

The Art of Teke and Woman Ideology in the Ngada Heritage, East Nusa Tenggara

Watu Yohanes Vianey

Widya Mandira Catholic University, Kupang, Indonesia

corresponding author: Sigawunga@gmail.com

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Abstract

The art of teke, which is a part of the Ngadha people's traditional cultural practices, is the material object of this investigation. The formal object concerns the axiology of women's ideology and its existence. What feminist philosophy is expressed in the teke cultural heritage is the central question of this cultural study. This study explores cultural codes based on traditional Ngada hermeneutics in order to analyze the data through qualitative research methods. The research findings offer a fresh perspective on the distinctiveness of the *ine weta* ideology, which is a set of beliefs about women specific to the matriarchal Ngadha cultural tradition. More than that, *ine weta*'s ideology actually celebrates gender equality through the joy of dance, poetry, and song. This ideology in the art of teke hermeneutics is a variant of the familial ideology, which must be built and purified through teachings, actions, and celebrations in the light of *mesu mora* ('charity love') harmoniously, closely, roundly, and beautifully in the world of life. The conclusion of this writing is that the authors undertake a cultural study in order to contribute to the discussion of women's equality by proposing one category of woman ideology found in the matriarchal culture of Ngada, namely, the ideology of *ine weta* ('mother-sister') as a variant of familial ideology uncovered in the art of teke.

Keywords: teke, woman ideology, *ine weta*, feminism, traditional arts

Abstrak

Objek material dari penelitian ini adalah tentang kesenian Teke dalam praktik budaya tradisional orang Ngadha. Objek formalnya adalah tentang keberadaan ideologi perempuan sebagai aksiologi di baliknya. Pertanyaan mendasar kajian budaya ini adalah: Ideologi wanita manakah yang diungkapkan dalam kesenian teke? Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif baik untuk memperoleh data maupun menafsirkannya dengan membuka kode-kode budaya secara hermeneutis. Temuan penelitian memberikan pemahaman baru mengenai keunikan pemikiran yang dianut tentang perempuan dalam warisan budaya matriarkal Ngadha, yaitu ideologi ine weta. Lebih dari itu, ideologi ine weta justru merayakan kesetaraan gender melalui kegembiraan tarian, puisi, dan lagu. Ideologi dalam seni hermeneutika teke ini merupakan salah satu varian dari ideologi kekeluargaan yang harus dibangun dan dimurnikan melalui pengajaran, tindakan, dan perayaan dalam terang mesu mora (cinta kasih) secara harmonis, erat, bulat, dan indah dalam kehidupan sehari-hari dalam dunia kehidupan. Kesimpulan dari tulisan ini adalah penulis melakukan kajian budaya guna berkontribusi dalam pembahasan kesetaraan wanita dengan mengajukan salah satu kategori ideologi wanita yang terdapat dalam budaya matriarkal Ngadha, yaitu ideologi ine weta (ibu-saudara wanita) sebagai varian ideologi kekeluargaan yang terungkap dalam seni teke.

Kata kunci: *teke, ideologi wanita, ine weta, feminism, seni tradisi*

Introduction

Even before the last ice age, the island of Flores, East Nusa Tenggara in Eastern Indonesia has been separated from mainland Asia and the rest of the current Indonesian archipelago by deep waters. Geographically located at latitude 8-9 degrees south of the equator, its isolated location has provided a protective and unique environment for ancient species like the Komodo dragon and, until about 12,000 years ago, a hominid species dubbed ‘The Hobbit’ or Homo Floresiensis (Morwood & Oosterzee, 2007). This 350-kilometer-long island is on the easternmost tip of the Lesser Sunda

Islands chain that includes Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, and Komodo (Pollock, 2021). Despite many stops by European voyagers in the 16th century, the island's cultures - including the matriarchal culture of the Ngada or Ngadha people on Midwest Flores - were relatively unscathed until the early twentieth century with the settlement of colonial powers on the island. Today over 90 % of the islanders are Catholic.

Cultural studies of Ngada text traditions, like the proverbs (*pata*) and the legend (*numu nange*), especially on gender relations, are still very few and far between. The first literary analysis of Ngada texts was attempted almost a century ago by Arndt (1931, 1954, 1958, 2005, 2009) a German Divine Word Catholic Priest who worked in Flores from 1924 to 1962. His effort has been continued by others, and his effort has been continued by others (Daeng, 1998; Molnar, 2000; Muda, 1986; Schröter, 2005; Smedal, 2000).

Linguist Djawanai (1983) was the first to make an in-depth study on the matter in "Ngadha Text Tradition: The Collective Mind of the Ngadha People, Flores." His analysis of the legend of *Penu* and *Wegu* the Orphan is particularly significant for the theme of this writing because it narrates the story of married-eligible woman who refused her family's pressure to marry. The authors of this writing aim to uncover an ideology of woman in the art of *teke* on *teke* texts (Vianey & Lawalu, 2011). *Teke* is a cultural text expressed in a harmonious configuration of poems-songs-dances (Djawanai, 1983).

With an assumption of contemporary cultural studies, which view human cultural praxis as part of an ideological superstructure embedded in the cultural texts, and in an effort to preserve Ngada

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cultural tradition, the authors seek to contribute to the complex feminist discussion of woman and gender equality by proposing the ideology of *ine weta* (mother-sister) as a variant of familial ideology. As observed by Levine and Blickenstaff (2001), “the feminist choir no longer sounds the single note of white, western, middle-class, Christian concerns; ...It acknowledges the different concerns social location and experience bring to interpretation and recognizes the tentativeness and partiality of each conclusion.” In Asian contexts, the movement is often framed within larger problems, including migration (Nagatomo, 2012), cross-cultural encounters (Bulbeck, 2003), ecology, local culture, land ownership (Vedhanayagi, 2013), and theft of tribal land and globalization (Nisbah, 2019). While some movements claim to seek equality, justice, and liberation of women from perceived oppressive male structures of power, others seek social change, including equality and justice, while continuing to remain within structures through gender reconciliation.

Taking a step further beyond reconciliation and problem-solving in a subordinate relationship, the ideology of woman in the art of *teke* proactively promotes a gender-complementary relationship between woman and man as equal. Equality here is not just an ideal, but concrete actuality. It is lived and ritualized in poems-songs-dances which, as feminist process theologian Suchocki puts it, express a rhythmical and balanced relationship whose fundamental structure allows both poles to be held in creative tension (Suchocki, 2005). Similarly, Schröter (2005) a German anthropologist, in “Red cocks and black hens – Gender symbolism, kinship and social practice in the Ngada highlands,” pointed out the centrality and complementarity of the gender relationship among the Ngada, as

shown in various key symbols: for example, the ‘*Ngadhu*’ and ‘*Bhaga*’ structures found in the center of every Ngada traditional village, and the *Manu Selalu Toro* (‘Red Cocks’) and *Ine Sesusu Mite* (‘Black Hens’) in the every Ngada heritage on the ritual speech (Vianey, 2016)

Literature Review

The object of this research is the ideology of woman in the art of *teke*. The reason behind taking this object has to do with an assumption of contemporary cultural studies which states that human cultural praxis is part and parcel of an ideological superstructure embedded in the cultural texts. From the perspective of cultural studies, every cultural product can be treated as a cultural text that necessarily contains meanings and values, including a value system which is a perceived truth and believed to be the substance of an ideology (Barker, 2005).

Art of Teke

Etymologically, *teke or pata teke* is derived from the word *pata* which means text, and *teke* which has several meanings. First, *teke* is the name of a configuration of poetry, songs and dance. Second, *teke* means gecko, a kind of lizard. Third, *teke* is a term for a particular male person assigned with the authority to perform rituals or nonritual activities in an ad hoc manner. for example, the ritual of *ka sa'o* or dedication of a customary house, which includes performing the ritual of ‘salvation sacrifice’ (*teke zi'a*) and the slaughter (*wela*) of the sacrificial animal (*teke wela*). There is also an appointed female person whose assigns the cook (*teke*

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pedhe) and the carrier (*to*) of the rice ritual called '*teke to*. (Vianey dan Lawalau,2011).

Vianey's study a decade before (1997, 2007, 2008, 2011) described the cultural texts of the art of teke as a kind of oral traditions of the Ngadha people that has double functions. In addition to its function as artistic expression in poems, songs and dances that entertain people, the cultural texts of pata teke (teke text), through its element of neke, serves as a medium of critique against the praxis of human life based on ideological criterion or a value system believed as containing the ideal elements of manhood and womanhood. Through this fundamental research the objective is focused only on the study about woman ideology that is contained in the pata teke system of symbols in its various elements that has a unique system of meanings.

The art of *teke* is expressed in its artistic expression in the configuration of 'poetry-singing-dance', which is performed by a group of men and women in the village yard and can also be done on the veranda of a traditional house (Vianey, 2007, 2008) But, the first examination of the art of *teke* as the Ngadha text tradition was done by linguist Djawanai (1983) and Nai et al.,(1999)

As a poem, teke has elements called *neke*. *Neke* nominally means "satire". However, in real terms, it is irony in the form of poetry responding to poetry, sung with dance movements, and performed, among other things, on the eve of the traditional house inauguration rite (Vianey, 2008). Today, it is also performed to celebrate Independence Day and other public occasions such as sport competitions and entertainments. From the past until now, teke has involved all people in its performances, both men and women,

young and old, led by mosalaki (a man who has moral integrity, authority, and knowledge of customs), who is a skilled teke practitioner.

As a kind of traditional Ngada song (Djawanai, 1983), *Pata teke* is a cultural text expressed in a harmonious configuration of poems-songs-dances. It is not just a poem. It is also a song. With its sexual connotations, ritualized in dance under the shadow of dark night, it is a more emotionally charged communication than most speech. It also conforms to the rules of a culturally defined poetic and musical system. In other words, the art of *teke* reflects cohesiveness, not only in itself, but also as representation of the social cohesiveness and strong group solidarity within the community.

The specific objective of this study is to answer the question concerning the formal object of this research, that, is to understand qualitatively the presence of cultural texts of the art of *teke* and to find the woman ideology in the *teke* texts.

Woman ideology

In the Dictionary of Philosophy (Bagus, 1996) the word 'ideology' is described as derived from the Greek word 'idea' which means idea or concept and 'logos' which means 'a study of' or 'science of'. The concept has several meanings. In literal understanding as used in metaphysics and classical ontology, ideology is the science of ideas. However, in a pejorative meaning ideology is often associated with unrealistic speculation of something. But, in its ameliorative meaning, ideology is a system of ideas or system of meanings which contains an ideal image as a belief of a community and therefore has

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a particular power that inspires and motivates its constituents to cultivate their civilization. The concept is delineated by Karl Manheim (Bagus, 1996) as a structured system of ideas whose truth is believed and practiced totally or partially.

Within the context of cultural studies (Barker, 2005), all human cultural praxis cannot be detached from the superstructure of the ideology, since one of the cultural forms is the ideas that inspire and motivate man to take actions. This cultural form becomes the ideological term when it becomes a system of values which abide by the system of symbols that contain a system of meanings believed as true by a community or by an ethnic group (Vianey, 2008).

One actual ideology often talked about during this postmodern era is the ideology that reconstructs the relationship between man and woman. Abdullah and Kusujarti (Vianey, 2007) informed that the ideologies that reconstruct the relationship between man and woman are the ideologies of patriarchy, feminism, gender equality, and familial-ism. Textually, the four ideologies can be differentiated, but contextually are interrelated one another.

In the discourse of feminism centered on the anthropology of woman's body, there has appeared a relatively new term of woman ideology known as the vagina ideology. The vagina ideology was first introduced by feminist Eve Ensler who composed the script *Vagina Monolog*. The staging of the script dismantled the patriarchy ideology and demonstrated woman's autonomy over her own body that possesses unequalled natural beauty. Ensler expressed the vagina ideology with the key words: "I love vagina. I love woman" (Ratih in Sutrisno, 2005). It is interesting that the vagina ideology is clearly expressed partially in the text of the art of *teke* (Vianey, 2007). The

vagina ideology in Vianey's study is expressed in the elements of *neke* that reveals the elements of woman's body.

One of the theoretical problems in the context of cultural studies is that all human cultural practice cannot be separated from the ideological superstructure (Barker, 2006). Levine and Blickenstaff (2001), inform us that the ideologies that construct the relationship between men and women include patriarchal ideology, feminist ideology, gender ideology, and familial ideology. Textually, the four ideologies can be separated or differentiated, but contextually, they are related to each other. It is because, from the ontology of organism and the ontology of man-woman relationship the essences of things are interconnected. The essences of things are found in all entities, including in man that becomes the material object of this lived value system. Some movements purport to aim for justice, equality, and the release of women from what they regard as oppressive male power structures, others use gender reconciliation to achieve social change that includes justice and equality but keeps them inside existing institutions.

Beyond just making amends and resolving conflicts in a subservient relationship, the concept of the woman in the art of *teke* actively encourages a gender-complementary relationship as equals between woman and man. Here, equality is a tangible fact rather than merely a theoretical concept. It is expressed and ritualized in poetry, songs, and dances that, in the words of feminist process theologian Suchocki, describe a balanced and rhythmic relationship (Suchocki, 2005).

A study on woman as presented here is a study on the *ine weta* (mother-sister). This means in the context of man-woman

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relationship both in domestic and public spheres, the relationship can be developed into an ideal condition and therefore becomes an ideology. As such the value system believed to exist in man-woman relationship in case the village of Guru Sina, on Ngada Regency or the ideology that prevails in a local community can be grouped into two categories, namely first the variant of familial ideology that does not neglect the value system on woman as autonomous personality who has the sovereignty over herself which is philosophically part of the feminism ideology as the second category (Vianey & Lawalu, 2011). Even in the light of feminist ideology in general, the feminist ideology tends to have the radical variant of feminist ideology marked by the domination of the wife over her husband in the domestic sphere. This type of relationship is also found in small ethnic communities where the people are simple and egalitarian, such as the communities of I Kung in Kalahari, Mungir Aboriginal in Australia, and the people of Ilongtos in the Philippines (Moore, 1995).

Method

This research uses qualitative methods, namely a type of research that is relevant to cultural studies. This cultural study starts with the textual formulation of teke art products and practices, namely from local languages to Indonesian and English. Next, data analysis was carried out using a hermeneutic interpretation method with a heuristic character, and then publication was carried out in journal form.

Data collection was carried out using interactive and intersubjective communication actions, namely using a teleological and normative approach (Gill et al., 2008). In the teleological approach,

intersubjective interaction between the researcher and the researcher is based on the aim of obtaining 'shared meaning' between the key informant and the researcher (Ariyani et al., 2023). In a normative approach, the interaction pays close attention to local norms. Data analysis regarding women's ideology in the text in question uses a hermeneutic method in the tradition of cultural philosophy, which, in a representative and heuristic way, can show the women's ideology behind the text (Baghi et al., 2023). The symbol interpretation system, which contains the meaning system behind the text, is related to the Freudian interpretation strategy (Kleden, 2006). The first hermeneutic interpretation regarding female ideology in teke art focuses on the keyword weta ('sister'), and the second interpretation focuses on the keyword 'ine' ('mother'), which is found in representative and evidential teke verses.

The object being researched is the art of *teke*, especially on *teke* texts as a cultural product and a cultural practice which side with the tradition of "little culture", such as a culture being lived by a small community (Bagus, 2003). This research was conducted in the village of Guru Sina. Guru Sina is a traditional compound as well as name for a subethnic in the Ngada regency. The consideration for choosing the location and making it a research cultural unit is that: (1) This location has a tradition of staging the *pata teke* especially during the formal dedication of traditional houses; (2) This location in the central ethnic prejudice is the place for the *tewe au*, that is, the location of a marginal cultural unit; (3) Researcher has access to collection of relatively authentic data, because he himself, from the father's line, comes from this place.

Result and Discussion

Analysis of Teke Text

The researcher collected and transcribed 170 *bhigi* or verses of the *teke* texts in several categories with emic characteristics. According to a key informant, Vitalis Maku (43 years old, a mosalaki and secretary of Watumanu Village), reinforced by Kletus Wo'u (75 years old, a teke practitioner and senior mosalaki in Guru Sina Village), and mother Antonia Bhoki (60 years old, a teke practitioner), emphasized that the *pata teke* can be divided into two categories, namely, the light (*fe'a*) ones and the heavy (*date*) ones. The criteria for 'light' or 'heavy' are based on the speed of the rhymes and the rhythm of accompanying tramples of feet. The fast rhymes are categorized as *teke pata fe'a*, while the slower ones are called *teke pata date* which is also called *teke pata idhu*.

The concept of the art of *teke* in this research refers to the first meaning: *teke* is the name of a configuration of poetry, songs and dance, which, according to the key informant, is usually performed to celebrate local rituals. As a cultural pattern, *pata teke* poetry and song are expressed in *bhigi* (verses) that are grouped into eight categories: 1) *Bhigi Ana Dado* (*Ana Dado*=Child from above or Child of Deva), 2) *Bhigi Noa* (*noa*=dark/night cloud spirit represented by raven); 3) *Bhigi Reko* (*Reko*= a mythical figure who is the servant below of *Dewa* above); 4) *Bhigi Teke Pata Fe'a*; 5) *Bhigi Teke Pata Date*, 6) *Bhigi Gela* (*gela*=to split), 7) *Bhigi So'u* (*so'u*= a solo singer), 8) *Bhigi Neke* (*neke*=mutual criticisms), and h) *Bhigi Sebhe* (*sebhe* = to close, to cover).

The participants in the performance of *pata teke* should consist of two principal vocal parts - males and females, - guided by several ritual leaders. Their characters are expressed in a local vernacular phrase, the key informant said: "*Tau pata teke kenana bhodha tau tewe go ola kobe. Mali ana saki mora we teke ne'e modhe na, bhoda ghadhi ne'e da ana fai. Bhodha ngai ngata da ana fai da be'o kenana we nge tima go pata teke na. Mali ana fai bhai da be'o bha'i latu, kita bhai nge teke.*" ('*Pata teke* should be performed at night. If men want to perform the *teke* in a good way, they should invite women along. There must be smart/clever female participants in order for us to perform the *pata teke* together. If there are no smart women, we certainly cannot stage the *teke*').

If there are no smart/clever female participants to recite the *pata teke* in appropriate tunes and moves, or otherwise, if there are no smart/clever guys who can deliver poems in correct tunes and moves, then it is impossible to stage the *teke* in the village square (*wewa nua*) or in the house backyard (*wewa sa'o*). The ideal number of the participants is at least 6 pairs. They are divided into four groups each of which consists of 3 persons, to ensure the harmony of polyphonic singing, consisting of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. In total there are 12 persons, 6 men and 6 women. They are positioned face to face in circular choreography.

The six pairs are expected to play their main roles to deliver poems, that is, the texts of *teke*, either the 'light' ones (*fe'a*) or the 'heavy' ones (*date*) in tunes and moves. They are also assigned to mutually respond (*tima so'u* and *tima tolu*) to the songs of the soloists (*lipi*) back and forth. In addition to that, they have also to

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tease each other (*papa neke*) in the whole process of performing the poem-song-dance.

In addition to the twelve, the performance must have a trained member who can lead the *ana dado* and do the *noa* (opening exclamation in a correct tune) to be followed by the recitation of the *teke* of *reko* type (opening). This leader is also expected to do the same in a similar fashion for the *sebhe* (closing). In other words, he is assigned with the task as master of ceremony to direct the whole performance. Furthermore, there are two more persons assigned to recite the *teke* of *gela* type which explain the meanings of the recited *teke*. So, the minimum total number of persons for the whole performance is 15 persons.

The research found the ideology of *ine weta* as a variant of familial ideology. *Ine weta* (mother-sister) is a compound word that refers to any woman who should be respected and treated as a mother (*ine*) and a sister (*weta*). Such compounded words are not uncommon and can also be found in the case of *ema-nara* (father-brother), which are the opposite of *ine-weta*, as well as others, such as, *ine-ema* (father-mother), *weta-nara* (sister-brother), and *fai-saki* (wife-husband).

The phrase *ine weta* represents a fullness of meaning of a woman in local tradition as a mother and a sister, both in private and public space, of all human beings. Though a member of a certain family, she supersedes all genealogical relationship. In other words, all women in the Guru Sina, whether or not they are relatives by blood or by marriage, must be treated with the utmost respect by all as a 'mother' and a 'sister' who is the giver of life, shelter and protector.

Direct reference to the *ine-weta* in *pata teke* can be seen in the whole *Bhigi Fe'a*, a light type *pata teke* which consists of 43 couplets. In Vianey and Lawalu (2011) report the verses can be read from the 6th up to the 43rd couplets with the word *weta* explicitly expressed in couplets 28, 30 and 34, and the word woman, *ine*, explicitly found in couplets 10, 32 and 42. Thus, we can find six couplets that explicitly contain woman ideology as the *ine weta*.

In the following the researchers attempt to interpret the texts through the lens of Freudian perspective. As stated above, *pata teke* is an emotionally charged poetic ritual communication nuanced with sexual connotations and ritualized singing and dance under the shadow of dark night. Freudian analysis decodes symbols behind the texts supposedly composed of human collective subconsciousness which are related to sex-laden matters (Kleden, 2006).

First is the key word *weta* which shown in the texts in the couplets 28, 30 and 34 and explicitly reveals the woman ideology.

Tabel 1. Couplet 28

Text	Meaning
All: <i>O seu toto singa</i>	O areca nuts on their stem
<i>Dia lima weta</i>	are in the hands of a <i>weta</i>
<i>Dia lima weta oo</i>	Oh, they are in the hands of a <i>weta</i>

Couplet 28 mentions the mystery of areca nuts (*seu*) as a metaphor for male testes and for male genitalia. The round shape of areca nuts offers an association with a man's testes. This meaning of the metaphor was confirmed by the key informant. The areca nuts as metaphor for the testes in this couplet are in the hands of a woman (*weta*).

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The areca nuts on their stem represents the husband and his testes who are under the ownership of a woman who has been wedded to him. In the *pata fe'a* verse above this is expressed as 'the thing' in the hands of *ine weta*. She is the rightful owner who possesses the testes of her husband, and thus has the authority and influence over a man's life including control over his sexual life.

In couplet 30 below, the two of them should show favor to each other as an expression of mutual ownership and mutual respect in communal life. The representation of hospitality as a standardized mannerism and as actualization of respect is marked by men's obligation to invite women to chew the betel nut. But in this text, a man is teased because he has not invited a woman to chew the betel nut.

Tabel 2. Couplet 30

Text	Meaning
All: <i>O weta meda-meda</i>	<i>O weta</i> who makes a visit
<i>Dia wawo teda</i>	who sits in the porch of the house
<i>Bha'i dhu go deka bela</i>	She has not been invited to chew the
<i>oo</i>	betel nut

Couplet 34 below recites the existence of woman as an ordinary human being who will die someday. But in local connotative meaning, a woman is considered to have died if she does not get married and does not give birth to children who will sustain her life. A woman who does not get married is described as a person who stands 'by the southern sea' or "at the brink of the sheol" who is vulnerable to being washed away by rolling waves, drowning, being unable to go back to live in the community and being forgotten by her community. This scene is depicted in the verse *weta da bere dheko* ('the woman who carries her basket') or a

woman who does not get married as expressed in couplet 34 as follows.

Tabel 3. Couplet 34

Text	Meaning
All: <i>Ne weta da bere dheko</i>	<i>Weta</i> who carries her basket
<i>Lau go dhiri ebo</i>	by the southern sea
<i>Wado talo dia sa'o</i>	cannot go home any more

In contrast is a woman who *da bere tere* ('presents her basket') to her husband, that is, who gets married, (*bere tere oka pale*) a ritual of matrimony, and by so doing has children. In this ritual, a woman is called *ana fai*. *Ana fai* is a generic term for female. But in proper sense, the phrase *Ana fai* must be understood as not only the female sex, but also as female children (*ana*) who are expected to be wives (*fai*) in the future. Male children are called *ana saki*, that is, children who are expected to be husbands (*saki*). In local tradition, wife is called *fai* and husband is called *saki*. To become husband and wife (*fai saki*), the two persons are united and sealed in an engagement and conjugal ritual called *bere tere oka pale* as mentioned above.

Bere is a metaphor for woman's womb that resembles a basket containing betel leaves and areca nuts to be presented (*tere*) and serving as a receptacle for sperm from her husband's penis. The penis is described as a carved bamboo stick that contains lime (*oka*) as a metaphor for sperm. A drip of lime will be put on the areca nut (*seu*) that has been wrapped in betel leaves for the activity of betel-nut chewing (*ngeu nata*). The moment and the activity of throbbing the *pale*, that is, the small carved bamboo stick (symbol of penis) to drop the *oka* (sperm) on the betel leaves (symbol of

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vagina) and areca nuts (symbol of testes) in the *bere* (symbol of womb) is called *oka pale*.

Second interpretation focuses on the key work ‘*ine*’ (mother) shown in couplets 10, 32 and 42. Couplet 10 speaks of woman as an ideal mother (*ine*) who is courageous and knowledgeable of her call, aware of what is allowed and what is prohibited in human life. The couplet reads as follows.

Tabel 4. Couplet 10

Text	Meaning
All: <i>O gore ine oe</i>	O there are matters prohibited, <i>oe</i>
<i>Gore ine oe</i>	there are things not allowed, o mother, <i>oe</i>
<i>Ma'e taku gore oo</i>	Don't be afraid of what is not allowed

In couplet 32 below, her main calling is further underlined. Her call is not only to give birth to children but also to educate her children so that they know what is allowed and what is prohibited in life. Here the existence of a woman as an *ine weta* is expressed in its base word *ine* or mother. She is to lead her children to a world of peacefulness, which in the local tradition is called: ‘*zili tana jawa*.’ From an axiological perspective ‘*jawa*’ in the local vernacular means ‘peacefulness’, which is an ideal of the Ngada people (Vianey, 2016)

Tabel 5. Couplet 32

Text	Meaning
All: <i>O ine tu ana</i>	O mother who leads her children
<i>Zili tana jawa</i>	to the world of peacefulness
<i>Zili sa'o teda ngata oo</i>	in the people's house, right at the porch

It must be noted that the value of peacefulness was also at the center of the First United Nation Conference on Woman in Mexico in 1975: “Woman have a vital role to play in the promotion of peace

in all spheres of life: in the family, the community, the nation and the world” (Dhogo, 2006).

In couplet 42, woman as an *ine* is addressed with the term *Ine Mame* (Mother of Truth). The couplet reads as follows.

Tabel 6. Couplet 42

Text	Meaning
All: <i>Go aro Sina</i>	The ammunition from Sina
<i>Pu'u ma'u zale</i>	Far away from the west coast
<i>Wa'u zale go Wae Sae</i>	Down yonder from the west coast of Wae Sae
<i>Ine Mame, ine Mame ee</i>	<i>Ine Mame, Ine Mame</i>

The word “*sina*” in the local language means “light” and it is referred to a primordial mother of the Ngada ethnic group named *Ine Sina* who is the wife of a primordial father, *Seka* (Arndt, 1954). They resided in *Watu Repu* and had a son named *Guru Sina*, which is the name of the hamlet. Her role as *ine* (mother) here is explained as ‘the ammunition from *Sina*’, that is, the ‘ammunition for the life gun’ or the value of peacefulness. When a woman uses the value of peacefulness as a ‘bullet of life gun’ in her efforts to protect dignity, she is called “*Ine Mame*.” According to Antonia Bhoki, the name “*Mame*” in the local culture of the people of *Guru Sina* is a ‘sacred hidden name’ (*ngaza zoko*) from *Gili Molo* which means ‘the shield of truth’. If the ammunition for the life gun from *Ine Sina* is the value of peacefulness, then the ammunition from *Ine Mame* is the value of truth. The value of truth in the local vernacular is called ‘*molo*’.

In summary, the meaning of woman ideology in the oral tradition of *bhigi fe'a* emphasizes the status of woman as *ine weta* in the name *Ine Mame* who has the greater authority to control the

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development of local civilization. The basic value in this effort is realized in educating the young generation in order for them to bring forth peacefulness and to use truth as the shield of life. As such every woman in this region is expected to be treated as member of the family as an expression of a lived value system, that is, a variant of familial ideology in the term *ine weta*, or mother and sister of all human.

From the analysis of the above text, we know that men and women in Guru Sina are required to take the responsibility to preserve the purity of the vagina and the womb as the elements of womanhood that distinguishes women from men. Through the understanding of the differences, men and women are conatively, emotionally and rationally motivated to unite their love in a civilized action.

Based on the above reasoning, woman ideology in the pata teke texts can be deconstructed into a variant of feminism and familial ideology, that dares to see and to treat women as *ine weta*. This thought needs to be developed sustainably because through the oral tradition of the teke text, the value system in which the residents believe in the dignity of the vagina and the womb can be used to construct the authentic relationship between man and woman in the future in local culture. As such our sincere respect and love to a woman as our *ine weta* (mother and sister) that possesses the essential elements of womanhood are the respect and love of every human being.

In other words, the values in *teke* text affirm equal relations between men and women in everyday life, both in the domestic and public areas. Because in their personal and communal imagination, the man is *ema nara*, and the woman is *ine weta*. So in everyday

life, a man in this cultural area greets and appropriately treats women as his mother and sister, even though the woman is not his biological mother and sister. *Vice versa*. A woman in this cultural area greets and appropriately treats a man as a father and brother, even though they are not her father and brother.

Philosophical Discussion: Local Perspective of Woman Ideology

The actual ideologies being talked about during the postmodern era are the ideologies that construct the relationship between man and woman. The ideologies that construct the relationship between man and woman are the ideologies of patriarchy, feminism, and familialism. Textually the three ideologies can be distinguished and differentiated, but contextually are linked one another. It is because, from the ontology of organism and the ontology of man-woman relationship the essences of things are interconnected. The essences of things are found in all entities, including in man that becomes the material object of this lived value system.

A study on woman as presented here is a study on the *ine weta* (mother-sister). This means in the context of man-woman relationship both in domestic and public spheres, the relationship can be developed into an ideal condition and therefore becomes an ideology if human being in Ngadha position women as mothers and sisters or members of their families. As such the ideology that prevails in a local community can be grouped into two categories, namely first the variant of familial ideology that does not neglect the value system on woman as autonomous personality who has the sovereignty over herself which is philosophically part of the feminism ideology as the second category.

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What is unique concerning the people of Ngadha in Guru Sina is the interaction between man and woman as *weta* that reflects the notion that, aside from woman's sovereignty over herself which is represented by the *teke* verses that proclaim *weta's* power over the sacredness of the vagina and the nobleness of the womb which is found the verses of *neke*, a woman is conditioned to have power over man which is represented in *teke* verses on the *fe'a* couplet (*bhigi fe'a*) that mildly says that man's (*nara*) testes symbolized in the areca 'nuts' (*seu*) are in the 'hands' or power of *weta*.

In the mainstream local tradition a woman and wife in the *pata dela* text (Vianey, 2010) is mentioned as part of the *di'i sa'o*, that is, the social body that has power over the customary house where men are mentioned as part of the *welu wewa*, that is, the social body that governs the 'village square' and if he is a husband his mentioned as the people of *rajo dheke*, that is, the people who 'get into the boat of the household'. This indicates that the husband comes from outside and gets into the community of his wife, and he comes to serve and to support the extended family of his wife. Therefore, the children of this region are appropriately incorporated into mother's bloodline (matrilineal).

It is interesting to note that among the people of Ngadha in Guru Sina nowadays there is an obvious phenomenon that a boy or a girl can get the recognition of social status as an adult man and an adult woman only through education, occupation and marriage. The husband earns the status through the domestic domain as the father of the family, well arranged due to the support of his wife and his involvement in various aspects of communal life through his occupation as a farmer, a carpenter, a trader, a civil servant or a

teacher. The wife obtains the power through her services both in the household and in public sphere with all her skills and because of the support of her husband. In short, the authoritative bearing and prestige of a man or of a woman are realized through their complementary roles in both domains, and therefore there is no need to make a sharp distinction between domestic domain and public domain.

Anyhow, in the spirit of time that sides with the discourse on multiculturalism and holistic thought, there is a need for critical, prospective, and visionary thought in the grand design for the continuity and change of quality and quantity of the products of local culture, especially in relation to the value system concerning woman that influences the map of cultural meanings of the residents. Particularly, it is a discourse in relation to the flow of power that goes together with a woman's dominant and hegemonic role in the social structure that neglects equality for common happiness.

Within the context of heuristic understanding of the *teke* texts, there is belief in the truth of human equality that glorifies the principles of justice that brings about harmony. This is expressed in the staging pattern that opens a space for mutual critiques between men and women where it is supported by a choreography of a perfect circle in which neither of the sexes is more dominant and instead where togetherness and equality are demonstrated. As such, from the perspective of the philosophy of man and within the light of the views of organism ontology and relation ontology, I can say that man and woman in local tradition are the manifestation of the Being (God, Deva) as two species of a genus in a human circle. This

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means, although the two sexes differ physically and psychologically, they remain ordinary human being with equal rights and obligations, who possess potentials and ‘actuals’ to interrelate in a civilized manner in order to become one in the real love as the divine image (Vianey, 2007).

Concerning the condition of being ordinary man and woman who are supposed to unite in real love as the divine image, it is actually expressed in the performance of the art of *teke*. The invocation to interrelate in a civilized manner, and to get involved in an egalitarian courtship between man and woman, it is explicitly expressed in the opening text of the ‘*noa*’ (*bhigi noa*) couplet on verses 2 and 3 (Vianey & Lawalu, 2011) that read as follows.

Tabel 7. Couplet 2

Text	Meaning
Man: O <i>mora-mora oooo</i>	Oh love – oh love
Woman: <i>Naeeee</i>	Yes

Tabel 8. Couplet 3

Text	Meaning
Man: O <i>wali-wali oooo</i>	Oh again – oh again
Woman: <i>Kena pena da olo renga</i>	That is the basis of original harmony

Noa is an opening invocation. This invocation is made by a man as a soloist in the whole performance of the art of *teke*, and is immediately responded by all women involved in the performance. In the recitation the players chant about love with “*mora*” as the key word. *Mora* in Vianey’s (2008) analysis is the kind of love among men and women as friends and lovers, that presupposes the act of mutual giving and mutual receiving in a just way. This is the system of harmonious life in the local ideology, namely love based on justice that brings about peace. This, in the oral tradition of *teke* text

where woman is depicted as the *ine weta*, the value of peacefulness becomes the ammunition for the life gun of women. In this context, the axiology of peace is not merely the fruit of love and justice actualization, but also becomes strategic media that inspire and motivate people to cultivate the dignity of local people that have the civilization of love and justice.

By realizing the justice-based and peace-bearing love that makes the axiology of love ammunition of woman's life gun to develop and to nourish civilization, men and women in local tradition will experience the process of self-actualization by transcending themselves as divine image. This is expressed in the closing statements of the *pata teke* performance (Vianey & Lawalu, 2011) especially in couplets 168 and 169 that read as follows.

Tabel 9. Couplet 168

Text	Meaning
All: <i>Wae gha meze zale</i>	Big river in the west
<i>Bere gha pe mesi mite</i>	is flowing into the ocean
<i>Fiki gha na'a dhiri</i>	Dirty at the brink
<i>Lina gha pia kisa</i>	Clear at the center
<i>Dewa dhoro gha nenu ngia</i>	God has come to mirror
<i>Mai nenu gha ngia kita</i>	To mirror in our face

Tabel 10. Couplet 169

Text	Meaning
All: <i>O remo</i>	O correct (in action)
<i>O reti</i>	O right (in space and time)
<i>O doge</i>	O strict (in ideology of life)
<i>O deli</i>	O solid (in their socio-religious practice)

The two closing couplets express the existential truth of human being in the 'status personae' **we** that includes man and woman, and that '**our**' life journey (man and woman) is like water that flows to the ocean, to the unlimited and the unfathomable, that is, God (Deva). In the journey men and women are basically good persons,

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that they possess a crystal-clear conscience. Dirt and elements of evil is something of human nature that lies at the brink of their nature. But it is because of the crystal-clear conscience that man and woman can be understood *nenu ngia Dewa* ('God's image'), because the spirit of The Divine is willing to dwell in it and therefore in the verses above it is said that "God/Deva has come to mirror/to mirror in our face". Furthermore, in couplet 169 the ideological truth is expressed as something *remo* ('correct in action'), *reti* ('right in time'), *doge* ('strict in ideology'), and *deli* ('solid in socio-religious practices').

Through this closing couplet, it is insisted that if there are persons who feel offended in the performance of the art of *teke* then all people involved are supposed to understand and express apology to each other. Because, both parties (men and women) who have been mocking each other in the *neke* (*bhigi neke*) are equal human beings with good nature. In short, the woven verses demonstrate some values of actions considered appropriate. The verses offer good behaviors in right time and space. All these behaviors are based on strict moral principles and in solid and equal association. That is the principle of harmony that brings about peacefulness for all people, which has been the issue and content of the First World Conference on Woman in Mexico in 1975. It is an issue and content that have been concealed in the cultural texts of the art of *teke* of the *Ngadha* people in the village of *Guru Sina* that has been practiced since megalithic era.

Conclusion

Teke is a cultural text expressed in a configuration of poems, songs, and dances.

Interpretive study of the art of *teke* oral traditions has produced the category of woman ideology in local tradition, namely the ideology of *ine weta* as a variant of familial ideology. These categories of ideology can provide an opportunity for women as *ine weta* to live an egalitarian relationship with men and even to dominate men either in the domestic sphere or in public sphere, that is, by playing the role of educator for the younger generations in which she prioritizes the values of love and justice that bring about peacefulness as a shield for civilization.

The art of *teke* in a sense idealizes an egalitarian relationship between man and woman but in another sense the art of *teke* places woman in the highest place because of natural properties of motherhood and sisterhood due to her vagina and her womb. Through the understanding of the difference, men and women are inspired and motivated to pay respect to each other and to build a dignified relationship.

Therefore, through the performance of the art of *teke* texts, the value system of woman as *ine weta* that possesses and exalts the vagina and the womb can be revitalized and can be used to construct an authentic relationship between men and women now and in the future, and the novelty in this research is that the art of *teke* exists and is one of the elements of full expression of a ritual that guarantees a harmonious relationship between humans and the Sacred, and at the same time has a pedagogical function for gender

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equality by refining the understanding of a woman's dignity as mother and sister (*ine weta*) in egalitarian and harmonious social relations. Interpretive study of the art of *teke* has produced the category of woman ideology, namely the ideology of *ine weta* as a variant of familial ideology.

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