A tale of narrative annexation

Stories from Kisar Island (Southwest Maluku, Indonesia)

Aone van Engelenhoven and Nazarudin

Abstract[1]

This paper discusses strategies of appropriation of narrative heritage in literate and narrative histories on the island of Kisar. It shows that notwithstanding their sometimes literate characteristics, storytelling in competitive contexts still follows strategies that are typical for oral performances. This paper questions in how far literate and narrative historiographies can and ought to be separated from each other in Southwest Maluku.

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INTRODUCTION: LITERATE, ORAL, AND NARRATIVE HISTORIES

If history is an account of what happened in the past, then historiography must be the methodology of accounting for the past. The term *historiography* from the Classical Greek ιστορια 'inquiry' and γραφειν 'to write' already imposes a literate tradition on the study of history from a Western perspective. This view, which we will refer to here as "literate history", may be acceptable in many parts of insular Southeast Asia where literate traditions evolved, as for example on the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali and Sulawesi. In areas, however that lack a written tradition, as for example Southwest Maluku, historiography requires a non-written methodology.

As such, the term "oral history" seems to propose itself more or less automatically as an appropriate term to cover the oral accounts of what happened in the past. It is a generally acknowledged term for the collection of "memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews" (Ritchie 2015: 1). Oral history thus is a technique with which non-written, personal knowledge about an event in the past is captured and then is checked against the data available in written or "literate history". Otherwise said, oral histories are supposed to either directly confirm or otherwise slightly adjust "literate history". Negating "literate history", which is tangible through its written sources, is only possible through new tangible evidence, be it a new text or perhaps an archeological find (for example, Middleton 2015). The Belgian Africanist Jan Vansina (1983: 199), the grand advocate of oral tradition research for historical research, specifically warns against the equation of writing and oral traditions. The fluid characteristics of an oral account hamper the tangible reliability that is traditionally expected of a written account in a literate society.

Notwithstanding the fact that the national education system managed to reach the outermost corners of the Republic of Indonesia, Southwest Malukan communities appear to be overall oral societies in which literacy is confined to issues related to local government and the church. Historical accounts are in principle transferred orally, which makes Vansina's warning specifically applicable to Southwest Malukan traditional historiography. Historical accounts from this region, then, are basically orally transmitted stories that need to be analysed in first instance as specimens of oral tradition. Consequently, the historical value that is carried by these stories also ought to be understood within the framework of local knowledge management first, before it can be assessed from a larger perspective beyond the local framework.

Van Engelenhoven (2013) elaborates on storytelling that appears to be the same in Southwest Maluku and the adjacent subdistrict of Tutuala in the tip of the Republic of Timor-Leste. In his discussion of the storytelling setting, he in fact considers the act of storytelling – referred to here as narration – as

something different from the story itself – the narrative. In order to analyse them, Young's (2004) narrative phenomenology is used that distinguishes between a "Tale-world" that contains the narrated location and time in which the story takes place, and a "Story-realm" that contains the actual location and time of the narration itself. Its identification in either a "Tale-world" or a "Story-realm" locates the story on a gliding scale from complete profaneness to extreme sacredness. In fact, Van Engelenhoven (2010a) shows that in certain contexts the "Tale-world" and "Story-realm" can coincide.

Their oral character locates the narrations on a gliding scale from fully profane to highly sacred. The degree of sacredness or profanity determines the use of voice in a performance. Extremely profane stories – for example sexually explicit gossip - and highly sacred stories – for example explanations on origin myths - are usually told in the private space in which there is only one performer and an audience of one or a few listeners. In this space, narrations are secretive and as such tend to be whispered in order to prevent that the story is overheard by outsiders. In the public space on the other hand, profane and sacred stories are performed in a clear voice in order to ascertain that it is understood by everybody. Although the topic of the performance may determine the kind of audience that will attend, its narration lacks the secrecy of a performance in private space.

Elsewhere Van Engelenhoven (2010b: 151) explains that in the case of ritual singing in Southwest Maluku there is a "principle of continuation" that compels the performer to completely finish the text that he or she has begun to sing. A similar principle appears to apply to storytelling performances, at least in public space. A story needs to be brought to an end, even if the performer is not capable to do that or if the audience does not like the story. In the first case, the story can be continued by another performer. In the second case, the audience can let the storyteller know to adapt his story, for example by knocking on the table (Van Engelenhoven 2004: 34). Due to the principle of continuation, interruptions or even terminations of unfinished stories are highly unwanted and usually prevented by all means.[2] This creates the typical feature of Southwest Malukan societies where sacred stories can be disguised as profane ones as long as the story is told.[3] In the case that is discussed in this paper, however, there is no need to focus on narration management per se, because our data are largely written sources, rather than oral performances. Rather, we will concentrate here on the construction of the stories themselves. Notwithstanding the fact that they are written, their narrative topology appears to be the same as with oral narratives.

A basic quality of oral narratives in Southwest Maluku and the District

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[2]   The only instance Van Engelenhoven experienced a performance was obstructed was in 2006 in Chailoro village in Tutuala subdistrict (Timor-Leste), when someone in the audience considered the other attendees not to be qualified enough to hear the story. The performance was held anew later that night in Tutuala village with a selected audience.

[3]   A generally used example consultants come up with is the narration of the birth of Christ while there are Muslims in the audience. To prevent any disagreement or unwanted reaction, the story can be told quickly, without any embellishment.

of Lautém in Timor-Leste and probably in entire insular Southeast Asia is that they are concatenations of plot patterns, which Sweeney (1987) labeled "narrative chunks" in his analyses of Malay storytelling. These plot patterns are stored in the names of the people and the locations that occur in the story. This is explained in Figure 1 by the names of the protagonist in the myth of the creation of Leti Island (Van Engelenhoven 1998).
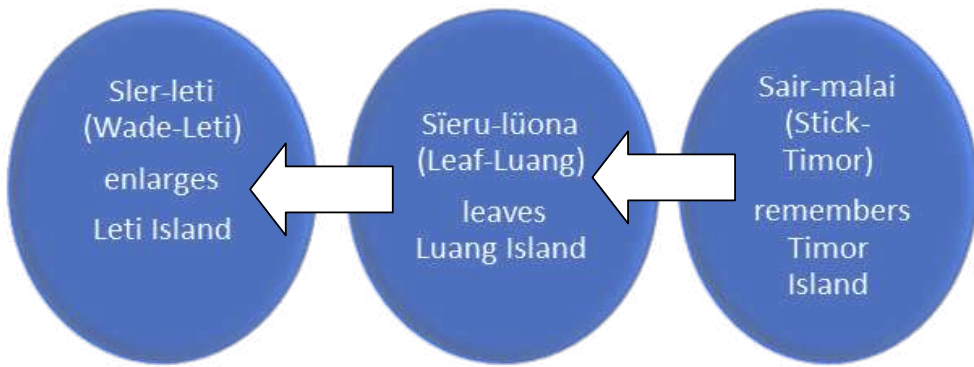
Figure 1. Anthroponyms as "narrative chunks".

Figure 1 shows that anthroponyms epitomize narrated events of the name-bearer. The protagonist in the Leti Creation story enlarges the east side of Leti Island by wading from his boat through the sea to the island, because of which he is known from then on as *Sler-leti* (Wade-Leti). Before he came to Leti Island he stayed at the island of Luang, which he had to leave for some reason. This reason is told in another story where the main character is called *Sïeru-lüona* (Leave-Luang). Before he came to Luang Island, the main character stayed on Timor. When he left this island to go on a quest he felt extremely homesick and could not stop thinking about his fatherland in Timor and the reason why he had to leave. This is why the protagonist is called *Sair-malai* (Stick-Timor) in this story. While all three stories can be told independently, the awareness that the main characters in all three stories in fact are the same person enables their linking into one chain of narrative events.

   Whereas anthroponyms epitomize heroic actions of the name-bearers, toponyms may also be epithets that describe a function of a location at a certain time. This is exemplified in Box 1 by the Meher name of Kisar Island, *Yotowawa*.

1	*Yotowawa*	'highland' (Riedel 1886: 33)
2	*Yotowawa*	'remote rocky island' (Malagina 2008)
3	*Yoto* 'Yoto domain' + *wawan* 'on'	'On Yoto' (Van Engelenhoven 2008: 319)
4	*Yoto* 'Yoto domain' + *wa-wawa* 'reduplication-carry'	'responsible domain' (Dahaklory et al. 2010: 1)
5.	*Yotowa-wa* 'sheep-reduplication'	'many sheep' (Mandala 2010 : 49)
6.	*Yotowa* 'sheep' + (*uma* 'land')	'sheep island' (Pattipeilohy 2013: 10)

Box 1. Meanings of *Yotowawa.*

The explanations in Box 1 show that toponyms behave like epithets that either describe the location itself, or – in case of number 4 – the function of the location in question. The difference between the interpretability of the anthroponyms in Figure 1 and the toponyms in Box 1 is due to the fact that the anthroponyms are obviously recognized as multimorphemic constructions whose combined meanings narrate the event executed by the referent of the name. The different interpretations of *Yotowawa*, although it factually just refers to the island of Kisar, is caused in numbers 3 through 5 by the awareness of its multimorphemic, hence multisemantic composition. Numbers 1 and 2 obviously are interpreted as single morphemes whose meanings come from external sources,[4] although specifically the broad explanation in Malagina (2008) suggests that her source at least was aware of the morphemic complexity of the name. Numbers 3 and 4 show that the interpreters consider part of the name to be a corruption of an independent morpheme, respectively the postposition *wawan* 'on' and a reduplication of the verb *wawa* 'to carry', meaning 'responsible'. Both recognize the segment *Yoto* as the name that refers to the domain of Yoto. Numbers 5 and 6 are different, in that they actually are interpretations of a Meher name in the Woirata language (see the section on linguistic apartheid). The island of Kisar is indeed referred to as *Yotowa* in the languages of Woirata and Fataluku that are spoken on Kisar and in the Lautém District (Timor-Leste), respectively. In the Woirata myth in De Josselin de Jong (1937) sheep already were described as *hihi Yotowa* 'Kisarese goats'. The consultants of Mandala (2010) and Pattipeilohy (2013) translated the word *Yotowa* itself as 'sheep', because of which Mandala's consultant had to interpret *Yotowawa* as a reduplication of *Yotowa* that denotes diversification: 'many sheep'. Pattipeilohy's consultant suggests the name to be a corruption of 'sheep' and 'land'. Box 1 shows that names in fact are landmarks with which the audience can locate the story in narrative time (Van Engelenhoven 2010a: 62).

Another feature in narrative topology are songs, or in our case, poems. Songs confirm the story's trustworthiness within the "Story-realm". Otherwise

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[4] The consistent appearance of the <h> grapheme before <k> in his Kisarese language material suggests that in Riedel (1886) the information source was a speaker from the Karanna dialect of the Meher language (Samloy et al. 1998: 11).

formulated, songs provide clues with which the audience can assess the truth value of the narration. If the performer provides the correct song that goes with the tale, the audience may consider the narration as trustworthy. Just as the clichés discussed in the names in Box 1, songs can be very obscure, due to the fact that the text is no longer understood. This has been observed several times by De Josselin de Jong (1937) during the translation of the Woirata myth that he recorded.

We understand that these songs were composed in what Van Engelenhoven (2010b) labels "Sung Language", a special register shared by all Austronesian languages in the region. This register features a lexicon of about 150 words whose homonymic character and simplified grammar enable the multi-interpretability of the texts. This is exemplified by a "Sung Language" text from Letwurung (Babar Island).

Original song text	Toolbox translation	Performer's translation
Rto reryo upa ul lire	'They watch the ancestor's language	'Remember the ancestor's order
Ke reryo ame ul kote	They see the forefather's word	Beg for the elders' advice
Am mesa no yeri waityor	Alone we kneel at the side	That we not sink in the ocean
Upo Rayo rweweke mutir	The Lord King discusses what you decide.'	And the Lord may bless us.'

Box 2. Multi-interpretability in a "Sung Language" text (Lewier and Van Engelenhoven 2013).

The left side translation was created by means of Toolbox, a computer program devised by the Summer Institute of Linguistics to gloss and analyse texts with. The right side translation was provided by the performer to Mariana Lewier. A comparison reveals that where the Toolbox program translates *Am mesa no yeri waityor* (1pl.ex alone LOC side kneel)[5] as 'Alone we kneel at the side', the performer translates the whole sentence into 'That we (may) not sink in the ocean'. Whereas this might be suggested by the way we present the text in Box 2, the performer did not give a line by line translation, but rather provided an interpretation for the text as a whole. The fact that the performer was not capable to segment the text into lines or to parse it, suggests that the text is seen as a whole unit. This connects to the interpretation of Dahoklory et al. (2010) who translate the toponym *Yotowawa* as 'responsible domain'. Their actual explanation is much more elaborate: "the domain that neither wants to embarrass nor wants to be embarrassed" (Dahoklory et al. 2010: 1). In here, *Yoto* is indeed recognized as the toponym of a domain and *wawa* as a corruption of *wa-wawa* (RED-carry)[6] 'to carry (a burden)', the burden being the domain's responsibility, probably for the welfare of the entire island.

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[5] pl = plural marker, LOC = locative marker.
[6] RED = reduplication.

Narrative artifacts are a third instrument in narrative topology. Narrative artifacts are devices or objects that play a significant role in the story, or in other words: they are theatrical properties or "props". Some narrative artifacts have names, because of which they have a double function in the narrative topology: they are a prop within one story, but at the same time their name locates the event it profiles in narrative time. This is exemplified by the golden keris *Risanpuna* that is one of the paraphernalia of the king of Kisar Island. Box 3 is a comparative frame with at the left side quotes from the story by H.N. Christiaan (2011) from the Mauko'o clan and at the right side quotes from Sahusilawane (2008) that – supposedly – were provided by a member of the Hihileli clan or one of its allies. In order to enable the equation of the narrative events in either text, the quotes have been displayed opposite to each other. Three printed dots (**…**) indicate that part of the text has been removed. Two printed arrows (➔) in a sentence indicate that there is a narrative sequence missing that is present in the oppositely printed text. See further Box 3.

Christiaan (2011)	Sahusilawane (2008: 35-39)
'The unfolding story tells that people from the Nakar Dau clan in Enitutun, named Perulu (and) Paununu, robbed East Timorese noblemen who were on that beach (Walu, AvE&N) and ran off to Kisar with their valuables, as for example gold, silver etcetera. … It is mentioned in the Kisarese Chalk Lines[7] that sounds as such: *Perulu //Paununu, nawalei // nalyara la Noho Mehi // la Yalu Here holikukunala // pakromnala ke'en paloi // wain penere*[8] which means: "Perulu (and) Paununu during their travel to Yalu Beach (= Walu Beach, AVE&N), found valuable things piled along the beach." … Among the valuable things that disappeared was a keris with a golden head, named Risampuna ➔	'One day five men from Kisar, the brothers Pakar, Norimarna and Pooroe and two people from Abusur village, Perulu and Paununu from the clan house of Enitutun or Nakar Dau, sailed to Portuguese Timor. … When they arrived on Yalu Beach (= Walu Beach, AvE&N) they met a Portuguese named Risanpuna. The Portuguese was supposed to have valuable things and one of these things was a keris of which the hilt and sheath were made of gold. Both Abusur men wanted to have the keris, because of which they had to kill Risanpuna and took the keris; the event made the five men from Kisar directly return to Kisar. … The outcome of the meeting (between the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Kisarese, AVE&N) was that Pakar had to deliver a golden piece from his clan house Hihileli Halono … to compensate the golden keris that was stolen …

[7]   The Kisarese Chalk Lines, alternatively referred to in this paper as Chalk Line Poems, are a collection of poems in Meher that epitomize historical events and explain the reign of the royal house of Hihileli. In Christiaan's (2011) account the Meher term *hini'ir ler-ne* ('chalk box line-POS') is erroneously written as *hiri'in lerne*; Yotowawa Daisuli (2013) refers to it as *Hini'in Larni*, whereas Sahusilawane (2008:41) refers to it as either "*Hiriam* or *Lerne*".

[8]   Toolbox inspired translation: 'When Perulu // Paununu cruised // sailed to Jaco Island // Walu Beach, he met // he found silver sticks // oars ashore.'

	When the Portuguese had left Kisar, the golden keris appeared to have been stolen by two people from Abusur who offered it to Pakar as a compensation for the big golden piece that was given to the Portuguese. Since then the keris of Risanpuna has been kept in the Hihileli Halono clan house … and became
→ and now it is kept among the treasury of the king of Halono in Wonreli.'	one of the symbols of government by the kings of Kisar.'

Box 3. The Risanpuna keris as a narrative artifact.

The importance of the golden keris, is that it functions as a narrative artifact with which the story of the war with the Portuguese can be told, which in the end was responsible for the arrival of the Dutch on Kisar Island. The name *Risanpuna* is obscure in itself: both stories in Box 3 reflect the perception of the community that speaks Meher. The name, however, is Fataluku rather than Meher, which is probably why both authors interpret it as the name of the owner, whereas for us the segment *puna* 'cliff' rather suggests it is a toponym. Alternatively, since its origin is supposed to be on Jawa Island (Christiaan 2011), the name can also be a Fataluku or Meher corruption of a Javanese name.

Due to its intensive contact with the colonial government during the period when Indonesia was still a Dutch colony, Kisar Island is an interesting case in which a Netherlands-oriented "literate historiography" clashes with a traditional oral historiography. The next section provides a bird's eye ethnographic view of the island. The following section contains a case study of local historiography on the arrival of the Dutch on Kisar Island. This is followed by a comparison between the narrative topological issues of the respective literate and narrative histories and a discussion of the phenomenon of narrative annexation within narrative rivalry. The following section discusses the orality–literacy paradox on Kisar Island: notwithstanding the introduction of literate history, Kisar's society still prefers traditional narrative history, albeit that it no longer needs to be transmitted orally. In the conclusion we suggest that literate and narrative historiographic traditions may be mutually supportive or explanatory rather than one tradition being superior to the other.

KISAR ISLAND: LINGUISTIC APARTHEID AND NARRATIVE EXPERIENCES

Kisar (see Map 1) is a small island of about 83 square kilometers in the regency of Southwest Maluku in the Indonesian province of Maluku. To the South it borders on the Republic of Timor-Leste. Kisar distinguishes itself from the surrounding islands both physically and ethnologically.

The island itself looks like a mountain ring in which there are smaller hills on which the people live. It has two main ports at the Western and Eastern side that are linked to the interior by means of a natural clough in the mountain ring.
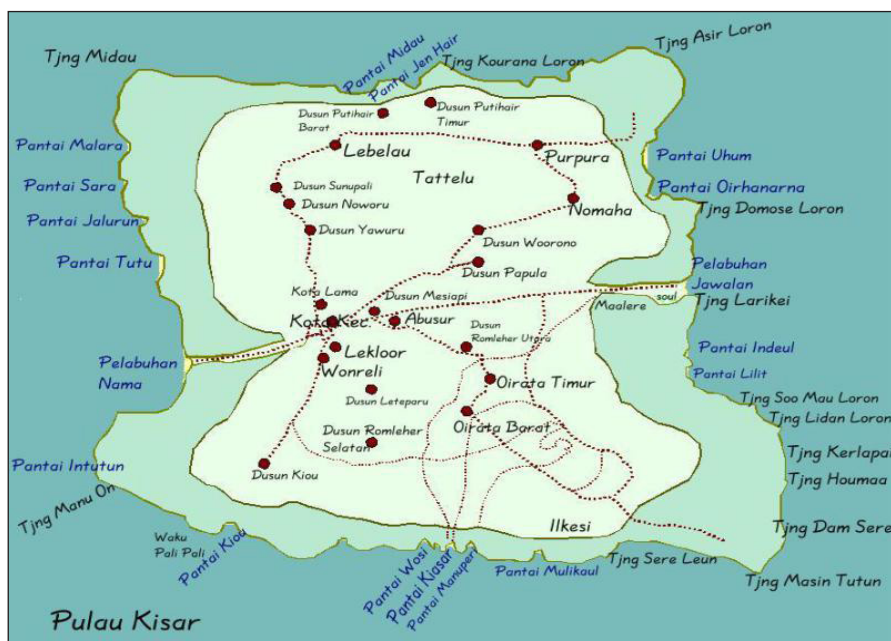
Map 1. Kisar Island. Adapted from: https://sultansinindonesieblog.wordpress. com/maluku/raja-of-kisar/1-kisar/.[9]

The population is sharply divided into two ethnolinguistic groups that mainly share the same cultural framework.[10] The majority of the islanders identify themselves as *Meher*[11]. Their language distinguishes two main dialects, *Ra'i* ('North') that is spoken in the north part of the island and *Karanna* ('South-East') that is spoken in the central and southwest parts of the island (Samloy et al. 1998: 11). It belongs to the Kisaric branch of the Kisaric-Luangic subgroup within the Timoric super group that is part of the putative Central Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Van Engelenhoven 2009). Consequently, Meher shares much of its linguistic typology and oral traditions with most languages found on the surrounding islands.

A minority of the islanders refer to themselves as *Woirata* (Nazarudin 2015). Local custom has it that this endonym derives from the exclamation *woi* 'hey' and *ratu* 'human being' and as such refers to the moment when the first newcomers met the original inhabitants of their territory and greeted each other. We suggest that this name in fact is a local adjustment of the Meher exonym *Oirata* 'brakish water', of which De Josselin de Jong (1937)[12] recorded:

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[9]   Originally from http://www.mauteri.org/de-eilanden/kisar/.
[10]   Pattipeilohy (2013) observed a few characteristics in planting and house building that are unique for the Woirata.
[11]   This word derived either directly from the Dutch word *meester* 'master', or indirectly through its derivative in Ambonese Malay *mester*.
[12]   Quotations from De Josselin de Jong's text follow the latest Woirata orthography (Nazarudin 2014) and are based on Faust's (2006) Toolbox analysis.

660. To ini umayauwele ina'a timur mudini to ma'u; aputu ini uma sere mara, ira te mahune na.	660. 'So, let us leave this land in the East and come together to the coast, for the water is bad.
661. Ina'a watdu ti na'a Wilaumali – Reilaumali tono Timur Warat me Oiriata deru.	661. From that day on Wilaumali and Reilaumali called East (= East Oirata, AvE&N) and West (= West Oirata, AvE&N) Oir-iata (water-bad).
662. Ina'a Yotowa apranin yo …Timur Warat me Oiriaka deru na.	662. Also near Yotowawa … they called and West Oiriaka[13].'

The Woirata language is a nonAustronesian or Papuan language that belongs to the East Timor subgroup of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family that is supposedly connected to the Trans New Guinea Phylum (Schapper et al. 2012). Although it rather shares its typology with the closely related Fataluku language in Lautém District in Timor-Leste, from an areal linguistics point of view the language is part of the same Sprachbund as Meher (Nazarudin 2015). This applies too to its oral genres that are comparable to the ones found in Meher and on the surrounding islands.

Families in both ethnolinguistic communities are grouped into clans that again are categorized into 4 origin groups. The clans whose ancestors came forth from the soil are generally acknowledged as the traditional land owners within the own ethnolinguistic group, but usually not in the other ethnolinguistic group. Other clans originate either from Timor Island, the Kei Islands (Southeast Maluku), or Luang Island in the centre of the Southwest Maluku Regency. Each clan contains one or more clan houses that represent the existing lineages within that clan. In Kisarese folklore a clan is usually referred to with the name of its most important clan house. In the Meher-speaking territory, clans are grouped into domains that are governed by a chief clan (*marna*) who is assisted by allied noble clans (*wuhru*). The remaining clans are the commoners (*anan*) and form the bulk of the community.[14] This system equals more or less what is known of other Austronesian-speaking communities on surrounding islands. As in many other Southwest Malukan communities, some commoner clans originate from slaves (*aka*) that were either captured during tribal wars or bought. Overall, the Meher-speaking population acknowledges Hihileli in Wonreli as the clan that provides the paramount chief over all Meher-speaking domains. This is probably why the colonial government in 1665 installed the then paramount chief Pakar from the Hihileli clan, baptized as Cornelis Bakker, as *raja* 'king' of Kisar Island (Rodenwaldt 1928: 38-39).

An exception are the inhabitants of Kotalama who are generally referred

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[13]   This is the Meher pronunciation of *Oirata*.
[14]   In contact with outsiders, inhabitants of Southwest Maluku use a slightly different system that is based on local Malay: *marna* in the meaning of 'king' (alternatively indicated with the Indonesian word *raja*), *bur* 'peasant' (from the Dutch word *boer* 'farmer') and *stam* 'common people' (from the Dutch word *stam* 'tribe').

to as *Walada* 'Dutch' and are not grouped into clans. They are considered to be descendants of sailors on a Dutch vessel which according to local history was shipwrecked at Kiasar beach in the sixteenth Century BC [*Sic*] (Wahyudi 2013). Although not specifically expressed as such, Dahoklory et al. (2010: 4) point out that this township therefore is not a traditional domain, but rather a dependency of Wonreli.

Map 2. Southwest Islands. Adapted from: https://en.wikipedia,org/wiki/Barat_Daya_Islands_en.png.

According to Riedel (1886: 400), Kisar Island lodged 25 domains that were divided over six *landschappen* or counties. In the Indonesian administration the domains were reshuffled into nine administrative units of *desa* or villages. This created an implicit friction between municipal and traditional administration in that some originally independent domains became dependencies of a *desa*, whereas other originally dependent domains became either independent *desa* or were relocated into the territory of a different *desa*. For example, the independent domain of Yawuru, which Riedel (1886: 400) records as a sacred place became a dependency of Wonreli. The county of Nohowali was split up into two separate *desa*, Purpura and Nomaha, whereas the domain of Dalusama within the county of Wonreli became the independent *desa* Kotalama.

The Woirata-speaking clans inhabit the Southeast of Kisar Island, which by Riedel (1886: 400) was acknowledged as one county Oirata with five domains: Soru, West Oirata, Lekilapa, East Oirata and Ilikesi. In the Indonesian administration these domains were reorganized into two *desa* East Oirata and West Oirata whose traditional names are Manheri and Mauhara (respectively labeled East and West in the quoted text by De Josselin de Jong above). The

conflict with the Indonesian administration here is that in fact there is no central government, but rather a council of several groups of clans (labeled *soa* in local Malay, Bartels 1994: 466) that is presided by the land-owning clan group of Hano'o.

Both ethnolinguistic communities are traditionally separated from each other through "linguistic apartheid" (Van Engelenhoven 2016). "Linguistic apartheid" separates groups based on the language they speak. In the case of Kisar Island this created two independent societies. Communication between both is either in local Malay, labeled *Melayu Tenggara Jauh* 'Far Southeast Malay', or in Indonesian (Nazarudin 2015). The origin of this "linguistic apartheid" seems to be recorded mainly in Woirata narrative history, as for example in the explanation of Mr. Johosua Serain in the film *Woirata Ma'aro* (minutes 3.15-5.30).[15]

1. *Kita punya moyang itu sudah empat pupuh di pulau Kisar, baru ketemu dengan moyang-moyang yang lain.* 2. *Lebih khusus itu ketemu dengan moyang orang Lekloor, orang Papula, baru pulau ini dibagi dua …*

'1. There were already four ancestors of us on Kisar Island, when they met with other ancestors. 2. To be specific, when they met with an ancestor of Lekloor, someone from Papula, this island was divided in two …

3. (3.46) *Kalau dalam bahasa Oirata bilang Wosi, Posi kan?*

3. (3.46) In Woirata they say Wosi, that's Posi, right?

4. *Tapi dalam dong punya bahasa dong biking akan Posi.*

4. But they make that into Posi in their language.

5. *Tapi kalau Posi itu menurut bahasa Oirata itu 'sumpah'.*

5. But Posi in Woirata means 'oath'.

6. *Batas itu, di buat batas itu dengan pakai sumpah.*

6. That boundary, he made that boundary by means of an oath.

7. *Jadi bagian barat itu dikuasai oleh orang-orang Meher.*

7. So, the West is controlled by the Meher.

8. *Nanti bagian timur ini katong orang dari Oirata yang kuasai …*

8. Then, the East, it is us from Oirata who control it …

9. (4.21) *Jadi, ketika mau terjadi sumpah bahasa ini, waktu ketemu dengan moyang Wonreli ini.*

9. (4.21) So, when this language oath was about to happen, then they met these ancestors from Wonreli.

10. *Moyang dari Wonreli dorang datang singgah dari Timor-timur.*

10. The ancestors of Wonreli came from East Timor.

11. *Dorang mau datang mendarat di sini, dorang pung perahu tenggelam di depan Kiasar situ.*

11. When they wanted to land here their boat sank in front of Kiasar beach over there.

12. *Dong mulai ini, sepakat itu untuk aduk ilmu begitu, jadi tentukan dua batu besar.*

12. When they started it, they agreed to use black magic like that, so they chose two big rocks.

15   Masnun (2013).

13. *Lalu, Wonreli kalau dia sanggup angkat dia punya, lalu banting la akan pica, berarti betul dorang yang pertama kali masuk di pulau dan dong tuan tanah.*

13. Next, if Wonreli could lift his (stone) and smash it so that it would break, it would mean they indeed were the first to enter the island and they would be the landowners.

14. *Tapi memang Oirata yang sanggup buat itu, berarti Oirata tetap tuan tanah.*

14. But if it was Oirata that was able to do that, it would mean that Oirata remained the landowner.

15. *Jadi, Wonreli dong angkat dong punya sampai mau tarbera-bera juga tidak bisa.*

15. So, the Wonreli people lifted theirs until they got red in their faces, but did not manage to do it.

16. *Baru orang Oirata angkat satu, sekali banting, dia pecah, dia pigi di tepi-tepi tumpukan itu.*

16. Only then the Oirata picked up one, smashed it in one blow, it broke up to the edges of that heap overthere.

17. *Akhirnya dong mengaku bahwa iya, dong yang pertama datang dan dong tuan tanah sudah.*

17. Finally they admitted that, yes, they had come first and were the landowners alright.

18. *Baru, ketong pung moyang bilang: mulai dari hari ini dan seterusnya itu, ketong pung bahasa, bagaimanapun dong tidak akan mengerti dan dong tidak akan ngomong ketong pung bahasa.*

18. Then our ancestors said: from this day on, our language, in whatever way, they will not understand it and they will not speak our language.

19. *Tapi dong pung bahasa tu seluk-beluk bagaimanapun, katong akan mengerti en katong bisa sanggup untuk bicara akan.*

19. But their language, how tricky it may be, we will understand it and we will be able to speak it.'

In fact, this story mixes up two separate tales. Lines 1–8 sketch the meeting between the first Woirata ancestors and the Meher-speaking ancestors of the Dadiara clan that is now located in Papula in North Kisar (Sahusilawane 2008: 26-27). L. Wedilen et al. (2004: 19-24) describe how both territories were demarcated by stones through the middle of the island. Lines 9–17 discuss the initial encounter between the Woirata ancestors and the Meher-speaking ancestors of the clan of Hihileli from where eventually the Dutch assigned a king. This is also confirmed in the myth that was recorded by De Josselin de Jong (1937: 97-98). Here, both sides hold a magical contest of smashing stones to decide who the real owner of the island is. Consecutively the island is divided in a Woirata-speaking territory and a Meher-speaking territory, which in fact is just an implementation of the agreement that the Woirata ancestors made with the Dadiara clan ancestors, who had moved out of the island for some unknown reason (L. Wedilen et al. 2004: 19-24).

From the Woirata perspective the incapability of the Meher people to understand Woirata is explained as a curse imposed on the Meher speakers by Woirata ancestors. The fact itself - not the curse - is generally acknowledged by Meher-speakers (Dahoklory et al. 2010: 81). The Woirata myth recorded by De Josselin de Jong (1937) specifically states that there was a Divine interdiction

on a marriage between the (Meher-speaking) ancestors of the Hihileli clan and the Woirata ancestors: [16]

381. … *nana so kere // lata pa'i naha Na-Ha ye araene:, lukunu // sohono i to'one he, to waye i ira wa'aleser pai le uma aun // sere aun mara le tono kere // lata ia'uati.*	'… they (the ancestors of Wonreli, AVE&N) might have married // associated (with the Woirata-people, AVE&N), but God (Mother-Father) refused it, the speech // the language was not equal, so finally they made their provisions and went to some land // some beach and married // associated (and) migrated there.'

No tale is known to us that explains the phenomenon of linguistic apartheid from the Meher point of view. The community of Meher migrants in the Netherlands rather explains it as a consequence of a taboo on the use of Woirata in company of Meher people. We therefore suggest that linguistic apartheid here is rather a result of the geographical segregation of both ethnolinguistic groups. The predictable tension that arose between both groups eventually lead to a fierce war, as witnessed by the Woirata-based text in Sahusilawane (2008) and the Meher-based text in Dahoklory et al. (2010), respectively. Because in the comparison in Box 4 text segments that narrate the same event are placed opposite to each other, the first part of the Meher square remains empty. The Woirata text opposite the empty space in the Meher square narrates a preceding war. This enables to locate the narratives of both narrations in narrative time.

Woirata account (Sahusilawane 2008: 33-34)	Meher account (Dahoklory et al. 2010: 75)
'One day cattle of the Oirata tribe came into the area controlled by the Meher tribe and finished all *patatas*[17] or *mamakili*[18] over there. This made the Meher people in Wonreli angry and they declared war to the Oirata tribe. The tribal war took place in a region called Lorlapai. The land around the battle place is still considered by both Oiratans and Meher to be sacred. It is said that the battle place had become a dry spot up till today and that no grass grows there. …	

[16]   The marriage on 21 March 1956 between a man from (Meher-speaking) Mesyapi and (Woirata-speaking) Hano'o (Oomwil 2013) shows that this interdiction does not apply to other Meher-speaking clans.

[17]   Local Malay term for sweet potato (*Ipomea batatas*).

[18]   Woirata term for sweet potato (*Ipomea babatas*).

For the second war the Oirata tribe was led by the commanders Tilwaru and Saurai, while the Meher king was assisted by his ally Poroe from the domain of Lekloor, because of which the event is called Poroe// Pakar. One day there was huge battle at Horok Mountain[19] and at that time the commanders of the Oirata tribe were killed by a gun with golden bullets. The sword Al Lo'or Tei that belonged to both commanders of the Oirata tribe was captured by the Meher allies and is kept by the families Katipana and Rupilu at the Mesyapi domain.'	'East of the mountain Opwuhur (Abusur, AvE&N), one finds Porok Mountain. This mountain appears to have its own stories that are connected to the Sweet Potato Leaves War between the Oiratans and the people from Lekloor (Heri Ho'// Lekloro) that happened around 1863. The fighting took place on top of Porok Mountain. The community will tell a lot about the war that in the end was meant to maintain the unity and the (feeling of) togetherness on Kisar by confirming that Wonreli was the one that was honored with the duty to protect and look after the entire society of Kisar. The House of Halono is the Barrier Thread for the Property Sign // The House of Halono is Pure Water for the Living Grass.'[20]

Box 4. Woirata and Meher accounts of the Porok Mountain Battle.

Both sources pay a lot of attention to the topologies of their narratives. Both situate the battle on Horok or Porok Mountain and both acknowledge that although it was between Oirata and Lekloor, in fact it was a war between the domain of Wo'orili[21] and Oirata. Interestingly, Dahoklory et al. (2010) identify the Porok Moutain Battle with the Tuber Leaves War that the Woirata source locates earlier in time and in a different place (on Lorlapai Mountain). In fact, the Indonesian term *Perang Daun Ubi* or 'Tuber Leaves War' does not represent a single battle, but rather a series of battles that are triggered by the same incentive: Woirata cattle grazing on Meher territory and eating the crops there.[22]

The Woirata account provides the names of all the leading participants: on the Woirata side the warlords Teluaku and Sa'urai from the Ira clan group,[23] on the Meher side Pakar and Pooroe from the clans of Hihileli and Halono, respectively. The Meher story on the other hand contains a song that confirms the supremacy of the Halono clan and as such supports the thesis

[19]   *Horok* is the Woirata pronuntiation of Porok in Meher.
[20]   *Rom Halono penia Nordu'uleni la' Hewereni // Rom Halono penia Oir Mou-mou la' Penek Monor-noreni.*
[21]   Referred to in Indonesian as Wonreli.
[22]   Rodenwaldt (1928: 40) refers to a report by Jakobsen (1896: 120-121) on a battle between Wonreli and Oirata. This one was reported to have taken place in 1887.
[23]   Sahusilawane probably used written material for her account. We suppose that *Tilwaru* and *Saurai* are corruptions or poorly transcribed versions of Tilwaku (L. Wedilen et al. 2004: 71) or Teluaku and Sa'urai that have been identified as names from the Ira clan group (De Josselin de Jong 1937: 59-60, 64).

of Dahoklory et al. (2010) that the battle was actually a strategy to secure the mandate of Wonreli. The Woirata story also provides the name of an important narrative artifact, the Sacred War Sword (Woirata: *Āl Wo'or Tei*) that is kept by descendants of the warlords from the families Katipana and Rupilu in Mesyapi.

There is an addition to the Woirata text in Box 4 by the Irara clan group (L. Wedilen et al. 2004: 71-72) quoted below in Box 5. The inner box contains a song and has the same display as Box 2: the left side contains the original text, the central text is a Toolbox inspired translation and the right side text is the translation of the authors.

'The murder of the Portuguese on Walu beach by Olkasa and Laudiun became known by the Portuguese outside that region. … After the Portuguese attack on Kisar Island a poem was composed that confirmed that Olkasa and Laudiun attacked the Portuguese at Walu Beach and snatched the Puna keris of the Portuguese.The poem sounds (like this):

| *"Keris Puna Maha Naryei Kekeki Daisuli Loi Lor."* | *"The Golden Keris Puna Stolen Almost sets Kisar Adrift."* | *"Because of the Golden Keris Puna Kisar Almost Sank."* |

… Once upon a time there was a war between Tilwaku and Saurai, the cousins of Olkasa and Laudiun and the Wonreli people (Meher people). This war is called the War for the Restoration of Self-Respect, alternatively called the War of *Resmukata Maukailele*.[24] This war claimed a lot of victims at the side of the Wonreli people. During the conciliation process between the Wonreli people and the Woirata people that was sponsored by the Irara (Ira) family, a claim came up from the Wonreli people to compensate their very many losses. The Irara (Ira) family member who sponsored the conciliation process and complied with the claim was Alada, who descended from Olkasa and Laudiun. He handed over treasures in the form of gold and royal jewelry to which the Puna keris was added. The gold in the end came into the hands of the house of Halono, because the peace negotiations were done through the Manumere family that appeared to be the main assistant of the house of Halono.'

Box 5. The Risanpuna keris as war compensation in the battle of Porok.

In other words, the Woirata addition in Box 5 challenges the Meher statement in Box 4 that it were Meher people who were involved in the murder and ransacking at Walu beach in East Timor. Rather, it were people from the Woirata-speaking Ira clan group who committed that. Interestingly, the song that supports this interpretation is in the Kisarese variant of the "Sung Language", which is evidenced by the typical Meher words *kekeki* 'almost' and *Daisuli*, which is the parallel lexical name for Kisar Island.

This confirms Sweeney's (1987) thesis that a narrative is a combination of "narrative chunks" or fixed storylines that can be combined differently in each narration. Figure 2 displays the assessments from the Woirata and Meher perspectives of the narrative of the Golden Keris.

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[24]   More precise *Resi Mumukata Ma'u Kailese* ('Vanquish Dirt Come Throw') 'The War to Cast off Foul'.
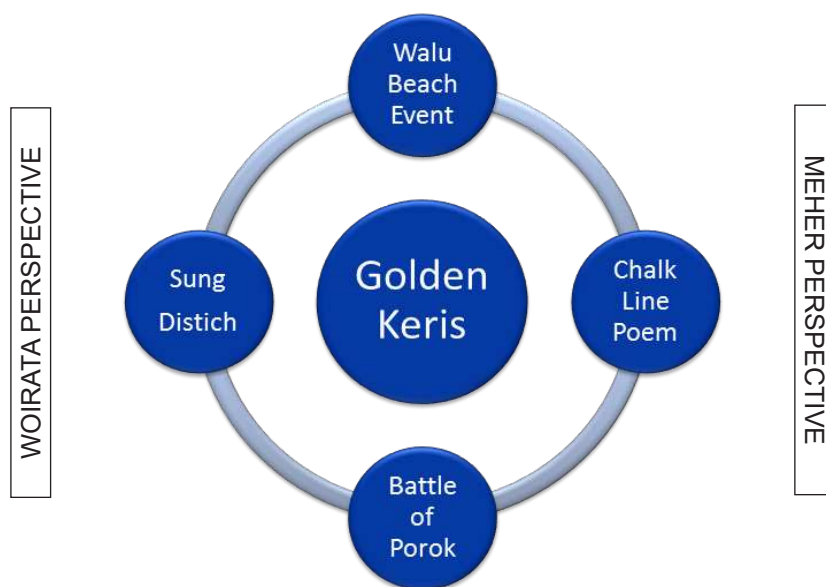
Figure 2. Poetry as clues for narrative truth.

Both Woirata and Meher link the origin of the golden keris to the same event on Walu Beach in Timor-Leste. Both sides acknowledge that in the end this specific event caused the Portuguese punitive expedition on Kisar and the installation of the clan of Hihileli as the king of Kisar by the Dutch. From the Woirata point of view, the Walu Beach event was a raid executed by two Woirata men, Olkasa and Laudiun, from the Ira clan group (see Box 5). This is supported by the distich in Sung Language. Interestingly, Christiaan (2011) in a way supports this view, but explains that Meher society through the Chalk Line Poem prefers to interpret the Walu Beach event rather as an accidental find by two other men Perulu and Painulu from the (Meher-speaking) Nakar Dau clan. Both sides also acknowledge the Battle of Porok. Only the Woirata specify that the golden keris appears as one of the treasures paid by the Woirata people as a war compensation to the clan of Halono in Lekloor, the twin clan of Hihileli in Wonreli. The Meher poem in Box 5 depicts the battle rather as a strategy to strengthen the position of the Halono clan in local island politics. Since the required clues – names, songs or poems and narrative artifacts – surface in the topology of either story, both sides will therefore principally accept each other's variant. Each party, of course, will highlight its own perspective, implying the demotion of the other party's interpretation where possible.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH

The Dutch had a huge impact on both the literate and narrative history of Kisar Island. The oldest record of an oral narrative on the arrival of the Dutch is by De Josselin de Jong (1937) at the end of the Woirata myth he compiled. In the quotation below // connects two members of a lexical pair.

827. *Kupnin*[25] *tono Na // Ha*[26] *nou // nakun nanederemu le ma'u amuli // ayala le ma'u mata lolonana // solot lolonana aun nahalse // nakane he, ha Uaraha // Lauara nahalse // nakane.*

827. 'Concerning the Company then, the captain remembered its agreement // a promise and came to make it permanent // everlasting and did not anchor // moor in the right harbor // in the right bay, but anchored // moored in Uahara // Lauara.

828. *Ka tono houte le mara kapal yamoi.* 829. *Na // Ha Horsaire o'o wayan Mutasair kasaru to kapal yamoi.* 830. *Horsair sohon nahama'I, wayan Mutasair ta sohon naware le lukun me pan-panne.*

828. Then the oldest brother descended and climbed on board. 829. The captain ordered Horsair and his brother-in-law Mutasair to climb on board. 830. Horsair was ignorant about the language, but (his) brother-in-law Mutasair did know the language and mediated.

831. *No'o.* 832. *Ka punuwa'in // punmodasen me luku, tono a lodon // sair me Horsair ina, sorot umayauele me ina, tetu emete le le mara …*

831. The younger sibling. 832.The older sibling[27] spoke by means of all his belongings // all his property, so they gave Horsair a rattan cane // a flag, gave (him) a book and then he (= Horsair, AVE&N) descended (from the boat) and went home. …

835. *Tetu nohe uma ara ratu e'en apu kapal yamoi le Mutasair o'opa'a uste, tetu tian karhou-uru me jai-taipulu pain aun me ina, tetu houte.* 836. *Una'a war halse // hakane pe'e Na //Ha kira-kira mata mahune.* 837. *Tetu soroke le mara mata // solot anaye, tono Nama Luli // Nama Here nahalse // hakane.*

835. Then, early next day when it became light both men climbed on board and asked Mutasair's share and they gave him a rattan cane with a knob made of buffalo horn, and then they descended. 836. The captain thought that the anchoring // mooring spot was a bad harbor. 837. So they left and looked for a harbor // a bay and then they anchored // moored in Nama Luli // Nama Here (= Nama Beach, AVE&N).'

The basic message that the Dutch landed first at the South coast of Kisar Island is generally acknowledged in both Kisarese oral tradition and Dutch written historiography. Box 6 compares three written accounts on this event from a Woirata, a Dutch and a Meher source.

[25] The term *kupnin* in De Josselin de Jong's (1937) text is a Woirata corruption of the local Malay *kompeni*, which refers to the United East Indian Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Company, VOC).

[26] The Woirata lexical pair *Na // Ha* ('Mother // Father') refers to a leader, which in this context is the captain.

[27] Lines 831 and 832 are a repair construction in which the inadvertently introduced younger brother (= Mutasair, AVE&N) is replaced by the older brother (= Horsair, AVE&N).

Woirata account	Dutch account	Meher account
'… in 1665 a Dutch trade ship … anchored at Uahara // Lauara, close to Kiahar Beach. …	'It is probably just a tale that has been made up later in which the Dutch had landed first at the South coast in the small cove near Oirata. →	'In 1664 a Dutch ship emerged at the Kiasar –Nama Beach. →
When on this beach they met with family of the land owners, that is: Horsair (and) Mutasair, Jan Blime[28] used sign language and pointed at the soil with his cane, meaning that he wanted to ask for the name of this island, but the family of the land owners thought he asked for the name of the beach, so Horsair (and) Mutasair said "*Kiahar*" and as he listened Jan Blime understood "*Kisar*". Since then the name Kisar is used to mention the island of Yotowawa // Daisuli. … At Kiasar Beach[29] there is also an inscription with old writing that was chiseled by the Dutch when they arrived in 1665.' (O. Wedilen 2014.)	→ We could ascertain that the stone with inscription that the Dutch supposedly placed there was just a rock in the coral conglomerate that was strangely gnawed by the waves of the surf whose grooves and edges with some imagination one might interpret as letters.' (Rodenwaldt 1928: 19.)	
		→ The place that was visited became for always the area for Dutch VOC ships to anchor. The Dutch then piled flat stones into a construction that looks like a pyramid of which they say its goal was to enable ships at sea to come and anchor near the beach. …' (Sahusilawane 2008: 38.)

Box 6. Woirata, Dutch and Meher accounts on the arrival of the Dutch compared.

The first striking feature of the Woirata text is the mentioning of the year 1665. The Meher text rather mentions 1664, whereas Rodenwaldt (1928: 18-19) does

[28]   In all consulted texts the captain of the ship is referred to as Jan Blime. This is a typographic error in Rodenwaldt (1928: 19) for *Jan Blinne*. There appears to be no Dutch family name Blime.

[29]   *Kiasar* is the Meher name for Kiahar Beach.

not mention any year. Rather he interprets the Woirata story as a made-up tale, probably after the Dutch and the chief of Wo'orili signed their first treaty in 1665.

The Dutch inscription at the east side cliff at Kiasar Beach is rather dismissed by Rodenwaldt as an accidental feature. Whereas De Josselin de Jong's Woirata text above specifically explains that the Dutch vessel arrived first on Kiasar Beach and then sailed on to Nama Beach, the Meher source of Sahusilawane (2008) combines both names into one. As such it suggests in a way that Kiasar and Nama are - lexically paired? - names for the same beach at the West Coast (in Meher-speaking territory). The Woirata narrative artifact of the Dutch inscription is overridden altogether by another narrative artifact, the pyramid near Nama Beach (on Cape Madalahar), which the Dutch built in order to assist the VOC ships to anchor at Nama Beach. The Malukan Tourist Service (2015),[30] however, points out that this construction was built in 1774 by a German professor V. Fechler.

The Woirata text in Box 8 attempts to complete its narrative topology by providing the names of the protagonists, Jan Blime, the captain of the Dutch vessel and Horsair and Mutasair, two Woirata men with whom the Dutch captain talked at Kiasar Beach. Although quoted in Box 6 above, he also mentions the name of the Dutch vessel Loenen. The sheer mentioning of the names of the captain and the ship proves that O. Wedilen (2014) had access to Rodenwaldt (1928) who erroneously copied this name as Jan Blime instead of Jan Blinne.[31] Elsewhere the author acknowledges that he received this information from the "Dutch"[32] anthropologist Dieter Bartels when he visited Oirata on 9 July 2004.

It is possible that O. Wedilen quoted the names of Horsair and Mutasair from De Josselin de Jong (1937) whose text is now available in Oirata. However, as can be seen above, this text does not mention the name of the Dutch captain anywhere. Alternatively he may have heard these names from storytellers from the Hano'o clan group to whom the De Josselin de Jong's text belongs, which O. Wedilen as a local inhabitant of West Oirata should have easy access to. We hypothesize that what happened is that O. Wedilen (2011) combined both the Dutch account that he received through Dieter Bartels and the local Woirata account into a new story. Since Rodenwaldt (1928) places Jan Blime in 1665, O. Wedilen (2014) also locates the first arrival of the Dutch in 1665, whereas the Meher account sets the arrival in 1664.

Although not mentioned in the quoted text in Box 6, O. Wedilen (2014) does mention the gifts of the Dutch captain to Horsair and Mutasair. The book in De Josselin de Jong's (1937) text, however, appears to be a Bible according to O. Wedilen (2014). Two other Woirata authors, Haisoo and Ratusehaka (2015),

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[30]   In full: Dinas Parawisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif Provinsi Maluku 'The Tourist and Creative Economy Service of Maluku Province'.

[31]   See footnote 28.

[32]   In fact, Dieter Bartels is a German producer of ethnographic films who is stationed in Clarkdale, Arizona, USA and used to be a professor of anthropology at Yavapai College in Clarkdale.

report that local oral tradition has it that there were actually two flags and that the domains Manheri (= East Oirata) and Mauhara (= West Oirata) each hid a rattan cane and a flag, whereas the Bible was placed in a copper casket and then buried in Manheri. According to O. Wedilen (2014), an archeological team that excavated the book revealed that it was a Bible written in Dutch and donated by Jan Blime.

The Dutch presence on Kisar Island in the seventeenth century AD is closely connected to the royal Bakker family in Wonreli and as such linked to Meher people rather than to the Woirata population. Box 7 displays two Meher accounts, a Woirata account and a Dutch account.

Woirata account	Meher account 1	Meher account 2	Dutch account
'Before the match the Irara people did a suggestion to Lakadoli (the war chief of Nomaha, AvE&N). Both sides should jump as high as possible at where they were standing. The side whose jumps would sound would win and the side whose jumps would not sound would lose. Both sides agreed on the proposal. … Each time the Irara people jumped the same sound was heard that Lakadoli, the Nomaha leaders and community in Nunkoli had heard at night.	'They (Nomaha and Abusur) were enemies because the ancestor of Lekloor – Maupehi (Mauradi-Romdawa) had helped Yoto to fight against Reitaubun[33] -Lailupun so that they were driven away from their places that were all on Yoto and moved to Nomaha were they are settled now.' (Christiaan 2011.)	'At that time there was a war raging between people from Wonreli-Yoto and Nomaha-Lekerau. The people from Wonreli-Yoto asked help from Sai Mermere who summoned Tilukai to help. Tilukai flung his sacred spear that flew four kilometers and hit the private parts of a female enemy who was weaving. As such the Nomaha people surrendered unconditionally. As a result Sai Mermere was acknowledged as king and installed in Abusur-Lewerau.' (Parera 1994: 63.)	'Utanmeru, the head of Wo'orili, requested his help against Nohowali and after a friendship pact was made and they had drunk each other's blood, Kikilailai was made equal in rank and prestige to Utanmere. After having defeated Nohowali,[34] Kikilailai founded the domain of Pipideli.' (Riedel 1886: 401.)

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[33]   Since we have never heard the name Reitaubun before, we hypothesize that it is typographical error for the Keiese name Retraubun.

[34]   = Nomaha.

But the jumps of war chief Lakadoli did not sound at all, except for the sound of trampling. War chief Lakadoli acknowledged he lost the match. Therefore all leaders of Nomaha, the war chief Lakadoli and all Nomaha people had to leave Nunkoli. Then they moved and stayed on Lekerau mountain north of the Yoto Yaun mountain area.' (L. Wedilen et al. 2004: 59-62.)			

Box 7. The fall of Nomaha in Kisarese and Dutch historiography.

All four accounts narrate the fall of the Nomaha domain in Kisarese narrative history. No account is known to us that elaborates on the Nomaha perspective. Dahoklory et al. (2010: 2) suggest that both the communities of Yoto and Rau[35] in fact were descendants of the extended family that once dwelled on Yoto Mountain and that it was the need to protect the good name of two children from Yoto that lead to an everlasting feud between both domains.

The Dutch account in Riedel (1886) retells the event of the blood brotherhood between the chiefs of the domains of Wo'orili and Abusur and the equalization of their social classes. The mentioning of Utanmere, the name of the then chief of Wo'orili and an ancestor of the present king of Kisar Island, suggests that the Dutch account originates from the leading Hihileli clan in the Wonreli domain. The story's protagonist, however, is Kikilailai, the founding ancestor of the Romdawa clan.

The Meher 2 account in Parera (1994) is a concise reproduction of an oral account by Mr. W. Frans in the 1970-ies. He was a descendant of one of the protagonists in the story, Tilukai, and as such affiliated to the leading Romdawa clan in the domain of Abusur. The different names in both accounts may suggest from a Western point of view that either both stories refer to different evens – since the protagonists have different names – or that one of the stories is historically incorrect. From a local point of view both are

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[35] *Lek Yoto* and *Lek Rau* in their terminology.

considered equally correct. The fact that the storyteller of the Meher account 2 is a descendant of one of the protagonists in this specific story and a member of the clan to which the main character belongs gave him the right to mention the correct name in this specific "narrative chunk": Sai Mermere. The source of the Dutch account, however, who was not a member of the clan, could only indirectly refer to the main character by using the name of the clan's ancestor: Kikilailai.[36]

The Meher 1 account does not mention any names, because its storyteller, Mr. H.N. Christiaan, is a member of the Mauko'o clan in the Kiou domain that is an ally of the Hihileli clan. Rather he hints at the protagonist by mentioning the names of the clans from which the latter came forth: Mauradi in the Lekloor domain and Romdawa in the Abusur domain.

From a narratological point of view, the event discussed in the Woirata account precedes the events in the other three accounts. It tells how the (Meher-speaking) Nomaha people had to leave their initial domain Nunkoli after having lost a contest with the (Woirata-speaking) Irara clan group and moved into the territory of the Yoto domain, the home domain of the Hihileli clan. In other words: the Nomaha people, who were seen as unwanted immigrants by the rulers of the original Oirata domain, now became unintentionally intruders in the Hihileli realm and eventually a danger to the power stability in the Yoto domain. This led to the traditional enmity between the successor of Yoto, Wonreli, and Nomaha and foreshadowed the latter's support to the Portuguese raiders discussed in Box 6 above. The Woirata account is a typical outsider rendition: it mentions the antagonist, Lakadoli, but does not relate to any clan, nor does it provide the names of the ancestors and leaders of the Nomaha people.

Riedel (1886: 402) points at the fact that Kisar Island was located in between the power zones of Portugal and the VOC. He quotes an unspecified Dutch source that states that in fact it was the raid on the islands of Kisar and Romang by the naval forces of the Sultan of Tidore in 1643 that was the incentive for the local chiefs "to enter into a contract signed in 1665 with the Honorable Company that had allowed them for years to perform generous acts". Both Rodenwaldt and Riedel point out that these "generous acts" referred to the traditional slave and spice trade of Kisar islanders with the surrounding islands. This contract, then, became a narrative artifact for the Pakar lineage within the Hihileli clan that evidences its installment as kings of Kisar Island by the VOC.

Box 6 showed the competition between both ethnolinguistic groups on the first contact with the Dutch. In fact within the Meher-speaking community there is also disagreement on how the bond between the VOC administration and the Yoto domain began. Box 8 compares two Meher accounts of two allied domains, Wonreli and Abusur.

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[36]   On the next page, Parera (1994: 64) quotes another source, Mr. Salmun Woulele who also acknowledged being from the Romdawa clan. He lists Kikilai (Kikilailai in the Dutch account) and Tilukai as two of four ancestral brothers who migrated together from Timor Island to Kisar Island.

Wonreli account	Abusur account
	'About the arrival of the Dutch to the Southwestern islands, Maluku, a notable in Kisarese society, S.D. Mozes elaborates from different types of information that he collected. It is said that before the Dutch came to Kisar a Kisarese ancestor, Perlakuloho, took his younger sibling to Belagar on Pantar, Alor. However, during the trip back to Kisar Island, precisely between the islands of Kisar and Wetar, Perlakuloho met with a boat with apparently a Dutch man on board named Jan de Klein. It had trouble to continue its journey because of water shortage. So, Perlakuloho helped the Dutch man and invited him to Kisar, hoping that the Dutch in the ship would help them in the event there would be an attack by the Portuguese. … →
'Parallel to that event (the Portuguese raid, AvE&N), Pakar, Norimarna and Poroe brought their mother who was called Lokomau to an area that they considered safe: Rekilapa and then they went to Leti island. … Norimarna and Poroe stayed on Leti, but Pakar sailed to Damar Island to find help from the Dutch Company. On Damar he met all chiefs or nobles … All nobles on Damar Island agreed to help Pakar and they summoned Terry Dawarkay to sail along with Pakar to Bandaneira Island in order to meet the Dutch Company …	
For its part, the Dutch Company conceded in Pakar's request and sent its war fleet under the command of Mister Jan de Leeuw along together with Pakar. … After having done a survey to some places, the place to settle for the VOC appeared to be at *Wooluha.*[37] A friendship	→ The Dutch captain Jan de Klein accepted the invitation. In the following development the Dutch flag flew on Kisar island, which made the Portuguese want to attack Kisar Island. →

[37] We have not been able to find this location and suspect the name is misread handwritten script for Wonreli.

treaty was made between the VOC and the people on Kisar Island. Pakar represented the Kisarese society while Jan de Leeuw acted in the name of the East India Company VOC. As a symbol of the friendship treaty between both peoples they made a testimony called *Yosi* or *Au kereh*[38] by planting a banyan that was given the name *Beringin Yambelein*.[39] … During the arrival of the Dutch …, Pakar, who was helped by Marou (an ally of Pakar) from the clan house of Romdawa in Abusur, urged the Kisarese to open up the area in the South and founded a new settlement … that was given the name *Wo'orili* … In the traditional speech … it says: The domain of Dimata // Dalusama The domain of Wo'orili // the village of Sokolai The island's north side // the island's south side assemble Kisar 's // gather Kisar's Kisar's royalty here // its nobility here its peasants here // its artisans here[40] Since then on July 11th, 1665 the administrative center Wo'orili // Sokolai was born that generally is called Wonreli.' (Sahusilawane 2008: 40-41.)	→ Finally, the passengers on that ship stayed on Kisar Island (Mestizos) and in fact Jan de Klein married a Kisarese woman. The Dutch built first Delftshaven Town in *Kotalama*[41] and Vollenhoven Town on Nama Beach. This is evidenced by the remains of two forts in these two towns.' (Joesef 2012.)

Box 8. Two conflicting Meher accounts on the arrival of the Dutch.

Sahusilawane (2008: 43) informs that her information is taken from the Royal family's written historiography called *Buku Tembaga* 'the Copper Book' by the fifth king of Kisar Island, Hairmere Philippus Bakker (1769-1782). Joesef's (2012) account is based on information from Mr. S.D. Mozes who according to our information originates from Abusur. Both accounts mention a different name for the Dutch captain. The Abusur account suggests that either Joesef (2012) or S.D. Mozes had access to Rodenwaldt (1928: 19-20) who reproduced

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[38]   Meher: 'hard wood' = 'mark'.
[39]   Elsewhere Sahusilawane (2008:37) explains that *Yambelein* is a Kisarese corruption of *Jan de Leeuw. Beringin Yambelein* therefore means 'Jan de Leeuw's banyan'.
[40]   Original text Lines: *Leke Dimata // Dalusama, Leke Wo'orili // Ruhun Sokolai, Noho Wali Ra'i // Noho Wali Kranna, Rodi Kuti Yotowawa // Rodi Kawu Yotowawa, Yotowawa maru aka eni-eni // po'or keneu eni-eni, weke au eni-eni // dani supa eni-eni.*
[41]   Local Malay for 'the old city'.

the name of the Dutch captain as either Jan Blime[42] or Klein. The Wonreli account reproduces his name rather as Jan de Leeuw.[43] Interestingly, the Abusur account is partly confirmed in Riedel's (1886: 402) report that was published 126 years before Joesef's report:

> The head of Wo'orili, Loimuluwere, went to Alor or Ombaai to seek help (against the Portuguese, AVE&N), and met a Dutch vessel near Pulau Kambing[44] that had a certain Jan Beleon on board to whom he married his daughter Sonopau.[45] In 1665 after he signed a contract with the Dutch he united his people on Kaisama Mountain and built the fortification or Barricade Dalusama, Delftshaven. (Riedel 1886: 402)

However, the Dutch account reports it was Loimuluwere who met the Dutch captain at sea, whereas the Abusur account mentions another name: Perlakuloho. Where the Abusur account refers to the Dutch captain as Jan de Klein, reminiscent to Rodenwaldt's (1928: 19-20) suggestion of "Jan Blime (Klein?)", Riedel (1886) mentions Jan Beleon, whereas the Wonreli account insists it was Jan de Leeuw. A quick search at the Internet reveals that Beleon is a Greek rather than a Dutch name. The captain's first name, Jan, can definitely be recognized as Dutch. This suggests that Riedel copied this name erroneously from a written source – of which we suspect it was the "Copper Book" - and that it actually should have been Jan De Leeuw in which the initial <D> was interpreted as <B> and the final part <eeuw> as <eon>.

Notwithstanding the fact that the same Dutch captain seems to occur in both the Wonreli and Dutch accounts, its accidental meeting at sea with a Kisarese sailor appears to be absent in the Wonreli account. The latter account rather reports that Jan de Leeuw was sent to Kisar Island by the VOC administration on Bandaneira Island. Joesef's (2012) formulation at the bottom of Box 8 can give the suggestion that Jan de Klein first settled on Kisar Island and then married with a local woman. The Dutch account, however, explicitly links the meeting at sea event to the marriage event and gives the name of the woman: Sonopau. About her there is a Chalk Line Poem, reproduced below in Box 9.

Original song text	Toolbox inspired translation	Performer's translation
Marou wakanala nisa wor-woro *Opa Sonopau nodi muhiala*	'Marou combined silver jewelry Lady Sonopau brought shiny beads'[46]	'Marou married his sister to a Dutch, Sonopau's bond is good with them'

Box 9. Chalk Line Poem on Sonopau's marriage.

[42]   See footnote 28.
[43]   Sahusilawane (2008) writes this name as Jan de Leuw or Yan de Leuw.
[44]   The former Malay name for Ataúru Island.
[45]   Riedel (1886: 402) transcribes this name erroneously as Sonopan.
[46]   The term *muhiala* in Meher Sung Language refers to *mutisalah* beads.

According to its performer this song describes Sonopau as a sister of Marou, the chief of the Abusur domain who was a contemporary of the first king of Kisar. At the end of his report Yotowawa Daisuli (2013) explains that the first king of Kisar – Pakar – went undercover during his childhood due to an expected revolt by nobles against his candidacy for the chieftaincy. Loimuluwere was a son of Marou who joined Pakar as a playmate in the latter's secret hideaway in Pupoulomo.

Otherwise formulated, the source for the Dutch accounts in boxes 7 and 8 probably was either someone from the Abusur domain or even a member of the Romdawa clan who edited the narrative chunks of the Fall of Nomaha and the Arrival of the Dutch in such a way that they became narratives of Abusur rather than of Wonreli.[47] This is further elaborated and analysed in the next section.

ANNEXATION OF NARRATIVE HISTORY: THE APPROPRIATION OF CHRONOTOPES

The two sections above described the cultural tensions between both ethnolinguistic groups on Kisar Island. Each group acknowledges one clan that descended from the first ancestor living on Kisar Island, from which fact it derives its leading position in society as owner of the land. In the Woirata-speaking community the owner of the land is represented by the clan house of Sorulewen in the Hano'o clan group in East Oirata. In the Meher-speaking community the owner of the land is represented by the clan house of Hihileli in the Wonreli domain.

Soewarsono (2013a: 15) explains that both Woirata-speaking domains are traditionally managed by a council of five members that is metaphorically described as a boat in which each member has his specific task. The land-owning Sorulewen clan from the Hano'o clan group occupies one of the master chairs, the other one being occupied by the Ho'oren clan from the Asatupu clan group. The helmsman chair is taken by the So'o clan that also belongs to the Hano'o clan group. The chair for the one who holds the hand bailer is also assigned to the Ho'oren clan from the Asatupu clan group, whereas the final chair for the pilot is taken by the Resiara clan from the A'udoro clan group. The Woirata system may seem to deviate from the one described for the Wonreli domain. In fact the latter's traditional management system appears to be comparable. Yotowawa Daisuli (2013) describes that initially the Yoto domain that preceded the present-day Wonreli domain was managed by a council of nine clans. It was presided by the house of Romili of the Hihileli clan. Whereas the Woirata council uses the boat metaphor as known in several other Southwest Malukan societies (De Jonge and Van Dijk 1995: 32-47), the Yoto council rather uses the metaphor of a conference room: the *Nakar Wawan* 'Upper House'. Beside the mentioned nine clans, Yotowawa Daisuli also

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[47]   This finding confirms the suggestion made in footnote 3 that a Karanna dialect speaker was the source for the account in Riedel (1886): Abusur domain is located within the Karanna dialect region.

mentions six other clan houses that were also represented during the council meetings but did not have a vote.

Except for a few differences in house building (Pattipeilohy 2013), we consider the Woirata-speaking and Meher-speaking groups to share the same tangible culture. Notwithstanding the fact that their languages belong to different language families altogether, their intangible culture – songs and storytelling – also appears to be similar. The social compositions of either language community, however, are apparently different. Where the Meher-speaking community has a ratio of one chief clan and three servant clans to twenty noble clans (Rodenwaldt 1928: 20), the Woirata-speaking community rather has a ratio of eleven noble clans and eleven servant clans to nine chief clans (Soewarsono 2013a: 13-14). In our view this imbalance suggests that the non-Austronesian Woirata system cannot be well explained by means of Austronesian terminology, whether this is Meher or local Malay.

The confined space these two language communities have to live in more or less automatically implies their traditional competition, as was exemplified by the accounts on the Porok Mountain Battle in Box 4. To claim land ownership, the primogeniture of the own first ancestor needs to be secured in narrative history and at the same time the primogeniture of the rival's first ancestor needs to be obelized. This is exemplified in Box 10.

Woirata account	Meher account
	'The head of the Yoto domain (= Delipai, AvE&N) is from the clan Hihileli whose clan house is called Romo Ili and he is also the Lord of the Land of Kisar Island, because before any of the other families came from the surrounding islands, he was already there; history states that Hihileli emerged from the sea together with the island of Kisar as has been sketched in (the Chalk Lines):
	When Yotowawa dried up // when Yotowawa surfaced It dried up with // it surfaced with A single tie // a single headdress A child of waves // a child of billows Cherished by waves // Fostered by billows'. (Yotowawa Daisuli 2013.)
'When Lewenmali and Asamali were checking (the area, AvE&N) they met Delipai on Kiahar Beach. (The people of) Delipai came ashore without clothing covering them. Some questioning over and forth took place between Lewenmali, Asamali and Delipai. Both sides kept just was new at that place, because they saw	

his[48] boat that had sunk at dusk. Lewenmali and Asamali invited Delipai to do a power contest. The one who would win would become the owner of Yotowa island. … They went to Kuku Mou-mour … and tested their powers there. On that clean plain each party had to lift a big stone and then throw it down fiercefully until it broke. … It turned out that the stone thrown by Lewenmali and Asamali broke … but the stone of Delipai did not break.' (Kamanasa 2001.)	

Box 10. The controversy of the Yoto primogeniture.

The Woirata account in Box 10 challenges the indigenousness of Delipai, the first ancestor of the Meher Hihileli clan. Whereas the Hihileli clan provides a poem to prove the authenticity of their claim, the Woirata have the stone of Delipai on the plain of Kuku Mou-mour as a narrative artifact of their story. Jacob Abel (1997) elaborates in his thesis that the Woirata speech community in fact has alliances with each of the traditional Meher domains. This is confirmed in the narrations in De Josselin de Jong (1937), Kamanasa (2001), L. Wedilen et al. (2004) and others that independently report about the bond or the obligation that the founding ancestors of Wonreli, Yawuru, Papula and Nomaha have to either the founding ancestors of the Oirata domains themselves or to one of their clan allies in their territory. In a personal communication in 1996 Filomeno Jacob Abel explained that each alliance between the Woirata domains and an individual Meher domain was concealed by that specific domain from its fellow Meher domains. As a consequence of that this knowledge may be known to Woirata storytellers, but no longer to the general Meher-speaking audience.

The example of the Yoto primogeniture controversy in Box 10 shows that it is indeed the primogeniture that is challenged, not the chronotope or narrative unit in time and space (Lawson 2011) of the meeting of the founding ancestors at Kiasar Beach. The setup of this box and the other ones in the previous sections enables the reader to perceive the chronotope's narrative chunk in the way it is assessed by a Southwest Malukan audience. Where from a Western perspective the Woirata account seems to refute the Meher account, a Southwest Malukan audience will automatically surmise the existence of another narrative chunk not known to them that would explain the narrative facts in this particular chunk. In other words, where the Woirata storyteller interprets the sunken boat as evidence of the new arrival of the Yoto ancestor, a Meher storyteller would counter this statement by providing an additional narrative chunk that took place prior in narrative time and would explain why the boat had sunk.

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[48]   The original text in Indonesian has *perahu mereka* 'their boat' instead of *perahunya* 'his boat', which suggests that the name Delipai not only refers to the name-bearer, but may also include the company he belonged to.

Figure 3 renders the narrative chunks discussed in this paper that are related to the chronotope of the arrival of the Dutch captain. A closer look at the chronotope of the arrival of the Dutch captain reveals three separate narrative chunks from three different clans. A comparison with the anthroponyms in the Leti narratives in Figure 1 reveals the same narrative interpretation mechanism.

Figure 3. Sequencing narrative chunks of the Dutch Captain's Arrival chronotope.

Sahusilawane's (2008: 38-39) Meher account that was partly reproduced in Box 6 originates from the Wonreli domain. In this account the captain, is called Jan de Leuw, which we explained as an erroneous interpretation of Jan de Leeuw above. The ruler who brings him ashore at Nama Beach is called Koholouk Pakar. This name can be identified as the Meher name of Koholouk Johannis Bakker, the fourth king of Kisar who ruled from 1732 through 1752 (Rodenwaldt 1928: 39).[49]

Being a member of the Ho'oren clan from the Asatupa clan group, we suppose for the time being that O. Wedilen's (2014) Woirata account probably reproduces the perception of the West Oirata domain where the Asatupa territory is located. As can be seen from the quotation above, O. Wedilen's account confirms the East Oirata text by De Josselin de Jong (1937), albeit that the quotation does not mention the year of 1665 or the name of the captain, Jan Blime, which we traced back as an erroneous interpretation of Jan Blinne in Rodenwaldt (1928).

Joesef's (2012) Meher account from Abusur informs that the Dutch captain was invited by Perlakuloho, who is called Loimuluwere in Riedel's (1886: 402) text. Since, however, Rodenwaldt (1928: 19-20) suggests that Blime might actually be Klein, the Abusur version can be connected to Riedel's historical account. If we disregard the absence of the article *de* (as in "Jan de Klein") in Rodenwaldt's analysis for the sake of the argument, then the equation of Blime and Klein as the name for the Dutch captain enables the interpretation of the Abusur and West Oirata narrative chunks as subsequent sub events in

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[49]	Rodenwaldt erroneously writes this name as Koholonku Johannis Bakker. Sahusilawane (2008: 43) informs that the "Copper Book" of the Bakker family does not provide the years of his reign.

the same chronotope: the arrival of the Dutch captain. In a comparable line of thought, the understanding of Riedel's (1886) notation of Jan Beleon as a misread interpretation of Jan de Leeuw also enables the equation of Jan de Leuw in the Wonreli version with Jan Blime in the West Oirata version as actually referring to the same Dutch captain. Because the East Oirata version quoted above tells that the Dutch ship travelled on to Nama Beach, the Wonreli version is easily interpreted as subsequent to the Kiasar Beach event.

The clash between literate and narrative history is obvious here. Because the first contract between the VOC and the king-to-be of Kisar is signed on 11 July 1665 by Jan Blime and Cornelis Bakker, 1665 is easily acknowledged in literate history as the year when Jan Blime set foot on Kisar Island. Whether he had been there before remains unknown since there is no written record to confirm this. Even if Jan de Leuw and Jan Blime are equated, then still the narrative topologies of the literate and narrative histories clash. The name of king Koholouk Bakker locates the narrated event in the Wonreli account in Figure 3 in literate history half way the eighteenth Century, whereas the signing of the treaty was almost a century earlier. The narrative artifact of the pyramid (Box 6) also locates this narrated event in the eighteenth Century AD in literate history.

Similarly, the narrative topologies of the Woirata and Dutch accounts in Box 6 clash. Whereas the Woirata account acknowledges a natural deformation in the east side cliff at Kiasar Beach as a Dutch commemoration inscription, German and Dutch audiences (Rodenwaldt 1928; Londoh 2008) dismiss its quality as a narrative artifact, because there is no Dutch writing on it. The mentioning of the year 1665 connects the arrival of the Dutch captain to Kiasar Beach to the signing of the treaty between the VOC and the king of Kisar Island, although the Woirata account does not provide any clue with which the creation of the inscription as narrative artifact can be assessed as either preceding, following or being synchronous with the treaty-signing.

The observed mismatch of temporal alignment in literate history, however, is actually of no concern to the Kisarese audience itself. From a narrative historical perspective, the narrative topologies are correct and thus their stories are interpretable. They contain at least the names of the main characters with which their stories can be located in narrative time. Some provide narrative artifacts that anchor the "Story-realm" on the "Tale-world", whereas others contain Chalk Line Poetry with which the stories can be located in narrative time. Whereas from a western perspective one tends to secure the "correct" variant and subsequently dismiss the other variants as "incorrect", a local audience rather tries to assess their mutual locations in narrative time. This is exactly what De Josselin de Jong (1937) observed when he recorded the Woirata myth.

Boxes 7 and 8 show how storytellers can "hijack" a chronotope by adding an exclusive narrative chunk. The Woirata account in Box 7 narrates another defeat of Nomaha that precedes its final defeat against the Yoto domain through which the Woirata storyteller appropriates the Nomaha

Defeat chronotope, which is actually part of the narrative heritage of the Wonreli domain. Similarly, Joesef 's (2012) source provides a narrative event that logically precedes, in which the mentioning of names of the narrative characters and location is so specific that the narrative chunk automatically is recognized as Abusur narrative heritage. Especially the Chalk Line Poem in Box 9 that can be staged to support the narrative trustworthiness of the narration in Box 8 can disassociate the Arrival of the Dutch Captain chronotope from the Wonreli narrative heritage and incorporate it into Abusur's narrative heritage. A possible scenario for the rivaly between the Abusur and Wonreli domains concerning the narrative chunks around the Arrival of the Dutch Captain chronotope is laid out in Figure 4.
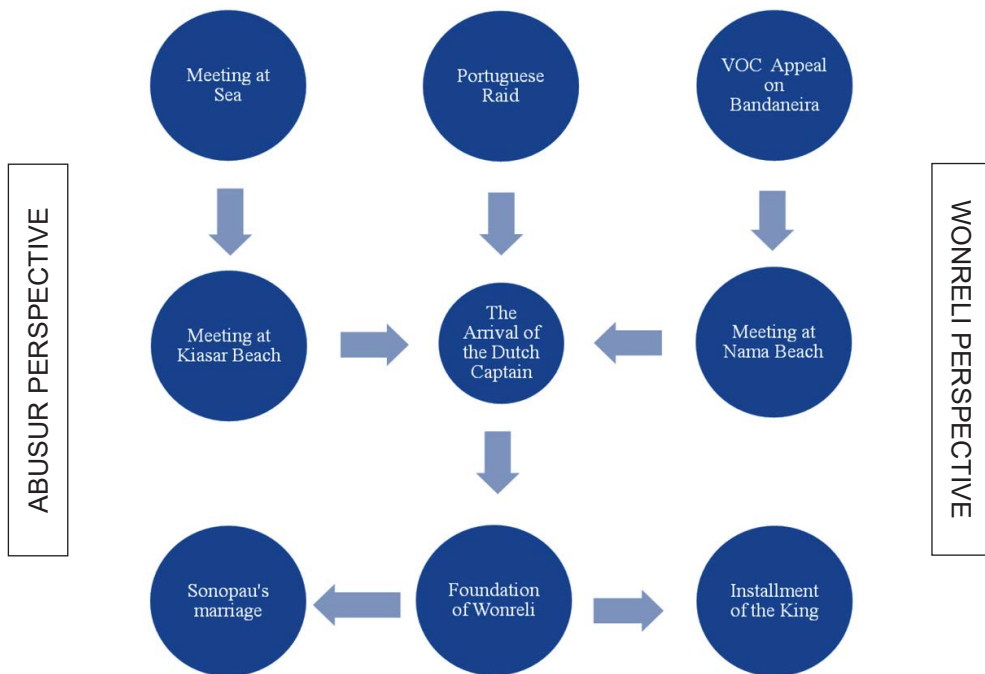

Figure 4. Narrative rivalry between the Abusur and Wonreli domains around the Dutch Captain's Arrival chronotope.

Central to many events in Kisarese narrative history is the chronotope of the arrival of the Dutch captain. This chronotope is represented by the balloon in the centre of Figure 4. The vertical arrows above and under it infer that the foundation of the Wonreli domain and the Portuguese raid are events that follow and precede this particular moment in narrative history. This is indeed generally accepted in Kisarese society. Both events in fact are chronotopes on their own that share the same narrative artifact: the golden keris.

Figure 4 shows that the meeting at sea of the Abusur chief, Perlakuloho, with the Dutch captain and the appeal for help by the Wo'orili chief at the VOC headquarters on Bandaneira are parallel to the Portuguese Raid Event in narrative time. The arrows signal that both parties in this narrative discrepancy,

the Abusur and Wonreli or Wo'orili audiences, acknowledge the Portuguese Raid as the event from which evolved their own narrative chunk event while at the same time demoting the narrative chunk of the other party. The usual strategy to do this is by relocating the disputed narrative chunk elsewhere in the narrative chronology: it either preceded or followed the central event in narrative time. De Josselin de Jong (1937) observed several times during the recording of his Woirata myth that the audience or the storytellers themselves were more occupied with the reshuffling of the narrative events in the narration than with the correctness of what was told itself.

Since Kisar is an island, the arrival of the Dutch captain naturally implies that he had to come ashore somewhere. This is exemplified by the two balloons at the left and right side of the arrival balloon. The left side balloon in fact contains the Woirata narrative whereas the right side balloon contains the Wonreli narrative as they are displayed in Box 6. The downward arrow from the Meeting at Sea balloon to the Meeting at Kiasar Beach signals that the story of the latter smoothly allows for the story of the Meeting at Sea. Both narrative chunks as such confirm each other's narrative truth. An Abusur or Woirata audience would automatically relocate the Meeting at Nama Beach as probably later in time or even not related to the Arrival of the Dutch Captain chronotope altogether.

All parties in this narrative rivalry acknowledge the evacuation of the Yoto domain and the subsequent foundation of the Wonreli domain as facts in both the literate and narrative histories of Kisar. The arrows indicate that all parties also accept the subsequent events of the installment of the king and the marriage of the sister of the Abusur chief to the Dutch captain. The link from the marriage of Sonopau to the Kiasar Meeting and as such to the Meeting at Sea is not acceptable to a Wonreli audience, if even known. Similarly, an Abusur audience will not link the event of the Installment of the King to the Meeting at Nama Beach, but rather to the Kiasar Beach Meeting.

THE KISARESE ORALITY-LITERACY PARADOX: ORAL STATEMENTS AND WRITTEN CONFIRMATIONS

The Dutch administration of Kisar Island with two short interruptions when the Banda seat of the VOC was taken over by the British in 1796 (Rodenwaldt 1928: 29) and during the British interregnum from 1811 through 1816 (Sahusilawane 2008: 54-55) had a great impact on the ethnic ecology of Kisar Island. Initially there was a tensed though balanced equilibrium between both ethnolinguistic groups that was not disturbed by group-internal unrest like the rivalry between the domains of Yoto and Nomaha that was narrated in Box 7. The arrival of the Dutch created a situation in which one domain, Yoto, was given superintendency over the other domains. The Dutch left several proofs of their presence on the island of Kisar of which, however, only the remnants remain: fort Delftshaven in Kotalama and fort Vollenhoven on Nama beach, the Immanuel Church in Wonreli and two warehouses in Kaisama near Kotalama and Lukur Raram near Kiasar Beach, the first being referred to as *Loji* after

the Dutch word *loge* 'lodge', and the latter, of which only a wall remains, as *Tembok Mati* 'the Dead Wall'.

Hagen (2016: 164) explains the existence of 'Copper Books' as something that originated from embossed letters that were given to local rulers to confer government legitimacy. This explanation may apply in first instance for the letter of agreement between Pakar and the VOC signed in 1665. Whereas it is possible that the initial "Copper Book" mainly contained the first contract between the Bakker family and the VOC and its renewals, in fact it is more than that. It is the only artifact that survived intact from VOC times. Also, it is the first written account by an indigenous author and as such is the earliest evidence of indigenous literacy on the island of Kisar. During his reign King Hairmere Filippus Bakker expanded the original "Copper Book" with a genealogy of the Bakker family and an account of how the Bakker family became king. Rodenwaldt (1928: 42) contains an excerpt of it, whereas Sahusilawane (2008: 45) displays a photograph of this genealogy that clearly shows the additions that are written onto it. The "Copper Book" is therefore an important narrative artifact next to the Golden Keris for the Wonreli domain.

In comparison with the other domains, most narrative artifacts in the Wonreli domain fit the requirements of literate history. Of most Dutch buildings written records can be found that inform when they were built. The information in the "Copper Book" can be checked with information known from written sources in Dutch and Portuguese archives. Wonreli historiography, in other words, fulfils the expectations of established Western historiographical tradition and will easily be backed up by external archival data.

Compared to literate historiography, narrative historiography has an implied drawback in that it acknowledges evidence that cannot be accepted as such in literate historiography. Even if names and songs are excluded from its narrative topology, narrative historiography suffers from the multi-interpretability of the narrative artifact that hampers an unambiguous understanding of the narrated event. Additionally, not only genuine artifacts like the golden keris or the stone deformation on Kiasar Beach can function as narrative artifacts. In principle anything can function as such. This is exemplified by the accounts on the origin of Kotalama in Box 11.

Kotalama account	Yawuru account	Abusur account
'Ana belongs to the seventeenth generation of Europeans staying on Kisar Island. It is said their ancestors were crew members of a ship that stranded on Kiasar Beach	'… Kotalama is not a traditional domain, because … it is a neighborhood that was especially created for the "Last Group of	'Finally, the passengers on that ship stayed on Kisar Island (Mestizos) and in fact Jan de Klein married a Kisarese woman.

in the 16th century. One of the oldest Indo-European Kisarese, Ernst Manfred Belder (78) explains that most of the stranded Europeans 'belonged to the military...' (Wahyudi 2013.)	Immigrants" who came from Europe ... This community that are the families of the Kotalama domain is better known under the name of *Die Mestizen auf Kisar*, who are a group of European people whose ship stranded on Kisar, after which they stayed here ...' (Dahoklory et al. 2010: 4.)	The Dutch built first Delftshaven Town in Kotalama and Vollenhoven Town on Nama Beach. This is evidenced by the remains of two forts in these two towns.' (Joesef 2012.)

Box 11. The origin of the Kotalama people.

Box 11 shows that the population of the Kotalama domain itself may function as a narrative artifact. This is obviously because of its different, European, physical appearance and unique traditions that are not shared by the other inhabitants on the island. All accounts in Box 11 trace the ancestry of the Kotalama people to the crew of a ship. However, in the Abusur account this ship is equated with the ship of the Dutch Captain Jan de Klein, whereas in the Kotalama and Yawuru accounts it is explicitly stated that the ship sank.

The Abusur account can be interpreted again as a narrative way to also appropriate the narrative heritage of Kotalama. Where the Yawuru account appears to profile a different narrative chunk, it seems that the Kotalama narrative tries to link its narrative chunk to the Woirata account where the Dutch Captain meets the two Woirata chiefs on Kiasar Beach. The event is staged in the sixteenth Century rather than in the seventeenth Century, which conflicts with the facts in Riedel (1886) and Rodenwaldt (1928). From a narrative historical perspective, however, this strategy connects both the Woirata and Kotalama accounts whose narrative topologies thus strengthen either perspective.

The Yawuru account is also interesting in that it promotes the title of Rodenwaldt's (1928) German book *Die Mestizen auf Kisar* 'The Mestizos on Kisar' in the narrative topology as an alternative name for the people in Kotalama. This strategy has not been observed elsewhere in Southwest Malukan storytelling. Whereas a literate audience could access the book, this is highly improbable to the general island community. As has been explained in the first section, names function as epitomes and epithets within narrative topology. Consequently, the prototypical audience can only interpret this outlandish name as a link to a narrative chunk for insiders and as such inaccessible and possibly supposed to remain inaccessible to outsiders who do not come from Kotalama. At the same time it enhances the expertise of the storyteller who is not from Kotalama either but nevertheless seems to have access to this insider information.

Although it does not show in the quote in Box 11, this narrative strategy,

so to speak, is also used by the interviewee in the Kotalama account, Ms. Ana Siyane Lerrick. She mentions a genealogy book in which each Kisarese of European descent can be enlisted if he or she meets certain physical qualities. Although Ernst Rodenwaldt is also mentioned, it is not clear from the text whether the genealogy book she refers to is an actual genealogy book, or whether she in fact alludes to Rodenwaldt's book that also contains genealogies and photographs of Kotalama families. The interview suggests that the genealogy book must be found in The Netherlands, since any candidate who is accepted to be enlisted needs to send a photograph to The Netherlands. As such, the book must exist, but nevertheless stays beyond the reach of the audience.

Otherwise formulated, its example in Box 11 shows that local Kotalama storytelling intends to combine literate history through the genealogy book to narrative history. By locating the shipwreck of their ancestors at Kiasar Beach, the Kotalama storytellers appropriate the corresponding Woirata narrative chunk in the Arrival of the Dutch Captain chronotope and at the same time confirm the narrative reality of both the Woirata and Abusur accounts in Boxes 6 and 8, respectively. Although not discussed in this paper, the reference to the 78 years old Kotalama inhabitant appeals to the expert narrator requirement in the storytelling setting that is attested throughout Southwest Maluku in Indonesia and Lautém in Timor-Leste (Van Engelenhoven 2010b, 2012). Whereas this strategy is acceptable for an audience used to narrative history, it fails to satisfy the terms in literate history.

We have not been able to find the name of the ship the Dutch Captain came with, nor of the ship that sank off the coast of Kisar Island. The VOC site (http://www.vocsite.nl/schepen/detail.html?id=10623) confirms the existence of the fluyt type vessel called Loenen on which according to Rodenwaldt (1928: 19) the first contract with the VOC was signed by Pakar and Jan Blime on 11 July 1665. This ship, however, cannot be the ship that was shipwrecked, because the website informs that it was sold in 1670 in Batavia. The website does state, however, that it left Amsterdam on 22 October 1658 and arrived in Batavia on 11 June 1659. Its next voyage was to Banda where it arrived in 1666, one year after the signing of the contract on Kisar Island.

This literate historiographical fact unexpectedly supports the Woirata and Abusur accounts. Parthesius (2010: 83) describes the fluyt as a so-called Rate 4 vessel that was developed to carry much cargo and to be managed by a small crew. It was not intended for warfare. If indeed the Dutch Captain was summoned to Kisar Island from the VOC headquarters on Banda Neira as the Wonreli accounts suggest, then he could not have taken the Loenen vessel, since it only arrived on Banda in 1666. However, if the Dutch Captain was still travelling from Batavia to Banda, then it was very well possible that Perlakuloho met the Dutch Captain at sea near Ataúru as is said in the Abusur account of Box 8. The Dutch Captain then would have been underway from Batavia to Banda and either lost his way beyond Macassar and drifted off south to Ataúru Island, or had taken an alternative route via Timor Island.

In this scenario his arrival at Kiasar Beach would be conceivable. A small note by Rodenwaldt (1928: 20) signals that the VOC contract was renewed on the same ship on 16 May 1668 and that Captain Jan Blime was assigned as the first sergeant on Kisar Island. This suggests that for the time the Loenen vessel was still in use in the VOC fleet, it was the ship that connected the VOC headquarters on the Banda Islands with the islands of Southwest Maluku, comparable to what the function of the KM Pangrango is today. The name of the ship survived in the "Copper Book" as the place where at least two contracts were signed and may have even surfaced as such in contemporary narrations. After it was sold in 1670, its disappearance from the "Story-realm" created its discontinuance in the narrative topology and eventually led to its obsolescence in the narrative heritage of the Kisarese.

Conclusion: assessing truth values in different historiographic traditions

How unreliable then is narrative history? The fluidity of oral narrative topology suggests that narrative history is unfit for scientific research, because it seems to lack the much needed "invariant": the element that never changes and forms the ground on which all research is based. We showed in this paper that the observed fluidity in the narrative topology in narrative history in fact is related to rivalry among the parties involved in the narration, whether this be oral or written as in this particular case. The annexation of chronotopes does not imply that one of the narrating parties is wrong and the other is right. A local audience would consider both sides to be in principle correct, albeit that the audience might not be able to access or assess all information.

If new archeological evidence or archival material allows for a reanalysis of literate history without dismissing literate history itself, then the same should apply to narrative history. In the Kisarese case it is evidence from the Banda archives of the VOC that confirms Abusur and Woirata narrative historiography and at the same time questions Wonreli historiography whose literate artifacts would automatically suggest its historiographic truth.

In a region where archeological or archival research may be confined or even impossible, local storytelling is the only instrument available to interpret history. In order to do so more research in oral storytelling in the region is required. Notwithstanding its written sources, the Kisarese case shows that local, oral storytelling does feature semiotic invariants that enable its study in a larger context than purely oral traditions studies.

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