

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE TOPASS LEADERS IN OECUSSE.

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The following notes are drawn from archival research in the Nationaal Archief in Den Haag, The Netherlands, and from published Portuguese works on Timor. Among the latter, I have especially made use of the following: A. de Matos, *Timor Portugues 1515-1769* (1974); H. Leitão, *Os portugueses em Solor e Timor de 1515 a 1702* (1948); H. Leitão, *Vinto e oito anos de história de Timor (1698 a 1725)* (1952); L. de Oliveira, *Timor na história de Portugal* Vol. 1-3 (1948-52); A. de Castro, *As possessões portuguesas na Oceania* (1867); and A. Faria de Morais, *Subsídios para a historia de Timor* (1934).

The beginnings of the Hornays of Oecusse.

On the north coast of Timor, in and near the present-day Oecusse-Ambenu enclave, lay some important kingdoms in the seventeenth century. The most influential was Mena, with its centre at the mouth of the Mena River east of the present enclave. The King of Mena was important enough to be termed “King of Timor” in the second half of the sixteenth century, and for the Portuguese-Makassarese geographer Godinho de Eredia it was one of the two “imperial” realms of Timor. Its king in about 1615 was a certain Reya, whom the VOC approached in order to secure a partner in the booming sandalwood trade. Other kingdoms of note in the area were Assem (Asson) and Lifau, later to become known as Ambenu. In 1641 Mena and Lifau were ravaged by the Makassarese invasion. As a consequence of this the Portuguese sent a small force under the *Capitão Mor* Francisco Fernandes that established the Lusitanian dominance on the island. Mena at this time stood under a ruling queen who was reigning for her minor son. The Portuguese persuaded her and her 2,000 subjects to return to the ravaged port, and she was baptized by Fr. António de São Jacinto in the summer of 1641. Her son was baptized as Dom João. Churches were constructed, one in the main settlement close to the coastline, and one further inland. Lifau was evangelized at the same time by Pedro de São Josef, who reportedly baptized nearly everyone in the kingdom. These kingdoms seem to have waned as independent units after these events. The Christian King of Lifau Dom Paulo passed away in 1670 and was buried with heathen rituals – the missionary Duarte Travassos was killed when he attempted to stop the rites. In connection with this event, it is

explicitly stated in Dutch VOC sources that the kingdom of Lifau was also known as Ambenu. In later documents, there is almost never mention of a “king of Lifau” but only of Ambenu. An exception is the contract that the Dutch authorities signed with numerous Timorese rulers in 1756, where the Ambenu ruler is called raja of Lifau. Mena is mentioned the last time in 1703 when it was one of the domains that sided with the Larantuqueiro rebels against the Portuguese Crown, but it was probably then insignificant since long. According to oral stories collected by Peter Spillett (*The Pre-Colonial History of the Island of Timor*, unpubl. ms. 1999) it was transformed into the Kingdom of Biboki of modern times.

Instead, the Hornay and Da Costa families appear on the scene as dominating lords in the area. **Jan Hornay** (or Jan de Hornay or Horney) was a VOC servant who was appointed *opperhoofd* of Fort Hendricus on Solor when the old *opperhoofd* Jan Thomasz Daijman deserted and joined the Portuguese of Larantuka in the 1620s. Jan Hornay himself followed suit in the night of 8 January 1629, fleeing the Dutch stronghold and bringing with him 70 taels of gold and some other effects. He lived with the Portuguese in Larantuka for around twenty years after this event, marrying a Timorese serf who had belonged to two Portuguese Dominican monks. In fact he became one of the most influential Larantuqueiros and entertained a considerable commercial network, with the Ende region on Flores and the Mena area of Timor.

Actually it seems that we have a Scandinavian connection here. The Hornay family, according to a Dutch manuscript, was actually Danish in origin. This is borne out from the *Consideratien tot speculatie [...] op het regard van het Eylandt Timor*, written on 10 January 1689 (H 49:v, KITLV), that says that “the Noble [**António**] **Hornay** is descended from a Danish native (een deens inboorling)”. The letter alleges that his father, i.e. **Jan Hornay**, when he served the Company in Fort Hendricus, had made a Solorese lady pregnant. The local VOC functionary Ter Horst tried to press Hornay to marry the lady in question, but this was not to the liking of the Dane, who fled to Larantuka.

The story of a Danish descent is not at all improbable, though there are otherwise statements of dubious authority about Jan Hornay being an Amsterdamer (in P.J. Veth’s article on Timor in *De Gids* 1855). There were many Scandinavians and Germans who were enrolled in the VOC service (the Dutch themselves being mostly wise enough to avoid the danger-ridden journeys to the East). The name occurs, in the form Horney, as a family name in southern Scandinavia (Hornay-Horney otherwise occurs in Germany and France as a surname). A curious detail may deserve mention in this context. A Dutch missive from 1665 says that a Black Portuguese troop attacked the

pro-Dutch Sonba'i polity near Kupang in that year, fighting under two red banners with white crosses. This is, of course, the Danish flag though the similarities may be no more than coincidental, banners with crosses being very common in the Christian world. That the pregnancy of the Solorese woman caused the defection of Jan Hornay is clearly a loose rumour however; the actual cause, as pointed out in the thesis of De Roever (*De jacht op sandelhout*, 2002), was his embezzlement of lots of VOC money.

The Hornays gain power.

As the son of Jan Hornay, VOC documents mention **Gonçalvo Hornay**, the first member of the family with ruling status. The Hornay family were active in the sandalwood trade in and around Mena and Gonçalvo Hornay founded his own realm there, becoming one of the most important Timorese rulers. What the original royal family of Mena, once the putative "Kings of Timor", did about this is unclear; they probably quietly faded into insignificance. His career coincided with the Dutch establishment at Kupang in westernmost Timor, in 1653. The strong position of Gonçalvo Hornay became apparent in 1655, when the Dutch Captain Ver Heyden with 62 Dutchmen and 7-800 locals led an expedition to Amabi and Amakono. He was met by the Portuguese and their allies and killed together with some Solorese princes. According to available reports Gonçalvo Hornay (in another account António Hornay) himself cut down Ver Heyden with a blow at his neck and shoulder.

How long Gonçalvo Hornay ruled is not clear from the available materials. But in the 1660s we hear about another member of the family. This is **António Hornay**, who is described variously as son and grandson of Jan Hornay – contemporary Portuguese sources definitely favour the first alternative. Also, for chronological reasons that seems most plausible (if Jan Hornay married the Timorese lady after his defection in 1629 a grandson of his could hardly have been born earlier than c. 1650 – but António Hornay comes to the fore as early as the mid 1650s when he fought against the Dutch). The Dutch "*Consideratien...*" from 1689 give a few further particularities about António Hornay's career. He was born in Larantuka and was trained in the use of weapons since young. When he had reached manly age he participated in campaigning on Timor. Through his remarkable feats of arms he came into high consideration and entertained good relations with Amarasi, a Timorese kingdom closely allied to the Portuguese. The Portuguese strongman in the eastern Archipelago, Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo (d. 1667), favoured António Hornay as leader of the Larantuqueiro community after the death of the cruel *capitão mor* Simão Luis in January 1664. The Portuguese heads

Francisco Carneiro Sequeira (1651-c. 1655) and Simão Luis (c. 1655-1664) had been the first captains to reside part of the time on Timor, and not just in Larantuka on Flores. António Hornay ruled as *capitão mor* in the years 1664/66-1669, residing on Timor, but the appointment was less than popular among the Larantuqueiros themselves, who lodged a protest against the machinations of Vieira Godinho and against Hornay in May 1666. The reason was, apparently, that Vieira had favoured the Jesuit missionaries, whereas the Larantuqueiros were accustomed of obeying their Dominican Fathers in religious matters.

In the same year there were conflicts between various Portuguese leaders, as shown by the VOC papers of the Dutch Fort Concordia in Kupang. The merchant-adventurer Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, who called himself “Major over Timor”, got problems in 1665, since Portuguese residing in Lifau, Amanuban etc. rather preferred **Mateus da Costa**, an old brother-in-arms of Hornay, as the new *capitão mor*, and threatened to assault the ships of Vieira, wishing to demote Hornay from his position. Mateus da Costa’s standing was strengthened by his marriage to a daughter or sister of the powerful king of Amanuban. Hornay on his side tried to cut off the trade committed by his adversaries and keep the sandalwood trade for himself. Mateus da Costa, who was considered a loyal servant of the Crown, took measures to expel António Hornay and, according to a Portuguese letter, led a rising against the new *capitão mor* in the year 1666, apparently keeping a strong position in Lifau. A VOC document contains a curious story that took place on Pentacost 1667. A seaman who served as informed to the Dutch had seen Francisco Vieira at the church in Larantuka, as he had António Hornay brought there from Amarasi in fetters (!). Vieira and the foremost Padre then held a “more than usual ugly golden crown” above his head. Francisco Vieiro then took a sword and dubbed António Hornay as knight in the name of the viceroy of Goa. With grand state and cheering from the people, he was led to his house. The VOC, apprehending this, were quick to dispatch a letter with a Timorese to Lifau that informed the Mateus da Costa about it. The reason for this dispatch was that the Dutch of Kupang wanted repayment of an old debt from someone in charge of the Portuguese affairs. Mateus da Costa replied to the VOC that Francisco Vieira had refused that. Not long after, however, Vieira died in Larantuka from a fever. The Portuguese themselves said that he had been helped to the other side “by the world” – in other words he would have been murdered.

Hornay’s power grew strong, however; only the enclave around Kupang and the kingdoms Ade, Hon and Manatuto in the far east stayed outside his auspices for the time being. After the said three eastern domains had joined

contacts with the Dutch post in Banda in 1668, Hornay attacked them and killed or abducted more than 2,000 East Timorese.

From the other VOC documents a few further details of Hornay's first period of rulership might be added. The Kupang *Dagh-Register* (Daily record) 1665, of which some extracts have been preserved, gives an idea of the Portuguese positions in that year. The *Dagh-Register* enumerated five domains in East Timor that were held by the Portuguese, and where there was sandal, wax and turtlesHELLS to be found:

Tieven

Nussepoko

Lakero

Batibore alias Koetbabo

Kaylako

Four further realms had been devastated by the Portuguese:

Bulbo

Sillawang

Batogedde

Ioanye

Another kingdom, Amatassy, was explored by the Company servants but no people were to be seen there. The King himself had been hanged by the Portuguese since he had sold some sandal to the Makassarese.

Assem and Mena were characterized as Portugal's most faithful friends on this island.

Finally the *Dagh-Register* noted that the population of Lifau was increased through the import of prisoners coming from places like Cochin and Cannanore (in India).

In 1669 Hornay apparently had to step down or withdraw to Larantuka, for in that year arrived a certain Fernão Martins da Ponte from Macau as the new *Capitão Mor*. He was acknowledged by the moradores in Lifau but not by Hornay who had his stronghold in Larantuka. Martins was a very strict man who had the commander of the fleet hanged for some offense. He also had plans to make himself master of the Dutch Fort Henricus on Solor, or so the Dutch thought. This man made himself guilty of various excesses and soon met resistance from the Topasses. In order to escape with his life he fled the island in a small boat and eventually made it to Portuguese India where he was punished for his poor performance. He was succeeded by Mateus da Costa (1670-1672). This man was known to be steadfastly loyal to the Portuguese Crown. In the early 1650s he fought in a detachment led by the priest Jordão de São Domingos and saved the day when the men were attacked by the pro-Dutch King of Amanense (?Amanesi = Amanatun). His rising against Hornay and Vieira in 1666 and 1667 was apparently without

success but he must have retained a considerable influence. In all his acts he displayed great dedication for the royal cause of Portugal. He entertained close ties to certain Timorese groups through his marriage to an Amanuban princess, and had a daughter by this marriage, who was later married to Lourenço Lopes. By a mistress he had a son called Domingos da Costa. However, he passed away after a short tenure and the people elected a certain Manuel da Costa Vieira as their *capitão mor*.

The Kingdoms of Ade and Mantutu were a bone of contention between the Portuguese and the VOC in this period. These areas were claimed by the Portuguese to have been under the overlordship of their king since long, but the inhabitants disagreed on this point. A copper-rich mountain was reputed to exist in the area, which made the Company interested in gaining ground there. The Portuguese themselves had never extracted copper on Timor, according to a report from 1669. In 1671 we read in the Dutch *Generale Missiven* that the Portuguese ravaged the northeast coast of Timor “very inhuman”, thereby taking a steady grip on Ade-Mantutu. Due to the oppression of Hornay the king of that place Ama Sili and his brother Ama Saba tried to withdraw from Topass dominance and find Company protection. In 1668 the king wrote a contract with the VOC, all in vain as it turned out. In 1675 António Hornay, who had commenced his second tenure as Topass leader, acted with brutal efficiency. Ama Saba was killed in cold blood while Ama Sili went to settle on Kisar; he was baptized as Salomon. He finally chose to withdraw to the Island of Wetar but hoped to be restored in Ade-Mantutu with Company assistance. The VOC cautiously said that this would probably take its time. Ama Sili stayed on Wetar for many years where he was busy delivering wax to the Company.

Some of this expansion of Portuguese power was effectuated by Mateus da Costa, who is said to have brought the whole Belunese coast under Portugal’s overlordship while he governed. The kernel area of support for the Portuguese power was, however, Amakono in the old Atoni empire of Sonba’i. As for the activities of António Hornay the Dutch *Consideratien* from 1689 says that he went out to fight Mateus da Costa with the purpose of snatching ruling powers from him. For the time being this attempt miscarried, but after Da Costa’s death he again took to arms without having any legal right to do so.

António Hornay regains power.

Mateus da Costa did not die in 1673, as usually stated in the textbooks, but on 30 November 1672. His successor was Manuel da Costa Vieira, who was

elected by the local moradores and ruled for a short time in Lifau. During his tenure as *capitão mor* he was involved in a war with Asem, Mena and Belu, that involved almost the whole island in conflict. At the same time he feared for António Hornay, who was reputed to have gone from Larantuka to Nomba in Flores with twelve ships in 1673. It was anyway certain that armed vessels had been collected at Larantuka. The consequences were soon to be seen. António Hornay set out from Larantuka, landing at Lifau and rashly attacking Vieira. He accused Manuel da Costa Vieira of having ravaged Asem and killed or enslaved all the inhabitants without any real reason, after unproven accusations of having relations with the VOC. António Hornay certainly had the support of the kingdoms of Mena and Asem and the various Belunese regents who had all rebelled against Manuel da Costa Vieira. The only friend of Vieira was apparently the Sonba'i "emperor" in Amakono who had once assisted Mateus da Costa in expelling António Hornay in the 1660s. The details of the Lifau battle vary from source to source. According to a missive it was a rather swift affair where the moradores of Lifau gave up after three persons had been killed. One of the Timorese allies of the Company told a vastly exaggerated story that 90 moradores had fallen. Anyway Hornay had himself appointed *capitão mor* and kept the title until his death on 15 June 1693.

After having gained the *capitão mor*-ship António Hornay in general turned out to be a harsh master for the Timorese, with brutal punishments being meted out for cases of disobedience. A VOC scribe, writing in 1689, thought that this brutality could be to the advantage of the Company, since the areas under Portuguese domination were so discontent with Hornay. The Topasses, he wrote, were numerous, but of pure Europeans there were no more than 50 men who were furthermore no more than deserters and "bad people".

From 1673 to 1693 António Hornay was thus the dominating political force on Timor, enjoying the formal title of *capitão mor* since 1677, when he impeded the accession of one João Antunes Portugal. Antunes had arrived with a patent from the king and the viceroy of Goa to become *capitão mor* but was "quite contemptibly" slighted by António Hornay and was so badly treated in Lifau that he soon left again on a sailing craft. The struggle with the Dutch continued although the Netherlands and Portugal were officially at peace. Especially Amarassi was an instrument in the hand of the Topasses and made repeated incursions against the Kupangese and others that belonged to the pro-Netherlands faction in the west.

To all appearances António Hornay was a "self-made man" who cared little about what the remote Portuguese authorities might think of his activities. Still he sometimes sent donations of sandalwood to Goa in order to keep the

viceroy in good humour. He also made a promise to donate his possessions to the crown of Portugal at his death. The Dutch, dominant in much of the rest of Nusantara, humbly had to ask the Hornays to be gracefully allowed to trade on Timor's south coast. António Hornay thereby decided the trading quota and the prices for the VOC representatives.

The Pimentel interlude.

This stern master, who had managed Timor with excessive violence for decades, finally passed away on 15 June 1693. Far from keeping his promise of returning the possessions to Portugal he gave them to his brother **Francisco Hornay**, who was named Procurator of the Crown on the Islands of Solor and Timor. He was far less able than his brother, however, being described in Portuguese sources an inert figure. His inefficiency paved the way for a new attempt by Goa to regain its influence. This incompetence is not explicitly stated by VOC pieces, who however complain over the overbearing and arrogant attitude of Francisco that was if anything worse than that of António. In a letter to the Company he actually referred to himself and to his elder brother "Governor of Timor and Solor" – strictly speaking unjustified of course, since governors were only appointed from 1696. He was pushed aside by the first appointed governor, António de Mesquita Pimentel. The unpopularity of Francisco Hornay gave cause of wild rejoicing among the *moradores* at the place.

The rejoicing soon died down, however, for António de Mesquita Pimentel led a rather hard rule. The eldest son of António Hornay, Pedro Hornay, and two other prominent persons, were killed since they were accused of having wished to kill Pimentel. The old Francisco Hornay was forced to flee to the padres of the church in Lifau. A great terror struck the moradores of the port, and some were thinking of fleeing. Inevitably, they began to conspire with those of Larantuka. In January 1697 forty armed prahus from this place landed at Lifau. The landing met with no resistance, the locals having no taste in the rigorous rule of Mesquita Pimentel. The Governor and his Tenente Alvare de Soisa were captured in their houses, and **Domingos da Costa**, natural son of Mateus da Costa, was hastily chosen as *capitão mor*. The Tenente of Belu was appointed Tenente of Lifau.

With iron around his legs Alvare de Soisa had to embark on a *bangsal* belonging to a Manuel da Costa and was brought to Larantuka with 3-4 other people. De Soisa was married to a natural daughter of António Hornay. Mesquita Pimentel likewise had to leave Timor. The aged Francisco Hornay and his secretary Tomas Duarte both died on 1 June 1697. Their

simultaneous deaths just after the Da Costa takeover may undoubtedly cast suspicion about the circumstances. About the causes of their decease, however, nothing is noted in the VOC documents.

The coming of the white governor.

Domingos da Costa was now ruling the domains of António Hornay. Step by step the Larantuqueiro lords became like local rajas, and in the Portuguese archival pieces Domingos is sometimes called "*regulo*" (petty king). He would lead the Topass faction until his death in 1722. His career was filled to the brim with violent struggles against the representatives of the Portuguese Crown. From the travel account of the Englishman William Dampier, who visited Timor in 1699, it would seem that his rule was always contested. Dampier mentions a Portuguese leader in Larantuka (apparently Domingos da Costa) and one in eastern Timor, who were enemies. He noted that the mestiço population at Lifau were careful to depict themselves as good Portuguese. Lifau itself, however, was a rather insignificant and ramshackle place at this time. At the same time, the authorities in Goa in India planned to put Timor closer under the administration of the Crown of Portugal. In early 1702 two ships containing more than 80 soldiers and the newly appointed governor António Coelho Guerreiro set out from Macau and soon reached the coast of East Flores. Letters were sent to Domingos da Costa and the local Dominican Brothers in Larantuka, but the reaction was extremely hostile. An attempted landing was made by the White Portuguese and a fight ensued. Finally the White Portuguese had to withdraw and sailed to Lifau which was reached at 14 February 1702. At Lifau the main authority was Lourenço Lopes, a Portuguese from Macau who was the brother-in-law of Domingos da Costa, having married the latter's half-sister.

Also present at Lifau was the controversial Dominican missionary Manuel de Santo António, born in 1661 in Goa, who had arrived to Timor in 1697. An uncompromising man of great missionary zeal, he had established himself in the important East Timorese kingdom of Luca and also devoted himself to the spiritual needs of Viqueque and Bibiluto. Frei Manuel managed to turn the influential King of Viqueque, Dom Mateus da Costa, into a fervent Catholic. His spiritual authority (which certainly meant something rather different to the Timorese than to Western Christians) was such that he persuaded a number of warlike princes to end their mutual hostilities and devote themselves to the Catholic Church and the Portuguese Crown. Among these were Dom António Hornay of Samoro, Dom Sebastião Fernandes of Luca, Dom Pedro Hornay of Fatuleteluli, Dom Miguel Tavares of Alas, and Dom Domingos Soares of Manatutu. The names Da Costa and Hornay borne by

some of these lords do not imply physical relationship with the Topass leaders but rather testifies to the prestige that these two lineages held on the island at the time.

The pro-Portuguese stance taken by Frei Manuel spelt bad news for Domingos da Costa. The missionary mediated between Coelho Guerreiro and the moradores at Lifau and Lourenço Lopes was finally persuaded to accept the authority of the Crown. The White Portuguese thus established themselves in the port, strengthened the defences and made contacts with various local rajas. The Sonba'i and Amakono lords came to Lifau to see the new governor, as did the sons of Ambenu, Amanuban and Amanatun. Domingos da Costa, however, did not give up his position on Timor. From his strongholds in Larantuka on Flores and Animata (Ainmat) on Timor he continued to harass the Crown servants as far as possible, beating their forces at Noemuti in the interior. In connection with these power struggles, the name Oecusse appears in the sources for the first time, as one of the places where the Da Costa faction collected their forces.

The Timor missives of the VOC contain many notes on the conflict between Domingos da Costa and António Coelho Guerreiro. Da Costa and his Topasses attempted to attack the governor in Lifau on 22 October 1702. However, before the fortifications of the port they were driven off by the White Portuguese fire. In Fort Concordia it was felt that the VOC should better not interfere in this conflict, but rather let both parts "jump in the bay". Coelho Guerreiro and his successors as governors often accused the Dutch of assisting the "rebels" with munitions and other support but this is not quite borne out by the VOC records

After a turbulent governorship the able Coelho Guerreiro returned in 1705. He was succeeded on temporary basis first by Manuel de Santo António (1705) and then by Lourenço Lopes (1705-06).

Changing allegiance of Domingos da Costa.

Domingos da Costa's chance came when the next ordinary governor, Jácome de Morais Sarmiento (1706-10) turned out to be an unbalanced and undiplomatic figure who nearly ruined the authority of the Crown on Timor. What is more, the resources of the Portuguese centre at Lifau were almost depleted. On a military expedition to the Kingdom of Motael Frei Manuel, who was revered by many Timorese, was forced to go along with the soldiers against his own will, and Morais Sarmiento furthermore arrested the faithful Dom Mateus da Costa of Viqueque when the latter expressed doubts on a point of strategy. All this turned the great majority of the Timorese kingdoms

against the governor who was beleaguered by Da Costa and his allies in Lifau in 1708. At this moment, when the White Portuguese power seemed on the verge of total collapse, Frei Manuel de Santo António miraculously saved the situation. He bravely went out from Lifau to the camp of Domingos da Costa and by a show of glowing rhetoric persuaded the rebel to submit to the Portuguese Crown. Da Costa was officially made *capitão mor* of Larantuka and of the Island of Sumba (that was anyway outside the real sphere of power of the Black and White Portuguese!).

This arrangement held on for some time. Domingos da Costa was even made governor for some years, 1715-1718. The beginnings of his governorship were not very successful. According to the Dutch his bad manners of living made him detested by the White Portuguese, so that war threatened to break out. It never went that far, however, and Domingos da Costa seems to have filled his official position relatively loyally. The seat of the Topass faction on Timor at this time was not Lifau, however, but Animata (Ainmat) at some distance south of Oecussi-Pantemacassar. Da Costa's loyalty to the King of Portugal was severely tested, however, with the troubles that arose during the governorship of Francisco de Mello de Castro (1718-19). The relationship between Frei Manuel de Santo António, since many years titular Bishop of Malacca, and the Portuguese governors was never particularly hearty. The headstrong character of the missionary led to conflicts with White and Black Portuguese alike. Matters came to their head, however, when the Bishop excommunicated Mello de Castro and the latter stated that he would like to put his adversary in a small boat on the ocean to preach for the fishes! The situation on the island finally became so tense that Mello de Castro suddenly left his post "*cobardemente*" and went to Batavia and further to India. The Bishop of Malacca now took over the governorship on a temporary basis, 1719-1722, although he got official investiture from Goa only in 1721. He appointed a number of indigenous aristocrats as Portuguese officials. Domingos Soares of Manatutu became *capitão mor* of the Provincia dos Belos, Dom António Hornay of Samoro became tenente superior of the same province. As *tenente general* of Servião the Bishop appointed Francisco Hornay who stayed in Larantuka. He was the son-in-law of Domingos da Costa and only accepted the post after consulting the latter. Domingos da Costa presumably entrusted this important military position to his son-in-law due to his old age.

New troubles arose quickly, for the strong and uncompromising character of the Bishop of Malacca went badly with the high-handed disposition of Da Costa. In 1720 he excommunicated Domingos da Costa after having enumerated all his unlawful acts against the church and the royal sovereignty. Matters came to their head when the Bishop encouraged the King of Servião

(in Dutch sources, Amakono), Atopá, to attack Domingos da Costa while the *arraiais* of Belos were occupied with a war in East Timor. To give Atopá a hand the Bishop sent a detachment under Martinho Ferreira de Aragão and decided to march against Animata with the *capitão mor* of the Lifau auxiliaries, Dom Ventura da Costa. The latter was no relation of Domingos but a son of the old King of Viqueque, Dom Mateus da Costa. Domingos da Costa understood what was going on and immediately went out with whatever *arraiais* he could collect. In the ensuing fight Atopá suffered great losses and was killed and his domain, Amakono, was severely ravaged. Martinho Ferreira de Aragão fled towards Belos with whatever people who had survived the attack by the old and redoubtable Larantuqueiro. Dom Ventura da Costa hastened back to Lifau. But the Bishop was not slow in raising new strong *arraiais* in the Belos province, that would be able to crush the forces of Domingos da Costa.

Before more had happened, however, Da Costa's hand was bowed down by a stronger force than that of the Bishop. Only ten days after the holocaust of Amakono he expired in Animata due to some illness, in the night of 23 February 1722, presumably worn down by the terrible spiritual and physical attacks by the Bishop. The Bishop had nothing good to say of his deceased part-time enemy and part-time fellow. People said that the illness came in his throat in the shape of a cross, that was actually the cross of the Bishop of Malacca. That curses lodged by individual persons may cause someone's death is a typical Timorese belief, discussed in the thesis of P. Middelkoop (*Curse-Retribution-Enmity*). And as Da Costa's wife sat in grief at his coffin in their home, voices could be heard, from the souls tormented in hell.

Francisco Hornay and the great rebellions.

Few days after the decease of Domingos da Costa the Topass leadership was bestowed by the rebellious moradores on his son-in-law and heir **Francisco Hornay**. Hornay's first act was to let the remnants of the defeated and captured Amakono population return to their homeland in order to collect sandalwood, beeswax etc. His relationship to the first Francisco Hornay who ruled in 1693-1696 is not stated. Anyway he was immediately confronted by the Bishop of Malacca who tried to strip him of the title of *tenente general* and enticed *arraiais* from Belos to castigate the new Larantuqueiro leader. His manoeuvres were cut short, however, by the arrival of a new governor, António de Albuquerque Coelho (1722-1725). The troublesome Bishop was resolutely shipped away to Macau and then Goa, thus leaving Timor after 25 turbulent years on the island. Albuquerque Coelho lounged an abortive attack against Servião that interestingly indicated the great authority of the exiled

Bishop: lots of Timorese were not interested in fighting for someone who had expelled their religious leader. Instead Albuquerque Coelho tried to win Francisco Hornay to his side by again securing the title *tenente general* for him. But the relations between governor and *tenente general* were strained by the dealings that the latter had with the Dutch in Kupang. During the next governor, António Moniz de Macedo (1725-1728), a major revolt broke out headed by Camenaça in Belos. Macedo, having secured the nominal loyalty of Francisco Hornay, was able to crush the uprising with utmost difficulty in 1726, with the capture of King Dom Aleixo of Cailaco. The root of the discontent was the taxes that were considered oppressive by the Timorese, and disturbances continued to plague the Portuguese government. Supposedly, Francisco Hornay masterminded much of this in spite of his official subjugation. He is described as being rather old and apparently somewhat less bellicose than the redoubtable Domingos da Costa.

In the year 1728 the new Portuguese governor Pedro de Mello arrived at the roadstead of Lifau, where he quickly ran into trouble with the Topasses. Now, Pedro de Mello carelessly received a certain mestiço officer called Francisco Carvalho who fled to Lifau out of fear for his master Francisco Hornay. Thus a serious conflict arose between the two protagonist, the “White” and the “Black” Portuguese.

Parallel with this the new governor found at his arrival that the treasury of the administration was empty and proceeded to collect taxes from the local lords who acknowledged Portugal’s suzerainty. His predecessor as governor had promised to abolish the major impositions in order to decrease discontent on the unruly island, but this was ignored by De Mello. He furthermore proceeded to arrest four Timorese lords whom he apparently suspected of disloyalty. By then a revolt against the governor was underway through the efforts of the regents of certain Belunese principalities who were enticed by Francisco Hornay. Together with some Topasses the Timorese rebels attacked the retainers of the white governor and killed two of them. Hornay also got hold of two slaves belonging to the new governor and maimed them so that one died. Pedro de Mello furiously accused the VOC to supply his adversaries with gunpowder and lead. Rashly he declared that Holland was now his enemy. This already rather confused situation was not remedied by the assistance that deserters from the Dutch fort provided the white governor against the Topasses. In the midst of all this Francisco Hornay died in 1730. This timely death brought little relief to Pedro de Mello, since Hornay’s successor João Cave managed to subjugate large Belunese areas that had been beyond the control of the “Black Portuguese”. Through this enterprise the position of Pedro de Mello in Lifau worsened considerably. The peace proposals made from Lifau were declined by the rebels and to make

things even worse two hundred whites fell victim to a smallpox epidemic. The annual ship from Macau in South China failed to appear with necessities, and there was a lack of foodstuff in Lifau.

In the Dutch archives can be found a relation a mission from Kupang to Tulang Ikan in June 1729, that casts some light on the situation during this tumultuous period. On 5 June Simon van Zon and P. Phenoe travelled with the mestiço burger Dominicus Macquelyn towards Tulang Ikan and Lifau in order to inquire about a Company sloop that had disappeared. On 7 June they arrived to Tulang Ikan. They went to Francisco Hornay and turned over their missive in the presence of three priests. They got the answer that this sloop, that the Lifau governor Pedro de Mello falsely asserted that Hornay had appropriated, in actual fact had gone to Dili. However, 19 days ago it had parted, without him knowing where it had gone, without helmsman nor captain. It was manned by 16 persons. One of these 16 had died. The tenente suggested to the Dutchmen that if they did not believe him they could go there themselves, and offered his help so they could get there quickly. The Dutch answered that their instructions were not to go to Dili but to ask him about a sloop of the Company. The tenente responded friendly that they stayed at the roadstead until next morning. He would speak with his councillors and thereby open the letter the messengers had brought and answer it. Thus the Dutchmen stayed until the next day when the tenente invited them again. He declared that he had read the Company's letter and from this he found the same substance as in the discussion yesterday. He reiterated that he knew no more about a Company sloop than he said before. In order to reinforce that, he showed them the chiefs of 5 ships that lay at the roadstead, being 4 from Alor and 1 from Panday (Pantar), who were present when the sloop went towards Dili. Questioning them, the story of the tenente was confirmed. Francisco Hornay suggested that when returning from Lifau the Dutchmen would once again stop over at his place in order to pick up a letter with an answer to the *opperhoofd* (the Dutch resident) and the Kupang council. Having promised that, the Dutch departed on 8 June, 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Having set sails they were impeded by contrary winds, but around 9 o'clock in the evening they arrived at the roadstead of Lifau. Their boat was towed in by a *schuyt* send out by the governor of that place.

The next day, 9 June, having landed, they were brought before the residing governor of Lifau, Pedro de Mello and handed over the letter from the *opperhoofd* and the council, telling about their mission. But when the governor heard that they had been to Tulang Ikan he flew in a fit of rage. With a Portuguese accent he angrily threatened to put the messengers in iron in order to send them to Batavia, and to complain to the viceroy of Goa and

so on. However, when his fury had receded a bit he asked them if the tenente of Tulang Ikan had not seized the Company sloop. They answered that the tenente of the Black Portuguese had given them a negative response to that question. Pedro de Mello terribly cursed the tenente of the blacks at Tulang Ikan, and wanted to persuade the Dutch by violent or other means, to believe that the Black Portuguese had seized the Company sloop. The messengers started to refer to the good alliance between the Crown of Portugal and the Dutch Staaten Generaal, implying that he ought to assist in the restitution of the ship. This, however, was against his intention, as he excused himself that he could not be of help due to the war that he waged against the black rebels to the Crown of Portugal. From the talk of the governor it appeared to the Dutchmen that all this was “sermons” that he held in order to entice the Company against the Belunese. They also noted clearly enough how hard pressed he was by the tenente of Tulang Ikan. This was also clear from the attempts that he had made to achieve a peace with his enemies, the Amarasians, and the Timorese allies of the VOC, through the captain Josephie Fernandie (José Fernandes?) who had been sent to Kupang in May 1729. Thus the Dutchmen were discouraged to speak more about the sloop with Pedro de Mello, who kept them busy with his lengthy daily meetings until 13 June.

Three Europeans had earlier, in 1728, jumped ship from the *pantchiallang* Lethij coming from the Dutch Banda islands to Maubara and Dili, and had since then stayed around these places. The governor declared that this was a cheap matter (een billijke zaak), to replace people leaping from the one or the other side. However, since the three Hollanders were not present in Lifau, he promised to write about this to Belu, and to communicate with the opperhoofd and council in Kupang about the proceedings. And there the matter rested. Finally, on 13 June, the messengers could leave Lifau with a letter to the opperhoofd and the council, bidding farewell to the governor Pedro de Mello. About 6 o'clock in the afternoon they set sail and came to the roadstead of Tulang Ikan after a hard trip against the wind.

On Tuesday 14 June, towards the noon around 11 o'clock, they again went to the tenente general, who received them very friendly and politely asked if they had got any better knowledge about the Company sloop and its arrival to Dili. He added that the Lifau governor Pedro de Mello had told them lies in order to bring about hate and engender difficulties. If this succeeded, it would suit the interests of Pedro de Mello, since the two parties now waged intense war against each other. The tenente also said that, pending the breaking of their pagilling (?), that he would send good bamboos to them. He told the Dutchmen to wait a little and he would then provide them with a letter to the resident and council of Kupang. The next day, 15 June, they

returned to Francisco Hornay who treated them very generously and afterwards gave them a letter in hand and then bade farewell. The rest of the day they waited for the bamboos, which were however not brought to them. In accordance with the instructions they therefore set sail in the evening around 11 o'clock and arrived to Kupang on Friday 17 June about 5 o'clock in the evening. The relation was drawn up on 17 June 1729 in Fort Concordia at Kupang.

Strangely enough the immeasurable chaos of these years did not spell the end of Portugal's colonial presence in this corner of Asia. The next governor Pedro do Rego Barreto de Gama e Castro (1731-1734) managed to obtain the submission of the most important rebels through the mediation of the respected *padre* or Catholic priest Manuel do Pilar. The resistance subsequently petered out and the banner of the *Quinas* would fly from the Portuguese strongholds on Timor for another two and a half centuries.

The era of Gaspar da Costa.

João Cave apparently retained the leadership of the Topasses for but a short time. The leadership of the Larantuqueiros again revolved to the da Costa side. In the literature one sometimes finds the assertion that the two clans were rivals, but after the 1670s I have found little evidence of outright enmity between them. Anyway, a few years later, in 1734 António Moniz de Macedo began his second tenure as Governor of Solor and Timor. When he arrived to his destination he was welcomed by **Gaspar da Costa**, the new Larantuqueiro ruler. It appears that old Domingos da Costa left sons, but I have seen no information about Gaspar's exact parentage. Presumably he was a son or rather grandson of Domingos. António Moniz de Macedo (ruling 1734-1741), tried to remove some of the causes of the discontent by substituting the old taxes (*fintas*) with a fee per capita – in a time when there was no possibility of making a census! The period up to the late 1740s appears to have been relatively free from tumultuous events in the Portuguese sphere on Timor, at least in terms of clashes between the Black and White Portuguese. The latter even commended Gaspar da Costa for his "*liberalidade*". Da Costa promised in 1741 to donate funds for a religious seminar in the Portuguese colony. The funds were to be taken from Beboki and Insana, two kingdoms that had been brought under Da Costa's ancestors. The Portuguese authorities even suggested that Gaspar da Costa should be ennobled and accepted in the Order of Christ, though this was to be postponed until he had actually paid the donation as promised, which he was slow in doing. Meanwhile the same Gaspar da Costa seems to have asserted his domination over the larger part of Timor, asking little for the directions of

the Portuguese Crown. His eldest son and heir Balthazar, who ended up in France, characterized his father as a bonafide Timorese king, ruler of Solor and Timor and *tenente general* with his seat in Animata.

The story of this Balthazar has been traced by A. Jourdan Lombard (*Archipel* 16 1978). He was born around 1735-38. He was persuaded by the Dominican priest Padre Ignacio de São José that he should perfect his education by a sejour in France and got the consent of Gaspar da Costa. In about early 1748 Balthazar left Timor for Macau on a Portuguese boat, accompanied by Padre Ignacio and lots of servants and riches. In Macau the slaves were sold off for merchandise on the initiative of the priest. The prince and his preceptor went on board a French ship that arrived to Lorient in France in the summer of 1749. There Padre Ignacio quite simply disappeared with the goods, leaving the hapless prince to fend for himself. Prince Balthazar pursued the rest of his life in the West under small circumstances, as a ship's cook and humble relief-seeker. His plight was noted by some French persons of standing, and his story was even published in a booklet written by a lawyer. He finally passed away poor and forgotten, probably in 1774. We possess a French written testimony of a man who claimed to have visited Timor in 1754 and to have encountered the ruler in Animata, presumed to be the father of Prince Balthazar. This king, he said, was 63-64 years old, around 1,70 meters of length, with curly hair and dark complexion. The royal settlement, close to Lifau, consisted of about 1,800 houses. The king had, apart from the prince in France, three more sons and a daughter married to the Prince Massé. There is evidently something wrong with this account, for in 1754 Gaspar da Costa was no more alive. Either the year of the Timor visit is incorrect or else the Frenchman mixes up information. Probably the latter is the case; he presumably met João Hornay, *tenente general* in the years 1749-57, who belonged to the generation before Gaspar da Costa although he was his successor. This fits much better with the alleged age of the ruler, 63-64 years.

On Timor Gaspar da Costa's actions led to rebellions where some kingdoms in western Timor opposed the Larantuqueiros, especially the prestigious Sonba'i, the foremost West Timorese principality in terms of symbolical importance whose liurai or ruler was even termed "emperor" (keizer, emperador) by the Dutch and Portuguese. The kingdom of Amfoan-Sorbian rashly attacked the Topass strongholds with some success in 1748, with the intent of submitting themselves to the VOC in Kupang and oust the Topasses. Da Costa, alarmed by the setbacks, started to behave in a brutal fashion towards other principalities in order to deter them from rebelling. The result was exactly the opposite. Masses of people subsequently fled towards the Dutch sphere of interest to look for protection, in early 1749. Now

Gaspar da Costa, overconfident of his capabilities, attacked Dutch Kupang with a considerable army consisting of tens of thousands of soldiers. From surviving records, it would seem that the aim of the expedition was to bring the defecting subjects, especially the Sonbai, back to the Portuguese sphere. He was however completely routed at the battle of Penefui east of Kupang in November 1749, as a small force of burgers, mardijkers, Rotenese etc. staged a rash attack on the Topass encampment. When Gaspar da Costa attempted to leave the battlefield on horseback he was pierced by a Timorese assegai, while his followers were slaughtered in the thousands. The official Portuguese governor in Lifau shed no tears, since Gaspar was considered a poor subject of the Crown who did not deserve better.

The aftermath of Penefui.

It is known from the Dutch report quoted in the article by A. Haga in TBG 1882 that Gaspar's successor was **João Hornay**. His connection with the earlier Hornays is not stated; we only know that he was a grandson of a Dutch *onderkoopman* Daniel de Koks who ran over to the Portuguese side, apparently far back in the 17th century. Probably this De Koks married in the Solor-Timor waters and got a daughter who was in her turn married to a Hornay, giving birth to João. He took over in a very difficult situation. Right after the battle the areas still adhering to Portugal were only Lifau, Ambenu, Insana, Biboki, Sahoenava [?], Tunbaba, Baigomi, Ambabo and Naayolie [?] – taken together some 8,000 armed men. The Topasses also lacked gunpowder, though the Makassarese traders soon willingly supplied them with this.

Hornay and the Governor attempted to lure the recent Company allies, Amanuban, Amakono (Sonba'i) and Amarasi, away from their new protectors and succeeded in gaining the defection of the kings of the last two, though to no avail for Portugal. In 1752 the liurai of Sonba'i was arrested by the Dutch and banished to Batavia, while Amarasi was attacked and crushed by the pro-Dutch forces, its king committing suicide. In one respect, however, the Topasses were successful against the Dutch. Their stronghold in Noemuti withstood all attempts by Kupang to subdue it. The new *tenente general* appears to have avoided direct conflict with the Portuguese governor – there were few resources for such adventures in the present situation. After the decease of Manuel Correia de Lacerda (r. 1748-1751) he even participated in a ruling junta in Lifau, 1751, and then left power to the new Governor Manuel Doutel de Figueiredo Sarmiento (r. 1751-1759). This Hornay, as discussed above, is presumably the "King of Solor and Timor" at Animata who was seen

by a French witness in Company service in 1754, a man of c. 63-64 years and thus born in c. 1690.

João Hornay died after a rather short rule, in 1757. He had a son who was, however, passed over to the benefit of **Domingos da Costa II**. This new *tenente general* was a brother of Gaspar da Costa. João Hornay had a sister called **Donna Maria** who governed Larantuka at the time. Her position was so crucial that the local VOC servants thought of placing an attractive post-keeper in Solor who might marry the lady and thus unite Larantuka with the Dutch possessions! The idea was not followed up, however, and the lady herself was not young anymore. She was the widow of a certain Mateus da Costa. Donna Maria was not happy about the decision to appoint Domingos, so we see here a certain friction between the Topasses in Larantuka and those in Timor, respectively. However, the conflict was solved through a strategic marriage. A sister of Gaspar and Domingos da Costa was married to the son and main heir of João Hornay

The name of this son of João Hornay is disclosed through a study of a later VOC document, where João is referred to as father of **Francisco Hornay**. Also, in a letter from 1769 the Governor António José Telles de Meneses informs the reader that Domingos da Costa II was the brother-in-law of Francisco Hornay, who was the leading political force among the Topasses on Timor. This Francisco Hornay is mentioned as King of Oecusse in a collection of VOC notes, in a piece pertaining to 1761 (see Roo van Alderwerelt in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde* 1904). This is the first time the present writer has seen the title King of Oecusse. It would appear that there was a certain division of power after 1757; Da Costa took over the *tenente general*-ship while Hornay dominated the Oecusse area. A third important member of the ruling constellation was **António da Costa**, King of Noemuti, whom the 1769 letter describes as the brother of Domingos.

The new Francisco Hornay had troubles with the stern German head of Fort Concordia, Hans Albrecht von Plüskow, who ravaged the Topass stronghold of Animata in 1759 and attempted to win over several kingdoms from the Portuguese to the Dutch side. Hornay, however, took a bloody revenge on the Dutch in 1761, when the latter attempted to reinstate the official Portuguese governor in Lifau, Sebastião de Azevedo e Brito. Von Plüskow arrived to the roadstead of Lifau with an expedition. During negotiations with Francisco Hornay and António da Costa at the beach he was treacherously slain with some of his men. The deed was never revenged, which was naturally seen by the Timorese as a token of weakness on the part of the Company.

Some time later, in 1762-1763, Francisco Hornay participated in a ruling junta governing in Lifau in the name of the Portuguese king. However, he had a fallout with his colleagues and withdrew. A belligerent lady who had a considerable part in all this was his mother Dona Agostinha, the widow of João Hornay. This woman of standing was the mother of Francisco Hornay and his younger brother Pedro Hornay. Dona Agostinha was not very popular among the White Portuguese; “the one who foments and has always fomented all the wicked things and machinations against this port [Lifau] and all the royal domains on these islands”, according to a letter from 1768.

Hornay’s rebellious attitude continued into the late 1760s, when a new governor arrived, António José Telles de Meneses (1768-1776). Meneses approached Larantuka in April 1768 while Francisco Hornay was staying in Oecusse (Pante Macassar), a league from Lifau. The timing was unfortunate since the Portuguese-minded King of Larantuka, Dom Gaspar Dias Vieira, had recently died. This death met with rejoicing among the local moradores who saw this as a good opportunity to attack Lifau. Dom Gaspar’s son Dom Manuel Dias Vieira preferred to obey Hornay and prepared to send auxiliaries to the latter, who was blocking Lifau. Francisco Hornay, moreover, had sent his brother and heir, Pedro Hornay, to Larantuka as an envoy. Dom Manuel violently opposed the disembarkment of Meneses and sternly told him that “in his lands only he governs”, and the new governor had no recourse but to sail further to Lifau. There, Telles de Meneses arranged a truce with Hornay who however immediately broke it. The governor was completely blocked in Lifau and finally, in 1769, had to sneak away by ship with the inhabitants of the port. The loyalist fleet proceeded via Batugade to Dilly where a new settlement was set up. The Dilly stronghold was able to dominate the East Timorese areas (Provincia dos Belos), leaving the Oecusse-Ambenu enclave to the Topasses. After Penefui and the strengthened Dutch position in West Timor the Larantuqueiros might have been too weakened to attempt to hold on to the eastern parts of the island.

A note on Ambenu.

Thus through the events of 1769 Oecusse-Ambenu came to constitute an entity at the north coast, separated from the Province of Belos in the east by pro-Portuguese territories. It may now be time to take a closer look at **Ambenu**, originally a separate Atoni kingdom situated to the west of the Mena kingdom. Its origins are to be found in the Lifau kingdom that was approached by the Portuguese expedition in 1641. At this time the king of Lifau was dead and his widow governed. The royal family was quickly baptized and the son and heir of the deceased king received the name **Dom Pedro**.

Similar stories are still told in Oecusse-Ambenu. According to oral accounts collected by P. Spillet (*The Precolonial History of the Island of Timor*, unpubl. ms. 1999), a raja called **Pedro da Cruz** was baptized at the time of the first Catholic preacher António Taberu (Taveira), but when Portuguese soldiers later mistreated the people he led his kingdom in revolt and expelled the whites. The Portuguese later came back by the sea and ravaged the land, and all the people fled. Pedro da Cruz subsequently co-operated with the Portuguese authorities. This Pedro da Cruz is placed some nine generations before the 20th century in the genealogy quoted by P. Spillet, which fits rather well with the year 1641.

In 1657 Lifau is mentioned as a pro-Portuguese realm. A king called **Dom Paulo (I)** of Lifau passed away in 1670, and it was during his funeral that a Portuguese missionary lost his life in an attempt to halt native religious burial ceremonies. The new king of Lifau-Ambenu, afraid of the reprisals, sent his sons to Kupang in order to ask for protection. The VOC expected an exodus of Ambenunese to their own territory, which however did not materialize. Subsequently the Atoni kingdom of Ambenu apparently changed its centre from Lifau to a place slightly inland after the establishment of the Black and White Portuguese at Lifau. In later times, at least, the son of the Ambenu rulers was close to Tono market south of Oecusse. Ambenu was requested by the Portuguese governor Coelho Guerreiro in 1702 to assist in the construction of the stronghold of Lifau, but the inhabitants were apparently unwilling. The king at the time sent his son to meet the governor, who classified him as a “ridiculous figure”. In 1703 Ambenu was counted among the kingdoms rebellious against the Crown. Later it tended to adhere sometimes to the Topasses and sometimes to the VOC.

The King of Ambenu **Dom Paulo II** participated on the Da Costa side at Penefui 1749. He apparently survived the affair but part of Ambenu defected soon after the fateful battle. In 1751 half of the Ambenus moved to the Dutch sphere of power in defiance of the Portuguese, led by an unnamed king. The remainder stayed under the second regent. All this makes sense in view of diplomatic lists from 1756 and 1760. These documents mention a **Nai Sitenoni** who was one of the tributaries of the Company. He was the co-raja and nephew of Dom Paulo, who had been incarcerated by the Portuguese and treated worse than an animal. Nai Sitenoni bore the title Raja of Lifau, again reinforcing the idea that the Lifau and Ambenu kingdoms were originally the same thing. This use of titles was also an act of policy on the part of the Dutch, who could then “prove” that the Portuguese stronghold in Lifau was built on ground that was actually ceded to The Netherlands!

The incumbent raja, either Dom Paulo or Nai Sitenoni, was brutally disposed of in 1761. The Portuguese of Lifau (at the moment the Black and White Portuguese were not at war) talked their way to the raja “with sweet words”, then forcibly dragged him to their port and kept him prisoner in the castle of Lifau where he soon succumbed, on 10 July 1761. Meanwhile, part of his subjects were escorted by mardijkers (non-white soldiers in Dutch service) from Ambenu to Kupang. He was succeeded by one of his two sons, **Nai Nobe**, in the same year. In the next year 1762 he occurs in the list of VOC allies under the name Nai Nobe Dom Paul. He is probably the king **Dom Paulo III** who is known from the years 1766-1790. He was the brother-in-law and close associate of the Topass ruler of Oecusse but also entertained a relation with the VOC and is sometimes listed among its tributaries. A fettor called Nai Baki Tanesi had relations with the Dutch in 1798-1800. In 1817 **Dom Domingos** was king of Ambenu; he was the cousin (primo) of the Oecussi ruler José Hornay, and therefore seems to have been the son of Dom Paulo III. He is probably the same person as the ruler Domingos Francisco alias Kolemanobais, who was mentioned by the Dutch traveller Salomon Muller in 1828. The name **Don Pallo (Dom Paulo IV)** appears in another Dutch report from 1832, so the name Paulo seems to have been hereditary in the dynasty.

When visiting Oecusse-Ambenu in 2004, I was told the following story by a member of the Da Cruz family. The ancestor of the dynasty Benu Sila was the youngest brother of Liurai Sila, Sonba'i Sila and Amfoan Sila. After a number of generations the princes of Ambenu were forced to leave their land and flee to Sonba'i and Amfoan. Their sister Abopopresa remained, however, and gave birth to Pedro Benu da Cruz who became raja. He was also known as Tua Kole. His birth was miraculous, since the lady Abopopresa was not conceived by a man. His son Carlos da Cruz and grandson Pedro da Cruz were rajas after him, whereupon the kingship of Ambenu ended, as a consequence of the revolt against the Portuguese. The story of Ambenu royalty fleeing to Amfoan can be confirmed by Dutch materials that mention a fugative raja called Usi Toli in 1870, who was allowed to settle in Amfoan territory. A Dutch mailrapport from 1886 makes clear that a Dom Pedro Hornay da Cruz, who reigned as colonel-king at this time, had problems with marauders from Dutch-dominated Tunbaba since four years, a conflict that had cost 60 lives over the years. Probably this is Pedro Benu da Cruz of genealogical tradition. The anti-Portuguese revolt in 1911-13 will be treated later in this text..

The De Costa traditions from Noemuti.

In present day Oecusse, the genealogical traditions about the Da Costa family hardly go back further than the second half of the 19th century. There is one place, however, where extensive traditions have been preserved. This is Noemuti, which was a Portuguese enclave in Dutch West Timor up to 1917, and traditionally had close ties with the Hornays and Da Costas in Oecusse. From the late 19th century to 1917, a branch of the Da Costas reigned in Noemuti as rajas, and the family remains there to this day. On 29 January 2005, the present writer met with Antonius Willibrordus da Costa, the 18th generation of the Da Costa family and the 4th generation staying in Noemuti. He lives in an unpretentious house in Noemuti with some family members, being a widower since 14 years. His physiognomy still has some Portuguese features. He provided me with the following information.

In Noemuti is the venerated grave of Richard Luis Sonba'i. His story was told as follows. In a remote past there was a chief called Koko Sila who resided at Mutis-Eben. He married a lady called Helena da Costa and begat five children:

- *Liurai Sila, married to Bi Kono Tkesnai.
- *Sonba'i Sila, married to Bi Name Tkesnai.
- *Bi Nunu Sila, married to Ni Bobo Tkesnai.
- *Bi Bate Sila, married to Ni Sone Tkesnai.
- *Bi Lobo Sila, married to Ni Tufu Tkesnai.

Liurai Sila begat Maroe Liu Rai, who became raja of Waiwiku-Wehale and *oenunu* of Belu.

Sonba'i Sila begat Mangko Sonba'i, who married Bi Abuk Maman.

Mangko Sonba'i begat two children:

- *Bau Sonba'i Muti (the white-skinned), who resided at Oenam and married Petronella da Costa at Bijela.
- *Sobe Sonba'i Metan who resided at Kauniki.

Bau Sonba'i was pierced to death at a feast. He was about to pierce one of his subjects, who then instead turned on the king and killed him on the spot. The killing took place at Bijela. At that time Petronella da Costa was pregnant. She then fled to the Portuguese domain of Noemuti, which was situated some 10-12 kilometers from the royal seat of Bijela. There she gave birth to Richard Louis Sonba'i. He got a Catholic name, since his mother was a Catholic.

Richard Louis Sonba'i married Rita da Costa, a daughter (sister?) of Francisco da Costa III of Oecusse. She did not have any children. He then married another woman, Ku Bani. This marriage, too, was childless. He flourished in

round numbers three centuries ago (so, about 18th century). When he passed away, Amarasi, Mollo and the other kings were invited to attend the funeral feast. However, they felt scared and declined to appear. As the king's body decomposed, the people only had his skeleton, which was henceforth kept in a big house across the church, in the area where the old sonaf was situated. In 1956 the burial finally took place. The concrete grave has Richard Louis in the middle, and he is flanked by his wives Rita da Costa and Ku Bani. The Catholic priests are somewhat irritated, since people go to the Sonba'i grave to utter wishes in the old animist style. The old sonaf has been torn down. At its place there is an artificial grotto with Virgin Mary. The local church was originally built in traditional style, on stilts. The present structure dates from 1921. It has 18 pillars, one for each suku in Noemuti. The native Noemutiers are nowadays 100% Catholics.

Then there is an extensive genealogy of the Da Costas in the possession of A.W. da Costa. The enumeration of generations is as follows.

1. Francisco da Costa I, m. Monica de Hornay. He originated from Goa in India. Arriving to Timor, he resided in Manatutu.
2. Gaspar da Costa I (son of above), m. Maria da Cruz (of Bibisusu). It is unclear where he resided.
3. Domingos da Costa I (son of above), m. Helena de Rosario. He resided in Manufahi.
4. Mateus da Costa I (son of above), m. Dominica de Hornay. He resided in Manufahi (Tun Ame).
5. Antonio da Costa I (son of above), m. Johanna da Cruz. Resided in Oenuu (Uma Lor, Besikama).
6. Domingos da Costa II (son of above), m. Maria de Rosario. Resided in Uma Lor.
7. José da Costa (son of above), m. Francisca da Cruz. Resided in Uma Lor.
8. Francisco da Costa II (son of above), m. Maria de Hornay. Resided in Uma Lor.

9. Mateus da Costa II (son of above), m. Francisca da Cruz. He resided in Oecusse. He perished in warfare in Mollo. It is not clear against whom - maybe Gajah Mada [!] or the Dutch. Possibly it was a war about religion.

10. Gaspar da Costa II (son of above), m. Maria de Hornay. He resided in Oecusse. He perished in warfare. Rest in peace - Noten Ijau Punu. Perhaps the enemy were people from other islands - it is not clear from the traditions [The reference is likely to allude to the battle of Penefui 1749].

11. Francisco da Costa III (son of above), m. Luja da Cruz from Oecusse. He resided in Oecussi. He had several children:

*Domingos da Costa III.

*Petronella da Costa, m. Bau Sonba'i.

*Monica da Costa, m. Seo Nubatonis.

12. Domingos da Costa (son of 11.), m. Pascola Lalisuk. He resided in Oecusse and had children:

*Mateus da Costa III.

*Simon da Costa, m. Noni Nope from Amanuban.

*Rita da Costa, m. Richard Louis Sonba'i.

13. Mateus da Costa III (son of 12.), m. Maria de Rosario. He resided in Oecusse and had issue:

*Gaspar da Costa III.

*Maria da Costa, m. Luis Taolin of Insana.

14. Gaspar da Costa III (son of 13.), m. Mica de Hornay. He resided in Oecusse and had issue:

*Felix da Costa, m. Carolina Lay.

*Mateus da Costa IV.

*Maria Simoa, m. Loro Besin of Jenilu.

There was also a set of siblings of unclear parentage [Antonius da Costa thought they were children of Gaspar da Costa, but judging from other sources they were rather the offspring of Domingos da Costa of Oecussi, who was probably a brother of Mateus da Costa IV.]

*Ignatia da Costa.

*Maria da Costa.

*Joachina da Costa.

*Francisco da Costa.

*Hugo da Costa, raja of Oecussi [d. 1948].

15. Mateus da Costa IV (son of 14.), m. Juana Helok. Resided in Noemuti as raja, to where he brought the Catholic faith. His sonaf was subsequently burnt three times. A pot on the fire caused an incendiary that destroyed part of the sonaf. He had issue:

*Domingos da Costa IV.

*Rita da Costa, m. Lay Nyuk Oma.

*Martha da Costa, m. Dominggus de Sena Baretto from Dili.

*Maria da Costa, m. Thomas Nillu.

16. Domingos da Costa IV (son of 15.), m. Juana Kono Nino. He was a great sniper - one shot would kill a man. He was born around 1860 and resided as raja in Noemuti from the 1890s, dying in 1941. He had issue:

*Mateus da Costa V.

*Michael da Costa.

17. Mateus da Costa V (son of 16.), m. Margareta Barbosa Lay, a Chinese (b. 1900). He was born 18.3.1895. When the Dutch came he did not like them. He sent one Koko Salem to meet the Dutch at Naitoko in his stead. But Koko said that he was the raja. Mateus da Costa V studied in Macau. He went back 1916, when Noemuti was exchanged for Maukatar. He had issue:

18. Antonius Willibrordus da Costa (son of 17.), m. (on Bali) Elisabeth Astrid Sekien Yusastri from Java, a teacher (b. 23.12.1933, d. 21.8.1991). He was in the infantry, Angkatan Darah, and was born 8.10.1929. He has issue:

*Francisco da Costa, engineer, b. 17.7.1963, m. Monika Julia Musayani (b. 13.7.1973).

*Mateus Heri da Costa.

*Eight other children

Before Mateus da Costa IV, the rulership of Noemuti automatically was held by the raja in Oecussi. There is a tongkat from the time of Maria II da Gloria of Portugal [r. 1826-1853], now in the possession of Mateus Heri da Costa. There has always been internal fighting in Noemuti about land. Many people here have been good soldiers. In old times, slaves were bartered against guns. Noemuti, then, possessed enough weapons to wage war with outsiders. Of the 18 sukus, each one had a Nai Juf as its head, just as in Oecussi-Ambenu.

The later Oecusse kingdom.

Back to Oecusse. After Francisco Hornay we find **Pedro Hornay** as Topass leader in Oecusse. He was either the brother and next heir of Francisco, or

else a younger Pedro. One of the Hornays, either Francisco or Pedro was ruling in 1777, for in that year a Hornay attempted to fish in troubled water. The liurai (“emperor”) of Sonba’i had fled from the clutches of the Topasses to the Dutch in Kupang with the bulk of his followers, in 1749, and Portuguese attempts were made from time to time to bring this symbolically important polity back under the Crown. A Sonba’i prince called Cornelis sent message to Hornay and offered (according to the Dutch account) to lure the liurai of Smaller Sonba’i, Alfonsus Adrianus, away from Kupang and into the Black Portuguese sphere. Hornay apparently approved of the scheme, which, however, misfired badly as Cornelis was arrested and banished.

A few years later, the liurai Alfonsus Adrianus fled from Kupang to the interior of Timor in 1782 or 1783. Being in opposition to the Dutch, he started to entertain clandestine contacts with the Black and White Portuguese, to the great horror of the Company. By this time it is certain that Pedro Hornay ruled in Oecusse; a VOC letter mentions that he was active intervening on Adonara in 1782, in order to support a certain Gaspar da Costa, who is otherwise unknown. Adonara at this time was divided between principalities subordinated to the Company and the Catholic and pro-Portuguese kingdom of Larantuka.

In 1785 the new Portuguese governor João Baptista Vieira Godinho approached “Solor”, meaning easternmost Flores. There he met with Pedro Hornay, “lord of the Province of Servião”, who swore fidelity to the Crown, promising to defend Dili and to deliver munitions. In return he was granted the title tenente general. Together with him was his nephew (sobrinho) Dom Constantino de Rosario, King of Solor (here: Larantuka) who also made a pledge of obedience. It seems that the power of the Larantuqueiros had decreased relatively speaking, with the withdrawal of Belos from their influence, and with the Dutch hold on large parts of West Timor after Penefui. Pedro Hornay is expressly called “King of Oecusse” in some texts. In the late 1780s he appeared in Dili with his troops from Oecusse, amounting to perhaps 3,500 men. He loyally assisted in fighting East Timorese rebellions. He was still alive in 1794-95, during the tenures of the Governor Joaquim Xavier de Moraes Sarmiento (1790-1794) and João Baptista Verquaim (1794-1800). He was the brother-in-law of the King of Ambenu who reigned in the early 1790s. He is known to have behaved aggressively against the liurai of Sonba’i, Alfonsus Adrianus, in the mid 1790s, and he was actually told by the governor to leave the liurai in peace. All this, of course illustrates the weakening power of the Topasses. In the first half of the same century they would have kept the liurai completely under their thumb, and hardly taken any orders from the governor. Still, the enmity between Oecusse and Sonba’i continued and is known to have erupted in open warfare around 1810.

José Hornay was Pedro Hornay's son. He is mentioned in a letter from 1816, when he was involved in warfare with the King of Amanuban over the right to cut sandalwood. We also hear that the governor Victorino Freire da Cunha e Gusmão (1812-1815) had ordered the King of Liquicá (Likusaen) to wage war and destroy Alor Grande (Alor Besar). This action had caused some consternation among the two kings of Oecusse and Ambenu. A Dutch report from 1820 mentions that the power of the Topasses had receded greatly in recent times. Those of Noemuti still adhered to the Topass faction but they were not at all as feared as in bygone days. At the moment the Topass leader, a Hornay, resided in Oecussi - probably José Hornay. Among the causes for this weakness one may point at the new White Portuguese stronghold at Dilly that cut off Topass influence in Provincia dos Bellos, further the Dutch dominance in West Timor after Penefui, and finally the increasing importance of Chinese traders in the region to the detriment of the older trading system (see M. Schlicher, *Portugal in Ost-Timor*, 1996, p. 100-2).

In 1828, when Salomon Müller undertook his trip in West Timor, Oecusse was still ruled by a Hornay. A few years later, around 1835, the name of the then raja was **Dom Filipe Hornay**. This man was entrusted by the Portuguese to lead an *arraial* to crush the Boibao rebellion at the time, in the area south of Liquicá. This enterprise was less than successful. After some indecisive military activity the *arraial* dispersed, since marching was not convenient in the westerly monsoon. According to the plan, Filipe Hornay was to resume activity in the easterly monsoon, but this does not seem to have happened. The raja of Boibao therefore went unpunished for his insurgency, to the detriment of the Portuguese prestige. By the late 1820s, according to Müller, the principle of rotating succession had come into being. In other words, when a Da Costa died he would be succeeded by a Hornay, and so on. At the time of Müller's visit, Ambenu was ruled by a raja called Domingos Francisco with the native name Kolemanobais; this ruler was waging war with Amakono at the time and had a meeting with Müller. Perhaps this figure is the same as Dom Domingos da Cruz of Sutrana or Citrana (in western Ambenu) who is mentioned in 1832 and 1836 and was flying the Dutch flag at the time. Sutrana was known as a Topass stronghold. Another ruler figured simultaneously, namely Dom Pallo (Paulo) of Ambenu, in 1832 (acc. to report by E. Francis, H 548, KITLV).

From Portuguese and Dutch materials we gather that a Hornay still governed Oecusse in 1847. He was related to the chiefs of Pantar and Alor and had some influence in that direction. He was invited by one of the chiefs to intervene militarily, but this roused a protest by the Dutch Resident of Kupang. The Dutch already had begun to consider Pantar and Alor to be

inside their sphere. The Portuguese governor Silva Vieira took a very understanding position vis-a-vis his imperialist neighbour. He took steps that the regulo of Oecusse would keep away from Pantar and Alor, admitting the interests of the Netherlands.

Rebellions broke out with great frequency in the Portuguese domain, but the Oecusse-Ambenu enclave was mostly faithful to the Crown in this era. In 1848/49 a war broke out in the local kingdom of Ermera. The king was killed but his widow kept the spirit of anti-Portuguese resistance alive. At the same occasion the kingdoms around Batugade rebelled, among them Balibo. In order to defeat them the governor called in assistance from the Liurai of Oecusse, who planted a Portuguese banner at Jenilo, which was actually in the Dutch sphere of influence, to the consternation of the Dutch. From Dutch materials it appears that the raja of Oecussi was a Da Costa in 1847 and 1849, so there must have been a succession to the throne in c. 1847.

The kingdom of Ambenu experienced a crisis around the mid nineteenth century. Both traditional and Dutch sources relate that members of the royal family had to flee to Amfoan. The former raja of Ambenu Usi Toli was permitted by the Amfoan ruler to settle in Musu at some stage before 1870. In 1870 this Usi Toli attended a meeting with the Dutch official Gramberg and the Sonba'i and Amfoan rulers (see the printed report by Gramberg in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* 1872). Shortly after, Usi Toli signed a contract with the Netherlands East Indies Government, that affirmed his position as ruler of the Ambenu enclave in Musu in West Timor.

In 1864 a mutiny broke out in Batugade, and at the same time at least five kingdoms rebelled, at least in an indirect way: Vemasse, Laleia, Laga, Bucol and Oecussi. These realms, namely, attacked chiefdoms loyal to Portugal and massacred the inhabitants. The outcome is not quite clear from the literature, but apparently Oecussi soon reverted to the Portuguese side. At this era, we hear, the Portuguese colonial administration received 90% of its Timorese revenues from Dilly. The customs of Batugade were insignificant. And from Oecussi the colonialists only received whatever the liurai of that place did not find fit to heap in his own treasure chamber. The loyalty of the liurai was wavering. In 1868 **Dom João Mateus** of Oecussi-Ambenu (thus one person temporarily ruled both kingdoms?) assisted his Portuguese allies to fight rebellious kingdoms in the south-west, uniting with moradores from Batugade and Dili. However, torrential rains and cholera stopped the enterprise. In 1869 new revolts broke out in the Portugal-dominated area. This time Oecusse refused to bode up auxiliaries to fight the insurgents. A member of the raja's family, namely, had been offended by an officer, who had not been punished. Furthermore famine raged at this time, and the liurai had moreover his own

war to tend in the south. Strangely the chiefs of Alor continued to revere the liurais of Oecusse and Liquiça (Likusaen) long after this island had formally passed to the Netherlands East Indies, and consider themselves as their vassals. In 1876 the authorities told the liurais of these two places to have the flags flown by the chiefs on Alor changed from the Portuguese one to the Dutch tricolour.

In spite of the increasing colonization process many areas on Timor still considered themselves more or less independent by the late nineteenth century. According to a report from 1881-82 this was also the case with Oecusse and Ambenu, with the exclave Noemuti. These areas did not pay the *finta*, the regular tax. Noemuti was governed in the late nineteenth century by a raja called Mateus da Costa who was the brother of the then-reigning Oecusse ruler Domingos da Costa. At this time, in spite of the official colonial policy, Oecusse still had some kind of jurisdiction over the exterior islands and also over the Kingdom of Motael near Dili. Sutrana (Citrana) was at the time a major port of contraband, thus largely outside the control of Portugal.

In the late nineteenth century the Oecusse throne had changed to Da Costa. In 1893 we hear of an incident where two Chinese traders and their servant were murdered, perhaps on orders of the Liurai **Domingos da Costa**. This ruler is said (in local genealogies) to have ruled already in 1879 and to have been the son or grandson of a certain **Mateus da Costa** (perhaps the Dom João Mateus of 1868). Local representatives of Portugal (only a corporal and a missionary) preferred to deal carefully with internal affairs in Oecussi-Ambenu, since its position as an enclave surrounded by Dutch territory made it delicate. However the liurai went too far this time. He had the heads of the Chinese exposed at the gate of the church of Oecussi. The Portuguese governor sent the commander of Batugade to arrest Domingos da Costa. Upon his deposition in 1894 he was replaced on a temporary basis by the 'principal' **Dom Alexandre**. In the genealogical traditions of the Oecussi dynasty he occurs under the name Alexandre Hornay dos Santos da Cruz in "1879". The name indicates descent from both the Topass Hornay and the native Da Cruz dynasties. His daughter Helena (d. 1929) is known to have been the first wife of the later raja Hugo da Costa (d. 1948).

In spite of his disgrace, Dom Domingos da Costa was apparently soon reinstated in his former position. In 1896 Domingos sent his son José António da Costa as commander of a detachment that would support the Portuguese against insurgents. At the same time the Liurai of Ambenu was one **Dom Bernardo**, who led the entire Oecussi-Ambenu contingent. In 1896 a person called Dom António dos Santos Cruz is furthermore known as the 'principal' of Oecussi, apparently a relation of the Ambenu family.

Domingos da Costa was soon succeeded by a certain **Pedro da Costa**, who also collaborated with the Portuguese in fighting Timorese rebels. He is mentioned in 1898. Some years later, in 1909 or somewhat later, a certain raja of Oecussi was accused of having illegally arrested a chief from Tunbaba in the Dutch sphere. The Resident of Kupang protested against this and even forbade the Portuguese subjects to enter Tunbaba before the prisoner had been released.

A few years later, a major revolt was fomented in Ambenu where the **Dom João da Cruz Hornay** (also known as Dom No) held the reins of power, as an offshoot of the great revolt of Dom Boaventura of Manufai in 1911-12. A local account (I. Toto, *Oekusi di ambang sejarah*, 1976) gives some information on this João da Cruz. He was the grandson of an Oecussi raja called Francisco Hornay. In 1898 he had been sent to Soibada south of Dilly in order to attend Liceu (high school) there. In the year 1907 he returned to Oecussi and took up the reins as Tua Amu (raja) in succession to his father Dom Hornay, residing in Nunhenu. In the next year he married Bi Sani Taeki Meko. Ambenu at this time was the most powerful kingdom in the enclave, since the raja of Oecussi **Dom Hugo da Costa** had lost a large part of his *sucos* to the Dutch in the settling of the colonial border between The Netherlands and Portugal. He showed an independent stance towards the Portuguese and regarded them as enemies. The colonials threatened to arrest him, but this turned difficult as João da Cruz had the Oecussi population behind him. On the other hand, Da Cruz attempted to murder the Portuguese administrator, and thus started the rebellion in "September 1910" [error for a later year?].

According to H. G. Schulte Nordholt (manuscript H 1159, KITLV), Raja Ambenu had been called on by the Portuguese authorities to participate in the war against the reino of Manufai that involved parts of Portuguese Timor in 1911-12. He refused to take up arms and rebelled against the Portuguese; there are no traces of direct relationships between Dom Boaventura of Manufai in the east and the Ambenu ruler. Two Portuguese sub-officers were murdered and Dom Hugo of Oecussi, who stayed loyal with the Crown, fled to Batugade. Several adherents of Da Costa escaped to Wini. By this uprising, Raja Ambenu had thus grabbed power in the area, but the triumph was to be shortlived.

Dilly sent a gunboat and a number of Mozambiquian soldiers to chastise Ambenu. The Ambenu rebels had entered the main port of Oecussi, Pante Macassar. About one thousand Ambenunese were defending the place against the Portuguese but lost it in March 1912. Pante Macassar was badly shelled

and burnt. Dom Hugo had to stay close to the beach, since some 500-1000 Ambenunese watched from the woods nearby. The rebel Dom João seems to have stayed part-time on Dutch territory. Finally the enclave was completely subdued in 1913 by a military promenade. More than 600 persons, including Dom João, fled to the Dutch domain – an indigenous account says 2000 people. At Oepoli, by the Portuguese-Dutch border, the queen Bi Sani Taeki Meko was killed in a fight to the enormous chagrin of Dom João. Straggling on to Kefamnanu, the fugative raja met with the Dutch lieutenant Steinmetz. He was sent further to Kapan where his followers was split up in three groups. They were made to reside in Miomaffo, Mollo and Benlutu-Fatumetan-Boentuka, respectively.

In 1915, a few years after the end of the great rebellion, part of the refugees returned back to Oecusse-Ambenu. Dom João da Cruz lived on in Kefamnanu. When the Japanese were occupying Timor in 1942-45 he returned to his homeland, and tried to regain a position in Oecusse-Ambenu. After the Portuguese had returned, however, he was immediately requested to go back to Kefamnanu. It was made clear that the Portuguese legal authorities would still arrest him if he was apprehended on Portuguese territory. He lived on in Indonesia until at least 1961, at which time he was 86 years old. As well known the 1911-13 rebellions spelt the end of the East Timorese kingdoms as autonomous entities, although they continued to have importance in other forms.

In contrast with Ambenu, the Da Costas of Oecusse were able to retain a position in the enclave henceforth. Hugo da Costa was raja of both Oecusse and Ambenu until 1948 when he passed away. He married Helena Hornay da Cruz, a daughter of the ruler of Ambenu, Alexander Hornay dos Santos da Cruz. Two of his sons with another wife were rajas of Oecusse-Ambenu after him: **João Hermengildo da Costa** (1948-1990) and **José Hermengildo da Costa** (1949-1999).

A list of Topass leaders and Oecusse rajas would be as follows.

Gonsalvo Hornay 1650s (son of Jan Hornay)
António Hornay 1664-1669 (son of either Jan or Gonsalvo Hornay)
Mateus da Costa 1671-1672
António Hornay 1673-1693 (second time)
Francisco Hornay I 1693-1696 (brother of António Hornay)
Domingos da Costa I 1697-1722 (son of Mateus da Costa)
Francisco Hornay II 1722-1730 (son-in-law of Domingos da Costa)

João Cave 1730-? (brother-in-law of Francisco Hornay II)
Gaspar da Costa before 1734-1749
João Hornay 1749-1757 (grandson of Daniel de Koks)
Francisco Hornay III 1757-after 1772 (son of João Hornay and Dona Agostinha)
Domingos da Costa II 1757-after 1772 (brother of Gaspar da Costa, brother-in-law of above)
Pedro Hornay fl. 1782-1795 (brother of Francisco Hornay)
José Hornay fl. 1816 (son of Pedro Hornay)
Filippe Hornay fl. c. 1835
[Hornay succeeded by Da Costa 1847]
João Mateus fl. 1868
Domingos da Costa III fl. 1879-1896 (son or grandson of Mateus da Costa [João Mateus?])
Pedro da Costa fl. 1898
Hugo da Costa before 1912-1948 (son of Domingos da Costa)
João Hermengildo da Costa 1948-1990 (son of Hugo da Costa)
José Hermengildo da Costa 1949-1999 (son of Hugo da Costa)

And the list of Ambenu rajas is, as far as known, as follows.
[Dom Pedro of Lifau, fl. 1641 (son of a former, deceased raja)]
[Dom Paulo I of Lifau ?-1670]
Dom Paulo II fl. 1749-1756
Nai Sitenoni fl. 1756-1760 [d. 1761?]
Nai Nobe Dom Paulo 1761-after 1764 (son of king d. 1761)
Dom Paulo III fl. 1766-1790 (presumably same as above)
Domingos Francisco fl. 1817-1828 (son)
Dom Paulo IV fl. 1832
Usi Toli before 1870
Dom Pedro Hornay da Cruz fl. 1882-1886
Dom Alexander Hornay dos Santos da Cruz fl. 1879(?)-1894
Dom Bernardo fl. 1896
Dom Hornay ?-1907 (son of Francisco Hornay)
Dom João da Cruz Hornay 1907-1913 (son)