that they caught. They told me that they didn't need hortas because the sea was their horta – it gave them fish to eat and to exchange for maize aplenty. But I made them open as many hortas as they could so that they have something to eat without having to go to other localities to acquire goods except in times of need. (BCAeF, 1915-6: 738 apud Sheperd & Palmer, 2015, p. 294)

This episode takes place at the beginning of the 20th century at a time when the cultivation of maize (introduced on the island of Timor around the end of the 17th century – Dampier, 1939 in Shepherd & Palmer, 2015), and of rice, were strongly encouraged, if not made compulsory by the central government. The quote highlights the importance of exchange networks with the main island, in ways that need to be clarified, and the invisibility, for the Portuguese, of local production systems, of their spatial organization and of cultivated species. This episode also suggests that in Ataúro the importance of maize has increased sharply over the course of the 20th century. Today, it represents the staple food in the island, along with pigeon pea, and it has supplanted sorghum and millet, two cereals that are now rarely cultivated and are considered as ancestral crops.

Today's agricultural model in the Makadade highlands is that of a slash-and-burn agriculture in small plots enclosed by stone walls. Each family has three to four of these to'os to ensure a food autonomy that is submitted to strong annual and interannual climatic variations, and is supplemented by selling and exchanging staples for fish mainly with Berau (a settlement on the coast). The diversity of cultivated plants is high, with several varieties of pigeon peas or tunis (*Cajanus cajan*), varieties of maize, beans of various species, sweet potato, yam-bean or sinkomás (*Pachyrhizus erosus*), etc. Various ligneous species, moringa, papaya or

ai-dila, annone or ai-ata, tamarind tree, and others are grown here for food, medicinal or technical purposes. Ai-lele (*Ceiba pentandra*) is cultivated for its young edible fruits and for its fiber; ai-kfau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), very common near the dwellings, provides fibers formerly used in the manufacture of loincloths; ai-dak (*Schleicheria oleosa*) is omnipresent for its edible oleaginous fruits. As an example, a plot of 400 to 500 m² near Makadade included 33 cultivated species, herbaceous or arboreous. Two main groups of plants are found there, the oldest ones, mainly banana, coconut, Araceae and Dioscoreaceae and some local trees as ai-dak, and those introduced since the sixteenth century (Erskine et al., 2016).

These cultivated species are but one aspect of the productive system that incorporates equally important non-cultivated resources. At the forefront of these is the palm *Borassus flabellifer*, the tua which provides the above-mentioned palm wine, actively consumed throughout the year and a central ingredient of local sociability. The fruits are consumed in May-June, the fibers from the leaves are an essential raw material for traditional basketry, and the petioles have many uses, for example to reinforce fences. Palm juice may have constituted an important resource to compensate for the lack of water on the island (Guillaud, 2019; Guillaud et al., 2015). The tua-metan (*Arenga pinnata*), a palm from the humid forests, provides palm wine, but with lower yields and higher fermentation. The ai-tali's (*Corypha utan*) fiber is used for weaving the local tais **hrapin hirik** and also provided a starch, which later has been substituted by cassava.

Beans are another group that combines the spontaneous with the category koto moruk (bitter beans) and the cultivated with the fore. In fact, all of them are cultivated, at least in the situations we have observed, although the koto reseed on their own in the fields. The preparation of beans is very laborious: they have to be washed several times and require a long cooking time and therefore a lot of wood fuel. Both are mixed together when consumed.

Outside cultivated area, forest resources, considered as pertaining to ancient times, are used in periods of scarcity or conflict. Kumbili (*Dioscorea cf. esculenta*), a spontaneous but probably formerly cultivated plant in South-East Asia (Purseglove, 1968), yields large tubers sold on the local market. There are several species of mango trees, including haas (*Mangifera indica*) and wild mango (*Mangifera* spp.), probably once a food resource and now a territorial marker. The vine kaleik (*Entada* sp.) produces large flat seeds that must be boiled several times before eating. The trees eri (n.i.), elas (*Ficus* sp.), and meam (n.i.) provide edible fruits that were traded in the past with the even more precarious people of Bikeli. The status of another group of species, used for food or others, is between protection and cultivation: ai-kiar, *Canarium* spp., ai-kamii, *Aleurites moluccana*, ai-hanek, *Alstonia scholaris*, ai-dila, *Aegle marmelos* among others. The hae (*Imperata cylin-*

drica), which invades fallow land, is also a key resource because it is used as thatch. The replacement of this biological material by zinc sheets results in the uncontrolled spreading of this herb, thus modifying the agricultural cycle in which a productive plot of land and a useful fallow land followed one another.

Therefore, the confrontation of spontaneous⁹ vs. cultivated plants does not reflect the functioning of the food system, nor the way in which biodiversity resources were organized according to their uses. Such system was based on a singular arrangement of resources from the forest and from the to'os, as well as a frequent multifunctionality of resources; such a vision is opposed to that of the state which sees a compartmentalization between rights and rules, spaces and practices (McWilliam, 2017).

3. Plants and their uses

The various domains of material culture rely to a large extent on local plant resources, timber with hardwood species for house construction (*ai-na*, *Pterocarpus indicus*, *ai-heu*, *Garuga floribunda*, *ai-besir*, *Intsia bijuga*...), for the manufacture of dugout canoes (*ai-lele*, *Ceiba pentandra*), *ai-sukaer* (*Tamarindus indica*) for tool handles, *ai-bubur* (*Eucalyptus alba*) for the wood that fuels the forge, etc. One dye used for the *ai-tali*'s (*Corypha utan*) fiber mats is given by *ai-tururo* (*Sesbania grandiflora*). The wooden plates of Makadade, a traditional exchange item within the island and today a commercialized craft product, are made from the wood of the already mentioned *ai-hanek* (*Alstonia scholaris*), a species frequent in the to'os. The fruit of *ai-ua* (*Barringtonia asiatica*) is ichthyotoxic, like the roots of a *Derris* (or *Tephrosia*?) which are sold locally.

Bamboo holds a distinctive place among spontaneous resources. The two species *pretum* (*Dendrocalamus asper*) and *au* (*Bambusa vulgaris*), which can reach more than 10 cm in diameter and about ten meters in height, have very versatile uses, as container, construction material, sewage They are sold 5 US\$ per unit for a length of 4 m. *Fafulu*, another *Bambusoideae*, is much thinner and is mainly braided to make house walls. The list of used plants, cultivated or not, could be long. Many of them contribute to local people's autonomy and, a central point, to the local economy, either in monetary form on markets or through exchange. These productions and their economic values remain invisible to the public

9. By "spontaneous", we mean plants whose presence in a determinate place is not induced by human action or only in an indirect way. Cultivated plants result from a direct intentionality of presence. However cultivated and spontaneous plants are only the two extremities of a gradient of plants management and relationships between a society and their resources.

authorities, as the recent census shows (Timor-Leste, 2020), but they gradually enter the tourist market, locally and in Dili (Silva & Ramos de Oliveira, 2020).

4. *Plants and social practices*

Under this section, we will briefly discuss the social practices that contribute to the sustainability of biodiversity. An iconic example is given by the palm areca or bua (*Areca catechu*). Its fruits chewed with lime and betel, malus (*Piper betle*), have stimulating properties and their use is essential to social well-being. The areca palms are usually planted near the houses or, sometimes, in bunches in specific places, where they are individually owned. One also finds in the area of Makadade areca groves of a few hectares, on relatively fertile land; they often combine areca and coconut trees, another important economic resource. Each grove is supervised by a guardian. Although the area is used collectively and belongs to a specific clan, each areca bears marks of its individual ownership. In the largest plantation, Abak Tede, every year in July people come from all over the island and also from Dili to take part in the major feast organized for the harvest. This harvest is strictly regulated and any collection of arec nuts before the formal authorization is punishable. On the given day, the guardian distributes grains of maize to the owners according to the number of trees they own. These grains materialize the number of arec nut infructescences (they are around 10-12 per palm tree) that will have to be given to the guardian of the common grove (this contribution amounts generally to one tenth of the harvest). The guardian will then sell or exchange some of the nuts for tua or dried fish, and some will be kept to be used for the village's social events. The young people who climb the trees to collect the nuts will be paid with one or two of these infructescences for their hard work. The rest of the production goes to the owner. What is interesting is that the ownership regime of this property combines different statuses depending on whether it refers to land – collective and clan-owned –, to palm trees – individually owned –, or to production that is used in part to remunerate guardians and climbers, in part the owners, and in part is intended for the community.

Another example of collective land status and of private ownership is provided by bamboos, au or pretum, which are not to be felled without permission. The tapping of tua-metan obeys this same pattern and **paadu** / tarabandu (prohibition mark) frequently mark their stipes. The felling of large trees for timber is submitted to collective authorization.

Honey harvesting is another example of natural resource management which combines collective and individual levels. On the slopes of Mount Tutunairana

in the southwest of the island, the various clans of Makadade and Maker own customary lands whose resources benefit them alone, especially bani ben, *ani eekn*, honey from the giant Asian honeybee (*Apis dorsata*). In these small valleys, the largest trees host every year migrating bee swarms under their branches. These trees, such as nunu (*Ficus* spp.), are protected and maintained. Once the bee swarms settle, the development of the honeycombs is monitored until the harvest day, a major event where the different lineages of the village get together and meet with their family to cut the combs and share the honey equitably among the participants. This practice contrasts with the individual collection of bani latan, **anglatan**, which are bee trunks (sections of tree trunks under which the bees establish their colony) whose harvesting period is less constraint because it depends on the experience and goodwill of their owners (their location, however, should preferably be in a common area, unless they are willing to share the harvested honey with the landowner)¹⁰. Whether plant resources or honey, it is the articulation of individual and collective rights and responsibilities that contributes to the sustainability of natural resources. These resources are managed on a shared basis within the group according to rules that most likely intertwine customary and governmental norms.

Conclusion

The biodiversity present in Ataúro appears to be firmly rooted in a set of technical and social practices according to configurations and dynamics which are not only specific to the island, but also to each group that identifies itself as different from others according to its language, social organization and environment. The approach that we chose focuses on species, i.e. local or scientific taxonomic entities, but without isolating them from their context; it underlines the diversity of status of these biological resources, from the ‘simple use’ of a plant, to species or groups of species which have a mythical or historical past, or which organize intra- or inter-group social relations according to customary norms. Therefore, the reference to the components of biodiversity is collective, affective, dynamic, inherent to the functioning of society and it constitutes a local heritage whose tangible and intangible components are intimately linked.

The tourism development project proposed by the government of East Timor is based on two main elements, biodiversity (marine or terrestrial) and the spec-

10. For similar examples of honey harvesting and management in the region, see Césard & Heri, 2015.

ificity of local production which integrates new channels of trade. The project *capitalizes*, as mentioned above, on the knowledge and practices of local populations on biodiversity, with the risk of requiring them to meet exogenous management standards rather than making them full stakeholders in this project. These standards respond to visions that reduce their modes of action on nature that are part of a continuum to major contrasts such as wild vs. cultivated, forest vs. agricultural, conservation vs. use, laws vs. customary rights, etc., and risk erasing the prominent features that make up the richness of this local heritage and contribute to the material and social well-being of the inhabitants. At the same time, the project is an opportunity to improve livelihoods and to build resilience to climate change, issues that leave no room for nostalgia.

Scientific research can be part of this dynamic by developing collaborative approaches that would be more inclusive of young people and women. It could propose instruments, digital in particular, which would allow a multi-scalar approach to the mosaic of territories that constitutes the island of Ataúro; it could strengthen collective and individual innovation capacities in this new context and propose avenues articulating cultural, environmental and agricultural policies.

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Lexicon of cited plants

ah'ran	<i>Mangifera</i> sp.
ai-ata	<i>Annona squamosa</i>
ai-besir	<i>Intsia bijuga</i>
ai-bubur	<i>Eucalyptus alba</i>
ai-dak	<i>Schleicheria oleosa</i>
ai-dila	<i>Aegle marmelos</i>
ai-dila	<i>Carica papaya</i>
ai-hanek	<i>Alstonia scholaris</i>
ai-heu	<i>Garuga floribunda</i>
ai-kafé	<i>Leucaena leucocephala</i>
ai-kamii	<i>Aleurites moluccana</i>
ai-kfau	<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i>
ai-kiar	<i>Canarium</i> spp.
ai-lele	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>
ai-na	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i>
ai-sukaer	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>
ai-tali	<i>Corypha utan</i>
ai-tururo	<i>Sesbania grandiflora</i>
ai-ua	<i>Barringtonia asiatica</i>
ana'r	<i>Tamarindus indicus</i>
aper hatu	<i>Chromolaena odorata</i>
au	<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>
batar-ain-naruk	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>
batar-fatuk	<i>Coix lacryma-jobi</i>
bua	<i>Areca catechu</i>
elas	<i>Ficus</i> sp.
eri	n.i.

fafulu	Bambusoideae
fore	Phaseoleae
haas	<i>Mangifera indica</i> <i>Mangifera</i> spp.
hae	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>
hali	<i>Ficus</i> spp.
haru	<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i>
ilau karuk	<i>Lantana camara</i>
i-leti	<i>Schleicheria oleosa</i>
i-mera	n.i.
i-puti	<i>Gyrocarpus americanus</i>
kaleik	<i>Entada</i> sp.
koto	Phaseoleae
kumbili	<i>Dioscorea</i> cf. <i>esculenta</i>
laraho	n.i.
lari	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>
luli	Bambusoideae
malus	<i>Piper betle</i>
meam	n.i.
muung	<i>Ficus</i> cf. <i>variegata</i>
pretum	<i>Dendrocalamus asper</i>
sinkomás	<i>Pachyrhizus erosus</i>
sinkomás	<i>Pachyrhizus</i> sp.
tora	<i>Setaria italica</i>
tua	<i>Borassus flabellifer</i>
tua-metan	<i>Arenga pinnata</i>
tunis	<i>Cajanus cajan</i>
n.i.	<i>Derris</i> ou <i>Tephrosia</i> ?

<i>Aegle marmelos</i>	ai-dila
<i>Aleurites moluccana</i>	ai-kamii
<i>Alstonia scholaris</i>	ai-hanek
<i>Annona squamosa</i>	ai-ata
<i>Areca catechu</i>	bua
<i>Arenga pinnata</i>	tua-metan
<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>	au
Bambusoideae	fafulu
Bambusoideae	luli
<i>Barringtonia asiatica</i>	ai-ua
<i>Borassus flabellifer</i>	tua
<i>Cajanus cajan</i>	tunis
<i>Canarium spp.</i>	ai-kiar
<i>Carica papaya</i>	ai-dila
<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	ai-lele
<i>Chromolaena odorata</i>	aper hatu
<i>Coix lacryma-jobi</i>	batar-fatuk
<i>Corypha utan</i>	ai-tali
<i>Dendrocalamus asper</i>	pretum
<i>Derris</i> ou <i>Tephrosia</i> ?	xx
<i>Dioscorea cf. esculenta</i>	kumbili
<i>Entada sp.</i>	kaleik
<i>Eucalyptus alba</i>	ai-bubur
<i>Ficus cf. variegata</i>	muung
<i>Ficus sp.</i>	elas
<i>Ficus spp.</i>	hali
<i>Garuga floribunda</i>	ai-heu
<i>Gyrocarpus americanus</i>	i-puti

<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i>	ai-kfau
<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i>	haru
<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	hae
<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	lari
<i>Intsia bijuga</i>	ai-besir
<i>Lantana camara</i>	ilau karuk
<i>Leucaena leucocephala</i>	ai-kafé
<i>Mangifera indica</i>	haas
<i>Mangifera</i> sp.	ah'ran
n.i.	eri
n.i.	larafo
n.i.	meam
n.i.	i-mera
<i>Pachyrhizus erosus</i>	sinkomás
<i>Pachyrhizus</i> sp.	sinkomás
Phaseoleae	fore
Phaseoleae	koto
<i>Piper betle</i>	malus
<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i>	ai-na
<i>Schleicheria oleosa</i>	ai-dak
<i>Schleicheria oleosa</i>	i-leti
<i>Sesbania grandiflora</i>	ai-tururo
<i>Setaria italica</i>	tora
<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	batar-ain-naruk
<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	ai-sukaer
<i>Tamarindus indicus</i>	ana'r

4. Musical practices and endangered heritage of Atauro island (East Timor)

Dana Rappoport¹

Musical practices and endangered heritage of Atauro island (East Timor)

The paper draws up a preliminary inventory of the endangered musical heritage of the island of Atauro (Timor-Leste), through a first survey in two villages (Makdadé, and Makili). After a summary of the musical forms presented through time, the analysis of the prevalent musical forms and styles show a common musical idiom between the two villages, and a lively musical tradition. A short musical glossary of the two villages is given with a distinction between musical forms and instruments.

Atauro. East Timor. Music. Ritual. Musical instrument.

Práticas musicais e património ameaçado da ilha de Ataúro (Timor-Leste)

O artigo apresenta um inventário preliminar do património musical da ilha de Ataúro (Timor-Leste) sob risco de desaparecimento. Este inventário baseia-se num primeiro levantamento realizado nos povoados de Makdade e de Makili. Após uma breve resenha histórica sobre formas musicais, propomos uma análise das formas e estilos musicais predominantes. Estes apontam para uma linguagem musical compartilhada entre as duas localidades e para uma tradição musical muito viva. O texto é completado por um breve glossário musical dos dois povoados com suas respectivas formas musicais e instrumentos.

Ataúro. Timor-Leste. Música. Ritual. Instrumento musical.

Hananuk no patrimóniu musikál hetan tateran iha Ataúru (Timor-Leste)

Artigu ida-ne'e apresenta ba dala uluk hananuk no patrimóniu muzikál ne'ebé bele halakon iha Ataúru (Timor-Leste). Inventáriu ne'e foin maka halo tatur ida-ne'ebé halo uluk tiha iha Aldeia rua ho naran Makdade no Makili. Hafoin *rezeña istórika* ida kona-ba forma

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muzikál, ami hanoin atu analiza forma no estilu ne'ebé mosu no toka barakliu. Aldeia rua ne'e fahe no haknanu múzika besik hanesan no tuir lisan ho moris kmanek. Hamutuk ho testu ida-ne'e sei tau informasaun hanesan glosáriu muzikál hosi Aldeia rua ne'e ho ida-idak ninia instrumentu.

Ataúru. Timor-Leste. Knananuk. rituál. Instrumentu knananuk.

Despite many social transformations, at a first glance, Atauro traditional music seems to have resisted Portuguese colonization and evangelization (1851-1975) and Indonesian invasion (1975-1999). Yet, the situation is more worrying than it seems. A large number of musical forms have already disappeared, as a result of the aforementioned newcomers. What remains today of Atauro's musical tradition, at the crossroads between Austronesian and Papuan musical idioms? This paper draws up a preliminary inventory of the endangered musical heritage of Atauro, an island located 32 km north of Dili (capital of Timor-Leste, East Timor Democratic Republic). Very little documentation on Atauro music and poetry is available except the book of Father Jorge Barros Duarte (1984), about myth and ritual life in Makili², including translations of a great number of ritual songs from the village of Makili. In the same way, very few sound recordings have been published (Dunlop 2011, 2012)³.

This paper is based on a musical survey undertaken during 18 days in November 2019, in Atauro⁴. The recordings were made in Makili and Makdadé, the two most populated districts of the island, numbering around 8000 inhabitants⁵. Makili, one of the five districts of the island, is located on the southeastern shore, whereas Makdadé is located in the highlands, at around 700 meters, close to the Manu Koko

2. Two musical transcriptions of songs from the *E-pua* ritual are available in his book (Duarte 1984: 133-134).

3. In Dunlop's book (2012), two musical instruments are found: the Makili *tihak* drum (p. 94) and the Makdadé *rama* musical bow (pp. 114-115).

4. This article is the result of a first survey in Atauro, in the framework of the project *Cultural Policies, Local Heritage and Collaborative Approaches in Eastern Insulindia* (POPEI-Coll), funded by the French institution ANR and directed by Dominique Guillaud. It was made possible thanks to the help of the Secretary of State of Art and Culture (SEAC) in Dili. My thanks go to Dominique Guillaud, Kelly Silva and to all the singers and hosts in Makdadé and Makili for their warm hospitality.

5. 7832 exactly (FAO sources, 2020). In 2019, Makdadé had 490 households and 2488 inhabitants, divided in 4 villages (Anartutu, Berau, Biti, Ili Timur). In 2019, Makili had 2482 inhabitants, divided also in 4 villages (Fatu Lela, Maceliu, Maulacu, Maumeta) (Local Statistics). I follow Duarte (1984)'s graph of the two villages. People from Makdadé call themselves Adadé and people from Makili call themselves Humangili.

volcano. These two villages have no roads between them, but a couple of hours' walk through the mountains brings the traveler from one to the other. Both are fully Christian – Catholic and Pentecostal (*Assembleias de Deus*). Each village has its own dialect (Raklungu in Makdadé, Hrésuk in Makili), which are related, with some cross-comprehensibility. This linguistic situation explains the similarities in their musical idioms.

This paper will address four points: Atauro music before 1974; Atauro music today, the prevalent musical forms and styles; and, finally, the endangered music of Atauro. At the end of the paper, the reader will find a preliminary musical glossary.

1. Music and rituals before 1974

Before the arrival of Christianity in the island of Atauro (in the first part of the XXth century), it is likely that singing was a way of relating to invisible beings⁶. In Makdadé, a song called *Hléri klan obun* (“Song from the people of the middle”⁷) is considered dangerous still today, because it is believed to have been borrowed from the *taknan*, non-human cannibals in human form, who live in the forest, in the western part of the island. These non-humans coexisted with the four-eyed souls of the dead (*bohé kako*), who can transform into humans or animals. This song had the power to summon the spirits of nature and make them appear in the form of women singing with the chorus.

The songs for the water sources (*souk* in Makili, *sour* in Makdadé) were highly valued. They disappeared in 1974 with the banning of the ritual at the water spring by the Christian authorities. Every year, a ritual (*souk ék ipua*) took place. It consisted in cleaning the place of the spring (*egmatan*, Makdadé) and in summoning the ancestors for water. This repertoire was owned by certain clans only, regarded as the spring guardians⁸. To this day, it is only known and sung by people from these clans. Makili had two springs (Ipua, the main one, and Tulai) that they would visit once a year to sing for two anthropomorphic wooden figures (*sa’et*, *itara*), Baku Mau (male) and Lepu Hmoru (female)⁹, linked to fertility (Duarte 1984:135). Here again, the song was a way to connect humans to the deities of water, spring and rain.

6. In Makdadé, some were called *Hatu Obun Ai Obun* “stone master tree master”. In Makili, they were called *Nusa Opun Rare Opun*, a generic term for the spirits of nature and ancestors (Boarccaech 2020:102).

7. *Klan* “the middle”, *obun* “people”.

8. Hnelak and Mau Tuda clans (*uma lisan*) in Makili and To Bérétoén in Makdadé.

9. Dallas Museum of Art: <https://collections.dma.org/essay/KdNlONxM>

In Makili, the repertoire *sosé* was another kind of singing that connected humans to the invisible world. Following the ritual at the sources, just described, it was performed at the *sosé* ritual every year from August to October, a ritual that disappeared in 1974 when Protestants burned the statues. Hundreds of songs, accompanied by the single-headed drum *tihak*, were known and performed by two clans only, Hnua Lé'én and Mau Lé'ek, guardians of the wooden anthropomorphic figures. The performance took place at a location called *tolan hnati*, a ritual place. The ritual was described as a huge funeral ceremony performed two months after a death (mentioned as *tola-hati* in Duarte 1984:298). One year after a death (we don't know which one), the souls were recalled, for every clan, and all the clans gathered to give offerings to the effigies. In Makili, in 2019, only one man from the the Hnua Lé'én clan still knew a few rhythmic pattern of the great *sosé* song¹⁰.

These two genres mentioned before, *souk* (or *sour*) and *sosé*, are often named together: *souk-sosé* at Makili or *tei-sour* in Makdadé, as the two rituals were combined in one chronological flow, in two different places.

Funerary singing in Atauro was important, though now it is on the way to extinction. A funerary song can be performed the day of the death : the lamentation (*sita*) takes place as a form of a collective weeping song around the body¹¹. The day of the burial, the wife-takers bring cloths (*kngohi*) and spears (*osa lolon*) to the family of the deceased. In Makili, the arrival of each group of wife-takers in the house is organized: their heads covered with a cloth, they sing a *sita* weeping and walk slowly to the body of the deceased where everybody sings the *sita* weeping¹². The song, still performed in Makili, is nearly extinct in Makdadé.

One year after a funeral¹³, in Makdadé, a death song called *Mate hléri* (“Death song”) was performed collectively¹⁴. It made the dead person speak, so humans were considered to think together with the dead person. Today, this is not performed anymore, because people have adopted a series of rites borrowed from the Portuguese (*aifuna muruk*, *aifuna midar*, *vila métan*, *koré metan*).

In older times, wars and headhunting between clans took place, performed with the sound of gong/drumming/singing (*talor*) and dancing (*hrotu*), in order to diminish fear. For the ceremonial houses, eleven heads were needed in Mak-

10. A sound Example of *sosé* can be found at https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/items/CNRSMH_I_2019_039_002_18/

11. Makdadé's *sita* lamentation: https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/items/CNRSMH_I_2019_039_001_45//

12. https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/items/CNRSMH_I_2019_039_002_09/

13. In Makdadé *pohé* “deceased soul”, in Makili, *bohóe*: “corpse” (Duarte 1984:289).

14. Sound example of this song can be found at https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/items/CNRSMH_I_2019_039_001_66/

dadé. These gong sets, exchanged with people in Alor, are performed by three musicians (one two-headed drum *tama*, two pairs of gongs of different sizes played in interlocking). This ensemble performs only two rhythmic patterns. Above the instrumental interlocking music, singers sing the lively *rakais*. Today, the instruments of this ensemble, scattered among several clans, are brought out for display at national or local occasions, like the 20th of May (National day of East Timor), at church events, or for local entertainment.

When renovating houses (*roi ruma lelait* ‘to make a ceremonial house’), the round dance (*roi nélu*) was performed for one week. The ritual is still performed, but more often now without round dance.

2. Atauro Music in the present

Even though many repertoires are not performed anymore, traditional music is still known by a lot of villagers, even the young, despite the increasing presence of European heptatonic singing, at church, or with the Portuguese string music (violin, guitars; see Glossary). European string music of this sort, with heptatonic singing, is performed in Makdadé, by the ensemble Hajoma¹⁵.

To gain an overview of the musical genres still commonly performed, one should focus on music of three types: 1) Intimate vocal music with soft-volume instruments, alone or in small groups; 2) Loud collective music (canoe descent songs, funeral songs, songs related to springs, ensemble with gong and drum); and 3) Imported music (string and church singing).

Intimate singing is practiced by singers alone or in pairs, on the road leading to the fields, high up in the palm-wine trees, or simply in the evening when the heat has relented. Each singer has a unique personal song (*rekngoté, rédu rédai, rinano, raknote-raknei*) that accompanies him/her throughout life. In Makdadé, the low-volume instruments that accompany the singing are mainly the musical bow (*rama*) (fig.1) and the zither (*aklamu*). This kind of music moves to tears not only those who listen, but also those who sing it, men or women. The valuation of weeping is therefore an aesthetic criterion for musical ability (“if the music doesn’t know how to make you cry, it’s because the singer is not good”). One piece is even entitled “The Jew’s harp cries, the song cries”¹⁶, a piece with its insistent descending

15. Some songs from this musical group can be found at https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/items/CNRSMH_I_2019_039_001_16/

16. Two examples of this song can be found at https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/items/CNRSMH_I_2019_039_001_27/ and https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/items/CNRSMH_I_2019_039_001_86/

semi-tone, reminding soft crying. A large number of teenagers' flirting songs are still much enjoyed. They can be sung alone or in groups, in responsorial mode with alternating soloists, during meals or gatherings.

When it is collective and of great sound intensity, the songs are performed with dances or other forms of regular motion. The responsorial mode is common: a mixed chorus responds to several alternating soloists. Many songs are linked to difficult physical work that needs the help of divinities (the trilogy *raho*, *tei*, *nglorun ro* was performed in this order in Makdadé). An important set of songs is related to dugout canoes: cutting the trees, dragging the canoe from the top of the mountain to the seashore (*klorun ro* "to pull down the dugout canoe"), launching the canoe. The descent of a dugout canoe, a very heavy length of carved wood, required three to four days, from Makdadé to Maumeta, Berau, Makili, and hundreds of people would pull it while singing and dancing for hours. The song was abandoned in Makdadé (after the building of the road in 2007 to Vila), but it is still lively in Makili¹⁷. The *klorun ro* (boat dragging) repertoire is made of around 20 songs, in a responsorial chorus with one or two soloists. When the path is steep and dangerous, the singing slows down, changes to triple meter, when the men progress fastly, the meter is duple. Another repertoire was performed when rowing at sea, but these songs, while still known (Makili *hraeng ro* "oar canoe"), were abandoned after the introduction of motor boats.

After collective physical efforts linked to the descent of the canoe, all gather at night to celebrate the arrival at the village or at the shore, by dancing in circles (*rakais*, *hrotu*, *kaklai*, *roi nélu*, *roi hléri*). The emotions are euphoric. In Makili and Makdadé, collective musical practice is inseparable from palm wine, collected each morning and evening, and consumed by men and women alike. When they have drunk too much, the singing is intense. In Makili, they still sing, but less and less during the renovation of a customary house (*roi ruma*), when making an attic (*manleka*), and rarely at weddings (*kra'uk sekngarin*).

The *sahak bua* ('harvest of the betel nut') ritual is a great annual celebration that brings together several villages of the island in June or July. During this festival, large *hrotu* round dances takes place. Today, this ritual happens in the month of July in Makdadé.

17. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ye7O2EY1mok&pbjreload=101&ab_channel=AtauroPopeiTimor-Leste

3. The prevalent musical forms and styles

Makili and Makdadé have a related musical idiom, a similarity that may be explained through a mythical common ancestor who gave birth to three brothers. They sent an arrow in three different directions and founded three connected places: Makdadé, Makili and Mandroni, three places that still today share close cultural features (Guillaud 2019:183).

Musically speaking, the music of the Adadé (people from Makdadé) and Humangili (people from Makili) show the same musical organization. Singing is characterized by complex vocal techniques (yodeling, vibrato, contrasts of intensity). All the songs are modal, using a variety of non-tempered melodic scale. As far as pitch is concerned, we note the wide range of ambitus and the recurrent use of the augmented fourth interval (tritone)¹⁸. We should emphasize also the diversity of rhythmic and metric features (triple meter, non-duple meters, non-four units).

However, there are stylistic differences between the two villages: in Makili, vocal virtuosity is characterized by contrasted peaks of intensity, from extremely loud to extremely soft in a very short time, intense yodeling, long sustained pitch. Makdadé's singing style, in comparison, seems gentler, with more swing, and a solid instrumental practice, with the Jew's harp (*aklamu*), the mouth musical bow (*rama*) and the drum/gong (*tama*) still fully practiced. The Jew's harp can be played according to three to four kinds of rhythm. The mouth musical bow plays two to three rhythms. In contrast, the musical instruments once present in Makili have almost completely disappeared, except for the one-headed *tihak* drum, a goatskin hourglass drum, in two sizes (*tihak matan*, *tiharan*); the instruments are today replaced by guitars and violins that use tonal heptatonic scales.

The vitality of musical practice is amazing. It can be measured by the important number of people who love to sing and above all, by the abundance of repertoires and melodies performed solo or collectively. If some songs are part of fixed forms (*rakais*, *kaklai*, *klorun ro*, *rekngoté*), others seem to be out of category, as if the melodies were independent of each other, but more research needs to be done.

The many kinds of singing still performed include flirting songs (*hléri tato aklara*), weaving songs, Jew's harp songs (*aklamu raur*), dance songs (*rékais*, *hrotu*, *hléri kaklai*, *roi nélu*), canoe-dragging songs (*klorun ro*, *ro hlérin*), intimate soloist songs (*reknóté-reknei*, *redu redai*), mouth musical bow songs (*rama*), spirit songs (*hléri klan obun*), various other songs (*hléri lok mata*, *ei-ei*, *amurin*, *hatundro*, *te hru'a...*). European guitars (*biola*) and violin (*arabeka* or *violino*), brought with the Portuguese colonization, are present in the two villages of this study.

18. About the tritone, see Kunst 1942:35-37 and Yampolsky 2015:174.

4. Endangered music in Makili and Makdadé

In both Makili and Makdadé, many musical repertoires are in danger of extinction. In Makili, indigenous instrumental practice has completely disappeared in less than two decades, replaced by violin and guitars. Many genres have been lost because the rituals on which they depended were eradicated over the last 50 years, such as the rituals for the springs and the souls. Until today, two old men can still sing them, but no transmission process is set up¹⁹. A large number of endangered musical forms are identified: the ritual chanting at the source (*souk, sosé/tei sour*), the rowing songs (*hraeng ro*), the boat-dragging songs (*raho, tei, klorun ro*), the funeral chanting (*sita, maté hléri*), the myth of origin of the songs, the gong/drum music (*dir tama, talor*).

Several factors may explain the disappearing of these musical forms. The first one is the Portuguese colonization, responsible for the introduction of tonal music through church singing. Western tonal melodies progressively have colonized the original modal musical system. Secondly, Christian missionaries forbade the use of wooden anthropomorphic figures in Makili and condemned the water source rituals which gave rise to a very large part of the musical heritage. In the third place, with the end of clan wars, the music of drum and gongs is no longer performed. Technological progress has also influenced musical practices. The replacement of the sail by the engine for the boats led to the disappearance of rowers' songs. The building of roads and the coming of trucks led to the extinction of dugout canoe songs in Makdadé, though not yet in Makili. In terms of musical education and musical transmission, we have not found local cultural projects, nor any support by the government of East Timor. The only artistic development action that villagers told me was initiated by a priest (Amo Siku) who supported the establishment of six artistic groups (*grupo*) in Makdadé, four of which are musical²⁰.

Conclusion

After this first ethnomusicological survey in Makdadé and Makili, 179 sound recordings have been deposited with a non-profit French website dedicated to endangered traditional music²¹. They can be listened to by everybody through a

19. In 2019, Abilio de Souza Araujo (Koli Kala) was 68 years old, and Paulino Ximenes (Mepais), 73 years old.

20. *Dir Tama/Talor*, a gong-drum ensemble; *Aklamu*, the Jew's harp and musical bow; *Riang Nélé*, traditional singing; and *Hajoma*, Portuguese string ensemble with singing of East Timor.

21. https://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH_I_2019_039/

simple smartphone. But a lot of things should be done now: it is urgent to document, analyze and transcribe Atauro's music, in order to build the preservation of the musical heritage of Atauro. Thus, a complete list of repertoires and musical technique is urgently needed. The myth of the origin of singing and the origin of musical instrument need to be documented in details before the informants, already old, disappear. In addition, the link between music and territory should be studied, at various levels. Ultimately, the endangered musical heritage could be preserved through various ways (schools, museum, rituals), in a collaborative approach.

Annex: Preliminary musical glossary from Makdadé and Makili

– Makdadé musical glossary

Hléri

to sing or a song. *Hléri hari kata hari kia*, *Hléri klan obun* “song from the people of the middle”; *Hléri ei-ei*: song of rejoicing; *Hléri rasei rasama*, *Hléri amurin*, *Hléri hatundro*, *Hléri lok mata*, *Hléri mekmesa*: various songs in mixed chorus; *Ro hléri* (boat song): singing while dragging a boat; *Hléri te hru’a*: Song when collecting sea shells; *Hléri tato aklara*: (from *tato*: single), flirting songs, mixed chorus; *Hléri raur aklamu raur* “the song weeps, the Jew’s harp weeps”, mixed chorus with one or two Jew’s harps.

Hléri opun

(“Song owner”) Soloist.

Hrotu

(“to jump”) Responsorial song danced collectively to a lively tempo with male or female soloist.

Maté hléri

Collective funeral song, one year after the death.

Nglorun Ro (Ro Nglorun)

Male song for pulling the boat down from the mountain to the sea.

Raknoté raknéi

A kind of solo song, performed by a man or a woman.

Raho

Ritual singing, highly ornamented, with long melismatic patterns going up and down, performed solo or in mixed chorus, for various occasions when calling on deities to help humans to complete difficult physical work (to do with boats, heavy wood, etc.).

Rakais

1. Vocal signal by a loud yodeling shout ; 2. Mixed chorus, with yodel in a round dance.

Rakné

Glottal vocal technique.

Rani

To sing – See *hléri*, *rohuk*.

Ras ana

(“To rock the child”) lullaby.

Rohuk

To sing – See *hléri, rani*.

Sita

Old mixed collective funeral lamentation on the day the person dies.

Sour

Ritual chant of origin performed once a year at the water spring.

Tara

(“Answering”) the vocal answer (in a song).

Taring

To dance.

Tei

Ritual unmeasured song in mixed chorus.

Tei Sour

Ritual unmeasured song in mixed chorus, performed when sitting on the beach.

Tua hléri

Solo male song, performed when collecting palm wine.

– Makdadé musical instruments

Aklamu

Bamboo Jew’s harp with an attached string to agitate the lamella, played by men or women. *Ni raklamu aklamu* : He/she plays the Jew’s harp.

Angleli

The stick to hit the musical bow.

Arabeka

Vernacular or European violin (three or four strings).

Aramé

String.

Babadok

Single-headed drum.

Bandolin

Mandolin.

Biola

(From Portuguese *violão*) guitar.

Dir inan

Large suspended bossed gong (44 cm), part of the Talor (gong drum) ensemble.

Kamkina

Small guitar.

Kérik

Tubular zither (vanished).

Kinur

Bamboo Flute (vanished).

Kléhar

Small bossed gong performed in pairs (21 cm each), first voice, played together with *seu*. Part of the Talor (gong drum) ensemble.

Kléli

To hit ; name of the stick to hit the gong.

Ou'-ou'

Suspended bossed gong (32 cm), played together with *dir inan*, *séu*, *kléhar* gongs, third voice in the ensemble. Part of the Talor (gong drum) ensemble.

Rama

Musical bow (played by men). *Ni kléli rama* : “He plays his musical bow”.

Séu

Suspended bossed gong (22 cm), part of the gong drum ensemble, performed together with *kléhar*, second voice in the ensemble.

Talor

(or *dir tama*) gong and drum ensemble : 2 pairs of gongs and 1 drum (*tama*) with singers and dancers (*taring*, *ras tour*).

Tama

Two headed drum, performed with two hands, with buffaloe (*karao*) skin. Part of the Talor (gong drum) ensemble.

Tihar

Drum (vanished in Makdadé).

Ukulélé

(Hawai) Small four-string guitar borrowed to the Portuguese cavaquinho.

– Makili Musical glossary

Hahan

Sound. *Hahan nglid* : pitch.

Kaklai (hléri kaklai)

(“Song while running”) Mixed chorus in four beats, joyful, energetic, responso-rial. See *Roi nélu*.

Klorun Ro (hléri klorun ro)

(“To sing while dragging a boat”) Repertoire of songs while pulling the dugout canoe down to the sea. Mixed chorus with one soloist answered by homophonic chorus. Around 15 to 20 songs.

Hraeng Ro

(“Rowing boat”) Repertoire of songs when rowing a boat. Mixed chorus to call the wind (*teri hletan*), to call the rain (*nao uran*), to pull up the fish basket (*riri opa*).

Hri rekngai

Ritual speech.

Nélu

(*Roi nélu* “to make a round”) Circular dance, where people sing hand-in-hand to the sound of the drum.

Nglid

Voice. *Hahan nglid ia nau*: “His/her voice is nice”.

Rakais

Mixed chorus in a slow round dance. Dancers hold hands and sing in responso-rial mixed chorus with yodel technique. Performed for any kind of rituals (new boat, new house...). In older times, linked to flirting singing. (*U ekais* : “I sing the *rakais*”).

Rau ana

“To swing the child”: lullaby

Rekngoté rekngéi

(“To sing”) From *Ekngoté*. Individual singing during basket weaving or harvesting palm wine. Performed alone, in pairs, or sometime in a group with alternating soloists. (*U eknoté* : “I sing”).

Réloli

See *rétu rédai*

Rétu Rédai

(synonyms: *réloli*, *rekngoté*, *réu*, *rétu nétu nédai*) *Rengno rédai*: “I am sad”. Old sad contemplation songs, with lyrics composed in a suite. Each singer composes his

own lyrics and sings a solo song telling a short story, sad and personal. Performed alone or in pairs. Can move to tears.

Rinano

Song.

Riri opa (Hléri)

Singing when pulling the fish trap. See *Hraeng Ro*.

Ro hlérin

“Boat song”, performed at the boat ceremony ; songs when carrying heavy load.

Roi nélu

(*Roi péta, roi hléri*) To dance, while singing.

Sésapak

Circular dance without holding hands; people beat their feet, sing and at certain moments all run inside the circle.

Sita (sésita)

Old collective funeral lamentation on the day of a death. Performed exclusively in the house of the deceased, not at the graveyard. The wife-takers come to bring cloth and spears (*osa lolon, kngohi*) to the family of the deceased. They arrive with their head covered with cloth and launch the *sita* lament, while moving slowly towards the body of the deceased.

Souk

Series of ritual songs accompanied with the single-headed hourglass *tihak* drum at the water spring. Homophonic mixed chorus.

Sosé

Set of songs performed in chorus with the single-headed *tihak* drum, reserved to the Hnua Lé'én and Mau Lé'ék clans. Was performed every year in August and September, at the ritual place called *tolan hnati*, place of the wooden effigies of the male and female divinities Paku Mau and Lepu Hmoru.

Tara

In a responsorial song, vocal Answer. *U tara hléri* : “I answer the song”.

Tein

Ritual chanting to call bad spirits, in order to expel a snake that damages the plants (*Kladi ngurus opun*: “to cut the master of chili”)

– Makili Musical instruments

Biola

(From Portuguese *violão*): name of the European guitar with four strings.

Dédi ana

small bossed gongs (vanished).

Dédi inan

Large bossed gongs (vanished).

Dédik toma

Gong and drum (vanished).

Irama

Musical bow (vanished).

Kédéli

Small bells (supposed to have been brought by Makassarese people).

Keklangur, keklango

Jew's harp (vanished).

Kinuk

Flute with three holes (vanished).

Kulau

Ocarina to call the dogs in the forest, or to call the wind (*mau timu, mau warat*) (vanished)

Kuri

Sea shell trumpet.

Tihak

Hourglass drum, single-headed with goat skin. Two kinds: the big one is called *tihak*, the small one is called *tihak matan, tiharan* (Mau Le'ek clan), *tiharin* small hourglass drum (Knua Lé'én and Mau Lé'ék clans).

Toma

Drum (vanished).

Violino

(From Portuguese *violino*) Vernacular violin with three strings (vanished).

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Figure 1. Abilio de Souza Araújo (Koli Kala) playing the musical bow (rama), Makdadé, 11 november 2019.
Photo: Dana Rappoport.

5. Artisanal molluscan fisheries on Atauro Island (Timor-Leste): knowledge, practices and challenges

Ariadna Burgos¹

Artisanal molluscan fisheries on Atauro Island (Timor-Leste): knowledge, practices and challenges

In South-East Asia and Oceania as in many other areas of the world, shelled molluscs such as clams, cockles, conchs and snails provide multiple services for coastal livelihoods (e.g. food security, water purification, stabilization of the shoreline and habitat structure, etc.). On Atauro Island (Timor-Leste) discarded shells resulting from human activities are found on the coastal shore as well as at the top of Atauro mountains, both at the soil surface and buried in the substrate. Nowadays, shelled molluscs provide a source of nutritious food, income and inspiration to local communities. In total, 67 species of molluscs were found to be used in Atauro Island for multiple purposes. Women and children played an important role gathering, processing and selling molluscs. Indeed, in order to efficiently harvest shells local shellfishers must have accurate knowledge regarding the diversity, habitat and distribution of molluscs, as well as constantly learn new information on the dynamics of local fisheries and the marine environment. In a world where ecosystems and societies are facing major challenges such as climate change and ecological services degradation, the link between local knowledge and academic science is central for sustainable development. Drawing from our research in Atauro Island (Timor-Leste), the aim of this paper is 1) to illustrate the diversity of practices and local knowledge involved in the gathering of molluscs; and 2) to identify socio-cultural and ecological factors that affect the way local people interact with molluscs and the marine environment. We found that the relationship between humans and molluscs in Atauro offers insights to understand long-term socio-ecological changes on the island. Our results allow us to propose lines of action to monitor, assess and manage molluscan fisheries in Timor-Leste while combining traditional and scientific knowledge. Shellfish. Local knowledge. Women. Marine heritage. Socio-ecological change. Conservation. Sustainability. Environmental justice.

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Pesca artesanal de moluscos na ilha de Ataúro (Timor-Leste): conhecimento, práticas e desafios

No Sudeste Asiático e Oceania, como em muitas outras áreas do mundo, os moluscos com concha, tais como ameijoas, berbigões, búzios e caracóis servem múltiplas funções à subsistência costeira (p. ex., segurança alimentar, purificação da água, estabilização da orla costeira e da estrutura do habitat, etc.). Na ilha de Ataúro (Timor-Leste), encontram-se desperdícios de conchas resultantes da atividade humana tanto na costa como no topo das montanhas, tanto à superfície do solo como enterradas no substrato. Atualmente, os moluscos com concha constituem uma fonte de alimento nutritivo, rendimento e inspiração para as comunidades locais. No total, 67 espécies de moluscos foram identificadas como sendo utilizadas na Ilha de Ataúro para múltiplos fins. Mulheres e crianças desempenharam um papel importante na recolha, processamento e venda de moluscos. De facto, para uma colheita eficiente de conchas, os marisqueiros locais devem ter conhecimentos precisos sobre a diversidade, habitat e distribuição dos moluscos, bem como aprender constantemente novas informações sobre a dinâmica da pesca local e o meio marinho. Num mundo onde os ecossistemas e as sociedades enfrentam grandes desafios, tais como as alterações climáticas e a degradação dos serviços ambientais, a ligação entre o conhecimento local e a ciência académica é central para o desenvolvimento sustentável. Com base na nossa investigação na Ilha de Ataúro (Timor-Leste), o objetivo deste texto é 1) ilustrar a diversidade de práticas e conhecimentos locais envolvidos na recolha de moluscos; e 2) identificar fatores sócio-culturais e ecológicos que afetam a forma como a população local interage com os moluscos e o meio marinho. Descobrimos que a relação entre seres humanos e moluscos em Ataúro oferece perspectivas para compreender as mudanças sócio-ecológicas de longo prazo na ilha. Os nossos resultados permitem-nos propor linhas de ação para monitorizar, avaliar e gerir a pesca de moluscos em Timor-Leste, combinando ao mesmo tempo conhecimentos tradicionais e científicos.

Moluscos. Conhecimento local. Mulheres. Património marinho. Mudanças sócio-ecológicas. Conservação. Sustentabilidade. Justiça ambiental.

Peska tradisional hodi kaer na'an-tasi iha Ataúru (Timor-Leste): hatene knaar ne'e no hasouru susar

Iha sudeste aziátiku no oseania, hanesan mós iha fatin barak seluk hale'u mundu na'an-tasi hanesan sipu, kakun, kudaku ka matafatuk, hala'o knaar oioin iha natureza tasi-ibun nian (hanesan seguransa hahán, hamoos bee-tasi, hametin tasi-ibun ho abitat nia estrutura). Iha Ataúru, ema nia hahalok naksobu natureza tanba hahaat de'it na'an-tasi iha tasi-ibun no iha foho mós, lakon na'an oioin iha rai-leten no rai-okos mós. Daudauk ne'e, na'an-tasi ho kulit-fatuk nu'udar hun hahán nian, ema fa'an atu hetan osan no mós lala'ok seluk ne'ebé fó hanoin no loke neon ba ema sira-ne'ebá. Iha Ataúru na'an-tasi barak no oioin sura hamutuk sipu barak to'o 67. Feto sira nomós feto-raan no labarik feto no mane fó liman ba malu hodi hetan sipu hirak hotu atu fase, hili tuir no, hafoin, maka fa'an – tanba iha barak no oioin maka tenke hatene hili no haketak hosi ida ba ida seluk. Ema sira ne'ebé moris besik tasi no liuliu peskadór sira maka hatene loloos sipu nia moris no saida de'it maka buras iha nia leet ambientál. Hosi ema sira-ne'e nia matenek tutan hamutuk ho sientista sira maka loke dalan hodi hetan moris di'ak nu'udar dezenvolimentu susten-

tavel. Bazeia ba ami-nia investigasaun iha Ataúru, Timor-Leste, testu ne'e nia objetivu mak atu: 1) Hatudu oinsá maka knaar ne'e la'o oioin nomós hatudu sira-nia matenek hodi hili no haketak sipu oioin; (2) Identifika fatór hosi hun sósiu-kulturál nomós ekolójiku ne'ebé kona populasau nia hala'ok ida-idak no bainhira mós hala'o knaar lisuk hamutuk hodi kaer sipu iha tasi ibun nia leet. Ami haree-hetan katak ema ho sipu no na'an-tasi hotu fahe buat ruma ba malu iha Ataúru no ne'e fó biban mai ami hodi komprende saida de'it maka bele ka labele hafila aban-bainrua iha relasaun sósiu-ekolójiku. Buat hirak-ne'e hotu ne'ebé ami haree-hetan sei tulun ami atu hatada hala'ok ne'ebé loos hodi kontrola, sukat no hala'o peska ba na'an-tasi hotu-hotu iha Timor-Leste, liuhosi dalan ida-ne'ebé lala'ok tradisionál la'o sorin-sorin ho siénsia.

Sipu. Matenek lokál. Feto sira. Patrimóniu tasi nian. Nakfilak sósiu-ekolójika sira. Konservasaun. Sustentabilidade. Justisa ambientál.

Artisanal molluscan fisheries: importance and resources

Molluscs are the largest marine group including almost a fourth of all known marine species (Bouchet et al. 2016). Bivalves and gastropods, such as oysters, mussels, clams, cockles, snails, abalones, conchs, whelks are shelled molluscs, or more commonly known as “shellfish”. They are found in all habitats of the marine realm and provide essential ecological services such as cycling and storage of carbon and nutrients, habitat structure, water purification, stabilization of the shoreline, and food for other organisms (Gutierrez et al. 2003, Smaal et al. 2019). From a societal point of view, the flesh of shellfish offers not only key nutritious elements and food to coastal societies (Khan and Lieu 2019, Venugopal and Gopakumar 2017), but also the shell itself carries cultural values and provides a source of income (Nijman 2019, Burgos et al. 2019).

Shelled molluscs are relatively sedentary and some are strictly sessile or fixed during their adult stage (e.g. oysters, mussels and some clams). This condition makes that their distribution and habitat are relatively predictable by shellfish foragers (Thomas 2007). Indeed, bivalves and gastropods meld perfectly with their environment and foragers must pay particular attention to different ecological features within coastal ecosystems while they glean in order to maximize harvest outcomes. This requires a deep and up to date knowledge of molluscan habitats, life habits and population dynamics. Additionally, a high awareness of who is fishing where and what, is necessary to avoid selecting sites that have already been exploited, decreasing shellfishers' chances of finding molluscan species (Burgos 2016).

Research context and study objectives

The research presented in this paper was carried out within the research framework of a larger interdisciplinary project on cultural policies, local heritage and collaborative approaches in Eastern Insulindia (POPEI-Coll 2019-2022). This project carried out by the French National Research Institute for Sustainable Development (IRD) seeks to understand “heritage” as perceived and conceived by the local communities of Atauro Island. POPEI-Coll’s approaches propose a new dialogue between local heritage, applied science and policies. It aims to reveal the social stakes of heritage in non-Western societies by proposing new methodologies and concepts for the assessment of local heritage and the development of cultural policies.

Atauro, located 25 km north of the main land of Timor-Leste, is inhabited by approximately 8,000 habitants (GDS and MAFF 2020). Isolated shells or shell fragments, as well as large shell deposits resulting from human activities can be easily observed along Atauro’s coastlines, as well as on the top of Atauro’s mountains. These archaeological records demonstrate the long-lasting interactions of Atauro people with this resource from ancient times to our days (Galipaud et al. 2016).

Drawing from our research in Atauro Island (Timor-Leste), the aim of this paper is 1) to examine the diversity of practices and local knowledge involved in the gathering and use of molluscs; and 2) to identify the socio-cultural and ecological factors that affect the way local people interact with molluscan resources and the marine environment.

Study site

Atauro is a small oceanic island 22 km long and 5-10 km wide. It has a total area of 140 km² and a maximum elevation of 1000 m at Mount Manucoco which is located in the southeastern part of the island. Atauro is formed by a volcanic edifice mantled by a succession of uplifted limestone coral reefs (Ely et al. 2011). The island comprises flat to sloping lime-stone terraces, steep hills and deeply dissected valleys cut into the volcanic substrate (*idem*). The northern part of the island has a lower relief that contrasts strongly with the south part (Figure 1). There is limited development of alluvial plains, and no freshwater wetlands, tidal rivers or extensive mangroves are found on the island. The coastline typically comprises long beaches with relatively narrow (30-200 m wide) fringing reefs and extensive seagrass beds are found near the village of Beloi in the eastern side.

In the southern part of the island, the coastline is dominated by cliffs and rocky shores. Atauro is known for its outstanding marine biodiversity and by a well-preserved coral reef system (Brian et al. 2019, Conservation International 2016, Erdmann and Mohan 2013). Furthermore, the island has also a rich linguistic diversity comprising three languages : *Rasua* (spoken in Atekru, Akrema, Bikeli, Beloi, Uaroana), *Ratunglu* (spoken in Berau, Maker and Makadade) and *Hrseuk* (spoken only in Makili) (Guillaud 2019).

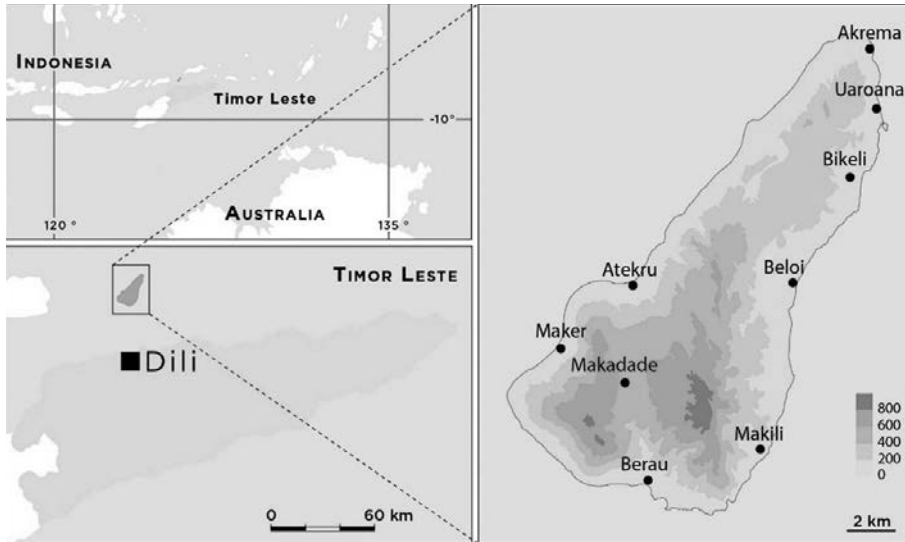


Figure 1. Map of Atauro Island and villages where research was conducted.

Fieldwork in Atauro was carried out between 2017 and 2019 for a total of 156 days. Interviews with local people and inventories of the molluscan fauna were conducted in nine out of the thirteen villages located in Atauro (Figure 1). Seventy-six interviews were carried out with women (n=46) and men (n=30). Interviews were conducted in Indonesian, Portuguese, Tetun (Timor-Leste official language) and Rasua (one of the three local languages of Atauro). For the latter two, the assistance of a translator was required.

Fishing grounds were located by GPS and described according to local knowledge and ecological observations. Molluscan species were inventoried during follows of shellfish gathering activities and participatory observation of fishing activities. Shells seen along Atauro's trails, or dispersed on the surface of the soil in the hills or caves were registered in order to determine the diversity of shell waste dumps or shell deposits. Market surveys (n=23) were conducted at the Beloi weekly market to survey the diversity of molluscan species sold for food or as sou-

venirs. The shells of species used by Atauro people were collected, photographed and identified with their local name *in-situ* and with their scientific name at the marine invertebrate collection of the French National Museum of Natural History in Paris.

Social structure and organization of fishing activities

Atauro artisanal molluscan fisheries are part of a larger frame of food production systems which include other forms of fishing, agriculture, wild forest gathering, and livestock such as raising pigs, chickens, and goats. The way Atauro people fish and relate to aquatic resources is highly specific to each locality. In fact, the contrasted topographies of the Island produce a high diversity of ecosystems and coastal habitats that house specific biota and thus different marine resources and exploitation practices. This is particularly notable between the villages of the extreme south (Makili, Berau and Maker) and the other villages of the island.



Figure 2. Women play a key role harvesting molluscan species in intertidal environments.

The social structure and organization of shellfishing activities displays gendered and intergenerational particularities. Women are the main gatherers of shells in the seashore (Figure 2), while men fish mainly in areas that are permanently

submerged regardless of the tide, and target large molluscan species such as *Tritonia charonis*, *Tectus niloticus* and *Turbo marmoratus*. These species are sought after mainly for the economic and cultural value of the shell, more than being target for edible purposes. Children can be seen accompanying their mothers during gleaning activities. They also play an important role finding small empty shells washed up on the beach, mainly gastropods, that are turned into necklaces or earrings by their mothers and sold during the Saturday market at Beloi. Women are the main sellers of molluscs, both for food or for ornamentation purposes.

Diversity and uses of bivalves and gastropods

In total, 67 species were found to be used in Atauro 48 of which were gastropods and 19 bivalves. Sixty-three species were used as food, of which nine were also used for ornamental purposes. Four species, consisting only of gastropods, were used for ornamental purposes only. Eleven species were sold at the Saturday market for local consumption and thirteen species were sold as souvenirs or as jewelry. *Asaphis violascens* was the most abundant and recurrent species sold at the Atauro Market. Two handfuls of shells of *A. violascens* were sold for one dollar. These represented more less 20-30 shells depending on the size and were bought mainly by other inhabitants of Atauro or by domestic tourists, visiting Atauro on Saturday during the market day.

Names of molluscan species and coastal habitats varied between the different linguistic areas of the island. Indeed, while some names displayed some similarities between Rasua and Ratunglu, names of species and habitats were significantly different in Hresuk. Moreover, in each language certain names of shells have become general terms to designate a group of species. For instance, for the younger generations, the name “kima” can refer to various species of *Tridacna* while for older generations all four species of *Tridacna* found on the island had a specific name. Despite the erosion of knowledge regarding species names, it is important to highlight that young women who glean for shells, were highly aware of molluscan habitats and species behavior. This knowledge was fundamental to enhance the efficiency and productivity of their shellfisheries.

Molluscan habitats and shellfishing techniques

Coastal zonation differed from one village to the other and varied according to topography, quality of the substrate, and exposure to wind and currents.

Figure 3 presents a schematic illustration of coastal zonation in Atauro. Five common intertidal environments are represented: rocky shore, gravel beach, seagrass, reef flat and forereef. Harvesting methods varied across these environments and according to the habitat of species. Shellfishing trips could target one species or a group of species, involving the use of one or a combination of techniques.

The rocky shore located at the edge of the upper intertidal zone, is submerged by ocean water during high tides, although the duration of submersion is relatively short compared to the other four zones. In this environment, most of the gleaning concerns small gastropods such as *Nerites* (snails) and *Patella* (true limpets). Harvesting is done by hand and mostly at night when the *Nerites* crawl on the rocks.

The gravel beach is defined here as a compact mix of rubble coral, gravel, sand and coarse sand. *Asaphis violascens* is found buried 10 to 20 cm in the gravel substrate. To collect this bivalve, women displace rocks on the top of the substrate and look for specific small holes that indicate the presence of the *A. violascens*' siphons. They then dig into the substrate with an iron bar or sharp object and remove the shells. In the seagrass area, women walk slowly while digging in the substrate with a long iron bar to detect the presence of *Codakia tigerina*, a large bivalve that is found buried up to 30 cm within the seagrass substrate.

The reef flat has the highest diversity of targeted species and often a combination of harvesting techniques is used for gleaning in this area depending on the life habits of the target species. *Tridacna* spp. as well as *Turbo* spp. are dislodged from the rocks using iron bars. Lastly, the forereef is the zone where spear fishing and diving for shells is carried out mainly (but not exclusively) by men. This zone is always submerged by ocean water. Shellfish species (e.g. *Charonia tritonis*, *Turbo marmoratus*, *Tectus niloticus*) are collected by hand. These gastropods are often harvested for decoration and handcraft purposes.

Molluscs were available year-round but were never harvested on a daily basis. The collection of intertidal species was dependent upon the timing of the low tide whether subtidal species were harvested disregarding of the tide. The most popular times to look for shells were during the morning, evening and nighttime (using a torch). If low tide occurred outside these times, shellfishing was more arduous due to high temperatures and sun exposure, and resulted in lower catchability, particularly of gastropods, who sought refuge in reef crevices (Tilley et al. 2020). Indeed, some burying bivalves such as *A. violascens* and *C. tigerina* could be sought any time of day, as their distribution was not affected by the heat.

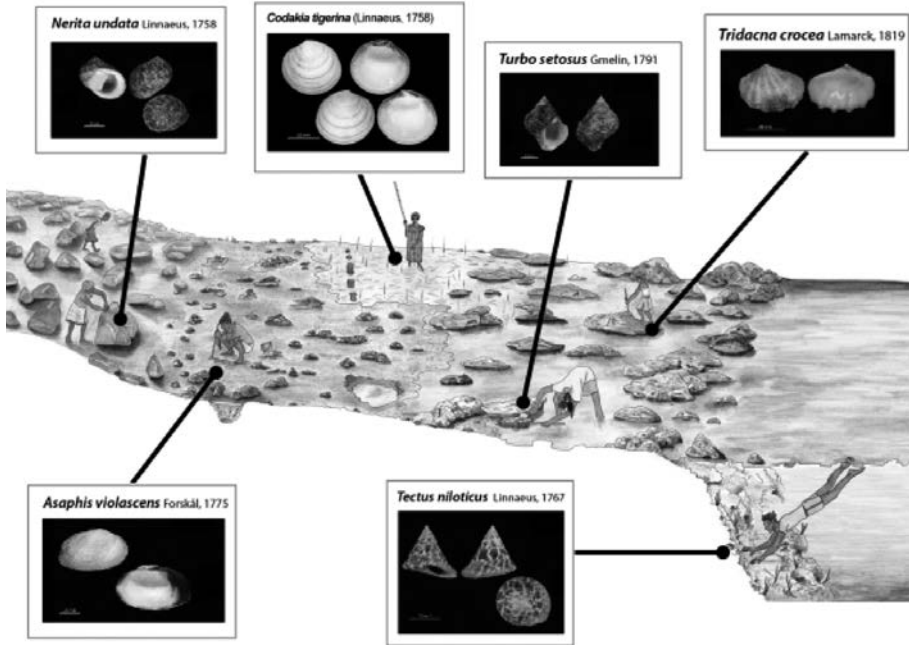


Figure 3. Distribution of shellfishing activities in the shore (adapted from Tilley et al. 2020 © Burgos A. Billault L. – IRD). *Nerita* species are found on the rocky shore, *Asaphis violascens* is buried in the gravel beach, *Codakia tigrina* is specific to seagrass environments, *Turbo setosus* and *Tridacna crocea* are sought after in the reef flat, and *Tectus niloticus* is harvested in the fore reef.

Current changes in access to the ocean and to resources

In Atauro, there are informal but strictly codified ways of using coastal ecosystems and resources. Since 2015, several temporally restricted no-take zones have been implemented throughout the island as a mechanism to promote environmental conservation and coastal resource management (Mills and Tilley 2017, Kim 2021, Tilley et al. 2019). These no take zones are called “*Tara bandu*” which is a seasonal or periodic resource-harvesting ban used traditionally in Timor-Leste to protect ripening crops, resolve conflicts and restrain transgressive behavior (Palmer and McWilliam 2019). The development of *Tara bandu* areas has been increasingly adopted by the state and environmental organizations as a mean to promote hybrid modes of resource governance. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the *Tara bandu* concept is not yet clear and varies amongst authors as amongst organizations promoting them (Alonso-Población et al. 2018, De Carvalho and Correia 2011, Palmer 2016, Meitzner Yoder 2005). Today, the support and implementation of *Tara bandu* by state, international development organizations, and

non-governmental organizations (NGOs) throughout Timor-Leste have revealed both positive and negative effects (Alonso-Población et al. 2016, Kim 2021, Palmer and McWilliam 2019, Tilley et al. 2019). As a fact, if *Tara bandu* provides unique opportunities to preserve biodiversity in the context of marine settings, their establishment has not come without consequences for local people's lifestyles, cultural practices, and subsistence strategies.

In Atauro, several *Tara bandu* areas have been developed during the last five years. If the first *Tara bandu* established in Atauro was the result of an entire year of negotiations with the local communities of the village of Adara, the rapid subsequent implementation of twelve other *Tara bandu* throughout the island may not have completely achieved the proper consultation and characterization of the biological and social settings specific to each community (Kim 2021). Nowadays, the majority of *Tara bandu* areas are located in front of villages, and they often cover the total expanse of the village coastline, such as is the case in Maker, Berau, Atekru and Uaroana. Two relevant issues affecting lifestyles and molluscan shellfisheries will be highlighted here, but there are many other social and ecological aspects that need to be consider (see Kim 2021). First, while international divers and tourists are allowed to enter *Tara bandu* zones in exchange for a fee of two dollars, the same principles of fees apply to locals – including children. Nevertheless, two dollars represents a significant amount of money in Atauro and this principle entails that children can no longer swim in front of their houses, or easily fish and collect shellfish in localities where they can be supervised by their parents or relatives. This affects children's interaction with the ocean, and puts them at risk as they need to find far distant localities to be in contact with the ocean. Secondly, all fishing practices are prohibited and liable to financial penalties within the boundaries of *Tara bandu*. Women, whose fisheries depend on marine invertebrate species located in intertidal habitats are disproportionately affected by these regulations as they need to walk long distances in order to look for shellfish. This, in addition to the many tasks that women have to accomplish for the functioning of their household, creates an impediment to look for and rapidly harvest animal protein and discourages women from carrying out this activity.

It is worth highlighting that in Timor-Leste 50% of children under 5 years of age are subjected to malnutrition, and chronic food insecurity affects 64% of the population during the dry season (Bonis-Profumo et al. 2020). Shellfish and other marine invertebrates represent a rich source of animal protein and provide micro-nutrients that can foster child development and food security and provide nutrition in Timor-Leste (Lopez-Angarita et al. 2019). The majority of women consulted within the framework of our project affirmed that, with the exception of the most commonly sold species such as *A. violascens* and three large species of gastropods

sought after for their shell and primarily harvested by men (see above), there are still plenty of edible molluscs on the island. One elderly woman in Akrema noted that when her husband passed away, she depended significantly on *Nerites* and other shellfish species to feed her four children. Both women and men affirmed that shellfish represent a unique source of food during periods of shortage and in times of rough seas.

Molluscan fisheries and cultural heritage

Molluscan fisheries have a long tradition on Atauro and are part of a system of cultural practices that deserve to be preserved and encouraged with as much emphasis as biodiversity. These fisheries play a crucial role in supporting interconnected food production systems, food security, nutrition and income (Grantham et al. 2021, Lopez-Angarita 2019, Tilley et al. 2020), as well as, in the establishment of social bonds and networks of non-commercial exchange (Grantham et al. 2020). Moreover, the diversity and abundance of shell middens and molluscan archaeological records scattered throughout the island are a testament to the importance that molluscan resources have played for the societies that have inhabited the island since at least 18000 years (Galipaud et al. 2016).

Women in Atauro display a high diversity of shellfishing techniques and traditional ecological knowledge related to molluscs. Whether the effects of their gleaning activities on coastal ecological process and biodiversity remain understudied, the traditional management practices carried in Atauro for millennia might have contributed in a way to support the diversity of marine species and well-preserved coral reefs observed today in the island (Brian et al. 2019, Conservation International 2016, Erdmann 2016). Indeed, marine invertebrates and intertidal habitats are vulnerable today to rapid social and ecological change (Grantham et al. 2021, Kim 2020, Tilley et al. 2020), but also cultural practices and local knowledge are vulnerable to new forms of marine resource management.

Nowadays, the involvement of local communities and their knowledge of natural resource management is fundamental to better understand changes in coastal ecosystems and to favour the sustainable use of wild species. It is now widely accepted that “effective conservation requires context-specific understandings of human interactions with, and conceptions of, nature” (Infield et al. 2018). Transdisciplinary research linking methods and approaches of anthropology, archaeology, ecology and geography are key to understand human-mollusc interactions in the long term and to support the development of alternative conservation models that take in account also the cultural heritage and social settings

of each locality (Burgos et al. 2019). In addition, local and scientific knowledge should complement each other to build adaptive strategies in the face of rapid change of coastal socio-ecosystems. To this end, it is crucial to develop coastal management frameworks where local people are included, not only in the collection of data, but also in the development of monitoring approaches and tools, in the analysis of data, and in the elaboration of recommendations and policies. Indeed, achieving this will require shifts towards institutional diversity at all levels of coastal management and governance.

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6. Coral Reef Management and *Tara Bandu* on Ataúro Island: an ecologist's perspective

Catherine JS Kim¹

Coral Reef Management and *Tara Bandu* on Ataúro Island: an ecologist's perspective

Coral reefs are among the most diverse and threatened ecosystems globally. Timor-Leste lies within the Coral Triangle, the epicenter of marine biodiversity. Coastal marine resources in the Coral Triangle, including coral reefs, provide significant economic and social benefits to the 360 million residents. As a coral ecologist working in Timor-Leste, it became apparent very quickly that the socio-economic and cultural aspects of Timorese society also affect the coral reefs. *Tara bandu* as a means of marine conservation is a relatively recent practice in Timor-Leste with the first *tara bandu* Locally Managed Marine Area (LMMA) implemented in Adara on the west coast of Ataúro Island in 2015. The community in Usubemassau, Beloi *suco* on the east coast followed suit establishing an LMMA on Haruina in July 2017. Here, *tara bandu* as a means of marine conservation on Ataúro Island was further investigated in 2019 to attempt to learn more about this movement in addition to identifying what these LMMAs were protecting ecologically. The two main aims of these LMMAs were 1) to preserve fisheries and 2) income generation from the “reef tax” fees received from tourists. The expansion of *tara bandu* LMMAs to the remaining island communities happened quickly over the next few years. However, the successes of the initial LMMAs were not necessarily transferrable to other communities. Challenges identified in achieving these goals ranged from geography to coordination with SCBUA dive operators. These issues plus potential impacts on the reef are further discussed.

Coral reefs. Timor-Leste. Coral Triangle. *Tara bandu*. Customary law. Marine conservation. Tourism. Socio-ecological systems. Sustainability.

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A Gestão dos Recifes de Coral e o *Tara Bandu* na Ilha de Ataúro: perspetiva de uma ecologista

Os recifes de coral estão entre os mais diversos e ameaçados ecossistemas do mundo. Timor-Leste situa-se no Triângulo de Coral, o epicentro da biodiversidade marinha. Os recursos marinhos costeiros no Triângulo de Coral, que incluem os recifes de coral, proporcionam benefícios sociais e económicos significativos a 360 milhões de residentes. Na qualidade de ecologista dos corais a trabalhar em Timor-Leste, tornaram-se evidentes para mim, de forma muito rápida, quais os aspetos socioeconómicos e culturais da sociedade Timorense que afetam os recifes de coral. A utilização do *tara bandu* como instrumento de conservação marinha é uma prática relativamente recente em Timor-Leste, com implementação da primeira Área Marítima Localmente Gerida (AMLG) por *tara bandu* em Adara, na costa oeste da ilha de Ataúro, em 2015. A comunidade de Usubemassau, no *suco* de Beloi, na costa leste da mesma ilha, seguiu-lhe os passos e, em Julho 2017, criou uma AMLG em Haruina. O *tara bandu* como instrumento de preservação marinha na ilha de Ataúro foi investigado em 2019 numa tentativa de conhecer melhor este movimento, bem como de identificar o que essas AMLG estavam a proteger em termos ecológicos. Dois dos principais objetivos dessas AMLG eram: 1) preservar as pescas e 2) gerar rendimentos derivados da “taxa do recife” que é paga pelos turistas. Nos anos seguintes, verificou-se uma rápida expansão das AMLG com *tara bandu* para outras comunidades na ilha. No entanto, o sucesso das primeiras AMLG não se transpôs automaticamente para essas outras comunidades. Os desafios identificados estendem-se desde aspetos geográficos à articulação com os operadores de expedições de mergulho. Esses aspetos, bem assim como os impactos nos recifes, são discutidos neste texto.

Recifes de coral. Timor-Leste. Triângulo de Coral. *Tara bandu*. Direito consuetudinário. Conservação marinha. Turismo. Sistemas sócio-ecológicos. Sustentabilidade.

Tau-matan ba ahu-ruin tasi no Tarabandu iha Ataúro: tuir ekolojista ida nia haree

Ahu-ruin tasi mak ida, hosi barak no oioin, hasouru susar iha mundu nia ekosistema. Timor-Leste iha “Triângulo de Coral” nia klaran fatin ne’ebé nakonu ho biodiversidade tasi nian. Rekursu hosi tasi-ibun iha “Triângulo de Coral”, ne’ebé sura ahu-ruin hirak hotu, nu’udar hun ida-ne’ebé di’ak hodi hatán ba presiza sosiál no ekonómiku ba ema hale’u 360 milaun iha mundu. Ha’u, nu’udar ekolojista ne’ebé hala’o knaar atu lehat ahu-ruin tasi iha Timor-Leste, haree-hetan katak, lalais de’it, lala’ok sósiu-ekonómiku no kulturál hosi sociedade timór kona todan ba ahu-ruin. Tarabandu nu’udar instrumentu ba konservasaun tasi nian maka hanesan hala’ok ida-ne’ebé foun no foin maka mosu iha Timor-Leste, ho área tasi ne’e iha ALMG nia mahon hodi taka tarabandu iha Adara, iha Ataúru nia sorin loromonu (2015). Komunitade hosi Usubemassau, Suku Beloi, sorin loromonu, haktuir sira-nia ain-fatin no harii mós ALMG ida iha Haruina (Jullu 2017). Iha-ne’e, hala’o tiha investigasaun ida hodi buka hatene saida loos maka Tarabandu, nu’udar instrumentu ba prezervasaun, hala’o, nomós identifika saida mak ALMG sori kona-ba ekolojia. Objektivu prinsipál rua hosi ALMG maka: 1) Rai no haburas peska no 2) kontrola osan ne’ebé buras hosi “taxa do recife” ne’ebé turista sira selu. Lalais-lalais ALMG buras ho di’ak no halekar hale’u rai-oan ne’ebá. Maibé, rohan di’ak ne’ebé ALMG uluk hetan la haktuir hanesan iha

komunidade seluk. Tatuur, identifika tiha susar ne'ebé sira-ne'e hasouru no aspetu balu maka lokál jeográfiku ne'ebé hasusar atu kompañia turizmu nian bele organiza lala'ok halimar hanesan nani no luku. Aspetu hirak-ne'e nomós impaktu ba ahu-ruin maka sei diskute iha testu ida-ne'e.

Ahu-ruin. Timor-Leste. Triángulu korál. Tara bandu. Direitu konsuetudináriu. Konservasaun tasi. Turizmu. Sistema sósiu-ekolójiku sira. Sustentabilidade.

Coral Reefs in Timor-Leste: current state and importance

Timor-Leste's coral reefs harbor a high degree of biodiversity as one of six member-states (Timor-Leste, Indonesia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, and the Solomon Islands) in the Coral Triangle, the global epicenter of marine biodiversity (Erdmann & Mohan, 2013; Veron et al., 2009). The 360 million residents of the Coral Triangle rely on these significant coastal marine ecosystems, including coral reefs, for economic and social benefits such as food, income, recreation, and culture (ADB, 2014). Ataúro Island is a small (140 km²) volcanically derived island 30 km north of the capital of Dili, Timor-Leste (Figure 1). The island has recently become a hub of tourism. The coral reef fish biodiversity on Ataúro Island was documented through a Rapid Assessment Program in 2016 on par with Bird's Head peninsula in Raja Ampat, West Papua, Indonesia the site of highest recorded marine biodiversity (Erdmann, 2016).

The country has had a reputation of having "pristine reefs" (Esters & Erdmann, 2012) however, recent analyses have indicated that a history of deforestation and subsistence-based livelihoods such as fishing and gleaning have impacted coral reefs (Erdmann, 2016; Kim et al., 2020; Sandlund et al., 2001). Gleaning is an important part of subsistence livelihoods and makes up a significant portion of fishers globally (Burgos, 2021; Grantham et al., 2021; Teh et al., 2013; Tilley et al., 2020). Impacts of regular gleaning have been posited from remotely sensed changes in reef composition (Andréfouët et al., 2013), but this area of research is understudied. While conducting previous fieldwork at four sites on Ataúro Island and the Dili area in 2015 and 2017, gleaning and fishing were observed to be much higher at Dili Rock versus other sites (Beloi, Cristorei, Be'hau; Figure 1). Dili Rock also had the lowest coral cover (< 5%) at 5 m depth which indicated that human population pressures facilitated by ease of access to marine resources resulted in more impacts to shallow coral reefs through increased fishing and gleaning (Kim et al., 2020).



Figure 1. Ataúro Island is approximately 30 km north of Dili, the capital of Timor-Leste. Three communities (Adara, Belo, and Vila) were investigated for *tara bandu* practices in marine conservation on Ataúro Island in 2019. Sites of previous coral surveys in 2015 and 2017 are also shown.

Across Timor-Leste, average coral cover (i.e., percentage of the benthos covered by live coral) was found to be low (15.0%) analyzing over 20,000 photoquadrats taken from kilometer-scale transects captured in 2014 (Kim, 2021). This estimate places coral cover in Timor-Leste lower than Indo-Pacific averages ranging from 22-24% from meta-analyses although there was very little data from Timor-Leste in these regional analyses (Bruno & Selig, 2007; Graham & Nash, 2013). Percent coral cover, however, was also highly variable ranging from 0.0-64.18% at the subtransect level with a maximum length of 100 m (Kim, 2021). This heterogeneity was also found through additional small-scale surveys at four sites (Belo, Cristorei, Dili Rock, and Be'hau) across two surveys in November 2015 and July 2017 (Figure 1; Kim et al., 2020).

Although Timor-Leste is not immune to the localized impacts that affect coral reefs, the marine environments along the north coast are a potential climate refugium in terms of ocean warming (Kim et al., 2020). This corroborates the country's inclusion as one of 50 global reef regions that are comparatively less vulnerable to the impacts of climate change from a global analysis. Thus, these 50 regions would have a high return on conservation investment (Beyer et al., 2018). As such, immediate conservation efforts in Timor-Leste should focus on mitigating local stressors to coral reefs such as sedimentation from land and overfishing.

Further understanding of the local social-ecological systems involved in marine conservation practices is essential to successful outcomes.

Research context and study objectives

Tara bandu (“to hang a prohibition”) customary ritual regulation of resources is a traditional means of land and resource tenure through the ritualized inscription of rules, prohibitions, and punishments for transgressions over an area (De Carvalho & Correia, 2011; Palmer, 2016; Yoder, 2007). Traditional practices such as *tara bandu* during the Indonesian occupation were largely repressed, but since independence, it has experienced a resurgence (McWilliam, 2003; Yoder, 2005). The process is very localized and the support and use of *tara bandu* by state, international development organizations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for resource management and development interests have demonstrated both positive negative effects (Mills & Tilley, 2017; Palmer & McWilliam, 2019; Shepard, 2013; Silva, 2017; Tilley et al., 2019). However, the use of these customary practices concerning coastal marine environments is less well understood (McWilliam, 2002; Población et al., 2016) with the first marine *tara bandu* designated in Beacou in 2012 (Mills & Tilley, 2017; Población et al., 2016). Implementation of *tara bandu* post-independence has been identified as a mechanism to promote environmental conservation and management (De Carvalho & Correia, 2011; Yoder, 2007). *Tara bandu* has since been diversified as a tool to address problems in other spheres such as social (i.e., pacification of youth gangs) and economic development (see Palmer, 2016; Silva, 2017).

On Ataúro Island, the focus of *tara bandu* appears to be on environmental conservation and economic gains. For the first marine *tara bandu* on the island in Adara, the management measures were developed over a period of 12 months with rules pertaining to general fishing practices and to the closure of the marine area adjacent to the tourism venture banning extractive activities such as fishing and gleaning (i.e., no-take). The community exploited its growing reputation as an off-the-beaten track tourism destination and established a \$1.50 USD “reef tax” for snorkelers and SCUBA divers entering the no-take locally managed marine area (LMMA; Mills & Tilley, 2017). An elected committee of three community members were responsible for the safekeeping of the raised fund until the community decides to publicly open the cash box and vote on communal projects to utilize the funds (Tilley et al., 2019). A set of incremental penalties were also established for rule breaking and the rules were formally recognized in a written document which was approved by the Pastor and local government departments. As

a Protestant community, a ribbon cutting ceremony and prayer was conducted in lieu of the traditional hanging ceremony for the formal *tara bandu* declaration supported by WorldFish. Over 200 people from Adara, neighboring communities, church authorities, government authorities, international organizations, and NGOs attended on May, 2016 (Mills & Tilley, 2017; Tilley et al., 2019).

Furthermore, a few weeks prior to the second coral reef survey in July 2017, the Beloi community had just implemented the Locally Managed Marine Area (LMMA) through *tara bandu* (Kim et al., 2020). A small fee was paid by the researchers to the community through the SCUBA dive operators to resurvey *Haruina* which was within the bounds of the LMMA. The goals of the LMMAs were perceived by the researcher to be as follows: 1) sustainable management of fisheries and 2) income generation from “reef tax” fees from tourists and tourism operators (i.e., SCUBA diving businesses). The focus of this paper is to further investigate the use of *tara bandu* customary law as a means of marine conservation on Ataúro Island. The financial goal is largely dependent on the LMMA raising enough funds through tourism to offset any loss of access to the protected marine resource. Although this can be achieved as demonstrated in Adara, reliance on tourism can be risky and building resilience into social-ecological systems to compensate for disruptions such as slow tourism years and COVID-19 travel restrictions is imperative (King et al., 2021).

The aims of the work presented here were two-fold. First, to investigate *tara bandu* as a means of marine conservation on Ataúro Island and explore its connections to the development of tourism on the island. For ecological purposes, marine protected areas are implemented to conserve marine habitats and resources. As the *tara bandu* LMMAs appear to encompass both environmental and economic goals, the second aim was to characterize the marine habitats found within and adjacent to these LMMA zones to determine the condition of the habitats the LMMAs were protecting.

Study Site

The presented study was undertaken during fieldwork from mid-July through mid-October of 2019. Three communities were targeted to learn more about *tara bandu* on Ataúro Island: Adara, Beloi, and Vila (Figure 1). Interviews were conducted with key community members to gain insights into the implementation of *tara bandu* and potential effects. Visual surveys of the LMMAs and adjacent habitats were observed in each community. Views from observations and interactions with SCUBA dive operators that frequent the island were also solicited.

Implementation of *Tara Bandu*

Adara, on the west side of the island, was the flagship community in implementing a no-take LMMA through *tara bandu* on Ataúro on May 13th, 2016 following 12 months of community consultation (Mills & Tilley, 2017; Tilley et al., 2019). Subsequently, Beloi and Vila established similar MPAs through *tara bandu* in 2017 and 2018, respectively. By the end of 2019, almost all communities (12 total) on Ataúro had implemented *tara bandu* LMMAs supported by Conservation International Timor-Leste. The exponential increase in the creation of these LMMAs does not bode well for the proper consultation concerning the unique geographic settings of each community. The quick implementation after the first few LMMAs was likely spurred by the initial success of the original MPAs. After nine months of establishing a 1.50 USD “reef tax” for snorkeling and diving within Adara’s LMMA, the community-generated 1,500 USD for the community fund (Mills & Tilley, 2017). This fund was a significant economic benefit for the community funding a kindergarten and development of the piped water infrastructure (Tilley et al., 2019).

Several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have also been involved in this process of LMMA designation. The Adara community has had a working relationship with WorldFish prior to 2012 (Mills & Tilley, 2017). A key community member, “Super” Mario Gomes, was essential as a community liaison as a part-time employee of WorldFish. He also worked at the main guesthouse Barry’s Place in Beloi and instigated the development of the successful guesthouse in Adara (M. Gomes personal communication, August 28th, 2019). Adara also had a steady stream of SCUBA diving tourists as the west coast was frequented by Compass Boating & Diving (henceforth Compass) who maintained accommodation in Adara until 2019. However, there are plans to re-open the Adara accommodations in late 2021 (S. Haron, personal communication, August 30th, 2019). The implementation of the Adara LMMA through *tara bandu* was largely a community-driven process (Mills & Tilley, 2017). The community of Vila is home to the NGO, Roman Luan, established by a local Avelino Fernandes. Roman Luan is partnered with the Coral Triangle Center and this partnership of NGOs has proposed a management plan for the Ataúro Island LMMAs (CTC Admin, 2019). Conservation International has also been active in marine conservation on the island since 2015 and indicates on their website as contributing to the setup of a system of LMMAs (Price, 2019). Clearly, there are competing interests between these NGOs in declaring the establishment of LMMA networks.

Characterization of marine habitats

Like the previous sites which were the focus of coral surveys, the marine habitats adjacent to these villages (Adara, Beloi, Vila) were unique in composition. The two sides of the island experience seasonally variable wind and wave patterns. The west side of the island is characterized by gently sloping intertidal and reef flat zones which drop to near-vertical walls to great depths approximately 150 m offshore. The reef flat in front of Adara (inside the no-fishing LMMA) was shockingly bare akin to pavement (Figure 2). Moving north and south outside of the LMMAs there was an increased cover of corals and soft corals. Although this was initially counter-intuitive, the environments closest to the community were likely most heavily used for fishing and gleaning before the establishment of the no-take LMMA. Additionally, this area was likely heavily impacted by the daily dragging in of fishing boats and associated trampling. Since the implementation of the LMMA, boat traffic has been redirected to the north of the LMMA.

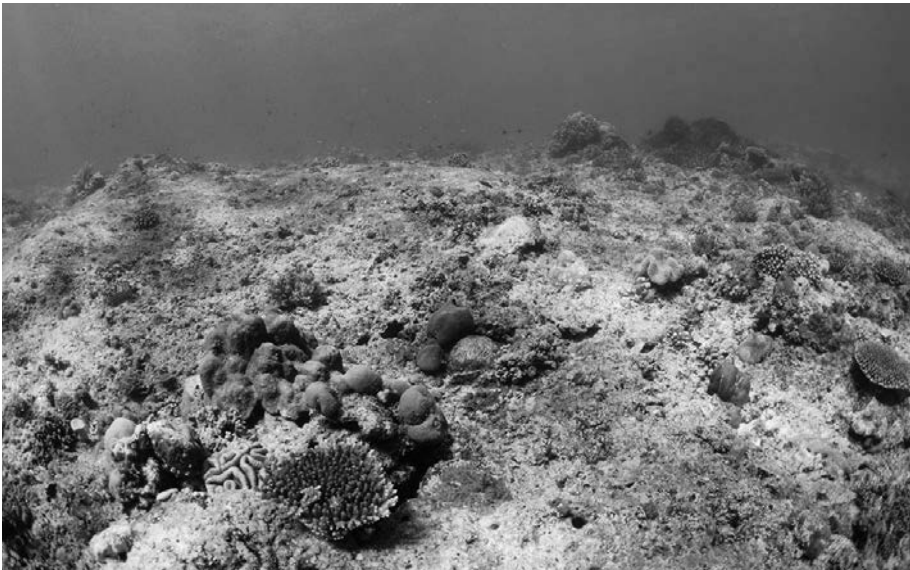


Figure 2. Reef flat edge in Adara characterized by bare consolidated pavement rock with sparse coverage of small corals.

In Vila, there were extensive seagrass beds for 100-150 m perpendicular to shore which transitions to shallow coral reefs sloping into deeper waters about 250 m offshore. The shallow reefs are dominated by massive corals such as *Porites* spp. (Figure 3). There is a well-known guesthouse and restaurant in the community, but the marine tourism activities are largely focused in Beloi.



Figure 3. Reef flat offshore of Vila characterized by massive corals and soft corals.



Figure 4. High coral cover reef flat of Haruina offshore of Beloi dominated by tabulate Acroporids.
Photo: F. Ryan 2017.

Beloi is the hub of the island with the ferry from Dili arriving twice a week on Thursdays and Saturdays. *Haruina*, the reef directly in front of the community, is a barrier reef detached from shore by the channel serving as a conduit for boat traffic which differentiates it from most other reefs on Ataúro and in-country. The areas directly in front of the beach are barren and rubbly which is likely

a consequence of swimming and boat traffic. Only ~350 m from shore, *Haruina* is likely one of the most pristine sites in the country in terms of the coral community. The reef has high coral cover (~ 50%) dominated by tabulate Acroporids which was not found at the other three sites from the previous coral surveys (Kim et al., 2020) or in Adara and Vila (Figure 4).

Challenges of implementing Tara Bandu MPAs

There are several SCUBA dive operators based in or that frequent Beloi on the east coast (Dive Timor Lorosa'e, Atauro Dive Resort, Beloi Beach Hotel, Blue Ventures, Compass) and one operator who frequents Adara on the west side of the island (Compass). Conservation International has been leading discussions with the dive operators in the creation of a payment system for bringing tourists to the LMMA zones. Sitting in on one of these discussions, the general attitude of the diver operators toward the user-fee model was overall acceptance and compliance although frustrations in dealing with additional fees on already tight operating costs were observed.

The new LMMA zones also caused a degree of conflict between dive operators and communities. Namely, communities that previously did not receive dive tourists suddenly had a vested interest in having visitors with the implementation of user-pays LMMAs. These communities inquired to dive operators as to why they were not utilizing the community LMMAs and thus bringing in tourism dollars when the dive operators generally did not visit these sites previously. There were also questions from the operators as to who counted in needing to pay the reef tax. For example, were foreign dive staff and Timorese staff required to pay for every usage in the LMMA? Inclusion of staff would result in greater expenses for the businesses. In general, all community members seemed to be subject to the "reef tax" for usage of the *tara bandu* LMMAs (Burgos, 2021). The relationship between the SCUBA operators and communities was observed to be good overall. However, occasional conflicts have occurred between parties such as accusations of dive operators cutting *burbur* fish trap lines (R. Grantham, personal communication, September 23rd, 2019).

Compass is the main business that reliably brings divers to Atauro from Dili on day trips and has accommodation in Beloi and formerly in Adara. The northern and southernmost parts of the island can have dangerous diving conditions during parts of the year which dissuades dive tourism; additionally, traveling from Dili to the northern end of the island where there are now LMMAs also represents increased time and fuel costs for the business. As such, not all communi-

ties are geographically situated to bring in tourism dollars through a user-pays model. Details such as the billing (annual, quarterly, etc.), accounting (fees applying for tourists only or also staff), and disbursement (communities receive a cut proportional to the number of visitors, equal portions, etc.) of LMMA fees were being discussed in meetings with dive operators toward the end of 2019. A blog post dated October 22nd, 2019 on the Conservation International website indicates that an annual fee between the Ataúro LMMA network and the dive operators has been negotiated (Price, 2019). Positive interactions between dive operators and communities were also observed during fieldwork such as the translation of diver feedback surveys for dissemination to the communities. SCUBA dive operators are important players in building the capacity of Timorese in the marine tourism industry and often employ Timorese boating and diving staff. Operators also invest in SCUBA diving training of Timorese staff where typical dive certifications often cost more than 500 USD with multiple levels of training. The ongoing communication and cooperation between the LMMA network on Ataúro Island and tourism businesses are essential.

Sustainable marine tourism has been extensively promoted as a priority for economic development in the country by the State, international organizations such as the US Agency for International Development's Tourism For All Project, and NGOs with a special focus on Ataúro Island. This commitment was demonstrated by the launch of the Marine Tourism Association in August of 2019. Outside of utilizing SCUBA dive and tour businesses, clear communication of the Ataúro Island LMMA network and payment processes is essential. From personal experience, the process of how much, who, and where to pay for recreating in LMMA zones as a tourist was not transparent. Easy processes of fee payment (payment boxes, through accommodation, etc.) are essential for tourists recreating in LMMA zones independently (not through SCUBA operators) and clear communication of these processes upon arrival, online, etc. is warranted.

The future of *Tara Bandu* MPAs, marine conservation, and tourism

At a country-scale, tourism was already substantially affected in 2019 due to the elimination of one of three international flights into the country (Rose, 2019). The resulting increase in flight prices resulted in a drop in tourism across all sectors which was felt by diver operators, accommodations, homestays, and the wider community throughout 2019. This was, of course, before the advent of COVID-19 which effectively shut down travel globally. The full extent to which the shutting of national borders and diminished tourism will have in Timor-Leste

and marine tourism is yet to be known. Further research on the efficacy of *tara bandu* as a means of marine conservation is warranted especially with the unprecedented impacts of COVID-19. Already, only a year later it has been reported that the community of Vila has decided to discontinue the LMMA (S. Haron, personal communication, March 3rd, 2021). Although the cause is unknown at this time, it is hypothesized that the funds from the LMMA “reef tax” were not enough to warrant the loss of fishing from the same area. The slow tourism year of 2019 plus ongoing COVID-19 travel bans in 2020 and 2021 likely contributed. Reports from other regions indicate that fisheries management and marine conservation measures funded through tourism are at risk with decreased tourism and there are greater fishing pressures as local communities turn back to traditional fishing for sustenance (Greenfield & Muiruri, 2020; MPA News, 2021; Vyahare, 2020). The impacts of these LMMAs such as the equitable distribution of raised funds despite unequal opportunities for tourism warrant further investigation.

As an ecologist, the LMMA network on Ataúro Island provides an excellent opportunity to document whether eliminating fishing and gleaning pressure contributes to the recovery of coastal marine habitats through comparing inside and outside of no-take LMMAs. The three LMMAs investigated protect three different coastal habitat types. However, the ecological benefits will only manifest if these LMMAs persist on the order of decades. Other management options such as fishing limits or seasonal closures opposed to no-take LMMAs should also be explored to continue community access to marine resources with protection measures.

Tara bandu as a means of marine conservation in Timor-Leste is a prime example of a novel and necessary approach to the future management of coral reefs involving communities in the designation, governance, and financial gain of natural resource protection; however, care must be taken into customizing the model given the unique environmental and social dynamics of any community. Building the capacity of locals to lead these economic and ecological decisions should also be a priority. Finally, as demonstrated by the COVID-19 disruptions and increasingly uncertain environmental future, building resilience in both ecological and social systems is imperative (Williams et al., 2019). The development of interdisciplinary approaches assessing both social and ecological impacts and outcomes is needed in Timor-Leste and globally.

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7. The reproduction of capitals in contemporary Timor-Leste: a study on the production of Atauro's statues for the *merkado turístiku*

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The reproduction of capitals in contemporary Timor-Leste: a study on the production of Atauro's statues for the *merkado turístiku*

This article presents the dynamics of engagement of part of the Makili artisans, and their knowledge, in the production for the *merkado turístiku*, based on my experience with the artisan Mr. Marcos Pacheco, whom I followed in 2017 during the field. I use the theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Claude Meillassoux to frame my points. The analysis will allow us to reflect on the impacts that the production for the *merkado* has generated in the dynamics of the distribution of domestic work, mainly for women; how participation in the market economy and the acquisition of economic capital are not disconnected from other local economic logics, such as the gift; and, finally, on how this monetary value received from the sale has also enabled changes between the value of school “modern” knowledge and local knowledge.

Capital Conversions. Atauro's Statues. Domestic Production. Gender Inequality. Gift Economy.

A reprodução de capitais no Timor-Leste contemporâneo: um estudo sobre a produção de estátuas de Atauro para o *merkado turístiku*

Este artigo apresenta a dinâmica de engajamento de parte dos artesãos de Makili, e de seus saberes, na produção para o *merkado turístiku*, a partir da minha experiência com o artesão Sr. Marcos Pacheco, o qual acompanhei em 2017 durante o campo. Utilizo as teorias de Pierre Bourdieu e Claude Meillassoux para enquadrar a exposição. A análise nos permitirá refletir sobre os impactos que a produção para o *merkado* tem gerado na dinâmica de distribuição do trabalho doméstico, principalmente para as mulheres; como a participação na economia de mercado e aquisição de capital econômico não estão desconec-

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tadas de outras lógicas econômicas locais, como a da dádiva; e, por fim, como esse valor monetário recebido da venda também tem possibilitado mudanças entre o valor do conhecimento “moderno” escolar e do conhecimento local.

Conversão de Capital. Estátuas de Ataúro. Produção Doméstica. Desigualdade de Gênero. Economia de Dádiva.

Haburas kapitál ohin loron iha Timor-Leste: estudu kona-ba produsaun estatua hosi Ataúro ba merkadu turístiku

Artigu ida-ne'e hatada banati hosi arte-na'in sira iha Makili, no sira-nia matenek, kona-ba produsaun ba merkadu turistik, hahú hosi ha'u-nia esperiênsia ho arte-na'in ida ho naran Sr Marcos Pacheco, ne'ebé ha'u akompañia hori tinan 2017. Ha'u dulas ho teoria hosi Pierre Bourdieu no Claude Meillassoux hodi bele hatada espozisaun ne'e. Análize ne'e fó biban atu reflete kona-ba impaktu ne'ebé produsaun ba merkadu lori ba fahe knaar iha uma, liuliu iha fetu sira nia leet; tanba atu hola parte iha ekonomia merkadu nian no foti kapitál ekonómiku la'ós buat foun ba lójika ekonómika lokál, hanesan mós ba dádiva; no, ikusliu, valór monetáriu ne'ebé manán liuhosi fa'an loke dalan atu matenek “modernu” no matenek lokál bele lisuk hamutuk.

Haburas kapitál. Estatua sira hosi Ataúro. Produsaun doméstika. Desigualdade Jéneru. Economia Dádiva.

Walking through the tourist places of Dili, it is not hard to find young and old men selling sculptures and other wooden handicrafts that are original from Makili, the *suku* of the Administrative Post of the island of Ataúro, which is 25 kilometers away from the capital. Considered to be Atauro's *kultura*² representative artifacts by government agents and by the own community, these pieces are seen as very attractive to tourists, especially foreigners, and are promoted by the State, as it can be seen in the Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan (SDP) (Timor-Leste, 2011, p. 152). The originated economic capital from their sales has been an important element to the livelihood and social reproduction of the families that hold the expertise in the production of the statues.

In present-day Atauro, while the art of sculpting, alongside other techniques³, is becoming increasingly shaped by the interests of the *merkado turístiku*, its roots are related to the local spiritual beliefs and to the logic of the gift (Mauss, 2003). According to Barkmann (2017), statues have an important role in connecting and

2. Instead of culture, I use the spelling “*kultura*”, in tetum language, when it is referring to the native use of the term, anchored on Kelly Silva's analytical proposal (2014). The same applies to the terms *merkado* (market), *merkadoria* (commodity) and *merkado turístiku* (tourist market).

3. As in wickerwork and ceramics.

maintaining relationships to ancestors, being essential to the protection of groups and their holy spaces and being parts of different community rituals. These artifacts are also related to the Houses – or *lisans* –, a local social institution that defines belonging and will be further explained.

In this paper, I seek to present the dynamic of the production of Makili's sculptor families and their consumption, which is enabled by sales. I expect to contribute to the field of analysis of the potential impacts of this effort on the transformation of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) into economic capital through the engagement with the *merkado turístiku*. This matter can be well-understood through the experience I had with the domestic unit⁴ of the artisan Marcos Pacheco and its various members at the time of my field research, in 2017. This traditional knowledge of Makili has been one of the means to provide access to higher education for young people, especially in Dili. The Timor-Leste SDP 2011-2030 points out education as a pillar for development and suggests a package to increase the enrollment on every level of education.

In this manner, I would like to anticipate the three main points that I intend to show here⁵: there have been some changes in the division of household labor, as well as impacts on the way women are involved and needed at home; the economic capital from this cultural production is mainly used, inserted and reproduced within the logic of the gift exchange, providing cultural and social capital to the artisan (Mauss, 2003); and the exchange circle of capitals made possible by the sale of cultural artifacts has changed the value of local and modern school knowledge and has had some impacts on women's future expectations.

This article is divided into four parts. In the next section, I offer a brief report on the general aspects of Atauro and Makili with some statistical data available. Secondly, I present the theoretical and methodological framework to contextualize the reading. Next, Mr. Marcos Pacheco's domestic unit is presented, focusing on their engagement with the *merkado turístiku* and following their economic capital investments. Here, I provide some description of the house, the family members, and the domestic routines. I also add interviews with other artisans on the same topics. Finally, I return to the points discussed throughout the article.

In Timor-Leste, I took an interest in the topic of women's engagement in the market, through agriculture and/or cultural objects production, to increase their

4. I prefer the term domestic unit due to the realization that the stay and the circulation of people in the domestic space of Makili did not follow those of what we usually understand as a family.

5. I am very grateful for the review. The analysis, besides being very well done, helped me highlight and organize my ideas in a better structure.

economic capital⁶. I visited Atauro several times and settled my field work there, staying mostly in Beloi and following the activities of some NGOs. I also attended some classes at the National University of East Timor (UNTL) in Dili since the funding program that supported my research included attending university activities.⁷

At the UNTL, I met student Ingracia Pereira, who is originally from Makili. Upon posting a picture of her and me on her Facebook page, she found out that I had already met her brother-in-law, Marcos Pacheco, in Beloi, Atauro, a few months prior, and invited me to meet her community on the Matebian holiday. Thus, from October onwards, I travelled to Makili more often, following the household routine of Pacheco's family. Easily, I noticed that his involvement in this routine was quite difficult because of the high demand from tourists of the statues as souvenirs.

At the end of this paper, I hope to indicate which paths are being built, and made possible, with the economic transformation in Atauro nowadays. To engage in the market-oriented production also means to be away from a part of the domestic duties, and, consequently, overcharge other members, especially women and the youth of families. The economic capital from the *merkado turístiku* is enabling the access to higher education for youths, i.e the conversion of goods into social and cultural capital to those involved. And, since the acquisition of a university degree is highly valued in the project of transforming Timor-Leste into a developed, strong and prosperous nation – as presented in the SDP 2011 – most of young people, alongside their families, are opting to go to Dili to invest in education. I expect to develop those ideas from now on.

Mauss inspires me through his study about the existence of a different economic logic that orientates exchanges: the system of giving, receiving and reciprocating, i.e the gift economy. Different from the market-based logic, the *lisan* can be understood as an institution that functions by the means of gifts. Thus, the intertwining of Mauss's (2003) theory of gift economics and Bourdieu's (1986) of other types of capital broadens our understanding of how and why many people engage in the *merkado's* dynamics.

Also, I found that part of the analysis of Meillassoux (1973) was an interesting way to discuss the productive organization of Marcos Pacheco. From the French Anthropologist's reflection on the social organization and productive relation of

6. During my whole field work in Timor-Leste, I have divided my time between the projects/NGOs in Atauro and Dili. In the capital, I visited other offices, projects, and tried to be aware of the main highlights made by women involved in other NGOs projects about the economic empowerment of women.

7. All data being used here were collected through two main methods: interviews with artisans, mostly suggested by Marcos Pacheco; and participant observation.

peasantry in West Africa, I suggest that we focus only on the following dimension of his analysis: the centrality of kinship to social organization and reproduction and to economic production relations. Even knowing that the context studied by Meillassoux (1973) is different from the context of Timor-Leste, his observations on the economy of the peasantry have some similarities with what I found in Timor. I share with Meillassoux (1973) the understanding of how intertwined kinship and power are when it comes to the control of the decisions in peoples' lives and their investments using capitals of the domestic unity. For that reason, "the social reproduction of the community is consequently a political endeavor and not a natural process" (p. 85).

Bourdieu (1986, as cited in Pret et al., 2015) has inspired me to better understand the conversion of capital that is taking place in the contexts of families producing *merkadoria turística* and what kind of change in knowledge networks is progressing in current-day East Timor. He expanded the concept of capitals and their reproduction, which are four: economic, symbolic, social, and cultural⁸. They are all related to power and its transmission. I expect to contribute to the conversions of capital studies, mainly in contexts where market-oriented economy is being built through national and international efforts and in dialogues with other forms of economy. I intend to expand the view on capitals and their possible conversions.

Part of the Central Touristic Zone in the SDP of Timor-Leste (2011), Atauro island is understood, locally and internationally, as one of the most important biodiverse marine environments of the world, which prompted different agents (national and international) to make huge efforts to promote the protection of the island's resources. Because of that, the island usually receives a number of tourists and researchers willing to better know its geography and also its material culture. Most of the time, the material culture is purchased in the form of souvenirs, which include the statues from Makili⁹.

8. I used the study of Pret et al (2015) as a guide to learn more about Bourdieu's theory of practices and its capital definition. The first image of the article explains the forms of capitals regarding their review about entrepreneurship literature on capitals and their conversions. It is presented in a circle format with an arrow indicating the direction: the economic capital (income, savings, intellectual property and tangible business assets) are being exchanged into social capital (membership in societies, relations, networks and alliances), that can be exchanged into symbolic capital (awards, trophies, diplomas, publicity, reputation and prestige), that also can be exchanged into cultural capital (personal dispositions, cultural goods, skills and education).

9. I only realized and confirmed the importance of tourists to the local artisans when Marcos Pacheco told me, several times, that during the pandemic, tourism rate intensely decreased and he was not producing them as usual. This had a huge impact on his income. The prices of the statues would differ depending on the model and size. I observed that artisans would gener-

In general, agriculture and fishing are two activities that have a wide involvement of the population, as well as some animal breeding, which is all mainly for domestic consumption, whereas few domestic units carry out a market-oriented production. I could only find the employment rate of Dili, where Atauro is located, since it is an Administrative Post of Dili. This number in 2016 (Timor-Leste, 2016) was 42.9% (not very different from the whole country's number of 42%). About 15.4% of East Timor's population was enrolled into a university (15.9% of women and 14.9% of men) in 2014 (Timor-Leste, 2014)¹⁰. Focusing on Makili, despite of the difficulty in finding precise data, the census from 2015 shows that less than 10% of young people attended university or held a degree. While the access to higher education is limited in Timor, in Makili it is even narrower.

In terms of monetary income, my findings from interviews and talks are that public service is one of its main sources. Other ways of independent paid work include fishing, tourist activities and cultural handicraft, which is mostly made through the participation in groups of cultural production, such as Boneca de Atauro (Atauro's Doll in Portuguese language)¹¹. These two last forms are intrinsically connected to the demand of tourist and international markets, which is bolstered by international researchers and foreign workers in international cooperation projects¹². Although the income derived from these orders is low when compared to the average income in Dili, it has an important impact on starting to open other possibilities of access and investments¹³.

The economic capital is also used to buy daily food and to comply with the rituals prestations. To this last point, it is important to take into account one of the main social institutions in East Timor: Houses and their logic of the gift-exchange

ally charge between 15 and 30 dollars per statue. Since foreign tourists usually have more access to money, I assume that, during the high season, sculptors would sell between 50 and 100 dollars per week.

10. In 7 years, the Gross Enrollment Rate at national level in the tertiary level increased from 6.3% to 15.4%, according to Government data. Available in <<https://statistics.gov.tl/sei/t/education/gross-enrollment-rate-ger/dynamic-table>><https://statistics.gov.tl/sei/t/education/gross-enrollment-rate-ger/dynamic-table/gross-enrollmenat-rate-ger/at-national-level/2007-2014>. Access in March 2021.

11. Boneca de Atauro has been operating for more than a decade in the island with the goal to provide some economic capital for women and stimulate the sewing knowledge. For more, access: <https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/boneca-de-atauro--4#/>.

12. They have made great efforts to increase the conversion of local cultural capital (skills) into economic capital as a way of fighting poverty, inequality, gender violence, etc. Thus, most of the artifacts are sold as a cultural heritage and a way of empowering communities. Empreza Diak is a project that represents this dynamic well. For more, access: www.empreza-diak.com. <https://empreza-diak.com/>

13. According to the Ministry of Finance (2014), 30,3% of East-Timor's population live below the international poverty line – less than US\$1.90 per person, per day.

(Mauss, 2003). Houses are institutions that are reproduced mainly by reciprocal and asymmetrical exchanges and in which kinship – consanguinity and affinity – operates to define belonging (Fox, 1993). Through marriage and its prestations, Houses seal their alliances, which are reinforced and renewed by gifts and the exchange of goods at different times and stages of life (Silva, 2016). The sealing of a matrimony is not something individual nor sporadic, it is a connection between two (and more) Houses – or *lisan* – and means that exchanges are not an exclusive responsibility of the domestic units that are directly involved in the matrimony, but of the whole group contributing to the required payment, who also capitalizes on the returns¹⁴.

Commonly, the *lisan* to which the woman belongs is in a position of credit with the *lisan* of the man¹⁵. This does not mean that only the man's *lisan* will have to contribute to the rituals and other expenses of the *lisan* of his in-laws' group. But in either case, the economic capital becomes important in complying with a few prestations¹⁶, as marriages and other rituals involved in this logic of the gift are grounds for important expenditure on the part of the groups¹⁷, such as providing education for the younger in current-days.

My intention in demonstrating how the Houses work and how central it is to a part of East Timorese people is to show how the economic capital also circulates in a gift logic that promotes capital's conversions of a different nature. Marcos has always emphasized how much of the money was destined for university education, especially for the youngsters from Tomásia Pacheco's *lisan*. To be in a university, or to have a relative in such a space, has increasingly been a factor that brings prestige and that has brought new dynamics and negotiations to the local social organization. By investing in the rituals and members of a *lisan*, many expect to gain social, cultural and, sometimes, symbolic capital.

14. Except for those who adopted Protestantism as their religion, the rest of the people of Makili belongs to and engages in a *lisan*. Catholicism might be one of the main religions practiced in East Timor, but in Atauro the reality is different: Protestantism is the dominant religion in the island. The Catholic church is a stronger institution only in Villa, Makadade and Makili, in which 81% of the population declare themselves as Catholic (Bicca 2011).

15. A *lisan* who is in a favored position with another, due to a marriage, may be in an unfavorable position in relation to a third *lisan* due to another alliance.

16. For example, in the case of matrimony, the groups must acquire *tais* (a traditional fabric) and *surik* (a traditional sword). It is usually necessary to spend around 150 to 200 dollars. Moreover, the marriage festivities usually involve a large number of preparations, food, rental of a table, chair and sound equipment, among other expenses.

17. It is important to realize that the terms and rules applied here work better as prototypes, since they are institutions that are constantly changing. The dynamic here is diverse, depending on the place where people live and the history of the relation to colonization and capitalism expansion.

During an interview with Leonardo, Marcos's brother, he told me how the flourishing of the *merkado turístiku*-oriented statue production started¹⁸ during the time of the Indonesian occupation. However, that was not enough to make the art of sculpting as diffuse as it is today. As shown by Barrckmann (2017), the adoption of Catholicism changed the engagement of the population to this production considerably not only in Makili, but in different regions of East Timor. Her studies show that the practice of sculpting is rooted in the need to reinforce bonds with the founding ancestors of Atauro¹⁹.

It was only after the rise of tourist interest in acquiring these statues as representative objects of "Atauro's *kultura*" that the interest in this production (re) emerged. Both Marcos and Leonardo remarked that they only became interested in learning these production techniques from their uncle, Mr. Antônio, at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, when East Timor started attracting an increasing number of foreigners. That was also why Marcos' brother-in-law, Alcino, wanted to learn the art of sculpting from him²⁰. The demand for souvenirs and the emergence of these statues in the international art market were important elements in the "revival" of this knowledge (Barrckmann, 2017).

Today, the required knowledge to sculpt is already diversified. The main change regards the coloring process of statues. Currently many sculptors use paint to color the statues²¹, but formerly the smoking process, in which the already molded statues were smoked on the surface where they were cooked, was the sole responsible for toning them. The smoke stemming from the cooking process colors the statues and leaves them with a less "artificial" tone. In Marcos' production, he does not use paint and always stresses that the quality of the models made through the traditional knowledge (cultural capital) is better and attracts greater tourist interest.

Apart from the days when Marcos works at Barry's Place in Beloi, he focuses mainly on statue production. Sunday mornings are reserved for Church, or rituals²², and agriculture, which are other activities that prevent Marcos from sculpting. Else, I would find him always producing with his *katana*, his cigarette, and

18. The production of wooden artifacts, such as statues, is a homemade manly craft.

19. The act of worshipping ancestors through statues has the direct goal of "keeping the cosmic balance and thanking for life, searching for protection and ensuring the fertility of groups, crops and of the sea, on which they depend" (Barrckman, 2017, p. 16).

20. Alcino lives in Dili and also helps his parents and his siblings with the revenues from the sale of statues.

21. Leonardo informed me that the paint came up as an option because, at the time of the referendum, when they would sell the statues mainly while walking through Dili, the rain would often ruin and decolor the smoked statues, whereas paint would stay.

22. Marcos' participation in the rituals was not usual. Sometimes I would see Tomásia heading alone towards these spaces, explaining that Marcos needed to work.

his coffee. He informed me that his participation in agricultural activities was even reduced due to his work with the statues, and sometimes he paid an amount of money so that someone else would perform this job for him and Tomásia.

They have seven children: one child in non-school age, three in primary school and three in secondary school. It was common to have one of Marcos' female cousins or sisters-in-law splitting their time between their own households and Marcos', in order to help. In everyday observations and talks with Tomásia, I realized the great importance her presence had in caring for their children and their household while Marcos worked. She usually reinforced to me that, despite wanting to do so, she was not able to work in cultural production groups, as other women, because of all the things that were under her responsibility.²³ Therefore, the move of young people to Dili to invest in their university studies is a potential destabilizer for the domestic division of labor. Thus, in the short term, we can presume that the time spent to produce for the *merkado* means the overcharge of other members of the house, especially women.

The investment made in education holds the expectation that the social mobility of the young investment recipient may generate further capitals to the Houses and to next generations. It is because of that, I presume, that Mrs. Tomásia accepts to be in an overload position at home. Every time we commented on the investments made from the statues, the main element mentioned was the higher education of Ingracia and her brother, Lúcio, who were both studying in Dili at the time of my research. Marcos also mentioned that he helped his other brother-in-law, João, financially, but João did not finish his studies due to the fact that his future wife became pregnant.

He firmly affirmed that he did not expect to get the returns on his investments, but that was bad because studies are currently an important way of improving one's life and that he actually hoped that these young people could later help his children when they reach school age. It was upon hearing about this case that I realized how seriously Marcos took this kind of investment. I understood that the economic capital that came from the sales in the *merkado turístiku* was not informed by an individualistic and capitalist logic of capital accumulation. It was more bounded by the economic logic of the *lisan* both because the return-on-investment time concerned a long-term investment and because it was one of his duties to share his economic capital with his wife's *lisan*²⁴.

23. Since the execution of domestic work is shared mainly between people who live in the household, the move of young people – both men and women – to Dili with the aim to further their studies has a significant impact on everyday responsibilities.

24. On many occasions, Tomásia told me that Ingracia would ask for her help, but that she in fact should speak directly to Marcos, since he was responsible for part of her expenses in Dili.

Leonardo and other craftsmen reported to me that they paid for the education of some of their siblings-in-law as well. In the Annual Fair of the Alola Foundation in Dili, I interviewed two men from Makili that were there selling statues. They were part of a group made of brothers, brother-in-law, and cousin. The youngest of them was not an artisan. He studied at the UNTL and, in exchange for the economic support received from the artisans, he would help them by selling the statues. He was part of the *lisan* of one of the wives of the artisans.

On the other side, talking to the students at UNTL, I observed how important it was for their family to have other capitals, besides money, to send them to Dili. Alliances can be put on the scene to provide at least accommodation and some food to the students. I visited other female students in their homes in Dili and realized that most of them were living with and being supported by their relatives (uncle, brothers, cousins etc). Ingracia and Lúcio, on the other hand, were not living with any relatives. Each of them rented a room from people who did not belong to their family and received money from Marcos and Alcino to pay for the costs²⁵, as their parents did not have other resources. The economic capital can be a form of provision for when alliances (social capital) are not available. And the *lisans* relations are an important source to get economic capital.

In the dynamic of ritual exchanges between Houses, the man's *lisan* is often in debt with the woman's *lisan*, which gives the latter more bargaining power in ritual and exchanges decisions. But, as Marcos Pacheco has an uncommon access to money, he is in a position of being able to provide economic capital for the needs of his in-laws, such as the costs of a higher education in Dili. Thereby, this may suggest to us that this engagement with the *mercado* and the use of the money within the logic of the gift, for men, has allowed them to transform the relations put forward by the dynamic of the Houses.

To finalize this section, I would like to reinforce here the potential impacts on women's expectations made by the possibility of studying in Dili. In a place where women's social and urban mobility is quite different and less intense than men's, the journey to live in Dili is a challenge and a desired experience for most young women. Natália (16 years old), Tomásia's younger sister, which was always in Marcos' house when I was there without Ingracia, informed me that she would also like to attend university, especially in Dili, since there were few opportunities in Makili besides homecare and she would like to increase her knowledges.

In this brief article, I sought to expose how the engagement to statue production has been making new social arrangements possible. One of the indications

25. The annual fee at UNTL, the monthly rental, the school supplies, the *pulsa* – for internet, messaging and calls –, the transport, the daily food, etc.

is the comprehension of how the need of time apart from everyday household from Marcos is a greater overload for Tomásia's responsibilities. That fact is not unprecedented, and there are reports, such as the one made by OXFAM (2020), on the time for necessary care, that shows how, statistically speaking, there is an unpaid domestic work that is mostly taken over by women. Tomásia did not report to me any dissatisfaction due to this imbalance in the household management, but was aware of it, since she stressed how her presence in the house was essential to allow Marcos' engagement in the circulation of the *merkado turístiku*.

The second relevant fact indicated here regards the types of conversions made with the money. Marcos' financial participation in the university studies of many of Tomásia's siblings is high and I understood that the investment he was making with this money was informed by a logic of long-term return-on-investment. He expects that the debt his siblings-in-law have with him will be paid in the form of the help they will later offer their nieces and nephews²⁶.

As a final comment, I would like to connect my data to the wider analyses of capital conversions. One of my intentions here was to demonstrate how the economic capital is being exchanged into different types of capitals: cultural, social, and symbolic. This shows us how the journey to achieve development indicators on the economic and educational sides needs to be connected to other forms of investment and economic logic, so the complex situation of economic development of Timor-Leste can be better explained and planned.

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26. Additionally, it does not go unnoticed that even though it was not necessary to return quickly the exact amount invested, Ingracia was always overwhelmed with domestic work at her sister's house when she was in Makili

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SECÇÃO VII

Casas Sagradas: Reerguer Casas, Comunidade e Vida

O conjunto de textos reunidos nesta secção resulta de um painel sobre *Uma Lulik* (Casas Sagradas) co-coordenado por mim, pelo Andrew McWilliam e pela Lisa Palmer. O propósito desse Painel foi o de revigorar o debate de longa duração sobre Casas Sagradas, introduzindo as múltiplas dimensões que tem tomado, nomeadamente: (1) a reconstrução de Casas Sagradas como parte de um processo de recuperação pós-conflito; e as Casas Sagradas como: (2) foco de constituição familiar e criação de vida; (3) locais de comunicação com os antepassados; (4) eixos de governança política de Timor-Leste e (5) de património imaterial timorense. Os artigos aqui reunidos cumprem esse objetivo, dando um contributo exemplar para a sua pluralização, numa associação entre reflexões de brasileiros, portugueses e timorenses nas áreas das ciências sociais e humanas. As cinco perspectivas que lançámos a debate no painel foram em muito superadas, através de trajetórias que tentarei resumir de seguida.

O primeiro texto de Rosiete de Sousa, Roberto Macedo e Vicente Paulino oferece um quadro amplo que em parte enquadra o conjunto dos restantes contributos. Os autores argumentam que o ensino em Timor-Leste deve integrar um diálogo e conhecimento efetivo sobre ‘vida’. Na esteira do que os debates decoloniais vêm a defender, os autores argumentam que “tomadas de decisões mais comprometidas com a vida são requeridas mais veementemente neste momento”. Trata-se de fazer um corte radical com aquelas epistemologias que consideram os costumes ou a cultura como meros aspetos residuais e isoláveis do desenvolvimento social. Os autores propõem que a *Uma Lulik* seja tida pelo ensino em Timor-Leste como o esteio de um sentido de “modo de vida inteiro” – uma expressão emprestada de Raymond Williams. Os autores argumentam que a escolarização não pode “afastar os indivíduos e as sociedades de suas raízes ancestrais”. Pelo contrário, ela tem que criar formas de as integrar em pleno. As visões de autores timorenses nos textos que aqui reunimos provocam reflexões incisivas sobre esta associação entre Casas Sagradas e ‘Vida’ – termo que não estava no título do Painel do congresso e que acrescentei nesta publicação, pela centralidade que assume nos contributos aqui reunidos.

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O artigo de Irta Araújo com Miguel Santos e o de Nuno Silva Gomes dão respostas diferentes mas complementares a esta questão da Vida. No primeiro caso, apresenta-se uma reflexão inovadora sobre a relação entre fogo (sagrado) e a reprodução da vida. Focando-se nas “lareiras dos antepassados”, os autores argumentam que elas constituem um eixo central na ligação entre casa e *lulik*. As lareiras sagradas/dos antepassados aproximam-nos de um conceito de vida timorense que a liga a forças generativas. O texto de Nuno Gomes faz uma relação entre Casas Sagradas e a problemática das origens. O autor argumenta que as narrativas de origem são parte de uma história, cujas convenções estão para além da historiografia. A sua reflexão foca-se na comunidade tétum de Fohorem, mas tem validade para repensar a relação entre *lulik*, origens e história nos estudos sobre Timor-Leste.

Os textos de Martinho Gusmão e Matilda Mártires e o de Lúcio Sousa substanciam a relação entre antepassados, *lulik* e agencialidade histórica. Gusmão e Matilda mostram como o Barlaque se situa em redes de agência *lulik* associadas à construção de raízes históricas timorenses, esclarecendo muitos dos vieses sobre o papel das mulheres na histórica do *lulik* e do Barlaque. Os autores mostram a valorização das mulheres como esposas, irmãs e esteios de uma rede mais vasta de pessoas no meio timorense. Lúcio Sousa fala-nos da recente reação timorense à epidemia Covid, tecendo uma singular ligação entre agências *lulik* espoletadas ao nível familiar e aquelas do nível nacional/Estado, a partir da análise de publicações no *facebook*. A relação da governação com o *lulik* conecta este texto com o contributo de Renata Nogueira Silva. O texto de Silva remete para os aspetos da governança das casas *lulik* (depois da independência) como património timorense, mostrando a complexidade de coabitações nas trocas de bens que envolvem a construção das casas sagradas entre regimes de dádiva e regimes monetários. A autora mostra como a moeda é um possível bem de troca e não necessariamente um veículo de valor monetário.

O aspeto histórico marca o último artigo de Keu Apoema. Contrariando a visão de que rituais de invocação de antepassados e do *lulik* teriam deixado de estar presentes durante o período da ocupação indonésia, Apoema argumenta, a partir do seu trabalho sobre Ainaro-Vila, que mesmo durante o período de ocupação houve uma capacidade de dar continuidade, em transformação, à relação timorense com as Casas Sagradas. Desta forma, Apoema questiona as interpretações de que a reconstrução de Casas Sagradas ocorrida desde a independência deva ser entendida como revitalização de algo que teria sido interrompido. Os textos de Apoema e o de Silva, assim como o de Gusmão e Mártires alinham-se com os conceitos interpretativos que reforçam a centralidade da coabitação e suas transformações no entendimento da resiliência dos Timorenses, mesmo face

a violências missionárias ou coloniais, ocorridas ao longo do tempo (cf. Viegas e Feijó 2017, Viegas 2019).

Em suma, ainda que num formato de tamanho resumido e numa publicação anunciada como Atas de um Colóquio, podemos dizer que os textos reunidos nesta secção são um referente obrigatório a uma renovação de perspetivas sobre *lulik*, sobre Casas Sagradas e sobre antepassados em Timor-Leste.

Sacred Houses: Rebuilding houses, Community and Life

The essays in this section were first presented in a panel on *Uma Lulik* (Sacred Houses) of which I was a convenor together with Andrew MacWilliam and Lisa Palmer. The aim of the panel was to reinvigorate the long lasting debate on Sacred Houses, considering multiple dimensions such as: (1) the reconstruction of Sacred Houses as part of the post-conflict recovery process; and Sacred Houses as a focal point to: (2) family reconstitution and life creation; (3) places of communication with the ancestors; (4) axes of political governance; and (5) as immaterial patrimony. The essays in this section accomplish the aim of the Panel, contributing in an exemplary manner to pluralize approaches to Sacred Houses, bringing together reflections by Brazilian, Portuguese and Timorese colleagues in the Social Sciences and Humanities. All the objectives we set out when we started were widely overcome as I will try to summarize in the next paragraphs.

The first essay from Rosiete de Sousa, Roberto Macedo and Vicente Paulino offers an ample perspective which partially frames all the subsequent contributions. They argue that Timor-Leste teaching programmes should integrate a dialogue and effective knowledge on “life”. Following on what de-colonial approaches are sustaining, they argue that “at the present moment, [public] decisions that are more compromised with life are vehemently required”. This view represents a radical break with epistemologies that postulate custom or culture are mere residual and isolatable aspects of social development. The authors propose that teaching programmes in Timor-Leste consider the *Uma Lulik* as a pillar of “an entire way of life” – an expression borrowed from Raymond Williams. They argue that schooling should not move individuals and societies away from their ancestral roots. On the contrary, schooling must create forms to fully integrate ancestral roots.

Timorese contributors’ visions generate persuasive reflections on the association between Sacred Houses and “Life” – a term which was not present in the title of the panel but which I decided to place in this section due to the centrality

it assumes in all these essays. Both the article by Irta Araújo with Miguel Santos, and that of Nuno Silva Gomes offer different but complementary answers to this issue. The first one present an innovative view on the relation between (sacred) fire and life reproduction. The focus of this text is on “ancestors’ hearths” sustaining the argument that they represent a central axis in the relations between houses and *lulik*, making life possible. Sacred hearths consequently bring to the fore a Timorese life concept which is articulated with generative forces. The essay by Nuno Gomes establishes a relation between sacred Houses and the issue of the origins. The author argues that the narratives of origin are part of a wider history whose conventions are beyond historiography. His reflection, supported by evidence from the Tetun community of Fohorem, is valid in the context of the relation between *lulik*, origins and history in the studies on Timor-Leste

The essays by Martinho Gusmão with Matilda Mártires and by Lucio Sousa address the relation between ancestors, *lulik* and historical agency. The first one shows how *Barlake* is framed by *lulik* agency networks, associated with the construction of Timorese historical roots. It brings new light on the common biases on the role of women in the context of *Barlake* and *lulik*, underlying the valuation of women as spouses, sisters and pillars for a wider network of persons. Based on the analysis of *Facebook* publications, Lucio Sousa describes the recent Timorese response to the Covid19 pandemic, establishing a singular articulation between *lulik* agencies sparked at the family level and those at the national/state level. The relation between governance and *lulik* connects this essay with the contribution by Renata Nogueira da Silva. Her text addresses aspects of the governance of *Lulik* Houses after independence as Timorese patrimony, showing the complexity of cohabitations in the exchange of goods involved in the construction of those houses between regimes of gift and monetary ones. She shows how money is a possible exchange good and not necessarily a vehicle for monetary value.

The historical perspective is the focus of the final article by Keu Apoema. Running contrary to the vision according to which ancestors’ evocation rituals had ceased to be present in Timor-Leste during the period of the Indonesian occupation, Apoema argues – based on her work in Ainaro-Vila – that even in those days there was a capacity to maintain forms of continuation, albeit with transformations, of the Timorese’s relation with Sacred Houses. In this way, Apoema questions the widespread interpretation of Sacred Houses reconstruction that took place after independence as the revitalization of something that had altogether disappeared. Both these essays stress the centrality of the argument positing the existence of cohabitations and transformations to understand the Timorese’s capacity for resilience, even in the face of violence brought in the past by missionary or colonial forces. (cf. Viegas and Feijó 2017, Viegas 2019).

In sum, even though these are not long essays, and the publication is announced as the proceedings of a conference, the texts presented here are a mandatory reference with renewed perspectives on *lulik*, Sacred Houses and ancestors in Timor-Leste.

Uma lulik: Harii filafali, Komunitade no Moris

Testu lubun ne'ebé halibur iha seksaun ida-ne'e biban hosi painél ne'ebé hakesuk kona-ba Uma Lulik no ha'u maka kordena hamutuk ho Andrew McWilliam no Lisa Palmer. Painél ne'e nia hakaran maka atu haforsa ko'alia kle'an no naruk kona-ba Uma Lulik, hodi hatada-haree ba sorin hotu-hotu hanesan tuirmai: (1) harii filafali Uma Lulik tuir prosesu rekuperasaun hafoin konfliktu; no Uma Lulik nu'udar: (2) fatin ida ba umakain no hahoris moris-foun; (3) fatin ba ko'alia ho bei'ala sira; (4) eixu ba Timor-Leste nia governasaun polítika, no (5) sasán tomak timór nian. Artigu hotu ne'ebé halibur iha-ne'e haktuir objetivu ida-ne'e, hodi hatulun ho nakloke ba ema hotu, liuhosi haree-hikas ho Brazileiru, Portugés no Timoroan sira iha área siénsia sosiál no umanu. Perspektiva lima ne'ebé ami hatama ba lia hakesuk iha ami-nia leet, liu hakat boot ida no ha'u sei haka'as hodi habadak tuirmai.

Testu dahuluk hosi Rosiete de Sousa, Roberto Macedo no Vicente Paulino tada kuadru ida boot no luan ne'ebé hako'ak tulun-lisuk sira seluk. Autor sira hato'o katak sistema ensinu iha Timor-Leste tenke hanorin diálogo no hatenek kona-ba 'vida'. Tuir debate ne'ebé hafoin sai hosi diskursu koloniál, autor sira dehan katak "hala'ok hotu daudauk ne'e tenke tau matan ba vida". Tenke hakotu ho hanoin uluk nian ne'ebé tada katak kultura tuir lisan la vale no la kona ho dezenvolvementu sosiál. Autor sira tada proposta katak ensinu iha Timor-Leste atu hanorin kona-ba Uma Lulik nu'udar "hahalok moris tomak" – hodi uza espresaun ida hosi Raymond Williams. Autor sira dehan nafatin katak hanorin iha Eskola la bele "hasees ema no sosiedade hosi bei'ala sira nu'udar abut". Haree hosi sorin seluk, bele dehan mós katak tenke hakiak abut hirak-ne'e tomak. Tuir autor timoroan sira katak testu ne'ebé hakerek iha-ne'e sadik hodi halo hanoin kle'an kona-ba tali ne'ebé kesi Uma Lulik ho 'vida' – no ne'e la temi tiha iha Painél bainhira hala'o Kongresu no daudauk ne'e maka ha'u publika tanba kona fuan klaran ba buat hotu ne'ebé ami ko'alia iha-ne'e.

Artigu hosi Irta Araújo, Miguel Santos no Nuno Silva Gomes hatán ba hahusuk lahanesan maibé, hamutuk, kona malu ho loos nu'udar kestaun vida nian. Iha kazu dahuluk, apresenta reflesaun foun kona-ba oinsá ahi (lulik) ho reprodu-

saun vida nian kona malu. Bainhira ko'alia kona-ba "ahi-matan bei'ala sira nian", autór sira hatebes katak buras ahi-matan nian hakbesik Uma ho Lulik. Ahi-lulik bei'ala nian hametin timoroan nia moris no kesi ho otas tuirmai. Nuno Gomes nia testu ko'alia kona-ba Uma-Lulik ho ema ida-idak no ema hotu nia hun. Autór ne'e tada katak hun iha istória ne'ebé naruk liu istória siénsia nian. Nia hanoin hikakomunidade Fohoren maibé fini no musan hotu ho hun hanesan saida de'it Lulik iha Timor-Leste laran tomak.

Testu hosi Martinho Gusmão, Matilda Mártires no Lúcio Sousa hatutan rela-saun Bei'ala, Lulik no ajensialidade istória. Gusmão no Matilda hatudu oinsá maka Barlake iha buat ruma ho Lulik nu'udar abut timoroan nian, hodi haklaken mós oinsá maka feto sira iha Lulik no Barlake nia istória. Autór sira hatudu oinsá maka feto sira hafoli-an liuhosi knaar nu'udar feen, biin ka alin-feto no seluk tan iha timoroan nia leet. Lúcio Sousa dehan mai ami kona-ba timoroan nia hahalok oinsá bainhira KOVID mosu, hatudu tali ne'ebé kesi Lulik ne'ebé harahun iha fami-lia nia leet ho Lulik seluk ne'ebé nivel nasional/Estadu, liuhosi lehat iha publika-saun hanesan facebook. Renata Nogueira Silva hakerek kona-ba governasaun ho Lulik. Silva nia testu ke'e kle'an to'o hetan governasaun iha Uma-Lulik la'o oinsá (hafoin ukun rasik-an) nu'udar timór folin boot, no hatudu hala'ok todan bainhira ema troka malu sasán hodi moris tuir no, iha hala'ok hanesan ne'e, bele harii Uma-Lulik hodi taka tusan ruma ka hodi manán osan. Autora ne'e hatudu mós oinsá maka bele uza doit ida hodi troka no la'ós atu manán fali folin hosi ema seluk.

Artigu dahikus hosi Keu Apoema marka aspetu istóriu. Apoema hato'o hasouru katak hala'ok ne'ebé temi tuir Bei'ala sira no buat hirak lulik la buras tiha iha oku-pasaun indonézia nia laran, ne'e la loos. Apoema hametin, bazeia ba nia haree-he-tan iha Ainara-Vila, katak iha okupasaun nia laran timoroan hamulak nafatin Bei'ala sira iha Uma Lulik. Ne'e duni, Apoema husu tanba sá mak ema balu dehan fali katak daudauk ne'e timoroan harii filafali Uma Lulik hafoin la halo tuir iha okupa-saun nia laran. Testu hirak hosi Apoema no Silva nomós hosi Gusmão no Mártires tuir hanoin hanesan katak timoroan sira hamriik metin no hamutuk ne'ebé hatudu timoroan nia kbiit hodi hadi'ak-an iha susar nia laran, hasouru violénsia hosi misio-náriu no kolonialista sira iha tempu horiuluk (cf. Viegas e Feijó 2017, Viegas 2019).

Hodi habadak, maski iha formatu ki'ikoan tebes no iha publikasaun ida-ne'ebé fó-sai tiha nu'udar Atas hosi Kolókiu, ami bele dehan katak testu hirak hotu iha seksaun ida-ne'e nu'udar matadalan ida bainhira buka hatene kona-ba Lulik, Uma-Lulik no Bei'ala sira iha Timor-Leste.

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1. *Uma-Lulik* e escola: diálogos entre educação e “a whole way of life”

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***Uma-Lulik* e escola: diálogos entre educação e “a whole way of life”**

O texto apresenta elementos iniciais da nossa pesquisa em currículo e formação em Timor-Leste, traz um conjunto de provocações que pretendem estimular o debate em torno do significado de se promover o diálogo entre *uma-lulik* e escola. Entendemos que, em tempos como este que estamos vivendo, da pandemia causada pelo novo coronavírus, possa a *mudança paradigmática* estar sendo impulsionada, com outros referenciais de saberes e de modos de vida a ganhar maior visibilidade e assumir *status* de maior relevância, pois tomadas de decisões mais comprometidas com a vida são requeridas mais veementemente neste momento.

Uma-lulik. Currículo. Formação.

***Uma-Lulik* and school: Dialogue between education and “a whole way of life”**

The paper presents preliminary data of our research in curriculum and formation. It brings a set of provocations that intend to stimulate the debate around the importance of promoting the dialogue between *uma-lulik* and school. We argue that, in this context of the pandemic caused by the new coronavirus, a *paradigmatic change* may be being driven, with new references of knowledge and ways of life gaining greater visibility and assuming status of greater relevance, since these circumstances require decisions more committed to life.

Uma-lulik. Curriculum. Formation.

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Uma-Lulik no Eskola: ko’alia lisuk kona-ba edukasaun ho moris “oin-kmanek tomak”

Testu ne’e hato’o elementu sira husi ami-nian peskiza kona-bá kurikulu no formasaun iha Timor-Leste, ho ninia konjuntu provokasaun sira ne’ebé atu estimula debate kona-ba signifikaadu hosi promove diálogu entre uma-lulik no eskola. Ami hatene katak, ita moris hela iha tempu ida hanesan ne’e, iha pandemia ne’ebé kausa hosi koronavírus foun, bele impulsiona mudansa paradigmátika ida, ho referênsia seluk hosi saberes sira no oinsa modu moris hetan vizibilidade ida boot liu no relevante liután, tanba desizaun sira iha momentu ida ne’e reker compromisu ida forte ba moris.

Uma-lulik. Kurikulu. Formasaun.

Introdução

Este trabalho é parte da pesquisa de doutorado intitulada *Currículo e formação e o diálogo possível entre escola e uma-lulik: um estudo de base etnometodológica*⁴. Trata-se de uma investigação voltada para a experiência, uma etnopesquisa-formação⁵, que se constitui numa prática de pesquisa multirreferencial, o que pressupõe a articulação e a relação entre saberes (Macedo, 2006, p. 121). Assim, o texto se configura num conjunto de provocações que pretendem estimular um debate em torno do significado de se promover o diálogo entre *uma-lulik* e escola, como parte desta investigação em currículo e formação. Articulamos na investigação as seguintes abordagens teórico-epistemológicas: (a) a etnometodologia – uma teoria do social fundada por Harold Garfinkel (2018), que compreende que os atores sociais, com suas capacidades de *inteligibilidade, describibilidade, analisibilidade* instituem a ordem social, produzindo e interferindo nas realidades que habitam; (b) as epistemologias do Sul/ecologia de saberes, cujo projeto, da autoria de Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2010, 2019), reconhece a diversidade epistemológica do mundo e propõe o diálogo para inclusão de valores e saberes das experiências desperdiçadas, tornadas invisíveis, de seus atores/ autores, seu território, e defende a convivência entre diferentes formas de conhecimento; (c) a abordagem auto-hetero-biográfica que tem o fato biográfico como centralidade epistemológica, que elege saberes concernentes ao biográfico, às histórias de vida (Delory-Momberger, 2014; Josso, 2004; etc.).

4. Tese em desenvolvimento de Rosiete Costa de Sousa (2019 a).

5. A etnopesquisa-formação, um tipo de pesquisa-ação, “adota o princípio antropológico segundo o qual os membros de um grupo social conhecem melhor sua realidade que os especialistas que vêm de fora da convivialidade grupal da comunidade ou da instituição (Macedo, 2006, p. 160).

Algumas provocações...

A construção do estado-nação timorense não se dá sem a tensão entre o moderno e o tradicional. Entendemos que a opção – se é que se pode falar em opção, já que o que se apresenta é um modelo de vida e de desenvolvimento único a seguir, que se globalizou e em relação ao qual parece não haver qualquer alternativa – das classes dominantes de embarcar de no movimento de modernização do mundo implementada pelo capitalismo, com o auxílio das ciências e das tecnologias, tem significado a perda das singularidades, dos saberes e modos de vida em diversas partes do mundo. Consideramos desse modo que é bom fazer as contas e ver o que se ganha e o que se perde por esse caminho.

Seria realmente verdadeira a ideia de que não existem alternativas ao modelo capitalista neoliberal de sociedade que então se globalizou? Será mesmo que não podemos pensar em outras formas de “crescimento”, de “desenvolvimento” sem que necessariamente se tenha que aderir aos valores do mercado capitalista? Será mesmo que temos que aderir de forma irrestrita a processos de modernização? Será que é possível exercitar um pensamento outro sobre o que pode ser um Estado desenvolvido, sem que nos tenhamos que perder nos emaranhamentos do capitalismo global, nas suas perversidades e ações destrutivas?

Estes são apenas alguns questionamentos que podem nos ajudar a refletir sobre possíveis armadilhas em que podemos estar caindo, inclusive a forma como realizamos pesquisas, como trabalhamos com a produção do conhecimento acadêmico, e como estamos participando da implementação das políticas de produção do conhecimento nas universidades: a construção dos currículos das escolas, sem que necessariamente saibamos como levar em consideração realidades das quais fazemos parte mas não as conseguimos ver, devido ao que nos foi/é mostrado pelas lentes produzidas no quadro das epistemologias que se tornaram hegemônicas, portanto, com poder de guiar nossas vidas, orientar nossos trabalhos. E, é bom que tenhamos mesmo em conta que, seja qual for a situação em que nos encontremos e as direções que tomemos, podemos sempre cair em armadilhas.

Sabemos que muito já se tem produzido na perspectiva de uma ciência outra, de tecnologias outras, de currículos outros (Macedo, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2016; Barbosa, Cassiani & Paulino, 2019; Cassiani & Barbosa, 2015), inclusive, que não andem de mãos dadas com o tal capitalismo neoliberal, globalizado, perverso, que silencia pessoas, povos, culturas, ameaça tão fortemente a vida e as suas expressões mais diversas no mundo todo. Podemos mencionar aqui dois grupos de pesquisa brasileiros em educação, o FORMACCE (Grupo de Pesquisa em Currículo e Formação), da UFBA, e o DICITE (Discurso da Ciência e da Tecnologia na Educação), da UFSC, que vêm investindo em estudos de perspectivas críticas, des-

colonizadoras e emancipacionistas, a partir de abordagens como a multirreferencial, a freireana, a etnometodológica, a decolonial, a das epistemologias do Sul, a que associa (auto)biografia e formação. Há aí um movimento crítico e de busca de alternativas.

Nós vemos uma realidade cheia de contradições. As contradições estão em todo lugar. E contradições são bastante visíveis também no cenário político e educacional de Timor-Leste, hoje, o que não julgamos como sendo bom ou ruim. Mas podemos imaginar que, uma vez que as coisas não andam tão afinadas numa direção ou noutra que possa ter sido determinada por certos agentes *epistemicidas*⁶, há possibilidades de se pensar nos caminhos que se quer seguir, nas itinerâncias a fazer, a experimentar.

No âmbito da educação escolar, sabemos que diferentes visões e perspectivas disputam hegemonia. Não imaginamos que uma ou outra epistemologia seja capaz de dar conta de tudo, dada a complexidade da vida, do existir e da formação propriamente dita. Pensamos na importância e na necessidade de se multirreferencializar o trabalho com a formação, bem como assumimos a “perspectiva de que formação é uma experiência aprendente culturalmente irredutível” (Macedo, 2016, p. 36) e, aqui, não estamos nos referindo à ideia de cultura como nos acostumamos a concebê-la em termos educacionais, como algo restrito e produzido em alguns lugares do mundo, por determinados povos, grupos, classes, que teria uma certa aura de superioridade, que estaria fora do domínio de outros lugares, povos, grupos, classes, os quais somente poderiam ter acesso a ela, por exemplo, por meio da educação escolar, já que a tal cultura seria aquela com valores de formação e em torno da qual o currículo foi historicamente organizado.

Uma-lulik enquanto cultura, “a whole way of life”

Raymond Williams, que concebeu a cultura nos termos de “a whole way of life” (“um modo de vida inteiro”), reconhece, nesta concepção, o valor cultural de todas as atividades humanas, das mais diversas experiências pessoais e sociais. Assim, ele combate e rompe com a ideia de cultura superior e inferior, trazendo

6. O próprio currículo pode se instituir como um agente epistemicida, na medida em que para a sua construção o que é levado verdadeiramente em conta são as experiências sociais das sociedades metropolitanas e se vai invisibilizando, desvalorizando, negando as experiências, conhecimentos e saberes dos sujeitos e do território que recebem numa relação verticalizada e são afetados por esse currículo instituído. Epistemicídio é um termo cunhado por Boaventura de Sousa Santos.

uma contribuição valiosíssima para os estudos de currículo escolar, permitindo ver, como destaca Goodson (2018), que o currículo “como qualquer outra reprodução social, ele constitui o campo de toda sorte de estratégias, interesses e relações de dominação” (Williams *apud* Goodson, 2018, p. 35)

Não podemos aceitar a ideia de um currículo único, o currículo como algo dado, “que é assim, pronto, acabou”, baseado nesta tal supremacia de determinada cultura, dada a sua produção em contextos definidos como “mais desenvolvidos”, “mais civilizados”, que se possa tomar como algo natural com seus conjuntos de conhecimentos válidos, modos de organizá-los, de avaliá-los, no que não se pode mexer (no sentido de alterar suas concepções), romper (com suas formas), propor/produzir conhecimentos outros – modos outros de conhecer.

O currículo prescrito, enquanto um artefato de grande significado para a escolarização, como uma *tradição inventada* (Goodson, 2018), tem sua origem em determinado contexto, no qual respondeu a determinadas exigências e interesses de certos grupos que tomam a si o poder de decidir o que ensinar. A questão é que, pela lógica da dominação e do controle, o que foi produzido dentro da racionalidade cognitivo-instrumental da ciência e da tecnologia, em termos de currículo e escolarização na Europa e nos Estados Unidos da América, torna-se padrão e se impõe a todo o mundo.

Santos e Paulino (2014) se referem à escola como um sistema vivo e dinâmico, animado por pessoas de diferentes grupos sociais, mas que, ao mesmo tempo, tem sua estrutura ditada pela transmissão de ordens, comunicações e recursos da escola (2014, p. 204). Perguntamos: qual *ethos* produz estas ordens, comunicações, recursos? porque estes determinam o tipo de ligação que a escola vai ter com o “meio social envolvente”, com os grupos e atores sociais, pois. A escola e a família, afirmam os autores, são desafiadas “na preparação dos cidadãos para entrarem em contato com o mundo do trabalho” (Santos & Paulino, 2014, p. 204). Mais uma vez perguntamos: qual é a participação evocada pela escola de saberes, valores, procedimentos, princípios que organizam a vida e experiência dos atores deste contexto? Teria a experiência da *uma-lulik*, “a whole way of life”, o que contribuir para a produção do mundo do trabalho, por exemplo, que está então adjetivado de tecnologizado? O que é trazer o sentido do sagrado, da relação entre o ser humano e natureza para significar o mundo do trabalho?

A escola, ainda que seja uma instituição que surge atrelada ao projeto da modernidade ocidental, pode ser atualizada em contextos outros como parte de um projeto que não seja o da “modernização” e padronização do mundo – e é importante que estejamos atentos a isto para poder frear a ação de pasteurização das realidades que a escola com o currículo moderno executa. Defendemos a cons-

trução de uma escola *indexicalizada*⁷, que toma como referência os contextos de vida e as experiências das sociedades, de currículos que contemplem as *singularidades singularizantes* (Macedo, 2016), que não pasteurizem, que se fundam no diálogo com os saberes da experiência dos sujeitos e das culturas, reconhecendo sistemas epistemológicos, políticos, espirituais que são próprios das existências/experiências diferenciais nos territórios em que a escola está.

A afirmação que se segue, de Paulino (2021), relacionada à casa sagrada (*uma-lulik*), nos remete à definição de cultura de Raymond Williams como “a whole way of life” e contribui com a nossa investigação do diálogo possível entre escola e *uma lulik*.

Podemos afirmar que a importância da casa sagrada se baseia, por um lado, na pertença a um grupo de parentesco, entidade sagrada-ritual e entidade político-econômica; por outro, no reforço da unidade entre família e comunidade. Isto significa, portanto, que a vivência pessoal e social de todas as comunidades se associa sempre à casa sagrada, dando assim importância às múltiplas funções que ela desempenha na sociedade, e “faz a ligação com os antepassados, com o mundo dos espíritos invisíveis e tem um significado muito importante como símbolo da continuidade das gerações e da fertilidade” (Mendes, 2005:111) (Paulino, 2012, p. 71).

Vida política, econômica, espiritual, pessoal, relações sociais, com os antepassados, mundo visível e invisível integram a experiência da *uma-lulik*.

A casa é um elemento da cultura humana que implica a capacidade de as comunidades locais timorenses se reproduzirem, apesar das adversidades, nomeadamente as que resultam da guerra, como refere MacWilliam (2005:28): “It is not without irony that, across the country in present-day post-colonial and post-conflict East Timor, local groups and communities are busy with the task of rebuilding their ritual houses and reinstating the central importance of the sacred house in their lives” (Paulino, 2012, P. 75).⁸

7. “O currículo que se institui sabe e quer saber sempre da vida dos seus sujeitos-alunos, constrói-se, preponderantemente, a partir deles e movimenta-se com eles” (Macedo, 2016, p. 89). Sabe e quer saber sempre da vida dos seus sujeitos-professores, dos seus sujeitos-comunidades. Não se trata de um fechamento em torno das suas experiências, mas da valorização destas experiências e da conversa com elas, tendo nelas real interesse, reconhecendo que produzem sentidos e significados em relação e no contexto, que são lugar de criação de “atos de currículo” (Macedo, 2012, 2013, 2016).

8. A tradução da afirmação de McWilliam para português seria a seguinte: “Não deixa de ser irónico que no Timor-Leste actual, pós-colonial e pós-conflito, os grupos locais e as comunida-

A *uma-lulik* (casa sagrada, casa de rituais), que também envolve a *uma-lisan* (casa tradicional) no modo como nós a concebemos, desempenha tanto funções de natureza religiosa, espiritual, como funções de ordem política, econômica, relacionadas ao fluxo da vida, às relações com a Natureza, com outros seres humanos, com os não-humanos, com os vivos e também com os não-vivos, significando um modo de vida inteiro, que envolve símbolos, linguagens, saberes, práticas culturais, modos de existir *próprios e apropriados*.

Muitos estudos apontam o lugar que a *uma-lulik* ocupa em Timor-Leste (Paulino, 2012; Araújo, 2013; MacWilliam, 2005; MacWilliam et al, 2014; Hicks, 2008; Castro, 2012; Sousa, 2007, 2011). Mas qual é o lugar que ela tem, enquanto experiência, enquanto sistema epistemológico, enquanto cultura, “a whole way of life” na constituição da escola neste país? O que se pode constatar, pelo já conhecido, é aquilo que mencionamos acima sobre a padronização da experiência escolar a partir do referencial moderno ocidental, com enorme “desperdício das experiências”, como bem teorizou Boaventura de Sousa Santos, com o que se vai efetuando o *epistemicídio* – a eliminação de saberes, conhecimentos, cosmovisões, culturas inteiras – que as formas ocidentais modernas de pensamento e ação assentes na lógica de dominação e colonização engendraram, produzindo como inexistência tudo aquilo que está do outro lado da *linha abissal* – as experiências dos territórios e povos que foram colonizados – criada pelo pensamento moderno ocidental: “Inexistência significa não existir sob qualquer forma de ser relevante ou compreensível” (Santos, 2010, p. 32).

O possível diálogo entre escola e uma-lulik

Precisamos perguntar que ensinamentos ancestrais estão então em risco de desaparecer, ou já desapareceram, a partir dos arranjos feitos pela adesão ao projeto de modernização do mundo. O mundo que se modernizou é o melhor dos mundos, é o mundo onde se vive bem? O mundo criado pelos valores ocidentais é um mundo bom onde queremos viver? Entendemos que o processo de modernização pode levar ao desaparecimento de toda uma estrutura social ancestral em Timor-Leste.

Retomando o que afirmamos no início deste texto sobre a contemporaneidade em Timor-Leste ser feita da tensão entre o moderno e o tradicional, quere-

des estejam atarefadas com a tarefa de reconstruir as suas casas rituais e reinstalar a importância central da casa sagrada nas suas vidas”.

mos questionar as consequências do mundo que se moderniza, porque já sabemos de muitas das suas consequências negativas provocadas, por exemplo, pela separação entre ser humano e natureza que a racionalidade cognitivo-instrumental da ciência e da tecnologia impôs, pelas dicotomias que foram produzidas por esta racionalidade: entre conhecimento e senso comum, sujeito e objeto do conhecimento, entre cultura e natureza (cf. Santos, 2011). Como afirma Santos, nas sociedades modernas o senso comum é tão moderno quanto a própria ciência moderna (2011, p. 107). Vemos a *uma-lulik* como uma experiência outra que pode mesmo, de algum modo, trazer respostas para a crise civilizacional e paradigmática que vivemos.

Queremos assinalar o sentido e o valor da tensão dialética entre moderno e tradicional na construção do estado timorense, por estarem aí dois campos de força, onde um não precisa se sobrepôr e eliminar o outro, mas se pode ir chegando, pelo diálogo, a lugares novos e, possivelmente, bem interessantes diante do que estamos atravessando no momento atual mundialmente. O que nos preocupa é a distinção dicotômica entre moderno e tradicional com atribuição de valor ao primeiro e a desvalorização, negação, solapamento e silenciamento do segundo nos processos impostos pelo dito “desenvolvimento”.

Tem a escolarização que afastar os indivíduos e as sociedades de suas raízes ancestrais? O que significa ser um indivíduo educado? A escola pode se instituir e institucionalizar no diálogo com a *uma-lulik*, em cuja acepção se encontra todo o sistema de vida herdado dos ancestrais e existente no território timorense?

Vejamos o que dizem professores formadores numa *com-versação* no Observatório Etnoformador em Timor-Leste (ObEtno-TL):

Prof. João: É... invoca Deus como Sol e Lua... sol e lua, em minha língua é *Uruwatu*. *Uru* é lua e *watu* é sol, *uruwatu*. Porque ele está além, é mais alto... como... o homem imagina uma coisa que é mais alto, que tem mais força do que ele, como o professor Manuel falou, e sente-se humilde... humilde! Sente-se inferior perante a natureza, não? E então, ele começando a pensar numa força que está mais além dele, e essa força existe... já é outra coisa! Mas tem umas relações sobre a nossa fala. Isso é muito complicado quando a gente quer escrever, tem natural a fala, e meter numa pesquisa, porque é muito complicado. Epá! É muito complicado. Tem de... Agora nós contamos a nossa experiência... a nossa experiência, mas não está tudo aqui, porque tem muitas coisas para esclarecer. Mesmo minuciosamente ou cientificamente, muitas coisas têm de ser explicadas para ser mais busca perante o olhar científico, mas este olhar científico também não vai mais além de um olhar... numa dimensão que nós só sentimos. Se a gente fala do *lulik*, eles não percebem que a ciência não aceita o *lulik*, não é professor? Porque ele...

Prof. Manuel: Principalmente as crenças modernas que não aceitam o *lulik*, o sagrado, estão a servir [...]. Na tradição *kemak* também tem esta crença, tem fé perante o sol, a lua... (Sousa, 2019, pp. 119-120).

O trecho da *com-versação* transcrito acima nos fala do potencial das narrativas na formação e no currículo, o “que eleva a experiência do sujeito à condição de referências pertinentes e relevantes, refletindo-as e formulando com elas” (Macedo, 2015, p. 102), revelando, assim, a possibilidade de uma *etnoformação*, conforme Macedo, que se enriquece com o que Goodson aponta como um *currículo como narrativa* (Macedo, 2015, p. 102).

Goodson (2018) nos oferece uma análise bastante fecunda da escolarização e do currículo, mostrando-nos como “foi institucionalizada e provida de recursos uma epistemologia que situa a ‘disciplina’ acadêmica no topo do currículo” (p. 56). Um currículo definido por disciplinas nega, como muitos puderam ver, diz-nos Goodson (2018, p. 60), “a dialética da educação, a noção de diálogo e a flexibilidade que alguns consideravam (e ainda consideram fundamentais para o processo de aprendizagem”. Assim, muitos educadores defendem a ‘reconstrução do conhecimento e do currículo’, insistindo na necessidade do diálogo e da mutualidade na educação escolar. Compreendemos, com Goodson, que “as perspectivas construcionistas sociais melhorariam o nosso entendimento em relação à política curricular” (Goodson, 2018, p. 97).

Como bem disseram os professores na conversa citada anteriormente, a ciência moderna – e, por justaposição, a escola moderna – não aceita o *lulik*, produz a experiência do *lulik*, da *uma-lulik*, como *inexistência*. Mesmo quando vemos a presença de imagens de *uma-lulik* nos materiais escolares timorenses, ou ainda *uma-lulik* como matéria, tema e conteúdo indicado nestes mesmos materiais, podemos também observar que, quando aparece, aparece como ilustração, como símbolo, ou como objeto do conhecimento antropológico, como um conhecimento afastado da experiência, o que não costumamos estranhar por ser esta uma das principais características do conhecimento científico moderno. A nosso ver, pela pontualidade e característica deste tipo de presença, a escola não assume aí qualquer compromisso com a existência da *uma-lulik*. O que a nossa pesquisa investiga é o diálogo ou diálogos possíveis da escola com a *uma-lulik* como experiência, e isto está associado à superação de certas dicotomias constitutivas da lógica epistemológica moderna.

A vida social timorense tem a ver também com a intercomunicabilidade com o Outro. O Outro, aqui, representa o que consideramos o centro de contato do ser humano com a divindade e a natureza. A interação com o Outro é sempre inter-

mediada pela prática *adat*. Tal interação abre com o ritual de iniciação no interior da casa, porque a casa, em si, é uma estrutura ritual ordenada que possibilita a preservação da origem do grupo e a sua intercomunicabilidade com a natureza, como “fundamento da sua identidade material e imaterial” reconhecidas e partilhadas pelos “membros da sociedade humana” (Sousa, 2007:200). (Paulino, 2012, p. 51)

A singularidade ontológica e epistemológica que se pode reconhecer na experiência da *uma-lulik* deve ser trazida para a (re)construção curricular e fecundar a formação, dada a sua *irreducibilidade ontocultural* (Macedo, 2016). Segundo Araújo (2013), “a natureza é o centro dessa ligação entre o mundo dos vivos, o dos espíritos dos antepassados e o mundo da divindade. É neste contexto que se desenvolve a relação humana timorense com todas as partes existentes no universo” (Araújo, p. 43).

O que podemos saber da intercomunicabilidade com o Outro e com a natureza que caracteriza a *uma-lulik*? Qual é a importância das conexões/interrelações e saberes aí produzidos para a vida, para o cuidado, para o refazer das relações com a Terra?

Vivemos um tempo de *transição paradigmática*, conforme descrita por Santos (2011). A nossa pesquisa em desenvolvimento assume uma *posição paradigmática*, partindo da crítica ao paradigma dominante, a saber, o da modernidade ocidental (‘paradigma local que se globalizou’) para olhar e “descobrir tradições e alternativas que dele foram expulsas”, como nos orienta Santos (2011). No estudo em causa pretendemos seguir a observação e análise da experiência da *uma-lulik* para construir diálogos e horizontes de *possibilidades emancipacionistas* no trabalho com currículo e formação no Timor-Leste, se juntando a outros no anúncio do(s) paradigma(s) emergente(s).

É possível, entendemos, que a pandemia causada pelo novo coronavírus venha a impulsionar a mudança paradigmática, de modo a permitir que haja alterações significativas e profundas no modo de vida das pessoas, na ação e responsabilização dos Estados, na produção do conhecimento científico, nos processos de escolarização, pela vulnerabilidade em que se viu grande parte da humanidade, mesmo quem vive em países tidos como desenvolvidos – os quais se costumavam achar numa condição mais vantajosa e menos arriscada. Tomadas de decisões mais comprometidas com a vida são requeridas mais veementemente por este acontecimento de dimensões globais.

Conclusão

Seguindo o argumento de Santos (2011) que pontua, na discussão sobre a *transição paradigmática*, o não cumprimento das promessas da modernidade ou os efeitos perversos de muitas das promessas que foram sendo por ela cumpridas, como é o caso da dominação da natureza, temos muitas razões para engendrar esforços na investigação de diálogos possíveis da educação e “a whole way of life”, a *uma-lulik* enquanto cultura, *um modo de vida inteiro*, que compreende outras linguagens e relações e, mesmo, a ligação de todas as coisas que existem, como é possível observar na citação a seguir em relação a práticas rituais associadas à *uma-lulik*, no contexto do existir da nação Timor-Leste:

The new nation, the exterior and coming from the periphery, is incorporated by the ritual of the flag in the interior, the centre: the origin of earth and life. Thus, the nation becomes part of the interior, along with the ancestors who are the forefathers of the actual Houses in the domain. As such, the ritual acts they perform are not only for the domain but also for East Timor and the world. (SOUSA, 2009, p. 115)⁹

A compreensão da interconexão do “mundo visível, mundo dos espíritos e espaço da divindade”, da relação do ser humano “com todas as partes existentes no universo” já sinaliza, a nosso ver, que se possa desenhar currículos e formação com *traços de horizontes emancipatórios novos*.

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9. “A nova nação, o exterior e o que vem da periferia, é incorporado pelo ritual da bandeira no interior, o centro: a origem da Terra e da vida. Assim, a nação torna-se parte do interior, a par dos antepassados que são os anscendentes/formadores das Casas no seu domínio. Como tal, os atos rituais que eles realizam não são apenas para o domínio, mas também para Timor-Leste e para o mundo”.

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2. Lareira Sagrada como centro purificador e regenerador do fluxo de vida na cultura timorense

Irta Sequeira Baris de Araújo¹, Miguel Maia dos Santos²

Lareira Sagrada como centro purificador e regenerador do fluxo de vida na cultura timorense

Neste artigo pretendemos abordar a importância da ‘lareira sagrada’ na cultura timorense, nomeadamente os sentidos de purificação e de regeneração do fluxo de vida. A “lareira sagrada” (*ahi-matan lulik* em tétum) não é uma lareira qualquer, pois simbolicamente representa os dois universos do ser humano: “*ahi-feto* – lareira mulher” e “*ahi-mane* – lareira homem”. Trata-se das lareiras dos antepassados que no seu tempo fizeram existir uma “*ahi-matan* – lareira” como porta de ascensão da vida e alimentação do corpo. Neste artigo daremos também um contributo para considerarmos o significado das casas sagradas timorenses, pois junto da lareira sagrada realizam-se também cerimónias rituais.

Lareira sagrada. Fluxo de vida. Timorense. Timor-Leste.

Sacred Fireplace as center of purification and regeneration of the flow of life in Timorese culture

In this paper we intend to discuss the importance of the ‘sacred fireplace’ in Timorese culture, namely the meanings of purification and regeneration of the flow of life. The “sacred fireplace” (*ahi-matan lulik* in Tetum) is not an ordinary fireplace, as it symbolically repre-

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sents the two universes of the human being: “*ahi-fetus* – fireplace woman” and “*ahi-mane* – fireplace man”. We address the fireplaces of the ancestors who, in their time, conceived an “*ahi-matan* – fireplace” as a door to the ascension of life and to body nourishment. With this article, we add a contribution to the concept of Timorese sacred houses, since ritual ceremonies are also held next to the sacred fireplace.

Sacred fireplace. Flow of life. Timorese. East Timor.

Ahi-matan-lulik nu’udar sentru hakmo’ok-an no hako’us-moris iha kultura timor-oan

Iha artigu ida ne’e, ami hakarak ko’alia/aborda kona-ba importánsia hosi ‘ahi-matan-lulik’ iha kultura timor-oan, liu-liu haka’er ba sentidu hakmo’ok-an no hako’us-moris. “Ahi-matan-lulik” hakbolu iha dalen tetun, nia la’os ahi-matan baibain, maibé simbolikamente nia representa mundu-rua hosi ema-moris-ninian: “ahi-feto – *lareira mulher*” no “ahi-mane – *lareira homem*”. Ida ne’e, ita ko’alia kona-ba “ahi-matan bei’ala sira-nian, ne’ebé mak horiuluk kedas iha sira-ninia tempu wainhira hamosu ahi-matan ne’e – *lareira*”, hodi sai hanesan odamatan ne’ebé fó moris no hodi lori ai-han ba isin-lolon. Iha artigu ida ne’e, ami mós sei fó ami-ninia kontribuisaun hodi konsidera mós signifkadu sira hotu hosi Uma-Lulik sira timor-oan-ninian, tanba iha ahi-matan-lulik mak hala’o serimónia rituál sira hotu.

Ahi-matan-lulik, hako’us-moris. Timor-oan. Timor-Leste.

Introdução

A “*lareira sagrada*” (Tétum: *ahi-matan lulik*) está para os timorenses no centro de vida do ser humano, e portanto é associada ao que os gregos denominavam *omphalós* – umbigo do mundo (J. P. Vernant, 1990), ou ao que os timorenses denominam como *ahi-matan moris nian* – “*lareira de vida*”. Como umbigo do mundo o seu significado está ligado também à vida (Segundo Marie Delcourt, citada por Vernant, são duas as situações em que o umbigo é saliência e não cavidade: na barriga da mulher grávida, e no recém-nascido). De forma muito transversal, culturalmente em Timor-Leste *ahi-matan lulik* (“*lareira sagrada*”) constituída na casa sagrada é considerada o centro de vida, porque ela se associa à procriação de vida, começando na sua gestação e acompanhando sempre o recém-nascido, iluminando o seu crescimento.

A existência da *lareira* numa casa habitacional é identificada como uma estrutura doméstica que tem por função acender o fogo. A *lareira* consiste num espaço revestido de materiais não inflamáveis como pedras que seguram a panela, ou outro qualquer objeto da cozinha. A *lareira* é feita de forma simples e segura para aquecer, cozinhar e iluminar no caso de casas sem outra fonte de energia artificial.

A “lareira sagrada” guarda na cultura timorense parte destas funções de iluminação e alimentação das lareiras simples, mas ela tem significados muito mais amplos, ligados à purificação à regeneração do fluxo de vida. A lareira sagrada constituída dentro da casa sagrada é acendida com a lenha de madeira, por isso, conhecida como lareira a lenha do fogo sagrado. As lareiras e a lenha do fogo sagrado despertam todos os sentidos e a paixão daqueles que consideram o fogo como elevar à vida ou dar sentido à vida. E assim observar o fogo da lareira é um prazer de ouvir e cheirar a lenha a queimar, que pelo fato é um cenário que nos leva a recordar histórias e bons momentos.

O sentido de metamorfose na lareira sagrada

A lareira sagrada não se confunde com as palavras inglesas *hearth* (lareira) e *heart* (coração), mas ela realmente põe coração numa casa (Kingston, 1996). Um dos aspetos que torna a lareira sagrada (tétum *ahi-matan lulik*) especial resulta do fato dela simbolicamente representar os dois universos do ser humano: *ahi-feto* (“lareira mulher”) e *ahi-mane* (“lareira homem”). É também a lareira dos antepassados que no seu tempo fizeram existir uma *ahi-matan* (“lareira”) como porta de acensão da vida e alimentação do corpo. Um paralelismo com o fogo sagrado hindu faz aqui sentido. Entre os hindus o lugar onde resplandece o fogo sagrado é considerado como porta da mãe-divina, a fonte onde tudo tem origem, e fazer oferendas (quer sejam assadas ou cozidas) é uma forma de devolver tudo o que foi recebido. Entre os timorenses junto da lareira sagrada se realiza também a cerimónia ritual como ritual de *fase-matan*³ dos bebés recém-nascidos e o ritual de *sau-batar* (o milho novo é cozinhado em primeiro lugar na lareira da casa sagrada, e isso acontece em algumas regiões de cultura patrilinear em Timor-Leste como na cultura dos mambaenses). Estes rituais são um ensinamento aos filhos e netos e a todos os jovens que se agrupam na casa sagrada.

A lareira é constituída por três pedras, porém, só duas pedras são sagradas. Assim, acontece também com as colunas de uma casa sagrada em que, só duas delas são sagradas. Apesar das outras duas colunas não serem sagradas todavia, não deixam de ser importantes para que uma casa sagrada seja edificada. Construída a casa sagrada, é necessário acender lume na lareira para cozinhar. A lareira, considerada então como um objeto sagrado é muito importante para cada casa sagrada existente nesse suco. Ela é guardada e valorizada como um

3. É uma expressão de língua tétum que em português significa “lavar os olhos”.

dos objetos indispensáveis da casa sagrada. A lareira sagrada é uma das primeiras condições exigidas para a construção de uma casa sagrada. (Ximenes & Pinto, 2017:24)

Algumas referências ao papel do fogo na casa em registos da Grécia antiga ajudam a pensar nestes fatores. Paris (1994) refere por exemplo que na Grécia Antiga se o fogo de Héstia se apagasse no lar ou na cidade instalava-se a sensação de uma situação trágica e havia rituais complexos para reacendê-lo. Quando os persas sitiaram Atenas e extinguiram o fogo sagrado, os atenienses, após derrotá-los foram buscar fogo no grande templo de Héstia em Delfos para reacendê-lo. O fogo da lareira sagrada era extinto em ocasiões de luto, fim de um lar, extinção de uma família ou abandono de um local (Paris, 1994:218-219). Hallam (2002) refere também por relação à antiguidade romana que em Roma a deusa da lareira e do fogo recebeu nome de Vesta e era reverenciada todos os anos nos lares romanos e representada na forma de uma mulher de extrema beleza, com um pote comemorativo e uma rocha acesa nas mãos. Era protectora especial de Roma, e seu templo circular, onde queimava a chama sagrada da cidade, situava-se no fórum, praça pública onde aconteciam os debates ou reuniões com o mesmo fim (Hallam, 2002:139).

As referências à antiguidade ajudam apenas a alargar a nossa reflexão sobre o fogo e seu poder de iluminação da vida. Atenas e Roma eram duas cidades do continente europeu que na sua época consideravam o fogo sagrado e iluminador da cidade – razão pela qual os gregos-romanos o apresentam no seu centro de “mitologia simbólica” como parte integrante da “estrutura psique e regências míticas” (Alvarenga, 2007). No debate antropológico, a importância do fogo e da lareira sagrada em várias regiões do sudeste asiático e da Oceania há muito é considerado. Uma das mais clássicas monografias do antropólogo Raymon Firth sobre as Tikopia lançou o debate no início do século XX:

A lareira ou o fogão têm, como o fogo que os motiva, uma função e um simbolismo unificativos. Exemplifica-o, de forma admirável, a designação dada, entre os Tikopias, à lareira ou fogão com que o noivo e a noiva ritualizam a sua primeira união marital. Chamam-lhe «*te umu tanakiarna*» ou «*te umu tanaki*» J o que, na versão de R. Firth, quer dizer: «*The oven of joining*», isto é, a lareira ou fogão vincular. (...) as referidas expressões tikopias não deixam de ser também evocativas do *ahi-saun* (fogo + aliança) do tétum, relacionado com um tipo de parentesco classificatório, assaz curioso e muito espalhado em Timor, com o seu nó central localizado na *ahi-matan* ou *api-mata* (lareira-fogão), onde tal parentesco se exprime em ritos mais ou menos solenes, com mais ou menos intervenientes. Todos os

que nesses ritos participam são *ahi--saun* uns dos outros, por consanguinidade ou afinidade ou adopção ou pacto de sangue ou mera conterraneidade. O parentesco de *ahi-saun* é assim designado não porque forçosamente o produza algum rito de fogo, mas porque ele se exprime pela comunhão do fogo, como parecem prová-lo certos ritos primícias, como o do milho novo e o do fogo novo. (Barros, 1975:12)

É portanto ao pensar sobre o fogo que sai da lareira sagrada como fonte de iluminação, que direcciona a sua “chama” para o céu do teto da casa sagrada, convidando o guardião invisível a ajudar na ascensão do fogo sagrado, que conseguimos conceber o “foco” ou o “centro” da saída do fogo na lareira sagrada. Esse foco/centro é o ponto no qual os raios se encontram depois da ascensão das chamas, purificando todos os objectos sagrados que estão guardados na casa sagrada.

Omnipotente na vida de ontem e de hoje, quer seja chama ou energia, indissociável da evolução humana, falando ao espírito com aos sentidos, o fogo é uma das grandes preocupações do homem. Compreender o fogo, [ascendido na lareira sagrada, ou nas cozinhas quaisquer], dominá-lo, situá-lo no universo natural, assim como no universo humano, são preocupações tão velhas como as interrogações do homem sobre a mesmo. E não existe grupo humano que não tenha dado as suas respostas, como não existe grupo humano que não tenha encontrado centenas de maneiras de o produzir, de o conservar e de o utilizar. Quer dizer que o mundo do fogo, mesmo limitado às suas relações com o homem, é um mundo infinito que seria impossível esgotar, marcado quer pela riqueza de seus assuntos, quer pela riqueza cultural do mundo humano. (Perlès, 1989:264)

Deste modo, podendo advertir que “acreditamos que só através de um conhecimento metafísico de sentidos, em conjugação com a aproximação filosófica da fé em crença que pode sinalizar o pensamento de ‘crer’ e ‘não-crer’ nas suas instâncias particulares, é que aquela riqueza e aquela profundidade ritual poderão ser encaradas em toda a sua largueza mediante a fundação de uma fé nos objectos ditos sagrados e no caso concreto da sociedade timorense é na *uma-lulik*” (Paulino & Gomes, 2019:33). Porque “*uma-lulik* representa a figura feminina como um ser protetor do elemento familiar dos timorenses, porque simboliza a beleza da mãe-terra” (Araújo, 2016:65). Por isso é que a lareira sagrada é sempre guardada e acendida por mulheres.

Lareira sagrada dentro da casa sagrada

Construir uma nova casa significa construir também uma *ahi-matan foun* (“nova lareira”), que metaforicamente é considerada como *ahi-matan matak* (“lareira virgem”), ou ainda “virgem da luz”. Certo é que o significado da “lareira virgem” personifica a “ascensão da nova morada”, aludindo-se às raparigas que ainda não foram tocadas por nenhum homem – essa emergência equivale à fundação da “nova lareira” dentro da casa sagrada recém-construída. É certo que uma “lareira virgem” ainda em plena fundação torna-se um emblema apropriado ao significado de sua relação com os mitos fundacionais. Ela permanece fonte pura da nova caminhada feita por aqueles que acreditam na importância da “lareira sagrada” em suas vidas espirituais e materiais. Barros em 1975 já aludia à associação da lareira a símbolos do feminino e do masculino:

Note-se, todavia, que para o nativo de muitas partes de Timor existe uma estreita relação entre a panela que se põe ao lume e as três pedras tradicionais que lhe formam a trempe. Para ele a panela é mulher, e as três pedras, o símbolo dos órgãos genitais do homem. É neste simbolismo fálico que o indígena pensa, quando, ao proferir o número 3, ele se premune com o habitual «com licença», pronunciado por vezes da maneira mais bárbara. (Barros, 1975:11)

Ruy Cinatti também mencionou a emergência do fluxo de vida dos timorenses na casa sagrada. Segundo Ruy Cinatti,

Na estrutura da habitação revela-se o simbolismo cósmico: a casa é uma imagem do mundo, a sua cobertura é o Céu, o pilar ou poste principal é assimilado ao “eixo do mundo” que sustenta o imenso teto celeste e desempenha um papel ritual importante: é na sua base que têm lugar os sacrifícios em honra do ser supremo, Marômac. “... Dois postes grandes e grossos irrompem na grande sala e suportam por si só grande parte do peso da cobertura: são o Kakaluk rai e o Kakaluk lor. O Kakaluk lor, símbolo do culto da casa, é objeto de especiais atenções: no chão, junto dele, o chefe da família coloca um prato de pedra, o “lor fufuhum”, e, sobre a lareira, dispõe um outro, o “lor hun”. (Cinatti; Almeida & Mendes, 1987, p. 36)

Simbolicamente o fluxo dos timorenses está associado ao *Ahi-matan lulik*. *Ahi-matan lulik* é criada no centro da casa sagrada onde se encontram duas lareiras sagradas: *ahi-matan feto* e *ahi-matan mane*. *Ahi-matan feto* tem função de proteger o espaço interior, o lar da linhagem, o círculo da vida familiar; enquanto *ahi-matan mane* representa os trabalhos e os negócios, porque o homem tem função de sustentar economicamente a vida familiar.

A casa é guardada pela mulher e isso significa que a lareira é simbolicamente associada à vida da mulher, como guardiã do fogo da casa, para que este fique aceso permanentemente. Na medida em que a mulher gera os filhos, ela faz parto da casa e só a mulher é que pode germinar a semente depositada pelo homem. A dinâmica de parentesco patrilocal e patrilinear implica que a mulher sai da casa da família de origem e integra-se na lareira da casa do marido, passando a ser membro do fogo sagrado da linhagem do marido, e a administradora dos bens que o marido adquire fora da casa. Nos contextos timorenses de descendência matrilinear, a mulher é continuadora da vida da linhagem, guardiã do fogo da casa e administradora dos bens matrilineares, enquanto o marido é o pilar que dá o suporte para a manutenção do fluxo de matrilinearidade.

Apesar desta diferença entre contextos como descendência patrilinear e matrilinear, podemos dizer que simbolicamente *ahi-matan feto* e *ahi-matan mane* representam em geral a apropriação do corpo e da alma no labor e no trabalho para a vida. Isso significa que lareira sagrada montada no centro da cada casa sagrada dos timorenses permite garantir um acesso dos homens e das mulheres a lugares sagrados, querendo dizer que a lareira sagrada acendida dentro da casa sagrada representa simbolicamente as lareiras de cada membro da família de uma ou mais casas sagradas. Portanto, a lareira sagrada é um centro purificador e regenerador do fluxo de vida. A lareira propriamente dita é o altar para cozinhar os alimentos já sacralizados ritualmente. A lareira sagrada é um centro de purificação e de regeneração do fluxo de vida dos timorenses. Ela fortifica a sacralização da relação dual “*mane-feto*” em torno de procriação pré-estabelecida entre a mulher e o homem – o que entre os Bunak se denomina “*pana talika, mone tchuluma* – mulher auxilia, homem cuida” (Paulino, 2019, pp. 90-91). Nesse sentido, podemos dizer que simbolicamente *ahi-matan mane* é protector da *ahi-matan feto*, ou seja, o homem tem por função proteger ou cuidar a mulher; enquanto a mulher tem por função dar auxílio ao homem.

Os diferentes usos das lareiras domésticas e lareiras sagradas estabelecem assim um paralelo que vale a pena sistematizar.

Lareiras sagradas	Lareiras domésticas
a) A sua existência está dentro da casa sagrada; b) Constituídas por três pedras que têm funções próprias a representar; c) A lareira sagrada só é usada em ocasião específicas, isto é, usadas no momento da realização de certas cerimónias rituais;	a) A sua existência associa-se a um agregado doméstico – cada membro da família cria a sua própria lareira para a sua necessidade de “alimentar-se”; b) Constituídas por três pedras e consideradas apenas como o suporte das panelas; c) Para acender o fogo na lareira doméstica não são necessárias cerimónias rituais, pois é apenas uma lareira familiar que não tem função sagrada;

E assim que o homem precisa viver num espaço sagrado, no “centro”, seja ele de difícil acesso ou não.

O significado de três pedras na lareira sagrada

Montar as lareiras sagradas, como já referimos muitas vezes aqui, no seu duplo de femininas (*ahi-matan feto*) e masculinas (*ahi-matan mane*) dentro da casa sagrada é perspetivada também pela sua importância na formação do triângulo relacional cosmogónico: espaço celestial, espaço dos espíritos (espaço das divindades intermediárias, incluindo os espíritos dos antepassados) e espaço dos homens. Estes elementos cosmogónicos são fortificados pelo sagrado, conhecido na língua tétum como *lúlik*. *Lúlik* é algo sagrado que une a natureza ancestral, o universo divino e o mundo dos vivos. A natureza é o centro dessa ligação. É nesse contexto que se desenvolve a relação humana timorense com todas as partes existentes no universo numa união tridimensional (o mundo visível, o mundo dos espíritos e o espaço celestial) (Araújo, 2013, p. 43).

As três pedras são elementos que constituem a composição de uma lareira e representam a evolução de um fluxo de vida. Na colocação das três pedras sagradas que compõem a lareira sagrada, um *lia-nain* (autoridade ritual) procede ao ritual. Na cultura dos habitantes do suco de Lari-Sula (falantes de língua Macassae), repete-se setes vezes a mesma prece ao invocar o último nome da sétima geração de *uma-lulik Babosá*.

Macassai	Língua Portuguesa
Ai mata ai dada Atali'a Gi-Falunu ele erehai mini sa'e ge'ere. Ehani gube ai oma-falu giala'a do ma giga'awaii sirai nana. Do gana sotero kaiteru ai oma-falu i ai dada mata ge'e.	Os teus filhos e os teus netos já pensaram nesta lareira sagrada, agora levam para dentro da tua casa sagrada para a colocarem no seu devido lugar para que seja sombra para a tua casa sagrada e para a tua geração.

E nessa ocasião que eleva o estatuto de *Atali'a Gi-Falunu* como protetor da família e formula pedidos de abundância na geração e abundância nas produções tanto agrícolas como pastoris. As duas pedras sagradas – a masculina e a feminina – são colocadas num *rabi* e transportadas para dentro da casa pelo ancião que preside à cerimónia. Estas só podem ser colocadas precisamente no local onde se assenta a coluna sagrada masculina e feminina, considerando que duas das colunas da casa – uma masculina e outra feminina – são sagradas, como se pode constatar na figura a seguir (Ximenes & Pinto, 2017).



Figura 1. Casa sagrada Bobosá.

Foto: Pinto, 2017.



Figura 2. Atali'a Gi-Falunu.

Foto: Pinto, 2017.

Enquanto na cultura Fataluku, segundo Viana (2020), a lareira sagrada se designa por *ira kaka*, *aca kaka* e os antepassados *calu ho papu*. *Ira kaka* pode ser traduzido como *bee-maun* em tétum, o que significa “água-irmão”; e *aca kaka* em tétum é *ahi-maun*, ou seja, “fogo-irmão” (Viana, 2020, p. 196). As referidas expressões são usadas pelos antepassados entre os Fataluku para simbolizar a fonte de vida, pois perceberam que a água e o fogo são elementos principais da vida (Ibidem, 2020, p. 196).



Figura 3. Centro interior da casa sagrada de Lacro-Mantelo em Aileu com suas respectivas lareiras sagradas: *ahi-matan mane* e *ahi-matan feto*.

Foto: Oldérico Barreto, 2015.



Figura 4. Lareiras sagradas de *uma-luli Nugoluli* em Manapa – Cailaco.

Foto: Vicente Paulino, agosto 2017.

Vale a pena realçar que esta uma-lulik Nugoluli ficava erguida perto da zona onde se encontra o Colégio Infante Sagres de Maliana.

A lareira sagrada é montada simbolicamente na consagração da nova casa sagrada Aidabarema, localizada em Manapa – Cailaco. Esta casa sagrada já foi construída com materiais modernos, por isso é que no ritual de sua consagração se monta artificialmente a lareira sagrada como símbolo de reconhecimento ao fogo sagrado herdado pelos seus antepassados.



Figura 5. A montagem moderna da lareira sagrada simbolicamente ritualizada.

Foto: Elda dos Santos, agosto 2017.

Consideração final

Neste texto mostrámos que o fogo é um elemento que carrega a vida: o fogo consome, aquece e ilumina, mas também pode causar dor e morte, é simbolicamente ambivalente. Muitas vezes é símbolo sagrado da lareira e simboliza também a purificação da vida. Deste modo, o fogo tem um poder que dá força à alma e ao corpo dos seres humanos, porque com o fogo aumenta a energia vital do homem. Todavia, no que diz respeito ao fogo acendido na lareira sagrada ele é “fogo

sagrado” porque purifica e regenera o fluxo da vida da linhagem agrupada numa casa sagrada.

Acender o fogo na lareira sagrada é um momento especial, porque se realiza na ocasião de determinada cerimónia ritual: por exemplo, a cerimónia de lavar os olhos do bebé recém-nascido é um ato sagrado que tem que ver também com o ato do sagrado parto e parto sagrado. Porque o fogo e a água são elementos essenciais no momento em que se realiza o ato do parto sagrado na casa ou no hospital (Araújo, 2013; Paulino & Araújo, 2018). Mais concretamente,

O parto tem sempre lugar em casa. A mulher coloca-se de cócoras sobre o lantém (cama ou, mas propriamente a tarimba tradicional) junto do qual o marido da parturiente acende uma fogueira que servirá para aquecer a água com que mãe e filho serão lavados. (Araújo, 2013:65)

A presença de elementos sagrados na cultura timorense, como o local do parto, a água e o fogo conduz a maior confiança e conforto na gestante. É por isso que o processo do “sagrado parto inicia-se com a realização do ‘sagrado ritual’ e sempre acompanhado por um *lia-na’in*⁴, uma parteira ou um elemento familiar para apoiar a parturiente no ato do parto (Araújo, 2013:66). Tal como referido por Paris (1994) para o caso da Grécia Antiga, em Timor-Leste o fogo da lareira sagrada é extinto em ocasião de luto, fim de um lar, extinção de uma família, ou abandono de um local (Paris, 1994). As lareiras das casas sagradas timorenses são acendidas com a lenha de madeiras, e não podem ser substituídas por outros materiais de combustão.

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3. A Origem da Comunidade Tétum em Fohorem

Nuno da Silva Gomes¹

A Origem da Comunidade Tétum em Fohorem

Neste texto apresento o resultado de uma pesquisa realizada na comunidade Tétum no posto administrativo de Fohorem, Timor-Leste. A pesquisa centrou-se na busca das informações do passado da comunidade, sobretudo sua história da origem, repassando-as verbalmente para os mais novos, de geração em geração. O método utilizado neste trabalho é o método da crítica textual e uma aproximação contextual que tem o mito como base da análise. O resultado da análise demonstra a existência de uma relação de origem da comunidade tétum em Fohorem vindo de Malaca.

Posto administrativo Fohorem. Comunidade Tétum. História da origem.

The Origin of the Tetum Community in Fohorem

This text presents the results of a survey held among the Tetum community in the administrative post of Fohorem, Timor-Leste. The research focused on the search for information about the community's past, especially its history of origin which is passed on verbally to the younger generations. The method used in this work is the textual criticism method and a contextual approach that has the myth as the basis of the analysis. The result of the analysis demonstrates the existence of a relationship of the Tetum community in Fohorem with Malacca.

Fohorem administrative post. Tetum community. History of origin.

Orijen Komunidade Tetun iha Fohoren

Iha testu ne'e hato'o resultadu peskiza ne'ebé hala'o iha comunidade Tetun hosi postu administrativu Fohoren, Timor-Leste, ho ninia objetivu espesífiku sentraliza iha foti infor-

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masun comunidade sira nia moris horiuluk nian, liuliu sira nia istória orijen, ne'ebeé ható verbalmente ba jerasaun foun sira, hosi jerasaun ba jerasaun. Métodu ne'ebé uza iha traballu ne'e mak métodu krítika testual no aprosimasaun testual ida ba mitu nu'udar baze análise nian. Resultadu análise ne'e hatudu eziténsia relasionál orijen comunidade tetun Fohoren ho Malaka.

Postu administrativu Fohorem. Comunidade Tetun. Istória orijen.

Introdução

Fohorem é um dos sete postos administrativos do município de Covalima. A população, para efeitos do uso da língua, divide-se em dois grupos: Suco Fohoren e Datorua, que são falantes do *Tétum Terik*; e Laktos e Datotolu, que são falantes do *Bunak*.

A comunidade Tétum em Fohorem é um dos grupos sociolinguísticos em Timor que se designa por *ema tetun* (o povo de Tétum), com uma língua própria *dalen tetun*, e fala a língua Tétum dale tetun (Parera, 1994, p. 47). A língua Tétum tem as zonas próprias, tanto em Timor-Leste como também em Timor Ocidental (Indonésia) que são zonas específicas de Tétum térique. Na parte sudoeste do país, o Tétum é falado como dialeto local na área de Viqueque, Luca, Lacluta, Barique, Fehuc-Riin, Samoro, Fatuberliu, Alas e Bibi Susuc. Enquanto que na zona ocidental do país ao longo da fronteira com indonésia, este dialeto também é falado nas zonas de Suai, Fatumean e Fohorem (De Sá, 1961, p. 24, Paulino, 2019, p. 125).

Não se encontram fontes ou documentos escritos que refiram especificamente a origem desta comunidade. Os documentos escritos sobre Timor em geral só existem para o período posterior à chegada dos portugueses. No entanto, esta comunidade, como os timorenses em geral (Capell, 1943/1944), têm uma cultura oral importante. Os povos com estas características, em qualquer parte do mundo (Vansina 1965, p. 1), consideram a tradição oral como a única fonte na divulgação dos acontecimentos do passado. Entretanto, as fontes orais como afirma Silveira (2011) desempenham um papel importante na descoberta das suas histórias do passado, as suas visões de mundo e outras sistemas de convenções e normas sociais da comunidade.

A comunidade tétum em Fohorem como o povo timorense em geral conserva as suas histórias de origem dos seus antepassados nas suas tradições orais (Paulino, 2017, p. 157). Existem, pelo menos, duas formas de tradição oral que narram a história da origem da comunidade, a saber, forma de conto popular (*ai-knanoik*) e poesia ritual (*hamulak*). Estas formas de tradição oral foram preservadas pelo povo e são reproduzidas oralmente de geração em geração. Na comunidade em

estudo, estas tradições são contadas pelas pessoas e nas ocasiões determinadas. O narrador ou apresentador da história do passado é chamado *lia-na'in* (dono da palavra) ou *mako'an* (o sacerdote ritual).

O objetivo principal deste artigo é tentar descobrir a origem da comunidade tétum em Fohorem através de um texto de tradição oral na forma de poesia ritual. O objeto da análise é um texto apresentado pelo *lia-na'in* Luan Pedro, orador profissional da comunidade. O trabalho é desenvolvido nas seguintes etapas. Na primeira parte analiso um texto oral que narra a origem tétum em Fohorem, completado com sua tradução para língua portuguesa, e a interpretação do texto para descobrir a origem desta comunidade. Além da utilização da fonte oral, a interpretação baseia-se também em documentos escritos, tais resultados de pesquisa de vários antropólogos.

Estudo da tradição oral

Jan Vansina, no seu Livro *Oral Tradition as History* (1985, p. 3) defende que a expressão tradição oral deve ser compreendida como processo e seus produtos. Os produtos de tradição oral são mensagens orais transmitidas pelos ancestrais no passado com pelo menos uma geração de diferença. O processo é ato de transmissão destas mensagens de boca em boca ao longo do tempo. Assim, esta tradição oral herdada pelo povo é considerada pela UNESCO como Património Cultural Imaterial (Leal, 2009, p. 289).

Na definição, as tradições orais incluem literatura oral, tecnologia tradicional, conhecimento folclórico, elementos religiosos e as crenças locais da comunidade. A tradição, segundo Gustavo Junqueira Duarte Oliveira (2017, p. 51), é algo do passado persistente no presente. As tradições orais que contenham valores históricos são transmitidas oralmente de geração em geração seguindo determinados procedimentos estabelecidos dentro de uma comunidade.

Normalmente, as histórias contadas oralmente começam com a descrição da genealogia, mitos, lendas, contos de fadas e histórias de origem. As tradições orais abrangem aspectos literários e culturais que incluem sistemas de genealogia, cosmologia, história, filosofia, sistemas de conhecimento. As tradições orais, como fato da sociedade, podem ser objeto de estudo por várias disciplinas científicas. O conteúdo dos eventos que ocorrem na cultura da comunidade é um fato cultural interessante a ser analisado e usado como fonte de abordagem da história local. O pesquisador de tradição oral Jan Vansina (1965) afirmou que a tradição oral também é importante para descobrir a história do passado. A tradição oral pode fornecer uma explicação dos fenômenos históricos que ocorreram no passado.

No estudo na África Jan Vansina revelou que a tradição oral é a principal fonte na divulgação da história do passado em sociedades sem escrita.

Na tradição oral dos timorenses, especialmente os que vivem na área de Fohorem, é contada a chegada de ancestrais de Tétum relacionados com Malaca e Wee Hali. A comunidade tétum em Fohorem reconhece Malaca como a origem dos seus ancestrais. O nome Malaca sempre aparece na poesia ritual “Sadan Malakan, Molin Malakan”. É provável que a origem da comunidade tétum em Fohorem seja originária de Malaca. Outra interpretação é a chegada de chineses “brancos” que já haviam visitado Malaca.

Publicação e tradução do texto oral

– Notas prévias

A tradução, segundo Teeuw (1984, p. 178) pode ser vista como uma forma de recepção, o que também pode ser interpretada como uma nova criação. Maria Lucília Pereira da Silva (2012, p. 82) por seu lado, argumentou que, na tradução, é necessário um conhecimento, não só da língua alvo como da língua fonte, e ainda o conhecimento das características culturais em vigor. Assim, a tradução desempenha um papel muito importante como um acto inovador e é um passo essencial para a aceitação de novas normas. Em um estudo sobre “A Casa Como Enunciado: Narrações de Origem Entre os Bunak – Bobonaro, Timor-Leste”, Lúcio Manuel Gomes de Sousa (2011, p. 92) revelou que:

No contexto da tradução cultural em apreciação traduzir consiste em passar ou transpor um enunciado “facto/processo” cultural/social procedente de uma determinada cultura (cultura-fonte) para o equivalente numa outra cultura/sociedade (cultura-alvo). Estamos assim perante a questão do confronto com a alteridade e a possibilidade de comunicação entre duas culturas.

Uma das dificuldades nesta tradução é a tradução cultural, ou seja, passar um enunciado dos factos culturais da comunidade tétum (como língua fonte) para a língua alvo o português, porque o texto além de utilizar as palavras arcaicas e metafóricas também utiliza as palavras em pares paralelas que contenham unidade semântica. Assim, a tradução das palavras paralelas deve ser apresentada com palavras sinónimas (desde que disponíveis) em Português, ou traduzidas para a mesma palavra ou frase. Isso resultaria na redução do efeito estético da obra literária, mas não pode ser evitada porque em Português não existem nem a estrutura nem dispositivos linguísticos rituais idênticos.

A tradução apresentada é uma tradução livre, evitando a tradução directa para que o leitor possa acompanhar toda a narração. No caso da inexistência de palavras sinónimas na língua alvo, o Português, coloca-se a explicação em nota de rodapé, para ajudar o leitor a compreender e entender bem o texto e o contexto.

– Texto da história de origem da Comunidade Tétum em Fohorem

1.	Laku ona ba, sale ona ba	permite-me falar, autoriza-me apresentar
2.	Lia rai loot, lia rai ki'ik	a questão do mundo restrito, mundo ainda pequeno
3.	Nu'u manu matan, nu'u bua klaut	como os olhos do galo, como as rodelas de areca
4.	Nu'u kida din, nu'u felu fohon	como <i>kida din</i> ² , que gira em cima da casca do coco
5.	Rai fila an, rai falu an	mundo invisível, mundo misterioso
6.	Fila malorek, fila mahelik	às vezes visível, às vezes invisível
7.	Rai nakukun, rai nakalan	mundo escuro, mundo da noite
8.	Ne'e foho kmesak, ne'e leo bele	em Foho Kmesak, Leo Bele
9.	Tasi sei boot, metisei buis	mar ainda era grande, mar ainda era bravo
10.	Bera teki-tekis, bera tu-tuur	Repentinamente, de repente.
11.	Aman Maromak, bein Maromak	Deus Pai, Deus Ancestral.
12.	Buti nahilas, kumu nahilas	criando cuidadosamente, formar perfeitamente
13.	Buti nalo ema, kumu nalo ema	criando o homem, formando o ser humano
14.	No'i terus lerek, no'i susar lerek	ainda destituída, ainda viverem em sofrimento
15.	Bera teki-tekis, bera tu-tuur	repentinamente, de repente
16.	Aman Maromak, bein Maromak	Deus Pai, Deus Ancestral
17.	Lolo ibun mai, lolo lian mai	afirmou, Dizendo
18.	Nodi natudu, nodi nalelok	apontando, orientando
19.	Nalo uma moris, nalo uma tadu	criou a casa, Formou o abrigo

(cont.)

2. *Kida din* é uma peça onde se enrola o algodão como matéria prima de tajo tradicional tais. Esta visão tem a ver com a ciência de astronomia. O mundo é redondo e gira em torno do seu eixo.

20	Uma lalisuk, uma fafaur	casa <i>Lalisuk</i> , abrigo <i>Fafaur</i> ³ ,
21.	Faur loron sa'en, faur loro toban	rodear para o leste, gira para oeste
22.	Faur belan rua, faur karas rua	rodear para norte, gira para sul
23.	Terus teni dei, susar teni dei	(o homem) ainda estava a sofrer, ainda era destituída
24.	Terus kalan hitu, terus loron hitu	sofreu sete noites, sofreu sete dias
25.	Bera teki-tekis, bera tu-tuur	repentinamente, de repente
26.	Aman Maromak, bein Maromak	Deus Pai, Deus Ancestral
27.	Lolo ibun mai, lolo lian mai	afirmou, dizendo
28.	Nodi natudu, nodi nalelok	apontando, dirigindo
29.	Nalo kitar tudu, nalo to'os moris	criando hortas, formar quintas
30.	Ne'e Etu Buku, ne'e Wee Ribas	em Etu Buku, Em Wee Ribas ⁴
31.	Ne'e to'os tuan, ne'e kitar tuan	A horta antiga, o quintal velho
32.	Rai sei nakukun, rai sei nakalan	o mundo ainda era escuro, ainda era noite
34.	Metisei boot, tasi sei buis	o mar ainda grande, a água era brava
35.	Terus nafatin, susar nafatin	continua a ser sofrer, continua a ser destruída
36.	Bera teki-teki s, bera tu-tuur	repentinamente, de repente
37.	Aman Maromak, bein Maromak	Deus Pai, Deus Ancestral
38.	Ema inan ida, ema aman ida	peessoa de uma só mãe, a pessoa gêmea
39.	Nalo nein kitar, nalo daka to'os	tomar conta do quintal, dar conta da horta
40.	Terus nafatin, susar nafatin	ainda estava a sofrer, ainda era destruída
41.	Meti na'in mai, tasi na'in mai	veio o dono do mar, apareceu o dono do mar
42.	Soso nahaat tian, lua nahaat tian	estragou a horta, estragou o quintal

(cont.)

3. Um pilar de pau em forma de cruz e que gira quando soprado pelo vento. É considerado como a primeira casa do ancestral da comunidade tétum. Em Fohorem serve apenas para guardar os objetos sagrados.

4. É a primeira horta da comunidade, localizada no sopé da montanha de Foho Mesak, lugar onde Deus criou o Homem.

43.	Terus teni dei, susar teni dei	continua a ser sofrer, continua a ser destruída
44.	Daka to'o alin, nein to'o alin	chegou a vez do irmão, a vez do seu irmão
45.	No'o tasi na'in, no'o meti na'in	matou o dono do mar, matou o senhor da água
46.	Nalo funu tan, nalo ledon tan	começou a guerra, iniciou a guerra
47.	No tasi na'in, no meti na'in	contra o dono do mar, contra o senhor da água
48.	Funu manán, ledon manán	ganhou a guerra, ganhou a luta
49.	Manán meti na'in, manán tasi na'in	ganhou o dono do mar, ganhou o senhor da água
50.	Rai luan soruk, rai nuhi soruk	mundo se torna vasta, a terra fica mais empurrado
51.	Bera teki-teki, bera tu-tuur	repentinamente, de repente
52.	Rai nalua, rai nakee	mundo fica mais amplo, terra fica mais vasta
53.	Ema wa'in tian, ema wara tian	existem mais pessoas, havia muita gente
54.	Susar nafatin dei, terus nafatin dei	continua a ser sofrido, continua a ser destruída
55.	Wee matak mesak, ai-huuk kmesak	existe uma única fonte da água, havia apenas uma única árvore
56.	Kuru nadau, duit nadau	a disputa da água, existia controvérsia sobre água
57.	Nalo funu tan, nalo ledon tan	começou a guerra, iniciou a luta
58.	Funu kuda teen, funu karau teen	guerra do esterco de cavalo, guerra do esterco de búfalos
59.	Funu fuka rahun, funu kian rahun	guerra de kian rahun, luta de fuka rahun
60.	Funu kalan hitu, funu loron hitu	guerra sete dias, luta sete noites
61.	Ne'e roolaran, ne'e biduk laran	dentro do navio, em cima do navio
62.	Ne'e fatu besi, ne'e leo rai	em Fatu Besi, Em Leo Bele ⁵
63.	Ne'e rootuan, ne'e biduk tuan	o navio antigo, o navio velho
64.	Meti nuhi tian, tasi mara lian	a água está seca, o mar está seco
65.	Rai belar tian, rai luan tian	a terra torne-se mais vasta, mais ampla

(cont.)

5. É um local localizado ao redor da montanha Foho Mesak e considerado como o antigo navio que transporta o ancestral da comunidade tétum em um lugar muito longe.

66.	Rai sama ba, rai tuur ba	na terra onde pisamos, no lugar onde habitamos
67.	Ema bea tian, ema wara tian	seres humanos evoluíram, havia muita gente
68.	Suri Liurai, Taek Liurai	Suri Liurai, Taek Liurai
69.	No Leki Metan, no Mauk Metan	com Leki Metan, com Mauk Metan
70.	Buik Akitou, Mauk Nowaa	Buik Akitou, Mauk Nowaa
71.	Semo rai ohak, semo rai fohon	voar de baixo da terra, voar acima da terra
72.	Tete rai ohak, tete rai fohon	flutuando debaixo da terra, voar em cima da terra
73.	Tuir inuk tuan, tuir dalan tuan	seguindo o caminho velho, seguindo a vereda antiga
74.	To'o ona mai, dai ona mai	já chegou, já aproximou
75.	Ne'e kota tuan, ne'e lo'o tuan	a cidade antiga, a aldeia velha
76.	Ne'e Wee Sei, ne'e wee Hali	em Wee sei, Em Wee Hali
77.	Wee Sei tuan, Wee Hali tuan	Wee Sei Antigo , Wee Hali Velha
78.	Wee baki tuan , We hada tuan	Wee Baki Antigo , Wee Hada Velha
79.	Luli wa'ik tian, manas wa'ik tian	já muito tabu, já muito sagrado
80.	Ami mesa koson, ami mesa nurak	somos novos, somos mimosos
81.	Didin kela lai, sara kela lai	é preciso separar, é preciso de tapar
82.	Sara kelaibun, buti kelas tais	tapar a minha boca, pegar a minha tais ⁶
83.	La'a liu deik, la'a basu deik	passar para frente, caminhando adiante
84.	Beta soruk mai, sama soruk mai	caminhando mais, venha mais
85.	Ne'e Wee Kmeer , ne'e Wee Kmidar	em Wee Kmeer, em Wee Kmidar
86.	Ne'e Sara Kokon, ne'e Bau Saik	em Sara kokon, em Bau Saik
87.	Ne'e Orluli, ne'e Orlian	em Orluli, em Orlian

(cont.)

6. *Sara kelaibun, buti kelas tais* neste contexto é uma expressão de respeito. A comunidade considera este lugar como tabu. É traduzido como tapar a minha boca e apertar o meu tais, porque tem a ver com a tradição da comunidade tétum quando menciona algumas palavras consideradas tabu.

88.	Ne'e Mau Muni, ne'e Mau Tiar	em Mau Muni, em Mau Tiar
89.	Ne'e Sukabi, ne'e Loro Leok	em Sukabi, em Loro Leok
90.	Ne'e Hun Tuha, ne'e Loromalik	em Hun Tuha, em Loro Malik
91.	Ne'e Sama lai, ne'e Bua Ahan	em Sama Lai, em Bua Ahan
92.	Uma ahok tuan, ri tur tuan	a aldeia velha, a vila antiga
93.	Riin besi tuan, riin murak tuan	pólo de ferro antigo, pólo de ouro velho
94.	Na matak tian, nemu matak tian	já comeu comida cruda, bebeu água potável
95.	Ami mesa koson, ami mesa nurak	somos novos, somos mimosos
96.	Didin kela lai, sara kela lai	é preciso separar, é preciso de tapar a minha boca
97.	Buti kela tais, sara kalaibun	tapar a minha boca, pegar a minha <i>tais</i> ⁷
98.	La'a liu deik, la'a basu deik	passar para frente, caminhando adiante
99.	Ne'e Taroman, ne'e Bula'e	em Taroman, Em Bula'e
100.	Ne'e Koke oan, ne'e Hali fehan	em Koke oan, Em Hali Fehan
101.	Ne'e Bora horun, ne'e Lalirik	em Bora Horun, em Lalirik
102.	Ne'e Hare kain, ne'e Nuufehan	em Hare Kain, em Nuufehan
103.	Ne'e Fatu biti, ne'e Nua dato	em Fatu Biti, em Nua Dato
104.	Nodi naninu, nodi nanae	para ver, para observar
105.	Uma ahok tuan, rii tuur tuan	a aldeia velha, a vila antiga
106.	Riin besi tuan, riin murak tuan	pilar de ferro antigo, pilar de ouro velho
107.	Ne'e Uma metan, ne'e Rii mean	em Uma Metan, Em Rii Mean
108.	Nemu matak tian, na matak tian	já bebeu água potável, já comeu comida crua
109.	Luli waik tian, manas waik tian	já muito tabú, já muito sagrado
110.	Ami mesa koson, ami mesa nurak	somos novos, somos mimosos
111.	Didin kala lai, sara kela lai	é preciso separar, é preciso tapar

(cont.)

7. *Tais* é um traje tradicional da comunidade. Utiliza-se, especialmente, nas festas rituais.

112.	Buti kelas tais, sara kela ibun	tapar a minha boca, apertar o meu <i>tais</i>
113.	La'a liu deik, la'a basu deik	passar para frente, caminhando adiante
114.	Beta mai deik, sama mai deik	passar para frente, caminhando adiante
115.	Ne'e Ai-lo'ok, ne'e Daderus	em Ai Lo'ok, em Daderus
116.	Laknuan ki'ik, Nuan kawa'ik	Laknuan pequeno, Laknuan Grande
117.	Ne'e Fatu mean, ne'e Wee kfauk	em Fatuk mean, em Wee kfauk
118.	Ne'e Fatu besi, ne'e Leo rai	em Fatu Besi, Em Leo rai
119.	Ne'e roo tuan, ne'e biduk tuan	o barco antigo, o barco velho
120.	Ne'e Fatuk Metan, ne'e Rai luan	em Fatuk Metan, em Rai Luan
121.	Ne'e Sukabi, ne'e Lae diuk	em Sukabi, em Lae diuk
122.	Nodi naninu, nodi nanae	para ver, para observar
123.	Uma ahok foun, rii tuur foun	a nova aldeia, a nova vila
124.	Riin besi foun, riin murak foun	pilar de ferro novo, pipal de ouro novo
125.	Ne'e Sama fuuk, ne'e Wee tunas	em Sama Fuuk, em Wee Tunas
126.	Ne'e Uma metan, ne'e Rii mean	em Uma metan, em pilar de ouro
127.	Ne'e riinbesi, ne'e riin murak	pilar de ferro, pilar de ouro
128.	No sadan tuan, no molin tuan	com o sadan antigo, com o sadan velho
129.	Sadan malakan , molin malakan	Sadan Malakan, molin malakan
130.	Foin laku tan , foin sale tan	permite-me dizer, permite-me falar
131.	Aman Maromak, Inan Maromak	Deus Pai, Deus ancestral
132.	Ami mesa koson, ami mesa nurak	somos novos, somos mimosos
133.	Asu hahán seluk, manu kari seluk	como cães mal alimentados, como galo mal alimentado
134.	Terik la to'o, de'an la to'o	a palavra não seja perfeita, a palavra incompleta
135.	Los ama na'i, los bei na'i	conforme o ancestral, depende do antepassado
136.	Terik ma to'o ba, dale ma to'o ba	completar a minha apresentação, concluir a minha palavra

(cont.)

137.	Ma to'o ami ibun, ma to'o ami lian	aperfeiçoar nossa palavra, completar o nosso discurso
138.	Ibun ne'e deik, lian ne'e deik	só isso a nossa palavra, só isso nosso discurso
139.	Ibun murak mean, lian murak mean	esta palavra é de ouro, este discurso é de ouro
140.	Ibun dato nakonu, lian dato nakonu	termino a palavra, finaliza o discurso

A origem da comunidade Tétum em Fohorem

O texto oral alvo deste estudo refere que desde início, quando o mundo ainda não estava formado, o mundo ainda era misterioso, “*Nu'u manu matan // nu'u bua klaut*” (como olhos de galinha, como a noz de betel). A história começou com a montanha sagrada *Foho mesak*, *Leo Bele* (foho mesak: “montanha única”, Leo Bele: protegendo o mundo). O povo Fohorem acredita que seus ancestrais apareceram e se estabeleceram primeiro no pico da montanha de *Foho mesak*. A seguinte citação demonstra esta visão:

Nu'u manu matan, nu'u bua klaut	como olhos do galo, como rodela de areca
Nu'u kida din, nu'u felu fohon	como pilar giratória, em cima da casca do coco
Rai fila an, rai falu an	mundo invisível, mundo misterioso
Fila malorek, fila mahelik	às vezes visível, às vezes invisível
Rai nakukun, rai nakalan	mundo escuro, mundo da noite
Ne'e foho kmesak, ne'e leo bele	em Foho mesak, Leo Bele
Tasi sei boot, metisei buis	mar ainda era grande, mar ainda era bravo

Eles apareceram na montanha sagrada quando “o mar ainda era grande, a água ainda era bravo” (*tasi sei boot, meti sei buis*). A comunidade de Fohorem considera que os seus ancestrais vieram de barco de um lugar muito longe e indicam uma colina que se chama *Fatu Besi*, *Leo Rai* localizado no sope da montanha *Foho mesak* como o antigo navio que transportou os seus ancestrais.

Foi, portanto, em topo da montanha sagrada, *Foho Mesak*, *Leo Bele*, que é “*Aman Maromak*, *Bein Maromak*” (Deus Pai, Deus Ancestral), criou os primeiros seres humanos, seguidamente a casa e a horta. A primeira casa foi construída em *Etu Buku*, *We Ribas*, considerada a primeira casa tradicional. Mesmo assim,

eles ainda continuaram a enfrentar as dificuldades da vida até que apareceram as duas pessoas gêmeas (*Ema inan ida, Ema aman ida*), a saber: “*Suri Liurai e Taek Liurai*”. Segundo o texto os primeiros homens que habitaram a montanha de *Foho mesak* eram Suri Liurai e Taek Liu Rai, Leki Metan e Mauk Metan, Buik Akitou e Mauk Nowa. Este excerto refere-se a isso mesmo:

Rai belar tian, rai luan tian	a terra torna-se mais larga, o solo fica mais ampla
Rai sama ba, rai tuur ba	a terra onde pisamos, no lugar onde habitamos
Ema bea tian, ema wara tian	Os homens evoluíram, as pessoas multiplicam-se
Suri Liurai, Taek Liurai	Suri Liurai, Taek Liurai
No Leki Metan, no Mauk Metan	com Leki Metan, com Mauk Metan
Buik Akitou, Mauk Nowaa	Buik Akitou, Mauk Nowaa

Suri Liurai e Taek Liurai eram considerados como heróis da comunidade tétum porque depois da criação da primeira horta apareceu outro inimigo vindo do mar. Este inimigo é ilustrado como um porco grande chamado *Fahi Baruturatak* que pode entrar no mar devido a um corrente pendurada no pescoço. Acredita-se que eles ocuparam a área de Foho Mesak porque conseguiram ganhar a batalha contra *fahi baruturatak*. Depois de matar o porco Baruturatak, eles foram capazes de dominar Foho Mesak. Suri Liurai tornou-se um homem mágico depois de obter a corrente de Baruturatak. A partir daí eles construíram a primeira casa que se chama *uma lalisuk, uma fafaur*. Segundo o *lia na'in* Taek Taran o objetivo principal da construção desta casa é o de guardar o seu objecto sagrado – duas pedrinhas mágica – e a ponta da língua do porco baruturatak que foi morto na origem.

Segundo uma narrativa de conto popular manumatador (Gomes, 2007, 52) os primeiros ancestrais que chegaram primeiro em *Foho Mesak Leo Bele* eram Suri Liurai, Taek Liurai, Leki Metan e Mauk Metan, Buik Akitou e Mauk Nowaa. Seus descendentes até agora têm posições e são importantes nas cerimónias rituais, nomeadamente: Lia Na'in (descendente de Mauk Nowa e Buik Akitou), Ferik Katuas (descendentes de Leki Metan e Mauk Metan), Suri Liurai e Taek Liurai é descendente de Uma Metan e Uma Kanek.

Malaca e Weehali

Sadan é um componente importante dos ritos na consagração da *uma lulik*. Portanto, além da *uma lulik*, ainda existem outros dois símbolos rituais tais como: *sadan lulik* e *foho lulik* (altar sacrificial colocado no interior de sadan). Cada *uma lulik* da comunidade tétum têm o seu *sadan* próprio. O *sadan* da *uma metan* Fohorem é designado por *sadan malakan*, *molin malakan*. *Sadan Malakan*, *Molin Malakan* (Praça de Malaca, Terra de Malaca), e é o lugar de festas e também lugar de justiça popular, que é normalmente colocada na frente da *uma lulik* do clã, *uma metan Fohorem*.

No suco de Fohoren existe nome de *wehali* ou *loohali*, *We sei* e *Maubisi*. Eles acreditaram e continuam a acreditar que Fohorem é o lugar antigo do imperio *Wee Hali*. *Wesei-Wehali* era um reino muito conhecido na história dos reinos de Timor. O nome de *Weebiku Weehali* foi mencionado pelo Pigafetta em 1522. No seu relato (Sánchez, 2011), Pigafetta mencionou os quatro irmãos que ocuparam a ilha de Timor: Oibich (*webiku*), Lichsana (*Insana*), Suai e Cabanaza (*Camenaça*).

Estudos da antropologia física têm contribuído para as definições sobre a grande variedade de grupos sociolinguísticos em Timor. O estudo feito por Barros Cunha em 1885 sobre os 35 crânios de Timor (1937, p. 349) fornece-nos algumas marcas da variedade entre “raça” Melayu, Melanesia e mais especialmente da divisão Papuana dessa raça. Martinho, citado por Capell (1943/1944, p. 194), por seu lado argumentou que a população em Timor se divide em dois grupos principais: austronésios e melanésios.

O estudo de Gryzen em 1904 (Cunha, 1937, pp. 360-361) confirmou que as populações indígenas tétum teriam ascendência genética Malaio originado por colonos vindo de Malaca. Fernando Augusto Figueredo (2004, p. 100) por seu lado relatou que a comunidade Búnaque e Tétum vieram de um lugar para além dos mares, conhecido pelo nome de *Sina mutin-Malaka*. (china branco-Malaca).

Na tradição oral dos timorenses, especialmente os que vivem na área de Belu, é contada a chegada dos ancestrais da comunidade tétum em Belu relacionados com Malaca e China. Um texto da poesia oral da comunidade Belu acredita que *Sina Mutin Malaka* (Malaca Branca Chinesa) como a origem da comunidade tétum em Belu. O estudo de Didik Pradopo (2017) relatou que o nome Sina Mutin-Malaka é encontrado de uma poesia ritual tradicional de Belu “*Hutun rai hat, bobu rai hat, hutun Sina Mutin, bobu Malaca*” (pessoas de quatro tribos, pessoas de quatro terras, povo china branco, povo de Malaca). Acredita-se que a origem da comunidade Tétum em Belu sejam originárias de Malaca ou de chineses brancos.

Outra interpretação é a chegada de chineses brancos que já haviam visitado Malaca. Yoseph Yapi Taum (1995) por seu lado argumentou que em Larantuka

Bauboin viveram alguns descendentes de *Sina Mutin Malaka*. Segundo o mesmo autor, em Larantuka, as pessoas estão familiarizadas com o termo de *Sina Jawa*, um grupo de migrantes de várias regiões do arquipélago ocidental.

A identificação de Malaca como o local de origem da comunidade tétum tem a ver com fatos históricos. No século XVI ocorreram intensas relações entre Timor e Malaca. Em 1640, depois da queda de Malaca houve uma migração maciça do cristãos para Maluco, Larantuca, Solor e Timor (Castro 1867, p. 24).

Por meio destes fatos históricos podemos concluir que provavelmente os ancestrais da comunidade tétum em Fohorem eram de Malaca. *Sadan Malakan*, *Molin Malakan* é um lugar sagrado e foi feito como uma imitação do lugar original em Malaca. Até agora a comunidade considera que são migrantes que vieram com um navio e que transformaram uma coluna no sope da montanha *Foho Mesak Leo Bele*. Há também um intertexto aqui da história do dilúvio na era de Noé, como consagrado nos textos das Escrituras do Antigo Testamento.

A descrição acima mencionou o reino de Wehali, um reino que é muito famoso na história dos reis de Timor. O nome de Wehali é amplamente conhecido em Timor, tanto Timor-Leste como Timor Ocidental.

Em várias áreas do grupo sociolinguístico Tetun em Viqueque, Manatuto e Alas, o termo Wesei Wehali também é muito popular. No entanto, o mito de Wesei Wehali é muito conhecido no Timor Leste continental. Os textos de tradição oral (Tetun) geralmente relacionam a vinda dos seus ancestrais com poderes sobrenaturais.

Conclusão

A história da origem do povo tetun especialmente do clã de Uma Metan em Fohoren, Covalima, Timor-Leste, foi interferida muito pelo intertexto das Escrituras do Antigo Testamento sobre o Dilúvio na era de Noé. Seus ancestrais chegaram à ilha de Timor em um barco, chamado *Fatu Besi / Leo Rai*. Após o desembarque no pico do Monte Foho Mesak, os ancestrais construíram a primeira casa sagrada chamada *uma lalisuk, uma fafaur*. Na consciência da comunidade Tetun Fohoren, seus ancestrais eram migrantes “do outro lado do mar”. Os primeiros ancestrais foram Suri Liurai e Taek Liurai (gêmeos), considerados mágicos.

Depois de lutar contra *tasi na'in, meti na'in* (o dono do mar) *Barururatak*, suas vidas se tornaram seguras. O local dos descendentes dos primeiros ancestrais eram *Wesei Tuan, Wehali Tuan* (o antigo Imperio Weehali). Este lugar também é considerado como um monumento memorial da chegada dos seus primeiros ancestrais de Malaca. É neste lugar que se constroi o *sadan Malakan, Molin Malakan*, um local ritual considerado muito sagrado.

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4. “Soe-malu” e “indissolubilidade” no matrimónio barlaqueado: reflexão para uma inculturação

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“Soe-malu” e “indissolubilidade” no matrimônio barlaqueado: reflexão para uma inculturação

Na questão “*Hari’i Uma Ka’in*” (edificar, construir a família) distinguem-se no meio autóctone três situações relativas à união entre homem e mulher: [1] o “*hafoli*” (“*halo folin*”: valorizar, dignificar); [2] “*hafen*” (“*hola fen*”: tomar a mulher) ligado à mancebia; e [3] “*habani*” uma linha bilinear na origem de tetum-terik em que se dizia que, “*lia nosi mane nian sira rua ba nobun, lia nosi feto nian sira rua ba nobun*” – os dois têm o mesmo direito para as riquezas e as gerações. Esta “terceira via” é muito praticada na sociedade de Timor. Inculturação. Monogamia. Poligamia. Divórcio. Barlaque.

“Soe-malu” and “indissolubility” in barlaque marriage: reflection for an inculturation

In the matter of “*Hari’i Uma Ka’in*” (build a family) the autochthonous milieu distinguishes three situations regarding the union between man and woman: [1] the “*hafoli*” (“*halo folin*”: valuing, dignifying); [2] “*hafen*” (“*hola fen*”: taking the woman) related to mancebia; and [3] “*habani*”, a bilinear line with origin in Tetum-terik in which it was said that, “*lia nosi mane nian sira rua ba nobun, lia nosi feto nian sira rua ba nobun*” – both have the same right to the riches and generations. This “third way” is widely practiced in Timorese society. Inculturação. Monogamia. Poligamia. Divórcio. *Barlaque*.

“Soe-malu” no “indissolubilidade” no kaben ho barlake: hanoin hikas fali ba inkulturasau

Tuir lisan dehan “*Hari’i Uma Ka’in*” hafahe ba dalan tolu tuir moris be mane ho feto fo ba malu: [1] tuir “*hafoli*”, mai husi liafuan “*halo ho folin*” loas faan no sosa nian; [2] tuir “*hafen*”, ka “*hola fen*” wainhira mane ho feto hakarak malu moris hamutuk; [3] tuir “*habani*”, mai husi terik sira dehan “*lia nosi mane nian sira rua ba nobun, lia nosi feto nian sira rua ba nobun*”, dalan nebe Timoroan sira tuir barak liu.

Kaben tuir lisan kaben tuir Igreja lao hamutuk. Mane ida hola feto ida, mane ida iha fen boot. Feen klaran, feen kiik. Soe malu, husik malu. Barlaki.

O “*barlaque*” é o sistema e rito matrimonial tradicional dos timores. Durante 500 anos de colonialismo e expansionismo em Timor o “*barlaque*” manteve-se como uma prática matrimonial central, tendo sido sujeito a uma evolução semântica e estrutural, incluindo a sua significação. O casamento cultural timorense reveste três situações: “*hafoli*”, “*hafen*” e “*habani*”. Assim, designando o “*hafoli*” como um sistema de “*barlaque*”, este trabalho reflete sobre “*soe-malu*” (divórcio) e a “indissolubilidade” para fazermos uma reflexão sobre inculturação – portanto a influência e entrelaçamento entre princípios do matrimônio barlaqueado e do matrimônio sacramental (católico).

Do ponto de vista metodológico, este trabalho baseia-se primariamente em pesquisa literária (*library research*) e toma em consideração as leis civis em vigor, a doutrina da igreja católica e as novas ideologias sobre a relação entre homem e mulher. A série de pretexto, texto e contexto são eminentemente uma metodologia hermenêutica.

Para oferecer um bom conhecimento e compreensão acerca da questão de “*soe-malu*” e “indissolubilidade” em prol à inculturação, o texto é estruturado com seguintes tópicos:

1. “*Hari’i uma ka’in*”
2. Matrimônio barlaqueado
3. “*Soe-malu*” e “indissolubilidade” no matrimônio barlaqueado
4. “*Soe-malu*” e “indissolubilidade” no matrimônio sacramental
5. Consideração sobre poligamia e monogamia
6. Buscar as soluções inculturadas

1. “*Hari’i uma ka’in*”

Construir “*uma kain*” (família) é percebida como um acto imanente. Concretamente “*hari’i uma kain*” comporta necessariamente edificar *Uma* (casa), lugar da morada. É neste sentido que se deve compreender o modo da construção da *Uma* (casa), e o arquiteto da *Uma kain*. Para os timorenses *Uma* (casa) é o lugar primário onde se recebe a “educação” – “*inan ho aman hanorin*” (a mãe e o pai ensinam, educam) no processo da humanização. Os aspectos da educação integram a formação do carácter, da personalidade das crianças que nascem e que lá habitam.

O conceito “*hari’i uma kain*” (edificar a família) e “*hari’i uma lulik*” (construir a casa sagrada) é um *núcleo mítico-ético* (valores e normas fundamentais) do Povo de Timor. O termo “núcleo mítico-ético” (Paul Ricoeur) significa que todo o sistema de civilização está organizado em torno de uma substância, de um lar que poderá ser descoberto graças à hermenêutica dos *mitos básicos* da comunidade,

sendo para este fim a filosofia da religião um dos instrumentos indispensáveis¹. Deste modo, edificar a família e construir o lar sagrado é realmente uma religiosidade popular que serve também para uma inculturação do catolicismo popular em Timor-Leste.

A família na concepção dos timorenses corresponde a uma *família extensa* – um conjunto de relações alargada, e não aquela restrita à família nuclear de pai, mãe e filhos. Família é portanto um ‘ser-com-outros’ numa linhagem familiar tanto do pai como da mãe. Existem três situações autóctones relativas à união entre homem e mulher para o fim de “*hari’i uma ka’in*” (edificar, construir a família): [1] o “*hafoli*” (“*halo folin*”: valorizar, dignificar); [2] “*hafen*” (“*hola fen*”: tomar a mulher) ligado à mancebia; e [3] “*habani*” uma linha bilinear na origem de tetum-terik.

O “*habani*” significa “*han ba mai*”, implicando que marido e mulher se aceitam e trabalham juntos para ajudar suas famílias em solidariedade e bem comum. A regra que se aplica é “*uma ba, uma mai*”: na casa dos homens somos juntos, na casa das mulheres somos unidas. Esta situação é igual ao “*hafen*” que “caracterizam as situações em que o marido vai viver na casa da mulher ou dos sogros. Os filhos deste casamento ficam a ‘uma-lisan’ da mulher”².

O “*hafoli*” integra duas palavras: “*ha(-lo)*” (fazer) e “*foli/folin*” (valor, preço) e portanto o “*hafoli*” significa literalmente “valorizar”, “contar o preço” de uma coisa. Mas no âmbito do casamento timorense o “*folin*” nunca significa “comprar”, “trocar” uma pessoa com outra ou com outra coisa. Valorizamos “*hafoli/hafolin*”, e com a palavra “*hafoli*” não designamos o acto de compra-venda e sim a coisa nova e bela: “constitui ponto de honra” “mais prestigiado” e “valorizada”, assim um jovem mostra “os seus sentimentos de amor e veneração pulsando no íntimo”. Na sua realização, a família do nubente dará vários bens e animais (geralmente cavalos, búfalos e cabras e ornamentos de ouro) como oferta e a família da noiva também dará animais (geralmente porcos e arroz e ornamentos de ouro). Portanto, este tipo de casamento é sinónimo de “barlaque”.

Quando se institui “*uma-kain*” por meio de casamento ou “barlaque”, este sempre é a iniciativa do *mane* e da *feto*. Neste caso, o *mane* identifica-se como “*uma na’in*” (na linha patrilinear) e insere-se como “*liurai*” (na linha matrilinear); e, noutra parte, a *feto* é valorizada como “*murak mean*” (na linha patrilinear) e considerada propriamente “*liurai*” (na linha matrilinear). Enquanto que em tantas

1. da Silva Gusmão, Martinho G., *Matéria do Curso da Filosofia Política*, 2018.

2. Lobato, Nicolau dos Reis, *Sabemos, e podemos, e devemos vencer!* – Antologia de Textos para uma “autobiografia” intelectual (editor: Martinho G. da Silva Gusmão [doravante: *Antologia*]), DIOMA, Malang, 2018, p. 269

sociedades o papel ou a imagem da mulher é desprezada em Timor, diferentemente, a mulher é exaltada, porque ela conserva a semente para a vida, para outra nova vida. Podemos evidenciar esta em Uma-lulik que contém a escultura de mama (representa a fertilidade) e os pombos que simbolizam as sementes levadas por mulheres. Por esta razão, a instituição da família (ou *uma-kain*) é uma vocação sagrada – assim ela exige que não possamos abraçar acidentalmente. Quando ocorre o nascimento como produção deste casamento, o homem exerce o poder de paternidade e a mulher o da maternidade. Estes dois princípios não se limitam só a uma consideração biológica, mas estendem-se a princípios físicos, económicos, psicológicos e sociais.

2. Matrimônio barlaqueado

Etimologicamente a palavra “*barlaque*” deriva da palavra em língua malaia “*berlaki*” (*ber* + *laki*). O prefixo “*ber*” + o substantivo “*laki*” quer dizer “ter marido” e não “tomar mulher”³. Os timorenses identificam-na à cerimónia do casamento cultural de Timor que se realiza desde o início do pedido do casamento até à realização de “*hafoli*”, para que os nubentes se possam tornar noivo e noiva. De acordo com Nicolau Lobato “*hafoli*” ou *Barlaki* indica uma ética e estética no costume e na vida dos timorenses e está frequentemente associado à descendência na linha patrilinear. O oposto da palavra *hafoli* ou *Barlaki* é “*barbini*” (*berbini*), compilado a partir do prefixo “*ber*” + “*bini*” (esposa), que significa ter uma esposa. O termo “*barbini*” é raramente ouvido. Mesmo assim, esta é a cultura do povo *Galolen*, *Tetun-terik* e *Bunak* que se associam à família de linha matrilinear. Alguns historiadores também comentam que “entre as famílias pobres, quando não há dotes, usa-se o termo “*habani*”⁴. Por fim, embora o modo da realização do casamento (*barlaque* e *barbini*) seja diferente, a finalidade é igualmente a de vincular o amor crescente entre homem e mulher.

Entendemos ainda que o matrimônio é um património da humanidade. Todos os seres humanos foram gerados segundo a lei natural – isto é o amor e a sexualidade que constitui a dinâmica e a estrutura dum matrimônio e isto comporta, efectivamente, o matrimônio entre duas pessoas, homem e mulher. Podemos dizer também que a mesma mutabilidade do ser humano é fundada sobre a carac-

3. Antologia (2018), *ibidem*, p. 264

4. Ximenes Belo, Carlos Filipe, *Os antigos reinos de Timor-Leste (Reys de Lorosay e Reys de Lorothoba, Coronéis e Dados)*, 1.ª ed., Tipografia Diocesana Baucau, Baucau, 2011, p. 76

terística imutável da natureza humana⁵. Deste modo, o casamento barlaqueado fundou-se também de forma imutável no valor de “*mane hola feto*”, ou, “*feto ho mane hola malu*” na intuição de gerar e herdar uma nova vida. Já nessa expressão acumulou o sentido do amor e sexualidade.

Para os timorenses, mulher é o símbolo da beleza natural sem deixar imaginar a sua sensualidade exótica. As expressões na alma dos timorenses geralmente são identificadas com as expressões “*ai funan*” (flores), “*murak mean*” (ouro ou diamante), e “*feto maromak*” (divindade feminina). *Murak mean* implica louvar a mulher, e as ofertas para realização do casamento são devidas ao seu valor mostrado no processo da realização de “*barlaque*”. *Maromak* (feto) implica que o feminino é relativo a Deus (*Maromak*) criador e que constitui uma semente para a vida, e é “*ai-funan*” porque em todas as partes, as mulheres são atraentes na sua sensualidade exótica aos homens.

Enquanto homem, ele é “*liurai*”, “*as’wain*” que demonstra esta atribuição por meio do seu trabalho para sobreviver a família. O termo “*liu-rai*” designado para significar o carácter de realeza e liderança do homem nobre configura a liderança da política tradicional: o primeiro homem da terra, dono da terra e herdeiro do poder. *Liurai* é também o modelo do homem valoroso. Ele é assim, ao mesmo tempo, “*mane asu-wain*” – paragonando como um homem feroz na qualidade de muitos cães. O termo “*asu*” significa o cão, e “*wain*” é muitos; assim “*asu-wain*” é muitos cães para significar o heroísmo e patriotismo. Um homem que não se comporta como “*liu-rai*” ou “*asu-wain*” degradou assim a sua dignidade como “*mane folin laek*” – homem não valorizado, a falta de honra e louvor. Ou, “*mane asu la folin*” – homem como o cão sem valor. Seria um insulto muito humilhante. Consequentemente, só o homem de honra e prestígio que tem peito para casar com o barlake, isto é, “*hafolin feto*” – valoriza a mulher.

No caso de “*barlaque*”, notamos por diversidade do processo da realização e diversidade de bens que *fetosan* dá ao *umane* em Timor. Enquanto a tradição se expande, ela sofre mudanças segundo os praticantes, mas o valor metafísico de “*barlaque*” é sempre o mesmo: valorizar uma mulher.

3. “*Soe-malu*” e “*indissolubilidade*” no matrimónio barlaqueado

Ao longo do tempo em que vivem juntos, a família recém-construída sempre encara problemas que consequentemente podemos considerar como testes ou

5. da Silva Gusmão, Martinho G., *Curso da Ética Geral II* (2018); Cf., De Finance, Joseph SJ, *Etica Generale*, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana: Roma, 1997, pp. 220-221.

crises. Às vezes estes finalizam com “*soe-malu*” (o divórcio) e “*husik-malu*” (separação). O matrimônio barlaqueado rigidamente cataloga o “*soe-malu*” (divórcio) como um mal indesejável e um facto inaceitável. Portanto, no uso costumeiro timorense a educação dos filhos implica que não pode existir separação (*fahe malu*), quanto mais “*soe-malu*” (divorciar-se).

No casamento barlaqueado é quase impossível pensar sobre “*soe-malu*” (divórcio). O divórcio é considerado não só a falência do matrimônio, mas também a perda da sagrada união e da dignidade da pessoa humana. Eis como tais fatos são caracterizados no pensamento de Nicolau Lobato:

Também, e sobretudo, será a garantia da constância da união; será essa garantia de o esposo acautelar o direito de reter sempre junto a si a mulher que adora; será essa garantia de poder atribuir-se, de forma ineludível, a pertença da companheira; será essa garantia de exteriorizar e manifestar à noiva amorosa estima e elevado apreço no seu coração estremeado; será essa garantia de evitar possíveis complicações futuras frente à emaranhada política do contrato nupcial. Será a garantia da própria aliança. Realmente, o “barlaque” impede que ela se descuide e deslize até à leviandade de deixar o marido porque tal facto obrigá-la ia à restituição total das doações. Por outro lado, ele pelo peso destas não se sentiria tentado a abandoná-la de ânimo leve para repetir nova experiência⁶.

A cosmologia “*uma-kain*” é um *micro-cosmos* de um mundo em que o homem (futuro pai – paternidade) e a mulher (futura mãe – maternidade) constrói ou institui, está ligada com a família (no sentido amplo) pois eles têm relação constante com a sua origem, que está fundamentada na existência de “*uma-lulik*” e *uma lisan* ou na relação de *fetosan* e *umane*. No casamento barlaqueado o homem se apresenta com o estado de ser pai (ou futuro pai) e a mulher com o estado de ser mãe (futura mãe), pois conservam-se no princípio da união e da procriação.

A primeira concretização dos princípios de matrimônio e de barlaqueado é a união. Esta união possibilita a convivência de homem e mulher numa só casa. E principalmente, este matrimônio favorece a união entre famílias do homem e da mulher. Este princípio é fundamental porque exige uma constante fidelidade. Embora haja problemas e desafios dentro da família, este princípio é acompanhado com a alegria do amor, fortifica o compromisso.

Em seguida, o princípio da procriação é também importante, porque as proles serão herdeiras dos bens deixados pelos pais e ainda os valores da comunidade, de clã onde eles vivem. A comunhão conjugal deve ser orientada à procriação

6. Antologia (2018), *op.cit.*, pp. 286-287.

dos filhos. Assim, esta “primeira forma da comunhão” tornou-se efetivamente uma comunidade na interação entre duas comunidades, sempre na sua própria soberania.

4. “Soe-malu” e “indissolubilidade” no matrimônio sacramental

No pensamento teológico e doutrina cristã “o amor conjugal comporta um todo”, no sentido de que o respeito pela dignidade da pessoa apela a unidade do corpo e distinto sentimento e afetividade da vontade do espírito na formação dum só coração e duma só alma. Implica, portanto, a indissolubilidade e a fidelidade na doação recíproca, e abre-se à fecundidade⁷.

Hoje em dia em muitos países está acontecendo que muitos católicos recorrem ao divórcio. A igreja católica de Timor-Leste ainda mantém a indissolubilidade, isto é não aceita o divórcio. De facto, o fenómeno “divórcio” é quase inevitável. A igreja toma cuidadosamente uma posição “os divorciados que vivem numa nova união ... podem encontrar-se em situações muito diferentes, que não devem ser catalogadas ou encerradas em afirmações demasiado rígidas, sem deixar espaço para um adequado discernimento pessoal e pastoral”⁸.

5. Consideração sobre poligamia e monogamia

De acordo com as práticas e ideias timorenses é mais fácil aceitar a poligamia do que o divórcio. Os timorenses preferem optar por “*uma bo’ot*”, isto é, uma família alargada que compõe um clã. Ela é uma honra e prestígio para o clã. Assim, poligamia é um modo de engrandecer e alargar o laço familiar. Neste sentido o casamento pode ser acumulado com a convivência da “*fen bo’ot*” (primeira mulher), da “*fen klaran*” (segunda, terceira mulher, etc.) e “*fen ki’ik*” (última mulher).

Pelo contrário, segundo a doutrina da igreja católica “a poligamia é contrária a igualdade da dignidade e ao amor conjugal, que é único e exclusivo”⁹. A polémica surge enquanto a tradição local concebe a poligamia como símbolo do bem-estar, da honra e dignidade do homem. Em vez disso, a igreja católica considera-a como desvalorização e desrespeito à dignidade pessoal... à mulher e ao homem no amor pleno que têm um pelo outro.

7. João Paulo ii, *Familiaris consortio*, §13; cfr. *Catecismo da Igreja Católica*, § 1643.

8. Francisco, *Amoris Laetitia*, §298.

9. João Paulo ii, *Familiaris consortio*, §19; cfr. *Catecismo da Igreja Católica*, § 1645.

Este é mais um outro assunto na questão de matrimônio no âmbito da inculturação.

Buscar as soluções inculturadas

No início do encontro com o catolicismo, o sistema barlaqueado ainda foi pensado como uma prática gentílica de compra e venda do matrimônio. Mas depois da longa evolução na cultura timorense, vem à tona uma nova religiosidade em que matrimônio se concebeu como “a primeira forma de comunhão da pessoa” no desígnio de Deus¹⁰. No casamento, “feto” é criada semelhante a “mane” para formar “uma só carne” (Gênesis 2, 24). Ao mesmo tempo, o sentido próprio do “hafoli” cristalizou-se mais precioso quando ambos marido e mulher estão empenhados na tarefa da criação – ou seja, “fo oan”, “kous oan” – que faz deles colaboradores do Criador – “sede fecundos e multiplicai-vos, enchei a terra” (Gênesis 1, 28).

Assim, queremos terminar a nossa reflexão junto à doutrina social da igreja católica, isto é, *Amoris Laetitia*. O apelo sinodal é “[...] possível buscar soluções mais *inculturadas*, atentas às tradições e aos desafios locais. De facto «as culturas são muito diferentes entre si e cada princípio geral (...), se quiser ser observado e aplicado, precisa de ser *inculturado*»”¹¹. A nossa reflexão hermenêutica precisamente baseia-se na busca da inculturação entre matrimônio católico e barlaqueado timorenses.

Sobre a coincidência de ambos, notamos que legalmente reconhecida no código civil timorense o matrimônio da Igreja Católica, Civil e Barlaqueado, contempla no artigo 1475.º do número 1 e 2. Sem qualquer intenção da discriminação na base da religião, podemos dizer que o matrimônio na Igreja é mais praticado e reconhecido.

Na Igreja, o matrimônio é concebido e definido como um sacramento “ao serviço da comunhão”, juntamente com o sacramento da ordem na intuição “para a salvação de outrem. Se contribuem também para a salvação pessoal, é através do serviço aos outros que o fazem”¹². Para a igreja, o matrimônio não é puramente humano, exclusivamente o amor e a sexualidade entre homem e mulher, mas também, e para além disso, “A íntima comunidade da vida e do amor conjugal

10. Pontifício Conselho “Justiça e Paz”, *Compêndio da Doutrina Social da Igreja*, Paulus: São Paulo, 2014, § 209.

11. Papa Francisco, *Exortação Apostólica Pós-Sinodal Amoris Laetitia*, § 3, 19 de Março de 2016.

12. *Catecismo da Igreja Católica*, § 1534, Grafica de Coimbra, Coimbra, 1997.

foi fundada pelo Criador [...]. O próprio Deus é o autor do matrimônio”¹³. Neste assunto, podemos perceber a coincidência no que diz respeito ao “*hafoli*”, em que o dote do homem para a união matrimonial com a mulher que é “*feto maromak, murak mean*”. A Igreja reconheceu que, “em todas as culturas”, incluindo a de Timor-Leste, “um certo sentido da grandeza da união matrimonial [...] a saúde da pessoa e da sociedade está estreitamente ligada a uma situação feliz da comunidade conjugal e familiar”.

Conclusão

É sempre interessante observarmos a coincidência e descoincidência no matrimônio barlaqueado e sacramental (católico). Apresentamos também aqui uma visão de como a Constituição da República Democrática Timor-Leste respeita os usos costumeiros timorenses (Artigo 2.º, número 4) e portanto também o “barlaque” como o casamento costumeiro celebrado no ambiente da igreja católica e civil.

Nós opinamos que o Estado deve apoiar o processo da legislação do barlaqueado considerar simultaneamente as suas explicações tradicionais. Neste caso temos em mãos a legislação do Código Civil, destaca-se aqui os artigos 48.º, 49.º, 112.º, 1467.º e 1475.º até 1479.º. Do Código Direito Canônico podemos referenciar ao Título VII, Capítulo I – X, cânones §§1055 – 1165.

Diferentemente da concepção estrangeira, a “família” em Timor-Leste é concebida como uma instituição alargada, por esta causa, cada vez que haja o casamento de “barlaque”, a família estende-se até outro “uma-kain, uma-lulik”. Assim, no âmbito da convivência familiar, o casamento unifica as famílias. No âmbito da vida social, ele diminui os conflitos sociais. O “soe-malu” ou “husik-malu” podem causar desarmonização entre ambas “feto-san” e “umane”, e conseqüentemente impossibilitaria a reativação do matrimônio para outros pares futuros.

Por fim, na reflexão para a inculturação, este trabalho articula a imagem cultural e religiosa para tentarmos buscar soluções mais inculturadas, porque embora matrimônio barlaqueado seja considerado gentílico, ele tem os seus próprios valores em função de dignificar “mane” e “feto” que “hari’i uma ka’in” por causa do consentimento e também a liturgia do matrimônio barlaqueado que tem o seu próprio rito para solenizar e oficializar a existência duma “nova família”, do mesmo modo feito pela Igreja católica.

13. *Ibidem*, § 1603.

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5. Timor-Leste *versus* COVID-19: o agenciamento do *lulik* face à pandemia

Lúcio Sousa¹

Timor-Leste *versus* COVID-19: o agenciamento do *lulik* face à pandemia

Em Timor-Leste foi possível observar entre março e abril de 2020 a emergência de uma dinâmica preventiva em relação ao COVID-19 com a convocação do *lulik* e dos *lia na'in* para defender a nação da pandemia. O *lulik*, operacionalizado ritualmente, assoma neste contexto como um dispositivo terapêutico, tecnológico e simbólico, de prevenção e controlo da ameaça. Esta comunicação analisa, com recurso a etnografia virtual, a forma como o agenciamento do *lulik* é revelado nas redes sociais, em particular o *facebook*, no contexto da primeira vaga, procurando descrever e compreender a narrativa em construção pelos diversos atores envolvidos.

Lulik. Pandemia. Timor-Leste Facebook.

Timor-Leste *versus* COVID-19: the *lulik*'s agency in the face of the pandemic

Between March and April 2020 it was possible to observe in Timor-Leste the emergence of a preventive dynamic concerning COVID-19 with the call of *lulik* and *lia na'in* to defend the nation from the pandemic. The *lulik*, operationalized ritual, appears in this context as a therapeutic, technological, and symbolic device to prevent and control the threat. Using virtual ethnography, this paper analyzes how *lulik*'s agency is revealed on social networks, particularly in Facebook, during the first wave of the pandemic, seeking to describe and understand the narrative under construction by the various actors involved.

Lulik. Pandemic. Timor-Leste. Facebook.

Timor-Leste vs COVID-19: *lulik* tama klaran hodi hasouru da'et pandemik

Iha Timor-Leste ita bele are katat iha fulan março no abril nia laran tinan 2020 hahu dinàmika preventiva hodi hasoru COVID-19 liu husi bolu *lulik* no *lia na'in* sira atu defende

1. Universidade Aberta. IELT (FCSH-UNL).

nasaun husi pandemia. *Lulik*, liuhusi ritual, hanesan dispositivu terapéutiku, teknologiku no simboliku, atu prevene no controla ameasa ida nee. Komunikaun ida nee analisa, liuhusi etnografia virtual, nu`usá ema usa *lulik* iha fatin fatin, hanesan ita bele hare iha facebook, durante primeira vaga, atu ita bele deskreve, no komprende narrativa husi ema katak envolve iha hahalok ida nee.

Lulik. Pandemia. Timor-Leste. Facebook.

Pandemias, rituais e media social

A abordagem antropológica das epidemias e pandemias é um vasto campo de trabalho que ganhou uma nova dinâmica (Ennis-McMillan e Hedges, 2020). Na aceção da antropologia médica a denominada tradição ou “práticas populares” pode ser percecionada como um problema ou um aliado, porquanto a dimensão aplicada e as práticas locais podem divergir ou convergir no controlo da ameaça (Lynteris e Poleykettb, 2018).

A emergência de práticas rituais durante o ano de 2020, em particular durante a primeira vaga, é apontada como uma resposta das sociedades à ameaça do COVID-19, de que são exemplos os agrupamentos a horas marcadas para bater palmas à varanda, cantar, etc. (Tett, 2020). Numa perspetiva antropológica, aquela em que nos colocamos, a prática ritual é um mecanismo que enquadra a experiência vivida em duas dimensões. Primeiro, numa resposta à ansiedade gerada pelo aparecimento de uma ameaça à vida e a um estilo de vida, promovendo uma conexão entre as pessoas, fazendo-as sentir parte de uma comunidade, sendo assim um instrumento de resiliência ou uma forma de comunicação que providencia uma ligação, a experiência de “sentir-se como um só” (Xygalatas, 2020). Em segundo lugar, as práticas rituais podem ser enquadradas como tecnologias participativas no quadro político da resposta à ameaça, permitindo aos seus executantes exercerem as suas políticas materiais concretas, obtendo assim um controlo sobre o processo (Lybteris & Poleykett, 2018).

O exemplo de Timor-Leste é particularmente ilustrativo porquanto os rituais expressam a posse de técnicas e saberes rituais que revelam uma competência social que tem sido apropriada pelo Estado e os seus agentes em determinadas circunstâncias (Sousa, 2019). Por seu turno, os *media* sociais adquiriram neste período uma centralidade na interação social. A análise do *facebook* em Timor-Leste faculta um palco de participação de entidades estatais, os *media*, os *media* sociais, e as comunidades e indivíduos.

A opção pela análise do *facebook* justifica-se também pela sua importância nas dinâmicas de comunicação em Timor-Leste. O *Statcounter Global Stats* relativo ao ano de 2020 em Timor-Leste indicava que, entre os *media social*, o *facebook* detém 98,89% de utilização, face a outros, como o *Twitter*, o *Pinterest* etc. Analisando a Figura 1 podemos observar que a utilização do *facebook* no primeiro trimestre de 2020 quando a pandemia irrompeu no mundo aumentou e corresponde a valores superiores à média².

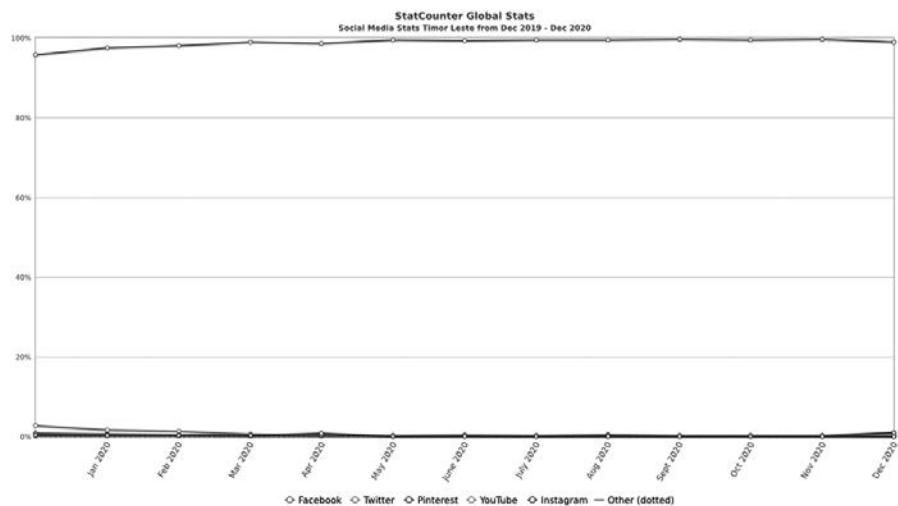


Figura 1. Usos dos media social em Timor-Leste no ano de 2020.

Fonte: <https://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/timor-leste>

Este valor é ainda mais alto na rede móvel, a mais utilizada em Timor-Leste, e na qual, de acordo com a mesma fonte, o *facebook* é o *media social* acedido em 99,64%³ dos casos.

As primeiras referências encontradas no *facebook* relativas à execução de práticas rituais face ao vírus ocorrem a 22 de março de 2020 e a última entrada registada a 22 de maio de 2020, num total de 36 referências. Parte destas referências são provenientes das publicações no *facebook* de jornais diários, como o Timor Post, ou de TV, como a *GMN*. Todavia, outras são colocadas por pessoas que participam nas ações locais e as publicam. Nestas publicações, que não esgotarão o

2. Social Media Stats Timor Leste Dec 2019-Dec 2020, GlobalStats statcounter (acedido a 16 de dezembro de 2021): <https://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/timor-leste>.

3. Social Media Stats Timor Leste Dec 2019-Dec 2020, GlobalStats statcounter (acedido a 16 de dezembro de 2021): <https://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/mobile/timor-leste>.

leque de *posts* referentes ao tema, sucedem-se os “Gostos”, que vão desde as dezenas até aos milhares⁴, as partilhas⁵ e comentários⁶.

As mensagens são, por norma, acompanhadas por registos fotográficos, sendo passível observar as posturas, mas também os locais onde se realizaram as ações, assim como os participantes que, em alguns casos, se contam na ordem das dezenas. Nesta pesquisa centramo-nos nos títulos e texto da mensagem original para proceder a uma investigação de índole qualitativa desses dados e efetuar uma leitura cruzada dos mesmos.

O Covid-19 em Timor-Leste: a resposta do Estado

O primeiro caso confirmado de COVID-19 em Timor-Leste foi registado a 21 de março de 2020. Em Janeiro de 2021 – data em que temporalmente fechei esta análise – o país registava 51 casos de infetados, com 45 recuperados e nenhum óbito⁷. Ao longo de 2020, o momento em que se registou um maior número de casos em simultâneo foi a 16 de Abril, com 10 casos, o pico da 1.^a vaga no país, valor que só seria aproximado de novo a 24 de dezembro, com 8 casos (Fig. 2).

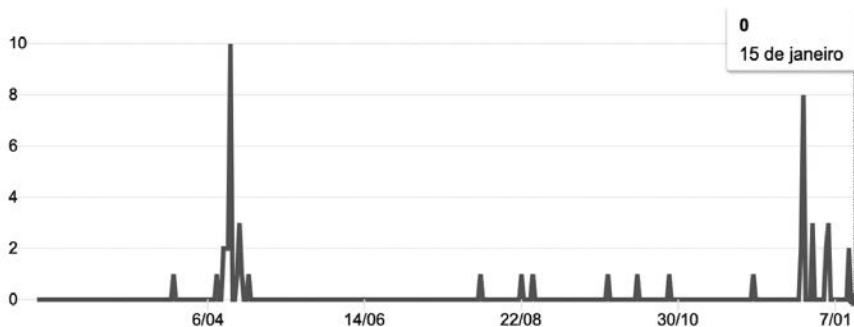


Figura 2. Casos de COVID-19 ao longo de 2020.⁸

Fonte: <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=timor-leste+covid+19+estat%C3%ADsticas>.

4. *Post* referente a Malilait: <http://www.tatoli.tl/2020/04/01/uma-lisan-haat-hosi-malilait-fanun-lulik-satan-covid-19/>

5. Uma destas atinge mesmo as 606 partilhas: <https://feedback.facebook.com/groups/124566838293748/permalink/458112658272496/>

6. Como exemplo do *post* sobre Baucau, com 112 comentários: https://www.facebook.com/gatsby.gbfraga/posts/2620767401541089_

7. Janeiro de 2021.

8. Fonte: <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=timor-leste+covid+19+estat%C3%ADsticas> acedido a 17.08.2020

As medidas governativas iniciaram-se, formalmente, a 19 de março de 2020, quando o Governo de Timor-Leste aprovou a Resolução n.º 10/2020⁹ que compreendia um conjunto de medidas de carácter temporário e extraordinário, com o objetivo de evitar a propagação do vírus COVID-19, sobretudo as que regulam a entrada e saída do território. A resolução n.º 12/2020 estabeleceu a Política para a Redução do Impacto Económico Negativo e a Recuperação Económica Consequentes à Pandemia de COVID-19. A 31 de março é editado o Diploma ministerial n.º 14/2020 que estabelece a sala de situação, o órgão operacional do centro integrado de gestão de crises¹⁰. A 27 de março de 2020, é invocada a situação de calamidade pública e o estado de emergência é estabelecido através do Decreto Presidencial n.º 29/2020¹¹, e definido entre as 00:00 horas de 28 de março de 2020 e as 23:59 horas de 26 de abril de 2020. A 28 de março de 2020, o Decreto do Governo n.º 3/2020 do Conselho de Ministros regulamenta as medidas de execução da declaração do estado de emergência. Decreto-Lei n.º 12/2020, de 14 de abril, regulamenta o Fundo COVID-19, a que se segue um conjunto de decretos-lei específicos, como o 15/2020, de 30 de abril, que define o apoio monetário aos agregados familiares no âmbito da pandemia de Covid-19¹². Estas medidas não foram implementadas sem que subsistissem críticas. De facto, todo este processo de crise sanitária tem decorrido ao mesmo tempo que se desenrola uma crise política no país¹³.

A gestão da pandemia é sobretudo uma função do Ministério da Saúde que, na sua página do *facebook*, apresenta com regularidade informação sobre a evolução da pandemia¹⁴. Uma pesquisa nesta página não revelou qualquer menção ao *lulik* ou ao papel de líderes tradicionais, como os *lia na'in*. Todavia, a 7 de julho de 2020 o Sekretáriu Estadu Arte e Kultura realiza no edifício sede da secretaria de estado, uma cerimónia, em conjunto com *lia na'in*, de agradecimento denominada “Agradecimentu ba seremonia ritual Kultural satan COVID-19”¹⁵.

9. Fonte: Jornal da República, Resoluções do Governo de 2020: <http://www.mj.gov.tl/jornal/?q=node/20>

10. Fonte: Jornal da República, Primeiro Ministro, Diploma Ministerial: <http://www.mj.gov.tl/jornal/?q=node/7006>

11. O Presidente emitirá, ao longo de 2020, mais 8 decretos com o mesmo teor, sustentados na promulgação de sucessivas leis do Parlamento Nacional. Fonte: Jornal da República, Decretos do Presidente da República: <http://www.mj.gov.tl/jornal/?q=node/10>

12. Fonte: Jornal da República, Decretos-Lei do Governo: <http://www.mj.gov.tl/jornal/?q=node/13>

13. Ver notícia da LUSA de 24/03/2020, “Xanana Gusmão acusa PR timorense de ser “um boneco” nas mãos da Fretilin”, <https://www.lusa.pt/article/7OCNvO00nVbtumhkrnU34TMSZM5iuSI1/xanana-gusm%C3%A3o-acusa-pr-timorense-de-ser-um-boneco-nas-m%C3%A3os-da-fretilin>

14. Fonte: <https://www.facebook.com/MinisteriodaSaudeTL>

15. https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=588732891784255&id=298644437459770

O agenciamento do *lulik* no facebook

Se, como vimos, inicialmente os documentos oficiais não são expressivos relativamente à ação das comunidades na sua relação com o *lulik*, o Estado desenvolve, paralelamente, como veremos, ações tendentes a promover esse mesmo envolvimento.

Assumimos aqui a ideia de que o *lulik* tem vários significados. Conforme Costa (2000: 234) pode ser entendido enquanto adjetivo: “proibido, vedado, temido, misterioso, sagrado; santo, que se associa a algo sagrado, “*buat lulik*”, guardado pelo senhor do sagrado, o *lulik na’in*. Todavia, e seguindo o mesmo autor, é-nos particularmente importante acionar o termo como verbo, fazer ou executar o sagrado, *halu lulik*, como ato de fazer, que se consubstancia em “cerimónia; rito animista”, que pode ser expresso em atos individuais ou coletivos, articulando antepassados e vivos, estes últimos e o seu mundo, incluindo a terra e os animais, assim como os antepassados destes (Sousa, 2010).

A visão do ritual em Díli: “fechar a grande porta”

A 25 de março de 2020 a agência noticiosa oficial “Tatoli” anuncia que “O governo orienta os *lia na’ins* a fazer rituais para repelir o Covid-19”¹⁶. De acordo com esta notícia, que assenta na entrevista a Eugénio Sarmento¹⁷, na Secretaria de Estado da Arte e Cultura (SEAK), é anunciada a realização de uma cerimónia, em Díli, promovida pelo governo, através da Secretaria. Na mesma entrevista é referido que Xanana Gusmão já tinha dado orientações para que em cada município de Timor se realizassem cerimónias¹⁸: “O ex-presidente Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão já instruiu os *lia na`in* dos municípios em todo o Timor, para que cada um realize rituais para pedir ao pai Maromak e à natureza de Timor-Leste para se erguerem e bloquear bem o vírus Vovid-19”.

Em Díli a cerimónia seria oficializada pelo próprio Eugénio Sarmento. O motivo invocado para que este processo se iniciasse em Dili foi por ser ali a “grande

16. Governu orienta Lia-Na'in Sira halo Ritual Atu Satan COVID-19: <http://www.tatoli.tl/2020/03/25/ohin-governu-orienta-lia-nain-sira-halo-ritual-atu-satan-covid-19/>

17. Eugénio Sarmento desempenha funções de chefia na área do património e é, igualmente, *lia-na'in* (Silva, 2020).

18. “Eis Prezidente Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão orienta ona *lia-nain* hosi munísipiu sira iha Timor laran tomak, ida-idak halo hotu ona ritual husu ba Aman Maromak no natureza Timor-Leste hamriik no satan netik vírus COVID-19. Não sabemos em que condição esta tarefa terá sido delegada e realizada por Xanana Gusmão. Todavia, não será de esquecer que, em 2008, a “associação de *lia na'in*” outorgou a Xanana, na altura primeiro ministro, a autoridade para negociar os bens minerais de Timor-Leste (Sousa, 2019).

porta” de Timor-Leste. A notícia do evento ritual, também de 25 de março, e com base na agência Tatoli assinala que o objetivo do Governo é obter de *Maromak*, dos antepassados, da terra sagrada e montanhas sagradas a proteção do povo de Timor-Leste: ”O governo realiza um ritual para proteger Timor-Leste do Covid-19 (...) Governu Halo Rituál Proteje TL Hosi COVID-19”. O governo, através da Secretaria de Estado da Arte e Cultura, e com os *lia na`in* de Karketu Motain e Dili, solicitam a “Maromak, aos antepassados, à terra sagrada e às montanhas sagradas, a todos, que protejam o povo de Timor-Leste da pandemia mundial do Coronavirus que neste momento se dissemina pelo mundo, incluindo Timor-Leste”.¹⁹

Na cerimónia ritual participaram o Secretário de Estado Teófilo Caldas e o Vice-Ministro da Administração Estatal, Abílio José Caetano. O Secretario de Estado afirmou que o “*ritual cultural*” tinha como objetivo proteger e impedir a entrada do vírus em Timor-Leste: “abençoa e proteja o povo e a nação” – “(...) matak malirin no proteje povu iha nasaun”, e pediu aos *lia na`in* “(...) para que façam as orações a Maromak, à terra sagrada, a todas as casas sagradas, às montanhas, ao mar, às pedras e às árvores sagradas para que a doença Covid-19 não entre na nossa terra”. – (...) atu hamulak ho didi`ak ba Maromak, rai-lulik, uma – lulik foho tasi fatuk no ai-lulik sira atu moras CORONAVIRUS ne’e labele tama iha ita nia rain, E termina dizendo: Hoje fizemos de novo esta cerimónia ritual em Díli e em todos os municípios, por causa deste vírus mau, para pedirmos que Maromak, os antepassados, a terra, a montanha, as pedras, a água e tudo o que cremos em conjunto com todos os *lulik* nos abençoem e possamos impedir que esta doença não entre na nossa terra²⁰.

A notícia conclui com as palavras do *Lia Na`in Karketu Motain*, de Maubere Villaverde, expressando que o vírus não entrará, conforme a análise dos rituais divinatórios de leitura das entranhas do frango e do porco. Díli, o centro administrativo e político inicia assim o processo de invocação do *lulik*, e supostamente, este iria ter continuidade em todos os restantes municípios. Esta sequência reproduz a noção de que o centro é motivado pela ação, e a periferia, a montanha, pela inação (Sousa, 2009).

19. “Maromak, matebian, rai-lulik no foho lulik sira atu proteje povu Timor-Leste hosi pandemia mundiál Coronavirus ne`ebé dadaun ne’e infiltra Mundu tomak inklui Timor-Leste. Consulta a 2 de junho de 2020: <http://www.tatoli.tl/2020/03/25/governu-halo-ritual-proteje-tl-hosi>

20. Ohin halo fila fali serimonia rituál iha Dili no mós iha Munisípiu hotu, tanba virus a`at ida ne’e, ita husu matak malirin ba Maromak, Matebian rai no foho fatuk bee no buat sira ne`ebé ita fiar hamutuk ho lulik sira hotu sei satan moras at ida ne’e sei la mai to`o iha ita-nia ra`in.

A visão da montanha: a ideia de “Timor inteiro”

A centralidade e primazia reclamada por Díli como a “grande porta” e, portanto, o primeiro local onde se realizam os rituais entra em contradição com os dados existentes no *facebook*. De facto, as notícias relativas a atos rituais em vários locais surgem a 22 de março, três dias antes do evento em Díli. A 22 de março o *Timor Post* partilhava a notícia da realização desses eventos:

A comunidade de Ulmera em conjunto com a autoridade comunitária e todos os lia na'in, fizeram o ritual de cortar o caule da bananeira, para defender a vida de toda a comunidade através de Maromak, os antepassados, e os rai na'in todos, e pedira a sua bênção e força para enfrentarmos o vírus “Corona-19” que agora entra na nossa nação de Timor-Leste.²¹.

E anunciava igualmente que um “Ritual segundo a Kultura da parte Oeste da montanha sagrada de Ranelau, base de Atsabe” – “Rituál tuir Kultura parte Oeste Foho Lulik Ramelau Huun ATSABE”²² tinha sido desencadeado:

A comunidade e os *lia na'in* do posto administrativo de Atsabe. Foi realizada uma cerimónia para pedir a Maromak pai e à natureza de Timor-Leste para se erguerem e impedirem a doença peste vírus Corona 19.

Desta forma o vírus Corona não poderá contagiar muita gente.

Pedimos aos *lia na'in* de todo o território de Timor-Leste para fazerem um ritual desta forma.

21. Komunitade ulmera Hamutuk ho autroidade komunitaria ho lia nain Sira htu halo Ritual Fera hudi kain, hodi predefeza ba komunitade Sira htu Nia Vida Liu husi aman maromak ,matebian Sira no mos Rai nain atu husu Sira Nia bensaun no kbiit relaciona ho “virus Corona-19” nebe Mak Agra dadaun Tama ona Ita Nia nasaun Timor Leste: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/105098076532131/permalink/1079500749091854/>

22. Komunitade no Lia Na'in Postu Administrativu ATSABE. Hahú realiza seremónia husu ba Aman Maromak ho natureza Timor-Leste hamrik no satan netik Moras PESTE VIRUS CORONA 19. Nune'e moras Virus Corona la bele daet ba ema barak.

Husu ba Lia Na'in husi teritóriu Timor Leste, hotu-hotu banati tuir rituál ne'e.

Tuir lia nain sira katak, iha tempu Beiala Timor nian iha peste rai boot ne'ebe mosu. Halo Beiala barak mate. Maibe ho fiar nebe Beiala sira iha. Beiala sira ba halulik fatin sagrada no husu ba Maromak na natureza halakon moras peste ne.

Ohin loron ATSABE kontinua hahú realiza fali sermónia refere hodi husu ba Aman Maromak no Naturza ho Beiala sira atu satan netik moras Peste Corona Virus iha Timor-Leste.

Ne'e informasaun husu ba maluk Timor Leste oan sira. Apoiu ideia ne atu halo tuir iha ida-idak nia fatin lulik.: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/105098076532131/permalink/1079794845729111/>

De acordo com os *lia na'in*, no tempo dos antepassados, também apareceu uma peste muito grande. Esta fez com que muitos dos nossos antepassados morressem. Mas, acreditamos que os antepassados existem. Os nossos antepassados vão fazer o *lulik* em locais sagrados, e pedir a Maromak e à natureza para fazer desaparecer esta doença.

Hoje Atsabe continua a realizar de novo esta cerimónia para pedir a Maromak pai, à natureza, aos antepassados para bloquearem a doença peste Corona vírus em Timor Leste.

Pedimos a todos os timorenses para estarem atentos a esta informação. Apoiem esta ideia para que possa ser realizada em todos os locais *lulik*.

A notícia termina com uma clara mensagem de unidade que liga todo o país: “Hoje, os usos e costumes da terra do meio levantaram-se e deram mãos aos usos e costumes de Lorosae e de Loromonu para fazer desaparecer esta doença, peste, má. Obrigado, o pai Maromak, e terra *lulik* de Timor estão juntas para enfrentar esta doença”²³.

No dia 25 de março há finalmente anúncio da cerimónia de Díli.²⁴ A participação de autoridades estatais e locais nos atos rituais é reportada em alguns casos. Uma das mais comentadas reporta-se àquela que foi realizada em Baucau, e que congregou autoridades administrativas e policiais:

Maromak, terra sagrada, pedras sagradas, água sagrada, todos os *lulik* da natureza. Município de Baucau.

Nós cremos em Maromak, cremos em vós. Estamos aqui hoje, curvados, para vos despertar a todos para que possam afastar de nós a pandemia Covid-19.

Os *lia na'in* do município de Baucau, em conjunto com 59 chefes de suco, 6 administradores de posto, Comando da PNTL, FFDTL, em conjunto com na Autoridade Municipal de Baucau, fazemos a cerimónia ritual para receber a proteção para a comunidade de Baucau e para Timor inteiro do Covid-19.²⁵

23. Ohin Lisan Rai Klaran Hamrik kaer liman ho Lisan Lorosae no Lisan Loromonu atu halakon moras peste at ne. Obrigado, Nai Maromak no Rai Lulik Timor sempre hamrik satan netik moras refere. Nota: optamos por usar “usos e costumes” para traduzir “lisan”, conforme Costa (2000, p. 230).

24. <https://www.facebook.com/manuubu.baumanu/posts/270880277253942>.

25. MAROMAK RAI LULIK FATUK LULIK WEE LULIK.LULIK NATUREZA TOMAK..MUNICIPIO BAUCAU

Ami fiar Iha Maromak Fiar iha Imi Ohin ami Hakruk hodi Fanun Imi hotu atu Satan Ami husi Pandemia COVID-19.

LIA NAIN HUSI MUNICIPIO BAUCAU HAMUTUK HO XEFI SUKU 59 Administrador Poto 6 Cmdt.PNTL, FFDTL no Hamutuk ho PR Autoridade Municipio Baucau Halo Serimonia Ritual hodi fo Matak MALIRIN Satan comunidade Municipio Baucau No Timor Tomak husi COVID-19: <https://www.facebook.com/gatsby.gbfraga/posts/2620767401541089>.

A única voz contrária à realização de cerimónias rituais no período em estudo é a de Fidelis Leite Magalhães, ministro da presidência do Conselho de Ministros, a 30 de março, que na sua página pessoal escreve: “As cerimónias tradicionais têm de parar todas. Incluindo as cerimónias para afastar e deter o Covid-19. A aglomeração ou o ajuntamento é uma ameaça para a saúde pública”..²⁷

A invocação do *lulik* é central para a compreensão da ação desencadeada, assente nas estruturas simbólicas e sociais que o sustentam: os *lia na'in*, os antepassados, a invocação das casas sagradas e as comunidades. As ações desencadeadas manifestam nas imagens a reativação de espaços de ritual, implicando a reanimação dos mesmos e a preparação de um conjunto de bens em conjunto com as técnicas rituais, como bens *lulik* e outros usados na comensalidade ritual. Podemos observar (Fig. 4) que as respostas locais foram disseminadas por todo o território, tendo tido diversas expressões e espaço noticioso, como a TV ou o *facebook*. Nos 36 *posts* foi possível identificar 23 locais distintos onde se realizaram atos rituais contra o COVID-19.



Figura 4. Mapa com a localização de locais de realização de atos rituais.

Fonte: mapa elaborado com os dados recolhidos e usando https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=6670&lang=pt

A ameaça local e a nação aparecem reunidas no mesmo processo, com a identificação de que a prática visa impedir que o vírus chegue à comunidade, mas também na proteção da nação.

27. “Cerimônia tradicional sira hotu tenke para. Inklui cerimônia duni ka satan COVID-19. Aglomeração ka ema halibur fo ameaça ba saude pública.” Um outro *post* já apelara, a 29 de março, para contenção: “Karik iha Timor suspende lai tradisaun cultura halibur malu halo lia mate lia moris iha momento kritiku ida nee”: <https://www.facebook.com/VictorTavares47/posts/10217020344365846>

Reflexões finais

Ainda que a Secretaria de Estado da Arte e Cultura anuncie que é o motor do envolvimento dos *lia na'in* e do *lulik* na execução de rituais pelos distritos, o facto é que, na maioria dos *posts* não há referência ao seu papel. Pelo contrário, as notícias reportam as ações desencadeadas localmente, e nas quais, em alguns casos, participam autoridades locais. Um aspeto interessante é o facto de a Igreja não ser mencionada nos *posts*, aquando destas cerimónias que envolvem autoridades.

Podemos observar que a ação ritual retoma espaços sagrados e envolve Casas sagradas, lideradas por responsáveis tradicionais, entre os quais se destacam os *lia na'in*. Nos rituais são executados ritos divinatórios e propiciatórios dedicados ao *lulik*, nas suas várias manifestações, a *maromak* e aos antepassados, invocados como proteção para a comunidade local e para a nação, para Timor-Leste, levando-nos à ideia de “sentir-se como um só”, referida por Xygalatas (2020).

Seguindo Latour (2012) poderíamos dizer que estamos perante um processo de “reassembling the social” (Latour, 2012: 7), na medida em que os atos rituais permitem localizar o global, isto é, incorporar o COVID-19 (um agente externo), nas estruturas de conhecimento local, ao mesmo tempo que a manifestação local enquadra a ação nacional e permite conectar os lugares, as pessoas e os antepassados. A pandemia é integrada em categorias epistemológicas locais, verificando-se, pela dispersão das práticas, a sua variedade, mas igualmente o seu pressuposto comum. Estamos perante múltiplas cerimónias que se inscrevem num único ato.

Como refere Bauman, o Estado moderno deriva a sua legitimidade na capacidade de providenciar segurança aos seus cidadãos (2016: 11). Num contexto de insegurança como o experienciado com a pandemia ficamos com a ideia de que o Estado timorense teve relutância em reconhecer o papel formal das tradições e das práticas rituais associadas ao *lulik*, com a exceção da Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, que convoca a tradição e os intérpretes do *lulik* e, em julho, após a primeira vaga faz um agradecimento formal a estes. Verificámos que, por um lado, foi clara a postura motora assumida pelo Estado, reclamando o início do processo com a cerimónia realizada em Dili, anunciada como o encerrar da “grande porta”. Por outro lado, no entanto, a análise que aqui realizei a partir dos *posts* no *facebook* mostra que a dinâmica local, a tradição, liderada pelos *lia na'in* enquadrados pelas suas casas sagradas, parece ter-se antecipado na mobilização face à ameaça global da pandemia COVID-19.

O agenciamento do *lulik* permite que o social se recrie através da participação das comunidades no controlo epidémico. Para usar os termos de Lybteris & Poleykett (2018), as políticas materiais revelam-se na ação dos *lia na'in* e as comunidades que empregam as tecnologias rituais como instrumentos de ação sobre

a ameaça. Mostrei aqui ainda que essas mesmas tecnologias rituais também assumem manifestações públicas através dos media e dos media social, como o *facebook*, integrando a participação cidadã na defesa da comunidade e do país.

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6. Monetização externa e políticas culturais na reconstrução das *Uma Lulik* no Timor-Leste pós-restauração da Independência

Renata Nogueira da Silva¹

Monetização externa e políticas culturais na reconstrução das *Uma Lulik* no Timor-Leste pós-restauração da Independência

A construção ou reconstrução de uma casa sagrada em Timor-Leste geralmente é um processo que envolve investimento financeiro, dispêndio físico e preparação. Pode demorar meses ou anos, a depender das condições materiais e financeiras dos membros da Casa. Cada etapa na maioria das vezes é composta por uma cerimônia *kultura*, marcando o início ou a conclusão da construção de determinada parte da Casa. Baseada numa pesquisa etnográfica realizada entre setembro de 2016 e novembro de 2017 com funcionários da Secretaria de Estado da Arte e Cultura e comunidades leste-timorenses, essa comunicação busca compreender, por meio da análise de duas políticas culturais, de que modo a monetização externa da reconstrução das Casas vem sendo implementadas e interpretadas no Timor-Leste pós-restauração da independência.

Reconstrução das casas sagradas. *Uma lulik*. Políticas culturais. Timor-Leste. Pós-colonial

External monetization and cultural policies in *Uma Lulik's* reconstruction in independent Timor-Leste

Building or rebuilding a sacred house in Timor-Leste is a process that involves financial investment, physical expenditure and preparation. It may take months or years, depending on the material and financial conditions of the members of the House. Each phase is often celebrated with a *kultura* ceremony, which marks the beginning or completion of the construction of a certain part of the House. Based on an ethnographic research held between September 2016 and November 2017 with State Department of Art and Culture

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officials and East Timorese communities, this communication seeks to understand, through the analysis of two cultural policies, how the external monetization of reconstruction of the houses has been implemented and interpreted in independent Timor-Leste.

Reconstruction of sacred houses. *Uma lulik*. Cultural policies. East Timor. Postcolonial.

Monetizasaun externa no polítika kulturál sira iha harii-hikas Uma-Lulik iha Timor-Leste pós-restaurasaun Independénsia

Jeralmente harii no harii-hikas uma-lulik iha Timor-Leste ne'e prosesu ida-ne`ebé horik ho investimentu finanseiru, gasta ba materiál-fíziku no preparasaun. Bele lori fulan ka tinan, ne'e depende ba kondisaun materiál no finanseiru sira hosi membru Uma-ninian. Ba etapa idaidak, dalabarak, ne'e mai hosi serimónia kulturál ida, ida ne'ebé mak sai sinál hahuun ka hatakan konstrusaun ba parte-balun hosi Uma-ninian. Bazeia hosi peskiza etnográfika ne'ebé maka hala'o ona iha fulan entre setembru 2016 no novembru 2017 ho funsionáriu sira hosi Sekretaria Estadu Arte no Kultura no comunidade leste-timor-oan sira hotu, komunikasaun ida ne'e buka atu kompriende, liuhosi análise polítika kulturál-rua, oinsá tulun sira hosi liur ba harii-hikas Uma-siran, ne'ebé implementa no interpreta ona iha Timor-Leste pós-restaurasaun independénsia.

Harii-hikas uma-lulik sira. Uma-Lulik. Polítika kulturál sira. Timor-Leste. Pós-koloniál.

Introdução

No Timor-Leste pós-colonial², nota-se uma crescente monetização dos rituais envolvidos na reconstrução de muitas casas sagradas³, sinalizando um estreitamento das relações entre a Casa, pensada como entidade moral (Lévi-Strauss, 1986) e a sociedade nacional. Há uma inserção do dinheiro na execução dos rituais, mas esses continuam marcando com maior ou menor intensidade momentos importantes da edificação arquitetônica de muitas Casas.

Pode-se dizer que o dinheiro é parte da realização de muitas cerimônias *kultura*. No entanto, o regime de dádivas continua operando. De acordo com Silva

2. Em termos historiográficos, estou entendendo Timor-Leste pós-colonial aqui como coincidindo com o período pós-ocupação indonésia e restauração da independência (pós-1999) – definição importante, dada a complexidade dos encontros e desencontros coloniais.

3. Uso *casa*, com *c* minúsculo, para me referir a casa (em inglês *house*), local de habitação das pessoas. Ao tratar das casas cerimoniais, uso as expressões *casa sagrada*, *uma lulik* e *Casa*, com *C* maiúsculo, que denotam casa como entidade, sem necessariamente especificar de qual casa estou falando. Faço essas diferenciações baseando-me nas orientações de Friedberg (1972, 1986) e Sousa (2007). Meus interlocutores de pesquisa, especialmente de Manufahi e Baucau, se referiam a *Uma Lulik* e *Uma Boot* como sinônimos de casa sagrada. O termo *lisan* apareceu para expressar o conjunto de normas e preceitos que orientam uma determinada casa sagrada.

(2016), em Timor-Leste, como em tantas outras localidades, há uma coabitação de regimes de trocas. A autora entende regime nos seguintes termos:

como categorias analíticas cunhadas para dar sentido às diversas regras, expectativas e efeitos por meio dos quais pessoas e coletivos sociais transacionam bens, direitos sobre pessoas ou sinais de reconhecimento. Considero tais trocas a base da socialidade. Os esforços epistemológicos empreendidos para compreensão de tais fenômenos têm permitido a construção de três tipos ideais de regimes de troca: o escambo, o mercado (*commodity*) e a dádiva. Cada um desses regimes é frequentemente associado a esferas de troca específicas (Bohannon, 1955). (Silva, 2016: 7)

A ideia de coabitação, tal como sistematizada na coletânea *Transformations in Independent Timor-Leste: Dynamics of Social and Cultural Cohabitations* organizada por Feijó e Viegas (2017), visa inscrever as influências mútuas decorrentes de processos sociais distintos, bem como suas influências e enredamentos mútuos. Esta noção também é boa para pensar sobre coabitação de regimes de trocas.

A construção ou reconstrução de uma casa sagrada ocorre periodicamente, dependendo, entre outras coisas, da durabilidade dos materiais usados, de questões climáticas e de condições financeiras. A reconstrução ou reparação periódica de uma casa sagrada intensifica a ligação com os antepassados e alimenta as relações intra e intergrupos de descendência. Não é por acaso que, no Timor-Leste pós-restauração da independência, as populações locais têm investido na reconstrução de suas casas sagradas (McWilliam, 2005) e o Estado tem se engajado em parcerias internacionais com injeção de recursos monetários. Entretanto, a intervenção do governo na reconstrução das Casas pode provocar ou reacender conflitos, como é o caso descrito por Fidalgo Castro (2015) em Hatubuilico. De acordo com o autor, a Casa escolhida pelo governo para receber recursos destinados à reconstrução é interpretada por parte da comunidade como ataque à legitimidade baseado na narrativa de origem.

A monetização dos processos de reconstrução das casas sagradas no Timor-Leste pós-independência vem ocorrendo de diversas formas, interna e externamente. Uma delas, refere-se a inserção e circulação do dinheiro nos rituais de dádiva. A outra, diz respeito aos subsídios disponibilizados pelo Estado por meio de políticas culturais para proteger e reconstruir casas sagradas. O texto segue organizado em três partes. Na primeira, faço uma reflexão sobre a coabitação entre regimes de troca e mercado nos rituais envolvidos na reconstrução de uma Casa. Na segunda parte, analiso as políticas de salvaguarda e apoio à reconstrução arquitetônica das Casa e os modos pelos quais essas políticas estão sendo inter-

pretadas e apropriadas por diferentes agentes e agências. A terceira parte analisa de que modo a implementação das políticas culturais contribui na estetização da instituição Casa.

1. Circulação de dinheiro e sistema de dádivas

Acompanhando parte da reconstrução da Casa Sagrada *Mau Asu* em Same, notei que há uma forte monetização dos rituais envolvidos na reconstrução da Casa, o que indica certa dependência da Casa da sociedade nacional que faz circular o dinheiro, mas os rituais continuam marcando as finalizações das etapas. Boa parte dos materiais usados na construção são considerados tradicionais, embora tenham sido comprados. Alguns serviços são terceirizados, como o de artesão. Outros são executados pelos membros da própria Casa.

A Casa Sagrada *Mau Asu* tem cadernos de contabilidade nos quais um membro da Casa, geralmente mulheres, anota os presentes recebidos durante a cerimônia *kultura*. Tive acesso ao caderno de anotações da inauguração da Casa e verifiquei que nele constam o nome da Casa e os bens ofertados. Aquelas informações são usadas para controlar os presentes que serão ofertados no futuro pela Casa *Mau Asu* às outras Casas. Nesses cadernos, foram anotadas as decisões relativas à construção da Casa e o relatório que apresenta o que foi efetivamente arrecadado (SILVA, pp. 88-90).

Observando os cadernos de registros da Casa que informam a circulação monetária e de dádivas dos filhos e avôs fundadores ao longo de quase dois anos e a entrada de recursos monetários e dádivas para a inauguração da Casa, verificamos a convivência dos regimes de troca. Entretanto, ofertam-se menos animais e mais dinheiro, tanto entre os que moram em Díli quanto entre os que moram nos municípios.

A partir das dinâmicas implicadas na reconstrução da casa sagrada *Mau Asu*, notei que a recriação arquitetônica das habitações cerimoniais aciona diversas modalidades de relações e alianças: humanos e entes não humanos. A construção ou reconstrução de uma Casa Sagrada possibilita encontros, reencontros, apresentação de familiares e principalmente a produção do parentesco. Nessas ocasiões a família é produzida evocando afeto, dependência e obrigações. As atividades que envolvem a construção e reconstrução são importantes, inclusive para propiciar o encontro entre familiares que não se conhecem. Família, neste contexto, não evoca necessariamente afeto (embora possa incluí-lo, claro), mas indica obrigações livres, codependência.

2. Interpretações da monetização externa na reconstrução das Casas

Em 2008 e 2009, por exemplo, foi firmado um acordo técnico entre a Secretaria da Arte e Cultura e a Embaixada Americana, que permitiu a construção e reconstrução de quatro casas sagradas nos distritos de Lautém, Oecusse, Bobonaro e Ainaro. Essas quatro Casas receberam juntas um montante de 32 mil dólares americanos para reconstrução arquitetônica⁴.

O senhor Eugênio Sarmento (chefe do Departamento de Patrimônio Arquitetônico da Secretaria da Arte e Cultura) e o senhor Manuel Simith (diretor Nacional do Patrimônio Cultural), em entrevistas, afirmaram que após a reconstrução das Casas com recursos da Embaixada Americana, a Secretaria de Estado da Arte e Cultura trabalha com duas políticas de apoio às Casas. Uma delas está relacionada a recursos financeiros de até mil dólares para festas de inauguração. Esse apoio financeiro ocorre mediante solicitação das comunidades e é disponibilizado conforme o orçamento da Secretaria de cada ano. Muitas Casas, porém, são inauguradas e não recebem apoio, seja por desconhecimento da política, seja porque seus membros consideram que recursos externos comprometem a dignidade das famílias e a própria dimensão sagrada da Casa. Para receber esse recurso, a Casa deve encaminhar uma proposta à Secretaria de Estado da Arte e Cultura, elaborada e assinada pelo *lia-na'in*, explicando o projeto de construção, a história da Casa e detalhando o cronograma da construção. Após receber a proposta, técnicos da Secretaria são designados para avaliá-la e verificar por meio de aplicação de questionário e observação de se aquela *Uma Lulik*⁵ é representativa da aldeia⁶ e assim, conceder ou não o recurso.

A outra política desenvolvida na Secretaria da Arte e Cultura é de inventariação das *Umás Lulik*. Essa é uma política articulada com a secretarias municipais. Estas identificam as casas sagradas consideradas representativas (desde o ponto da história das comunidades locais) ou ainda aquelas Casas que correm risco de destruição arquitetônica (por acidentes climáticos ou deterioração provocada

4. Pesquisando as fichas das casas sagradas reconstruídas com financiamento da embaixada americana no arquivo da Secretaria da Arte e Cultura, tentei entrar em contato com as comunidades para conhecer um pouco sobre a dinâmica daquelas Casas construídas com apoio externo, contudo não foi frutífera a investida. Os contatos que estavam nas fichas haviam mudado e as secretarias de cultura dos municípios envolvidos não possuíam uma atualização dos dados.

5. É sabido que há vários termos para referir-se às casas sagradas, priorizo o termo *uma lulik*, por ter sido o mais acionado por meus interlocutores e por ser esse que aparece com mais frequência nos arquivos da Secretaria das Artes e Cultura.

6. O que torna *Uma Lulik* “representativa” de uma comunidade, neste caso, seria a história dessa Casa, reconhecida e compartilhada. Evidentemente, há conflitos em tal processo – trata-se de uma escolha legitimada pelos técnicos e parte de uma comunidade.

pela ação do tempo). São designados, então, peritos com formulários específicos para fazer o inventário. Os inventários são arquivados fisicamente e são lançados na base de dados digital da Secretaria.

No primeiro tipo de política apresentada, são as comunidades que solicitam o apoio financeiro à Secretaria. No segundo, são os agentes do governo que identificam as Casas que correm risco de destruição ou que são consideradas significativas na história da comunidade. Há duas bases de dados na Secretaria, uma digital e uma física. Só pude consultar a base física, por isso, coloco os dados de forma aproximada. De acordo com Eugênio, responsável por essa base de dados, até setembro de 2017 cerca de 150 Casas receberam financiamento público e 30 Casas foram catalogadas. A Secretaria da Arte e Cultura elaborou uma ficha de inventário do patrimônio cultural imóvel (ver quadro I). A catalogação das fichas e o mapeamento da distribuição das Casas no território nacional podem ajudar a identificar os tipos arquitetônicos, os objetos relacionados, os materiais de construção e as práticas sediadas e mobilizadas pelas e nas casas sagradas.

Quadro I. Ficha de inventário do patrimônio cultural imóvel.

Item	Quesitos analisados
Identificação	Registro, código, nome da casa e da comunidade
Classificação	Tipo de patrimônio, classificação e período
Localização	Distrito, subdistrito, <i>suco</i> , aldeia, língua e coordenadas geográficas
Construção	Autor do projeto, construtor, material e descrição do método
Descrição e história	Narrativa de origem, história de construção da casa, discriminação do espólio
Documentos	Tipo e descrição Dia, instituição, técnico responsável
Informante	Nome, contatos
Estado de conservação do patrimônio arquitetônico ou patrimônio <i>lulik</i>	Descrição do estado de conservação
Estado de conservação do patrimônio arquitetônico	Cobertura, canalizações, pavimento, elementos decorativos, acessos, paredes interiores e paredes exteriores
Ameaças	Erosão e florestação
Usos do patrimônio arquitetônico ou arqueológico	Urbano, habitação

Fonte: esquema elaborado pela autora a partir das fichas de inventário da Secretaria da Arte e Cultura.

A implementação de políticas culturais (como o financiamento, por parte do Estado, de festas de inauguração) adiciona outros sentidos e sujeitos à vida social das casas sagradas. Durante a pesquisa, questionei *katuas* (senhores mais velhos), funcionários da Secretaria da Arte e Cultura, estudantes e professores universitários sobre a participação financeira do Estado na (re)construção de Casas. Os *katuas*, a maioria de Same, foram enfáticos: “isso não tem nada com o Estado”; “é responsabilidade das famílias construir uma Casa”; “é a participação das famílias e as cerimônias *kultura* que faz uma casa sagrada”. Os funcionários da Secretaria da Arte e Cultura, por sua vez, disseram: “quando o Estado ajuda é porque a família é fraca!”; “as novas gerações precisam suportar esse compromisso com os antepassados”; “Estado não pode ajudar, a casa sagrada é obrigação da família, Estado não tem nada com isso!”; “se tem dinheiro de fora, perde a força, deixa de ser sagrado”. Já os estudantes e os professores diziam: “o Estado pode ajudar só um pouco, a parte maior é da família”; “o Estado deve ajudar, a casa sagrada é patrimônio da nação!”; “o Estado deve suportar a cultura” e, por fim, “casa sagrada é o nosso patrimônio, é responsabilidade do Estado!”.

Quando analisamos os três conjuntos de discursos, notamos que tanto os *katuas* quanto meus colegas da Secretaria de Arte e Cultura concebem a entrada de recursos externos na construção ou inauguração de uma Casa como expressão da fraqueza da família e uma dificuldade em continuar aquilo que foi ensinado pelos antepassados. Os discursos dos estudantes e professores avaliam a entrada de recursos do governo na reconstrução de Casas como uma forma de reconhecimento estatal da importância das casas sagradas. Minha intenção aqui é mostrar que não há consensos nas concepções das populações em torno da entrada de recursos externos na reconstrução. Mas é possível identificar que as práticas de financiamento e políticas de proteção elaboradas pela Secretaria de Arte e Cultura privilegiam a dimensão material do patrimônio – no caso das casas sagradas, a reconstrução arquitetônica.

Discursos como os defendidos pelos *katuas* e pelos funcionários da Secretaria da Arte e Cultura parecem alinhar-se a uma perspectiva que concebe a monetização da reconstrução e reinauguração das Casas como efeito do enfraquecimento das relações entre *fetosan-umane* (tomador e doador de mulher), expressas em suas falas como “famílias”. Boa parte das narrativas sobre *uma lulik* que escutei em campo indicam que suas celebrações são parte de um conjunto de relações de dádiva e contra-dádiva. Nessas relações, materialidade e imaterialidade são experimentadas de forma complementar e indissociável.

3. Políticas culturais e estetização das Casas

No âmbito das políticas patrimoniais, a face estética das *uma lulik* ganha destaque, conforme tem demonstrado Fidalgo Castro (2015) e Silva e Simião (2012). Fidalgo Castro destaca, por exemplo, que os poderes coloniais (Portugal e Indonésia) têm tratado as práticas timorenses como um elemento estetizado, a fim mantê-las controladas. O próprio Estado leste-timorense tem se esforçado para transformar práticas culturais em atrações turísticas, aprovando, inclusive, as Bases de uma Política de Turismo em Timor-Leste (2014), enquanto a Lei de Bases do Patrimônio Cultural ainda está em discussão. A estetização das Casas é apresentada como defesa da unidade nacional. A esse respeito, Silva e Simião (2012: 372-373) afirmam:

Nos últimos anos, as agências de cooperação internacional, e o próprio Estado timorense, têm demonstrado um crescente interesse por práticas culturais que podem ser facilmente transformadas em atrativos estéticos, como a restauração e construção de casas sagradas (Uma Lulik). Por um lado, estas atividades são apresentadas pelos agentes institucionais como ícones da vitalidade e diversidade cultural da identidade timorense – ver, por exemplo, o documentário “Uma Lulik” de Victor de Sousa, apoiado e veiculado pela Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (Sousa, 2009) e a outra intitulada “Uma Lulik: futuro da tradição” (2011), com o patrocínio do Parlamento timorense. Por outro lado, ajudam os agentes do estado a reforçar os seus laços com as redes locais ao nível do suku e da aldeia. Em eventos rituais, como a celebração da construção de casas sagradas como a que assistimos nos últimos três anos, um lugar especial tem sido sempre reservado ao representante do estado (geralmente o chefe de suku, mas também ao “pessoal de Díli” e de agências internacionais) (Tradução livre).

A divulgação em rede nacional, o financiamento (híbrido, com recursos nacionais e internacionais) e a participação de políticos nos eventos de inauguração das casas sagradas são indicativos de um lugar atribuído à cultura no projeto de desenvolvimento do país. Tanto os gestores de políticas quanto as pessoas fora dos mecanismos institucionais do Estado afirmam que as casas sagradas são uma herança cultural e familiar que precisa ser protegida para que as futuras gerações conheçam e reproduzam suas dimensões arquitetônicas e as práticas rituais relacionadas a elas.

Conforme apresentei na seção anterior, as políticas desenvolvidas pela Secretaria de Arte e Cultura específicas para as casas sagradas são a subvenção para

feira de inauguração e a inventariação das Casas significativas ou em risco de destruição, desde o ponto de vista das secretarias de cultura locais. Somada a essas medidas, a Unesco local tem realizado pesquisas quantitativas de Casas destruídas pela ação do tempo. De modo geral, as políticas concentram-se na materialidade da Casa.

A casa sagrada é uma entidade física e uma categoria cultural que desafia os limites do material e imaterial, sustentando-se nas práticas sociais e rituais que a animam (Sousa, 2007). Se, por um lado, as casas sagradas colocam em perspectiva os limites do material e do imaterial, por outro, quando classificadas como bem material, desafiam as concepções de padrões estéticos que têm sido considerados excepcionais e universais. De acordo com Pena Castro (2010), as dimensões material e ideológica dos símbolos permitem a objetivação da memória partilhada e as identificações das comunidades. Os objetos rituais guardados nas *uma lulik*, similarmente, devem ser considerados na formação patrimonial dessas construções. Para Pena Castro (2010), ao se analisar o caráter patrimonial das casas sagradas, não se pode esquecer que estamos diante de um patrimônio vivo, ativo e significativo na organização da vida nas comunidades.

A diferenciação entre material e imaterial é político-pedagógica: orienta a elaboração das políticas culturais, os enquadramentos dos objetos e práticas, e os tipos de tratamento de salvaguarda que receberão posteriormente. O registro de um bem como material ou imaterial por instituições do Estado pode ser usado para fins diversos: turísticos, desenvolvimento econômico, reconhecimento de identificações e reivindicações sociais de grupos que se consideram subalternos ou subtraídos de direitos.

Será que as Casas estão tão onipresentes no modo de organização social das pessoas que não correm risco de desaparecer? O risco iminente dos abalos arquitetônicos não afeta a imaterialidade que permite a reprodução das práticas dentro e fora de um prédio nomeado casa sagrada? O lugar de dimensão estética e material que as Casas recebem na elaboração de políticas públicas produz efeitos nos modos de reprodução imaterial das Casas? O discurso de que as práticas das Casas sobreviveram às próprias casas (pensadas enquanto arquiteturas) povoa a literatura (Fidalgo Castro, 2015; McWilliam, 2005; Sousa, 2009, 2007) e está vivo entre guerrilheiros que lutaram durante a ocupação indonésia, lideranças e políticos locais. A Casa ultrapassa a casa enquanto prédio, a Casa sobreviveu aos poderes coloniais justamente porque conseguiu se transportar para outros lugares e se reorganizar em outras localidades. Políticas focadas na dimensão estética da Casa deixam de fora a dimensão que, segundo muitas comunidades, resistiu ao tempo, garantiu a sobrevivência física de muitas pessoas e, por isso, é um símbolo da identidade nacional.

Considerações finais

A reconstrução das casas sagradas no tempo corrente é marcada pela tensão entre a implementação de políticas estatais de financiamento para a reconstrução e inventariação arquitetônica das casas e as preocupações locais das comunidades pela gestão da integridade material e imaterial das Casas como ícones dos cultos aos ancestrais independente do Estado. As relações entre as formas de governança nacional e as formas locais de agência e autoridade são fundamentais, entre outras coisas, para compreender os modos pelos quais diferentes agências e agentes se relacionam e dão sentido às casas sagradas.

Uma análise textual das políticas culturais e entrevistas com funcionários do estado sugerem que a dimensão estética das Casas para fins de patrimônio ou de turismo é uma desconsideração das suas dimensões morais. Mesmo partindo de premissas diferentes, autoridades locais, funcionários do governo e donos de casas sagradas reconhecem as casas sagradas como símbolo da unidade nacional que precisa ser protegido.

As Casas e as práticas a elas relacionadas, que podem se reproduzir independente de uma edificação, estejam nos discursos locais como instituição que unifica e cria sentimentos de pertencimento, a maioria das políticas de proteção dessa instituição privilegiam sua dimensão material. O reconhecimento da dimensão imaterial das Casas tem sido verbalizado nos eventos públicos pelas lideranças políticas, é alvo de preocupação dos líderes locais, mas o objeto das políticas públicas é o risco de extinção das Casas.

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7. *Lisan iha nafatin*: notas sobre a continuidade da *lisan* durante o período de ocupação indonésia¹

Keu Apoema²

***Lisan iha nafatin*: notas sobre a continuidade da *lisan* durante o período de ocupação indonésia**

O período da ocupação indonésia (1975-1999) é comumente percebido como uma fase de grandes rupturas, demarcada pela queima de casas sagradas tanto em seus princípios como após o referendo que indicou o desejo popular por independência. Nesse mesmo marco histórico, as populações locais converteram-se maciçamente ao catolicismo, assim como também enfrentaram diversos deslocamentos forçados, que implicaram no afastamento de comunidades inteiras de seus lugares sagrados. Com a Restauração da Independência (2002), difundiu-se amplamente a ideia de revitalização ou ressurgimento das práticas tradicionais, incluindo a reconstrução de inúmeras casas sagradas, sugerindo, portanto, uma espécie de colapso ou interrupção dessas práticas durante a ocupação. No entanto, apesar dos eventos desagregadores pelos quais o território passou no período em referência, há poucas referências históricas sobre o que de fato aconteceu com as práticas tradicionais em seu decorrer. Neste artigo, apresento dados relativos às histórias de vida de dezoito *lia-na'in* (s) de Ainara Vila, a partir dos quais é possível perceber a continuidade das casas sagradas numa perspectiva material e imaterial durante a ocupação indonésia, inquirindo, portanto, as concepções de ruptura e revitalização das práticas locais.

Conhecimento tradicional. Ocupação indonésia. *Lia-na'in*. Casas sagradas.

1. Artigo baseado na tese defendida em fevereiro de 2020, intitulada “De aprendiz a mestre da palavra: tornar-se *lia-na'in* nos anos de luta e Restauração da Independência em Timor-Leste (1975-2002)”, sob orientação da prof. Ana Maria de Oliveira Galvão (FaE/UFMG) e co-orientação da prof. Kelly Cristiane da Silva (DAN/UnB). O processo de pesquisa, inclusive a viagem a Timor-Leste para o trabalho de campo, foi possível graças ao financiamento do CNPq com a Bolsa de Doutorado e da Capes, pelo Programa de Mobilidade Internacional Aulp.

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Change and continuity of traditional practices and knowledge during the Indonesian Occupation in a historical perspective

The period of Indonesian occupation is commonly perceived as a phase of great ruptures, characterized, both in its initial and final milestones (1975-1999), by the burning of sacred houses. During this same period, local populations converted themselves massively to Catholicism and faced several forced displacements, which resulted in the separation of entire communities from their sacred sites. With Independence, the idea of revitalization or resurgence of traditional practices has been widely spread, including the rebuilding of numerous sacred houses. Because of the disruptive events that affected the territory, the historical data is sparse to allow a deeper understanding about what actually happened to traditional practices during the period, beyond the general assumption that a breakdown occurred. In this paper, I present data based on the histories of life of eighteen *lia na'in*(s) from Ainaro Vila, which allow us to capture the continuity of the sacred houses both in material and immaterial perspective during the Indonesia occupation, thus questioning the conceptions of rupture and revitalization of local practices.

Traditional knowledge. Indonesian occupation. *Lia na'in*. Sacred houses.

Hafila no hala'o nafatin hala'ok lisan nian no hatene saida de'it maka hamosu iha okupasaun indonézia nia laran, tuir haree istória ba kotuk nian

Baibain, ita haree ba okupasaun indonézia nian (1975-1999) hanesan tempu ida-ne'ebé hala'o ladi'ak ho nakfera, konforme buat hirak-ne'ebé mosu iha okupasaun nia rohan bainhira sira sunu mós uma lulik. Iha tempu hanesan, populasaun barakliu hafila fiar ba kreda katóliku no hasouru susar bainhira okupante haruka sira ba hela iha fatin seluk dook hosi sira-nia hun no uma lulik. Ho ukun rasik-an, mosu hanoin atu iha filafali hala'ok lisan nian no hanoin ne'e halekar iha rai-klaran tomak no hahú harii filafali mós uma-lulik. Tanba hahalok aat ne'ebé naksobu rai tomak, dadus istória nian namkari no ladún hato'o momoos saida de'it maka hamosu tiha iha tempu ne'ebá, maski iha hanoin de'it katak hahalok harahun mosu duni. Iha surat ida-ne'e, ha'u hatada dadus ne'ebé bazeia ba istória vida nian hosi lia-na'in sanulu-resin-ualu iha Ainaru Vila, hanesan tuirmai: 1) Hala'ok ne'ebé la'o hela iha uma-lulik, fíziku ka la'ós fíziku sei hametin nafatin nomós hala'ok rituál hirak seluk; 2) hanorin nafatin ba joven foin-sa'e sira atu hatene hala'ok iha uma-lulik oinsá no; 3) oinsá maka dalan ne'ebé kreda katóliku no harii-nasaun la'o tiha iha ema nia neon, hafila ko'alia kona-ba uma-lulik. Ikusliu, ha'u hakarak propoin perspektiiva ida kona-ba istória matenek lokál nian, hodi kompara konseitu rua ne'ebé la hanesan: ida maka lisan ne'ebé naksobuk no harii filafali, daruak maka hafila no la'o lisan hanesan nafatin.

Matenek tradisionál. Okupasaun Indonézia. Lia-na'in. Uma-lulik sira.

1. Introdução: das ausências

Proponho, no decorrer deste artigo, abordar a produção e a reprodução de práticas vinculadas à casa sagrada³, no território de Timor-Leste, durante o período da ocupação indonésia (1975-1999), aqui denominadas *lisan*. Faço-o tendo por base a compreensão dos saberes tradicionais⁴, sobre os quais tais práticas se sustentam, como um campo epistemológico frequentemente sujeito, de um lado, a supostos riscos de perda (de desaparecimento) e, de outro, de imutabilidade (de não afetação pelos acontecimentos que atravessa), ambos movimentos que de um modo ou de outro o retiram do devir histórico. O período da ocupação indonésia foi escolhido por ser considerado particularmente disruptivo na história do país, não apenas do ponto de vista da resistência e da luta pela independência, mas também no que concerne às experiências locais relacionadas à *lisan*. Nele, elas parecem submergir em ausências.

Para iniciá-lo, convido a uma breve incursão ao Museu da Resistência, em Díli, cuja exposição permanente oferece a possibilidade de acessar uma dada narrativa acerca do período que decorre entre os anos de 1975 e 1999, marco temporal em que o território leste-timorense esteve submetido ao governo indonésio. Por meio de uma instalação que se caracteriza, substancialmente, pela reprodução, ao largo de algumas paredes, de fotografias e documentos acrescidos de comentários informativos (em tétum, português e inglês), constitui-se uma linha histórica que aponta para os principais fatos do período. Nela, desdobram-se eventos que antecederam a ocupação indonésia, a invasão propriamente dita, o processo de resistência armada, a dimensão diplomática e internacional do conflito, entre uma série de outros acontecimentos que conformaram a época. Em uma das paredes, já ao final da instalação, fotografias e o texto que as explica apontam para o cotidiano de grupos que se refugiaram nas montanhas acompanhando a resistência armada, indicando a continuidade de atividades como o plantio de hortas, pelo menos durante os primeiros anos de resistência e luta pela independência.

Um outro espaço é dedicado à exibição de objetos como armas e roupas usadas pelas FALINTIL⁵. Nesse mesmo lugar é possível assistir a um documentário e também aí encontra-se instalado um totem interativo. Ao tocar a sua tela, acessa-se a uma

3. No decorrer deste artigo me referirei à casa sagrada também como *uma-lisan*, modo local de a ela se dirigir, e também apenas como “Casa” em acordo com a perspectiva proposta por Claudine Friedberg (1972).

4. Tomo por base o conceito de tradição de Jan Vansina (2010), que o compreende como a transmissão de um determinado corpo epistemológico de geração a geração, ao que podemos acrescentar, tendo em vista uma perspectiva histórica, que tanto acontece na longa duração.

5. Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste independente, braço armado da resistência.

história em quadrinhos, dirigida em princípio ao público infantil que pode escolher em qual das três línguas da exibição deseja conhecê-la. Nela, um *katuas*⁶, em torno do qual se reúne um grupo de crianças, conta histórias sobre o período da resistência emulando a experiência oral. Logo no início ele adverte aos meninos e meninas que o escutam que conta para que essa memória não se perca e quase ao fim de sua narrativa, ele diz:

E foi assim que as montanhas foram, muitas vezes, lugares sagrados que nos guardaram a nós e aos nossos segredos, lugares que nos esconderam, que nos alimentaram, lugares que amaldiçoaram os que nos matavam, lugares onde os espíritos dos nosso avós nos guiavam, onde os guerrilheiros de espírito forte possuíam o talismã que lhes dava o poder do *matan-helik*⁷, o poder de se transformarem noutros seres, ou de desaparecerem sem serem vistos. As montanhas foram o nosso quartel-general, foram a nossa casa. Nas montanhas habita a alma dos que tombaram pela liberdade. Quando éramos feridos pelas armas do inimigo, era ali, na natureza, que os *katuas* encontravam folhas que mascavam e colocavam nas nossas feridas, até cicatrizarem, até voltarmos à vida. (...) Lutamos pelo povo e para o povo, por isso a nossa luta era uma luta “sagrada”, porque era a luta pelo nosso sonho, o sonho de libertarmos o povo e de sermos dignamente livres.⁸

Nesse vislumbre do Museu da Resistência é possível capturar, ainda que como metáfora (mas não apenas), o (não) lugar que as experiências locais vinculadas à *lisan* ocupam em parte substantiva dos trabalhos de História realizados sobre Timor-Leste. Uma incursão por algumas das principais obras de carácter histórico sobre o país levará a narrativas de cariz sobretudo político e econômico seguindo a tradição dos grandes eventos e vultos. Mesmo em um conjunto relativamente amplo de biografias que se remetem ao período da ocupação indonésia, as menções à *lisan*, aos *lia-na'in*(s) e às casas sagradas são exíguas.

Nessa mesma historiografia consta, no entanto, três elementos fulcrais para o foco deste artigo: primeiro, tanto a entrada como a saída dos exércitos indonésios do território leste-timorense, ambas marcadas por extrema violência e destruição de construções, entre as quais inúmeras casas sagradas; segundo, os deslocamentos forçados em função dos conflitos afastando comunidades inteiras de

6. “Velho”, em tétum.

7. *Matan* significa “olhos” e *helik*, “oculto” (COSTA, 2001, p. 159), logo, oculto dos olhos.

8. Transcrição a partir do texto exibido no totem interativo, registrada em caderno de campo, janeiro/2018.

seus locais de origem, inclusive de seus lugares sagrados; terceiro, o fato de que a quase totalidade da população local se converteu ao catolicismo durante os anos de ocupação como resposta à conhecida imposição da Pancasila. Na historiografia marcada pela matriz convencional, a referência à *lisan* durante esse período tende assim a reproduzir sobremaneira a destruição do patrimônio material concernente ao sagrado nos marcos iniciais e finais da presença indonésia no território, o afastamento de comunidades de lugares relevantes para as cosmovisões locais, e a imposição de um outro regime religioso. Essa reprodução torna evidente, portanto, as perdas, o que supostamente desaparece.

O medo da perda frequentemente desponta, sobretudo em estudos da cultura de modo particular entre meados do século XIX e a primeira metade do século XX⁹, banhado em nostalgia sobre um tempo que supostamente escapa por entre os dedos irremediavelmente. A imagem do *katuas* congelada no desenho, acessível pela tela do totem interativo, cuja palavra se concretiza por meio de uma escrita, ao mesmo tempo que conta para que a memória não se perca, anuncia melancolicamente algo que já se perde. Na narrativa constituída pelo Museu da Resistência, ele não ocupa um lugar entre os registros historiográficos, assim como aí não ocupam um lugar os conteúdos de que trata, a continuidade das experiências vinculadas à *lisan* durante o processo de ocupação e de resistência.

No período pós-Restauração da Independência, ou seja, ao fim da ocupação indonésia e anos iniciais da Nação, ocorre um fenômeno – que vai se constituir como um discurso corrente – chamado de reavivamento da cultura, sobretudo pelo campo antropológico, caracterizado pela reconstrução de casas sagradas e a retomada da realização de práticas rituais em determinadas comunidades (Barnes, 2016; McWilliam, 2005). A própria ideia de “reavivamento”, do que a palavra produz em termos de significados, leva à presunção de que há necessariamente um antes marcado por ausências e mortes, diante das quais a cultura emerge percebida por vezes como inalterada, “intacta”¹⁰. Circula-se, portanto, entre a retirada do objeto da História, na medida em que ele pouco aparece na narrativa historiográfica – ao mesmo tempo em que se coloca o foco naquilo que supostamente provocou seu desaparecimento – e a ideia de que tenha atravessado

9. Produção voltada sobretudo para os chamados estudos folclóricos ou estudos da cultura popular, sobre os quais Peter Burke (2010), Michel de Certeau *et al* (1995) e ainda Nestor Canclini (2011) tecem uma crítica ao compreender que, de modo geral, dedicavam-se ao registro dos acervos culturais, retirando, no entanto, de cena, os seus protagonistas.

10. Tendo por base John Taylor, Andrew McWilliam argumenta que “os sistemas econômicos, sociais e culturais indígenas foram capazes de se reproduzirem intactos, a despeito das depredações das forças estrangeiras e da longa história de inimizade e guerras entre os grupos que caracterizaram as condições históricas do colonialismo em Timor” (2005, p. 38) (tradução livre).

esse mesmo período sem ser afetado pelos eventos que o conformaram, logo, percebido como a-histórico.

Nesse entremeio, há vozes que suscitam dúvidas com relação a tais polaridades, sugerindo a possibilidade de outros caminhos investigativos e de construção de outras narrativas. Mubyarto *et al* (1990), em trabalho produzido durante o período de ocupação indonésia, registraram a centralidade da casa sagrada para as comunidades da então província Timor Timur, anotando a continuidade de práticas rituais entre os Kemak. Posteriormente, Bovensiepen (2014), diante do argumento de seus interlocutores, em pesquisa realizada junto a uma comunidade Funar, falantes do idaté, de que reproduziam os costumes conforme aprenderam dos ancestrais, questiona como seria isso possível diante dos eventos disruptivos que esses mesmos sujeitos atravessaram durante os anos de ocupação. Em outro exemplo, Lúcio Sousa (2016) informa a reconstrução de casas sagradas na década de 1990, particularmente entre os Bunak. Curiosamente, aquela mesma parede do Museu da Resistência, que retrata os cotidianos dos grupos refugiados nos anos primeiros de luta pela independência, coloca-se silenciosamente como vestígio: como informaram alguns de meus interlocutores em Ainaro, sobre os quais falei mais adiante, e como apontam diversas pesquisas, se há plantio (horta), se há colheita, há vida ritual. Sigo, neste artigo, um percurso que se alinha com esses indícios e indagações.

Há algo que acontece no que concerne às experiências locais vinculadas à *lisan* que escapa ao registro histórico. Julgo que tanto se dá devido a algumas questões próprias ao campo historiográfico local: primeiro, por um ângulo de visão que têm privilegiado recorrentemente os grandes eventos e os grandes vultos. Mesmo a CAVR¹¹ (2005), que se debruçou sobre a vida de inúmeras pessoas afetadas pelos anos de ocupação indonésia e inclusive contou com os chamados complexos locais de governança (Silva, 2014)¹² para a condução de seus trabalhos, apenas tangencia as implicações da *lisan* nos processos históricos; segundo, dado aquilo que considera fontes aceitáveis para tratar do passado, documentos ou objetos materiais que possam ser perscrutados, de modo geral escassos concernentes ao tema de interesse deste artigo; terceiro, porque diferentemente do campo antropológico sobre Timor-Leste que, como afirmam Roque & Traube (2019), tem de diferentes modos recorrido à História para construir caminhos de

11. Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação.

12. “Os conjuntos de dispositivos de regulação, controle, exercício da agência e reprodução social de grupos e indivíduos sobre o mundo, de composição vária, que se configuram muitas vezes como fatos sociais totais e se ancoram em bases de legitimidade múltiplas de modo combinado ou isolado” (SILVA, 2014, pp. 124-125).

compreensão do terreno sobre o qual se debruça, o inverso tem ocorrido muito menos frequentemente, o que talvez o impeça de ampliar o campo de visão, notar e aprofundar o conhecimento sobre as realidades locais.

Particularmente interessada nos processos de aprendizagem e formação de *lia-na'in(s)*, autoridades rituais responsáveis por suas respectivas casas sagradas durante os anos de ocupação – ou seja, com uma proposta de investigação que se colocou em princípio na interseção entre a História e a Educação (Apoema, 2020) – enderecei tais questões a partir das possibilidades e exigências do próprio campo. Em primeiro lugar, propus-me a reconstituir um dado contexto histórico e partir das experiências de vida de *lia-na'in(s)* de Ainaro e suas respectivas comunidades em uma perspectiva de baixo (não no sentido hierárquico, mas de campo de visão), do chão, tendo como horizonte teórico para tanto a História Cultural (Chartier, 2009; Burke, 2008). Para isso, recorri a um arquivo audiovisual constituído por entrevistas que tratam das trajetórias de vida de *lia-na'in(s)*, bem como de suas respectivas casas sagradas, famílias e comunidades durante o ano de ocupação indonésia. Por fim, busquei a Antropologia como um território basilar ao qual precisaria recorrer tanto em termos teóricos como metodológicos, considerando-se por um lado que parte substancial da produção acadêmica sobre as casas sagradas e as práticas vinculadas a ela em Timor-Leste estão inseridas nesse campo e, por outro, que a constituição de um arquivo audiovisual tendo por base a oralidade e as histórias de vida de meus interlocutores apenas seria possível pela construção de um percurso etnográfico, de convivência com as comunidades com as quais dialoguei.

Em Ainaro, posto administrativo¹³ Ainaro, trabalhei mais especificamente com duas comunidades: o suco de Manutasi (composto de vinte e duas casas sagradas) e o suco de Ainaro Vila, mais especificamente a aldeia Builiko (com treze casas sagradas) e ainda com uma casa sagrada de Ainaro Atas. Em cada um dos sucos entrevistei nove *lia-na'in(s)*, constituindo um *corpus* de dezoito interlocutores. Cada uma das comunidades, por sua vez, viveu diferentes experiências com a ocupação indonésia e com o processo de resistência. Logo a seguir apresento-as, bem como as suas percepções e narrativas a respeito da continuidade da *lisan* e de suas práticas ao largo do período de ocupação indonésia.

Ao fim, espero ter reconstituído cenas que contribuam para ampliar a compreensão das experiências vinculadas à *lisan* durante os anos de ocupação indonésia. Proponho ainda que, dada a diversidade própria ao território leste-timorense – tanto do ponto de vista sociolinguístico como com relação aos modos de

13. Timor-Leste divide-se, administrativamente, em municípios, postos administrativos, sucos e aldeias (RDTL, 2009).

existência e de constituição dos próprios trajetos no período em referência – seja possível perspectivar as percepções de perda e reavivamento tendo em vista os relatos de continuidade aqui apresentados. E, ponto fulcral de toda a discussão que proponho, que seja possível admitir a *lisan*, suas práticas, seu corpo epistemológico e seus sujeitos em um devir histórico no qual continuamente se constituem.

2. *Lisan iha nafatin*: a *lisan* sempre existe

Podemos evacuar para a montanha, mas o costumeiro de Timor, a *kultura*, o tradicional, o *lulik*, sempre continuamos lá na montanha, não esquece (Sr. Agapito Martins, representante de uma das colunas da Casa Hatilo).

Ita nia kultura, ita lisan sei la'o nafatin. [Nossa *kultura*, nossa *lisan* caminha sempre.] (Sr. César de Araújo, *lia-na'in* da Casa Basmeri To'os)

Ne'e importante tamba hahú husi tempu japones nian mos ne'e tiha ona, japones ba tiha, Portugal mai fali, mos nafatin. Portugal bá tiha, Indonezia mak mai fali, mos nafatin, bele agora ukun an tiha ona mos ne'e nafatin. [Isto é importante porque existe desde o tempo japonês, ali já existia. Os japoneses foram embora, Portugal voltou, continuou a existir. Portugal partiu, a Indonésia entrou, continuou a existir, agora com a independência, também, [existe] sempre.] (Sr. Lemos, Casa Sia La'e)

A *lisan* pode ser percebida localmente a partir de três perspectivas: primeiro, é concebida, nas cosmovisões locais, como um espaço que remonta às origens, criada para ser abrigo para os seres humanos e, simultaneamente, lugar de mediação e comunicação com o ser supremo, Maromak; segundo, como um campo de produção, a *lisan* é algo que se faz (*halo lisan*), o que implica em uma série de engajamentos entre humanos e não humanos que se incorporam em normas, rituais, entre outros elementos das práticas locais; terceiro, constitui-se como um campo religioso e epistemológico, ao qual se acessa por meio da construção de uma presença e de uma autoridade diante da Casa.

A casa sagrada ou *uma-lisan*, por sua vez, possui uma existência material e outra imaterial (Sousa, 2016), essa última abrangendo todas as perspectivas apresentadas no parágrafo anterior. Do ponto de vista tangível, ela é, primordialmente, um corpo familiar, um grupo de descendência, uma rede de sujeitos ligados entre si por uma origem ancestral comum, sustentada, por sua vez, por casamentos e alianças com outros grupos de descendência, outras Casas. Em termos materiais,

ela se constitui também como um local designado para a guarda dos objetos sagrados e a realização da vida ritual, podendo ser uma residência comum ou uma construção específica, em geral, pelo menos nos sucos que integraram a pesquisa, seguindo uma arquitetura tradicional partilhada por todas as casas sagradas do lugar. Na interseção entre o tangível e intangível, a construção tradicional se constitui *per se* como um corpo epistêmico, na medida em que toda ela se associa às cosmovisões locais, bem como à vida ritual que se dá em seu entorno.

Como se percebe, trata-se de uma concepção complexa e multidimensional de existência. Em última instância, em nada havendo – tendo-se perdido a construção tradicional e os objetos sagrados – o corpo familiar sustenta a Casa. Portanto, falar em processos de perda, continuidade e/ou transformação exige informar a que partes desse todo se dirige. Logo a seguir, debruçaremos um olhar particular sobre a vida ritual.

3. Manutasi e a continuidade da vida ritual nas aldeias

*Hanesan ohin ha'u hatete nene'e ami nia abo ne'e hatete tiha ona, konta mai ami dehan katak Indonesia sei mai tama rai Timor, sei tama rai Timor. Ami mos hanoin hela, hatene hela, los Indonesia sei tama rai Timor. Depois hanesan ne'e dehan abo hatete dehan tama mai mas mai iha ne'e mais ou menos ukun ita tinan rua-nulu resik Indonesia tenki sai husi Timor, ah los, sai husi Timor. Sai husi Timor ami agora lori hetan ukun an. [...] [Como eu já disse hoje que o nosso avô nos contou que a Indonésia ia entrar na terra Timor, ia entrar na terra Timor. Nós também já pensávamos assim, já sabíamos, era verdade que a Indonésia ia entrar na terra Timor. Depois, assim, nosso avô disse que [iam] entrar e que [iam] ficar aqui mais ou menos nos governando por vinte anos, depois, a Indonésia [teria] que sair de Timor, isso sim, sair de Timor. [Saiu] de Timor e agora nós conquistamos a independência.] (José Paicheco, *lia-na'in* da Casa Asa'e Kotmeta e do suco Manutasi)*

Manutasi se situa a poucos quilômetros antes da entrada da sede de Ainaro, Ainaro Vila. Com vinte e duas casas sagradas, distribuídas em quatro aldeias, possui um dos maiores conjuntos arquitetônicos do município com dezessete delas possuindo a construção material tradicional. Distribuídas de modo disperso pela montanha, é preciso percorrer diferentes trilhas até localizar todas. Muito similares umas às outras, as *uma-lisan* partilham uma arquitetura comum, destacando-se na paisagem dada a envergadura de suas estruturas.

Como me narrou o Sr. José Paicheco – em consonância com outros testemunhos – a colonização portuguesa era percebida como um sistema opressor, ao

qual ele se refere como “*sistema ida ditadura*”, marcado por privações, impostos pesados, trabalho forçado e privilégios que se restringiam aos *liurai*(s) (chefes locais) e suas famílias e aos *malae* (os estrangeiros), incluindo o uso de calças (no caso dos homens), do dinheiro, as casas de alvenaria e o acesso à escola. Frequentemente, no entanto, referem-se à saída de Portugal do território como uma concessão ao afirmarem que “*sira fó ita nia liberdade*” (“eles nos deram nossa liberdade”).

Com a chegada dos indonésios ao município, nos primeiros meses de 1976, as famílias do suco se refugiaram nos interiores das montanhas, tendo aí ficado, em sua maioria, por períodos curtos, de um a dois meses, poucos mais do que isso. Em alguns casos, passavam os dias escondidos, mas retornavam durante a noite. E um dos *lia-na'in*(s), o Sr. Bartolomeu de Araújo (Casa Asa'e Pu Udo), afirmou que ele ficou responsável por guardar a casa sagrada de sua família, enquanto os demais fugiram. Segundo os relatos locais, não todas as construções foram queimadas e, assim como a Casa Asa'e Pu-Udo, outros alegam manterem praticamente a mesma estrutura de seus ancestrais, tendo apenas renovado-a ao longo dos anos. O Sr. César de Araújo, *lia-na'in* da Casa Basmeri To'os, uma das poucas visíveis da estrada principal que leva à sede do município, narrou que cada “*gerasaun*” tem se responsabilizado pela reconstrução da Casa, tendo ela mudado de localidade apenas uma vez, dentro, contudo, do mesmo terreno.

Após um breve período, portanto, a maior parte das famílias retornou às suas moradias, rendendo-se aos indonésios. Em seus depoimentos, a chegada dos novos ocupantes representou a mudança de um sistema opressor por outro, “*la muda buat ida*” (não mudou nada) nas palavras do Sr. Augusto Martins, *lia-na'in* da Casa Diu Pur. A ocupação indonésia trouxe, no entanto, alguns benefícios antes pouco acessíveis para a maioria, entre os quais se destaca a ampliação do sistema escolar. Tendo retornado dos refúgios nos interiores das montanhas, retomaram seus cotidianos acomodando-se em princípio aos novos contextos políticos. O Sr. José Paicheco, tão logo voltou, foi chamado para participar de uma festa com os indonésios e se tornou chefe de aldeia no período. Seu primo, hoje guardião da Casa, se integrou às tropas de ocupação. Com o tempo, afirmaram, ao compreenderem mais profundamente o cenário, fizeram a escolha de se integrarem à luta pela independência. Tornaram-se, em suas palavras, “*kapala dua*”, expressão indonésia que significa “duas cabeças” e indica aqueles que atuavam na resistência clandestina.

Um dos efeitos dessa aderência foi a continuidade dos ciclos rituais das casas sagradas, incluindo agendas ordinárias e extraordinárias (Silva, 2019). Mais do que isso, houve algum nível de intercâmbio e integração dos indonésios às práticas locais, bem como de lideranças tradicionais locais a eventos políticos promo-

vidos pelas forças de ocupação. Na perspectiva de alguns dos *lia-na'in(s)* entrevistados, havia uma proximidade em termos culturais entre os indonésios e os timorenses, o que permitiu que encontrassem pontos de interlocução.

Sira partisipa. Sira partisipa tamba Indonésia mós iha lulik, iha hotu. Sira adora liu tan ami mos iha. Sira partisipa iha hanesan ohin ita hatete, dehan iha uma-lulik, halo festa hanesan ne'e (...) Ah ne'e sira, sira dehan ami iha ne'ebáfiar (...) Sira partisipa. Sira partisipa, sira dehan katak Timor ne'e sagradu. Timor sagradu.. [Eles participavam. Eles participavam porque a Indonésia também tem *lulik*, tem tudo. Eles adoram como nós. Eles participavam como hoje eu já disse, na casa sagrada, faziam a festa (...) Ah, eles nos diziam que eles também tinham essa fé (...) Eles participavam. Eles participavam, eles diziam que Timor é sagrado. Timor é sagrado.] (Sr. João da Costa Barros, *lia-na'in* da Casa Asa'e Berliuk)

Os indonésios, a seu turno, convocavam os *lia-na'in(s)* para participarem em eventos de governo, como a celebração da independência em relação à Holanda, no dia 17 de agosto, e em eventos de recepção a autoridades. Essa participação se dava, também segundo os depoimentos: primeiro por uma tentativa de cooperação da população local pelas forças de ocupação; segundo, a administração pública era composta também por timorenses, a exemplo do Sr. Paicheco, o que contribuía para a inserção de elementos das culturas locais e de seus sujeitos em tais eventos. É importante ainda colocar que essa participação dava-se, por muitas vezes, em um ato de constrição, na medida em que os *lia-na'in(s)* não tinham exatamente poder de escolha.

Em termos macro, Sousa (2016) e McWilliam (2005) comentam sobre esforços do governo indonésio no sentido de incorporar a imagem da casa sagrada (particularmente aquela de Lospalos) ao aparato imagético estatal, em uma tentativa de emular proximidade e integração. Apesar de haver, no entanto, espaços de encontro e interlocução no chão das aldeias e das administrações locais, por um lado, e a integração de símbolos relacionados à casa sagrada à comunicação estatal, por outro, Mubyarto *et al* (1990) afirmam que a Indonésia falhou ao desrespeitar as autoridades tradicionais locais, entre as quais os *lia-na'in(s)*, e não integrá-las aos processos políticos em curso. Do ponto que nos cabe observar neste artigo, contudo, interessa-nos destacar: a não-destruição de muitas das casas sagradas do suco, a continuidade das agendas rituais ordinárias e extraordinárias e o estabelecimento de interlocução no espaço das experiências vinculadas à *lisan* com as forças de ocupação.

4. Builiko e a continuidade da vida ritual nas montanhas

Iha ai-laran tamba batar isin ona tenki halo hanesan ne'e, lahalo labele, batar isin ona tenki sau batar, mak feto foin han, ita labele han arbiru tamba ita buat ida ne'e mak oan salvasaun ita, ita labele han arbiru. Ema ita han, (...) balu ne'ebé lalulik bele han. Hanesan ha'u, ha'u labele han. [Na mata, quando o milho estava pronto, tinha que fazer assim, não fazer não podia, milho pronto [para colher] tem que [fazer] o *sau batar*, para que as mulheres possam comer, não podem comer sem dar satisfação, porque isto [é] como salvação para as crianças, não podemos comer sem dar satisfação. As pessoas comem, alguns que não são sagrados podem comer. Mas eu, eu não posso comer.] (Agapito Amaral, *lia-na'in* da Casa Malae)

Toda a aldeia de Builiko se juntou às FALINTIL no início da ocupação indonésia, com elas ficando entre os anos de 1976 e 1979, quando a maior parte de sua população decidiu se render aos indonésios. O Sr. Agapito Amaral (Casa Malae) afirma que foi um dos responsáveis pela equipe de plantio de hortas nas montanhas, na qual reuniu homens e mulheres, narrando ainda que, dentro das limitações próprias ao período, cada família realizava o *sau batar*¹⁴, sem o qual era interdito o consumo do alimento. Com o tempo, as condições de existência, os constantes deslocamentos, os próprios processos de luta e morte de muitos acabou impossibilitando a continuidade do cultivo e, de modo geral, de um cotidiano possível junto às FALINTIL.

Ha'u hamutuk ho comandante FALINTIL sira ne'e, (...) halo lia iha ne'eba selama tinan 3, pois tama ba 81 ema akapta ami, tamba ho hamlaha, han buat aat, ha'u nia forsa laiha ona. [Eu, junto com os comandantes da FALINTIL, realizava os rituais (*halo lia*) lá por três anos, pois em (19)81 nos capturaram. Eu estava com fome, comia coisas ruins, já não tinha força.] (Sr. Alarico Ximenes, *lia-na'in* da Casa Lia-Na'in.)

O contexto extraordinário da luta pela independência, por sua vez, demandava o amparo da casa sagrada. Antes de enfrentar os exércitos de ocupação, o Sr. Alarico Ximenes (Casa Lia Na'in) narra que sempre se reuniam para rezar e mascar a areca e o bétel (*bua ho malus*). Dirigiam-se, segundo ele, à pedra e à madeira (*fatuk ho ai*) assim com à casa e ao fogo (*uma ho ahi*). Utilizavam-se frequentemente, também, de *biru(s)*, como mencionado pelo *katuas* da narrativa

14. Ritual pós-colheita do milho.

em quadrinho do Museu da Resistência, talismãs que deveriam protegê-los das armas inimigas.

A aldeia de origem foi inteiramente queimada. Quando se renderam aos indonésios, tendo poucos continuado nas montanhas junto à resistência armada, foram, em um primeiro momento, dispersos entre os sucos de Cassa e Hato-Udo. Posteriormente, entre meados dos anos 1980 e os anos 1990, foram autorizados a se reunirem outra vez, dessa vez, contudo, em um assentamento próximo à sede, às margens da estrada que leva ao município de Suai, onde ainda vivem. Em meados de 1990, muitos começaram a reconstruir as suas casas sagradas. O Sr. Bosco da Silva (Casa Asa'e) recorda, de sua infância, de uma paisagem em que muitas dessas construções estavam sendo erguidas. Sobre esse momento, o Sr. Felizberto Quintão (Casa Loro-Tasi) assim comenta:

Sr. Felizberto: Entaun ida ne'e tenki ser fó hanoin ba malu, momentu ami halo uma ne'e hotu seidauk halibur malu atu halo ba atu hadia fali iha laran, entaun lakonsege, lakonsege tamba saida tamba atu akontese dadauk buat funu atu mai pruntu ida ne'e la konsege atu saida halai sai tiha ba liur, depois bapa ka timoroan mak sunu (...) ne ida ne'e hotu ona. [Sr. Felizberto: Então, tem que informar a todos, o momento para nós construirmos a casa aqui. Mas ainda não tínhamos reunido todos para consertar dentro, então não conseguimos, não conseguimos porque aconteceu de novo a guerra, então pronto, não conseguimos, fugimos para longe, depois os indonésios ou timorenses (...) queimaram tudo.]

Situadas à beira da estrada, foram essas casas sagradas, muitas ainda em processo de construção, que foram queimadas em 1999, logo após o referendo, com a saída dos indonésios do território. Atualmente, das treze Casas que constituem a aldeia, apenas três possuem a construção tradicional.

5. Conclusões

Como busquei apontar, nas montanhas, na primeira fase de refúgio, enquanto houve um cotidiano possível, deu-se a continuidade dos rituais vinculados à colheita e mesmo, eventualmente, aos casamentos, conforme comentado por um dos depoentes. Por outro lado, a demanda pela *lisan*, como referido também pelo *katuas* da narrativa em quadrinhos do Museu da Resistência, foi base do processo de resistência e de luta pela independência. A ela se recorria a cada combate e nas campanhas pela mata, fosse por meio das orações e busca por bênçãos (do *buahomalus*) fosse como objetos, os *biru(s)*, amuletos carregados junto aos corpos.

Nas aldeias sob domínio das forças de ocupação, as comunidades deram continuidade a suas agendas rituais, ao mesmo tempo em que travaram com os indonésios diferentes interlocuções no terreno da *lisan*. É possível ainda propor que frente à destruição material que as casas sagradas enfrentaram nos anos de ocupação, sua existência imaterial, por meio das práticas e de seu campo epistemológico, estabelece veios profundos de continuidade. Por sua vez, as casas sagradas reconstruídas nos anos 1990 e incendiadas logo após o referendo não são as mesmas da entrada, constituindo-se sinais de processos de continuidade e de resistência que não cessaram de verter.

Logo, nas cenas capturadas no campo em Ainaro, as narrativas locais apontam para diversos veios de continuidade da vida ritual durante os anos de ocupação indonésia, quer fosse nas aldeias sob domínio da Indonésia, quer fosse nas montanhas, junto à resistência armada. No que se refere à compreensão do passado, o grande desafio está em buscar meios para capturar ao menos vestígios, tornando a constituição de alguma resposta possível. No território de Timor-Leste, como em outros contextos similares, o diálogo entre a História e a Antropologia coloca-se como imprescindível.

Para meus interlocutores, a *lisan* é um chão existencial, sustento da vida tangível e intangível. Eles percebem e dialogam com as instâncias de cada tempo, ficando, no entanto, a precedência da casa sagrada sobre quaisquer outras institucionalidades às quais estejam ligados. Desse modo, *lisan iha nafatin*, a Casa sempre existe.

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SECÇÃO VIII

Akihisa Matsuno

An Introduction on Military Occupation and Sexual Violence in Timor-Leste

The following five papers were first presented to the panel “Military Occupation and Sexual Violence against Women in Timor-Leste: A Search for Historical Justice and Healing” at the International Conference TLSA-PT, held in September 2020.

Women of Timor-Leste experienced various forms of sexual violence during two periods of military occupation by the Japanese (1942-1945) and the Indonesians (1975-1999). Their sufferings did not end even though the war came to an end. The survivors endured wounds, physical and psychological, and faced social exclusion. But the plight of the survivors has been paid too little attention in the post-war process, and their sufferings and struggle have been given too little space in the history written later. The five papers are testimony to the fact that history repeats if no lesson is learned from the past.

Three papers deal with the so-called “comfort women” system or the Japanese military sexual slavery during the World War II. Two of them present a part of the research done jointly by East Timorese and Japanese researchers and activists on Timor-Leste. Akihisa Matsuno gives a general picture of the system and its patterns. Kiyoko Furusawa discusses the problem of impunity using survivors’ narratives. The third paper by Mina Watanabe and Eriko Ikeda focuses on the global movement of survivors and solidarity groups for truth and justice.

The other two papers deal with the post-independence situation. Maria Manuela Leong Pereira reports on various problems that survivors of sexual violence from the period of Indonesian occupation and their children are facing today and activities of her organization, ACbit, to support them. Clíonadh O’Keeffe argues based on her field work that the Timor-Leste’s first National Protection Strategy 2017-2023 fails to go beyond addressing practical needs of women and calls for the incorporation of a more vigorous gender analysis to address the problem of deep-rooted gender-based violence in the society.

These papers together reveal continuity from the sexual slavery of the Japanese military to sexual violence under Indonesian occupation and continual denial of women’s self-determination in the independent Timor-Leste. It is, therefore, important to continue to expose the facts and to voice the demands for justice and equality.

Introdução sobre Ocupação Militar e Violência Sexual em Timor-Leste

Os cinco artigos que se seguem foram inicialmente apresentados no painel “Military Occupation and Sexual Violence against Women in Timor-Leste: A Search for Historical Justice and Healing” na Conferência Internacional TLSA-PT, realizada em Setembro de 2020.

As mulheres de Timor-Leste experienciaram várias formas de violência sexual durante dois períodos de ocupação militar: japonesa (1942-1945) e indonésia. O seu sofrimento não terminou após a guerra. As sobreviventes sofreram ferimentos físicos, psicológicos e enfrentaram exclusão social. No entanto, a sua situação tem merecido pouca atenção nos processos pós-guerra, e não tem sido dado espaço ao seu sofrimento e luta na história posteriormente escrita. O grupo de cinco textos demonstra que a história se repete se nenhuma lição for aprendida com o passado.

Três dos artigos referem-se ao chamado sistema das “mulheres de conforto”, ou escravatura sexual militar japonesa durante a II Grande Guerra. Dois apresentam parte da pesquisa realizada conjuntamente por investigadores timorenses, japoneses e ativistas em Timor-Leste. Akihisa Matsuno expõe uma visão geral do sistema e dos seus padrões. Kiyoko Furusawa discute o problema da impunidade recorrendo às narrativas de sobreviventes. No terceiro, Mina Watanabe e Eriko Ikeda, focam-se no movimento global de sobreviventes e grupos de solidariedade na busca pela verdade e justiça.

Os últimos dois artigos remetem para a situação pós-independência. Maria Manuela Leong Pereira reporta os vários problemas enfrentados hoje em dia pelas sobreviventes da violência sexual do período da ocupação indonésia e seus filhos, e as atividades levadas a cabo pela sua organização, a ACbit, para as apoiar. Clíonadh O’Keeffe argumenta, com base no seu trabalho de campo, que a primeira Estratégia de Proteção Nacional 2017-2023 de Timor-Leste não atende às necessidades práticas das mulheres, e apela à incorporação de uma mais vigorosa análise de género para encarar o problema de violência com base no género, profundamente enraizado na sociedade.

No seu conjunto, estes artigos revelam continuidade entre a escravatura sexual militar japonesa, a violência sexual sob ocupação indonésia e a negação continuada da autodeterminação das mulheres no Timor-Leste independente. Por essa razão, é importante continuar a expor os factos e dar voz às demandas pela justiça e igualdade.

Introdusaun ba Okupasaun Militár no Violénsia seksuál iha Timor-Leste

Surat lima tuirmai apresenta ba dalauluk ba painél “Okupasaun Militár no violénsia seksuál kontra feto iha Timor-Leste: Buka tuir justisa no oinsá bali-an hodi hakmaan terus” iha Konferénsia Internasionál TLSA-PT ne’ebé hala’o iha Setembru 2020.

Feto iha Timor-Leste koko no sente ho susar esperiénsia aat liuhosi violénsia seksuál iha tempu okupasaun militár japonés (1942-1945) no okupasaun militár indonézia (1975-1999). Sira-nia terus la hotu maski funu remata tiha. Nakloban sira-nia kanek seidak maran, iha neon no isin laran, no sira terus mós tanba ema seluk soe fali sira tanba hakribe. Maibé, maski funu liutiha, nakloban sira-nia hahusuk la hetan rohan no sira terus nafatin no ema seluk la rona no la fó-fatin ba sira iha istória ne’ebé hakerek. Surat lima ne’e nu’udar sasin ba buat hirak hotu ne’ebé hamosu no istória bele repete filafali karik ema la aprende hosi buat hira-k-ne’ebé biban iha tempu kotuk.

Surat tolu tesi kona-ba sistema ne’ebé hanran nu’udar “feto hamaus” ka eskravatura hosi militár japonés iha Funu Mundiál II nia laran. Surat rua apresenta parte ida hosi peskiza ne’ebé hala’o hosi peskizadór timoroan no Japonés hamutuk ho ativistas sira iha Timor-Leste. Akihisa Matsuno hakerek liu de’it kona-ba sistema no hala’ok hirak hotu hosi sistema ne’e. Kiyoko Furusawa tesi kona-ba problema impunidade bainhira uza nakloban sira-nia ko’alia tuir buat ne’ebé akontese. Surat datoluk hosi Mina Watanabe no Eriko Ikeda foka ba movimentu globál ba nakloban sira no tulun hosi grupu hirak-ne’ebé hamriik ho lia-loos no justisa.

Surat rua seluk tesi kona-ba situasaun oinsá hafoin hetan ukun rasik-an. Maria Manuela Leong Pereira hato’o kona-ba problema oioin ne’ebé nakloban sira hosi violénsia seksuál iha okupasaun indonézia nia laran, hamutuk ho sira-nia oan, hasouru susar ohin laron no lala’ok hosi nia organizasaun, ACbit, hodi suporta sira hotu. Clíonadh O’Keefe hato’o, bazeia ba haree-hetan hosi ninia knaar rasik, katak Timor-Leste nia Estratéjia dahuluk ba Protesaun Nasionál 2017-2023 hala’o de’it kona-ba feto nia presiza baibain, maibé tenke hakle’an hodi tada no sori maka’as tan problema jender nian liuliu violénsia ne’ebé hasouru iha sosiedade nia leet.

Surat hirak ne’e hotu hatudu katak problema buras horikedas eskravatura seksuál, iha tempu militár japonés, to’o violénsia seksuál, iha okupasaun militar indonézia, no sei nafatin tanba la fó-fatin ba feto hodi ukun rasik-an hafoin Timor-Leste hetan independénsia. Ne’e be, nu’udar importante atu fó-sai nafatin buat hotu ne’ebé mosu uluk to’o ohin laron no ko’alia nomós husu tuir justisa no moris ho igualdade.

1. The Japanese military sexual slavery system in Timor-Leste: violence against women as a policy of military occupation

Akihisa Matsuno¹

The Japanese military sexual slavery system in Timor-Leste: violence against women as a policy of military occupation

The paper presents a summary of findings of the research on the so-called “comfort women” system during the Second World War in Timor-Leste. Using various written sources and interviews with survivors and witnesses, it points out that “comfort stations” existed near various command posts of the Japanese across the country and that officers personally had women, mostly underage, they forced to serve them. It was a policy and the pattern was similar to the one in eastern Indonesia at the time. The Japanese military’s sexual slavery was systematic, coercive and violent, and those who opposed were punished sometimes with execution.

World War II. Timor-Leste. Japanese military. Sexual slavery. Comfort women.

O sistema de escravatura sexual militar japonês em Timor-Leste: a violência contra as mulheres como política de ocupação militar

O artigo resume as conclusões da investigação sobre o sistema das chamadas “mulheres de conforto” durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial em Timor-Leste. Recorrendo a fontes escritas e entrevistas a sobreviventes e testemunhas, o estudo afirma que existiam “estações de conforto” nas proximidades de muitos dos postos militares japoneses distribuídos pelo país, e que os oficiais detinham pessoalmente mulheres, a maioria menores de idade, que eram forçadas a servi-los. Na época, esta era uma política padronizada levada a cabo na Indonésia oriental. A escravatura sexual praticada pelos militares japoneses era sistemática, coerciva e violenta, e quem se lhe opusesse arriscava-se a ser punido com execução.

II Guerra Mundial. Timor-Leste. Exército japonês. Escravatura sexual. Mulheres de conforto.

1. Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University.

Sistema eskravatura seksuál militar japaun nian iha Timor-Leste: violénsia kontra atan-feto timoroan sira iha okupasaun militar nia laran

Artigu ne'e habadak konkluzaun hosi investigasaun kona-ba sistema ne'ebé hanaran tiha nu'udar "feto moris-kmaan" iha Funu Mundiál Daruak nia laran iha Timór. Bazeia ba buat hirak hotu ne'ebé hakerek, tuir entrevista ne'ebé halo tiha ba mate-restu no sasin sira, artigu ne'e hatada katak iha tempu ne'ebá iha duni "fatin ho feto moris-kmaan", besik postu militar Japaun nian hotu-hotu ne'ebé halekar hale'u Timór laran tomak, no ofisiál militar ida-idak iha ninia feto rasik, barakliu maka sei nurak foin-sa'e, ne'ebé haraik-an hodi fó isin-lolon ba sira. Iha tempu ne'ebá, hala'ok aat hanesan ne'e mosu tiha ona iha rai sorin indonézia orientál. Eskravatura seksuál ne'ebé militar japaun nian halo baibain no obriga fetoraan sira liuhosi violénsia, no sesé maka ko'alia hasouru militar sira bele hetan kastigu to'o mate.

Funu Mundiál Daruak. Timor-Leste. Ezérsitu japonés. Eskravatura seksuál. Feto Moris-kmaan sira.

Background to the research

During the struggle for independence, East Timorese had very few chances to publicly reflect on their experiences in the Second World War, let alone to investigate the war crimes that deprived many lives and left deep scars on the society. But this did not mean, of course, that their suffering had been forgotten. Memories of hardship were still vivid, and the experiences under brutal occupation had deeply impacted the post-war life of many Timorese. When the resistance leader Xanana Gusmão reminded Japan of the atrocities its troops committed in 1982, it wasn't just a political rhetoric to press Japan. He wrote:

We remind the Japanese government that we still carry the scars of the injuries caused by the massacres, tortures, imprisonment and violations of all types and the ruin of our country caused during three years of occupation by the criminal and vandal assassins. Today these scars have become ulcerous. The Mau-bere people drink the pus of the wounds caused by the Japanese aggressors in the very recent past. Today you forget to cure these injuries. (Commander in Chief of Falintil Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão's message to the United National General Assembly, the 37th session, 14 October 1982.)²

2. *East Timor News*, No. 78-80, Spring 1983, p. 3 (retrieved from online Timor Archives). See also Sarah Niner, pp. 83-84.

It cannot be denied that the Japanese occupation also left some influence on the course of East Timor's post-war history. Some senior leaders such as *liurais* had to collaborate with the Japanese military, and for that collaboration, they were exiled to Ataúro by the Portuguese after the war. The first "governor" under Indonesian occupation, Arnaldo dos Reis Araújo from Ainaro, was a leader of the Japanese military-backed militia, *coluna negra* (Ramos Horta, 32). Japanese sources mention *Liurai Boot Joaquim* of Ossu as a king of tragic fate who was sent to Ataúro³. There was also a testimony of Mr. António Maia and Mrs. Veronica Maia in 1995 about brutality of Japanese troops including sexual violence against women⁴.

On the Japanese side, there was a testimony by Mr. Shohachi Iwamura before the UN Special Decolonization Committee in 1987⁵. He also wrote a chronology of his military career, in which he wrote that he forcibly mobilized Timorese for road construction and also that he constructed a comfort station in Baguia.

In December 2000, women's groups across the Asia-Pacific region organized The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo, the first mock tribunal to specifically examine the Japanese military sexual slavery as a war crime. A team of East Timorese women attended the tribunal bringing two survivors, Marta Abu Bere and Esmeralda Boe, both from Bobonaro. For the first time, East Timorese survivors of the Japanese military's so-called "comfort women" system publicly talked about their experiences. Their courageous testimonies and the research done by East Timorese activists convinced us of the possibility to further investigate cases of sexual violence against women under Japanese occupation. We started our field research in 2001.

The Japanese occupation of Portuguese Timor

Japan invaded Portuguese Timor on 20 February 1942 and occupied it for three and a half years until Japan was defeated on 15 August 1945⁶. The purpose

3. The most detailed account of Liurai Joaquim's work with the Japanese military can be found in Toru Maeda's *Chimooru-ki* or Timor Diary (in Japanese). Maeda was a pay officer assigned to the Search Regiment of the Army's 48th Division.

4. Mariko Tanaka, 'East Timor and Japan's postwar reparations: a testimony of an old couple', *East Timor News*, Kure YWCA East Timor Group, No. 37, October 1995, pp. 11-16 (in Japanese).

5. *The Australian*, 15 August 1987, 'East Timor hearing ignites tragic memory'; Kiyoko Furusawa, 'A reunion after fifty years: Australian and Japanese former soldiers shake hands', *SEKAI*, October 1993, pp. 234-235 (in Japanese); *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 August 1993, 'Now they're comrade in peace'.

6. The invading Japanese force was an army unit under commander Itoh of the 228th Regiment of the Army's 38th Division.

of occupation was to drive out Australian soldiers from the island and build up a defense line against Australia. Portugal was a neutral country in WWII, but Japan justified the invasion and occupation by saying that Portugal's neutrality had been effectively lost with the landing of the Allied forces of Australia and the Netherlands two months before on 17 December 1941⁷. Japan said that it would respect Portuguese sovereignty. But it confined Portuguese residents in the internment camps in Liquiçá and Maubara and placed the whole island under its military control⁸.

The origins of the military's comfort station system

By that time, the Japanese military's comfort station system had been well established. The origin of the system goes back to the First Sino-Japan War or Shanghai Incident of 1932, in which the Japanese force clashed with the Chinese force. The reasons of the military's decision to develop its own system of sexual slavery were (1) to stop rape incidents by soldiers, (2) to prevent the spread of sexual diseases within the military, and (3) to keep soldiers away from women spies. Systematic provision of sexual service was also deemed useful to maintain morale of soldiers.

The military's comfort station system quickly expanded in China after the Second Sino-Japan War broke out in 1937. To gather women, the military initially entrusted private agents to openly recruit "waitresses" in Japan, and her colonies Korea and Taiwan. Chinese women were also mobilized in China's frontlines. The methods of recruitment were rough, and young girls were often threatened, deceived, or even kidnapped.⁹ The system developed into a machinery that involved both civilian and military authorities at various stages of the process such as recruitment, issuance of visas, transportation, medical checks, security and management of facilities, and control of women.

7. Kenichi Goto's archival research revealed that Germany had asked Japan not to violate neutrality of Portugal fearing that Portugal would allow the Allied forces to use the Azores islands, but that not only the 17 December landing of Australian and Dutch troops in Timor but also the detention of the Japanese consul and civilians later became a pretext for the invasion. He also found that defying the directives from Tokyo, the Japanese army on the ground had decided to continue occupation of Portuguese Timor after the invasion. See Goto, pp. 146-200 (in Japanese).

8. Governor Manuel de Carvalho made an official request for protection to the Japanese military on 24 October. "Protection" meant that Portuguese residents were confined in internment camps. See Goto, pp. 167-170 (in Japanese).

9. For a detailed description of coercive methods, see Nishino Rumiko.

The Netherlands East Indies

As Japan invaded Southeast Asia in early 1942, the military's comfort station system also spread to her occupied areas. For the purpose of comparison, it may be useful to look at how it was in the Netherlands East Indies that Japan occupied together with Portuguese Timor. Basically, wherever Japanese troops stayed, there were comfort stations. But the mode of management varied from place to place depending on availability of facilities and private (commercial) managers. In major cities such as Batavia, there were "officers' clubs" run by businessmen and used exclusively by officers. There were also comfort stations for ordinary soldiers. Both types operated with a license from the military. Indonesians, Koreans, Chinese and in some places Dutch women were mobilized, often forcibly or through deceptions.¹⁰

In rural areas of the Outer Islands, the military's involvement was much more direct. Commander-class officers had their own "woman" in their residences or shared one or more women among them. For rank and file soldiers, the military utilized existing buildings or constructed temporary huts with bamboos or palm leaves. Women were gathered from nearby villages, sometimes by way of abducting. There was also what can be more properly called as "rape centers" where girls in the neighborhood were ordered to regularly come to serve soldiers (Matsuno, 274-275). The military sexual slavery in Portuguese Timor seems to be very close to the one in the rural areas in the eastern region of the Netherlands East Indies.

Early Japanese demand for women

When the Japanese troops landed on Portuguese Timor, one of the early demands of the Japanese to the Portuguese authorities was women (Santa, 30; Brandão, 53). Portuguese Governor at the time, Manuel de Carvalho, in his post-war report wrote how the Japanese demanded him to bring back prostitutes who fled to the mountains to Dili. When the Japanese demanded more women, he

10. The van Poelgeest's report (its English translation) gives us a picture of the "forced prostitution" of Dutch women in Dutch East Indies. The post-war tribunal in Dutch East Indies prosecuted 29 Japanese for crimes related with the comfort women system. The famous case is the Semarang Incident, in which 35 Dutch women in camps were forced to "serve" Japanese soldiers. An army major was sentenced to death and other soldiers and private operators received sentences from two to 20 years (Hayashi, 115). See also Ruff-O'Herne, a Dutch woman who was forced to serve Japanese soldiers in Java. About Indonesian comfort women, Hilde Jansen did important work. You can visit her website on comfort women in Indonesia: http://www.hildejanssen.nl/troostmeisjes/comfort_women.html.

refused. He wrote that the Japanese solved the problem by bringing Korean women from outside (de Carvalho, 223-224).

The governor did not write that Portuguese women were taken by the Japanese. But as it is already known that Dutch women were forced into sexual slavery in the Dutch East Indies, we cannot exclude possibilities of Portuguese women taken by the Japanese military. A Portuguese official who was interned in the camp told Australian war crimes investigator Major Quinton that the Japanese demanded Chefe do Posto, possibly of Liquiça, where the concentration camp was, to hand over Portuguese girls to them. The Chefe do Posto refused, he said¹¹. We also heard that there was a comfort station with mestiça women in Dili.¹²

According to an eyewitness account, there were at least three comfort stations in Dili, one with Korean women, one with Indonesian women and one with Timorese women. The comfort station with Timorese women was located behind where the old Dili branch of the ANZ bank was¹³. Chefe de Suco of Motael at the time told Major Quinton that when he was ordered to find girls for the Japanese, he sent two old women. But the Japanese said that they were no good.¹⁴

Accounts by Japanese soldiers

On the Japanese side, there are accounts by former soldiers. I already mentioned Shohachi Iwamura's account¹⁵. From memoirs of other former soldiers, it is evident that the comfort stations existed in Dili, Ossu¹⁶, and Lautem¹⁷.

11. The account can be found in the summary of examination of Sebastião Graça, telephone chief in Dili. He said to Australian war crimes investigators in 1946, «Native girls were forced to sleep with the Japanese. The Chefe do Post at the camp was ordered to bring Portuguese girls to the Japanese. The Chefe do Posto, Oliveira, refused and he was held all night by the Japanese.» National Archives of Australia, MP742/1, Item 336/1/1724, Part 1.

12. We heard this from Mr. Masamichi Kijima, a pay officer stationed in Dili at the time. Mr. Kijima was a member of the Tokyo East Timor Association.

13. Interview with Afonso de Jesus, Dili, 29 May 2005. Afonso de Jesus was a boy at the time and sometimes sat on the veranda of the comfort station to get milk from women. He mentions that there was a comfort station with Japanese women, but they were more likely to be Koreans.

14. Statement of Francisco Tilman de Ataide, National Archives of Australia, MP742/1, Item 336/1/1724, Part 1.

15. Shohachi Iwamura was a lieutenant attached to the Second Formosan Infantry Regiment and was deployed in Portuguese Timor from December 1942 to February 1945. He spent most of the time in Baguia and Aliambata.

16. Tatsuo Suzuki, a military doctor attached to the 48th Search Regiment based in Ossu, wrote, «In Ossu a permission was issued for the first time to establish a comfort station. A village chief was ordered to gather volunteers to become lovers of Japanese (this was a task given to Lieutenant Masuda of the Propaganda Unit). Their bodies were to be checked to decide whether we accept them or not» (Suzuki).

17. Akio Agarita wrote, «A comfort station was set up in such a frontline like here. There were girls

Accounts by Timorese women and men

Accounts by Timorese survivors and witnesses have accumulated since 2000. In that year as part of the preparations for the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal, two groups in Timor-Leste, the lawyers' association and women's organization Fokupers collected testimonies. From 2000 to 2005, Kiyoko Furusawa and I traveled to Timor-Leste and collected accounts. In 2005 a joint research project of the HAK Association and Japan East Timor Coalition started. Using all these accounts and documentary sources, we published a report in Tetun in 2016 (Aso-siasaun HAK). Accounts by Timorese clearly indicate that there was direct and systematic involvement of the military from the recruitment to the management of comfort stations, that mobilization of women in most cases involved coercion, threats and violence. Sometimes girls became pregnant because soldiers did not use condoms in violation of the internal rules. The wartime experiences left physical and psychological injuries on the women, and in some cases made a great negative impact on their whole life after the war. These injuries and impact have not gone yet after 75 years.

Severe punishments

What happened if people refused to hand over women to the Japanese military? The Japanese severely punished those who collaborated with Australians, rebelled against the Japanese or did not obey orders of the Japanese¹⁸. They also punished those who committed criminal act such as theft. They sometimes executed captured Australian soldiers and suspicious Chinese residents. Japanese soldiers often threatened to kill, if women refused to come or parents refused to hand over their daughters.

We suspect that deaths of two liurais are related with the sexual slavery. One is the execution of Liurai Marcelo of Camanasa Suai, Covalima. Liurai Marcelo, coming back home from the Japanese military post, told his wife Wehermina that he was ordered to hand over women to the Japanese but that he wanted to refuse¹⁹.

from Kisar Island who were deceived that 'they would work as waitresses in a restaurant in Abis (Lospalos)'. Just before the defeat, when we were to leave the island of Timor, I heard that these girls pleaded with tears in their eyes, 'please take us to Java, Japan or anywhere possible because we feel ashamed after our bodies became like this'" (Agarita).

18. The monument in Luca was dedicated to 19 Timorese killed by the Japanese between 1942 and 1945.

19. For stories on Liurai Marcelo by Wehermina Hoa Tae and Paulino Seran, see Kiyoko Furusawa, "The Japan's military sexual slavery system in East Timor (4)", *East Timor Quarterly* (Osaka East Timor Association), No. 6, January 2002 (in Japanese).

Then, he was called to the military post in Bobonaro. So, he went to Bobonaro accompanied by his attendant Paulino Seran, and there he was executed by the firing squad as people watched. The Japanese then attacked Camanasa and tried to capture Wehermina. Because the community provided her with shelter, she could escape being captured. But instead her sister-in-law whose face resembled her was taken away.

The other case is Liurai Duarte of Lakawa Village, Luro, Lautem. He sent his two sisters to the Japanese, but later he went to the military post and asked them to return the sisters. His request was rejected, and he was harassed. After coming back home, he hanged himself from a tamarind tree in the garden at midnight. His wife also tried to kill her by stabbing her belly, but she did not die. Duarte's younger brother then became the liurai of Lakawa and he collaborated with the Japanese. But because of that, Portugal arrested him and sent him to Ataúro after the war.²⁰

Collaboration with the Japanese

The comfort station in Marobo Village, Bobonaro, was a well-known facility with hot springs. We can imagine how enthusiastic Japanese soldiers were about this mountain resort. But it was a hell for the girls, including Marta Abu Bere who testified in Japan, who were brought there. Domingos Soares played a key role here. He was the liurai and *chefe de suco* of Lasaun Village, Ermera²¹. Initially he worked for the Organ *Ohtori* or a special unit attached to the Navy that did dirty work²². Then he returned to his village and worked for the Japanese units stationed in Bobonaro. He was the one who recruited women for the comfort station in Marobo. After the war, he was exiled to Ataúro. But he escaped to Indonesia and settled down in Atambua. He died there in 2003.

From these stories above, we understand that which way you chose, refusing orders of or collaborating with the Japanese, it was a hell. The impact the Japa-

20. We heard the story of Liurai Duarte from Alexandre Freitas, an old man from Luro, and also from Liurai Duarte's daughter, Angelina Noronha in 2002. See Kiyoko Furusawa, "The Japan's military sexual slavery system in East Timor (7)", *East Timor Quarterly*, No. 9, Osaka East Timor Association, October 2002 (in Japanese).

21. He is remembered as Domingos Atsabe. His wife, Carmelita da Cunha Moniz, in Lasaun told us about him. Before he died in Atambua, West Timor, he wrote a memo about his life. We obtained a copy of it from his family in Atambua. The memo was titled "Riwayat Hidup (life history)" and dated 3 November 1996.

22. Special Organ (*tokumu kikan*) was a group of volunteers who worked in close coordination with the military.

nese occupation left on the Timorese society was probably huge, but we are yet to know exactly how huge and extensive it was.

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2. The Japanese military sexual slavery system in Timor-Leste and Absence of Justice: from Narratives of Survivors

Kiyoko Furusawa¹

The Japanese military sexual slavery system in Timor-Leste and Absence of Justice: from Narratives of Survivors

The paper summarizes findings of the research on the Japanese military sexual slavery system in Timor-Leste during World War II. Citing narratives of the survivors, it describes the systematic and coercive nature of the mobilization of women and conveys the fears, pains and trauma, as well as the angers and spirit of resistance of the survivors. It then says that the survivors still wait to see justice to be done, because the crime of the Japanese was not tried in the post-war tribunals and that presently both Japanese and Timor-Leste governments have no political will to deal with this impunity and the absence of redress. Timor-Leste. Japanese military. Sexual slavery. Survivors' narratives. Spirit of resistance.

O sistema de escravatura sexual militar japonês em Timor-Leste e a Ausência de Justiça: a partir de narrativas de sobreviventes

O artigo resume as conclusões da investigação sobre o sistema de escravatura sexual militar japonês em Timor-Leste durante a II Guerra Mundial. Citando narrativas das sobreviventes, o artigo descreve a natureza sistemática e coerciva da mobilização das mulheres, e transmite os medos, dores e traumas, assim como a raiva e o espírito de resistência de quem sobreviveu. Refere-se que as sobreviventes esperam ainda que seja feita justiça, uma vez que os crimes cometidos pelos japoneses não foram sentenciados após a guerra e, atualmente, nem o governo japonês nem o de Timor-Leste demonstram vontade política para lidar com esta impunidade e ausência de justiça.

Timor-Leste. Exército japonês. Escravatura sexual. Narrativas de sobreviventes. Espírito de resistência.

1. Tokyo Woman's Christian University. Kiyoko Furusawa supported East Timorese women's activities on violence against women under Indonesian occupation before 1999 and since 2000 has been researching violence against women under Japanese occupation with East Timorese and Japanese activists.

Sistema eskravatura seksuál militar japaun nian iha Timor-Leste no justisa ne'ebé seidak iha: hosi moris-nakloban no sasin sira

Artigu ne'e habadak konkluzaun hosi investigasaun kona-ba sistema eskravatura seksuál hosi militar japaun nian iha Timor iha Funu Mundiál II. Artigu ne'e temi tuir lia-sumik ne'ebé hato'o hosi moris-nakloban no sasin sira kona-ba hala'ok baibain hodi lori feto sira ba fatin-fatin no fó-sai sira-nia ta'uk, moras-mama'ek no terus, nomós sira rai hela kuna no hakaran hodi hetan moris foun. Nakloban no sasin sira-ne'ebé sei moris hein nafatin dalan ba susar ne'e tuir justisa tanba krime hirak hotu ne'ebé soldadu japaun halo la hatán ba sentensa hafoin funu hakotu no, daudauk, governu japaun nian ka governu timór nian mós la hatudu hakaran polítika hodi tési lia ne'ebé losu hela hosi justisa.

Timor-Leste. Ezérsitu japonés. Eskravatura seksuál. Sobrevivente sira-nia narrativa. Espíritu rezisténsia.

Introduction

When the withdrawal of the Indonesian military in October 1999 created space for seeking truth of the past wartime sexual violence, the basis was already there. East Timorese women activists had condemned sexual violence by Indonesian soldiers in their resistance against the military occupation and the international solidarity movement had supported them (Furusawa 1997; Furusawa and Inglis 1998). Thus, in December 2000, when the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on the Japanese Military Sexual Slavery and the International Public Hearing on Crimes against Women in Recent Wars and Conflicts were held in Tokyo, East Timorese survivors of sexual violence were ready to testify at both events. Before the Tribunal, two survivors of the Japanese military's violence, Marta Abu Bere and Esmeralda Boe, delivered their testimonies, while at the Public Hearing Francisca Soares spoke about her experience (wam: 41, 43). Sexual violence by two different militaries had common problems. The violence was systematic, and the survivors not only endured wounds on the body and soul but also suffered lack of sympathy and discrimination. Their children were abandoned and the perpetrators enjoyed impunity. This paper focuses on the sexual violence by the Japanese military and the situation of justice.

It is clear from memoirs of former Japanese soldiers that for the Japanese military women were one of the supplies to be procured. Gathering women was a part of the military's logistical work (Suzuki: 114-115; Hashirano: 43-44; Ando: 300). The fact that the Japanese military demanded the Portuguese governor to hand over women immediately after the landing is a clear evidence. The operation was systematic. Military doctors examined women for sexual diseases and the mil-

itary provided soldiers with condoms when they were available². But neither memoirs of soldiers nor the report of the Portuguese governor writes about the fear, pain or anger that the victims had to endure. Here is a huge gap, and it must be filled.

Servitude under the sexual slavery system

So far, we have been able to hear from 21 East Timorese survivors about their experiences of sexual violence by Japanese soldiers (see Appendix). 13 of them have already passed away. The Japanese military ordered village chiefs or *liurais* to mobilize and control the populace. There are two types of victim of the Japanese military's sexual slavery. One is "comfort women" who were put into comfort stations. The other is women monopolized by particular officers.

"**Comfort women**" at comfort stations would receive any soldiers and many at one night. In Bobonaro, Marta Abu Bere was put into a comfort station in Marobo (HAK: 46-50), and Ines Magalhães Gonçalves (HAK: 53-56) and Madalena de Jesus (HAK: 56-58) into another in Oat. The three were girls and did not have menstruation yet. They were first mobilized for road construction and were later forced to become "comfort women". In Covalima, where the Japanese military mobilized local population for road construction, Clementina Cardoso (HAK: 65) and Geralda Cardoso (wam: 30) were forced to become "comfort women". Laurinda Ferreira (HAK: 61-63) was also put into a comfort station in Suai. She was given a Japanese name, Tazuko, and had the name tattooed in the *kanji* characters on her arm. Francesca Macedo (HAK: 59-61) was named Tomiko and was forced to work at a comfort station in Suai, too. In Aileu, Lim Fa In (wam: 11) was first ordered to cook for soldiers, and then was forced to become a "comfort woman" at a comfort station where only Chinese girls were gathered. She was named Hanako. In Baucau, Sarah da Silva (HAK: 123) fled to the mountain with other girls when the Japanese troops reached there. She bundled her hair and blackened her face with charcoal so that her face looked like a boy. Nevertheless, she was captured and put into a comfort station in Dalagata.

In the military, ranks decide everything, and the sexual exploitation was not an exception. Officers were allowed to have one or more women as their own sexual slaves. Some of them were called "wives" of Japanese officers.

2. Maria Rosa Fernanda Noronha said that she had sexual diseases examination (wam: 13). Geralda Cardoso said that she was afraid of condoms because she did not know what it was (wam: 30).

Esmeralda Boe was a girl from the border village of Memo, Bobonaro. She was monopolized by Shimomura. When Shimomura left, she was handed over to Haraku, and then to Kawano (HAK: 50-53). In the town of Bobonaro, Maria Rosa Fernanda Noronha was forced to serve Ohara first, and then Taniyama after Ohara left (wam: 13). In Manufahi, Margarida Hornay was monopolized by Komaki in Quicras (HAK: 89-91). In Same, Virginia da Costa (HAK: 82) had to serve three officers, Ladris, Saho and Tanone, and Alicia Prego (HAK: 84-87) was taken by Takaraki. In the coastal town of Betano, Palmira Paicheco was monopolized by Ono (HAK: 87-89). In Viqueque, José Asinsoko's mother, Naimau was monopolized by Hirata. She gave a birth to José Asinsoko after the war (HAK: 118-122). In Uatucarbau, Esperança Amelia Fernandes was monopolized by an officer with the nickname of Matahari (HAK: 116-118).

Many of "comfort women" would not only serve sexual desire of Japanese military men but also had to work during the day for construction of roads or barracks, to plant vegetables, to pound *sago*, to prepare meals or to wash clothes. The conditions of comfort stations in Dili are not known as there were no witness accounts, but comfort stations in the rural areas were generally in a very poor condition. Many survivors said that they were not given money, clothes nor other necessary things. Even foods were not enough. The Japanese troops in Portuguese Timor could rarely receive supplies as their supply lines were cut by Australian air raids³. The survivors said that their families brought them cassava or corns from home.

The mobilization was systematic. The Japanese disarmed the Portuguese force and interned Portuguese residents into camps in Liquiçá and Maubara. Thus, no one could stop the Japanese from hunting down women. The Japanese military ordered *liurais*, village chiefs and auxiliaries called *pombela* to gather women. If the women escaped, these men were punished and they had to bring them back. Women were either directly taken to comfort stations or residences of officers, or first ordered to do different work such as cooking or road construction then selected as "comfort women". Japanese were sometimes directly involved in gathering or selecting women. Esmeralda was first marked by a Japanese officer accompanied by *liuarai*'s men when she was working in the garden, and later at night was picked up by that officer accompanied by a *liurai* and his men. Esmeralda's parents asked the village chief for help, but they were only told that they would be killed if they did not obey orders of the Japanese (wam: 28). One typical phrase that *liurais*, village chiefs or *pombelas* used when they had to persuade women was, "They will kill your parents, or they will kill us".

3. *Asahi Shimbun*, 17 February 1987, Yasuhide Nakamura, 'Thematic Conversation Room on War: Timor too got starved' (in Japanese).

Some village chiefs and *liurais* refused orders of the Japanese military. For example, Liurai Marcelo and Liurai Hermos refused to hand over women, and they were executed in public at the military post in Bobonaro. After the execution of Liurai Marcelo, the Japanese hunted down women in his village, Caminasa. They tried to capture Liurai Marcelo's wife, but the villagers hid her. The Japanese took away her sister-in-law whose face looked like her (HAK: 35-36) and made her a "comfort woman". When José Asinsoko's mother was demanded by a Japanese soldier, a *liurai* tried to protect her saying that she was his wife. But when the soldiers knew it was a lie, they punished the *liurai* by ordering him to sit on sharp stones (Furusawa 2008: 25).

Some women made an attempt to escape. Alicia Prego was raped by Takaraki, and when Takaraki fell asleep she escaped in blood-soaked clothes. But a *liurai* came to pick her up upon orders from the Japanese (HAK: 86). The family of Margarida Hornay let her go hiding. But the Japanese held her mother and brother and tortured them with fire and by exposing them to the heat of the sun for a long time. She had no choice but to return (HAK: 89).

Japanese soldiers did not understand how much women suffered from an intensive and long-time exposure to sexual violence.

Ines Magalhães said, "Soldiers were just savage and brutally mounted us. Even animals would be better treated. We were not only forced to have sex but also were asked to entertain them by singing and dancing. I felt like becoming crazy." Ines gave birth to a baby at a comfort station. When the Japanese troops were to leave, they took away that baby from her. The baby was only three-month old (HAK: 54-56).

Marta Abu Bere once resisted, because serving many soldiers was so hard. A soldier then lifted her body by grabbing her neck. Marta said to us, "Men too are born from women. Why can they do cruel things like this? We were so tired after working under the hot sun during the day. Women also get tired as men do. Women also get sick as men do. Women also have dignity as men have. When a man is born, it's never like falling down from the heaven. Both women and men are born through the woman's womb" (HAK: 50).

Trauma and discrimination

After the war ended, the Japanese military went back home, and Portuguese rule returned. However, the victims continued to suffer from the wounds on their body and soul. The community lacked sympathy and they faced discrimination.

Geralda Cardoso returned to her village after suffering for three years at three comfort stations. What she met in her village was slanders (wam: 30). Margarida

Hornay, who surrendered because her family members were tortured, experienced the same in her village (HAK: 91). Esmeralda Boe was always anxious about how other people saw her. When villagers were chatting and one of them looked at her, she became upset. She thought they might be saying she was a woman of Japanese soldiers. After she testified at the Tribunal in Japan, she did not feel like that anymore, she said (wam: 28). Lim Fa In married after the war, but one day the husband suddenly disappeared without leaving any message. She had never told her husband that she had been a “comfort woman”. She suspects that he left home because someone tattled on her past to him (wam: 11).

Laurinda Ferreira hates sexual intercourse as a result of her experience as a “comfort woman”, and therefore, could not marry after the war (HAK: 36-37). Among the married survivors we met, four did not have a child. One of them, Alicia Prego, now lives with two “daughters”. They are daughters from her husband’s temporary “marriage” with her younger sister. Alicia suspects that she could not have a child because she was repeatedly raped when she was a girl. (HAK: 87)

When Esperança Amelia Fernandes was picked up by a Japanese officer in Uatucabau, her menstruation had not started yet. She doesn’t remember much about the officer Matahari because she never had a meal with him. Her foods were usually brought by her parents. What she does remember about him is a word, “Koral”, which is a rough expression to call or scold someone. After the war, she was detained by the Portuguese authorities because she was suspected to be a collaborator with the Japanese. She was detained in Iliomar for three months, taken to Lautem, and to Baucau where she was interrogated. In Lautem as there was no water to drink, she groveled on the ground and sipped water from a puddle “like a dog”. She was beaten when she cried. She was released because they found that she did not get anything like clothes from the Japanese. She cannot forget the humiliation she received at the time. (wam: 28)

Children born out of relations with Japanese soldiers, too, have experienced stigmatization and bullying. People often asked, “Are you Timorese or Japanese?” Their fathers did not leave their full names, let alone their addresses in Japan.

Impunity and the absence of justice

How were the Japanese crimes tried after the war? And how do the Japanese and Timor-Leste governments respond to the problem after Timor-Leste’s independence?

The Allied Powers opened a post-war tribunal in Darwin to try Japanese Class B and Class C war crimes in Timor and some other areas. But the Darwin tribunal did not prosecute even a single case of ill-treatment of local populace in Portu-

guese Timor. The cases from Portuguese Timor were only ill-treatment of Australian prisoners of war (POW) (Tokyo Tribunal Handbook Editing Committee: 222). Geoffrey C. Gunn points out that one reason for this was the Portuguese colonial government's refusal to cooperate with the war crimes investigation of the Allied Powers (Gunn: 235-236). Portugal did not tell Australian investigators the names of the collaborators with the Japanese. Although Portugal did not cooperate with war crimes investigation, it did give severe punishment to *liurais* and village chiefs who allegedly "collaborated" with the Japanese. Many were exiled to Ataúro where some died because of harsh conditions there or arbitrary punishment (wam: 25). Portugal apparently tried to negotiate with Japan over war reparations, but later at some point it gave up negotiating. We can say that post-war reparation for Timor-Leste still remains unresolved (wam: 25).

The independence of Timor-Leste did not change this unjust situation. The victims demand the Japanese government to restore their dignity through an official apology and compensations. However, when Japan and Timor-Leste established diplomatic relations in 2002, both governments agreed to go with the "future-oriented" spirit. Since then, the Timor-Leste government never mentions Japan's war responsibility. José Ramos Horta, when he was a foreign minister, linked the Japan's post-war reparations with the issue of Indonesia's reparations. He argued that raising the issue of reparations with Japan would open up a Pandora's box leading to popular demands to Indonesia for reparations. If that happens, it is inconvenient from a viewpoint of security and economic stability for Timor-Leste.⁴ The Timor-Leste government even did not try to use the Asian Women's Fund (AWF), a Japan's framework to distribute financial assistance to the survivors. The Fund still existed at the time of Timor-Leste's independence. As for the Timor-Leste government, there has been no measure to care for the victims of wartime sexual violence. Meanwhile, Japanese diplomats repeat that Japan would not do anything unless Timor-Leste raises the issue⁵.

Esperança Amelia Fernandes said, "Our body was treated just like a horse or a water buffalo. The soldiers never came to Timor voluntarily. It was the state that sent them here. So, the state has to solve the problem" (Furusawa 2012). When we visited Marta Abu Bere in August 2006, she could hardly move as her right side of the body was paralyzed after a stroke. She couldn't excrete without being held by someone else. "I'm now like a baby," she laughed. But she could make a sarcas-

4. This is what José Ramos Horta says since his visit to Japan in March 2001 (Furusawa 2002).

5. Members of the Japan East Timor Coalition met with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a number of times and submitted petitions to ask the Japanese government to apologize, pay compensation and give urgent humanitarian assistance to aging survivors. This is the government's reply to our petition.

tic remark, “As I’m dying soon, the Japanese government has very little time to repent of their deeds” (Furusawa 2007). Japan should fulfill its responsibility regardless of the position of the Timor-Leste government.

Marta and Esmeralda were both indignant. Their indignation was aimed at both men’s violence and state’s violence against women. It was also aimed at acts of omission or absence of repentance for such acts. With whatever logic the governments of Japan and Timor-Leste justify their act of omission, the pains of the victims are not relieved. At the core of the indignation exists a persistent search for justice.

In front of us stands a huge wall of injustice. To break the wall, we continue to work with our partner, the HAK Association. Our activities include assistance to the survivors, promotion of history education from a gender perspective in collaboration with schoolteachers and university professors, and advocacy directed at both governments.

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Appendix

A list of the survivors who told their suffering

1. Esmeralda Boe (the place where the victim experienced abuse), Bobonaro (Municipality), deceased 2006.
2. Maria de Sousa Freitas, Baucau, deceased 2006.
3. Clementina Cardoso, Covalima, deceased 2007.
4. Marta Abu Bere, Bobonaro, deceased 2007.
5. Maria Rosa Fernanda Noronha, Bobonaro and Dili, deceased 2009.
6. Margarida Hornay, Manufahi, deceased 2009.
7. Sarah da Silva, Baucau, deceased 2011.
8. Marcelina da Costa, Manufahi, deceased 2012.
9. Mariana de Araujo da Costa Marques, Ainaro, deceased 2012.
10. Bei Dou Bauk, Covalima, deceased 2015.
11. Palmira Paicheco, Manufahi, deceased January 2020.
12. Madalena de Jesus, Ermera, deceased January 2020.
13. Francesca Macedo, Covalima.
14. Geralda Cardoso, Covalima and Bobonaro, deceased February 2021.
15. Laurinda Ferreira, Covalima.
16. Bitá Kehi Bebida, Covalima.
17. Alicia Prego, Manufahi.
18. Virginia da Costa, Manufahi.
19. Ines Magalhães Gonçalves, Bobonaro (resident in Ermera).
20. Esperança Amelia Fernandes, Viqueque.
21. Lim Fa In, contact lost.

3. Sexual Violence against Women as a Global Issue. Solidarity for Justice: The case of Japan’s military sexual slavery

Mina Watanabe¹, Eriko Ikeda²

Sexual Violence against Women as a Global Issue. Solidarity for Justice: The case of Japan’s military sexual slavery

The paper presents a summary of three decades of activities for bringing justice for the victims/survivors of Japan’s military sexual slavery in the Asia-Pacific region. Beginning with the coming out of survivors in 1990’s, it shows how the “comfort women” issue has impacted on the global movement against sexual violence in armed conflict, with the “Women’s International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan’s military sexual slavery” held in Tokyo being one of the examples. It also explains the backlash that started in the Japanese society in mid-2000’s led by the revisionist government and the counter-activities to keep memory through various civil society initiatives.

World War II. Sexual slavery. Comfort women. Memory politics. Timor-Leste.

Violência Sexual contra as Mulheres como uma Questão Global. Solidariedade pela Justiça: O caso da escravidão sexual militar do Japão

O artigo faz uma sinopse de três décadas de ações orientadas para trazer justiça às vítimas/sobreviventes da escravidão sexual militar do Japão na região da Ásia-Pacífico. Demonstra-se como, desde a revelação de sobreviventes na década de 1990, a questão das “mulheres de conforto” surtiu impacto no movimento global contra a violência sexual em conflitos armados, por exemplo, com a organização em Tóquio do “Tribunal Internacional de Crimes de Guerra contra a Mulher para a Escravidão Sexual Militar do Japão”. É ainda explicado o início da reação da sociedade japonesa em meados de 2000, liderada pelo governo revisionista, e as contra-atividades de iniciativa da sociedade civil para manter a memória.

II Guerra Mundial. Escravidão sexual. Mulheres de conforto. Políticas de memória. Timor-Leste.

1. Director of the Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM).

2. Mina Watanabe’s predecessor and currently is the honorary director of the Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM).

Violénsia seksuál kontra feto nu’udar kestaun globál. Sasirin ho justisa: kazu eskravatura seksuál hosi militár Japaun nian

Artigu ne’e, liuhosi tatoli badak ida, hato’o ema balu nia haka’as-an iha tinan tolunulu nia laran hodi buka justisa ba vítma / nakloban sira hosi eskravatura seksuál militár Japaun nian iha rejiaun Ázia – Pasífiku. Artigu ne’e hatudu oinsá maka, hori loron ne’ebé nakloban sira hatete-sai iha tinan 1990, kestaun “feto moris-kmaan” nakdoko movimentu globál kontra violénsia seksuál iha funu nia laran, hanesan ezentu, bainhira hatuur tiha iha Tókiu “Tribunál Internasionál Feto nian kontra Krime Eskravatura Seksuál hosi Militár Japonés”. Hatudu mós oinsá maka sosiedade japaun nia reasaun hale’u tinan 2000, ho lideransa hosi governu revizionista no haka’as mós atu hasouru lala’ok seluk tan hodi hametin hanoin iha sosiedade sivil nia leet.

Funu Mundiál Daruak. Eskravatura seksuál. Feto Moris-kmaan sira. Política kona-ba memória. Timor-Leste.

Introduction

Doctor Denis Mukwege, who received the 2018 Nobel Peace Prize for treating victims of sexual violence in his country, the Democratic Republic of Congo, reminded the world that systematic sexual violence had become “a weapon of war and armed conflict”. But it was in the early 1990s when the world began to seriously face up to wartime sexual violence as violation of human rights of women. The beginning was former “comfort woman” Ms. Kim Hak-sun from the Republic of Korea, who in 1991 came out and said that she was a victim of the Japanese military’s “comfort woman” system. Her coming-out then gave courage to victims from other Asian countries to stand up. They began to sue the Japanese government for reparation.

Among those who raised voices in Asia, East Timorese victims were the latest. East Timorese came out with testimonies just before the Women’s International Tribunal on War Crimes that was held in Tokyo, in December 2000. Two East Timorese women, Abo Marta Abu Bere and Abo Esmeralda Boe, spoke at the Tribunal bravely and determinedly. Their unwavering attitudes impressed the audience. We recall the joyful faces they showed when a guilty verdict was delivered to Emperor Hirohito.

In August 2015, we together with other colleagues established the Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace, or WAM for short, with donations mainly from people in Japan. WAM is a museum especially focusing on violence against women in war and conflict situations, with particular focus on the issue of Japan’s military sexual slavery, the so-called the “comfort women” issue. WAM holds exhibi-

tions, archives testimonies and evidence, conducts fact-finding projects and acts as an advocate in solidarity with the victims/survivors of “comfort women.”

In this paper, we would like to share the three decades of action for bringing justice for the victims/survivors of Japan’s military sexual slavery in the Asia-Pacific region. Please note that we will use the term “comfort women” and “comfort stations” in quotation marks. Although there is no comfort for victims/survivors, we retain these terms, which have historical significance given that this euphemism was also used during the war.

The map of “comfort stations” visualizes the magnitude of Japan’s military sexual slavery system. The locations of “comfort stations” have been identified from official documents, and the testimonies of survivors, former soldiers and witnesses. The yellow line shows the outer limit of the territory invaded by the Japanese military. The map confirms that the practice of Japan’s military sexual slavery was widespread throughout the Asia-Pacific region³.

Survivors broke silence

After Japan’s defeat, the women and girls were released or abandoned. Some managed to return home while others stayed in the area of their capture; for nearly all, a life began of struggle against poverty, physical disease, psychological trauma and community alienation. In Asia, many women also suffered another armed conflict or dictatorship in the post-war period. This made it difficult for women victims to talk about the sexual violence they had suffered at the hands of foreign military in the past.

As mentioned above, the first survivor to speak out was Ms. Kim Hak-sun of the Republic of Korea. She heard on TV that the government of Japan said “comfort stations” were run as private brothels with no involvement by the government or military of the time. This motivated Ms. Kim to testify about her experiences at the hands of Japan’s military and to file a lawsuit against the Japanese government for apology and compensation.

The news of Kim’s coming-out spread through many parts of Asia, encouraging not only survivors from the Republic of Korea but also those from the Philippines, Taiwan, China, DPRK (North Korea), Malaysia, Indonesia, and East Timor, to talk about their ordeal.

The coming out of the survivors led the Japanese historian, Yoshiaki Yoshimi, to conduct research on official documents in the library of the National Institute

3. For the “Japanese military comfort station map”, please see: <https://wam-peace.org/ianjo/map/>

for Defense Studies in the then Japan's Defense Agency, where he eventually located several tens of relevant official documents. Other historians and journalists followed.

The lawsuits by the survivors led the Government of Japan to initiate their own fact-finding. At the end of WWII the Japanese government systematically burned official documents in order to evade prosecution by the Allied Forces. However, the "comfort women" practice had been so systematic and taken such deep root throughout the military that it was not possible to burn all the relevant materials. The authorities had to declassify almost 300 documents archived in ministries.

In August 1993 then Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono made a statement and acknowledged the involvement of Japan's military in the "comfort women" system.

The Kono Statement declares that "Comfort stations were operated in response to the request of the military authorities of the day." It notes: "in many cases, they were recruited against their own will, through coaxing, coercion, etc., that, at times, administrative/military personnel directly took part in the recruitments", and that "they lived in misery at comfort stations under a coercive atmosphere".

However, the government refuses to acknowledge legal responsibility for the victims, saying that the San Francisco Peace Treaty and bilateral agreements signed after WWII resolved the issue, even though the "comfort women" issue was not on the table at the time.

Global campaigns on violence against women in war

The 1990's was also the decade when the women's rights movement gained momentum. In 1993, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, while the 1995 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing adopted a platform for action which made women and armed conflict a strategic area of concern. UN Special Rapporteurs, such as the one on violence against women, also took up the "comfort women" issue and published reports. In 2000, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was adopted.

The International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda were set up in 1993 and 1994 respectively, and both tried cases of rape and sexual slavery. To end impunity for violence against women in conflict situations, women's NGOs were successful in having rape and sexual slavery included as war crimes and crimes against humanity in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court in 1998. The testimonies of the survivors who were

enslaved by the Japanese military provided invaluable contribution to the elements of sexual slavery included in the Rome Statute. However, the Rome Statute does not apply retroactively.

Ending impunity for sexual violence

The survivors' demands are simple: fact-finding, full acknowledgement of the facts, official apology, prosecution of the perpetrators, legal compensation for damage, providing history education and erecting memorials to ensure non-repetition. These measures coincide with international human rights standards on the right to remedy and reparation for victims of gross violations of human rights. None of them are fully implemented even now, but the most lacking element in the reparation movement in Japan had been the prosecution of the perpetrators.

Because of Japan's lack of effort, in February 1994, twenty-seven Korean "comfort women" survivors and their supporters tried to submit criminal complaints to the Tokyo District Public Prosecutors Office in order to have that Office initiate a criminal investigation into and prosecution for the "comfort women" system. Without explanation, however, the office refused to even receive the letter of complaints.

A survivor from South Korea, Ms. Kang Dok-yung, who passed away in 1997, painted the picture named "Punish Those Responsible for the Sake of Peace". While attention is invariably focused on the victims, who are asked to give a detailed account of their experiences, the perpetrators remain untouched for the crimes. Although raped by numerous soldiers, survivors did not know who made the system. These survivors wanted to see the faces of the men responsible for their suffering.

In order to meet the survivor demands for justice, in December 2000 the "Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's military sexual slavery" was held by the global civil society in Tokyo in order to end impunity for violence against women in conflict situations. The "Women's Tribunal" was established as a result of the failure of states to discharge their responsibility for justice.

This people's tribunal was premised on the understanding that "law is an instrument of civil society" that does not belong exclusively to governments. Accordingly, when states fail to exercise their obligation to ensure justice, civil society can and should step in. It proceeded as if it were a reopening or continuation of IMTFE, the Tokyo Trial, which had failed to prosecute the system of sexual slavery.

A country-based prosecutor team was formed from ten countries including East Timor, along with two international prosecutors. Through a 3-day proceeding,

the women’s tribunal tried to make clear not only the damage suffered but also who was responsible for the system of sexual slavery committed under Japan’s military during WWII.

One year later, the Tribunal’s judgement was delivered in The Hague, the Netherlands. The judges found ten high-ranking officials, who had never been tried for sexual slavery in the postwar trials, guilty of crimes against humanity for their responsibility in Japan’s military sexual slavery system. One of these was Emperor Hirohito.

The power of the Tribunal lay in its capacity to examine evidence, develop an accurate historical record, and apply principles of international law to the facts presented. One of the purposes of establishing our museum was to preserve the testimonies and documents accumulated during the three years of tribunal preparation.

Backlash and global criticism against Japan

The wounds and scars of survivors seem to heal somewhat when they feel that civil society understands them, but we see that scabs are torn from old wounds and bleeding starts again when the government of the perpetrating country denies what really happened.

On March 1, 2007, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe denied publicly the “forcible recruitment” of “comfort women”. While there were denials by other leading politicians, it was especially shocking that an incumbent Prime Minister denied the sexual enslavement by the Japanese military that had been acknowledged throughout the world. The “comfort women” issue gained international attention again.

Survivors in the Asia-Pacific strongly resented and were deeply distressed by the revisionism of the perpetrating country, Japan. Filipino survivors protested in front of the Japanese Embassy in Manila with signboards saying “I was forced” or “PM Abe liar” right after his remark.

Prime Minister’s denial prompted resolutions by foreign national assemblies throughout 2007, including the US House of Representatives, the House of Commons of Canada, and the European Parliament, initiated by activists and human rights NGOs, such as Amnesty International. Each called on the government of Japan to acknowledge sexual slavery and to apologize to victims unreservedly.

The treaty bodies of the UN international human rights conventions also reacted. Six Major UN human rights institutions, such as the Human Rights Committee, CEDAW, or Committee against Torture (CAT), have so far made recommen-

dations to Japan on the “comfort women” issue. The issue of unfulfilled rights for reparation to the victims/survivors of “comfort women” is understood as an ongoing human rights violation rather than a violation in the past.

Memory and responsibility

In 2016, activists and scholars from 8 countries and regions nominated the documents related to Japan’s military sexual slavery for the UNESCO Memory of the World (MoW) register. Picture 3 is a photo of the signing ceremony in May 2016, and nominators are from the Republic of Korea, China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, East Timor, the Netherlands, and Japan. The Imperial War Museum in the UK also joined the nomination, and national archives in places such as the US, Australia, China, Taiwan, the Republic of Korea and the Netherlands permitted us to nominate their “comfort women”-related documents to UNESCO. More than 2000 documents were nominated under the name “the voices of comfort women”.

However, the government of Japan openly opposed this civil initiative to register the “voices of comfort women” with UNESCO. When Prime Minister Abe heard of this initiative in May 2015, he stressed that “It is important to start making all-out efforts now so as not to get [these materials] registered [in MOW]”. This followed the great dissatisfaction of the Prime Minister and his party after the registration the previous year of documents related to the Nanjing Massacre. Refusing to learn from its own past aggression and perpetration, Japan rather adopts policies that whitewash these on every possible occasion.

The government of Japan has accordingly made “all-out efforts” to prevent the registration of the documents. In 2017, Japan, as the top contributor to UNESCO in the absence of the United States, suspended its contribution of 34 million dollars. In 2017, presumably as a result of Japan’s pressure, UNESCO left the registration of our documents pending “for dialogue.” Since that time, the process has stalled.

We must not allow the second erasure from history of women’s suffering that was once invisible. Survivors strongly want their memory preserved and passed on to ensure that no-one should ever again endure the suffering forced upon them. The “comfort women” museum movement by civil society is now spreading throughout Asian countries. There are four museums in South Korea, two in China, one in Taiwan, one in the Philippines, and one in Japan. 75 years have passed since Japan’s defeat, the survivors are already in their 80’s and 90’s, and we hear the news of their passing away every year. In order to remember their

invaluable struggles and to prevent recurrence, a variety of activities are taking place, such as museums, statues, movies and performing arts.

Faced with the reality that sexual violence is still used in armed conflict, we are constantly distressed by the fact that the global community has not been successful in holding the responsible government accountable for its crimes and human rights violations. We, the Japanese citizens, as citizens of a perpetrating state, have an important role to play: bringing justice for the victims and survivors, even after 75 years have passed, for the sexual crimes committed against women. Establishing such a precedent will bring hope for the victims who haven't been able to come forward in on-going armed conflicts.

It is a constant struggle to hold the government accountable and to preserve the memory of sexual crimes committed by the military of one's own country. But struggle we must, for that is our responsibility to the generations to come.

Our hopes

One of us, Eriko Ikeda, visited East Timor three times when she was a director of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation or NHK. Two of the visits were to report on the situation of East Timor. In July 1991, she traveled to Dili pretending to be a tourist, and conducted a secret interview with hiding resistance leader Xanana Gusmão. The interview was supposed to be a major news, but it was not broadcast because the NHK feared possible accusations about breaching Indonesian media regulations. However, four months later, the massacre of 12 November occurred, and her interview with Xanana was finally aired on television. Condemning killings and tortures by the Indonesian military and asking for help to the international community, Xanana was very eloquent and resolute.

However, to our disappointment, the resistance hero later began to comment on acts of testifying of the survivors of wartime sexual violence as "sad" and "shameful". In January 2006, a public hearing on "comfort women" was held in Dili. Representatives from the organizing group went to the Presidential office to have an audience with President Xanana Gusmão. When the group handed over a video of the Women's International War Crime Tribunal in Tokyo to him, he said, "Please do that somewhere else, not in Timor-Leste." That statement puzzled those concerned with human rights. Why did leaders like Xanana Gusmao who at the time of the struggle angrily condemned oppression and human rights violations against his people refrain from criticizing or accusing the perpetrator country Japan once they have restored sovereignty and formed the government. Did they think it would embarrass Japan as a major aid donor?

It is true that attitudes of Asian governments towards the problem of “comfort women” vary depending on their diplomatic relations with Japan and the economic assistance they receive from Japan. But Timor-Leste has the legacy of a long struggle for justice. We still have a hope, therefore, that the government of Timor-Leste once again will show us their courage to demand an official apology and reparation to the Japanese government.

4. After the CAVR: sexual violence survivors' struggle for equality, justice and healing

Maria Manuela Leong Pereira¹

After the CAVR: sexual violence survivors' struggle for equality, justice and healing

The paper summarizes findings of the ACbit's research on the situation of survivors of sexual violence during the conflict. The findings include that the survivors face multiple layers of discrimination, that they are excluded from government support, that their children cannot get a birth certificate and that they rarely have access to justice mechanism. While there have been few government programs to support survivors of sexual violence and the CAVR's follow-up institution, the CNC, has limited mandate, the ACbit provides programs to empower the survivors. The paper calls for recognition, justice and support for the survivors.

Timor-Leste. Sexual violence. Survivor. CAVR. ACbit.

Depois da CAVR: A luta dos sobreviventes de violência sexual por igualdade, justiça e cura

O artigo resume as conclusões da investigação da ACbit sobre as condições dos sobreviventes de violência sexual durante a ocupação indonésia. Conclui-se que os sobreviventes enfrentam múltiplas formas de discriminação, que são excluídos do apoio governamental, que seus filhos não conseguem obter uma certidão de nascimento, e que raramente têm acesso ao sistema de justiça. Se, por um lado, existem poucos programas governamentais de apoio aos sobreviventes de violência sexual e a instituição herdeira da CAVR, o CNC, tem mandato limitado, a ACbit disponibiliza programas de capacitação dos sobreviventes. O artigo apela ao reconhecimento, justiça e apoio aos sobreviventes.

Timor-Leste. Violência sexual. Sobrevivente. CAVR. ACbit.

1. Asosiasaun Chega! ba Ita (ACbit), Timor-Leste.

Hafoin CAVR: luta hosi nakloban sira-ne'ebé buka “igualdade”, “justiça” no “cura”

Artigu ida-ne'e habadak konkluzau ba investigasaun hosi ACbit kona-ba kondisaun ohin lora ba nakloban sira hosi violénsia seksuál iha okupasaun indonézia nia laran. Konkluzau hirak hotu hatudu susar oioin hanesan diskriminasaun, laho tulun hosi governu, sira-nia oan la biban hetan Sertidaun Moris nian no susar mós atu hetan asesu ba justisa. Ladún iha programa governamentál hodi fó tulun ba nakloban sira hosi violénsia seksuál no instituisaun CNC ne'ebé taka CAVR nia fatin iha kbiit uitoan de'it no la bele halo barak, nomós Acbit maka hala'o programa hodi hakbiit nakloban sira. Artigu ida-ne'e husu tuir rekoñesimentu, justisa no tulun ba nakloban sira.

Timor-Leste. Violénsia seksuál. Sobrevivente. CAVR. ACbit.

Introduction

During the conflict with Indonesia, women and men experienced various kinds of violence. Men mostly became targets of violence such as killings, disappearances, torture, and imprisonment. Women also experienced violence like men, but there were other forms of violence, more directed towards women, such as sexual violence, forced marriage and sexual slavery. Women were also targeted when their husbands or fathers escaped. Torture, sexual harassment, rape were ways of creating fear and conquest: In 1975, Mira became involved in the fight for independence and in mid-1976 she attended a meeting to plan an attack on a visiting Indonesian official.

Unfortunately, the Indonesians heard about these plans and they started coming to our village and searching for us. Many escaped to the forest but 31 of us were captured in June 1976. (AJAR, 188)

Mira was interrogated and tortured. Every night the women were taken out and sexually abused. She was horribly tortured with cigarettes on her thighs and still has the scars.

The CAVR identified three common forms of sexual slavery: one where the women were held inside military installations where “ownership in these cases was either individual or collective. In other words, women could be raped by one repeat offender or by a group of offenders. Their detention was logistically supported as part of everyday military operations with the knowledge of the local military commander” (CAVR, 1967, para. 165). A second form involved a pattern of summoning women to the military compound for sexual abuse by soldiers.

Often these women's names were on a list that were handed over between rotating military battalions. The third pattern whereby a soldier unilaterally moves into the house and demands to be treated like husband. (CAVR, 1971-1981)

In 1977 in the town of Hatolia, the commander of Battalion 145, PS230 from South Sumatra, threatened to shoot my brother...with a gun in order to force me to go to the TNI [i.e., ABRI] post. [There he] used me as a prostitute for one year until eventually I gave birth to a child. At the time I was still a young girl. (CAVR, 1973)

My name was on the Kodim list as a person who could be "used". So with every [troop] rotation I would always be picked by a member of ABRI who wanted me. I always submitted to them because I feared for my life. (CAVR, 1975)

Very often women victims of sexual slavery are seen as "military wives" even though there is no evidence of consent. They experience discrimination and exclusion by their families and communities. After conflict, most of the women who survived this violence still face various kinds of discrimination, stigma and marginalization in their own communities. After the conflict ended, women victims and survivors still face various challenges in their efforts to improve their lives.

According to CAVR, of the 95 indictments of the Serious Crimes trials, only 6 stated rape as a crime against humanity and only one case resulted in a conviction, namely the Lolotoe case.² But only 83 former militia had been convicted. And soon later, all those who were imprisoned were to be released because they received pardon from the President.

The CAVR produced a final report with findings and recommendations that would help "to prevent the repetition of human rights violations and to respond to the needs of victims of human rights violations". The Commission for Truth and Friendship (CTF), a bilateral commission between Timor-Leste and Indonesia, was mandated to reveal the "conclusive truth" regarding the events of 1999, and strengthen reconciliation and friendship between the two countries. The important recommendations for Timor-Leste were to prioritize the creation of a comprehensive national reparations program for victims and to prioritize the establishment of an independent institution to implement and assist in this reparations scheme, and to involve victims and communities in ongoing consultation.

2. Deklarasaun ba Imprensa, Office of the Deputy General Prosecutor for Serious Crimes, March 8, 2004. <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~warcrime/Serious%20Crimes%20Unit%20Files/default.html>

The current situation of women victims

After more than 20 years since the national liberation, women victims and survivors are still struggling to fill their daily needs. They still endure discrimination and marginalization and they are still waiting for justice and the assistance they urgently need. Women victims of sexual violence continue to experience new violence such as domestic violence precisely because they are victims of sexual violence. They are getting older, suffer health problems and find it increasingly difficult to get good care, because they live in remote areas.

From 2013 to 2019, Acbit documented stories of 501 women victims including information about their current lives. Most of them experienced sexual violence from members of the Indonesian military and Timorese militia who supported them. The ACbit data base has documented 234 cases of rape, sexual slavery, forced marriage and other forms of sexual violence.

Victims and survivors of sexual violence face multiple layers of discrimination, from their families, from neighboring communities, their traditional communities and even from public institutions. One example is discrimination in obtaining important documents such as property rights for inherited lands, where the women have to give up their right to the land left by their husbands when they remarry, or if their child is a result of forced marriage or sexual slavery.

Women victims and survivors are often excluded from support programs of the government. They cannot access health care, education for their children, psychosocial programs, or economic empowerment programs easily. Many are also excluded from the pension scheme for veterans because they don't fulfil the requirements.³

I got the pension because of my husband. Because of that, many of my husband's family members came and lived with me, so that they could eat from my husband's pension. I have two daughters who are children of the Indonesian army. One of them is a child with disability. My husband's family said that my children had no right to be supported by the pension. (Beatriz, survivor from Viqueque)

3. One of the criteria in applying for a veteran's pension is two witnesses who testify that the woman contributed to the resistance either as a food delivery courier, a member in a clandestine organization for a certain period of time or a spy on the enemy in the place where she lived. Many resistance leaders met only men activists as the last courier or the last relay. Thus, women clandestine members are not remembered by men activists of high position. That way, many women receive pensions on behalf of their husbands who were murdered, disappeared or have died. They do not receive a pension in their own name. This is despite women and men, or husbands and wives, made the same level of contribution.

Children of sexual violence survivors often face difficulties in getting a birth certificate because they don't have or don't know a legitimate father's name. They are asked to write the name of their father and grandparents to get a birth certificate. In 2017 the ACbit held a workshop for 22 children born out of rape who are now adults. Then, ACbit staff conducted interviews for a need assessment survey and found that 6 out of 22 participants still had problems with a birth certificate because the local churches were unwilling to issue a document if their father could not be identified. After almost 3 years, the ACbit conducted another round of interview with them, and found that they still didn't have a birth certificate because the civil registration office insisted on the same information. The children of survivors of sexual violence still continue to experience discrimination after they become older⁴.

The ACbit's report, *Improving the lives of women survivors in Timor Leste*, which was published last October 2019, shows that only 16 of the 77 participants in this research mentioned accessing in any way a justice mechanism for the violations and violence they experienced (ACbit, 26). Access to justice was extremely limited for victims of the armed conflict; just 4 women in total had participated in any of the transitional justice mechanisms implemented after the Indonesian occupation ended. One survivor said:

It still hurts me because I was raped, and the information all went to the tribunal, but the man who did it is still free to this day. It's been 18 years but he hasn't been delivered a suspended sentence from the court or sent to prison, so when I think back to what happened back then, it's agony [fuan kanek]. (Victim of sexual violence, Covalima). (ACbit, 26)

Government' response to Chega's recommendations

Timor-Leste is now nearly 20 years old as an independent country, but implementation of CAVR's recommendations relating to victims' rights has been so far very slow. Both the CAVR and the CTF recommended reparations.

Since September 2010, the parliament has issued a number of resolutions that support the establishment of a law on the institution of memory and a national reparation program for victims of human rights violations. But until now, the

4. Although the Constitution and the citizenship law guarantee citizenship to every child born in Timor-Leste and those born overseas to one Timorese parent, the practice of relying on baptism certificates issued by the church is a serious obstacle for these children.

recommendation on a national reparation has not been followed up. While the victims are already tired of waiting for a very long process, the government has yet to take any serious steps to ensure that the rights of the victims are given urgent attention.

Meanwhile, The CTF's only recommendation that was realized was the visit or reunification of Timorese children (now adults) who had been brought to Indonesia. Other recommendations were practically not implemented. Particularly regrettable was zero implementation of the cooperation between the two countries to support the national reparations program.⁵

The CNC's mandate: to victims' recovery

In 2015, after a seminar commemorating the 10th anniversary of the CAVR's final report, *Chega!*, Prime Minister Rui de Araujo established a working group to review the implementation of the CAVR's recommendations. Then, from the review, the working group developed a concept note on the Centro Nacional *Chega!* or CNC which was established by Decree-Law No 48 of 2016.

The CNC has a mandate to preserve memories of Timor-Leste's history of the period 1974-1999, to promote human rights through education and training, to build solidarity with the survivors of human rights violations, to prevent the recurrence of human rights violations, and to foster a culture of peace.

So far, not many efforts have been made as to acknowledgment and recovery. Although the CNC has demonstrated its tenacity and innovation in disseminating *Chega!* report, preserving memory, and promoting learning about the past in the past two years, efforts on memorialization have been limited to significant events and sites of massacre.

5. This effectively killed memorialization of important places that were used for detaining, torturing and committing other human rights violations during the conflict. For example, Kartika Sari's maternity clinic during the conflict was a place for detention and torture of women. It is now used as a training center, called "Casa Cidadania". There is no written sources about the place's history. Likewise, the former police station in Mascarenhas, where many Timorese were ill-treated has now been handed over to Indonesia to construct a luxurious building for a cultural center, where Timorese are to learn Indonesian language and culture. Almost nothing is used for the benefit of the victims, or for the benefit of the victim's recovery as recommended in the CAVR's report.

Asosiasaun Chega! ba Ita (Acbit) : Strengthening women victims and survivors

ACbit was established as a civil society initiative to ensure that the recommendations in the CAVR's final report, Chega!, were not forgotten and to educate people about the findings and recommendations of the CAVR, focusing on the empowerment of women survivors. We strengthen victims and survivors through trauma healing activities that are more specifically to alleviate their trauma and help them become confident, involve them in training activities such as gender justice training, leadership, economic empowerment, connecting them with social and health services, and involve them in lobbying and campaign activities for their rights advocacy.

Our approach with victims and survivors is through participatory action research (PAR) methods using methods such as Stone and Flower, Time Line, Body Mapping, Resource mapping, Box Memory and Photo's stories. Through such approach, we discuss the problems they face, share the solutions, and solve their problems with other friends linking women survivors of the past conflict with women victims of domestic violence in building trust and stronger bonds for women's movements. ACbit also conducts outreach about the Chega! Report to students and young people through school visits, Comic Book, and Mobile Exhibition in remote areas, gathers stories and builds a data base for advocacy.

Key lessons and recommendations

The victims of sexual violence believe that the injuries and hardship they suffer are a result of their participation in the national struggle up to 1999, and that for all their sacrifices they deserve a reward. The victims are hoping recognition that they are victims and that they contributed to this country, too.

Work to improve access to social services for women victims, currently working on the elimination of violence against women in Timor Leste must continue to be supported and must expand their focus to support women victims and survivors of conflict, especially victims of sexual violence, it should be reviewed to ensure they are inclusive of women victims of conflict, from 1974-1999, but also for the few survivors of sexual violence from the Japanese occupation period, who are still few, and their situation is very vulnerable, in terms of meeting their specific needs and referring them to appropriate services. The government, through the Ministry of Solidarity Social and Inclusion (MSSI), has so far allocated large amounts of money for women shelters in the district (Uma Mahon). It is hoped

that it should be redesigned to become community-based trauma support centers for women victims of domestic violence and victims of the conflict, including livelihood support and community education efforts. Access to justice programs should include advocacy for land and inheritance rights of women victims, especially widows and single women and mothers, as well as protection from discrimination.

For ACbit, the established Centro Nacional Chega! (CNC) can be seen as a victory of all, after waiting a long time. The CNC, as one of the government organs, must take on a pro-active role to ensure the implementation of CAVR recommendations for women survivors of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), including facilitating them to access assistance from the government, taking immediate steps to ensure that their children are provided with their citizenship papers, and are able to access scholarships for education, as well as financial assistance for livelihood projects.

The hope of obtaining formal justice for the victims has gone further and further, when there is no good political will from the state, but it is very important to give recognition to victims of past conflicts that their cases are recognized as serious crimes.

Lastly, civil society, CNC and survivors should review the existing legal framework for justice and assistance for victims: exploring how a gendered interpretation of rape as torture may allow some women survivors of SGBV to access veterans funds; also, developing clear policies and on-going trainings for national and district-level officials issuing citizenship papers.

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5. De-colonising Gender in the Search for Historical Justice and Healing Post-Independence

Clíonadh O’Keeffe

De-colonising Gender in the Search for Historical Justice and Healing Post-Independence

This paper considers the potential Timor-Leste’s first National Social Protection Strategy 2017-2023 (NSPS) has, to contribute towards Timorese women’s historical justice and achieving gender-inclusive self-determination. It describes the social protection instrument currently in use and, drawing on women’s narratives about Timorese gender relations, then examines the extent to which the NSPS addresses women’s experiences of gender, poverty and GBV. It finds limited attention to gender inequality, with the NSPS barely going beyond providing short-term safety nets addressing practical gender needs. Detecting weak mainstreaming of gender, it concludes by calling for the incorporation of a gender analysis that would ensure gender-responsive social protection programmes and policies in Timor-Leste.

Timor-Leste. Gender-responsive social protection. Gendered poverty. GBV. Gender mainstreaming.

Descolonização do Género na Procura pela Justiça Histórica e Cura Pós-Independência

Este artigo avalia o potencial da primeira Estratégia Nacional de Proteção Social de Timor-Leste 2017-2023 (ENPS) no sentido da justiça histórica das mulheres timorenses e da auto-determinação inclusiva no que respeita ao género. Faz-se uma descrição do atual instrumento de proteção social e, com base nas narrativas das mulheres sobre as relações de género em Timor-Leste, examina-se em que medida a ENPS atende às experiências de género, pobreza e VBG das mulheres. Conclui-se que é dada pouca atenção à desigualdade de género, uma vez que, na prática, a ENPS apenas prevê redes de segurança de curto prazo direcionadas para a resolução da problemática. Ao identificar a fraca transversalização de género, o artigo apela à incorporação de uma análise de género que assegure programas e políticas de proteção social sensíveis ao género em Timor-Leste.

Timor-Leste. Proteção social associada ao género. Pobreza associada ao género. VBG. Transversalização de género.

Deskolonizasaun ba Jéneru no buka tuir Justisa no “Cura” hafoin ukun rasik-an

Artigu ida-ne'e sukat no tetu kbiit hosi Estratéjia Nasionál dahuluk ba Protesaun Sosiál iha Timor-Leste 2017-2023 (ENPS) hanesan justisa istória ba feto timoroan nomós ba ukun rasik-an ba jéneru. Tutan kona protesauin sosiál ne'ebé iha ohin loron no bazeia mós ba sá de'it maka feto sira hato'o kona-ba relasaun jéneru nian iha Timor-Leste, lehat oinsá mak ENPS hatán ba jéneru nia presiza, nia moris kiak no kondisaun VBG. To'o lehat nia rohan haree-hetan katak la tau matan ba hala'ok ne'ebé lahanesan iha jéneru nia leet tanba, bain, ENPS nia programa seguransa sei badak de'it no hale'u ba problema espesifiku de'it. Bainhira identifika tiha jéneru nia transversalizasaun, artigu ne'e husu tuir lehat kona-ba jéneru ne'ebé bele hametin programa no política protesauin sosiál nian nu'udar sensível ba jéneru iha Timor-Leste.

Timor-Leste. Protesauin sosiál kesi ho jéneru. Kiak liga ho jénru. VBG. Transversalizasaun jéneru.

Introduction

Taking the case of social protection, this paper reflects on the potential development interventions in Timor-Leste have for contributing towards Timorese women's historical justice and healing and achieving gender-inclusive self-determination. Driven by the ongoing legacy of colonialism, conflict and persisting social inequalities, poverty remains a key challenge in Timor-Leste. Social protection in developing and high-income country contexts, including those affected by armed conflict, is an important poverty reduction policy tool. However, it has been criticised for its focus on a short-term basic safety net approach that fails to incorporate transformative elements into programme design (Molyneux et al 2016). Programmes that are 'transformative social protection' aim to change lives through achieving empowerment, equality, social inclusion, and the realisation of human rights (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004). Despite calls for social protection to address the longer-term, structural causes of poverty, there has been limited attention afforded to the importance of social inequalities such as gender inequality, which play a significant role in perpetuating poverty (Jones et al 2013). This neglect is particularly evident in conflict-affected contexts where social protection programmes barely go beyond providing short-term safety nets addressing practical gender needs, thus ignoring gendered power relations particularly at intra-household level that reinforce women's poverty and increase their risk to gender-based violence (GBV) (Carpenter et al 2021).

How do these critiques and concerns resonate with the case of Timor-Leste, a conflict-affected context with a nascent social protection system and persisting gender inequalities, poverty and gender-based violence (GBV) against women and girls. This article draws on Timorese women's narratives about their experiences of gender and vulnerability to reflect on the potential Timor-Leste's first National Social Protection Strategy 2017-2023 (NSPS) has for bringing about gender justice and women's autonomy and self-determination in the post-conflict period. Using a qualitative methodology, the narratives were collected across four communities in 2012 during field work for a broader study focusing on the interrelationship between gender, poverty, and violence. It teased out the kind of role gender plays in shaping women's care relations such that they become normalised, exploitative and violent. Reflecting on key themes emerging from these narratives, can help to deepen understandings of women's experiences of the postconflict period and thereby illuminate the gendered possibilities and limitations of Timor-Leste's social protection programmes and social protection programmes more broadly.

Social Protection as a Tool for Gender Equality and Women's Self Determination

The role of gender in social protection is a complex issue affecting the types of risks programmes seek to mitigate, the choice of programme approach, awareness-raising strategies, public buy-in, and programme outcomes (Holmes and Jones, 2013). International evidence reveals that social protection programmes that ignore the role of gender and the possible changes needed to bring about gender equality and enhance the potential of poor women to move out of poverty fail to reach their potential effectiveness (Jones et al 2013). These types of 'palliative' interventions often rely on vulnerability assessments (should they exist) that overlook or at best relegate as secondary, a consideration for gender power relations as underlying structural causes of poverty, women's inferior status and vulnerability to GBV (Jones et al 2013). Regulatory frameworks such as the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) Social Protection Floor (SPF) guide national systems to achieve the globally agreed standard pertaining to social protection and gender equality (Jones et al 2013). Because it "provides an opportunity for a comprehensive review of the basic social protection systems in any country", the SPF offers a unique opportunity to address gender equality concerns, including women's "limited voice and representation in terms of social dialogue", their labour market restrictions and their heavy care burden (ILO, 2011, P59). Examples of

SPF informed national social protection programmes are those that recognise the needs of pregnant and lactating mothers and women heading households, those that focus explicitly on supporting women's dual responsibilities within the productive and care economies and that address the gendered social dimensions of poverty, including exploitative marriage practices and GBV (Jones et al 2013).

According to the SPF, gender-sensitive vulnerability analysis is a key tool in engendering social protection and strengthening its impact. It serves to ensure the integration of a gender lens throughout programmes from design phase to monitoring and evaluation and is informed by localised understandings of gender to identify and address context-specific practical and strategic gender needs (Jones et al 2013). This is imperative if programmes are to provide opportunities for collective solutions to women's limited voice and representation in terms of social dialogue, to women's dual responsibilities within the productive and care economies and other gendered social dimensions of poverty, including exploitative marriage practices and GBV (ILO, 2011; Jones et al 2013).

The Representation of East Timorese Women's Experiences of Poverty and Gender in Social Protection Initiatives

Still nascent, the social protection system in Timor-Leste has a long way to go to achieve globally agreed SPF standards pertaining to social protection and gender equality. It currently offers a range of programmes, including, broad-based cash transfer schemes, social services to vulnerable groups and free public health and education services (the Assessment). It started off with a non-contributory universal social pension for the elderly followed then by the 'Bolsa da Mae', a conditional cash transfer programme targeting poor female-headed families with young children. Recently, Timor-Leste launched its first Social Protection Strategy 2017-2023 (NSPS) which is guided by the 'Assessment Based National Dialogue' (ABND) (Ministry of Social Solidarity 2018). Supported by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the Portuguese Cooperation under the ACTION/Portugal programme, the ABND provides a series of recommendations to extend and improve the social protection floor in Timor-Leste based on five key objectives set out in the National Protection Strategy (NSPS). Objective 1 is to 'Contribute towards ending poverty in Timor-Leste, ensuring that everyone can fully meet their basic needs at all stages of life, including in times of individual and family crisis, especially among the most vulnerable groups and individuals with special needs'. Objective 2 is to 'Provide support for individuals and families to break the poverty cycles, ensuring that everyone can fully develop themselves through access to quality

education and adequate nutrition, especially from pregnancy until age 8 years'. Objective 3 seeks to 'Develop a comprehensive social security system for all workers, including those in the informal sector and in subsistence agriculture, to protect them from risks related to work and other situations of vulnerability'. Objective 4 is to 'Ensure conditions for all to access quality health services, regardless of social or financial conditions, age or place of living, especially for maternal and newborn specialized care'. Objective 5 is to 'Enhance the institutional capacity of the national social protection system to better integrate and coordinate information and operations and to ensure transparency, sustainability and sound financial management of the resources invested' (Ministry of Social Solidarity 2018).

Notwithstanding this positive development, the 'Assessment Based National Dialogue' (ABND) is problematic for a number of reasons. Exploring the extent to which it has embedded a gender-sensitive approach, a preliminary mapping discovered little support for gender equality or ways of advancing gender-sensitive social protection in Timor-Leste. Indeed, no explicit statement was uncovered outlining a need, commitment, or approach to eliminating all gender-based discrimination. The report contains less than seven references to gender with little if any references to specific groups of vulnerable women such as those who experienced coercive sexual relations during the occupation, present-day sex workers, female veterans, abandoned housewives, rural and landless women, teenage mothers, and women with disabilities. Additionally, and on a conceptual level, the assessment ignores the gendered and multiple dimensions of poverty, leading to an absence of recommendations seeking to disrupt gender power relations, change gender norms and attitudes, redistribute the burden of unpaid care work and other aspects of gendered poverty that disadvantage Timorese women. Such omissions run the risk of reinforcing rather than transforming gender roles and Timorese women's inferior status and vulnerabilities to GBV.

Furthermore, a significantly weak gendered vulnerability analysis was found to underpin all 5 objectives in the assessment. Whilst there are some references that differentiate between the gender needs of women and men, there is scant attention to the strategic needs of women stuck in poverty and violent marriages or recommendations that would help eliminate the underlying gender inequalities – a driving force of poverty, the very problem the social protection strategy seeks to address. Most references to women in the ABND are primarily in relation to their practical needs such as nutrition and their role as mothers and conduits of child development and protection rather than aiming to achieve broader empowerment objectives and female autonomy. The Early Childhood programme seeks to meet child development goals rather than fulfilling a gender equality objective of empowering low-income mothers by diminishing their care burden

and helping them enter and stay in the labour force and earn an income of their own. Interventions targeting women rarely go beyond addressing practical needs, such as the provision of a one-time payment and temporary protection and accommodation (shelters) to women escaping violent husbands. There is almost no attention afforded to the gender dimensions of either the contributory social security scheme which is linked to formal employment or the non-contributory programmes linked to public works, despite the over-representation of Timorese women in the informal economy and the social barriers and care burdens limiting their participation in the formal economy and community infrastructure projects that form part of existing and new social security schemes. Meanwhile, transforming gender attitudes about unpaid care work, household decision making, access to family assets and resources did not feature in any of the objectives or recommendations thereby neglecting women's social and political empowerment at the household or community level.

Women's Narratives on Gender

As a way of reflecting on the extent to which gender assumptions in the ABND digress or resonate with women's lived experiences of gender, I briefly present key themes emerging from the narratives of women participating in my research about gender in Timor-Leste. In brief, the vast majority described the severity of their material deprivations, the magnitude of their care burdens and domestic responsibilities and vulnerabilities to domestic gender-based violence and how these experiences trapped them in continuous drudgery, subordination and emotional hardship. The first theme to emerge from the study was that the *onus* for caring and dealing with poverty was highly feminised, with accounts such as the following, replete across all four communities.

When we compare our jobs with men's, well things are not the same. As women, we have to do much more work than them. We have to cook, wash clothes, clean the house, prepare the lunch which men do not. And we have to find time to earn money and work alongside men in the fields. All this to make sure our families survive (FG discussants Marobo).

The second theme emerging from the study was that women seemed to have had little choice but to accept their gendered roles and responsibilities, and their disproportionate burdens of care, and unequal access to decision-making and access. As explained by women from Usululi:

Women suffer. We are poor. We have nothing. And many children. Why? Because men depend on their wives to always to 'let it be'. Women suffer as a consequence of marriage. Women suffer because we have few rights and big responsibilities to take care of children because this is what men expect from us. Women never feel happy with their husbands, because we are always suffering, always pregnant and always having to follow men's orders

The woman does not have the choice [...] I am the one that suffers [...] It's a big sacrifice trying to manage everything, from bearing children, rearing them and always trying to make sure we have enough money. Oh God (Ella, housewife, 30s, mother of 6, street trader, Usululi).

Third, instead of reaping reward and benefits for their work, women's status remained one of subjugation as they continued to suffer exploitation in the home which often evolved into GBV. Participants' narratives are replete with examples of masculine privilege bestowing husbands with control over household assets and financial decision-making. In every study site husbands were said to withhold their income and control women's income by either appropriating it or compelling women to hand it over to them. Cedaliza, a single mother viewed her friends as worse off than herself, as these women in addition to the drudgery involved in caring and providing for children, also had to contend with managing difficult often non-earning husbands and power imbalances that increased women's vulnerability to violence. Women not alone had to compensate financially for husbands' refusal to work but were also compelled to hand over their earnings or directly finance their recreational activities, lest they face marriage tensions that often escalated into violence. The account of Eldina, a former refuge worker, exposes what happens to women's income as a result of normalised and coerced gendered power relations, and how marriage inequalities render women's earning capacity redundant in terms of their status in the family whilst also increasing their vulnerability to GBV.

Men's power affects women's lives like here in this suku. In the family women work [...] in some cases the husbands take the money off their wives and take control of it. The money you know it is important for the family. If the wives try to hold onto it they will get beaten. This is what happens to most women in this suku. If a woman has a job [...] and so does her husband, the woman hands whatever she earns over to him. He manages the money directly, making all the decisions about how it is to be spent.

The fourth theme to emerge was that, GBV was not only common but also an expected and accepted feature of the women's poverty, family and married lives. Angela, an elected woman representative (EWR) drew on gender norms and expectations of the 'good woman/wife' to rationalise husbands' behaviour and legitimise and make acceptable violence against their wives.

[...] The woman, she is obliged to prepare food for the family, but this does not always happen. And why? Its because women just sit around in front of the street and do nothing except spread rumours about other women's lives. If a woman just sits around doing nothing all day, not even preparing food for the family, then of course the husband will get angry and then what happens – violence – and he goes off and gets drunk, has affairs and gets into trouble.

Else, another EWR too exposed the narrative of acceptance of GBV in the home.

If domestic violence happens inside the home, well maybe that is ok because they will forgive each other in time.

Fifth, an overwhelming majority of the women adapted to GBV and found it difficult to envision and pursue safe and secure routes out of violent marriages. Wives' obedience to husbands featured regularly in stories about marriage and women having to stay in violent marriages. Rosa, an EWR in a rural suku told me:

I'm worried about some women, because they are too patient, even when their husbands are violent towards them. They just stay quiet and obey their husbands, doing whatever they are told to do. That's because in our culture, women have to obey their husbands.

The violence comes in slaps. When he's very stressed he slaps me. I cry. I am not afraid. I am not happy. Then things go back to normal [...] We just keep it within the family. We never go to the police, or the xefi suco to talk about our problems. It's a family problem so I just want to solve it within the family, between me and my husband. I just leave it. (Filomena, middle-aged housewife, mother of 8 Harupi).

Discussion and Conclusion

A preliminary inspection of the ABND uncovers both a lack of ambition for the NSPS to transform gender relations and an overreliance on a de-politicised and uni-dimensional understanding of gender bearing little relevance to the lived real-

ities women spoke about in their narratives. For example, key issues for women including the above-mentioned realities of their family and married lives are largely ignored in the report. Feminist scholarship highlights where social protection programmes rely on inadequate understandings of gender, they have generally reinforced traditional gender roles and responsibilities by targeting women in their capacities as mothers only (Molyneux et al. 2016). Side-lining complex hierarchies or keeping women's poverty and unpaid labour off the social protection policy table neglects structural problems underlying gender inequality. This is an obstacle to ending poverty and ensuring self-determination for all. I argue that a major underlying problem in the case of Timor-Leste's national social protection strategy is the ambiguity around the concept of gender, particularly how violent conflict structures inequality long after the war is over. Such ambiguity limits a rigorous analysis of the multiple and more intersecting constructions of gender, and instead essentialises the category of 'women'. This could lead to *avoidable* failure of social protection policy to transform gender roles, relations, and identities.

Overall, such evidence reflects a real weakness in gender mainstreaming to transformation gender relations at the individual, intra-household and community levels (Jones and Homes 2011). This begs the question the extent to which the mainstreaming of gender in social protection can help bring about self-determination for women subjected to gender inequalities and conflict-related injustices, past and present. A deep and culturally nuanced gender analysis of the subjective experiences of women is required if the mainstreaming of gender in Timor-Leste's social protection is to address existing needs and transform gendered structures of inequality. This would serve to ensure the integration of a gender lens throughout programmes from design phase to monitoring and evaluation and is informed by localised understandings of gender to identify and address context-specific practical and strategic gender needs (Jones et al 2013).

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SECÇÃO IX

Contemporary challenges, mobility and identity

The configuration of Timor-Leste's uniqueness toward self-determination after 24 years of Indonesian invasion and numerous foreign occupations highlights a series of contemporary challenges. Among them, the delineation of a shared identity marked both by tradition and by external influence, whose combination can be experienced as either conciliation, conflict, or dilemma.

Having this as an underlying issue, debates, narratives, and disputes are articulated around the construction of a feeling of national unity and processes of subjectivation of the Timorese, involving religious, generational, and gender differences.

Depending on the adopted perspective, the views on the trajectory of Timor-Leste, with a focus on the past, the present and/or what is to come, lead to different ways of thinking as part of the process of state-building and nation-building in progress. The articles in this section reflect on some insights in this regard.

Toru Ueda discusses the coexistence of two belief systems in the country, Catholicism and *Lulik*, having the *Cruz Joven* (Youth Cross) as reference. For the author, the cross is more than an emblem of the practice of piety. It is the incorporation of some elements of faith and local *Kultura* or *adat*, allowing the juxtaposition of these two systems. Depending on the location, the cross gains different artifacts, highlighting its simultaneously material and symbolic dimensions.

The coexistence between traditional and foreign cultural references, sometimes perceived as a dilemma, is also the theme of Silvia Garcia Nogueira. Based on an ethnography carried out with Timorese students in universities both in Portugal and Brazil, the author draws a parallel between the nation-building processes in Timor-Leste with the self-building processes of these young people in the migratory experience.

Violence and the perceptions of it, as well as modes of resistance are addressed by Roberta Holanda Maschietto. The author starts from the narratives woven by seven women to discuss how in different historical periods in the country – of both deep violence and peace –, the strong purpose of fighting for their freedom led these women to resistance. Thus, even in moments of extreme violence, significant empowerment experiences could be perceived.

While Maschietto deals with female experiences and viewpoints, Henri Myrntinen addresses the construction of masculinities from Martial Arts groups,

which gained international prominence during the violent events in Timor-Leste between 2006 and 2008. In the post-conflict period, the author draws attention to the various roles in society, politics, the economy, and spiritual life in the country. The author aims to discuss how the groups are pathways for the construction of post-conflict masculine identities in the country as well as among the East Timorese diaspora.

Questões contemporâneas, mobilidade e identidade

A configuração da singularidade de Timor-Leste no sentido da sua autodeterminação, após 24 anos de invasão indonésia e várias ocupações estrangeiras, evidencia diversos desafios contemporâneos. Entre eles, a delimitação de uma identidade partilhada marcada tanto pela tradição como pela influência externa, cuja combinação se pode refletir em conciliação, conflito ou dilema.

Além desta questão fundamental, articulam-se debates, narrativas e disputas em torno, por um lado, da construção de um sentimento de unidade nacional e, por outro, de processos de subjetivação dos Timorenses no que se refere às diferenças religiosas, geracionais e de género.

Dependendo da perspetiva adotada, as visões sobre a trajetória de Timor-Leste, com foco no passado, no presente e/ou no porvir, conduzem a diferentes formas de pensar-se como parte do processo de construção do estado e da nação. Os artigos desta secção referem-se a assuntos relacionados com esta problemática.

Toru Ueda discute a coexistência entre duas crenças no país, o Catolicismo e o *Lulik*, a partir da referência da *Cruz Joven* (Cruz Jovem). Para o autor, a cruz representa mais do que um emblema da prática da devoção. Significa a incorporação de alguns elementos de fé e *Kultura* local ou *adat*, permitindo a justaposição destes dois sistemas de crença. Dependendo da localização, a cruz adquire diferentes artefactos, sublinhando as suas dimensões simultaneamente material e simbólica.

A coexistência entre as referências tradicionais e estrangeiras, por vezes interpretadas como um dilema, constitui também o tema abordado por Silvia Garcia Nogueira. Com base num trabalho etnográfico realizado com estudantes timorenses em Portugal e no Brasil, a autora faz um paralelo entre os processos de construção de nação em Timor-Leste com os processos de autoidentificação destes jovens em experiência migratória.

Roberta Holanda Maschietto refere-se à temática da violência, da sua percepção e às formas de resistência. A autora parte de narrativas de sete mulheres para discutir como, em diferentes períodos históricos do país – ambos de profunda violência e paz –, o forte propósito de lutar pela sua liberdade levou essas mulheres a resistir. Desta forma, verificam-se experiências de empoderamento significativas em momentos de extrema violência.

Enquanto Maschietto reflete sobre as experiências e pontos de vista femininos, Henri Myrntinen debruça-se sobre a construção das masculinidades dos grupos de Artes Marciais, que adquiriram visibilidade durante os violentos eventos ocorridos em Timor-Leste entre 2006 e 2008. No período pós-conflito, o autor atenta aos vários papéis na sociedade, política, economia e espiritualidade no país. Discute ainda como os grupos representam caminhos para a construção das identidades masculinas pós-conflito tanto no país como na diáspora leste-timorense.

Kestaun ohin loron nian, mobilidade no identidade

Timor-Leste nu'udar kazu úniku tuir konfigurasaun ne'ebé hakfunan dalan to'o hetan ukun rasik-an, hafoin tinan 24 hosi invazaun indonézia no okupasaun estranjeiru seluk, habilan dezafiu kontemporáneu barak. Hosi dezafiu hirak-ne'e balu mak ida-ne'ebé fahe identidade hosi lisan iha sorin ida no hosi rai-li'ur iha sorin seluk, no rua ne'e, tuirfalimai, hamosu konsiliausaun, konflitu ka dilema.

Finioan hirak ne'e maka buras sai kestaun boot ne'ebé sadik fali haksesuk, hatete-sai oioin hodi harii sentimentu ida kona-ba unidade nasionál, nomós timor-roan nia subjetividade rasik, kona tiha fiar ne'ebé oioin no lahanesan, nomós tuir jersaun no feto ho mane ninia hakaran rasik, ne'ebé lahanesan.

Tuir ida-idak nia perspetiva, bainhira haree ba dalan Timor-Leste nian, ho hanoin hikas ba kotuk, ka hanoin ba oin, lori ema tuir dalan keta-ketak bainhira atu harii nasaun. Artigu hirak hotu iha seksaun ida-ne'e haroman buat balu kona-ba kestaun ne'e.

Toru Ueda hatada kona-ba fahe moris hamutuk tuir fiar sistema rua fiar nian, kreda katóliku no fiar Lulik nian, ho grupu KRÚS JOVEN iha leet nu'udar referénsia mós. Ba autór, Krús boot liu ke sinál ida hanesan tadak ba pratika devosaun no piedade. Ne'e hotu hanesan kahur hamutuk fiar ho kultura lokál hodi halo sistema rua la'o no moris sorin-sorin. Konforme fatin, Krús hetan hala'ok oioin hosi sasán rai nian no ho sasukat seluk fali.

Moris tuir lisan no tuir mós kultura hosi rai-li'ur, dala ruma hasusar atu hili mak ida-ne'ebé loos, no tema ida-ne'e Silvia Garcia Nogueira hakerek. Bazeia ba etnografia hosi estudante timoroan sira iha Universidade Portugal no Brasil, autora dada dalan-klaran hodi hasouru sorin ida ho prosesu harii nasaun iha Timor-Leste no sorin seluk ho joven sira ho prosesu no esperiéncia migratóriu rasik.

Roberta Holanda Maschietto hatada kona-ba violénsia no oinsá bele komprende hahalok ne'e, nomós rezisténsia oioin hodi hasouru. Autora hahú konta istória hosi fetu hitu hodi haree-hetan oinsá mak iha tempu oioin hosi istória nasaun nian – nakonu ho violénsia nomós dame – sira iha barani atu funu no hola parte iha rezisténsia no liberta-an ka kore-an. Tan ne'e, maski iha momentu balu hasouru violénsia todan, sira hakbiit-an liuhosi esperiéncia hirak-ne'e. Bainhira Maschietto hakerek kona-ba fetu nia esperiéncia no hanoin, Henri Myrntinen hatada kona-ba manu-aman sira-nia foti-an liuhosi grupu arte marsiál ne'ebé loke ema internasionál nia matan ba hahalok ho violénsia todan dala barak iha Timor-Leste hosi tinan-2006 to'o tinan-2008. Autór ne'e, lehat tempu hafoin konflitu, bolu atensaun ba hala'ok oioin iha área hanesan sosiedade, polítika, ekonomia no vida espirituál. Autór buka hatene liuhosi grupu oioin kona-ba dalan ne'ebé, bainhira harii nasaun, identidade manu-aman nian buras iha timór rai klanan nomós iha rai-li'ur.

1. Martial Arts, Mysticism and Belonging – Constructing Post-Conflict Masculinities in Timor-Leste

Henri Myrntinen

Martial Arts, Mysticism and Belonging – Constructing Post-Conflict Masculinities in Timor-Leste

Since Timor-Leste (re-)gained independence in 2002, various martial arts groups (MAGs) and ritual arts groups (RAGs) have been a salient feature of life in the country. They gained international prominence during the violent events in 2006-2008, and though the largest MAGs were banned in 2013, they remain active and visible to this day. While the groups define themselves through the practice of a particular, imported martial art (MAGs) or adherence to a syncretic re-imagining of Timorese tradition (RAGs), the scope of their activities is far larger. Whereas their involvement in violence is what gains them the most notoriety, they also play other roles in society, politics, the economy and spiritual life of Timor-Leste. Although all of them are, in theory at least, open to women as much as men, these groups tend to be almost exclusively male. Based on field research in 2007-9 and again in 2019-2020, the talk will explore how the groups are pathways for the construction of post-conflict masculine identities in Timor-Leste as well as among the East Timorese diaspora.

Timor-Leste. Martial arts. Ritual Arts. Masculinities. Gender.

Artes Marciais, Misticismo e Pertença – Construindo Masculinidades Pós-Conflito em Timor-Leste

Desde que Timor-Leste reganhou a sua independência em 2002, vários Grupos de Artes Marciais (GAM) e Grupos de Artes Rituais (GAR) tornaram-se numa característica importante da vida do país. Ganham proeminência internacional durante os eventos violentos de 2006-2008, e embora os maiores GAMs tenham sido banidos em 2013, permanecem ativos até hoje. Os grupos definem-se a si próprios pela prática de uma (importada) arte marcial específica (GAMs), ou pela adesão a uma re-imaginação sincrética de uma tradição timorense (RAMs), mas o âmbito das suas atividades é muito mais amplo. Se bem que a sua participação em atos violentos seja o aspecto que mais chama a atenção pública, eles também jogam outros papéis na sociedade, na política, na economia e na vida espiritual do país. Em teoria, estes grupos estão abertos a homens e mulheres; na prática, destinam-

-se quase exclusivamente a homens. Baseado em trabalho de campo realizado em 2007-2009 e novamente em 2019-2020, este texto explora o modo como estes grupos constituem vias para a construção de identidades masculinas pós-conflito, tanto em Timor-Leste como na sua diáspora.

Timor-Leste. Artes marciais. Artes Rituais. Masculinidades. Género.

Arte Marsiál, moris tuir fiar ketak no ukun buat ruma – harii dalam moris tuir manek de’it hafoin funu hakotu iha Timor-Leste

Hafoin Timor-Leste hetan filafali nia ukun rasik-an iha tinan-2002, grupu Arte Marsiál oiain (GAM) no grupu Arte Rituál (GAR) sai nu’udar buat importante iha rai-ne’e nia moris bain. Grupu hirak ne’e hetan haree hosi rai-li’ur bainhira mosu violénsia iha 2006/2008 no, maski grupu boot GAM simu bandu iha 2003, sei hala’o atividade to’o ohin loron. Grupu hirak ne’e hanaran-an rasik tuir ida-idak nia modelu ba arte marsiál ne’ebé mai hotu hosi li’ur, ka hili tuir lisan ruma timór nian (RAMs), maibé grupu hirak hotu nia lala’ok luan liu. Baibain sira hamosu hahalok ruma ho violénsia maibé sira mós hala’o buat seluk iha sosiedade nia leet, hanesan política, ekonomia nomós iha vida espirituál. Tuir lia-anin, grupu hirak hotu nakloke hodi simu mane no fetu maibé, iha moris loroloron, sira simu mane de’it. Bazeia ba hala’ok hodi buka hatene sá de’it, iha 2007/2009 no filafali iha 2019/2020, testu ida-ne’e kona grupu hirak-ne’e oinsá maka harii-an tuir identidade mane nian iha Timor-Leste nomós iha diáspora.

Timor-Leste. Arte marsiál sira. Arte Rituál sira. Manek. Jéneru.

Introduction

In spite of a ban of the largest groups in 2013 and 2014, martial arts groups (MAGs) and ritual arts groups (RAGs) remain a visible and influential force in East Timorese society and politics, perhaps more so now than at any other point in time since the 2006-2008 *krize*, especially given the “kingmaker role” (Rahmani, 2020) of the RAG-affiliated political party Kmanek Haburas Unidade Nasional Timor Oan (KHUNTO). The main MAGs are Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate (PSHT), Ikatan Kera Sakti (KS) and Kung Fu Master, and the main RAGs are 7-7 and Kmanek Oan Rai Klaran (KORK), though there are other groups active as well. These organisations are overwhelmingly composed of men of different ages – with younger members often being more active and to an extent notorious for becoming involved in MAG-/RAG-related fighting. The groups however engage in a wide variety of other activities as well, some more openly than others, and as I argue here this provides the men involved with a variety of avenues for fulfilling expectations linked with masculinity, expectations that would otherwise be difficult to achieve in the post-conflict context.

The paper is based on two sets of data, namely my Ph.D. research, which I conducted in 2007-2009 (Myrntinen, 2011), and interviews, which I conducted in 2019-2020 with members of different MAGs and RAGs. The bulk of the interviews was in the capital Dili, with further interviews in the second-largest town Baucau, as well as the district capitals of Liquiça, Ainaro, and Maubisse, as well as in the smaller towns and villages of Zumalai, Lissadilla and Vatuboro. A handful of interviews were also conducted in Indonesian West Timor, in Atambua and Kupang.

While there is a persistent stereotype of MAG and RAG members being mostly young, unemployed, disgruntled, urban men, the profile of the interviewees showed the wide appeal of these groups. They are as present in Dili and Baucau as in the smallest of hamlets, and among the East Timorese diaspora. Members include urban professionals, university students, school kids, coffee and strawberry farmers, taxi drivers, police officers, priests, ministry bureaucrats, ex-combatants as well as the under – and unemployed. While some members that I interviewed clearly struggled economically, others frequented expensive restaurants and had brand new smartphones with their MAG's logo as their background image. Marriage and fatherhood were also not a factor in compelling men to leave the groups, and several of my interviewees cradled young children during my interviews. With age, as well as work and family responsibilities, some of the older members might become less active though, and would also be less likely to be involved in altercations with other groups. Leaving a group was mostly not seen as an option, and was believed to result in pre-mature death for breaking a sacred oath.¹ While the majority of my interviewees were men, I did interview two women involved with an RAG, who were in many ways breaking with expectations related to respectable Timorese womanhood.

The framework I use here for analysing membership in the groups is that of critical masculinity studies, focusing on what 'work' membership in the MAGs/RAGs does in terms of helping the men (and women) involved achieve particular expectations linked to being a man in East Timorese society. Given the transformations over the past four-five decades, many of the traditional, customary routes to respectable masculinity are no longer viable or available, while the promised fruits of post-independence modernity (cf. Kammen, 2009, Wigglesworth, 2007) remain unattainable to most. After a brief examination of the groups, I will proceed to examine two ways in which the groups allow men to navigate the expectations of post-conflict Timor-Leste, namely around identity and belonging, and security. There are of course other aspects as well, but these are beyond the

1. Nonetheless, several of the men I interviewed had actually changed from one group to another.

scope of this presentation. I will end with a discussion of how these are important for the construction and performances of masculinities.

The groups in brief

The groups examined here fall into two main categories which they use to define themselves, namely MAGs and RAGs. MAGs define themselves through the practice of a particular martial art, such as kung fu or the Javanese *penca silat* that was imported from elsewhere. RAGs, such as 7-7 or KORK on the other hand, define themselves through the use of syncretic rituals that are explicitly framed as being ‘authentically Timorese,’ while including imported elements, especially from Catholicism. However, many members of RAGs also practice various martial arts and MAGs invest heavily in rituals as well. In addition to the MAGs/RAGs, there are also other similar groups active in Timor-Leste, ranging from gangs to informal security groups, such as ones set up by the Catholic Church (Scamبارy et al., 2006 and Scamبارy, 2019). MAGs in part use their association with outside influences, including Indonesian culture in the case of PSHT and IKS, as cultural capital and prestige; RAGs, on the other hand, make similar claims by stressing their indigeneity (author’s interviews).

While they had been for the most part in existence over the course of the Indonesian occupation, various MAGs, RAGs, as well as gangs and veterans’ organisations gained increasing prominence in the independence years. In early 2006, a political crisis pushed the country to the brink of a civil war, with the MAGs/RAGs playing a central role in perpetrating acts of violence (see United Nations 2006 for a detailed account). This violence was at its height in the two years after the outbreak of the 2006 crisis, leading to over a hundred deaths, subsiding after the 2008 assassination attempt against then-President Ramos-Horta. Nonetheless, MAG/RAG-related violence continues throughout the country, albeit at a smaller scale. While key groups were officially outlawed in 2013, they remain visibly active in the country and have gained a high degree of social and political leverage (Jütersonke et al., 2010, Pawelz, 2016, Rahmani, 2020, Scamبارy, 2019).²

MAGs and RAGs have become associated in public and policy discourse with violence, disreputability, and, since the 2013 ban, illegality (Pawelz, 2016, Scam-

2. All interviewees highlighted that their respective groups abide by the letter of the ban. However, their very visible activities, from marking territory with graffiti, building the enormous KORK headquarters in Ainaro, publicly participating in social activities and so on mean that they are not necessarily abiding by the spirit of the ban.

bary et al., 2006, Scambary, 2019, Streicher, 2011). In the interviews, however, members downplayed the violence and highlighted other factors as being key – such as respect, identity, brotherhood and belonging as well as spiritual and physical security, which are in part inter-related.

Identity, brotherhood and belonging

Overwhelmingly, my interviewees highlighted how their joining of a particular MAG or RAG was a voluntary, un-coerced and informed decision, guided mainly by the ‘ideology’ of the group they joined. The definition of what that ‘ideology’ consisted of often remained somewhat hazy and the differences to other groups remained somewhat unclear, as respondents from all groups tended to highlight very similar elements of respect, honour, spirituality, unity and fraternal belonging.

The different belief systems of the groups span a wide range but all tend to have syncretic elements which mix Timorese animism (and re-enactments or re-imaginings of it) with elements of Catholicism as well as other influences, which are evident in broader East Timorese society as well (Kammen, 2009, Pawelz, 2016, Scambary, 2019).³ As one interviewee who was a local leader of a kung fu-oriented organisation put it: ‘our ideology combines the best parts of Chinese culture, of Indonesian culture and of Timorese culture.’⁴ In all of the groups, knowledge of the core tenets of the organisation was imparted piecemeal onto the members, with levels of knowledge growing as they moved up the ranks. In the case of KORK, this also involves learning a secret language, which is an amalgamation of different linguistic influences, similar to the bricolage mentioned by the MAG leader.⁵ The ideology gives the members a sense of purpose and belonging, and the increasing level of knowledge of the secrets of the group a strong impetus to continue – and increase one’s social capital and status both within the group and outside of it.

3. Timor-Leste is a predominantly Roman Catholic country and a number of interviewees were initially adamant that being a Catholic was a *sine qua non* for membership. However, inevitably probing questions about whether a Protestant, Muslim or Buddhist could join would immediately and inevitably lead to a more inclusive answer along the lines of ‘of course they would pray in their way to their God and there would not be a problem.’ Many of the rituals however rely heavily on key Catholic saints (such as Saint Anthony of Lisbon), the Virgin Mary and of course Jesus Christ, which are invoked along with ancestral and animist spirits.

4. Interview, August 2019.

5. Interviews, 2007 and 2019. One respondent said that the teaching of the language to members had been put on hold until the construction of the KORK palace (*istana*) in Ainaro was completed.

James Scambary (2013 and 2019) has highlighted that there is often a high degree of overlap between membership in a particular MAG/RAG with other networks of belonging, such as family and kinship groups as well as location. While this was in part the case for my interviewees as well, there were also several cases in which male family members belonged to different groups, as well as hamlets and neighbourhoods where several different groups co-existed peacefully.⁶

Spiritual and physical security

The provision of spiritual and physical security for others as well as the quest to acquire it for oneself are particularly gendered endeavours in the Timor-Leste context. In traditional East Timorese society, male warriors provided physical security for one's own community (and potentially insecurity to others) and male *lianain* were responsible for many aspects of spiritual security provision. The traditional spiritual protector roles are still present especially in rural communities, but may not be accessible to younger men due to a lack in seniority and not having been inducted, while in urban settings, communities are either divided and atomised, are not tied to the land in the same way and/or do not follow traditional spirituality in the same way. The provision of physical protection has at least in theory been taken over by the state security apparatus. To a degree, these protector roles are being replicated in the MAGs and RAGs.

Next to the draw of belonging and purpose, the other key motivating factor mentioned by interviewees for joining a group was protection. This included both learning martial arts skills for individual protection as well as collective security, for as one taxi driver put it: 'if I get into an altercation with someone else, and they are in a [MAG/RAG], I need to be in one to be able to get back up as well.'

Apart from physical security, the groups also offer spiritual security. A key function of rituals of especially the RAGs (but also MAGs), which may involve prayers, amulets, chewing of betel nut, scarification, and animal sacrifice, is providing protection to the members of the group, as well as supernatural powers.⁷ These include powers of invisibility, invincibility and protection against black magic and evil spirits. As such, they are reconfigurations of traditional Timorese

6. In one village, group members refused to join their co-members in a fight between two organisations in the neighbouring village, saying that this fight was a merely a private issue, absolving them of their need to show support.

7. Interviews, 2007-2008 and 2019.

rituals meant to protect warriors in battle, rituals also used by the Falintil and the pro-Indonesian militias.⁸

The security provided to the individual group members is also a ‘good’, which the groups are willing to provide to others. In the years of the krize, this meant in particular protecting neighbourhoods as well as businesses against competing groups, though at times this crossed over into extortion. In my 2019 interviews, a number of more senior members also highlighted how they provide spiritual security to the broader community, including through faith healing. This service to the community was also highlighted by MAG/RAG support to the Catholic Church, including giving manpower support to the renovation of churches that were in a state of disrepair and support for the construction of the giant Christ Liurai statue in Lete foho.

Discussion

In this brief paper, I have sought to outline some of the ways in which MAGs and RAGs help the men involved reach some of the expectations of masculinity in post-conflict Timor-Leste. While the many of the markers of manhood and male roles in traditional, rural society are either not accessible or no longer existent, the MAGs/RAGs have created re-configured, re-imagined, ‘updated’ and comparatively easily accessible versions of the *asuwain* and *lianain* for the 21st century. The groups also either augment and/or create alternate networks of male patronage and belonging to the traditional ones of kinship and locality that are a strong element of traditional East Timorese society. The groups also provide the men – and few women – involved with access to spiritual and physical security, a sense of purpose, and social capital within the group and to a degree externally. The MAGs and RAGs are not the only ways that men utilise in their quest to gain masculine-coded respectability in post-conflict Timor-Leste: some focus on educational attainment, others on economic and financial gain (including through migration), others are active in their communities and yet others choose piety and spiritual leadership. All of these ways can however also be combined with MAG/RAG membership.

The public image of the MAGs/RAGs casts them as trouble-makers and is closely associated with violence, often imaging their membership as consisting mostly of young, unemployed urban men. The membership of the groups is however much broader and more varied, cutting across all social strata. In downplaying the role of violence and in highlighting other aspects of membership such as unity, respect

8. Interviews, 2007, 2012 and 2019.

and spirituality, I argue that my interviewees were consciously or sub-consciously seeking to project a more respectable image of themselves, of their group and of the masculinities involved. When cases of violence were acknowledged, these were either explained away as necessary self-defence or as being down to individual ‘bad apples’. This push for respectability is also visible in the ways in which the groups seek to increase their community acceptance, be it through providing services such as faith healing, spiritual and physical protection, or setting up Christmas mangers, refurbishing churches and contributing to other public monuments. The push for respectability and a less violent image is however also a double-edged sword for the groups and their members, as it is their notoriety, mystique and threat of violent retribution that in part are one of the main pull factors for joining – but also a factor in making them both a credible source of security provision and of political muscle. As their influence has spread in spite (or perhaps even because) of the ban placed on them, it remains to be seen if the groups will seek to push further into the mainstream, remain in their influential but shadowy position at the fringes, or – perhaps least likely – begin to focus only on the actual martial and ritual arts that are their nominal *raison d’être*.⁹

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9. The reason they do not, I argue, is due to their historical/genealogical background that dates back to their involvement in clandestine resistance politics, a *modus operandi* that has continued into the post-independence years

2. Narratives of violence, peace and power in Timor-Leste

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Narratives of violence, peace and power in Timor-Leste

This paper examines different narratives surrounding violence, peace and power in Timor-Leste starting before the Indonesian occupation until current times. It is based on the stories of seven women who have lived through these different periods. These narratives show that even amidst extreme violence there were important experiences of empowerment, pointing to a dialectical relationship between violence and power. They also point to mixed perceptions of power in peace times, where, next to an experience of freedom and a strong discourse of national unity, we find a sense that power has become much more diffused and asymmetrical.

Women's narratives. Narratives of power. Empowerment. Narratives of violence. Peace as freedom.

Narrativas sobre violência, paz e poder em Timor-Leste

Este artigo examina diferentes narrativas sobre violência, paz e poder em Timor-Leste desde o período que antecede a invasão da Indonésia até os dias atuais. Baseia-se nas histórias de sete mulheres que vivenciaram estas diferentes fases. Essas narrativas mostram que, mesmo em meio à violência extrema, houve experiências importantes de empoderamento, o que leva a uma visão dialética entre violência e poder. Elas também apontam para percepções mistas no que concerne ao poder em tempos de paz. Aqui, ao lado da experiência de liberdade e do forte discurso de união nacional, observa-se a sensação de que poder tornou-se mais difuso e assimétrico.

Narrativas de mulheres. Narrativas sobre poder. Empoderamento. Narrativas sobre violência. Paz como liberdade.

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Hodi hato'o kona-ba violénsia, dame no podér iha Timor-Leste

Artigu lehat menon oioin kona-ba violénsia, dame no podér iha Timor-Leste hosi molok invazaun indonézia to'o ohin loron. Bazeia ba istória ne'ebé feto na'in hitu maka konta katak sira moris liu hakat ba hakat iha tempu susar ne'ebá. Menon hirak ne'e hatudu katak, maski iha violénsia maka'as nia laran, esperiénsia balu hala'o fali lala'ok podér nian no halo ita haree ba hanesan haksasuk lia klaran ho violénsia no podér. Sira mós konta katak sira iha laran-rua kona-ba ulun boot sira nia podér iha tempu dame nian. Iha-ne'e, hosi sorin ida mak ukun rasik-an no sorin seluk maka ko'alia kona-ba unidade nasional, ita sente katak podér maka halekar no fahe la hanesan.

Hato'o kona-ba feto sira. Hato'o kona-ba podér. Empoderamentu. Hato'o kona-ba violénsia. Dame nu'udar liberdade.

Introduction

The case of Timor-Leste has been widely discussed in the peacebuilding literature (e.g., Richmond and Franks, 2008; Jones, 2010; Silva, 2012; Freire 2015; Simangan, 2019; Smith, 2019; Menon, 2020; Blanco, 2020). Its relevance stands from the fact that, differently from previous cases of international intervention, here, for the first time, the United Nations was granted full sovereign control of a territory, assisting a complex transition to independence. Because of this, unsurprisingly, much of the literature discussing peacebuilding in Timor-Leste has focused on the intricate details of intervention, especially the different challenges of building 'from scratch' a series of state institutions after years of a violent foreign occupation. In contrast, much less has been written on the domain of local experiences and narratives regarding these processes (Brown and Gusmão, 2009; Cummins and Leach, 2012; Robins, 2012; Smith, 2019).

While I am interested in the changes that took place from the period of occupation until independence, my emphasis in this paper is on the different narratives of local actors regarding their experiences and perceptions of violence, peace and power during this timeframe. In particular, I am interested in the extent to which actors have felt empowered in times of violent conflict and in times considered peaceful. This interest is justified by the way peace, violence and power have been treated in the peacebuilding literature: they have been problematised to different extents but have not been necessarily analysed together or through the perspective of experience over time (Maschietto, 2020).

In the specific case of Timor-Leste a significant amount of literature has discussed violence, including after independence and across different arenas, such as community violence or domestic violence (e.g., Myrntinen, 2005; Scambary,

2009 and 2019; Wigglesworth et al., 2015; Groves et al., 2009). Nevertheless, how these perceptions and experiences of violence relate to experiences of power (or disempowerment) and how they affect perceptions and experiences of peace is a topic that still needs exploration.

This paper is part of a broader ongoing research that aims to compare narratives and experiences of violence, peace and power among different actors in Timor-Leste. The full project entails interviews with different groups of actors, including women and men who have been political prisoners, actors from the organised civil society, actors from specific sectors of the government, the youth and international actors working in Timor-Leste. In this paper I will focus exclusively on the interviews conducted with seven women who have lived through the period of the Indonesian occupation. These interviews were mostly unstructured and were conducted between October and December 2019 in Dili and Maubisse, some of them in Portuguese (with no interpreters) and some in Tetum with translations to either English or Portuguese. Participants were originally from or lived in different locations, including, Dili, Liquiçá, Maubisse, Cova Lima and Baucau. While all of them have lived through the occupation period, not all of them had memories nor have lived through the colonial period, so the narratives include different time spans. Also, their own experiences of the occupation differ substantially, some of them having lived in the mountains in the late 1970s, others staying mostly in Dili or other occupied zones; some of them having been imprisoned and tortured, others not. In this regard, their experiences of violence, peace and power differ significantly. Names have been omitted to avoid exposing these women.

The analysis is organised following three broad periods, respectively, the final years of Portuguese colonialism and the brief period of internal fight, the period of Indonesian occupation, and the pots-referendum/independence phase.

Before the Indonesian occupation

Since colonialism is by nature a violent enterprise, it seemed important, whenever possible, to enquire participants about their lives during the Portuguese period. Perhaps because of the extent of the brutality that followed, and the social condition of the participants at that time, the portray of violence during colonial times seemed relatively 'mild', or, at least, very different from what followed. In fact, this last period of Portuguese presence was also the time when many Timorese, locally and abroad were engage in the formation of political parties, mass movements and activities of conscientisation. From this perspective, some of the nar-

ratives emphasised a strong empowering dimension of this moment, a feeling derived from their participation in political engagement activities.

Two of the women I spoke to were teenagers in 1974 and were in a privileged position. The father of one of them was a doctor in Dili and the father of the other was a *chefe de suco* in Baucau, so they were both in a relatively comfortable financial situation. Notwithstanding this, at early age (14 and 16) they started to engage in activities at the *União Nacional dos Estudantes Timorenses* (UNETIM), and later joined both the *Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente* (Fretilin) and the *Organização Popular da Mulher Timorense* (OPMT). Radio played a crucial role in publicising the ideals of Fretilin. Once joined the party they also took part in several activities.

In 1975 one of them joined a trip to Aileu, organised by Fretilin for the youth. The purpose of the trip, which lasted over three months, was to show young members how life was in other parts of the country, the hardships suffered by the vast majority of the population. There they worked in an orphanage of children who lost their parents during the clashes that took place between the *União Democrática Timorense* (UDT) and Fretilin.

What stand out in the talk of these two women was the relevance of that moment in terms of building political consciousness. It was the moment when the structural violence that kept much of the population in precarious conditions was clearly revealed to them. It was a moment where some degree of liberty existed to ask questions, to demand a new curriculum in education, to promote political consciousness, and to stand up for independence. In this regard, it was a moment of empowerment, where possibilities of change seemed to be present, notwithstanding the existing structures of oppression and violence that were still out there.

This narrative contrasts with the story of a third woman who was also a teenager in 1975. Her story, in fact, was told starting in 1975, when, among the clashes between UDT and Fretilin, her mother was hit by a stray bullet in her belly. This was the first of a series of brutal episodes she endured from that day until independence. In stark contrast to the former empowering narrative, here the tone was mostly one of powerlessness and desperate need for help. Taking refuge in a camp controlled by UDT in Palapasso, and with no access to food, her mom was left untreated for five days, until they were able to air a white flag to a Fretilin patrol that passed by after they recovered the control of the area. Then they were taken to another camp, where her mother was treated and she helped the nurses with different tasks. They stayed there until the day of the occupation.

Violence and power during the Indonesia occupation

The massive violence that victimised women, men and children in Timor-Leste has been extensively documented in the 2005 *Chega! The Report of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste* (CAVR). At the same time there is also so much that still needs to be investigated and told, as many people have never publicly spoke about their experiences. It is not my intention to provide a comprehensive list of the types of violence that Timorese people have endured during this period. Rather, my intention is to stress the diversity of the experiences and narratives of the women I spoke to, while discussing the dialectical relationship between violence and power. I will focus here on four broad types of violence that stand out in their narratives and how they navigated through them.

Firstly, there was displacement and its effects in terms of survival. The most common form of displacement in the conversations was related to escaping from the Indonesians and seeking refuge either in the mountains or in different sites, such as relatives' houses, sometimes changing location constantly, being a 'nomad', as one of them put it.

Displacement took place from the very beginning of the invasion, and in some cases preparations to flee to the mountains had been on the way before the arrival of the Indonesians. Three of the women interviewed spent a long time in the mountains between 1975 and 1979. One of them was shot five times during a siege, when she was captured by the Indonesians and later imprisoned. She was 17 at the time. Another one, from Liquiçá, was about seven years old when her family had to suddenly escape while her father took part in the fighting on the border. She accompanied her mother and ten siblings. By the time they surrendered in 1979 only three of them had survived. Lack of food, shelter, and illness accounted for most of these deaths.

While life in the mountains was hard and there was a constant fear of attacks, two of the women interviewed also stressed the high level of organisation and cooperation during their time there. As one of them explained:

Nós tivemos comida ali, comida, frutos silvestres... cozinhamos milho. Temos arroz, temos agricultura, tudo lá. . . Fizemos a cooperativa. Temos sagu. . . Temos tratamentos naturais . . . Lá a gente vive bem, bem organizada. Só temos mesmo um inimigo só, os Indonésios. Não temos mais inimigos, porque lá a gente vive bem, tem tudo organizado. Para a agricultura, organizada, a saúde, organizada.²

2. 'We had food there. Food, wild fruits... we cook corn. We have rice, we have agriculture, everything there... We did a cooperative. We have sago... We have natural treatments... We live

This high level of organisation and cooperation seemed to provide them a considerable feeling of empowerment. While acknowledging the fears of being attacked and die, they highlighted the role of solidarity, self-sufficiency and collaboration as key features of this structure. “Porque lá é muito animado para uma pessoa pensar em se render. Porque tem tudo lá e tudo é transparente”.³

The level of coordination and the constant exchange of information between the Falintil and the population was also a crucial factor underlying this narrative. It is something that came out in different parts of the stories of all those interviewed and which seemed to have played a crucial role in keeping hopes high and the strength to resist and help the guerrilla fighters through the clandestine network. ‘*Nós somos peixes, vocês são água*’⁴ was one of the messages they were reminded during those times, their leaders being the ‘fish’ and they the ‘water’, stressing the fundamental connection between them.

Perhaps because of her young age, this feeling of being part of something bigger was not as present in the narrative of the other woman who fled with her family. On the contrary, while recalling some degree of organisation, the images of abundance of food and social connection were mostly absent, as she recalled having to share the ‘little food they had’ with the fighters. In her case, life in the mountains was particularly harsh as she had to step in as a child to help her mother and take care of her siblings. Years later, after surrendering and being resettled in Liquiçá, she was targeted by the militias and spent a long time escaping, moving constantly to avoid being caught.

After the referendum, displacement also took place compulsively. One of these women was forced by the militias to cross the border to Kupang with her family. Her mother, quite elderly, died in the car and was buried there. They were only able to come back to Dili through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) months later. Another interviewee fled voluntarily with her family to Indonesia, fearing for their lives. They went back after six months.

Differently from the scenario in the mountains, the stories related to escaping showed little room for any coordinated action or feeling of empowerment, as the concern with survival seemed to be the only and constant factor driving action. If anything, these narratives emphasised a high degree of psychological pressure,

well there, well organised. We just have one enemy, the Indonesians. We don’t have other enemies, because there we live well, we have everything organised. Agriculture, organised, health, organised.’

3. ‘Because it was too cheerful out there for a person to even consider surrendering. Because there was everything there and everything was transparent.’

4. ‘We are the fish, you are the water’.

fear and terror, related to a second broad type of violence, which was the constant state of surveillance and persecution affecting these women. This type of violence was particularly harsh because it was permanent, based on constant psychological terror, caused by the presence of informants, the 'intelligence', and/or the militias later on, people who would follow them to check any potential form of collaboration with the resistance fighters. Being beaten on the street and having a miscarriage because of this, being interrogated and tortured, having to present themselves regularly at check points, being constantly concerned with the lives of their parents, spouses and children, this and so much more was cause of a constant state of extreme tension and fear. This fear was heightened by the fact that most of them (five of the seven women interviewed) were at some point imprisoned, tortured and raped, the third broad type of violence they have been through.

Being a prisoner, being tortured and raped often go together. In prison, sexual violence was a given. In prison they would also get beaten 'like men', burned with cigarettes, undressed and put in a tank filled with dirty water, as some of them reported. But torture and rape also took place outside the prison. One of these women spent the entire period of occupation under strict control, unable to escape. She was 14 when the Indonesians parachuters came down from the sky just in front of her house. They used their backyard as a camp and stayed there for over a year. During this time she was raped by a commander, and after they left she and her family were under constant vigilance for the years to come. Once, a few months after she had a baby from her boyfriend, they dragged her to an empty and dark building where she was kept for nearly a month. She was interrogated, beaten up and tortured. They wanted to force her to say that her boyfriend was connected to Falintil, even though she did not know anything about it. A week after being kept there she and two other young girls were violated by seven men. They kept her there for another week, until someone from within the command appeared to help her escape and get back home.

The brutality of these events, common to so many women, point initially to a desolated picture that depicts women as essentially victims in a context of extreme repression. However, looking at their full stories, what stands out is their resiliency and ability to keep moving notwithstanding the horrors they went through, as well as their ability to build some kind of power from the position of subjugation.

For starters, most of these women, in different degrees, were actively engaged in, or supported as they could, the resistance fighting. As one of them explained,

Antigamente tínhamos poder porque queríamos que nossa nação tivesse independência. Antes tínhamos poder mesmo sendo uma mulher, contribuindo para o processo de independência.⁵

It cannot be overemphasised how the dream of independence inspired many of these women to keep moving. In fact, as one of them explained, the fact that violence was so overwhelming ultimately fed the resistance movement, because everyone could see and feel how unbearable it was to live under Indonesia. Ultimately, repression strengthened the movement, instead of suppressing it.

In this context, the very personal choice of getting married was directly influenced by issues such as survival and ability to resist. Two of these women were married with men who were also part of the resistance. They were ‘*camaradas*’ (comrades), as they said. But many women also married Indonesian men to use it as a cover and be safe while contributing to the movement or even just helping family members or other people in need.

In worst case scenarios, some were forced to marry Indonesians or men from the militias, the fourth broad type of violence here analysed. This was the case of one of the women I spoke to. She was married to Indonesian men twice. The first husband initially appeared as someone who would keep her safe, but ultimately he kept her prisoner in their house: he would take her to work in the morning, but once home he locked her in and even food would be delivered to her through the gridded window. After about a year this man went back to Indonesia, leaving her with a child. She tried to reconstitute her life, but after finding a Timorese partner – someone who had spent time in the mountains with the guerrilla fighters – and having a baby with him she was forced to separate as they were both constantly persecuted and he was having his life threatened. After he escaped to Australia, she was forced to marry another Indonesian commander, with whom she had to stay for years, notwithstanding the fact that he was constantly violent with her, until his death in 1991. She had five children with him.

While experiencing a terrible life with these men, she also recalled,

... na altura eu aproveitei o tempo também por ter oportunidade como esposa e como ele era comandante, eu podia também pedir ajuda aos outros para ajudar arroz, medicamentos e outras coisas para ajudar a minha família e dar a outras pessoas para também ajudar em suas necessidades. E eu fiz isso.⁶

5. ‘Back then we had power because we wanted our nation to be independent. Back then we had power even being women, contributing to the process of independence.’

6. ‘At the time I used the opportunity of being his wife, as he was a commander, to ask for help for

In sum, while the experiences of violence these women endured were extreme and brutal, paradoxically it was these very experiences that pushed them to find strength to resist in different ways, to keep supporting the resistance movement and, when possible, turning adversity into an asset.

Other elements were also important in this equation: solidarity from friends and family, and faith and religion. In many segments of the conversations the role of mothers, fathers, aunties and other family members appeared as crucial to provide solace, comfort, but also the trust that all that violence at some point would end. Importantly, solidarity was not restricted to friends and family members. In one story a military officer for the Indonesians (*babinsa*) attended the request of a woman to provide the names of a blacklist – it turns out her name was there. While ordinarily he would be an enemy, in this moment she claimed to their past as school colleagues so she could know the extent of the threat she was facing.

Finally, trust in God and the Catholic church appeared as important elements that provided some degree of power to keep moving. The woman from Liquiçá, for instance, found comfort in the catholic youth group and the regular gatherings they had. It was the only place where she felt free to speak about what was going on; it was also a place where she could gather information that could be sent later to the resistance fighters. More informally, in one of the accounts the reference to God and his greatness (*‘Deus é grande’*) appeared often, especially when moments of extreme distress and trauma were being told, remembering what came to her mind at the time.

Transition and independence: peace as freedom and the paradoxes of unity and power

Giving the extent of violence that took place in Timor-Leste during the Indonesian occupation it is unsurprising that the key feeling expressed with the new phase is a strong sense of freedom. As one woman told me, even when Dili was still destroyed after the attacks that follow the referendum, even though everything had to be built from scratch, she felt there was a lot of freedom, the air was different, big obstacles were out of the way. Suddenly she could move from one place to the other without any checkpoints or being asked her identity card. Also, after years of constant care to her family’s basic needs, she finally could start thinking about herself, what *she* wanted to do with her life, she felt entitled. In her case

others, such as rice, medication and other items to help my family and also to give to other people in need. I did this.’

this also meant starting a series of trainings through the support on international organisations and NGOs on human rights and gender equality. Eventually she also graduated in law and started a community organisation for women's empowerment.

This sense of freedom was reflected in the general ability to reconstitute a family, getting married or simply being able to provide a different life to the children they already had. In this regard, it was accompanied by a sense of pride for being able to offer, or just having contributed to, a different life for siblings and children. One of them, who had children with the Indonesian soldiers, mentioned very proudly that four of her kids were able to study and obtain a degree, and the other one entered the new armed forces (F-FDTL), while she had the opportunity to get a job working with translation, as she has a great knowledge of Portuguese.

Underlying the general sense of freedom, the narratives on peace were also extremely related to the broader discourse of national union. Feeling proud, happy, satisfied for having contribute somehow to 'this victory' was a common discourse. The idea of 'peace as unity' came out in one conversation. Given the role that identity played in the previous era, this is expected.

That said, this first assessment of independence was not the final picture. With peace, new challenges exist, which affect the experiences and feelings of power and which also concern the national heroes and their role in the country. So, on the one hand, there is a commitment to praise the leaders of the resistance – i.e., the current political leaders. They are credited for building the nation and recognised for doing the toughest part of the job – even though it is also recognised that every Timorese has contributed to the fight. On the other hand, and yet only when asked more specific questions about current times, these women also presented a more pessimistic view of contemporary Timor-Leste, a view that also relates to the legacy of these leaders and their role in building this new state.

Firstly, there was reference to the '*sistema de apadrinhamento*' ('the godfather's system') and the feeling that problems are resolved as long as someone has contacts within the high echelon of the government. This goes hand in hand with the perception that many segments of the population have been given no recognition for their own participation in the independence process. As one of them pointed out, 'they have forgotten the foundation of the house', meaning that those who have not been in the frontlines, but who were crucial in helping providing resources to sustain the fight, have not been given the due credit and recognition. At the same time, many who have opposed independence in the past are now in good positions and benefitting from independence.

Secondly, and specifically in the case of women, a central issue that came out was related to recognition in many forms. For starters, the political option for rec-

onciling with Indonesia came initially as a shock to many of them. After the massive violence they have been through it seemed disappointing, to say the least, that the perpetrators would live with impunity. Yet, the fact that the leaders opted for this led to their acceptance of the matter – although they also noticed that many women have never really accepted this. Relatedly, they noticed that many women are still abandoned and never had the chance or courage to tell their stories. Other issues that they considered unaddressed was the case of the children who were born through rape or forced marriage and who have been not recognised as a special category that demands a special treatment and support.

Ultimately, what we see in these statements is the problematisation of the essence of ‘unity’, in the sense that, in previous times, there was a common gain for everyone – independence and freedom – but now, as independence and freedom have been achieved, it becomes evident that the gains have been asymmetrically distributed. So, on the one hand, there still is a strong will to legitimise the leaders and avoid commenting on the problems – hesitation was often the preliminary for the critique in the conversations. On the other hand, it is becoming increasingly hard to ignore these issues, the power issues related to a new democratic system where previous guerrilla fighters are now politicians who play a dominant role; the power issues that still present a strong gender cut; the power issues that clearly separate the ‘fish’ from the ‘water’.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the narratives surrounding experiences of violence, peace and power through the period of Indonesia occupation and independence in Timor-Leste based on interviews with seven women. Seven may seem a small number, and it certainly is giving the extent of violence that took place in Timor-Leste. That said, assessing the connections between experiences of power in contexts of deep violence and peace could hardly be done otherwise if not diving deep into individual stories.

As shown, the relationship between power and violence are far from linear. When brutal violence is taking place it may seem difficult to see the power of the victim; yet, as shown, these women were far from powerless. On the contrary, in many instances of their stories their power seemed heightened in the period of the resistance, driven by a strong purpose of fighting for their freedom.

As independence and peace finally arrived, the feeling of empowerment seems dispersed. Following the bliss of freedom, several matters remained unresolved, while the country is building its democracy with a leadership that still retains its

legitimacy based on the resistance fighting. Suddenly, differences of interest come to the surface and, as Sarah Smith (2019) observes in her analysis of peacebuilding in Timor-Leste, women are still resisting and still organising, because there is still so much to be addressed, including the full recognition of what they went through.

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3. Paths that Cross: Ethnographic Considerations about State and Nation Building Processes of Timor Leste with the Timorese Student's Self-building in Brazil and Portugal

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Paths that Cross: Ethnographic Considerations about State and Nation Building Processes of Timor-Leste with the Timorese Student's Self-building in Brazil and Portugal

This paper aims to make some considerations about state and nation building processes from Timor-Leste through the Timorese students' perspectives in academic education in Brazil and Portugal. It discusses interpretations of the role of these students play in those processes and the way they try to conciliate traditional and new values acquired abroad in a migratory situation. This analysis is supported by an ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Brazil between 2013 and 2019 and in Portugal between 2017 and 2018. In conclusion, the presentation traces a parallel between the identity/self-building processes of Timor-Leste and the individual level of the students.

State Building. Academic cooperation. Students. Timor-Leste. Brazil. Portugal.

Caminhos que se cruzam: considerações etnográficas sobre processos de State e Nation building do Timor-Leste com a construção de si de estudantes timorenses no Brasil e em Portugal

Esta comunicação pretende tecer algumas considerações sobre os processos de construção de Estado e de Nação do Timor-Leste aos olhos de estudantes timorenses em formação acadêmica no Brasil e em Portugal. Discute o papel que esses alunos interpretam desempenhar nesses processos e no modo como tentam conciliar valores tradicionais e novos adquiridos na mobilidade internacional. A análise apóia-se em uma pesquisa etnográfica realizada entre 2013 e 2019 no Brasil e entre 2017 e 2018. Conclui-se que há um paralelo entre os processos de construção de identidade/self do Timor-Leste e o nível individual dos estudantes.

Construção de Estado. Cooperação acadêmica. Estudantes. Timor-Leste. Brasil. Portugal.

1. Universidade Estadual da Paraíba, Brasil.

Dalan sira ne'ebé kruza ba malu: konsiderasaun sira etnográfica nian kona ba prosesu konstrusaun estadu no konstrusaun nasaun Timor-Leste husi estudante sira iha Brasil no Portugal²

Komunikasaun ida ne'e hakarak halo konsiderasaun balun kona ba prosesu sira kona ba konstrusaun ba Estadu no nasaun Timor Leste husi estudantes timor oan nia vizaun ne'ebé hetan formasaun akadéika iha Brasil no Portugal. Diskuti papel alunu sira nian atu interpreta dezempênu husi prosesu sira ne'e no oinsa atu tenta konsilia valores sira tradisaun nian no valores foun sira ne'ebé hetan husi mobilidade internasional. Nia análise apoiu husi peskiza etnográfica ne'ebé realiza iha tinan 2013 no 2019 iha Brasil no iha tinan 2017 no 2018. Konklui katak iha paralelu entre prosesu sira hodi konstrui identidade Timor-Leste nian ho nível individual estudantes sira nian.

Konstrusaun Estadu. Kooperasaun Akadémika. Estudante sira. Timor-Leste. Brazil. Portugal.

On a sunny day in December 2017, dressed in a shirt reproducing a stylized flag of Timor-Leste, Afakay³ begins the presentation of his final paper at the State University of Paraíba (Northeast Region of Brazil) saying, sounding proud and militant, that “young people of other times fought for the freedom of Timor” and that now it was his turn, “based on the acquired knowledge”.

The student's opening speech is significant for a reflection on the feelings involved in the experience of studying abroad. Often perceived as a responsibility or a commitment to their country, training at foreign universities simultaneously represents a political strategy of the government of Timor-Leste for staff training, a resource for families so that their children can have quality professional training – with increased chances of getting jobs and rising socially – and a unique opportunity for personal maturation.

Portuguese-speaking universities, particularly Portuguese and Brazilian, have received attention. This is because Portuguese and Tetum are the official languages, although few are those who dominate the first. Reflection of a succession of external occupations, internal linguistic variety and political conflicts of multiple natures. In a process of state and nation building, since the restoration of Independence in 2002, Timor-Leste's challenges are to build under the logic of self-determination (Leach, 2012). The use of academic/educational cooperation with other countries has been a political strategy adopted to achieve this objective.

2. Ha'u agradese ba Adolfo Varela, ne'ebé halo ona tradusaun ba título no rezumo ba dalen tetun. Aproveita mos agradese estudantes Timor oan sira ne'ebé hau konvive durante peskiza. Sira laran diak lo'os hodi fahe tempu ba peskiza ida ne'e.

3. Fictitious name of one of the interlocutors of the research, chosen by himself. The other names in this article are also so, in order to preserve their identities. I take this opportunity to thank them for their availability.

Afakay's presentation witnessed by the author is representative in a very particular way about how the international, state and individual levels can articulate themselves in situations of migration or mobility in a social world marked by the circulation of people. It is also representative of a conception of self shared by most of the youngsters in the research who see themselves as subjects of responsibility towards their country, especially scholarship students⁴. Finally, it is representative – in the meeting of the analyst's view with that of her interlocutors – of a simultaneity that is forming between the construction of students as autonomous subjects and trained in the migratory experience, the processes of autonomy in Timor-Leste and an expectation of becoming common, based on an idea of sovereignty, of those who must decide their own destiny and head in that direction. They are paths that cross.

This article aims to briefly present some perceptions of a portion of Timorese students in higher education in Portugal and Brazil about the place they occupy in a broader process of building the State and the Nation⁵ of Timor-Leste. The analysis is based on an ethnographic research developed between 2013 and 2019 with students in Brazil, more closely with 30 students from the State University of Paraíba, and, between July 2017 and April 2018, with 15 in Portugal (Lisbon, mostly, Porto, Évora and Braga, in person or via social media).

Students in Portugal and Brazil

Timor-Leste's Strategic Development Plan (PED) 2011-2030 was formulated with the Timorese State and Nation building as a major political objective in the direction of a logic of self-determination. According to the Plan, education and training are "vital to the country's economic growth and development" (RDTL, 2011, p. 18).

In higher education, the Plan foresees financing mechanisms for several institutions, remembering that the National University Timor Lorosa'e (UNTL) is the only public institution in the country, founded in 2000. The creation of the Human Capital Development Fund (FDCH), in 2011, it was part of the PED strategy for training and qualifying professionals to work in the public and private spheres. The initiative was based on the recognition of the need to develop human resources

4. Who receive funding from the Timorese government or another institution to carry out their studies abroad.

5. *State Building corresponds to a process in which the focus is on governance, institutions and legal rules. Nation Building, to a cultural process of formation of a cohesive political community that supports the development of a functional state* (LEACH, 2012).

through education on a global scale and through the medium and long-term training effort, generating “greater global competitiveness” and strengthening “investment in our national sovereignty” (RDTL, 2011, p. 35).

The Fund’s budget was \$ 178,532 million between 2011 and 2015. The scholarship program received the most funding, with \$ 86,727 million (48.6%), including sending students abroad (MPIE / FDCH, 2016).

As for scholarships by country of destination, according to the FDCH report, Timor-Leste is the first in terms of scholarship holders, with 1,572 (36%), followed by Indonesia with 1,409 (33%), Portugal with 356 (8%), Cuba with 278 (6%) and Brazil, with 219 (5%). As for the level of education, the majority was earmarked for degrees (2,098); Masters (559) and PhD (94). Among the priority areas, General Medicine, Nursing, Midwifery and Pharmacy. Scholars from Dili and Baucau were the most awarded. Decree Law 30/2008, in its Article 11, is clear as to the main purpose of the scholarships: to provide the country with qualified human resources to meet the economic and public administration demands, fostering the development of Timor-Leste.

In Portugal, with regard to scholarship students, supported by the then Ministry of Education of Timor-Leste, in 2016 there were 29 and in 2017, 41⁶, of a total of enrolled in the 2016/17 period of 73 students in Portuguese universities (DGES, 2017). In Brazil, within the Student Agreement Program (PEC-G), which offers scholarships, one student was selected in 2015, six in 2016, eleven in 2017, 10 in 2018 and 5 in 2019. In PEC-PG (Graduate Studies), there were three in 2015 and none in 2016⁷ (Division of Educational Themes and Portuguese Language, 2020)⁸. However, two universities housed more Timorese students in their own cooperation protocols: the University of International Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony (Unilab), with 51 undergraduate students in 2017 (Unilab, 2017), but which in 2012 received 72 Timorese students – being the institution with the largest contingent – and the State University of Paraíba, the second in number of students, with 33 in 2012 and which received another 19 in 2015.

The strengthening of the field of education as a strategy adopted to achieve the development of Timor-Leste, within an agenda focused on objectives to be

6. Figures provided in August 2017 by the Education Office of the Embassy of Timor-Leste, in Belém, Portugal.

7. The data regarding the results of those selected for student agreement within the PEC-PG from Timor-Leste are not available on the website of the Division of Educational Themes and Portuguese Language, in 2020. As a result, the numbers are presented until 2016.

8. PEC-G and PEC-PG data available at <http://www.dce.mre.gov.br/PEC/G/processo_seletivo/resultados.php> and <<http://www.dce.mre.gov.br/PEC/PEC/PG.php#edicoes>>. Access in: 2020/19/07.

achieved by 2030, is intrinsically linked to state and nation building projects still in dispute as to their best form implementation and its final result. For Guedes and Paulino (2016, p. 366), on international cooperation protocols for development, the challenge is “to meet the requirements of international agencies (...) to put the Timorese State and its institutions on the path of “globalization”, and, on the other hand, to defend and preserve its cultural identity”. For Simões (2019), the main issue is related to the role that international student exchange plays in the development of Timor, in social mobility and in improving the living conditions of students and their families, without being restricted to an economic, urban, intellectual, and male-predominant elite. Cristóvão and Nogueira (2011, p. 97) say that it is not possible to know the reflexes of the experience in the country’s development yet, although it is expected that “a network of knowledge and influences (personal and professional) will be woven”.

The role that young East Timorese play in this process deserves attention, given that the average age of the population is close to 18 years old, and that part is sent for higher training with government grants. The possibilities of crossing between the current national project and the individual projects of these students on their return to Timor-Leste can be decisive for the direction of the country and the students themselves.

Decisions taken from individual projects can directly or indirectly affect the national construction project, as they obey different logics. On the one hand, the feeling of commitment to Timor-Leste, which involves generational dimensions of resistance to foreign domination – as explained by Afakay –, towards the construction of a State and a Nation marked by autonomy, self-determination and development on its own terms. On the other hand, the glimpse of opportunities that the migratory experience brings with it, which are felt to be better for jobs and lifestyles in the countries where they studied or in their surroundings.

The choice of one or another orientation is a dilemma faced, in general, by the other students from “developing” countries. According to Subuhana (2009), students from Portuguese Speaking Countries tend to have personal projects that are influenced by their own family project – such as the social mobility problematized by Simões (2019) in the Timorese context –, the desire to contribute to the development of the country of origin and the conflict between returning to cultural traditions or continuing in the country of study, creating uncertainty at the time of return.

It is precisely because of these questions faced by the students that Hirsch (2007), in a research with Cape Verdeans in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), discusses the idea that studying abroad corresponds to a rite of passage. Such rite is linked to a sense of obligation towards their nation and accompanied by strong cultural

and affective ties with their society of origin. The daily experiences of these students in the logic of the place where they are, in the universities where they study, at parties and other typical events with their countrymen, in the linguistic records with which they communicate in different contexts, and in the behaviors they adopt depending on the social situation in which they are inserted can often generate what Dulce Mungoi (2006) qualifies as a hybrid identity.

In the case of Timor-Leste, the dilemma faced by students seems to be of the same nature as that of the country, with regard to the future and the construction of *identity/self* related to the local traditions and new elements experienced by foreign influence. For Mandola Jr. and Gallo (2010), in the migratory experience there is a mutual constitution of self and place, since the self is formed by phenomena, dynamics and social ties developed in a “geographical reality”, producing a sense of belonging to a group.

Student perceptions of themselves and Timor-Leste

Throughout the research, in formal interviews and informal conversations, the idea of commitment and responsibility towards Timor-Leste and the family appeared at various times. Allusions were also made to the role of resistance during the period of violent Indonesian occupation for 24 years, and some of the older graduate students reported having participated in this resistance. In general, there is a shared feeling among the scholarship holders that they have an important role in the processes of State and Nation building. The contribution for the country would be to make available the knowledge acquired for the country’s development.

Other recurrent reports referred to the fact that, despite having studied abroad, they had “respect” for family traditions and for Timor-Leste – several students said that they talked to their grandparents in their mother tongues and said that sometimes they speak Portuguese at home it was frowned upon, perceived as a sign of snobbery or denial of origins.

Although the sense of responsibility and commitment towards the country was not unanimous among the research interlocutors – some did not see a problem in the social distinction that speaking Portuguese may imply, being related to local elites – the idea of respect seems to be related to the that Mattoso (2005) sensibly identified, when asked in a lecture to young Timorese diplomats about the relationship between national identity and dignity: “I realized, at that moment, that the resistance of the Timorese people to Indonesian occupation, for twenty-four years, it had been, above all, a struggle to defend their dignity” (pp. 8-9). Some students’ speeches on the subject:

I am here studying in Portugal, but I cannot forget who I am, where I come from and what is my role in my country. (Ermenegildo, student in Portugal)

I am going to graduate this year and return to East Timor. I want to help my country. But I understand the reason why some people are not going to return, because everybody wants to return just like me, but here [in Europe] a lawyer earns 1,500 euros, 2 thousand, and there is going to earn what 100, 200 euros (Manuel, student in Portugal)

I am an employee of the Ministry of Education and I am going to return to help evaluating the teaching of Portuguese in the classrooms. They need to learn Portuguese. I am going to help with that (Carlos, Doctorate student in Portugal)

I want to return to help my country build public policies focused on women or to represent my country in an International Organization with what I learned in my course. (Virginia, student in Brazil, who presented her final paper about women in politics in East-Timor)

As I graduated in Education, I want to work in an NGO or to the Government, to unify the contents studied in schools of my country (Luisa, master student in Portugal)

The word “help” appears recurrently in the speeches, generally linked to an idea of greater responsibility, in adult life, after having gone through the rite of passage of having studied abroad. With some of these students, I maintained contacts on my return to the country. A part of them started working in public agencies on arrival (with a delay of three to six months for this to happen). A portion of the returnees in 2019 were still waiting for employment, as the Covid-19 pandemic affected hiring in East Timor and worldwide.

Final reflections

The paths that lead to post-independence Timor-Leste’s self-determination and the maturation of young Timorese in student mobility intersect in the shared desire for autonomy and independence, based on the respect and dignity of the people.

Foreign influences throughout their trajectories continue to impact the way the process of forming the national identity of Timor-Leste is being delineated, as well as the students’ self is constituted from the migratory experience and the experiences in their place of origin.

Graduated abroad, when returning, part of the students tends to be incorporated in the public administration, in case they are not yet part of the staff. What has been acquired in the mobility experience can directly influence the performance of public functions. Different ways of looking at the world and Timor-Leste, in a kind of double affiliation to two (or more) social worlds (of the country of origin and the country of study), in which international parameters combine with traditional ones can affect within the state apparatus itself, through the daily performance of employees under the influence of double registration, external and internal.

It is precisely at this crossroad point, in which the Timorese State and students, in processes of building themselves, are challenged to choose or combine elements between the cultural traditions passed down from generation to generation and the global economic, political and social patterns, that this convergence can turn into different directions, a myriad of multiple possibilities.

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4. *Cruz Joven* (Youth Cross) in Timor-Leste: How the Cross Travels Around Districts¹

Toru Ueda²

***Cruz Joven* (Youth Cross) in Timor-Leste: How the Cross Travels Around Districts**

This paper aims to explore how the *Cruz Joven* (Youth Cross), one of the local practices of piety, is accepted among the people of Timor-Leste. The *Cruz Joven* was introduced to Timor-Leste in the 1990s, during its occupation by Indonesia, in response to the growing global Catholic youth movement. In this paper, I outline the practice of *Cruz Joven*, including its origin and trajectory in the Timorese society, and discuss how *Cruz Joven* is understood and interpreted by the people of Timor-Leste. Finally, I will discuss the characteristics of people's beliefs in contemporary Timor-Leste on the basis of this analysis.

Cruz Joven. Catholicism. *Lulik*. Identity. Timor-Leste.

***Cruz Joven* (Cruz Jovem) em Timor-Leste: Como a Cruz viaja pelos Distritos**

Este artigo pretende explorar como a *Cruz Joven* (*Cruz Jovem*), uma das práticas locais de devoção, é aceita entre o povo de Timor-Leste. A *Cruz Joven* foi introduzida em Timor-Leste nos anos 90, durante a ocupação indonésia, em resposta ao crescente movimento global da juventude católica. Neste artigo, faço o traçado da prática da *Cruz Joven*, incluindo a sua origem e trajetória na sociedade timorense, e reflito como a *Cruz Joven* é compreendida e interpretada pelo povo de Timor-Leste. Por fim, discuto as características das crenças da população no Timor-Leste contemporâneo, com base nesta análise.

Cruz Joven. Catolicismo. *Lulik*. Identidade. Timor-Leste.

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“Cruz Jovem” iha Timor-Leste: oinsá maka lori “Cruz” bá-mai hale’u Distritu hotu

Artigu ida-ne’e buka hatene oinsá maka povu timór simu “Cruz Jovem” nu’udar hala’ok ida fiar nian. Iha tinan-1990 maka “Cruz Jovem” tama rai timór, iha okupasaun indonézia nia laran, no hala’ok ne’e tuir ain-fatin ne’ebé hahú ho movimentu globál ida hosi juventude katólíka. Iha artigu ida-ne’e, ha’u haree hikas ba dalan naruk “Cruz Jovem” nian, nia hun mai hosi ne’ebé no la’o oinsá iha povu timór nia leet no, liuliu, oinsá maka timoroan sira simu Cruz ne’e ho neon no laran. Ikusmai, ha’u remata hodi kona fiar populasaun timór nian ohin loron ho lehat tomak.

Krús Joven. Katolisizmu. Lulik. Identidade. Timor-Leste.

1. The Purpose of the Study

This study focuses on the interface between two belief systems – Catholicism and local Timorese faith – with a focus on the Cruz Joven (Youth Cross), one of the “practices of piety” conducted to deepen faith in Timor-Leste. The Cruz Joven was established to encourage young people during the Indonesian occupation. The wooden cross was transported throughout the country even under Indonesian rule; it helped spread the Catholic faith. Even after gaining its independence, the Cruz Joven still maintains its powerful appeal in Timor-Leste. One distinct feature of this cross is that various local aspects that are conceptually connected are inscribed on the Cruz Joven.

This paper aims to demonstrate one way in which Catholicism and *lulik*, the local faith in Timor-Leste, coexist. In particular, my focus is on the Cruz Joven, which contributed to the decline in youth violence in the urban settlement of Dili (Ueda, 2019). By describing this history, I examine how the relationship between Catholicism and the local faith has developed.

2. A Brief Overview of Timor-Leste

Timor-Leste is a new nation state that gained its independence in 2002. In 1975, the Indonesian military intervened when Timor-Leste sought independence after the end of Portuguese colonial rule. Timor-Leste became the 27th Indonesian state for 24 years.

During that time, there was a rapid increase in the number of conversions to Roman Catholicism in Timor-Leste (Carey, 1999; Durand, 2016). This was a result of the pro-independence attitude of the Church. The Roman Catholic Church, in

one way, displayed a broad-minded attitude toward the local faith, which was established around such concepts as *lulik*, meaning “the sacred.” In particular, the Church made positive efforts to embrace local beliefs when it expressed support, whether explicitly or not, for the struggle for independence.

During my research in Dili, which begun in 2014, I often heard *lulik* spoken of. Interestingly, when the ceremony of reconciliation was explained, *lulik* was counterposed to Roman Catholicism. The ceremony makes use of two systems of belief, *lulik* (or *adat* in Indonesian and *kultura* in Portuguese or Tetun) and Catholicism (Ueda, 2019).

3. Reconciliation and the Cruz Joven

Ueda (2019) analyzed the success of the reconciliation ceremony. It was held in Motamutin³, an urban settlement known for the violent conflicts that occurred between the “Easterners” and “Westerners” in 2006. The martial arts groups (MAGs) that attract young people had caused several problems locally, including some physical attacks and the destruction of residents’ property. The self-governance of the settlement was not effective, and the various projects to stop the violence suggested by NGOs and the police had not borne fruit.

To Alter the situation, a ceremony was held in 2015 in an attempt to reconcile some rival MAGs. The ceremony commemorated the 500th anniversary of the arrival of the Catholic mission in Timor-Leste and involved young people carrying the Cruz Joven throughout the whole of Timor-Leste. The inclusion of the cross, which represents the Catholic faith, made the ceremony multireligious (Ueda, 2019). The positive effects of reconciliation, including a decrease in crime, are still felt today, although some minor problems persist. According to an informant, peace would not be possible without both belief systems. I aim to demonstrate how this link between the two belief systems has been facilitated by the Cruz Joven.

4. Background of the Cruz Joven

The Cruz Joven, introduced into the Timorese society in April 1993, is considered a practice of piety (*exercitia pietatis* in Latin). Practices of piety are undertaken for the sake of revering God and promoting enthusiasm for dedication to

3. Motamutin is a pseudonym.

Jesus Christ (cf. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*). A variety of such practices that diverge based on time, place, and historical context exist.

The combination of the cross (*cruz*) and youth (*joven*) traces its roots to Pope John Paul II. Some informants did acknowledge that the idea was borrowed from Rome, and a leaflet explaining the significance of the Cruz Joven also refers to its Roman background. However, a contrast is made between crosses in other parts of the world and that in Timor-Leste. The official website of the Vatican describes the origins as follows:

It was the Holy Year of the Redemption (1983-1984). Pope John Paul II felt that there should be a cross – the symbol of our faith – near the main altar in Saint Peter’s Basilica where it could be seen by everyone. A large wooden cross, 3.8 meters high, was placed there according to the Holy Father’s desire.⁴

At the end of the Holy Year, after the Pope had closed the Holy Door, he entrusted the cross to the young people of the world, presenting it to the San Lorenzo Youth Center in Rome. His words on that occasion were as follows:

My dear young people, at the conclusion of the Holy Year, I entrust to you the sign of this Jubilee Year: the cross of Christ! Carry it throughout the world as a symbol of Christ’s love for humanity and proclaim to everyone that it is only in Christ, who died and rose from the dead, that salvation and redemption are to be found. (Rome, 22 April 1984)⁵

The cross was taken to Munich, Germany, the following year and to many other places thereafter, and it was always transported by young people. It was conveyed to South America for the Second World Youth Day held in Buenos Aires in 1987 and came to Asia for the first time for the International Eucharistic Congress held in South Korea in 1989. In 2003, an additional item accompanied the cross: an icon of the Lady, *Salus Populi Romani*. The Pope explained:

Today, I also entrust to the delegation from Germany the Icon of Mary. From now on, it will accompany the World Youth Days, together with the cross. Behold, your Mother! It will be a sign of Mary’s motherly presence close to young people, who are called, like the Apostle John, to welcome her into their lives⁶.

4. <http://www.laityfamilylife.va/content/laityfamilylife/en/giovani/il-pellegrinaggio-della-croce-dei-giovani.html>

5. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/laity/Colonia2005/rc_pc_laity_doc_20030805_cross-history-gmg_en.html

6. http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/angelus/2003/documents/hf_jp-ii_ang_20030413.html

In 2006, the cross and icon visited some 10 countries in Africa, as well as various destinations in Asia and Oceania the following year. After a stop in the Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste was one of those destinations. The Vatican website emphasized that its presence contributed to the handling of local conflicts:

They were often greeted by crowds of young people in traditional dress throwing flowers. They travelled in boats through jungles and were carried in procession around islands. They helped bring reconciliation where there were tensions (Timor-Leste) and they comforted young people who had recently experienced a severe earthquake and tsunami (Solomon Islands).⁷

The Youth Cross suggested by Rome traveled the world and came to play an important role in events such as the Youth Congress. In each place, it was received with enthusiasm by young people and sometimes contributed to settling social problems.

5. The Cruz Joven in Timor-Leste

The impact of the Youth Cross across the globe has been replicated somewhat in Timor-Leste. In fact, even before it arrived in 2006, the concept of Cruz Joven had been introduced in April 1993, near the end of the Congress of Timorese Catholic Youth, which was held for three days near Baucau, the second largest city in Timor-Leste. A priest suggested that a cross be built so that all the young people of Timor-Leste might gather together to reflect on and celebrate Easter.⁸

He ordered a serviceman working at the school to cut down a particular tree, namely, *ai-kakeu* in Tetun, a common tree growing at the edge of the field inside the school, and to make a large cross from it. Bishop Belo blessed the cross; it was then presented to the young people of Baucau, who carried it to another parish. Similar to the Vatican's Youth Cross, annually, the Cruz Joven is carried around Timor-Leste among three parishes: Baucau, Maliana, and Dili.⁹

7. "Pilgrimage of the Youth Cross (1984-2014): 30 years travelling the world and reaching out to young people" (http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/laity/Colonia2005/rc_pc_laity_doc_20030805_cross-history-gmg_en.html).

8. <https://timoragora.blogspot.com/2015/08/istoria-cruz-joven-no-ilhas-nain-feto.html>.

9. During my stay in Timor-Leste in 2019, the cross had just moved from Illiomar and arrived at Lolotoe, Bobonaro. I heard that the cross would stay there for a year and then will be moved to the next place. Some people mentioned that the next destination might be the Ermera District. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, I was unable to visit Timor-Leste to confirm the detailed information about the destination.

The purpose of creating the Cruz Joven was explained by some informants. A priest characterized it as a means of encouraging young people, some of whom were involved in the pro-independence struggle against Indonesia. Another priest did not relate it to politics; he simply pointed out that it was an influence of the global movement of the Youth Cross. However, both priests agreed that it began as a practice of piety within Catholicism.

Based on a few images I saw that were taken on that day, the Cruz Joven was made of unprocessed wood. It bore no evident Timorese qualities as other sacred objects like the *tais* or *belak* do. The lack of ornament was emphasized by the priest who first conceptualized the idea for the Cruz Joven. He told me that the cross was purely a symbol of gratitude to God. “The cross is a felled tree that can be found anywhere. The most undesirable behavior would be for the people to have an attachment to the cross and forget God.” He added, “The cross is not a love in itself. The cross is not an idol. The cross is not *lulik* or God. It is absolutely a sign.” He thought of it solely as a sign of the Catholic faith and did not desire that it be regarded as sacred. He ordered that the Cruz Joven be precisely made with *ai-kakeu* because it is common in Timor-Leste.

6. The Journey

Since the concept of the Cruz Joven was introduced, some aspects have changed in contrast to the original idea. The most interesting change to the Cruz Joven is its ornamentation. A few images taken in 1993 show only a bare wooden cross; no decoration had yet been added. However, through its travels for over more than 20 years, the cross has acquired much decoration representative of different local cultural influences. Fig. 1, which was taken in Lolotoe in 2019, presents an image of the Cruz Joven, which is decorated with plate (*belak*), crown (*kaubaek*), and local clothes (*tais*), as it is today.

Typically, a replica is made after the arrival of the Cross. The replica includes the decoration of the Cross. The name of the place is usually carved into replicas of the Cruz Joven. When a replica is made, the cultural decorations are not limited to the *belak*, *kaubaek*, and *tais* added on the Cross. This replica was already made when the Cross was brought to Lolotoe. The Cross and its replica sat next to each other as shown in Fig. 1. Fig. 2, taken in Bobonaro, also shows *tais* as the local cultural factor.



Figure 1. Cruz Joven (right) and its replica (left).



Figure 2. Cruz Joven in Bobonaro.



Figure 3. *Ai-toos* settled beside the replica of Cruz Joven at Motamutin.



Figure 4. The replica of Cruz Joven in Ermera.

Sometimes, other adornments are placed beside the replica. In Motamutin, where the ceremony of reconciliation was held in 2015, a log with two branches on top, called an *ai-toos*, was settled beside the cross. The *ai-toos* is a symbol of *kultura* or *adat* (see Fig. 3).

Different cultural artifacts are added to the cross in different places where replicas are made. The image in Fig.4 was taken in Ermera. As can be seen, the wooden replica of the Cruz Joven is placed atop the *ai-toos*. This manner of constructing replicas originated from a priest who has served in Ermera in the early 2000s. According to him, the *ai-toos* is a “tradition in Timor.” The three logs represent three principles: unity (*persatuan; unidade*), brotherhood (*persaudaraan; anvisade*), and responsibility (*tanggungjawab; reponsibilidade*); these principles are carved into the cross in some locations. He explained in a conversation with me that the tradition accompanies the arrival of the cross and serves as a sign of the love of God.

7. Problems Resolved

The Cruz Joven started as a practice of piety. However, it incorporated a variety of local cultural aspects through travel. Interestingly, it also created a narra-

tive that helped resolve several conflicts in the community.¹⁰ One man on the organization committee of the reconciliation ceremony at Motamutin, Dili, told me of his experience in Ainaro Municipality where he was born. There were many violent clashes among groups of young people in Ainaro; however, after the arrival of the Cruz Joven, the conflicts ceased. His experience inspired him to take the Cruz Joven to Motamutin to settle similar problems. The end of conflict in Motamutin may serve as evidence of the power of the Cruz Joven. Similar narratives were reported in other places as well. I also heard of a story about a man suspected of theft. He accordingly proclaimed to “swear to Cruz Joven” to declare his innocence.

Whenever anyone reports on this kind of story, they emphasize the power of the Cruz Joven, but they do not always relate this power to the Catholic faith. An informant in his 20’s explained: “God always forgive us; it is not dangerous. But *alam* does not admit us. We will surely die. *Alam* does not play with us. It deprives us of our lives” (from the interview on July 8, 2015). While he identifies himself as a Catholic and mentioned the Cruz Joven, he described the power that enabled the reconciliation in Motamutin as *alam*, which is synonymous with *adat* or *kultura*.

A member of the organizing committee for the reconciliation ceremony also shared his belief in the power of *alam*. He said, “We use both Catholicism and *kultura*. Of course, we are members of the Catholic Church. But we know the much stronger power of *alam*” (from the interview on August 8, 2015).

Kelly Silva (2018, p. 228), who has researched the interface between these two religious faiths in Timor-Leste, points out the supremacy of *kultura* in certain social contexts: “...responding to the expectations of *kultura* – as expressed in the exchange of goods – is more important than a church ceremony. This is because disrespect for *kultura* raises the threat of punishment; however, disrespect for the Christian God does not.”

According to Bovensiepen, *lulik* often evokes a frightening feeling if not properly handled: “In fact, being unable to engage in appropriate reciprocal relations with *lulik* would have made *lulik* more powerful and frightening in the minds of local residents” (Bovensiepen, 2016, p. 678). Ideas about the power of *lulik* shared among Timorese people convey a binding power that must not be betrayed.

It cannot be claimed that the Cruz Joven became a symbol of two different faiths. Rather, the Cruz Joven, which originated within Catholicism, came to have a certain agency in representing the local faith.

10. However, it does not always create this kind of narrative. When I made a short trip to Lolo-toe in 2019, people gathering around the Cross did not mention it.

8. Concluding Remarks

It remains unclear how and when the Cruz Joven came to be connected with local concepts over the 25 years since its creation. The narrative of the power attached to the Cruz Joven should be analyzed in detail. However, I can provide a possible answer as to why the Cruz Joven became associated with local concepts of faith. One informant working for a Catholic organization related that the Cruz Joven and its replicas bore no Timorese-like ornaments during the Indonesian occupation. According to him, this would have been too straightforward a display of anti-Indonesian sentiment. “So,” he continued, “the *ai-kakeu* is moderate, but the best way to show Timorese-ness explicitly. It was made simply of wood.” Whether the creator of the Cruz Joven was conscious of its construction with *ai-kakeku* as a particular Timorese quality is unclear. He distinctly explained to me that the cross is not a fetish. That is why it must be made from an ordinary tree that can be found anywhere. We can suppose that the ordinary material evoked a feeling of Timorese identity against outside influences and that a common tree, present in their daily lives, opened up a space for the local faith.

The Cruz Joven is more than an emblem of the practice of piety; it embodies some aspects of the local faith, *kultura* or *adat*, and enables the juxtaposition of two faiths. The overlapping of these two different faith systems was made possible by the choice of ordinary material for its construction.

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