

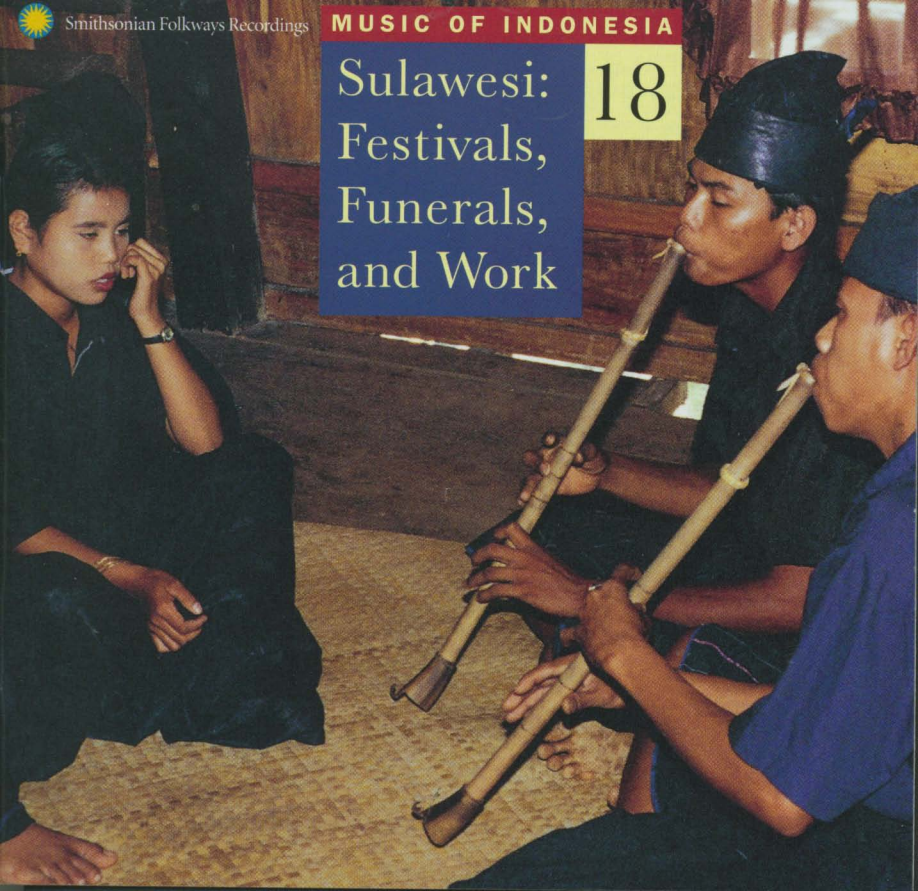


Smithsonian Folkways Recordings

MUSIC OF INDONESIA

Sulawesi:
Festivals,
Funerals,
and Work

18



MUSIC OF INDONESIA 18

Sulawesi: Festivals, Funerals, and Work

The string music highlighted in Volume 15 is only part of the picture in Sulawesi. Here we present a variety of other musical groups, recorded in three of the island's four provinces. The celebrated Makasar genre *pakarena* features energetic drumming in sharp contrast to the slow, graceful movements of female dancers. Basing is funeral music of the Kajang, performed by two female singers and two long flutes, or by the flutes alone; Kajang find it deeply sorrowful. Choral singing in very different styles is heard from the Toraja, from Uma-speakers of the mountainous Pipikoro region in Central Sulawesi, and in communal work songs of Minahasa. Gong music for Mongondow weddings adds to our sampling of gong ensembles throughout Indonesia. The album closes with *maengket* from Minahasa, spirited choral singing with drums in celebration of the harvest. 73 minutes, 32 page booklet with map.

MAKASAR Musicians of *Kalaserena*, Kecamatan Bontonompo, Kabupaten Gowa, South Sulawesi. Genre: *pakarena*.

1. **Jangang Lea'-lea'** (Part 3) Drums, shawm, gong, singers 7:05
2. **Jangang Lea'-lea'** (Part 4) Drums, shawm, gong, singers 10:21

KAJANG Musicians of *Desa Tana Toa*, Kecamatan Kajang, Kabupaten Bulukumba, South Sulawesi. Genre: *basing*.

3. **Rikong** Female singers, flute duo 7:16
4. **Tempa Sorong** Flute duo 7:33

TORAJA Singers of *Desa Balla Satanetean*, Kecamatan Mamasa, Kabupaten Polewali Mamasa, South Sulawesi. Genre: *simbong*.

5. **Simbong** (excerpt) Male & female choruses 5:11

UMA-SPEAKERS Singers of *Desa Onu*, in the Pipikoro region, Kecamatan Kulawi, Kabupaten Donggala, Central Sulawesi. Genre: *raego*.

6. **Raego** Mixed chorus 11:25

MONGONDOW Musicians of *Desa Motabang*, Kecamatan Lolak (track 7) and *Desa Tudu Aog*, Kecamatan Passi (track 8), both in Kabupaten Bolaang Mongondow, North Sulawesi. Genre: *kulintang*.

7. **Toki Hajat Perkawinan** (excerpt) Gong ensemble 4:10
8. **Toki Hajat** (excerpt) Gong ensemble 2:45

TOMBULU (Minahasa) Singers of *Desa Taratara Satu*, Kecamatan Tomohon, Kabupaten Minahasa, North Sulawesi. Genre: *marani*.

9. **Esa Na Wia-wia Mokaria** Mixed chorus 1:26
10. **Tanumo** Mixed chorus 1:07
11. **Sei Si Maka Leso Ekaria** Mixed chorus 1:09
12. **Ivehe** (excerpt) Mixed chorus 2:37

TONTENBOAN (Minahasa) Singers of *Desa Kiawa Satu*, Kecamatan Kawangkoan, Kabupaten Minahasa, North Sulawesi. Genre: *maengket*.

13. **Ma'owei Kamberu** Mixed chorus, drums 10:53

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. Produced in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts (MSPI). All selections recorded in Sulawesi in 1996 and 1997.



Smithsonian Folkways Recordings

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Sulawesi: Festivals, Funerals, and Work

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky.
Produced in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts (MSPI).
All selections recorded in Sulawesi in 1996 and 1997.

MAKASAR Musicians of Kalaserena, Kecamatan Bontonompo, Kabupaten Gowa, South Sulawesi.
Genre: pakarena.

1. **Jangang Lea'-lea'** (Part 3) Drums, shawm, gong, singers 7:05
2. **Jangang Lea'-lea'** (Part 4) Drums, shawm, gong, singers 10:21

KAJANG Musicians of Desa Tana Toa, Kecamatan Kajang, Kabupaten Bulukumba, South Sulawesi.
Genre: basing.

3. **Rikong** Female singers, flute duo 7:16
4. **Tempa Sorong** Flute duo 7:33

TORAJA Singers of Desa Balla Satanetean, Kecamatan Mamasa, Kabupaten Polewali Mamasa, South Sulawesi.
Genre: simbong.

5. **Simbong** (excerpt) Male & female choruses 5:11

UMA-SPEAKERS Singers of Desa Onu, in the Pipikoro region, Kecamatan Kulawi, Kabupaten Donggala, Central Sulawesi. Genre: raego'.

6. **Raego'** Mixed chorus 11:25

MONGONDOW Musicians of Desa Motabang, Kecamatan Lolak (track 7) and Desa Tudu Aog, Kecamatan Passi (track 8), both in Kabupaten Bolaang Mongondow, North Sulawesi. Genre: kulintang.

7. **Toki Hajat Perkawinan** (excerpt)
Gong ensemble 4:10
8. **Toki Hajat** (excerpt) Gong ensemble 2:45

TOMBULU (Minahasa) Singers of Desa Taratara Satu, Kecamatan Tomohon, Kabupaten Minahasa, North Sulawesi. Genre: marani.

9. **Esa Na Wia-wia Mokaria** Mixed chorus 1:26
10. **Tanumo** Mixed chorus 1:07
11. **Sei Si Maka Leso Ekaria** Mixed chorus 1:09
12. **Ivehe** (excerpt) Mixed chorus 2:37

TONTEMBOAN (Minahasa) Singers of Desa Kiawa Satu, Kecamatan Kawangkoan, Kabupaten Minahasa, North Sulawesi. Genre: maengket.

13. **Ma'owei Kamberu** Mixed chorus, drums 10:53

The Music of Indonesia series. Research and publication sponsored jointly by the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage of the Smithsonian Institution and the Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia (MSPI), and funded by a grant from the Ford Foundation. Series edited by Philip Yampolsky.

MUSIC OF INDONESIA

If Indonesia were superimposed on Europe, it would stretch from the western shore of Ireland almost to the Caspian Sea. Only three countries in the world (China, India, and the United States) have larger populations, and few encompass a more bewildering diversity of societies and ways of life. Indonesia's people belong to more than 300 ethnic groups, speak almost as many languages, and inhabit some 3,000 islands (out of nearly 13,700 in the archipelago).

Around three-quarters of the population lives in rural areas; at the same time the capital, Jakarta, is one of the largest cities in the world, both in area and in population. Most Indonesians (about 90 percent) are Muslim, but there are substantial numbers of Christians, Buddhist/Taoists, Hindus, and animists as well. The Javanese rice farmer, the Buginese sailor, the Balinese *pedanda* (Hindu priest), the Acehnese *ulama* (Islamic teacher), the Jakarta bureaucrat, the Jakarta noodle vendor, the Minangkabau trader, the Chinese-Indonesian shopkeeper, the Sultan of Yogyakarta, the forest nomad of Kalimantan, soldiers, fishermen, batik makers, bankers, shadow-puppeteers, shamans, peddlers, marketwomen, dentists—these are all Indonesians, and our picture of the country must somehow include them all.

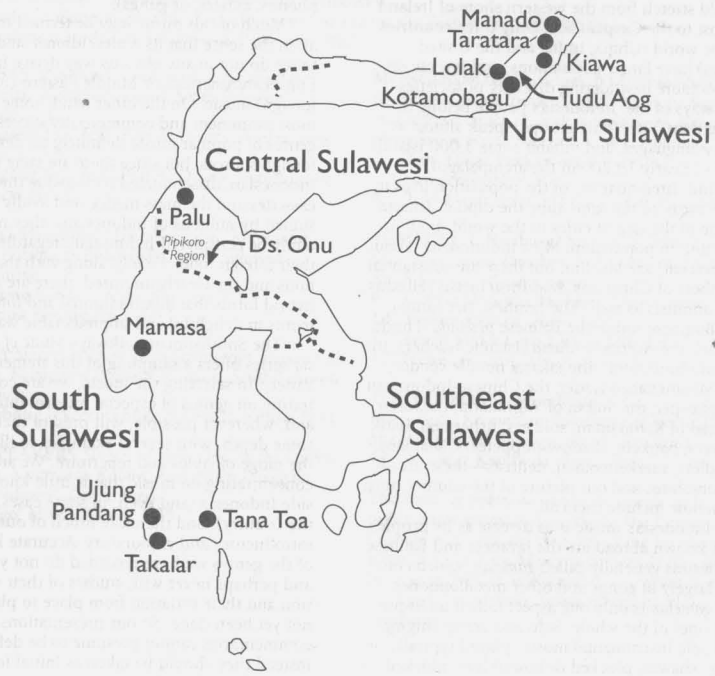
Indonesia's music is as diverse as its people. Best known abroad are the Javanese and Balinese orchestras generally called *gamelan*, which consist largely of gongs and other metallophones, but *gamelan* is only one aspect (albeit an impressive one) of the whole. Solo and group singing and solo instrumental music (played typically on flute, shawm, plucked or bowed lute, plucked zither, jew's harp, or xylophone) are found every-

where, as are ensembles of mixed instruments and ensembles dominated by instruments of a single type (most commonly flutes, drums, xylophones, zithers, or gongs).

Much of this music may be termed traditional, in the sense that its scales, idioms, and repertoires do not in any obvious way derive from European/American or Middle Eastern (or other foreign) music. On the other hand, some of the most prominent and commercially successful genres of popular music definitely do derive from foreign sources; but since these are sung in Indonesian, disseminated nationwide through cassettes and the mass media, and avidly consumed by millions of Indonesians, they must certainly be considered Indonesian, regardless of their foreign roots. Finally, along with the indigenous and the clearly imported, there are many hybrid forms that mix traditional and foreign elements in delightful and unpredictable ways.

The Smithsonian Folkways Music of Indonesia series offers a sampling of this tremendous variety. In selecting the music, we are concentrating on genres of especial musical interest and, wherever possible, will present them in some depth, with several examples to illustrate the range of styles and repertoire. We are also concentrating on music that is little known outside Indonesia (and even, in some cases, within the country), and therefore much of our work is introductory and exploratory. Accurate histories of the genres we have recorded do not yet exist and perhaps never will; studies of their distribution and their variation from place to place have not yet been done. So our presentations and commentaries cannot presume to be definitive; instead they should be taken as initial forays into uncharted territory.

Island of Sulawesi



SULAWESI AND ITS MUSIC

Sulawesi, formerly known as Celebes, lies between Borneo to the west and the islands of Maluku ("the Moluccas") to the east. The island consists of four peninsulas extending from a mountainous central hub; on the map it resembles, in the anthropologist Toby Alice Volkman's vivid phrase, "a wind-blown orchid," with the peninsulas as petals. Administratively, it is divided into four provinces: Sulawesi Utara (North), Sulawesi Tengah (Central), Sulawesi Tenggara (Southeast), and Sulawesi Selatan (South).

We begin our commentary for this album with an overview of the music of the whole island (mainly "traditional" music, as defined in our introduction), to put the album's selections in context. Our generalizations should be understood as tentative, since no detailed, comprehensive inventories of the island's music have been made, and certain areas of the map are musicological blanks. We draw on our fieldwork for the Smithsonian/MSPI recordings, plus published musicological reports and the remarks on music and dance in ethnographies; but researchers vary greatly in their interests and in the precision and

detail of their musical observations, so much may have fallen through the cracks. We will pass over certain kinds of music that are probably found all over: lullabies; jew's harps, flutes, leg xylophones, etc., played solo to while away lonely hours or in flirtation and courtship; Muslim and Christian religious singing; *pop* songs and *dangdut* in Sulawesi languages.

South Sulawesi

Of the four provinces, South Sulawesi, covering the southwestern peninsula and a part of the central mountain region, has the largest population and the highest population density. The dominant ethnic group in the province is the Bugis, living mainly in the central part of the peninsula and in the northeast up to the provincial border. The second largest group is the Makasar people (frequently spelled with two s's), whose homeland is the far south of the peninsula, including Ujung Pandang, the port city (formerly called Makassar) that is now the capital of the province. Both the Bugis and the Makasar are fervently Muslim. Smaller Muslim groups in South Sulawesi include the Mandar (on the west coast, north of the Bugis region) and the Kajang (in a highland area near the southeastern tip).

The Toraja, who live in the mountains in the northern part of the peninsula, stand somewhat apart from the other groups: they are largely Christian, though a substantial part (about 30 percent, by one reckoning) follow a form of traditional religion, and about one-tenth are Muslim. The name "Toraja," meaning "people of the mountains," was in Dutch times applied to all the groups living in the mountainous central region of Sulawesi, but it is now commonly used only for (and by) those in the southern part of

that region, which lies in (northern) South Sulawesi province. The principal towns in the Toraja area of South Sulawesi are Rantepao and Makale, in the Sa'dan (Sadang) River basin in the east, and Mamasa in the west.

The music of South Sulawesi's Muslim peoples is in several respects distinct from music elsewhere in the island. Typically, in the Muslim south, music involves instruments, with or without singing; performance is largely professionalized and often soloistic; and it occurs mainly in secular contexts for the purpose of entertainment. Volume 15 of our series provides examples of professional Bugis, Makasar, and Mandar musicians playing stringed instruments (plucked lutes, violins, or the plucked zither called *mandaliong*) as accompaniment to singing or as free-standing instrumental music. Other forms of string music are the Makasar sung narrative, *sirrilli'*, in which the singer accompanies himself on a one-stringed fiddle; music for the *gambus* lute, with or without singing and with or without drums (see volume 15); and the music for guitar (or string band) plus voice called *los quin* by the Makasar and *sayang-sayang* by the Mandar (see volume 20). A second important category among Bugis and Makasar is percussion-dominated ensembles, with or without dance. The ensemble for the Makasar *pakarena* dance on the present album (tracks 1 and 2) is an example: it features two drums, a gong, and a shawm. Similar ensembles (without the shawm) accompany professional Bugis dancers.

Instrumental music, with and without singing, is also found in the Toraja highlands, in the northern part of the province, but often the manner of performance differs. Stringed instruments played by professional entertainers further south occur among Toraja in ritual ensembles

(see, for example, the trio of fiddles playing to avert smallpox on Dana Rappoport's excellent CD of Toraja music, *Chant du Monde* CNR 2741004), or they may be played casually, to amuse the player alone or a few friends close by. (Compare, in volume 15, the hard-driving professional Bugis or Makasar *kacapi* players with the relaxed front-porch *kacapi*-voice duets of the two Toraja men.) The drum ensemble played for dancers is also known in the Toraja highlands (without shawm); here again, a southern professional entertainment genre appears among Toraja as an element in a collective ritual, with drummers and dancers drawn from the community. Finally, there is at least one form of music-making that is essentially the same in both regions (though differing in prominence: it is common in the northern part of the province and rare in the south). This is funeral music for flutes and voices. A southern instance of this, from the Kajang, is heard in track 3 of the present album; a similar ensemble found among Sa'dan Toraja appears on the *Chant du Monde* album. Both forms of the ensemble are restricted to a ceremonial, nearly ritual context and are played by professionals (inasmuch as the musicians are paid for their performance).

A further difference between music in northern and southern South Sulawesi is the importance in Toraja traditional music of choral singing with solo songleaders, performed in funerary rites or in festivals and rituals to ensure fertility and health. The performers are usually members of or connected by bonds of kinship or association to the community where the ritual or festival takes place—that is, unlike professional entertainers from outside the community, the performers are themselves the people who benefit from the ritual or celebrate the festival. Precision

and accuracy in performance are valued in both the north and the south, but in the northern highlands they are the product of collective will and effort (manifested, for example, in intensive rehearsal); the standards applied are those of ritual or ceremonial competence and suitability, not those of professionalism.

Dana Rappoport remarks in her commentary for the *Chant du Monde* CD that a "choral aesthetic" pervades Toraja music, even the instrumental forms; she illustrates this with flute ensembles and fiddle ensembles playing in a manner that resembles the choruses elsewhere in her album. Much (though not all) of Toraja singing is polyphonic (i.e., in our usage, not unison or in octaves): its principal techniques are homophony (two or more parts singing different pitches but moving together from pitch to pitch or syllable to syllable) and drone polyphony (a melodic line sung against a sustained "drone" pitch).

There is no counterpart in the southern part of the peninsula to these polyphonic choral songs. The closest one comes among the Muslim peoples is the basically unison chorus of *pakarena*, but listeners need only compare the singing for *pakarena* in tracks 1 or 2 here with the Toraja singing in track 5 to know these are strikingly different approaches to music. Aside from this *pakarena* chorus, almost all singing in the south is solo.

A final difference is the prominence of communal round dances among Toraja (and, as we shall see, among many other peoples throughout Sulawesi). Some of these involve choral singing by the dancers. Today the round dance is unknown south of the Toraja highlands, but two Makasar princes studying in Paris in the seventeenth century described it to their tutor, who

published an account of what they told him (Gervaise 1971 [1701]). According to the tutor, they said the round dance was an entertainment for festive days, accompanied by instruments (unspecified), without singing.

Central Sulawesi

The people in the mountains and valleys of Central Sulawesi,*formerly included under the umbrella term "Toraja," are now known by their own ethnonyms. Prominent among these groups are the largely Muslim Kaili, who live around Palu and along the west coast of the "northern neck" up as far as Tolitoli, and the largely Christian Pamona, living north and east of Lake Poso in the central hub. Some smaller groups, among them Uma-speakers (heard in track 6 here) and the Kulawi, inhabit the region south and west of the Palu valley, and others (Wana, Taa) live in the eastern peninsula. Not included in the old designation "Toraja" were the peoples at the far end of the eastern peninsula (Loinang, Banggai), the Mori in the southeastern part of the province, nor the inhabitants of the northern part of the province (Buol, Tolitoli, Tomini, etc.).

Thanks to the monumental four-volume ethnographies by Adriani and Kruyt (rev. ed. 1950–1951) and by Kruyt alone (A. Kruyt 1938a), as well as Kruyt's study of the Wana (A. Kruyt 1930b), our knowledge of traditional music and dance among the so-called Toraja is ample with regard to the contexts and meanings of performance. (It is less rich in technical detail.) The indefatigable Kruyt also wrote shorter (for him!) studies of the Loinang (1930a), Banggai (1932a,b), and several other Sulawesi peoples as well; and his son wrote on the Mori (J. Kruyt 1924). Much less ethnography and virtually no

musicology have been done on the northern neck, so we are obliged to leave that region out of our summary here.

What emerges from accounts of the western and central peoples, as well as the Mori, is a picture of a music culture similar to that of the South Sulawesi Toraja: many differentiated repertoires of vocal music, and a secondary, less formal and less developed practice of instrumental music. It is not clear how much of the traditional vocal music has survived into the late twentieth century, though some definitely has (witness our recording in track 6, government surveys [e.g., Ensiklopedi 1977/1978], and reports by anthropologists who worked in Central Sulawesi in the 1980s and 1990s). There are (or were) specific songs or song-types for particular stages in funerary rituals or the agricultural cycle, for curing or purification, and for entertainment (though this last category is not always distinct from the others: rituals often close with singing and dancing that serve as both entertainment and ritual observance). Vocal music appears to be primary also in the eastern peninsula and the Banggai archipelago, though it is perhaps not as highly differentiated there as in the west and center (or perhaps the ethnographies are simply less detailed).

Almost no one writing about singing in Central Sulawesi describes the actual character of the music, so we cannot say whether the types of polyphony we find among South Sulawesi Toraja (homophony and drone polyphony) are important here as well. It seems likely that they are. The singing for the *raego'* dance recorded in this album (track 6) represents a third type of polyphony, counterpoint, with passages where several parts move more or less independently. In this respect it differs from typical South

Sulawesi Toraja singing; but we cannot say how widespread this manner is.

Communal round dances are a primary formal occasion for music-making in most of the province. Some dances have no accompaniment other than singing; others add to the singing drums or gongs or both (no more than one or two of either). There are also dances accompanied by this instrumentation alone, without singing. The examples described by the Dutch ethnographers (e.g.: *ende* and *taro* in the Poso region [Adriani and Kruyt 1950–1951]; *osulen* in Banggai [A. Kruyt 1932b]) are traditionally performed only in conjunction with ritual. Among Wana, drums and hanging gongs (one or two, not a gong-chime) accompany shamanic dance and singing (Frederick Rawski, personal communication; Atkinson 1989).

Still other dances, not reported by the Dutch and possibly dating from later in the century (after the 1930s), use more melodic instrumental ensembles. At domestic celebrations among Kaili, dance without singing is accompanied by an ensemble containing a melodic gong-row called *kakula*, played by women, along with a drum and two hanging gongs, all played by men. (The *kakula* is not mentioned at all in A. Kruyt 1938a, nor in Kaudern's 1927a survey of musical instruments in Sulawesi.) A flute and drum ensemble, *riringgo*, accompanying a thanksgiving dance, is reported for the Mori; an ensemble of *kacapi* (plucked lute), drum, and gong accompanying *ei-ei*, a dance by young women, is reported from Dondo in the far north of the province. (References to *kakula*, *riringgo*, and *ei-ei* occur in Ensiklopedi 1977/1978.) Singing and dancing to the accompaniment of the *gambus* lute are found in coastal Muslim communities; as usual with *gambus* everywhere in

Indonesia, the singing is solo, not choral.

In non-dance contexts, a solo instrument (one-stringed bar zither, one- or two-stringed tube zither, spike fiddle, plucked lute) may accompany informal singing. The peculiar buzzing idiophones suggesting (in appearance) bamboo tuning forks are common as instruments for casual music-making throughout Central Sulawesi (indeed, throughout Sulawesi except for the South). Flutes are played for funerals or mourning in some groups in western Central Sulawesi (A. Kruyt 1938b) and in the Banggai Islands off the eastern peninsula of that province (A. Kruyt 1932a).

Southeast Sulawesi

Southeast Sulawesi is the least populous of the provinces. The principal ethnic group, inhabiting most of the peninsular mainland, is the Tolaki, with two subgroups, Konawe and Mekongga. A strong kingdom—from 1542 a sultanate—existed on Buton (an island off the southern end of the peninsula) until Indonesian independence.

Information on the music of Southeast Sulawesi is fragmentary. Judging from the scraps available, the same basic pattern we saw in Central Sulawesi—vocal music primary, instrumental music secondary, round dance important—obtains in the Southeast as well. The most popular dance is the round dance *lulo*. It is typically accompanied by one or more hanging gongs, played non-melodically. Some types of *lulo* have singing, others do not. A. C. Kruyt (1922) reports one form of *lulo* with a drum and cymbals but no singing, and another with singing but no instruments. Dana Rappoport (1995) observes that *lulo* today may be danced to local-language popular songs (i.e., pop Kaili); our

guess is that the dancers simply pop a commercial recording into a cassette player.

Aside from the drums and gongs that play for *lulo*, most instrumental music in Southeast Sulawesi is apparently informal. *Gambus* music in Muslim communities and the melodic gong ensembles accompanying dance in Buton and Muna are exceptions. One unusual instrument, reported in Sulawesi only from the Southeast, deserves special mention. This is the earth zither, played in agricultural rituals; it consists of a single string stretched across a hole in the ground covered with a membrane (Naskah 1978/1979).

North Sulawesi

From west to east, the principal regions of North Sulawesi are Gorontalo, Bolaang Mongondow, Minahasa, and Sangir Talaud (named for two island groups north of the main peninsula). In the Dutch time, the "native" inhabitants of North Sulawesi, particularly those adhering to traditional religions, were known by the originally derogatory term *Alfuru* (*Alifuru*, *Alfoeren*, etc.); the same term was also used for the inhabitants of northern and central Maluku. *Alfuru* has since been replaced by individual ethnonyms and toponyms applied without regard to religion: Gorontalo, Mongondow (Bolaang is the name of a historical kingdom but not an ethnic group), and so forth.

Minahasa is a descriptive term meaning "united"; it embraces a conglomeration of ethno-linguistic subgroups. Eight languages are spoken in the Minahasa region (in addition to the national language, Indonesian, and its local dialect, called Manado Malay after the province's capital city). Five of these—Tombulu, Tondano, Tonsawang, Tonsea, and Tontemboan—are close-

ly related and are termed by linguists the Minahasan languages; the other three are Bantik, Ratahan, and Ponosakan. Tontemboan-speakers constitute the largest of the subgroups.

The Gorontalo and Bolaang Mongondow regions are strongly Muslim, and the only genre of music we are sure is found in both is dancing and singing to the accompaniment of the *gambus* lute, associated throughout Indonesia with Islam. Presumably another genre associated with Islam—singing to the accompaniment of frame drums (*rebana*)—is also shared. (It is definitely found in Gorontalo.) Other musical information on Gorontalo is very sparse, and it is only slightly more plentiful for Bolaang Mongondow. Gong ensembles known as *kulintang* or *kolintang* were in the past played in both Minahasa and Bolaang Mongondow, and probably in Gorontalo as well, but so far as we know they now survive only in Bolaang Mongondow (tracks 7 and 8). Professional dancing-girls were reported from the courts of local nobility in Gorontalo in the 1870s (Kaudern [1927?b]); the accompanying music is not specified, but it may have been the sort of drum-dominated ensemble that accompanies Makasar and Bugis professional dances.

Protestantism penetrated Minahasa and Sangir Talaud very rapidly and thoroughly in the nineteenth century, and much of the traditional culture, including the gong ensemble, was abandoned as a result. Minahasa, in particular, was highly receptive to Dutch influences in the nineteenth century, and two of the most common instrumental ensembles in Minahasa today are essentially European. One of these is an orchestra of xylophones in several octaves playing popular Indonesian and European tunes in Western harmony; this ensemble, which emerged in the

1930s and 1940s, took over the name *kolintang* from the older gong ensemble. The other is an outgrowth of the European-style side-blown bamboo flutes introduced into eastern Indonesia by Protestant missionaries to play Christian hymn tunes. (Flute bands playing hymns are found in Christian communities throughout Sulawesi.) In Minahasa, from the 1860s on, bamboo trumpets were added to the church flute bands; these were followed by bamboo imitations of other European wind instruments, resulting in full "bamboo brass bands." Subsequently, many ensembles replaced the bamboo imitations with locally made zinc or copper versions. Today, the bands with metal instruments are called *musik bambu seng* (zinc), while those with only bamboo instruments are called *musik bambu* or *musik bambu melulu* (bamboo only); a third variety, adding imitation saxophones to the flutes and metal instruments, is called *musik klarinet bambu*. The repertoire of all of these bands consists of hymns, waltzes, marches, polkas, and popular tunes (Boonzajer Flaes 1994).

The music culture of the Minahasa peoples before the coming of Christianity seems close to that of the highland peoples in Central and Southeastern Sulawesi and the northern part of South Sulawesi. Among all of these peoples, choral singing and round dances are or were primary and instrumental music secondary. Three significant differences are: plucked lutes, which apparently spread out from lowland South Sulawesi, do not seem to have reached as far north as Minahasa; intricate drumming for dance, on the order of *pakarena*, is not known (the drumming for *maengket* [track 13] is much simpler and sounds as though it may be European in origin); and the once-widespread melodic gong-

row (*kulintang*) of Minahasa, still found in Bolaang Mongondow and among Kaili (a new development there?), is rare further south. As for singing in Minahasa: the elaborate system of *foso* (ritual celebrations) described by early ethnographers has died out, and with it, undoubtedly, forms of singing and other music particular to those occasions. The ethnographies do not tell us what the singing sounded like. The ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst, probably recounting his observations during his 1932 trip to Sulawesi, wrote (1994 [1946]) that "exceedingly beautiful and curious polyphonic (four or more parts) communal harvest songs of a primitive sort" were still found "here and there" in Minahasa; but when the MSPI team looked for such songs in 1997 we could not find them. The strong old tradition of singing during agricultural work, reported by several ethnographers, still survives, albeit in altered contexts; our Minahasa selections (tracks 9–13) derive from this tradition. Most of the singing in these songs now is in European-influenced harmony; there is no telling how long this has been the case. A few of the songs we recorded show traces of a different, presumably pre-European harmonic practice (tracks 9–11), but none have the four or more parts of Kunst's description.

This album

Where volume 15 focussed wholly on string music from South Sulawesi, here we sample other kinds of ensembles from North, Central, and South Sulawesi. (We visited Southeast Sulawesi and did some interviewing there, but we did not have time to record.) As we have shown in our survey, choral singing is prominent in Sulawesi, and we therefore offer recordings of

choruses from several groups and regions: the Makasar of lowland South Sulawesi (tracks 1 and 2), the Toraja of the northern highlands of South Sulawesi (track 5), Uma-speakers in the mountains of western Central Sulawesi (track 6), and two Minahasa sub-groups from North Sulawesi (tracks 9–13). The selections show a variety of choral “textures” (monophony, homophony, drone polyphony, counterpoint). In addition, three types of instrumental music are represented: gong ensembles (tracks 7 and 8, from Bolaang Mongondow), flutes played for funerals and mourning (tracks 3 and 4, from the Kajang of South Sulawesi), and drumming for dancers (the *pakarena* dance of the Makasar, tracks 1 and 2, and the very different *maengket* from Minahasa, track 13).

REFERENCES, ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND RECORDINGS

Smithsonian Folkways has established a Web page for the *Music of Indonesia* series. You can reach it by going to <<http://www.si.edu/folkways>> and then following the signs to Indonesia, or you can go to it directly at <<http://www.si.edu/folkways/Indonesia/indonesia.htm>>. (Be sure to capitalize the first “Indonesia” in the address but not the second.) On the Web page we post supplementary material that could not fit into the album booklets or has become available subsequently: song texts (if we have them) and translations (ditto); additional bibliography and discography; corrections of errors in the commentary; expanded discussion of important topics; and so forth. The postings are updated whenever we have something new to put up.

For volume 18, we have had to take our long

list of references out of the booklet and put it on the Web site. The citations remain in the text of this booklet, but the titles they refer to are listed on the Web. Below we provide only a very few titles of particular importance to our commentary. Song texts in the original languages are also posted on the Web site. The references and song texts are also available in hard copy for \$2.00 from: SF 40445 Supplemental Notes, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 955 L’Enfant Plaza, Suite 7300, Smithsonian Institution, MRC 953, Washington, DC 20560-0953, U.S.A.

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(partial listing; see the Web site)

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- Lundström-Burghoorn, Wil. *Minahassa civilization: a tradition of change*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1981.
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Recordings

Only a handful of recordings of music from Sulawesi have been published. Volume 15 in the present series features string music from South Sulawesi. *Indonésie, Toraja: funérailles et fêtes de fécondité* (Chant du Monde CNR 274 1004) is an exemplary album by Dana Rappoport on Toraja music, recorded 1991–1994. *Music of Sulawesi, Celebes, Indonesia* (Folkways Records FE 4351) is a 1973 album of Sa’dan Toraja instrumental music, recorded by Eric and Catherine Crystal; it is available on cassette or special-order CD from Smithsonian Folkways Recordings. *Les musiques de Célèbes, Indonésie: musiques toradja et bugis* (SFPP [Société Française de Productions Phonographiques] AMP 7 2906) is an LP, now out of print, with recordings (1967–1975) and commentary by Jeannine Koubi for Toraja and Christian Pelras for Bugis. A CD of Makasar music, including *pakarena*, is planned as part of Sutton (forthcoming; listed above). Some “bamboo brass band” music from Minahasa is included in *Frozen brass: Asia* (Pan 2020 CD).

COMMENTARY ON THE SELECTIONS

MAKASAR: PAKARENA

For much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the “twin kingdoms” of Gowa (Goa) and Tallo’, known to outsiders collectively as Makasar, were the ruling powers of South Sulawesi and “one of the leading maritime powers of the archipelago” (Pelras 1996). In 1666 and 1667 the Dutch, in alliance with the Bugis kingdom of Bone, defeated Makasar and dismantled its empire, though the Makasar nobility retained prestige and power within their home territory.

Pakarena is believed to have originated as a Makasar court entertainment, danced by the daughters of nobility. At some point—perhaps not until the late colonial period (i.e., ca. 1880–1942)—the dance moved outside the palaces and became an entertainment for ordinary people as well. Abdul Muin Daeng Mile, the leader of the village (i.e., non-palace) troupe heard in these recordings, recalls that earlier in his performing career (which began in the late 1960s) *pakarena* was the most popular entertainment for village weddings. Now it has been superseded by *orkes* (that is, *orkes Melayu*, the band that plays *dangdut*), or *pop* bands, or a single musician with an electric keyboard.

Dg. (Daeng) Mile implied that the main reason for the decline in *pakarena*’s popularity was that ordinary people could no longer afford it. R. Anderson Sutton, who has studied the situation of *pakarena* and other Makasar music, believes (personal communication) that a more determinant reason is changing audience tastes: *pakarena* is seen as old-fashioned and traditional, *orkes* and other types of popular music as more

modern and exciting. But Dg. Mile's troupe and other *pakarena* troupes are still hired for weddings, circumcisions, and the occasion of *nazar*, fulfilling a vow. (One may make a vow that if some desired event takes place—a recovery from illness, success in finding a job or in some other endeavor—one will sponsor a feast for one's neighbors or the community.) People with aristocratic connections may prefer *pakarena* for its court associations. (Once in Jenepona a woman told us there would be a traditional wedding, *perkawinan adat*, in her village. We asked whether there would be *pakarena*, and she replied, "No, only nobility [*karaeng*] hire *pakarena*.")

Pakarena is a striking combination of energetic, sometimes frenzied drumming and graceful, floating, extremely slow movements by a corps of dancers. (In earlier times—as recent as the 1930s, when Claire Holt visited Sulawesi [see Holt 1939]—the term "*pakarena*," which in its broadest sense means simply "dancers," could refer to a variety of dances, including some performed by boys; but nowadays the term designates only the dance we describe here.) Part of the task of the dancers is to remain impassive: their movements must not reflect the insistent drumming, they must not make eye contact with spectators, and they must show no reaction to joking and clowning by the musicians, though the audience is in stitches. Several theories of the dance's meaning have been offered (e.g., Mangemba 1957; Sumaryo 1973). Some have seen it as depicting the Makasar ideal of gender roles, with the male musicians displaying flashy, attention-getting technique while the female dancers remain aloof and unmoved. Others have suggested that it represents the Makasar ideal of conduct, regardless of gender: one's faith and

determination must be steadfast, unshaken by the temptations and distractions of the world. There is also said to be a mystical dimension to the dance in some contexts (see Lathief and Sumiani 1995).

As we pointed out earlier in these notes, dancing accompanied by drumming occurs in many parts of Sulawesi. However, so far as we know, *pakarena*'s specific combination of wild drumming and serene dancing (at times "near motionless," Sutton comments) is not found in other regions or ethnic groups, not even among the Bugis, the immediate neighbors of the Makasar.

Dg. Mile says there is no significant difference between court and village performances of *pakarena*. The basic instrumentation is the same in both: two two-headed drums, *ganrang*, positioned horizontally and played with bare hands or with one stick and one hand; a double-reed aerophone, *puwi'-puwi'*; and a single hanging gong, *dengklang*, or a struck bamboo idiophone, *katto'-katto'*, or both. (Two archaic metal percussion instruments, cymbals and a pair of metal rods with spatulate ends, are added in the most traditional court performances.) There must be an even number of dancers: in the old days it would be six or eight, but today four is standard. The dancers are always female. In between danced sections, which are accompanied by the drums and other instruments, there are passages of singing by the dancers and by the troupe's male leader (*anrong guru*), accompanied only by the *puwi'-puwi'*.

Pakarena is normally performed several times during a night-long festivity. A troupe must have several different *pakarena* in its repertoire, to avoid back-to-back repetition. (Dg. Mile's current troupe knows three: *Samborita*, *Ma'biring Kassi'*, and *Jangang Lea'-lea'*. Dg. Mile himself

knows a fourth, *Sanro Beja*, but his dancers do not.) The *pakarena* differ in vocal melodies and texts, drumming patterns, and dance movements. Each performance may last anywhere from forty-five minutes to two hours; the dancing may be interspersed with clowning and acrobatics. In between performances the dancers and musicians rest or eat. The final *pakarena* for any occasion is *Jangang Lea'-lea'* (excerpted here). Dg. Mile told us that in the old days, when a full wedding celebration lasted three days and two nights, *Jangang Lea'-lea'* was reserved for the last performance on the last night and was not performed on the first night. (During the daytime portion of a celebration, the instrumental ensemble that accompanies *pakarena* plays at intervals, without dance. This instrumental repertoire is called *tunrung pa'balle*.)

The performers in a *pakarena* troupe are professionals, paid for their work. (Typically, however, they cannot support themselves entirely from performances and must also work as farmers, pedicab drivers, watchmen, small-scale peddlers, etc.) The dancers are usually unmarried teenage girls, and there is a high turnover: *pakarena* brings them before many eyes, and they may quickly find husbands. Dancers are often drawn from the families of the troupe's musicians: in Dg. Mile's troupe, two of the dancers are Dg. Mile's own daughters, and the other two are daughters of the second drummer, Dg. Bombong.

1–2. Jangang Lea'-lea' (parts 3 and 4)

Pakarena ensemble of drums, shawm, gong, and singers. The performers are members of Grup Tabbing Sualia, directed by Abdul Muin Daeng Mile and based in Kecamatan Bontonompo, Kabupaten Gowa, near Takalar, in South Sulawesi.

Tracks 1 and 2 present two consecutive interi-

or segments of *Jangang Lea'-lea'*, the final *pakarena* of a wedding or other celebration. Typically, *Jangang Lea'-lea'* would begin around 3:00 or 3:30 A.M. and end around 4:00 or 4:30 so as not to interfere with dawn prayers. The piece has five segments, the third and fourth of which are heard here. The first segment begins with a brief vocal passage, during which the dancers stand still, and then proceeds to an instrumental section with dancing but no singing. The second, third, and fourth segments follow the same pattern, but with much longer vocal passages at the start. The vocal melody is the same in segments two, three, and four, while the drumming patterns and shawm melody in the instrumental passages are different for each of the five segments. The fifth segment is all vocal except for a brief passage of drumming at the end; it begins with the same melody heard in segments two through four, then changes to a second, more animated melody, repeated many times. The singing in all segments is begun by Dg. Mile, the troupe's *anrong guru* or leader; his singing is called *dondo*. The dancers' unison choral singing is *le'le'*. The scale of the choral melody heard in tracks 1 and 2 is (if we call the lowest pitch C; it is actually C#) C Eb F Gb A, with F as the opening pitch and apparent tonal center.

The texts are mainly in the verse form called *kelong*, a typical structure for which is four lines of eight, eight, five, and eight syllables respectively. Here the texts are sung in a long-drawn-out manner by the *anrong guru*, supported by the dancers, who sing only the vowel *e*. The text for each section is brief, and after the *anrong guru* has finished it he continues with vowels and vocables. For example, the entire text of track 1, aside from vocables, is as follows: *Tamanrunna / leko' kayu mammoterang*. (This is the second half of a *kelong*

begun in the second segment of the *pakarena*.)

Dg. Mile's troupe is based in a village and normally performs for village audiences. Dg. Mile tailors the length of each performance to the audience and the occasion. For this recording, which was made in a commissioned session, without dance, we asked for a medium-length performance overall and left all other decisions to Dg. Mile. He seemed to have no hesitation as to how to deal with our request. His version of *Jangang Lea'-lea'* for the recording lasted thirty-three minutes.

In performances with dancers, the drummers normally sit one in front of the other. One drum, *attannang*, plays basic repeating patterns, which the other drum, *appalari*, varies and elaborates in virtuosic fashion. *Appalari*'s strokes often interlock with *attannang*'s to create a composite pattern, as in Balinese drumming; or *appalari* may impose its own patterns on top of *attannang*'s. (Sutton [forthcoming] will include a detailed discussion of *pakarena* drumming.) *Appalari* is usually placed in front of *attannang*, but for the sake of a better stereo image we asked the drummers to sit side by side. Here the elaborating drum, *appalari*, played by Dg. Mile, is heard on the left, with *attannang*, playing basic patterns, on the right.

KAJANG: BASING

The Kajang are a small highland group living in the southeastern corner of the South Sulawesi peninsula. They speak Konjo, a dialect of Makasar (Noorduy 1991). While the Kajang are officially Muslim, there are many pre-Islamic elements in their religion and social structure (Rössler 1990). The spiritual center of Kajang culture is in Desa Tana Toa, a village of some 3,800 inhabitants, 2,800 of whom live in a

special restricted area (*kawasan*) under the authority of the Kajang spiritual leader, the Amma Toa. In the *kawasan* there is a deliberate withdrawal from the temptations of modern life, reminiscent of the Amish in the United States. Some perhaps trivial instances of Kajang conservatism (though they are ones Kajang themselves cite to outsiders) are that everyone must wear black clothing, and electricity and bright lights (including flash attachments for cameras) are forbidden.

In our visit to Tana Toa, we recorded three genres of music: songs accompanied on the *gambus* and dance tunes for *kacapi* (both are included in volume 15), and *basing*, the music for funerals and mourning heard here. We recorded *basing* in a private home outside the *kawasan*, so we did not have to worry about resistance to modern technology. The musicians, all of whom lived in the *kawasan*, were two young women, singers (*pakelong*), and two young men, flutists (*pabasing*). We failed to ask them their ages, but our hostess in the village, herself a young woman and the sister of the Kepala Desa (elected headman), said the younger singer was seventeen and no one in the group was older than twenty-five.

Among Kajang, after a death has occurred, memorial gatherings are held in the house of the deceased every ten days for one hundred days. The music called *basing* is played at these gatherings. The performers, who are specialists, are paid for their work.

The *basing* repertoire consists of two types of pieces: happy ones and sad ones. The happy pieces are played to entertain the guests and to divert the bereaved; they are also said to entertain the dead person, who can hear them in the grave. (If, while *basing* is being played in the house, you go to the gravesite, no matter how far away, you

will hear the music there.) The function of the sad pieces was not explained, but we surmise it is to give a voice to grief. After we had made our recordings, there were several occasions when we played them back in order to discuss them with Kajang listeners. Each time, when the two sad pieces heard here were played, one or two listeners who had recently lost a family member were overcome and had to get up and leave the room.

The titles of happy and sad pieces in the *basing* repertoire were listed for us. The happy pieces listed were: *Ati-ati Raja*, *Leko'-leko'*, *Ammaciang*, *Dondak*, and *Pola Mojong*. Some of these titles also occur in repertoires other than *basing*: *Ati-ati Raja* and *Ammaciang*, for example, are titles of songs in the repertoire of Makasar popular music (e.g., for *los quin* and *orkes turiolo*), and *Ati-ati Raja* is also the title of a Kajang *gambus* song (see volume 15), but, so far as we could tell, the melodies in these contexts are not the same as those for *basing*; it appears that only textual formulae (such as the phrase "ati [or *ati-ati*] *raja*") are shared. The sad pieces listed were *Rikong* and *Tempa Sorong*, both of which are heard here. (A third title, *Iyo-iyu*, was mentioned once as a sad piece, but this was not confirmed subsequently.) These are not shared with other ensembles or repertoires. During sad pieces, the guests are silent.

The characteristic instrument of this music is a long bamboo flute called (like the music itself) *basing*. A bell made of horn is attached at the distal end of the flute. The instruments we saw measured approximately 69.2 cm in length (61.5 cm for the bamboo tube and another 7.7 cm for the bell) and 2 cm in diameter. They had five fingerholes. In construction, *basing* are common Indonesian ring-flutes: a channel cut into the

outer wall of the flute at the proximal (blowing) end, together with an external ring fitted around that end, forms an external duct directing air from the player's mouth towards the lower edge of the sound orifice. One peculiarity of the Kajang *basing* (and some other Sulawesi flutes) is a secondary ring, farther down the tube, to which the duct-forming ring is tied; this secondary ring does not affect the sound but simply keeps the other ring from being lost. The *basing* is played using the technique of circular breathing to produce an unbroken stream of sound.

The remarkable blend of flutes and voices we hear in *basing* is partly achieved by the physical configuration of the ensemble. In performance, the flutists sit side by side, leaning away from each other so the bells of their long flutes can be angled together. The singers, each screening one side of her mouth with her hand and singing in a tiny voice, sit as close together as possible, facing the flutists. The distance between singers and flutists should not be more than one meter.

We mentioned earlier that flutes are associated with funerals and mourning in some other parts of Sulawesi as well as the Kajang territory. A Sa'dan Toraja funeral ensemble of a flute and two female singers is heard on the Chant du Monde CD (track 9). Although this Toraja *marak-ka'* music differs from our *basing* selections in both scale and melody type, the sound texture is very similar.

A final note regarding these *basing* recordings: mindful of the Kajang prohibitions against electricity and of the serious character of these mourning pieces, we sought the explicit permission of the Amma Toa, the spiritual leader of the Kajang, before publishing them. The Amma Toa's representative gave us permission but asked that

we request of listeners that the music be treated with respect when the recordings are played at home or broadcast.

3. Rikong

4. Tempa Sorong

Basing ensemble of Desa Tana Toa, Kecamatan Kajang, Kabupaten Bulukumba, in South Sulawesi.

Two sad pieces played for mourning. *Rikong* is performed by the full *basing* ensemble (two flutes and two female singers). It is a strophic song in free meter throughout. In this performance, after an introduction by the flutes alone, three strophes are sung and played by the singers and flutes together. The strophes are separated by brief flute interludes that repeat the introductory figure. The singing uses a pentatonic scale of the form (ascending) C Eb F G Bb and on up to C and Eb. (The actual pitches are all a half-step lower than this conventional spelling.) The flute uses the same scale, ranging through two octaves (C to C), with Db added as an ornament above the top C. The apparent tonal center of the song is Eb.

Tempa Sorong uses only the flutes, in heterophonic unison, without singing. Our aural impression is that the course of the melody is fixed and known to both flutists; one player does not seem to be leading the other and signalling which direction to take. The first part of the piece is in free meter, with occasional phrases that seem to establish a pulse then abandon it. There are many recurrent motifs, but the piece is not strophic. Beginning just after 4:50 the proportion of pulsed phrases to free meter reverses, and most of the rest of the piece has a steady pulse. The scale is the same as in *Rikong*, except that there are two forms of B (Bb and B-natural) in the lower octave, and the tonal center is not clear (to us, at

least: except for the flute's top Db, every tone in the scale, in both octaves, is sustained at one point or another).

TORAJA: SIMBONG

The Toraja of the Mamasa region are, we were told there, "one people" with the better-known Toraja in the Sa'dan region further east. The linguist Noorduyt (1991) considers the Mamasa language a dialect of Sa'dan Toraja.

In Mamasa, *simbong* is singing for a celebration held in fulfillment of a vow (which among the Makasar is an occasion for *pakarena*). Dana Rappoport told us (personal communication) that it is also sung in ceremonies "praising a house" and in courtship; we did not hear of these uses in Mamasa, and it may be that they are more common in the Sa'dan region. In Mamasa, *simbong* is performed by antiphonal choruses of adult men and women. The women stand on a temporary balcony (*tadok paya*) built onto the house where the celebration is being held; the men stand on the ground below. Each chorus has a leader, called the *tomarrodoh*. The male singers (and perhaps the women as well, we are not sure) hold rattles called *sarro-sarro*. These are wooden discs to which beaded cords are attached. With a flick of the singer's wrist the cords fly and strike the disc. Only a few *sarro-sarro* were available when we held our impromptu recording session, and they made such a ragged sound that we wondered whether they were essential to the performance; the singers said no, so we asked to record without them.

5. Simbong (excerpt)

Male and female choruses. The singers, from Kampung Batarirak, Desa Balla Satanetean, Kecamatan Mamasa, Kabupaten Polweali Mamasa, in South Sulawesi, are members of Grup Mesakada.

The two choruses sing essentially the same music, but the men are pitched a fifth below the women. In both groups, a soloist (*tomarrodoh*) begins, and then the chorus joins on a drone pitch. The soloist weaves around this drone pitch, staying mainly a second (major or nearly so) above or below it but sometimes dropping down to the fourth below. The drone singers maintain a steady beat through dynamic accents in their sustained tone. If we consider the women's drone pitch C (it is actually C# at the start and wobbles a bit thereafter), the soloist's pitches are G and Bb below the drone, D (sometimes rather flat) above it, and the drone pitch C itself. The male singers have the same pitches, transposed down a fifth: drone pitch F, soloist C Eb F G. With regard to texts: the men's verses answer the women's. In our recording the verses seem to be either flirtatious or simply friendly, without pointed teasing.

The particular form of drone polyphony heard here, with the soloist weaving tightly around the drone, is heard also on the Chant du Monde CD, in *manimbong* singing for the *bua'* festival, and in the flute ensembles (*suling bonde*, *suling deata*). We have not heard this style elsewhere in Sulawesi, but so few recordings of Sulawesi singing are available that we dare not conclude anything from this. Incidentally, the one vocal selection from Mamasa on the Chant du Monde CD is a different genre, *io-io*, but its music is the same as in our recording of *simbong* (except that there is no answering male chorus).

UMA-SPEAKERS: RAEGO'

Uma is a generally accepted name for the principal language spoken in the mountains of the southern part of Kecamatan Kulawi, Kabupaten Donggala, in western Central Sulawesi. The region where Uma is spoken is drained by the Koro River, known to outsiders as the Lariang. Where we recorded, in the eastern part of that region, around Kantewu and Onu, the name for the region itself is Pipikoro ("banks" or "slopes," *pipi*, of the Koro), and this term has been generalized by linguists and missionaries to apply to the entire region, its inhabitants, and its language. Several days' walk further west, however, among the Tobaku, who also live on the slopes of the Koro and speak a dialect of Uma, these generalized senses of *Pipikoro* are not readily accepted. (This information comes from the anthropologist Lorraine Aragon, by personal communication; see Aragon, forthcoming. Here we will use *Pipikoro* only in its geographical sense, and only for the eastern, Kantewu/Onu area.)

Uma-speakers are among the groups lumped together by Kruyt as "Western Toraja." Aragon reports that many Uma-speakers now use Topouma, "people who speak Uma," as a name for themselves; in the Pipikoro people may also call themselves Pipikoro. In talking to outsiders, Uma-speakers sometimes identify themselves as Kulawi, taking for convenience the name of a larger and better-known neighboring group. (Pellars has observed the same phenomenon with Makasar people who describe themselves as Bugis to outsiders, figuring Makasar may be obscure but everyone has heard of Bugis.)

To get to Desa Onu, we drove south for three hours from Palu to Gimpu and another half-hour west into the forest, where we were met by

guides with horses. (There are no roads and no telephones in the Pipikoro. Several days earlier, we had asked someone going up the mountain to request that horses be brought down to carry us and our equipment. We didn't know whether the message had been delivered until we got into the forest on the appointed day and found the horses waiting.) The ride up took us eight and a half hours. (People used to the terrain walk up, which is quicker.)

Desa Onu consists of three hamlets (*dusun*): Onu, Kilo, and Porelea. Kilo is a forty-five-minute walk from Onu, and Porelea another forty-five minutes beyond Kilo. Uma-speakers are largely Christians; the strongest church in the region is the Salvation Army, established in Kantewu in 1917.

In reading the ethnographies of Central Sulawesi in the colonial era, one constantly encounters the round dance called *raego'* (or variants of this: *rego*, *raido*, etc.). It is reported for the entire "Toraja" region of Central Sulawesi, including the Pipikoro. In those descriptions, *raego'* is performed, always at night, as part of many rituals and celebrations, or just for fun without a formal occasion. Kaudern reports ([1927?b]:384) that when he visited Kulawi in 1918 just after harvest, there was *raego'* once or twice each week in the village where he stayed, and if, on a given night, no *raego'* was going on there, one need only walk a short distance to a neighboring village to find it.

According to Kaudern, who summarized all of the accounts of *raego'* and other Sulawesi dances available at the time, the defining choreographic feature of *raego'* was that men and unmarried women danced simultaneously but separately. Men might form a circle and women

another one inside it; or men and women might group in separate arcs within one circle. After the dance was under way, couples could withdraw from the main circle or circles and form an outer ring (full or partial) where men and women alternated, but the primary circles or semicircles remained single-sex. Both men and women could dance in single file, each woman gripping the upper arms of the woman in front and each man placing his left arm on the right shoulder of the man in front; or men or women (or both) could face in towards the center of the circle, holding onto the dancer to the left; or the women could dance arm in arm, two or three abreast; or these various styles could be mixed. In the outer ring of couples, a man would pass his left arm around his partner to touch the shoulder of the man to her left. The music for *raego'* was always choral, with no drums, gongs, or other instruments. The dancers, male and female, all sang, and the men periodically erupted in "whooping" (Kaudern's word) and stamping.

Kaudern distinguished between dances of the *raego'* type and those where men and women danced side by side in the primary circle. This second class he called *makaria*, after a Minahasa instance described by the missionary Graafland (1898). The reports of *makaria*-type dances in Kaudern are enlivened by references to "shameless behavior," "wild debauches," and "sexual orgies" by the dancers. Kaudern did not witness these events himself, and he remarks that what seems immoral to a missionary might not seem so to the dancers themselves. Kaudern thinks the dances were connected with rituals to ensure fecundity.

This distinction between the *raego'* and *makaria* types is not convincing. Kaudern himself saw both configurations in Kulawi *raego'*,

and Adriani and Kruyt report some instances of dances identified as *raego'* where men and women dance next to each other (see Kaudern [1927?b]: 398-399, 418). Aragon suggests (personal communication) that *raego'* circles or semicircles may be single-sex at some times in an evening or for certain occasions, and mixed-sex at other times or for other occasions. In any case, Kaudern does not cite any accounts of orgies in connection with any dance called *raego'*, though he does observe, of *raego'* in Kulawi, that "some couples leave the party and disappear in the darkness of the night." Nevertheless, Protestant missionaries generally regarded *raego'* as immoral and heathen.

Missionary opposition to *raego'* is discussed in an article (1996) by Aragon, who argues that *raego'* seemed immoral partly because of the physical contact between male and female dancers in the couples' circle, and partly because married men used the dancing as an opportunity to get to know potential second or third wives. (Only unmarried women took part in the dance.) Moreover, even if it did not promote sexual license, it was associated with pagan rituals. And not only were the missionaries opposed, but the colonial government, according to Kaudern, considered *raego'* a waste of time and energy, and tried in 1918 to regulate the number of times *raego'* could be held in a community. (So far as we know, the government of independent Indonesia has not tried to restrict *raego'* performances.) By the 1970s, Aragon writes, *raego'* was forbidden (by local authorities, not the district or provincial government) in the village where she (later) worked and in most of the larger villages where the Salvation Army was strong. *Raego'* did continue to be performed sporadically in remote hamlets.

When our MSPI team arrived in Central

Sulawesi in 1996, about the only thing we knew we wanted to look for was *raego'*, which we had learned of first through Aragon's work. We searched for it in the villages up and down the road from Palu to Gimpu, but it seemed to be dead or moribund everywhere. Finally we heard that people could still do *raego'* up in the Pipikoro.

At least in Desa Onu, church opposition to *raego'* seems to have abated by the 1990s: one of the locations proposed for our recording session (proposed by the village headman, who helped us set up the session and get in touch with experienced dancers) was the yard in front of the church. (We ended up recording in the village meeting hall instead.) Perhaps the church today feels the battle against *raego'* has been won: the most popular entertainment today is not *raego'* but a dance called *dero*. Men and women dance *dero* side by side, holding hands; the dancers sing (our hosts demonstrated with a song in European-style thirds-based harmony), accompanied by a drum and a gong. *Dero* is seen as a totally secular (*duniawi*) dance, and we were told it would not be permissible to record *dero* in the churchyard.

We were considering recording it somewhere else in the village, when a catastrophe occurred that made *dero* unthinkable and nearly ruled out *raego'* as well. On the very evening when we were to record *raego'*, as the expert singers summoned from Kilo and Porelea were arriving to join the ones in Onu, a woman in Onu died in childbirth. The baby also died. Fearing it would be heartless to record in these circumstances, we met with the singers and offered to call off the session (but still pay them their honorarium). Some of the singers went to talk to the bereaved family. After a while they returned and said that the relatives did not object, because they knew we had scheduled the

session several days earlier. (It was this factor that made it impossible to record *dero*. Our *raego*' had been planned before the deaths, but *dero* had not; to know of the deaths but arrange a new dance anyway would have been deeply offensive.) We again offered to cancel the *raego*', for the sake of the singers' feelings if not the family's; but the singers, after discussion, decided to go ahead.

Working with Thomas Dado, a former headman of Desa Onu, the singers had planned out the basic texts they wanted to sing. There were texts for various occasions when *raego*' would typically be danced (still? or only in the past? we are not sure): welcoming guests; weddings; funerals; opening a new field; planting rice; harvesting rice; the harvest festival; and sending off a departing guest or villager. (Courtship and victory in battle, other occasions mentioned in the ethnographies, were not represented.) For our recording, they began with a welcoming text—but nothing went right. They stopped too soon, before they had gotten warmed up; then on the next try they went on forever and didn't know when to stop; they stumbled against the mikestands; they groped all around for the pitch; songs were interrupted by coughing fits. Eventually we took a break to talk about it. The problem, they said, was that the spirits of the dead mother and baby were angry: they were disrupting the recording because they had not been properly acknowledged. So the performers switched to funeral texts. This satisfied the spirits, we were told, and the session went smoothly after that. We stopped recording and went home around 2:30 A.M., but the dancing and singing went on for another two hours.

All of our performers were elderly. (The prohibition against married women taking part in *raego*' evidently no longer holds, or perhaps it was

suspended for our sake, to ensure that we had women singers who knew the songs.) Men danced in one semicircle, the women in another, disjunct from the men's. All faced the center of the circle rather than moving in single file. Each man put his left hand on the right shoulder of the man to his left; each woman put her left arm around the back of the woman to the left and grasped her left arm from behind. The dance and the vocal melody were the same each time; only the texts differed from one *raego*' to the next. As we said earlier, the basic texts were worked out in advance. These were the refrains sung by the chorus; the songleaders created verses on the spot, each one leading to the choral refrain. The spontaneous verses were in the everyday language of the Uma, but the refrains were in an esoteric language few people now understand.

The former headman told us a story of the origin of these song texts. Seven hunters were in the forest when they heard singing. They followed the sound until in the distance they saw people dancing. But when they came closer to see more clearly, the people had turned into mushrooms, standing in a circle just like *raego*' dancers. The songs the hunters heard were full of advice about agriculture, animals, and human society; the hunters learned them and taught them to the villagers at home. The songs were in "mushroom language." These are the texts now sung as refrains in *raego*' songs. (Adriani and Krúyt tell a similar story from the Pamona: a single hunter discovers the leaves of a tree dancing and singing *raego*' [1950–1951: 1.394]; and the Napu learned *ende* songs and dancing from monkeys [A. Krúyt 1938a:1.221].)

The singing involves one of the rare Indonesian instances of counterpoint. (Another, simpler instance is found in the Manggarai region of Flo-

res; see our volume 9, track 10.) This is not the systematic note-against-note texture of Palestrina but a linear form where the simultaneous intervals created by the several vocal lines are incidental. What seems basically a single melody is fragmented, by means of staggered entrances and antiphonal responses, among various groups, until the men burst into a storm of counter-melody, through which the women steadily guide the main melody.

As with the Toraja drone polyphony of track 5, we do not know the distribution of this contrapuntal singing. Kaudern describes it for *raego*' among the Kulawi, which is not surprising, since the Kulawi are neighbors of the Uma-speakers: "the girls strike up a strange, monotone song.... The men take up quite another tune, now and then whooping, and with their right foot stamping on the ground in time" (Kaudern [1927?b]: 384). J. Krúyt seems to be describing something similar in songs for the *tingke* round dance of the Mori, who live at quite a distance from the Pipikoro: "the men line out the [textual?] motif, which the women take up and sing in their own manner. One hears the women's part continually through the men's singing" (J. Krúyt 1924:173).

We did not stay long enough among Uma-speakers to learn the extent to which *raego*' is still performed. Aragon describes recent attempts to adapt it for schoolchildren, for cultural shows, for television, and for church anniversaries. These may involve substantial alterations of the traditional form: dancing in straight rows for the benefit of the camera, for example, or singing in a "disciplined" manner. Though Aragon shows that people are sometimes able to invest them with some of the significance *raego*' used to hold, these adaptations are all to some extent contrived and

externally motivated.

There may still be communities where *raego*' in its traditional form is not an unusual occurrence, but the days when it was the regular entertainment at weddings, harvest celebrations, funerals, and times of relaxation are long gone. For young Uma-speakers today, the entertainment of choice (leaving aside television and popular music from the cities) is *dero*. But the elderly performers who came for our *raego*' session sang and danced with energy and commitment the whole night through, and the songleaders provided a steady stream of spontaneous verses. *Raego*' is clearly still a living genre in the memory of older people.

6. *Raego*'

Mixed chorus. Singers of Desa Onu, in the Pipikoro region, Kecamatan Kulawi, Kabupaten Donggala, in Central Sulawesi.

The text of this *raego*' song is appropriate for a funeral. Its refrain, in the esoteric "mushroom language," is *Boli risei ronto tali*, meaning "give some old clothing [of the deceased] as a remembrance." The songleaders (in our session all men, though female songleaders are mentioned several times in the ethnographies) sang verses in everyday Uma to fit with this line: among them were *Isai tulonda mompai talie* (Every moment I remember), *Moronto morontomo talina mompai* (He [or she] will never come home), and *Morontoi tali idei* (We have lost our relative). The pitches of the song, shown in ascending order and transposed up a fourth to start from C (the lowest tone is actually G), are: C D E G A. The women stay within that ambitus, C to A; the male soloists extend it upward through the octave to D. The apparent tonal center is C.

MONGONDOW: KULINTANG

The gong ensemble of the Mongondow region, the *kulintang* or *kolintang*, is sometimes called *kulintang besi*, "iron *kulintang*," to distinguish it from the nationally known Minahasa xylophone ensemble *kulintang* (or *kulintang kayu*, "wooden *kulintang*"). Minahasa's own gong ensemble, widespread in the second half of the nineteenth century (see Graafland 1898), has now disappeared. (It is not mentioned in Kaudern 1927a; was it already obsolete?) An 1839 painting of the instruments accompanying a Minahasa war dance (reproduced in Kaudern [1927b]:455) shows a rack with two rows of five gong-kettles each, like a Javanese *bonang*, along with two drums, a large hanging gong, and a transverse flute. The ten-kettle gong-row is unknown today anywhere in Sulawesi; all Mongondow gong-rows we have seen or heard of have only five kettles. (The flute in the painting is another surprise; no Mongondow gong ensembles have flutes.) Overall, the gong ensemble is uncommon in Sulawesi; aside from the Mongondow form and its extinct Minahasa counterpart, the only examples we know are the Kaili *kakula* and the dance ensembles reported for Muna and Buton in the Southeast.

The Mongondow *kulintang* is played for weddings and funerals. Here we give two examples of wedding music, recorded in Lolak, on the north coast, and Tudu Aog, inland near Kotamobagu.

7. Toki Hajat Perkawinan (excerpt)

Kulintang ensemble of Desa Motabang, Kecamatan Lolak, Kabupaten Bolaang Mongondow, in North Sulawesi. The musicians are members of the group Musik Kulintang Molosing, directed by I. A. Dilapanga.

The Lolak musicians said that *kulintang* plays, only for the weddings or funerals of the nobility,

(We did not hear of this restriction in Tudu Aog.) The music is the same for both occasions, differing only in tempo: for funerals the tempo is slow, for weddings it starts slow (though not, in our recordings, as slow as for funerals) and speeds up after a while. The musicians said that, if you heard *kulintang* from afar, you would not know which occasion it was for until it either sped up or ended without doing so. In this recording, they play at the first wedding tempo, before the speed-up.

The gong-row in Lolak has five kettles, one of them with a cracked boss. The two lowest are pitched about a quarter-tone apart: one is slightly below a standard (American) F and the other slightly above it. If, for convenience of comparison, we rename these two F's C's, the tuning is C-C+ D (the cracked kettle), then D an octave above, and F above that. The *kulintang* player obviously enjoys the narrow interval between the bottom kettles; he spends a considerable amount of time near the end of this recording (after ca. 2:45) toying with it.

The other instruments in the ensemble are a hanging gong, *banding*, and two drums, *gandang*. Properly the drums should be two-headed drums, positioned horizontally, but the Lolak group's drums of that type are broken. Instead they usually use frame drums (*rebana* or *marwas*), or, as for this recording, they borrow single-headed drums from Sangir neighbors. In our session, the drummers played first with bare hands and later with a stick in one hand. We thought this difference in technique must mark some formal distinction in the music, but we were told it was simply optional: if your hands get tired, use the stick. As for the gong: it is played with two techniques, being struck directly on the boss to produce a deep, clear-pitched tone, and on the face near the rim to produce a quiet

clanging. The rhythms played with this second, clanging stroke are called *bunga* (flowers).

8. Toki Hajat (excerpt)

Kulintang ensemble of Desa Tudu Aog, Kecamatan Passi, Kabupaten Bolaang Mongondow, in North Sulawesi.

We had the good fortune to attend a two-day wedding in Tudu Aog where we could record without disrupting the ceremony. The wedding was held in the bride's parents' house, and the musicians were members of her family. On the first day, the *kulintang* ensemble played only briefly, after the first set of speeches. (Then it played again, so we could record it; this second performance would not have occurred if we were not present.) After that came dinner, and after that the dance called *dana*, accompanied by *gambus* and singing. The participants in the *dana* (two men, followed by another two, and so on) and its audience were the middle-aged and elderly; young people at the wedding ignored the performance, chatting among themselves and playing cards. On the morning of the next day the *kulintang* played for several hours to greet the groom's party. That evening, karaoke equipment was rented to entertain the younger guests.

As in Lolak, the Tudu Aog gong-row has five kettles. Transposing the tones so the lowest pitch is C (actually it is A), the tuning is C (cracked, and somewhat sharp) D F A Bb. The drums are two-headed and are held horizontally across the player's lap. There were two styles of playing the hanging gong, both of them using only strokes on the boss, without the *bunga* we heard in Lolak: one was to keep a steady beat, and the other was to play the gong only when the lowest-pitched *kulintang* kettle was struck. This latter

style, geared to the melody rather than to the beat, was preferable, said the *kulintang* player (clearly the dominant figure in the group). But, to his obvious annoyance, no one seemed able to play that way: several players tried, but they could only manage feeble gong-strokes well after he had tapped the low kettle and moved on. For this album we chose one of the recordings where the gong is played in the simpler manner.

MINAHASA: MARANI AND MAENGKET

Colonial ethnographers of Minahasa report an elaborate tradition of ritual feasts (*foso*) conducted by *walian*, ritual specialists who in the course of the *foso* were possessed by the spirits of gods. A *foso* typically culminated in communal singing, dancing, and feasting. The Dutch government and Protestant missionaries together attacked this system and other practices (e.g., headhunting) of the religion that underlay it, and by early in the twentieth century it was virtually eradicated.

A second traditional system, however, has survived, with alterations, into the present. In the nineteenth century, many agricultural tasks were performed cooperatively by voluntary, semi-permanent associations called *mapalus* that operated on a principle of reciprocity, whereby the whole group helped each of its members in rotation. Large *mapalus* of 40–100 men and women gathered to open a member's fields, plant them, harvest them, and so on; these *mapalus* could also undertake other cooperative projects such as building a house or a road. On the way to the fields or the work site, during the work itself, and on the way home afterwards, the members often sang songs, and in the evenings (after a feast provided by the member benefiting from the work) they would typically entertain themselves with

singing and dancing. Some of the songs were tied to specific agricultural tasks: songs for harvest, for example, would not be sung during weeding or planting. Other songs could be sung at any time. The song texts were often coarse or bawdy (Graafland 1898:1.160–161; Adam 1925:498).

According to Wil Burghoorn (from whose book, Lundström-Burghoorn 1981, this summary of *mapalus* is derived), the Dutch authorities disapproved of the large *mapalus*, considering them inefficient and devoted more to festivity than to work. Eventually, under pressure, the large *mapalus* died away, but smaller *mapalus* abound to this day, for agricultural work and also for many other purposes: honoring the ancestor of a descent group, reading the Bible, singing Dutch songs, “revolving savings” (the *mapalus uang*, with a kitty of dues that goes to each member in turn), and so forth. Sometimes the sociability of the meetings is more important to the members than the activity that is their avowed purpose: some members of the Dutch-language singing group Burghoorn describes did not speak Dutch, and some others did not sing (Lundström-Burghoorn 1981:167).

Marani. When the MSPi team arrived in Minahasa, we were looking for three things in particular, plus anything else that might turn up. Our targets were: gong ensembles, which we failed to find, apparently because none are left; *maengket*, of which more below; and the four- or five-part polyphonic work songs mentioned by Kunst. What we found when we went looking for work songs was Thomas Rotikan of Taratara.

Bp. (=Bapak) Thomas, a Tombulu-speaker born in 1921, remembers many songs sung in

mapalus work parties when he was young, in the 1930s. He referred to these songs, which are sung in Tombulu, by two Tombulu terms, most frequently *marani*, occasionally *rumani*. (These are both verbal forms, from a nominal root *rani* which we never heard. Similarly, we never heard the nominal roots *engket* in Tontemboan or *palus* in either language. With apologies to readers familiar with Minahasan languages, we use in our commentary only the verbal forms, even when the English syntax makes them function as nouns.) He has formed a group—a *mapalus*, in fact—to sing these songs; its members (at least those in our recordings) range in declared age from 26 to 78. It was not clear to us whether the songs were revived by the group or whether they are still in use in the fields. (By now, both could be true; the songs might have been revived and then brought back into the fields by the members of the group.) The purpose of the group, we gathered, is partly to have fun and partly to perform for the cultural shows and competitions occasionally sponsored by the district or provincial government. Meetings are held at members' houses, sometimes with a drummer present. (Drummers often accompanied a *mapalus* on the way to and from work; and cf. *maengket*.) Some strong drink is always welcome at the meetings.

In an article on *raego*, the missionary ten Kate, based in Central Sulawesi, gives *marani* as a “Minahassisch (T.B.)” [=Tombulu?] name for a *raego*-like dance and says the word means “to make noise” (1915:333). *Marani* as Bp. Thomas and his singers performed it for us is not as animated as this suggests: it involves none of *raego*'s whooping, and barely any dancing. Standing in a circle, men with men in one segment, women with women in the other, the singers link little

fingers with their neighbors and step forward and back, swinging their arms, but they do not move round the circle. Possibly, then, Bp. Thomas's *marani* has been toned down from ten Kate's; on the other hand, we cannot know how close a parallel between *marani* and *raego* ten Kate intended, nor whether he derived his information about *marani* from observation or second-hand.

All in all, it is difficult to know whether these songs sounded in 1997 as they did in the fields sixty years before. When asked, Bp. Thomas said the group sang the songs for us as they would working in the fields or at night after work. Except, he added, the songs have many verses, and in the context of real work (or relaxation after it) each song might go on for much longer than it does in the versions performed for our recording.

Two features in particular make us think that the *marani* we recorded may derive without much modification from *mapalus* work songs. One is the sheer simplicity of the performance: the group adds none of the display elements one would expect of a reconstruction or reinterpretation designed to appeal to urban audiences, government officials, or other outsiders. Secondly, some of the songs (tracks 9–11) are sung in a harmonic idiom uncommon in modern Minahasa, one found neither in church nor in urban popular music. It is highly unlikely that this idiom was newly created by Bp. Thomas as an innovation, so it must presumably be the idiom of the old work songs.

9. Esa Na Wia-wia Mokaria 10. Tanumo 11. Sei Si Maka Leso Ekaria 12. Ivehe (excerpt)

Mixed chorus. Singers of Desa Taratara Satu, Kcamatan Tomohon, Kabupaten Minahasa, in North Sulawesi. The singers are members of Kelompok Marani, directed by Thomas Rotikan.

The *marani* songs here are associated with specific agricultural activities. The first three are sung when hoeing the ground after rice seed has been sown; the steady stresses coordinate the workers in the repetitive motion of wielding the hoe. The fourth song is sung when weeding a field; this work is more individual, as squatting workers pull up the weeds within reach, then move to another patch of ground, and it does not invite an insistent rhythm.

The melodies use only a few tones—two in track 9, three in tracks 10 and 11, four in track 12—and have narrow ranges of, respectively, a minor third, a minor third, a perfect fourth, and a perfect fifth. The choral passages introduce some additional tones and extend the range. The harmonies involve triads in tracks 9 and 11 and thirds in track 12, but only track 12 can be considered “tonal” in the terms of Western music. The harmony of track 9 includes seconds as well as triads, and track 10 moves in open fourths and fifths.

In the first three songs, the singing pattern runs counter to the text. For each text couplet AB, the first line is sung solo (S) and the second line with chorus (C), and then the lines are reversed though the alternation of solo and chorus remains the same: ABBA (text), SCSC (singers). In track 12, the solo or duet sings the first line of the couplet, then the chorus sings both lines.

Track 12 has a peculiarly irregular phrase

structure. In the first verse, led by Bp. Thomas, the phrase-lengths are 8+8+3+4+5, with each beat subdivided in three; in subsequent verses, led by a female duo, the phrase-lengths are 9+9+3+4+4. The first verse of the song (not that this has anything to do with its metrical irregularity) says, "I have a handkerchief I want to give you. Fold it up neatly so that we can be folded together as one."

Maengket. *Maengket* is now a standardized suite of dances with singing, performed for national holidays and other big occasions, but one segment of the suite, along with the overall name *maengket*, originates in agricultural work songs such as the Tombulu *marani* and the Tontemboan *matolok*. (The *maengket* we recorded is sung in Tontemboan. We have heard of Tombulu and Tonsea *maengket* as well, but all of our own information—as distinguished from what we have gathered from published references—concerns the Tontemboan variety.)

The old form of *maengket* is reported in ethnographies from the colonial era as both a dance performed during ritual harvest celebrations (Schwarz 1907:259–262; Graafland 1898:1.227; Wilken 1863:311–314) and a recreational dance done at night after the *mapalus* returns from harvesting the fields (Graafland 1898:1.290). *Walian* (ritual specialists, i.e., in this context, shamans) were involved when *maengket* was performed in a harvest *foso*, but they had no official role in the recreational performance. The basic song-repertoire for *maengket* consisted of work songs relating specifically to harvest.

The dance formation for the ritual, according to the missionary Wilken, began with a women's semicircle and behind it a concentric men's semicircle; in front of the women were the ritual spe-

cialists. The dancers travelled in a broad circle; since the men took larger and faster steps than the women, the men's semicircle would sometimes be dancing opposite the women, at other times behind them or to one side. Graafland (1898:1.290n, 297) describes the recreational *maengket* rather differently, remarking that it cannot really be called a dance, since people merely shuffle around in a circle, and some people simply stand. (This sounds rather like the *marani* group in Taratara.) Wilken, writing of the ritual, says the songs are "about the gods." Graafland, however, says of the recreational dance that early in the evening the songs are devoted to the harvest festival and to giving thanks to the gods, but things soon change, and the songs become quite "immoral...with vicious consequences."

Although missionaries opposed the ritual aspects of *foso*, they apparently tolerated, if not encouraged, the recreational *maengket* (Henley 1996:135). This must account, at least in part, for its survival into the 1950s, when it was taken up and incorporated into a new performance genre, the modern *maengket* (sometimes called *maengket imbasan* to distinguish it from the traditional form).

Maengket today (*maengket imbasan*) is a suite of three dances with singing, at least the first two of which are loosely based on aspects of traditional Minahasa life. The Tontemboan, Tombulu, and Tonsea versions all share this structure and the same sequence of subjects. The first segment, *Ma'owei Kamberu* (track 13), derives from *maengket* harvest celebrations and harvest work songs. The second segment, *Marambak*, is based on a round dance of that name that was performed on the occasion of inaugurating a newly built house; it involved strenuous stamping to test the floor. (This was the only context for *maram-*

bak cited to us. Graafland [1898:1.294] says it could be performed on any recreational occasion, though the song texts he quotes all concern a new house. He also remarks that the dance starts decorously but soon becomes extremely rowdy and "unchaste," with dancers jostling and piling up on top of each other.) The final segment of modern *maengket* is a courtship dance, *Lalayaan*; we have not been able to find a traditional counterpart of this dance in the older ethnographies.

The first groups to perform *maengket* dance-suites emerged in the early 1950s, after the hardship and turmoil of the Japanese wartime occupation (1942–1945) and the Indonesian Revolution (1945–1949). The earliest groups—sponsored, we were told, by the owners of clove plantations as a recreational activity for their workers—were based in Tonsea and Tanawangko, and the idea caught on and spread rapidly from there. Soon the cultural department of the government began to sponsor local and regional contests among *maengket* groups. This effort undoubtedly contributed to the swelling popularity of the genre.

Why did the new *maengket* become so popular? The interpretation that occurs to us is that it was a demonstration by Minahasans to themselves of the changes in their lives. It proclaimed a new relation to tradition: the *maengket* groups depicted traditional activities, out of context, instead of just doing them on the appropriate occasions (such as harvest or housewarming). What used to be a way of life was now a show. Nevertheless, there was clearly a continuity with the past: *maengket* groups, locally based, were in essence *mapalus*, channelling in a new form the communal energy of traditional associations.

In the 1960s and 1970s *maengket* is said to have declined in popularity. In the 1980s there

was a revival, centered in Kecamatan Sonder: as many as twenty groups (called *tumpukan*) were active in Sonder in this period. In the 1990s the genre again declined, largely, we were told, because one of the sons of President Soeharto awarded himself a monopoly on cloves, bankrupting many local entrepreneurs (potential sponsors of performances) and depressing the economy of the whole region. Nevertheless, a number of *maengket* groups are still active. They depend upon government commissions, since *maengket* performances are rare at domestic events or village festivals.

13. Ma'owei Kamberu

Mixed chorus with two drums. Singers of Desa Kiawa Satu, Kecamatan Kawangkoan, Kabupaten Minahasa, in North Sulawesi. The singers are members of *Maengket Pisok Lengkoan*, directed by Elisabeth Piri.

Part one of the modern *maengket* suite, depicting a harvest celebration. (*Kamberu* means "new rice.") The group heard here, *Pisok Lengkoan*, won first prize in a regional competition in 1957, and has (according to the group) won first or second prize in every competition it has entered since then. The *kapel* or performance leader for our recording was Elisabeth Piri, who had been part of the prize-winning group forty years before, when she was fifteen years old; several other members from that time were also still in the group when we recorded. According to Semuel Assa, one of the leaders of the group, the songs they use in their *maengket* today are the same ones they sang in 1957. It is remarkable that they continue to perform them, as we can hear in this recording, with so much energy and commitment.

The members of Pisok Lengkoan are mostly farmers and laborers. Young, middle-aged, and old people take part. The group performs occasionally in programs arranged by the government's Department of Tourism, or for other government occasions and celebrations. In 1997, the group was paid Rp 5,000 per person (about US \$2.00 at the time) for performances for the Tourism Department; this was considered the equivalent of a day's work in the fields.

One man insisted to us that a *maengket* group should have twenty-eight dancers (fourteen men and fourteen women), all of whom also sing, plus a director (*kapel*) and three drummers, but this seems overly precise. (In our session, the group had a variable composition: in addition to the *kapel*, there were thirty-four dancers at the start, and more later; two drummers played in *Ma'owei Kamberu* and *Marambak*, one in *Lalayaan*.) Men and women alternate in the line of dancers, which moves in a circle. The *kapel* darts to and fro inside the circle, singing with the chorus, directing with hand motions, jumping in to sing if a soloist should falter. The chorus typically sings in three-part, triadic, homophonic harmony, in the same style one might hear in church. The drummers, each using two sticks, mark the beat with simple rhythmic figures, in a manner suggestive of European military drumming. As a traditional housewarming dance, *marambak* was accompanied by a gong ensemble (*kulintang*) as well as singing, but gongs never play for *maengket* now.

Semuel Assa says that he took part in developing the set of texts and melodies that Pisok Lengkoan used in the 1950s and still uses today. For the *Ma'owei Kamberu* section, he and his associates used the melodies and texts of old

worksongs (he specified *matolok*, while others mentioned the song-types *nananin* and *mawinson* as well), arranging them, he said, "in do-re-mi and four [?] parts." He called this process *modernisasi*. (Thomas Rotikan, presumably speaking of the Tombulu version of *maengket*, said much the same thing: *marani* songs were "pretified" for *maengket*. He used a splendid word for this: *dimoi-moitkan*, derived from the Dutch *mooi*, "pretty.")

Other groups might use different melodies, texts, and dance moves, without departing from the harvest theme. We were told that Pisok Lengkoan knows other songs it could use instead of these, and that a songleader may also start up a song borrowed from another group. Possibly that comment refers to an earlier time when the genre was more lively and more flexible than it is now: the two takes of *Ma'owei Kamberu* in our recording session were nearly identical in text and music, suggesting that the current performing version is fixed. But Pisok Lengkoan has definitely used other texts in the past. The anthropologist Mieke Schouten, who did research in Kiawa in the early 1980s, has provided us with song texts for *maengket* that she collected from Pisok Lengkoan in 1981. Except for two lines, the *Ma'owei Kamberu* text of 1981 is wholly different from the one we recorded. (The *Marambak* and *Lalayaan* texts are substantially the same in both versions.)

Semuel Assa told us that Pisok Lengkoan is determinedly old-fashioned, holding to the traditional round-dance formation, despite an instruction by the Department of Education and Culture that dancers should not turn their backs on the audience. In accordance with this directive, other groups now dance in straight lines or flashy configurations like Garuda wings (the Garuda being a mythical bird used as a national symbol). These

groups get more performances, but Pisok Lengkoan refuses on principle to follow suit, and now it is coming to be recognized (Semuel Assa said) as the one "authentic [*asli*] Tontemboan" group left.

RECORDING AND PERFORMANCE DATA

Recorded using a Sony TCD-D10 Pro DAT recorder (backed up with a Denon DTR-80P DAT recorder) and a Sonosax SX-PR mixer (customized to eight in, two out). Microphones: Sennheiser MKH-40s, Neumann KM-184s, and Neumann KM-130s. All performances were commissioned for these recordings except track 8.

Tracks 1 & 2 Performed by Grup Tabbing Sualia, directed by Abdul Muin Daeng Mile. The performers are based in Persiapan Kelurahan Kalaserena, Kec. [Kecamatan] Bontonompo, Kab. [Kabupaten] Gowa, Prop. [Propinsi] Sulawesi Selatan. *Anrong guru* (male songleader) and *appalar* (*ganrang* [drum] heard at left): Abdul Muin Daeng Mile. *Attannang* (*ganrang* heard at right): Bakri Daeng Bombong. *Puwi'-puwi'* (shawm): Bado Daeng Nanjeng. Gong: Muhsin Daeng Ngerang. *Pakarena* (female singers and dancers): Hamsina Daeng Ga'ga, Maryam Daeng Bau, Masrita Daeng Bunga, Satria Daeng Tarring. Recorded outdoors at night in Ds. [Desa] Bontolangkasa Selatan, Kec. Bontonompo, on 24/25 September 1996.

Track 3 Performed by musicians of Ds. Tana Toa, Kec. Kajang, Kab. Bulukumba, Prop. Sulawesi Selatan. Female singers: Lenteng and Nanro. *Basing* (flutes): Susah and Udin. Recorded in the afternoon in a private home in Dus. [Dusun] Janaya, Ds. Tana Toa, on 27 September 1996.

Track 4 Performers as for track 3, but flutes only, without singing. Recorded as for track 3.

Track 5 Performed by Grup Mesakada of Kp. [Kampung] Batarirak, Ds. Balla Satanetean, Kec. Mamasa, Kab. Polewali Mamasa, Prop. Sulawesi Selatan. Female singers: Arruan Lola', Esterlina, Langi' Kampun, Langi' Sibombon (*tomarrodoh*, songleader), Martina, Sangkotik, Tasiklolak, Tonggoh. Male singers: Allokaria, Bongga Barana' (*tomarrodoh*), Bonggalotong, Bongga Tasik, Demmabili', Demma' Limboh, Demmangngambo', Deppatombon, Deppauta, Tandikaraeng, Tau Langi'. Recorded outdoors in the afternoon in Kp. Batarirak, on 23 October 1996.

Track 6 Performed by singers of the three *dusun* (Dus. Onu, Dus. Kilo, Dus. Porelea) that constitute Ds. Onu, Kec. Kulawi, Kab. Donggala, Prop. Sulawesi Tengah. Female singers: Konoa' (Tina Si), Nehe' (Tina Harun), Neli, Nempa (Tina Set), Nona (Tina Bu'), Paa', Sengke' (Tina Taiso), Tamaa (Tina Dince), Tilia' (Tina Hase). Male singers: Emi (Tana Eli), Gasper (Bawo'), I Salla, Kado' (Tana Kakula), Lionard (Tana Joni), Matius, Ncamika, Ntoe, Ntokedi (Ngkare'), Tehi' (Tana Sona), Tou (Kaki). Recorded indoors at night in the Balai Desa of Dus. Onu, on 16/17 November 1996.

Track 7 Performed by Musik Kulintang Molosing, directed by I. A. Dilapanga. The group is based in Ds. Motabang, Kec. Lolak, Kab. Bolaang Mongondow, Prop. Sulawesi Utara. *Kulintang* (gong-row): I. A. Dilapanga. *Banding* (hanging gong): K. K. Paputungan. *Gandang besar* (larger drum, heard at right): B. P. Paputungan. *Gandang kecil* (smaller drum, heard at left): Ulu Paputungan. Recorded in the afternoon in the home of the group's director in Dus. Tiga, Ds. Motabang, on 29 August 1997.

Track 8 Performed by musicians of Ds. Tudu Aog, Kec. Passi, Kab. Bolaang Mongondow, Prop. Sulawesi Utara. *Kulintang* (gong-row): P. L. Mokodongan. *Gendang besar* (larger drum, heard at left): M. L. Mokodongan. *Gendang kecil* (smaller drum, heard at right): S. I. Mokoginta. Gong: M. E. Mokoginta. Recorded at night in a temporarily zinc-roofed, partially walled outdoor space at a wedding in Ds. Tudu Aog, on 30 August 1997.

Tracks 9–12 Performed by Kelompok Marani, directed by Thomas Rotikan. The group is based in Ds. Taratara Satu, Kec. Tomohon, Kab. Minahasa, Prop. Sulawesi Utara. Female singers: Corry Poluan (duet, track 12), Paula Rotikan (duet, track 12), Juliana Tombeg, Welmina Turambih, Novi Wongkar. Male singers: Vence Kalele, Jacobus Kandow, Albert Koyongian, Hilarius Koyongian, Theodosius Landi, Johannes Paat, Hironimus Rotikan, Thomas Rotikan (songleader), Vianni Rotikan, Maksimilianus Tiwong, Hendrik Wilar, Alfons Wongkar. Recorded at night in a temporarily tent-roofed outdoor space at the home of Thomas Rotikan in Dus. Tujuh, Ds. Taratara Satu, on 27 August 1997.

Track 13 Performed by Maengket Pisok Lengkoan, directed by Elisabeth Piri. The group is based in Ds. Kiawa Satu, Kec. Kawangkoan, Kab. Minahasa, Prop. Sulawesi Utara. Singers: Hengky Karinda, Jenny Karinda, Margo Karinda, Miske Karinda, Butje Lumanaw, Johnny Lumintang, Samuel Lumintang, Dekron Malonda, Elsy Mawey, Dharma Palar, Herry Palar, Wel Panambuan, Fietje Panambunan, Elisabeth Piri, August Polii, Deitje Polii, Deddy Panamon, Ampel Rindungan, Marthen Rindungan, Decky Rumondor, Rosye Rumondor, Sintje Rumondor, Deitje Salanti, Jan Salanti, Lexi Salanti, Jenni

Silap, Lexi Singon, Ida Suak, Nyong Suak, Sintje Suak, Frans Talumantak, Jefta Tampi, Sintje Toporundeng, Denny Tumbelaka, Andri Wonok. *Tambur* (drums): Jan Tinangon, Nøke Tumbelaka. Musicians coordinated by Semuel Assa. Recorded at night in a zinc-roofed open-sided space in Ds. Kiawa Satu, on 24 August 1997.

ABOUT THE INDONESIAN PERFORMING ARTS SOCIETY

The Indonesian Performing Arts Society, or Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia, known as MSPI, is a non-profit association of scholars, artists, and others interested in studying, preserving, and disseminating knowledge of the performing arts of Indonesia. MSPI supports research and documentation and publishes an Indonesian-language journal, *Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia*, and a newsletter, *Kalangan*, as well as the Indonesian edition of the *Music of Indonesia* recordings. It holds scholarly meetings, usually in conjunction with performance festivals. For further information, or to apply for membership, visit MSPI's Web site, <<http://raven.dartmouth.edu/~mspi>> or write to: Sekretariat MSPI, Jl. Bukit Dago Selatan, No. 53-A, Bandung 40135, Jawa Barat, Indonesia. E-mail: <mspi@indo.net.id>.

PHOTOGRAPHS

front cover basing musicians (tracks 3&4).
rear cover right: *pakarena* ensemble (not the one in tracks 1&2), playing without dance (*tanrung pa'balle*) for a wedding. **left top:** *kulintang* player (track 7). **left bottom:** *simbong* singers (track 5). **tray** *raego*' singers/dancers (track 6).

The musicians pictured are the ones in the recordings, except as noted.

CREDITS

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky

Recording assistants and photographers: Hanefi (Makasar, Tana Toa), Asep Nata (Mamasa, Pipikoro), Aton Rustandi Mulyana (North Sulawesi)

Cover photograph: Hanefi

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank first, of course, the performers, without whom there would be nothing to hear. Next we must thank A. Halilintar Lathief, who drew on his great knowledge and experience of the arts of Sulawesi to help us plan our approach to the island and then travelled with us for six weeks in South, Central, and Southeast Sulawesi to help us implement the plan.

For help in finding artists, working out song texts, and providing information about the music we recorded, we thank Semuel Assa of Kiawa; Thomas Rotikan, Paula Rotikan, and Juliana Tombeg, of Taratara; Nurcaya Muslim and Baharuddin Muslim, of Tana Toa; Abdul Muin Dg. Mile, of Kalaserena; and Thomas Dado (Bp. Suliman), the former Kepala Desa of Onu.

For their warm hospitality when we appeared in their villages, sometimes in the middle of the night, we thank the Kepala Desa of Tana Toa, Abdul Kahar Muslim, and his family, especially Nurcaya Muslim; and the Kepala Desa of Onu, Anton Uga, and his family.

R. Anderson Sutton advised on *pakarena* and other Makasar matters before the Sulawesi fieldwork began. Celia Lowe joined our team for the recordings in North Sulawesi and helped out with everything from asking questions to taking photos to coiling cables. (As a reward for making it all the way through these album notes, here's a story. There is an art to coiling microphone cables; if you don't do it right they develop kinks and reverse bends, and later when you want to use them again they tie themselves up in knots. So we always tried to discourage people from helping us pack up after a recording, but sometimes their urge to help was irrepressible. After

our *maengket* recording, someone handed us a fifty-foot cable he had bunched into a clump. We tried to undo it so as to coil it correctly before packing it away, and it promptly snarled itself into spaghetti. Celia, who had just done two years of fieldwork with the "sea nomads" of the Togean Islands, surveyed the tangle and remarked, "This is not a fishing village.") During the writing of the notes, Lorraine Aragon, Wil Burghoorn, David Henley, Dana Rappoport, Mieke Schouten, and R. Anderson Sutton supplied helpful information and materials, answered questions, and offered valuable suggestions, corrections, and clarifications. Kenneth George, Celia Lowe, and Frederick Rawski provided field tapes from their own anthropological research that proved helpful when the introductory overview of the music of Sulawesi was being written.

The Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage of the Smithsonian Institution, the Ford Foundation Office for Indonesia, and the Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia provided their usual excellent institutional, administrative, logistical, and clerical support. Anthony Seeger and Richard Kennedy (CFCH), Jennifer Lindsay (Ford), and Endo Suanda (MSPI) gave personal guidance and assistance. Vidha Denis (Ford) and Mary Monseur (CFCH) made things run more smoothly than PY, always behind schedule, deserved. In the mastering process, Paul Blakemore (who in 1990 designed the recording equipment package that kept us going through the entire project) brought not just his technical expertise but also his unfailing taste and musicianship to bear on material that would stun a horse.

PY adds, speaking for himself: Alan Feinstein got me into this; Jennifer Lindsay pulled me out

the other side; and my wife and son, Tinuk and Arif, supported me throughout, in every way. I can't thank any of them enough.

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MUSIC OF INDONESIA VOL. 18: Sulawesi: Festivals, Funerals, and Work

Liner note supplement 07/04/2008

Recorded, edited, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. 73 minutes. SWF 40444 (1998)

Track List

1. Jangang Lea'-lea'
2. Janjang Lea'-lea'
3. Rikong
4. Tempa Sorong
5. Simbong
6. Raego'
7. Toki Hajat Perkawinan
8. Toki Hajat
9. Esa Na Wia-wia Mokaria
10. Tanumo
11. Sei Si Maka Leso Ekaria
12. Ivehe
13. Ma'owei Kameru

References for Volumes 15 & 18

Series editor Philip Yampolsky compiled an extensive, three-part bibliography for this volume. Part I provides the references that were cited in the published text but could not be included for reasons of space. In Part II, he adds some further references that were not cited in the text but are relevant to the topics discussed there and in volume 15. Part III consists of additional references, added after the compilation of biographies I and II. The bibliography is found later in this document.

For more on Sulawesi, see [MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 15: South Sulawesi Strings](#)

MUSIC OF INDONESIA VOL. 18: Sulawesi: Festivals, Funerals, and Work

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. 32- page booklet with map. 73 minutes. SFW 40445 (1999)

This file provides transcriptions (and some translations) of the texts sung in Volume 18 of the 20-volume *Music of Indonesia* series published by Smithsonian Folkways Recordings:

In addition to song texts, we include a few small addenda and corrections, and we provide the references that were cited in the published text but could not be included there for reasons of space. At the end of the list of references we add some further references that were not cited in the text but are relevant to the topics discussed there and in volume 15.

Tracks 1 & 2. Jangang Lea'-lea', parts 3 and 4

Text of track 1 (vocables omitted):

Tamanrunanna [mo bedeng??]
Leko' kayu mammoterang

Text of track 2 (vocables omitted):

Iyarakkang jinjo bedeng
Nia ero' tallung bangngi

Note: the text here—aside from the words shown in brackets above—was written down by Abdul Muin Daeng Mile for me, and the text as he wrote it is indeed audible. He gets it out of the way quickly, and the rest of the vocal in each track is just vocables.

The first word of track 1, *tamanrunanna*, was incorrectly shown in the published commentary as *tamanrunna*, with one syllable omitted. As for the words *mo bedeng*, shown in brackets in the text for track 1: I believe I hear them, although Dg. Mile did not write them. Knowing scarcely a word of Bahasa Makasar, but emboldened by the presence of *bedeng* in the written text of the first line of track 2, I offer them tentatively, allowing for the possibility that they are vocables and not part of the basic text, or that they are some other words, not spelt this way at all. — Philip Yampolsky

Track 3. Rikong

Transcription (from Bahasa Konjo) & translation by Baharuddin Muslim and Nurcaya Muslim.

1. Lampa kunnikisse' mae
manningara tamboritta
naungki je'ne'
natania turungenta
alla rikong

Pergi kita ke sini lagi
menengadah pada suatu tempat
turun ke air
bukan kita yang dikhususkan

2. Tallomonaka nisa'ring
kapa'mae' tea tappu'
urang siana'
tea nisolang-solangi
alla rikong

Bukannya karena persaudaraan
yang tak akan putus
teman saudara
jangan dirusak [=dinodai]

3. Punna rie' angen batu
teako ta'bangka-bangka
pasanna jintu
russana' bella kamponna
alla rikong

Kalau ada angin datang
janganlah kamu terkejut
hanya pesannya
datang dari [temanmu yang] jauh

[Note: I am unable to connect this transcribed text with the sound, though I think I may hear *alla rikong* at the end of each verse. —PY]

Track 5. Simbong

Transcription (from Bahasa Toraja) & translation by A. Halilintar Lathief.

Note: track 5 begins after the third men's verse, and fades out after the beginning of the sixth women's verse. The text here shows all the verses sung in the unedited recording.

1. Women:

Masaemi sikikuwa
masaemi siki
kekidempa sola torro
kekidempa sola

Sudah lama kami idam-idamkan

kalau boleh kita serumah

1. Men:

Paillangkan simbolommu
paillangkan simbo
tantannike' mammallicko
tantannike' mamma

Simpan dalam sanggulmu

jika rindu bukalah rambut itu

2. Women:

O le dikuan Ambek to Pongko
dikuan Ambek to
oo gayale bulawan
oo gayale bula

Seperti Ambek orang Pongko

keris bertata emas

2. Men:

Kekimanik oran-oran
kekimanik oran
angki illallang kollongmu
angki illallang ko

Andaikan kami bagai kalung

melingkar pada leher

3. Women:

O le paiyaokan talimmu

Letakkanlah kopi pada topimu

paiyaokan ta
o le ammu ondo-ondo ankan
ammu ondo-ondo

dan bergembiralah menari-nari

3. *Men:*

Kaloek dau mamallai
kaloek dau ma
indek siamokan kamik
indek siamokan

[Burung] kaloek jangan rindu

kami ada di sini

[Track 5 begins here:]

4. *Women:*

O le garagang ponto lolakan
garagang ponto lo
o le dikuan Ambek to Pongko
dikuan Ambek to

Buatlah kami bagai gelang lola

bagai Ambek orang Pongko

4. *Men:*

Dondon bulan mokomai
dondon bulan mo
angki timang bintoengko
angki timang binto

Jatuhlah bagai rembulan

kami tadah bagai bintang

5. *Women:*

Oi sompokan antalaomo
sompokan antala
o le lutka Bambana Batu
lutka Bambana

Usunglah kami bila berangkat

masuk ke [kampung] Bambana Batu

5. *Men:*

Liling gongga talaona
liling gongga tala

Mari kita berkeliling

[last two lines not sung; cf. men's verse 7] ---

6. *Women:*

Purak tarik batattana

Jalan kayu telah dibersihkan

[track 5 fades out here]

purak tarik bata

kita berjalan malam

o le taola mallai bongngi
taola mallai

6. *Men:*

Losso pole inawangki
losso pole ina
nalambi pappura ingki
nalambi pappura

Kami telah bahagia

cita-cita telah tercapai

7. *Women:*

lamo antalaomo

Mari kita berangkat

iamo antala
o le lutama Bambana Batu
lutama Bambana

masuk ke [kampung] Bambana Batu

7. *Men:*

Liling gongga talaona
liling gongga tala
lusau Bambana Pongko
lusau Bambana

Mari kita berkeliling

masuk ke [kampung] Bambana Pongko

Track 6. Raego'

Transcription (from Bahasa Rumoe and Uma) & translation (into Indonesian) by Thomas Dado (Bapak Suliman).

The refrain of the song is a sentence in Rumoe, the “mushroom language”: ***Boli risei ronto tali***. Thomas Dado (Bapak Suliman), the former Kepala Desa of Onu, wrote out a translation of this line in everyday Bahasa Uma, but unfortunately we cannot read the first word of his translation. It might be *turika*: *Turika* [?] *ronto na kupososora*. He further translated it into Indonesian: *Berikan pakaian bekas menjadi kenang-kenangan*, and we translate that into English as: “Give some old clothing [of the deceased] as a remembrance.”

Each choral statement of the refrain is preceded by a solo sung in Bahasa Uma. The solo lines are shown below. Each one is answered by the refrain.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Seina tagolinda mompai boli... | The event that happened... |
| 2. Isei tulounda mompai talie... | I recall it every moment... |
| 3. Moronto morontomo talina mompai... | Never again will the deceased come home... |
| 4. Tabolohi tabolihi lounda mompai... | Put something away as a memento... |
| 5. Risei moompi... | We join together as a family... |
| 6. Morontomi tali idei... | Our family has lost someone... |
| 7. Hirei rauli ta... | It was said there is a memento here... |
| 8. Hangkale damole ta... | There is nothing we can do... |

9–12. Marani songs (*approximate texts*)

Note: these texts are highly unreliable! The problem is this: after our recording, the director of the singers, Thomas Rotikan, wrote down a number of the texts for us, and his daughter, Paula Rotikan, wrote down some others. But Thomas Rotikan tended to write whole lines of songs as one long word, which, not knowing Bahasa Tombulu, I could not break down into component parts; and I had difficulty in reading the handwriting of both father and daughter. If I had been able to bring some knowledge of the language to bear I could probably have deciphered the handwriting. As it was, I worked with Paula Rotikan on both sets of texts, trying to determine what the letters were, but I am not certain that I got them all correctly. In particular, there is a

phoneme in Tombulu—to me it sounds like *z*—that was variously written as *s*, *r*, and *z*. (The word I have written as *marani*, on the advice of specialists who said *z* is rare or nonexistent in Minahasa languages, sounds to me like *mazani*.) I also had trouble distinguishing between the written forms of *a* and *o*, and between *u*, *m*, and *n*. What's more, there were (as of course often happens) some clear discrepancies between what was written and what was actually sung. Paula and I tried to work out the actual sung texts.

Thus the versions here are the result of my attempts to read (in consultation with Paula Rotikan) the texts handwritten by Thomas and Paula Rotikan, combined with Paula's and my efforts to amend the written texts to match the recorded singing. That's too many editors for one set of lyrics—especially when one editor is not competent in the primary language, and the others are not trained in the conventions of transcription. I was tempted to simply suppress these flawed texts, but eventually I decided that a specialist in Tombulu might be able to make something out of them. If a specialist will send me corrections, I will post them here and gladly throw out the garble that is all I can offer at the moment.

9. *Esa na wia-wia mokaria* (text provided by Thomas Rotikan)

Solo: Esanawiamokaria
 Chorus: Epelengsetirotumarendem
 Solo: Epelengsetirotumarendem
 Chorus: Esanawiamokaria

Solo: Esangalian neni komokan
 Chorus: Ekaria reiwerenanla
 Solo: Ekaria reiwerenanla
 Chorus: Esangalian neni komokan

Solo: Ewisa alinampangnganume
 Chorus: Katuu reitinemboname
 Solo: Katuu reitinemboname
 Chorus: Ewisa alinampangnganume

Solo: Limampang kantaremekaria
 Chorus: Ewanantoro ambalenera
 Solo: Ewanantoro ambalenera
 Chorus: Limampang kantaremekaria

Solo: Okewurkampe ondanokaria
 Chorus: Elinampangan nemahkaria
 Solo: Elinampangan nemahkaria
 Chorus: Okewurkampe ondanokaria

[in Thomas Rotikan's handwritten text, but not sung in this performance:]

Esalumampalampang lakaria
 Eseroyor elarasakenwe

Elumampangngi mboondo kariya

Ewolaker semanembonembo
Esaulit salolambotto kariya
Ereimo simanembonembo

10. Tanumo (text provided by Thomas Rotikan)

Solo: Tanumo kuana wia niko
Chorus: Samapontolo nikamumo zua
Solo: Samapontolo nikamumo zua
Chorus: Tanumo kuana wia niko

Solo: Kinuramumo aku endoone
Chorus: Endeimo maliuzwia niko
Solo: Endeimo maliuzwia niko
Chorus: Kinuramumo aku endoone

Solo: Sasiroyor sa lumangkoyyo
Chorus: Katengkar ate nemamuley
Solo: Katengkar ate nemamuley
Chorus: Sasiroyor sa lumangkoyyo

11. Sei si maka lesa ekaria (text provided by Paula Rotikan)

Each verse sung twice:

Solo: Sei si maka lesa ekaria
Chorus: Memayaze wana sendangan
Solo: Memayaze wana sendangan
Chorus: Sei si maka lesa ekaria

Solo: Lesa ni kanaramen ekaria
Chorus: Ni pasigi umbalenera
Solo: Ni pasigi umbalenera
Chorus: Lesa ni kanaramen ekaria

12. Iwehe (text provided by Paula Rotikan)

Each line below is sung first as a solo or duet, then repeated by chorus, which adds a closing phrase, O royo endo e zoe.

Iwehe momaniko uleso wo lepetena
Lepeten malualus si royo endo e zoe
Salamo katu ni ko ya nimanaram si leos uman
Lamokan manaramlah wana sitoyo genang-genangen
Mahasaasaranlah kamu zua seinolatan
Sei sinimalewo wana ni mengasangasaran

13. Maengket: Ma'oweï kamberu

Basic text (in Bahasa Tontemboan) provided by Samuel Assa; text-flow markings added by PY.

Winoilan — Oweica
Turuanai lalan karondoran — Oweica
Tayang waya sekaengko-engkolan — Oweica

E mone se-mangale-ngalei wene — Oweica
O Empung Renga-rengan maturu lalan karondoran — Oweica (2x)
Kamangenai se-mangale-ngalei wene — Oweica (2x)

Waya si Opo empangaleyane kamberu oweï (2x)
Opo Wailan makakolano imbene oweï (2x)
[line missing] (2x)
Pangaleyan imbene imbuena kamberu oweï (2x)

O Winoilane oweye
Kamberu Wailane oweye
O Winoilane oweye
Kamberu Wailane oweye

Opo e kamberu weanai — oweye
Waya mangale-ngalei — oweye
Waya mangalei — kamberu oweï
Sendo-sendotai — kamberu oweï
Wue-wuenai — kamberu oweï
Wailan i combak-e — kamberu oweï
Waya kumombak-kombak — kamberu oweï

Kamberu Wailan kamberu oweye (4x)

Sa maupu imbene kamberu, tiyo paento-entosan kamberu oweï (2x)
Sa maupu imbene kamberu, tiyo palenge-lenge en kamberu oweï (2x)

Sumempu-sempung waya asi Opo Wailan oweye kamberu oweye (4x)

Si Opo rumekos sumesempung imbene-e oweï kamberu (2x)
Tembonai wene kamberu malewuo bene-e oweï kamberu (2x)
Wailan paregesan rongkoranai wuena oweï kamberu (2x)

Oweyen bene e kamberu e waya si Opo o Wailane (2x)
Kamangenai semangale-ngalei wene waya si Opo o Wailane (2x)

Kekekow e kamberu — Waya kumalekew imbene kamberu
O ya wene sapa sipangaleian — Yande pangaleian kawayaan bene

Wene rendang — wene pondos oweï
Wene kulo — wene sumando oweï
Wene ruwaticanai — paloyanai oweï
Raitoro — wo paentosen oweï.

ADDENDA AND CORRECTIONS

1. The first word of the text of *Jangang lea'-lea'* part 3 (track 1) is *tamanrunanna*, not *tamanrunna*.
2. The name of the “mushroom language” in which the basic texts of *raego'* are sung (see track 6) is Rumoe.
3. The description of the singing-plan for track 12 should be revised. The text is not really in couplets. Instead (as shown above) it consists of single lines that are sung first as a solo or duet and then repeated by the chorus, which adds a closing phrase. Note also that the spelling of the title should be *Iwehe*, not *Ivehe* as in the published version.

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In Part I of this bibliography, the series editor provides the references that were cited in the published text but could not be included for reasons of space. In Part II, he adds some further references that were not cited in the text but are relevant to the topics discussed there and in volume 15. Part III consists of additional references, added after the compilation of biographies I and II. All three were compiled by Philip Yampolsky.

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