



Smithsonian Folkways Recordings

MUSIC OF INDONESIA

19

Music of Maluku: Halmahera, Buru, Kei



MUSIC OF INDONESIA 19

Music of Maluku: Halmahera, Buru, Kei

Musically, the vast province of Maluku ("the Moluccas") is one of the least-known regions of Indonesia. Here we present music from three islands: Halmahera in the north, Buru in the center, and Kei Besar in the south. From Halmahera comes *togal*, entertainment music played on stringed instruments plus flute, drums, and a singer. From Buru we offer a varied selection: men's songs with drumming, an excerpt from a night-long sung narrative, jew's harp pieces, and a gong ensemble. Aside from two ensembles of flute and percussion, our recordings from Kei Besar are mainly vocal: solos, a duo, and choruses offering advice, recounting history, and asserting territorial boundaries (an important use for songs in Maluku); there is also a rowing song sung by children. Finally we return to Halmahera and present selections from a *dabus* performance accompanied by singing and frame drums. In *dabus*, a Muslim ritual derived from Sufi practice, men stab themselves vigorously with iron awls, but the spiritual power of the ritual leader protects them from serious injury. 74 minutes, 32 page booklet with map.

HALMAHERA Musicians of Desa Malapa, Kecamatan Makian. Genre: *togal*.

1. **Mares** Fiddle, plucked lute, flute, drums. 4:54
2. **Lagu Togal** As track 1, with female vocal. 7:41

BURU Musicians of Kampung Waereman, Kecamatan Buru Utara Barat.

3. **Kalabae** Genre: *engafuka*. Male vocals, drums. 4:16
4. **Tuang Kolatu** (excerpt) Genre: *aten*. Female vocal duo. 4:41
5. **Tigertama** Jew's harp. 2:20
6. **Perusi Tajang** As track 5. 2:59
7. **Ranafafan** Genre: *sawat*. Gongs, drums. 2:54

KEI Musicians of Watlaar, Haar, and Banda Eli, three villages in the northern part of Kei Besar.

8. **Marin Uib** Children's song (solo & chorus). 1:09
9. **Wannar** Genre: *sosoi*. Women's chorus. 3:52
10. **Tiwal Sawat** Genre: *tiwal*. Flute, drums, gong. 2:50
11. **Snehet** (excerpt) Male vocal solo. 3:58
12. **Ngel-ngel** (excerpt) Male vocal duo. 2:31

Musicians of Desa Sather, in the southern part of Kei Besar.

13. **Ngel-ngel** Female soloist & chorus, drum. 3:26
14. **Baiut Ntya Nit** Male vocal solo. 1:04
15. **Sosoi** (first song) Female chorus. 3:34
16. **Tari Busur Panah** Flute, drum. 2:01

HALMAHERA *Dabus* officiants and musicians in Desa Talaga, Kecamatan Ibu.

17. **Dzikir Samman: Allahu Allah**
Male singers, drums. 7:12
18. **Qasidah Rifai: Baghdadi** (excerpt)
As track 17. 4:42
19. **Kata Syeh: Baqada Imuhai** As track 17. 7:00

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. Produced in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts (MSPD). All selections recorded in the province of Maluku in 1997.

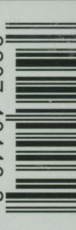


Smithsonian Folkways Recordings

Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage | 1955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7300 | Smithsonian Institution |
Washington DC 20560-0951 | SPW CD 40476 © © 1999 Smithsonian Folkways Recordings



0 9307-40446-2 9



Music of Maluku: Halmahera, Buru, Kei

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky.

Produced in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts (MSPI).

All selections recorded in the province of Maluku in 1997.

HALMAHERA Musicians of Desa Malapa, Kecamatan Makian. Genre: *togal*.

1. **Mares** Fiddle, plucked lute, flute, drums. 4:54
2. **Lagu Togal** As track 1, with female vocal. 7:41

BURU Musicians of Kampung Waereman, Kecamatan Buru Utara Barat.

3. **Kalabae** Genre: *engafuka*. Male vocals, drums. 4:16
4. **Tuang Kolatu** (excerpt) Genre: *aten*. Female vocal duo. 4:41
5. **Tigertama** Jew's harp. 2:20
6. **Perusi Tajang** As track 5. 2:59
7. **Ranafafan** Genre: *sawat*. Gongs, drums. 2:54

KEI Musicians of Watlaar, Haar, and Banda Eli, three villages in the northern part of Kei Besar.

8. **Marin Uib** Children's song (solo & chorus). 1:09
9. **Wannar** Genre: *sosoi*. Women's chorus. 3:52
10. **Tiwal Sawat** Genre: *tiwal*. Flute, drums, gong. 2:50
11. **Snehet** (excerpt) Male vocal solo. 3:58
12. **Ngel-ngel** (excerpt) Male vocal duo. 2:31

Musicians of Desa Sather, in the southern part of Kei Besar.

13. **Ngel-ngel** Female soloist & chorus, drum. 3:26
14. **Baiut Ntya Nit** Male vocal solo. 1:04
15. **Sosoi** (first song) Female chorus. 3:34
16. **Tari Busur Panah** Flute, drum. 2:01

HALMAHERA Dabus officiants and musicians in Desa Talaga, Kecamatan Ibu.

17. **Dzikir Samman: Allahu Allah** Male singers, drums. 7:12
18. **Qasidah Rifai: Baghdadi** (excerpt) As track 17. 4:42
19. **Kata Syeh: Baqada Imuhai** As track 17. 7:00

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.

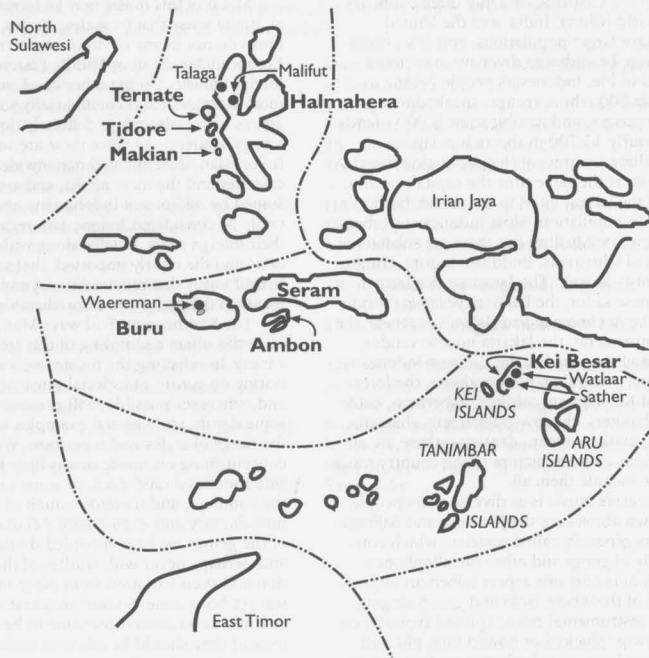
Indonesia's music is as diverse as its people. Best known abroad are the Javanese and Balinese orchestras generally called *gamelan*, which consist largely of gongs and other metallophones, but *gamelan* is only one aspect (albeit an impressive one) of the whole. Solo and group singing and solo instrumental 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.

Province of Maluku



MALUKU AND ITS MUSIC

The vast province of Maluku in eastern Indonesia lies east of Sulawesi, north and east of Timor, and west and south of Irian Jaya. To the north-west lie the Philippines. The name Maluku—rendered in Dutch as *de Molukken* and in English as the Moluccas—may derive from a term Arab traders used for the northern and central islands: *jazirat al-muluk*, “land of many kings” (Ricklefs 1993:24; but cf. Andaya 1993:47). However, the islands are probably best known outside Indonesia not by any version of the name Maluku, but

as the “spice islands,” for they were for centuries the sole source of the world’s supply of cloves, nutmeg, and mace. (The Moluccas were what Columbus was looking for when he stumbled on America.) The spice trade, which violently shaped Maluku’s history, was also a determinant of its music, for spices are what attracted Arabs, Javanese, Malays, Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, English, Makasar, and other groups to Maluku and scattered their cultural influences, including their music, throughout the islands.

During the sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth, Maluku was the scene of fre-

quent battles for control of the spice trade. The contenders were the already-established Indonesian sultanates of Ternate and Tidore in North Maluku and the newly arriving European powers, Portugal, Spain, Holland, and England. In the seventeenth century the Dutch emerged victorious and imposed a severe policy of monopolizing distribution and at the same time drastically restricting production, thereby keeping prices high. They concentrated spice production in a few areas of Central Maluku—Ambon and the Lease Islands for cloves, and Banda for nutmeg and mace—and destroyed (over and over, for they kept growing back) the spice trees elsewhere in Maluku.

The toll of the spice trade on the ordinary farmers and fishermen of Maluku was appalling, particularly in the seventeenth century. Leonard Andaya cites a Dutch document from 1664 to the effect that “an estimated three-fourths of Maluku’s inhabitants had died from various wars” related to the spice trade (1993:167; the period of time over which these deaths had occurred is not stated, nor is it clear whether what is meant is North Maluku alone or the whole area of the spice trade, including both North and Central Maluku). The population of “the Ambonese cultural area” (Ambon, the Lease Islands, and some coastal regions of Buru and Seram) decreased by one-third (from 75,000 to 50,000) in the period 1630–1670, because of battles with the Dutch (Chauvel 1990:20). In one of the cruellest episodes, Dutch forces in 1621 efficiently dealt with annoying competition by nearly depopulating the Banda Islands, killing, enslaving, or driving into exile about 15,000 Bandanese.

After the Dutch spice monopoly was abolished in 1863, Maluku became a backwater. It is little noticed in modern Indonesia. Many of its natural resources have been stripped away unheeded by companies based in western Indonesia or outside the country altogether. Government population figures for 1990 rank Maluku, with some 1.8 million inhabitants, as number twenty out of twenty-seven provinces. (Compare this with West Java, number one in the ranking, which has a population of 35.3 million, not counting another 8.2 million in Jakarta.) Relatively few tourists venture as far east as Maluku.

Historically and culturally, the thousand or so islands of the province can be grouped into three large regions, coinciding with the Indonesian government’s administrative divisions:

North Maluku. North Maluku was the original center of the Maluku spice trade. From at least the middle of the fifteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth, the dominant local powers were Ternate and Tidore, two sultanates based in small islands just west of Halmahera, the largest island in the region. Today the parts of North Maluku that were directly involved in the spice trade (the small islands west of Halmahera: Bacan; the Sula Islands; much of the northwestern arm of Halmahera, the west coast of the southwestern arm, and some other parts of Halmahera) are largely Muslim, while the rest of the region is Protestant or holds to indigenous beliefs. Catholicism, introduced by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, was initially successful, but it dwindled away after the Portuguese and their successors the Spanish left, and it has never reasserted itself. Protestant missionary activity in North Maluku began in 1866, in the Galela area of northern Halmahera.

One estimate says that by 1980 45 percent of the population of Halmahera had become Protestant (van den End 1989:133).

Central Maluku. The largest islands in Central Maluku are Seram (Ceram) and Buru. Today, Maluku’s largest city and the administrative center of the province is Ambon, on the island of that name, just south of western Seram. (Ambon Island consists of two land masses, Hitu in the north and Leitimor in the south, connected by an isthmus. Ambon city is in Leitimor.) Both the city and the island are sometimes called Amboina. The Lease Islands (Haruku, Saparua, and Nusa Laut) lie east of Ambon. The tiny Banda Islands, important in the spice trade, lie some 140 km southeast of Ambon.

In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese established a fort in Leitimor that became the nucleus of the town of Ambon. When the Dutch expelled the Portuguese in 1605 and took over the settlement, there were about 16,000 Catholics in Leitimor and the Lease Islands (van den End 1980:61). The Dutch obliged these Catholics to become Protestant, and the region, along with portions of the south Seram coast close to Ambon Island, has remained strongly Protestant to this day. It is this part of Maluku, the regional headquarters of the Dutch for 350 years, that eventually (after the horrific seventeenth century) benefited most from the spice trade and colonial domination. Other areas of Central Maluku, which did not share in these benefits, are today mostly Muslim, though in the interior of Buru and Seram many inhabitants maintain their traditional beliefs.

In April 1950, a few months after Indonesia won its four-year war of independence, Central

Maluku declared itself an independent country, the Republik Maluku Selatan (Republic of South Maluku), or RMS. Although nominally representing both Muslim and Christian areas of the region, the RMS leadership was dominated by Christians, and it was clear that one of their motivations was fear of the consequences of incorporation into an Indonesia 90 percent Muslim. By November 1950 the Indonesian army had crushed the RMS. Some of its leaders were captured; others escaped to the Netherlands, joining a community of Ambonese soldiers who had fought on the Dutch side during the Revolution.

Southeast Maluku. The arc of islands running from Wetar in the west (just north of East Timor) to Aru in the east is officially known as southeast Maluku (Maluku Tenggara), though in fact Wetar is (along with two islands in the Sula group) one of the three westernmost islands in the province. The reason for calling the southern region southeastern is apparently simply that the government did not want to call it *South* Maluku and risk bringing to mind the abortive separatist movement of the RMS. It is true, though, that the main island groups in Southeast Maluku lie southeast of the main islands of Central Maluku. These main groups, from east to west, are Aru, Kei, and Tanimbar. Further west are the smaller island groups of Damar, Babar, Sermata, and Leti, and the islands of Roma, Kisar, and Wetar.

In the early twentieth century, the colonial government sought to control the population of Southeast Maluku by moving people out of fortified interior communities to unprotected settlements on the coasts. Resistance sprang up, especially in Tanimbar, that was not fully quelled until the 1920s.

Today, according to 1990 figures (de Jonge and van Dijk 1995:xiv), some 50 percent of the population of Southeast Maluku is Protestant, largely as a result of missionary work begun in the nineteenth century. Catholic missionaries were allowed to work at first only in Kei, and only from 1888; in 1910 they were also permitted to open a mission in Tanimbar. (Government restrictions on Catholic missions in Indonesia were lifted in 1927.) About 23 percent of the population is Catholic, and 21 percent, mainly in Kei and Aru, is Muslim.

A terminological note. In colonial times, Europeans lumped together all the non-Muslim, non-Christian, "native" or "indigenous" inhabitants of Maluku—together with those of North Sulawesi—under the general term *Alfuru* (*Alifuru*, *Alfurs*, *Alfoeren*, etc.). This term, of obscure derivation but probably derogatory, is now no longer used, and the peoples of Maluku and North Sulawesi are designated instead by individual ethnonyms and toponyms. *Alfuru* is comparable to *Dayak*, used in Kalimantan, except that *Dayak* has lost whatever pejorative connotations it may have had and is accepted by *Dayak* themselves as a collective term.

Music in Maluku

The most widespread genres and idioms in Maluku are the ones brought in from outside. Religious and secular genres associated with Islam (devotional singing; dance and song accompanied by the plucked lute *gambus* and, usually, frame drums) are found in Muslim communities throughout Maluku. Another Muslim genre, *dabus* (tracks 17–19), is reported only for North Maluku. Christian hymns—sung by choirs and congregations, or played by flute bands or wind

bands—are found wherever there are Christians. The European harmonic and melodic idiom is also heard in the *katreji* ensemble of Ambon and environs, led by violin(s) or accordion backed by guitar or similar plucked lutes, plus *tifa*. (Nowadays there is a version called *Hawaiian katreji* in which the lead instrument is a Hawaiian guitar.) The principal repertoire of *katreji* is nineteenth-century European popular dance music. The urban popular music of Jakarta and other big cities outside Maluku is heard on cassette players everywhere; this music relies heavily on European popular-music idioms or, to a lesser extent, those of Middle Eastern and Indian popular music. There are also two forms of local popular music. One uses the urban popular-music styles of Jakarta but gives them texts in local languages (*pop Ambon*; *pop Ternate*; *dangdut Ternate*). The other, originally played by a string band led by violin or Hawaiian guitar, but now played by any ensemble with European instruments, features popular songs from the 1950s or earlier, plus a repertoire of harmonized *lagu rakyat* (folk songs) or *lagu daerah* (regional songs) from—or at least associated with—Maluku. Several of these folk songs have become part of Indonesian national culture and are taught to schoolchildren throughout the country; they are performed at "arts nights" and other cultural shows, live and televised, as tokens of Maluku.

The "traditional" music of Maluku is known only in bits and pieces. (In this context, "traditional" music means music that does not show substantial influence from the musical genres and idioms presumed to have come via the spice trade, religious conversion, colonial domination, or modern recording and broadcasting media. Note that the use of a foreign instrument, such as

a violin, does not, in our opinion, necessarily constitute "substantial influence"—we need to know what kind of music is played on it.) A few colonial-era travellers and ethnographers mentioned music in their accounts (notably: Wilken 1875 on Buru; Martin 1894 on Central Maluku; Tauern 1918 on Seram; Geurtjens 1921 on Kei), and there are some references to music in more recent accounts of rituals (e.g., Barraud 1980 on Kei; Valeri 1990 on Seram; and van Dijk and de Jonge 1990 on Luang and Marsela). But music is not the central concern in these writings, and often the detail that would make them usable by musicologists is missing.

There are only three musicological studies, all of them surveys and hence, like the ethnographies, lacking in detail: a brief article on music in Kei by Jaap Kunst (1994 [1945]); a survey of music in Central and Southeast Maluku, supplemented with material on the music of Moluccans in Holland (Gieben, Heijnen, and Sapuletej 1984); and a useful survey of the whole province by Margaret Kartomi (1994), gathering up the scattered mentions of music and dance in earlier accounts and adding information from Kartomi's own visits to Ternate, Tidore, Ambon, Tanimbar, and Kei in 1989 and 1990. The most comprehensive of the surveys is Kartomi's, but, as the author admits, great gaps remain. The present album, based on MSPI's research in 1997, tries to fill in a few of them, but we are still very far from a full picture of music in Maluku.

At least from the spotty information available, the traditional music of Maluku appears quite heterogeneous. (Not that there is much reason to expect unity, given the vastness of the province, its geographic fragmentation, and its divergent regional histories.) But it is possible

that further research will reveal stronger correspondences between islands than we are yet aware of; or, to put this another way, it may not yet be time to attempt to judge homogeneity or heterogeneity. From the present album, for example, we know what certain kinds of singing in Kei sound like, but no recordings or detailed descriptions are available of singing in, say, interior Seram, or Patani or Galela in Halmahera, that would allow us to say whether it is like or unlike the singing in Kei.

In the following paragraphs we present some general statements about traditional music in Maluku, derived from the writings mentioned above and MSPI's own research. Once again, we remind the reader that the information available is incomplete and sketchy. There is a great deal still to learn about Maluku.

Instruments and ensembles. The one-headed drum generically called *tifa* (other names for it include *tiwa*, *tiwal*, and *tuba*) is common everywhere as an accompaniment for singing and dance; one or two non-melodic gongs are often played along with one or more drums. Jew's harps (tracks 5 and 6), flutes, and bamboo idiophone zithers, all played as solo instruments for the amusement primarily of the player, are widespread. Bowed lutes are now rare, except for violins or their imitations in the north and center; in earlier times they were apparently more common (Martin 1894:325–326 and Gieben et al. 1984:57 for Buru; Kartomi 1994:165 for Kei). An ensemble of bowed lute (*rababu*), drums, and gong, used for a shamanic curing ritual, is reported for Ternate and Tidore by Kartomi (1994:149, *salai jin*).

Dance ensembles of violin (or similar fiddle),

plucked lute, and *tifa* (sometimes with singers and other instruments as well) are found in North Maluku (tracks 1 and 2); in instrumentation these resemble *katreji*, but (judging from our recordings of *togal*, played by one such ensemble) their repertoire is local, not European. Dance ensembles of flute and drum(s), sometimes with gong, are widespread (tracks 10 and 16); in the north, this ensemble sometimes has singers (Kartomi 1994:149, *ronggeng*). Aside from *katreji* and similar dance ensembles, mixed-instrument ensembles of more than four or five members are rare in the province.

Gong ensembles with melodic gong-rows are most frequent in the central islands (track 7, from Buru; see also the recordings from Ambon and Banda on the Columbia and Folkways LPs listed in "References" below). In former times they were often the property of noble families, but now they are owned by villages or by institutions. In North Maluku they are reported only as regalia of the sultans of Ternate and Tidore (Kartomi 1993); there are no reports of gong ensembles outside the palaces. There are no reports at all of gong ensembles in Southeast Maluku.

Vocal music. Teasing or competitive singing of verses by two groups in alternation is reported from all three regions of the province. So are group dances in circle, single-line, or multiple-line formations, accompanied by singing (sometimes the competitive singing just mentioned); these dances are in some places also accompanied by drums, with or without non-melodic gongs. The dances may be performed only by men, as war dances (sometimes known by the Central Maluku name *cakalele*) to energize warriors or celebrate victory; or they may be social or ritual

dances performed by single-sex or mixed groups.

Group singing tends to be in unison and octaves; sometimes the coordination is relatively precise (tracks 9 and 15), sometimes loose and heterophonic (track 13). Leaving aside Christian hymns and popular songs, we found only one instance of singing in two parts (track 12, from Kei). We did not encounter in Maluku the polyphonic choruses presented in our albums on Kalimantan, Nusa Tenggara Timur, and Sulawesi, nor are they reported in the literature. (See our discussion in the notes to volume 17. Incidentally, we also found no instances in Maluku of the "irregular" and triple meters discussed there.) Solo singing may be unaccompanied, or accompanied by percussion, but accompaniment by melodic instruments is rare, except in the context of the *katreji*-like dance ensembles. (Perhaps when bowed lutes were more common they accompanied singing.)

Songs recounting historical events as an assertion of rights to land or forest and ocean resources are important in Southeast Maluku. (Track 14 is an example from Kei.) Extended sung narrative is likely to be widely distributed, but we have found only a few references to it in the literature (Kartomi 1994:149 for Ternate and 166 for Kei); we recorded an excerpt in Buru (track 4).

This album

In other areas of Indonesia, our preferred work-method was to travel to many parts of a region, following leads, to see what music was available that could suit our series; we might record as we went or we might bear things in mind as possibilities to return for later. But we soon realized that we would not be able to do this in Maluku: travel is so time-consuming there that it would take

several months to work through all of the main islands and island groups, and often the reports we heard of what we might find after an arduous journey to some distant place were discouraging. The reports may well have been wrong, but we didn't have the time to find out.

As so often in the course of this series, we decided that we would have to be representative rather than comprehensive. We would pick one island in each of the three main regions of the province and work in one or two locations in each island. Which islands, then? We knew that Margaret Kartomi, in preparing her 1994 survey, had concentrated on Ternate in the north, Ambon in the center, and Kei and Tanimbar in the south, and also that Rein Spoorman, a Dutch musicologist, had recently recorded in Ambon, Saparua, and Haruku. It seemed reasonable, then, for us to complement their work by choosing other locations.

In the north, we chose Halmahera; in the center, Buru. In the south, we were torn: Aru? Kei? Tanimbar? Kartomi had worked in the last two, which left Aru, but people told us (wrongly, we learned too late) that in Aru we would find only pop. In the end, we chose Kei, mainly because we had leads there: the ethnographic film-maker Dea Sudarman, the anthropologist P. M. Laksono, and his wife Wiwid had all described to us music they had heard in Kei that had intrigued and moved them. Laksono and Wiwid had specifically mentioned the songs called *ngel-ngel*, and when we looked these up in the literature we found that Kartomi described them (1994:166) as sung "in free metre with a highly melismatic style." Sold! (As it turned out, we wound up recording on an island in Kei where Kartomi had not worked, and the *ngel-ngel*

we heard there were neither free-meter nor melismatic; but no matter, they were indeed as interesting as our friends had said.)

Our album begins in northwestern Halmahera, among people originally from the island of Makian, west of Halmahera. *Togal* (tracks 1 and 2) is played by one of the violin-led, *katreji*-like dance ensembles mentioned earlier, though its repertoire is not the nineteenth-century European dance music of *katreji*.

Next comes a group of recordings from a village on the shore of Lake Rana, in the interior of Buru. We hear singing by men accompanying themselves on drums (track 3); an excerpt from a narrative sung by two women (track 4); two pieces for jew's harp (tracks 5 and 6); and a gong ensemble (track 7).

Our Kei recordings come from two locations on the east coast of Kei Besar. (Kartomi writes [1994:141n., 165n., 167n.] that she worked on both Kei Kecil and Kei Besar, but she has apparently confused Kei Besar with Dullah, as all of the locations she lists for Kei Besar are actually on Dullah, an island linked by bridge to Kei Kecil. Kei Besar is some two and a quarter hours by ferry east from Dullah.) We present a number of songs of different types, including two contrasting *ngel-ngel* (tracks 12 and 13) and the only children's singing we were able to record in eight years of fieldwork for this series (track 8). We also include two flute-led dance ensembles (tracks 10 and 16).

In tracks 17–19 we return to northwest Halmahera. Muslim singing accompanied by frame drums is found all over Indonesia, and from the initial stages of our planning for this series we had intended to record some form of it. But rather than record it in one of the obvious

places—Aceh, West Sumatra, Java—we wanted to wait until we reached the eastern provinces, which are less well known as bastions of Islam. At one point we had hoped to record it in Fak-fak, a Muslim region in Irian Jaya, but eventually it became clear that we were not going to get back to Irian after our work in Biak (volume 10). So when we came to North Maluku, parts of which are strongly Muslim, we knew that now was the time. Kartomi had described *dabus* on Ternate (1993), so in keeping with our wish to complement rather than duplicate, we chose to look for it in Halmahera.

REFERENCES 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 19, we have had to take our full list of references out of the booklet and put it on the Web site. The citations remain in the text, 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. A few song

texts in the original languages are also posted on the Web site, but we were not able to gather them all. Finally, we have put on the Web site an outline of the full *dabus* performance from which our recordings (tracks 17–19) are excerpted. The references and other materials are also available in hard copy for \$2.00 from: SF 40446 Supplemental Notes, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7300, Smithsonian Institution, MRC 953, Washington, DC 20560-0953, U.S.A.

For further reading on the historical and ethnographic topics glanced at in our commentary, see: Andaya 1993 on the spice trade in North Maluku; Chauvel 1990 on Ambon; van den End 1980 and 1989, and Vriens 1972, on the history of Christianity in Maluku; Hanna 1978 on Banda; and de Jonge and van Dijk 1995 on Southeast Maluku.

References

[partial listing; see the Web site]

- Kartomi, Margaret J. "Is Maluku still musicological terra incognita? An overview of the music-cultures of the province of Maluku," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* [Singapore] 25(1):141–171, March 1994.
- . "Revival of feudal music, dance, and ritual in the former 'spice islands' of Ternate and Tidore," pp. 184–210 in: Virginia Matheson Hooker (ed.), *Culture and society in New Order Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Kunst, Jaap. "Music and dance on the Kai Islands," pp. 205–231 in: Jaap Kunst, *Indonesian music and dance: traditional music and its interaction with the West*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute [etc.], 1994. [Paper first published in Dutch, 1945.]

Recordings

Music of Maluku. Some recordings of modern popular string-band music from Maluku or from Moluccans in Holland have been published, but very little else from Maluku is available. Rein Spoorman's sampler of music from Saparua and Haruku in the Lease Islands, which will include *katreji*, brass band, gong ensemble, *cakalele*, Christian hymns, and more, is forthcoming from Pan Records (Pan 2056 CD). Aside from that, there are only a few tracks scattered across a handful of anthology albums:

Indonesian music from New Guinea, the Moluccas, Borneo, Bali and Java, edited and annotated by Jaap Kunst, was first issued ca. 1956 as an LP (Columbia KL 210), volume 7 in the Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music. The album is scheduled to be reissued on CD by Rounder (Rounder 1747). The Maluku segment consists of recordings made by J. Hobbel in 1940 in Aru, Babar, Manuwoko (Seram Laut), Kei Besar, Banda, and Ambon. Two 1949 recordings by Hobbel of a flute band in Saparua are on *Frozen brass: Asia* (Pan 2020 CD).

There are two tracks of *ronggeng* music from Ternate, recorded by Margaret Kartomi in 1989, on the mistitled *Kroncong Moritsko: Sumatra* (Tradisom V 506). The album is part of Tradisom's series *A viagem dos sons* on Portuguese influence on music all over the world.

The old Folkways LPs *Music of Indonesia* (Folkways FE 4537 AB/CD) claim to contain two tracks from Ambon. One, labelled *cakalele*, is actually *kecapi rebab* music from West Java. The other (on 4537 CD) is a *sawat* dance recorded in 1960 in Hitu (Ambon) and featuring a ten-kettle melodic gong-chime.

Sufi and Sufi-derived music. Listeners may want to compare our *dabus* recordings from Maluku with related recordings from elsewhere. Excerpts from a competitive *dabus* performance in Aceh (1982), along with brief selections from *dabus* in West Sumatra (1975, 1985), all recorded and annotated by Margaret Kartomi, are heard on *Muslim music of Indonesia: Aceh and West Sumatra* (Celestial Harmonies 14155–2), volume 15 in *The Music of Islam* series. Together with our Maluku recordings, these are the only published recordings of Indonesian Sufi or Sufi-derived music. One other recording from Southeast Asia (by way of Africa) has been issued: a Folkways LP (FR 8942, issued in 1959) presents portions of a *dabus*-like Rifa'iyya ritual recorded among South African Malays ("Kap Maleiers"); it includes a striking section in thirds-based European/African-style harmony. From other parts of the world there are quite a few recordings of Sufi music. (For a recent summary, see the special section on Sufi music in *Gramophone*, May 1998.) Some that are of relevance to our Maluku material, because of musical similarities and contrasts or because of the brotherhoods involved, are listed on the *Music of Indonesia* Web site under volume 19.

COMMENTARY ON THE SELECTIONS

HALMAHERA: TOGAL

Our first two selections were recorded in Desa Malapa, a village on the northwest arm of Halmahera, about three hours' drive up the east coast from Sidangoli. The musicians and the music itself are not, however, from Halmahera, but from Makian, a small island west of Halmahera, south of Tidore. The people of Makian were relocated by the Indonesian government from the island to their present home, a region known as Malifut, over the period from 1975 to 1988. In 1975, the Bureau of Vulcanology in Bandung predicted a volcanic eruption on Makian, and the government decided to evacuate the population to Malifut. (We did not learn why Malifut was chosen as the destination.) Accordingly, the government moved the people who were already in Malifut at the time, members of the Pagu ethnic group, to other nearby locations, compensated them for their land (not surprisingly, there are conflicting views on how fairly that was done), and began moving in the Makianese. Progress was slow, partly because the volcano did not actually erupt until 1988. Now most of the people who used to live on Makian are in Malifut. The people we talked to are deeply nostalgic for the island. They mourn lost wealth (clove and *kenari* trees) and say the island was more fertile than Malifut.

The government seems to have shifted not just the population but the whole *concept* of Makian to Malifut. All of the village names from Makian are now found in Malifut. Although we were told in *Malifut* (in 1997) that some people have stayed in or returned to the island, in the government's mind Makian is now in Malifut. (An official name for the relocated district is Makian

Daratan di Malifut, "Mainland Makian in Malifut"; during our visit, the name we heard was just Makian di Malifut, "Makian in Malifut.") In the official government village-lists and maps published by the Central Bureau of Statistics (Biro Pusat Statistik [1996a]:45, [1996b]:Maluku 40), the actual island is now shown as uninhabited; it has the same code numbers as the new Makian on the mainland—that is, for the government, the two places are conceptually identical, except that one, the island, is empty. (That some people are still there seems irrelevant.) According to a government report written in 1982, before the relocation was completed, the new Makian is actually an improvement on the old, since now the villages are more "regulated" (*teratur*): the streets are straight, and the inhabitants are concentrated in one place instead of spread out all along the coast (Adaptasi 1989/1989:10, 55). A side-benefit is that the government was also able to regulate the Pagu when relocating them to make room for the Makianese (ibid.:19).

On Makian there were—and now in Malifut there are—two ethnic groups, the East and West (also called, respectively, Inner and Outer) Makianese. Both groups are predominantly if not entirely Muslim. They speak languages (*bahasa*, a generic term taken from Indonesian) that are not only mutually unintelligible but are in different linguistic families. Bahasa Taba, spoken in East Makian, is an Austronesian language, like most languages of Indonesia. Bahasa Moi, in West Makian, is a Papuan language; members of this family are spoken mainly in New Guinea and in scattered locations in Maluku (in addition to west Makian: north Halmahera, Morotai, and Ternate) and Nusa Tenggara Timur (Alor, Pantar, and parts of Timor). The genre of music and dance we

recorded in Desa Malapa, *togal*, is performed by both East and West Makianese and may be sung in either language (or in others). Our musicians are West Makianese and sang for us in *bahasa* Moi, *bahasa* Ternate, and Indonesian.

Togal is performed at weddings and other domestic or communal celebrations, such as those marking a circumcision, a visit home by someone who has been away a long time, promotion to a new job or rank, the start of a cooperative agricultural project, the construction of a new mosque, or the annual ceremony (held in the month of Maulud in the Muslim calendar) to pray for the health and safety of the village. The dancing begins around 10 P.M. and can go on until dawn. We did not hear of any other music performed for such celebrations, nor indeed of any performing arts in Malifut other than *togal* and Muslim devotional performances. The curing ritual *salai jin*, mentioned by Kartomi for Ternate, was practiced in the period when the people still lived on Makian Island (Adaptasi 1988/1989: 104–105); it used a flute instead of the bowed lute reported by Kartomi.

Togal is considered old-fashioned, provincial, and associated with tradition (*adat*), and as a result it has low prestige, though people clearly enjoy it. We were told, for example, that at wedding celebrations, which are two-night affairs, *togal* could be done on the second night, called the "traditional" night (*malam adat*), at which only family and close friends need be present; while on the first and more important night, the "reception" night (*malam resepsi*), for which many guests come, the entertainment would be *dangdut* cassettes from Jakarta, played through a sound system.

The *togal* repertoire consists of *mares*, "marches," and *lagu*, "songs." The *mares* are played by an

ensemble of bowed lute (*biola*), one or two plucked lutes (*juk* or *gambus*), and two drums (*tifa*) played with hands. The *biola* is the melodic leader. Both the *mares* and the *lagu* are danced to. For *lagu*, a transverse flute (*suling*) and one or two singers are added. (The flute, we were told, is relatively new to the ensemble, but it was already established before the relocation.) The singers may be a man and a woman trading verses, or a woman singing alone. The female singer, people said, is preferably unmarried, for two reasons: most husbands wouldn't want their wives to sing in public, and "women's voices change after they have children."

For *togal*, the dancers form four columns: one of men, two of women, and another of men. In the initial formation, the women's columns face each other, and the men's columns face the back of the nearest women's column. The number of women must equal the number of men—that is, each dancer must have a partner of the opposite sex. The movements are the same for all couples and are directed by a caller, called the *komandor*; without him, the dancers can't dance. According to A. R. Limatahu, the director of the group we recorded, the caller's commands, in the old days, were in Portuguese: for example, *alaman ra ronde*.

What are we to make of this? As we remarked earlier, the instrumentation of *togal* resembles that of *katreji*, which also uses a *komandor* (or *komando*, in *katreji*). The *togal* dance formation seems European; it suggests—vaguely—the English "country dance" of the seventeenth century, which was the ancestor (via the contredanse) of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French quadrille, from which *katreji* takes its name. But *katreji*'s repertoire, in addition to quadrilles, is other European social dances of the nineteenth century: waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, polonaises.

None of the *katreji* repertoire is found in *togal*. The melodies of *togal* we heard were heptatonic, but they have no clear harmonic implications and, unlike *katreji* melodies, do not sound like European dance tunes. (Not to us, at least; judge for yourself in tracks 1 and 2.)

Margaret Kartomi proposes (1994:157) that *katreji* developed in the late nineteenth century, in military camps of the Dutch colonial army (KNIL), among Ambonese and other Christian soldiers from Maluku (whom the Dutch particularly sought to recruit from the 1870s on; see Chauvel 1990). The Maluku soldiers, in close contact with the Dutch, took up the Dutch popular dances. But where did the dance-caller come from? He is not reported in descriptions of European social dance—indeed, the *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, in its discussion of square dancing, says calling is “apparently a uniquely American phenomenon” that emerged in the 1840s for cotillions and quadrilles (New Grove 1986:1.568).

And even if he were European, what, given the nineteenth-century French/Dutch origin of the *katreji* dances, would he be doing in Malifut speaking Portuguese? One possibility is that, given the hazy sense of Europe that obtains in eastern Indonesia, what Limatahu thought was Portuguese could be, as it sometimes is in *katreji*, corrupted French. Thus the caller in *togal* could be borrowed from *katreji*, though how he got into *katreji* remains a mystery.

If we think again about *togal*'s instrumentation and its heptatonic, harmony-resistant melodies, we might wonder about the possibility of a source in Melayu music. The violin could have come either from Europe directly (from Dutch or Portuguese) or from Europe via the

Melayu. But the violin in North Maluku does not have strong Melayu associations, and the most plausibly Melayu element in North Maluku culture, the *ronggeng* dance of Ternate and Tidore, does not use violin but rather a flute. (See Kartomi 1993:202–204. Two examples of *ronggeng* music from Ternate are included on the Tradisom CD listed in “References” above. For violin-led Melayu *ronggeng* ensembles in western Indonesia, see volume 11 in our series.) The *togal* melodies do not seem (to us) particularly Melayu in idiom. (If questions like this—the affinities of a given music—are to be dealt with seriously, we will have to give some more precise meaning to these impressionistic statements of how an idiom “seems”; but this is too large and technical a problem to try to work out here.)

To all of these pieces that do not fit, we will add a few more and then give up on the puzzle. We heard of, but did not witness, other north Halmahera dance ensembles using *biola* or *komandor* or both. *Lego*, reported to us in Gamkonora (where we recorded *dabus*), on the opposite side of the northwest peninsula from Malifut, had *biola*, *tifa*, and gong, with no singers and no *komandor*; now obsolete, it was performed on the occasion of visits from the Sultan of Ternate. *Toku* was another Gamkonora dance with *biola*, *tifa*, and singers, with no *komandor*; it too is obsolete. *Tide-tide* is (still) a Tobelo dance using *biola*, flute, *tifa*, gong, and (according to one source but not another) *komandor*; the Pagu who were displaced by the relocation of the Makianese also do *tide-tide*. And, finally, the Galela know a dance, the name of which we failed to learn, that has a *komandor* but no *biola*; we saw a video of this (thanks to Frans Rijoly at the Museum Siwalima in Ambon), in which the music was played by an ensemble of

two plucked lutes, singers in European-style harmony, and an intriguing double instrument: a big wooden box, to one side of which a crude bass-fiddle neck was attached. Two strings running along the neck were plucked by one player, while another drummed on the box with two sticks. The neck-and-strings part (we were told in a Pagu community where this instrument is also known) is called *tali dua* (two strings), while the box part is called *kas teh* (tea chest).

We end inconclusively: *togal*'s violin-led instrumentation may derive from the European-style *katreji* band, or from Melayu music, but its idiom, despite its heptatonic scales, seems (again) neither markedly European nor markedly Melayu. Whether it is indigenous, or a mix of indigenous and foreign elements, is not clear, in the absence of more evidence about traditional idioms in North Maluku. The dance-caller, on the other hand, must be European, probably borrowed from *katreji*—he has no Indonesian counterpart, and he could hardly have come from United States square dancing. (We suspect that the New Grove is wrong to say that calling is uniquely American.) The fact that the *togal* dance itself seems of an older type than *katreji*'s dances suggests that there may have been forms of European-derived dancing in Maluku before the late nineteenth century, when Kartomi says *katreji* developed.

1. Mares

2. Lagu Togal

Togal ensemble of Desa Malapa, Kecamatan Makian (=Kecamatan Makian Daratan di Malifut), in north-west Halmahera. The performers are members of Grup Oma Moy, directed by A. R. Limatahu.

The ensemble in track 1 consists of a *biola*, a plucked lute (*juk*), and two *tifa*; in track 2 a

transverse flute (*suling*) and a female singer are added. The *biola* is shaped like a small, crude violin, with three wire strings (string length: 29 cm) and no f-holes. (There is a small sound-hole, 0.7 cm in diameter, near the center of the sound-board.) In our session, the player straddled a bench and held the *biola* upright, resting its base on the bench. The *juk* (its name derives from the local pronunciation of “ukulele”) is shaped like a rough guitar and has four strings. The *tifa* are single-headed drums, played with hands, not sticks. The *suling* has six fingerholes.

The performing group here is not a fixed group with constant players. The *biola* player, the flutist, and the singer are regulars, but lots of people can play *juk* and *tifa*, and anyone who is available may step in. Ordinarily there would be a *komandor*, calling out the steps to the dancers, but we were recording without dance, and it seemed too artificial to call steps for invisible dancers. *Togal* music is normally performed without dance only for recordings. (We first learned of *togal* when we heard a cassette of the music, with no *komandor*, in Gamkonora, in the house where we recorded *dabus*.)

The two selections use the same scale. If we convert it so that the lowest tone is C (it is actually B), the scale is C D Eb F G Ab Bb, and the range is from C to the C above. The tonal center in both melodies seems to be F.

Track 2 is called simply *lagu togal*, “*togal* song.” The *lagu* do not have individual titles, probably because their lyrics are not fixed. Singing in *bahasa Moi*, the language of West Makian, the singer strings together standard lyrics (called *dola bololo*) about love. Here is the gist of her verses: I thought our love would last, but I was wrong. / I thought I knew what's in

your heart, but it seems you still want to look around. / Even if he's gone, there are lots of chances for me. / You already hurt me once; don't do it again. / If he weren't far across the water, I'd walk to him. / I'm so used to meeting him that if we miss one time I feel ill. / Though he is far away I feel he is close, because our hearts are bound together.

BURU

Buru, a mountainous, forested island stretching roughly 140 km east-west and 90 km north-south, lies ten hours by ferry west of Ambon. Of a total population of ca. 102,000 on the island (1987 statistics, taken, like most of the information in this paragraph, from Grimes 1994), only about 43,000 are "indigenous" Buru people. The rest are immigrants: from Sula and Buton on the north and west coasts, from Sulawesi, and from other parts of Maluku, Indonesian Chinese, Indonesian Arabs, government employees from all over Indonesia, and, recently, some 23,000 transmigrants from Java, many of them living in the area where, from 1969 until 1979, 14,000 political prisoners were held by the Soeharto government.

Grimes writes (1994:60): "Very important distinctions are made on Buru in references to where people reside on the island: there are *geb fuka* (mountain people) and *geb masi* (sea/coastal people). Not only do all immigrants live on the coast, but approximately 38 percent of the *geb fuk Buru* [non-immigrant 'people of Buru'] are Muslim and live on the coast as well. Given the entire population of the island [102,000] then, four out of five people on Buru live on the coast and are thus considered to be *geb masi*. The *geb fuka* are the 20,000 to 25,000 native non-Muslims who remain traditionally oriented to the mountains and live in the

vast interior of the island."

We were fortunate in being able to visit and record in Waereman, a *geb fuka* village in the interior, on the northern shore of Lake Rana (sometimes known in the colonial literature as the Wakolo-meer). We did not hear the term "*geb fuka*"; instead people referred to themselves as *bumi lalen* and said they lived in the Lisela domain (one of many domains in the island). From the government's point of view, reflected in the Statistics Bureau's maps and lists of villages (Biro Pusat Statistik [1996a]:41, [1996b]: Maluku 20), it hardly matters what they call themselves, since there are no people there at all: the large interior region that includes Lake Rana (itself not shown) is all "forest," a blank on the map, with no recognized settlements.

The story of how we found ourselves in Waereman is instructive; it suggests some of the ethical ambiguity of research in Buru (and in New Order Indonesia in general).

In Ambon we had gotten a lead on Buru: a researcher we met there who had worked in Buru had heard "good" music, using gongs and drums, by people from the Rana area who were visiting the coast. (Not much of a lead, but something: it told us there was still traditional music somewhere in the interior.) He said it would take two or three days to walk up to the lake from the coast. This gave us pause, for we travelled with 300 pounds of equipment, 200 if carrying a stripped-down kit. But then, still in Ambon, we met the director of a foundation for the development of Buru (Yayasan Pembangunan Pulau Buru), who said there is now a logging road from Waepotih on the north coast that would get us most of the way in. He offered to give us letters of introduction to the logging company in Wae-

potih, asking permission for us to ride up and back in the dump trucks that go regularly between the base camp on the coast and the logging camps in the interior.

Ordinarily we tried not to do our fieldwork under the auspices of either the government or commercial enterprises, but in this case, pressed for time, our choice seemed to be between riding in the trucks and not going at all. The hope of finding something exciting in a musically unknown region was too strong for us to resist. So we took the ferry to Buru and a bus to Wae-potih, where we presented ourselves at the office of the logging company, P.T. Wanapotensi Nusa. The personnel officer approved our request to ride in the trucks and called in the man in charge of company relations with inhabitants of the forest, who made suggestions about where to find people to help carry the equipment, how much to pay them, and how to calculate the amount of food and other supplies to pack in. We were allowed to buy the supplies at the company store; otherwise we would have had to go six hours round trip to Namlea, the ferry port, to buy them. We told the public relations official we wanted to record in a village near Lake Rana, and he suggested we talk to two village leaders from Waereman who were working in the logging camp at Waeda.

We had to wait around for a full day, but when the truck came it took only two hours to reach Waeda. So we must admit that the logging company greatly facilitated our work. Yet the same company is engaged in wiping out the way of life from which the music we recorded springs. The people of interior Buru live from the forest and the lake, and they know that the health of the lake depends on the forest. "We'll

have these trees out of here in twenty-five years," a logging boss said to us. How will the people live then? What music will they make?

We got only a taste of the ambiguity. For the inhabitants of Buru, it is a desperate, unremitting paradox. The logging companies are the only employers for local people, their only source of money, but the work they do for the companies is to tear down the world they live in. People we spoke to are quite aware of the dilemma, but they see no way out: they have to live now. They don't know how they will live then.

In Waeda we found the two village leaders from Waereman. (These men were addressed by their titles, not their names. One was the *portelu*, the other the *emrimu*, also called the *marinyo*. Certainly this last title, and possibly the other two, are derived from Portuguese words.) They agreed to take some days off and escort us to Waereman. The next day we all rode in the dump truck again, from Waeda to the end of the logging road, and from there we walked two hours into the forest to Waereman.

We had been worried that perhaps the logging company had some special motive for directing us to these men and this village, but after talking to them we believed the company had acted in good faith, recognizing Waereman as a village where we might find traditional music and knowing the men as respected figures there. Both men had an air of seriousness and dignity. We were particularly impressed that they maintained boundaries in their dealings with us. They declined to answer questions on some topics—for example, rules for respecting the lake, and the structure of Buru society—until we reached Waereman (when they did answer them); they indicated they were not comfortable talking

about these things in the logging camp, surrounded by outsiders. And they simply refused to discuss their religion—not at the camp, not at the lake. If we asked about religious beliefs, practices, or music, they answered on some other topic entirely. Perhaps they thought we were secretly missionaries. In any case, we found plenty of secular music to record and were happy not to intrude on matters they wished to keep private.

There are four kinds of music in Waereman, the *portelu* (who did most of the talking) told us. These are the four entertainment genres we present here (*engafuka*, *tingkobi*, *aten*, *sawat*). There used to be a fifth, *badendang*, using a drum or drums, singers, and a three-stringed fiddle, *vihola*, but there are no *vihola* left in Waereman. (We heard from two sources that there are still fiddles in the southern part of the island.) The *portelu* did not mention any dance or singing for religious ceremony or ritual, although we are certain such forms exist. Other genres probably imported from Ambon or elsewhere in Maluku—*cahalele*, *lego*, *menari*—have been reported from the coast, but the *portelu* did not speak of them. He said that all people in the mountains of Buru have the same music.

3. Kalabae

Male singers with drums (*tuba*). Musicians of Kampung Waereman, on the northern shore of Lake Rana, Kecamatan Buru Utara Barat, in central Buru.
Genre: *engafuka*.

Engafuka, as performed for us in Waereman, is singing by four seated men, each with a single-headed drum called *tuba*. It is sung, the *portelu* said, only at night, as entertainment at weddings or to welcome a guest. The verses begin with a soloist (*tantane*) and are taken up by the chorus

(*dobol*; also called *sirua sade*). *Engafuka* was reported, under the name *inafoeka*, in early accounts by Wilken (1875:40–41, 57–58) and Martin (1894:292–293, 300). Both authors describe a soloist/chorus structure, but with a mixed group of singers, not the all-male singing group we saw.

Engafuka songs talk about daily life. The singers sang examples of four song-types for us: *dofon*, *kalabae*, *enwesit*, and *mano-mano*. Each song-type was said to have a different character. *Enwesit*, for example, is about love; it may have memorized or spontaneous verses; it is easy to sing. *Kalabae* is hard: the verses are proverbs and conventional wisdom taught by “the old people.” We may have got this wrong, but we think the *portelu* said that the poetry obeys complicated rules of versification; we think he also said that the topics of the verses are decided before the song begins. The song heard in track 3 consists of verses on four topics: bathing, dogs, agriculture, and laziness (unwillingness to work). *Mano-mano* texts are also verses taught by the old people; the texts concern walking through the forest. Keep your eyes on the path; don’t look left and right or you may fall.

The *kalabae* we recorded has a single melody repeated over and over, consisting of three short phrases. With Western-trained ears one may be inclined to hear it as outlining a descending triad in C minor, then a descending seventh-chord in G minor, then (after a little more G minor) returning to the descending C-minor triad. (We do not know that the singers hear it that way. We are simply borrowing Western analytical vocabulary to describe the melody, not claiming that it is or derives from a Western melody.) A very similar structure is found in the *aten* melody (track 4).

The lowest tone in the *kalabae* melody is C (so is the fifth tone, an octave above, which is the last tone in the opening word *kalabae*), and the scale is C D Eb F G A Bb; the range extends from the low C through the octave and on to the G above.

4. Tuang Kolatu (excerpt)

Female vocal duo from Kampung Waereman.
Genre: *aten*.

Aten is narrative singing, performed by one or two singers, without instruments. Here it is sung by two elderly women, sitting side by side, legs outstretched, leaning against a wall.

A single melody is sung in this excerpt and would be sung throughout the entire narrative (which could go on all night). Other melodies may be used for *aten*. In this one, we again hear the descending contours and (if thinking in the Western manner) the minor triads and seventh-chords we heard in the *kalabae*. The structural similarity of the two melodies is striking, though the scale and the relationship of the chords are different. If, for ease of comparison, we convert the scale of the *aten* so that its lowest tone (and, coincidentally, its opening tone, an octave above the lowest tone) is C (it is actually G), then the converted *aten* scale is C D E F G A Bb, and the chords are G minor and D minor (instead of C minor in the *kalabae*). The range of the melody extends from the low C through the octave to D.

The narrative here concerns a king in the old days, Raja Tuang Kolatu, who planned to go to war against “another island.” His wife Bokiena, who was pregnant, wanted to accompany him, but he would not allow it.

5. Tigertama

6. Perusi Tajang

Jew’s harp solos from Kampung Waereman.

Two solos played on a *tingkobi*, a jew’s harp made of a leaf fiber (*jagan aren*). The instrument is 11.5 cm long and 1.8 cm wide at the widest point; the vibrating tongue is 8.5 cm long. *Tingkobi* is played informally in Maluku (and in most parts of Indonesia) to amuse the player and others sitting close by.

Tingkobi tunes have stories behind them. The *portelu* told us the stories of these two. *Tigertama* is named for a hermit who lived alone in the forest and amused himself by beating out rhythms and melodies on tree trunks. The people in the village heard him and made this piece in imitation of his music. *Perusi Tajang* was composed by another man who, like *Tigertama*, played music for himself on tree trunks. A third tune (*Mukasai*, not heard here) was composed by a woman who saw her sweetheart rowing on the lake; thinking of her love for him, she made the *tingkobi* tune.

7. Ranafafan

Gong ensemble from Kampung Waereman.
Genre: *sawat*.

Sawat is the name of the gong ensemble and its music. The ensemble consists of: *ta’buang*, a set of five or six gong kettles (there were six in Waereman, but two had the same pitch, so one of those was set aside and only five were played); *rohit*, a hanging gong; and five drums of various sizes, with one player for each drum. The four smaller drums, called *tuba*, were played with bare hands; the largest drum, called *dobol* (heard at left in this recording), was played using one stick. The gongs were not mounted in a rack, as they often are in Indonesia; instead they were

placed loose on a mat. The tuning (converted so that the lowest tone is C; it is actually E) is approximately C D E F# A#.

Ranafajan means "on the lake." As with the *tingkobi* tunes, there is a story, and again it tells us how the piece came to be created. A man went out on the lake in a boat and began to row, heading somewhere, but it was so calm and lovely on the water, with no wind, that he came home instead and made this piece. Another *sawat* piece (*Oli-oli*) also has a story about someone who didn't get where he was going: a man set out to hunt game, but he didn't reach the hunting ground because he thought of his sweetheart. He came home to her instead of hunting, and he made *Oli-oli*.

KEI

The Kei island group in Southeast Maluku consists of three main islands and many smaller ones. The main islands are known in Indonesian as Kei Kecil (Small Kei), Dullah, and Kei Besar (Large Kei). The local name for the island group and the language spoken there is Evav; the local names for Kei Kecil and Kei Besar are Nuhu Roa and Nuhu Yuut, respectively. In the literature and on maps one often sees "Kai" instead of "Kei." "We say 'Kei,' white people say 'Kai,'" we were told when we asked.

Jaap Kunst cites an 1886 Dutch study listing "some forty different dances and accompanying dance-tunes" in Kei (1994 [1945]). He also observed that music in Kei is "homogeneous in its structure and tonal system." Cécile Barraud notes that the richness of oral tradition in Kei lies not in great epics or long origin myths, but in proverbs and *sasikar* (songs). "Songs," she writes, "constitute the largest part of the musical

corpus in Kei: there are a dozen categories, according to whether they are performed unaccompanied, or with drum or flute (or both), or with dancers. They are also distinguished on the basis of the circumstances of their performance: weddings, funerals, the ceremony for putting a roof on a house, the launching of a boat, successful return from a fishing expedition or from battle, harvest festivals, purification of a village after a serious transgression, the visit of allies or partners in exchange relations. Specific songs must be sung on these occasions. Some songs may be used for several related ceremonies...; others, like those for funerals, are appropriate to only one type of ceremony.... The songs use an archaic language, often with obscure words...[but] young and old, men and women, most people have a good knowledge of these songs" (Barraud 1980:143).

Watlaar. We recorded first in Watlaar, a village on the east coast of Kei Besar, two hours by "Jonson" (canoe with outboard motor) north from Yamtel, a main staging point. Watlaar, a largely Catholic village where traditional music and dance are still strong, is the principal village in the *ratskap* (a semi-official "traditional region") Maur-ohoi-wut. The most prominent person in the *ratskap*, a nobleman with authority in traditional (*adat*) and ceremonial matters, is known as the Raja Watlaar. Our first task was to request his permission to record, for without this we would have been unable to proceed. Fortunately, he approved the project and called together some of the best musicians from Watlaar and two nearby villages, Haar and Banda Eli, to perform for us.

8. Marin Uib

Chorus of children from Desa Watlaar, in northern Kei Besar.

This is a rowing song, sung when rowing out to catch flying fish (*uib*). Here it is sung by children, but it is not exclusively a children's song. The language is *bahasa* Evav. The song has four tones, of the structure C E F G, plus a fifth, spoken tone, at a lower, indefinite pitch (around G).

When people in Kei talked to us about their traditional music, rowing songs were often mentioned. There are apparently several varieties: one we heard on a tape was described as a song for rowing with two oars, while another was for rowing with one oar. We recorded another kind of song, called *sarjao* (not included here), which could be used for any sort of work requiring sustained effort to attain a goal, such as rowing a long distance or tossing roofing material from the ground up to the roof-frame of a house before putting it in place. *Sarjao* songs are accompanied by drums (two in the performance we recorded) and a gong.

9. Wannar

Women's chorus from Desa Banda Eli, in northern Kei Besar. Genre: sosoi.

Banda Eli is a village on the northeast coast that was settled in the 1620s—"twelve generations ago"—by refugees from the Dutch devastation of the Banda Islands. (Another Bandanese village on Kei is Banda Elat or Elat, near the midpoint of the west coast.) Unlike most of their neighbors on Kei, the Bandanese are Muslims. *Wannar*, sung in *bahasa* Banda, concerns a journey by the Raja of Banda to Madina, and its melody has ornaments that may be seen as deriving from Islamic singing, not characteristic of non-Muslims in Kei; but as a

performance it fits in the Kei genre of *sosoi* (also called *sasoi*, *soisoi*, and *soi*; cf. track 15), songs sung by an unaccompanied chorus of female dancers holding *yerik*, bundles of palm-leaf-fiber strips that make a swishing sound. (The singers had *yerik* with them at the recording session but preferred not to use them, since they were not actually dancing.) These songs and dances are performed to protect someone on a long journey and in thanksgiving ceremonies when he or she returns, for communal festivals, and to welcome important guests; they are not done for weddings. The melody uses four tones, C Db Eb Fb; it starts on Eb.

10. Tiwal Sawat

Flute, drums, gong. Musicians of Desa Watlaar. Genre: tiwal.

Sawat is a term that comes up repeatedly in connection with instrumental dance music in Maluku: it is the name of the gong ensemble in Buru (track 7) and also of a dance recorded in Ambon (published on Folkways 4537 CD; see "References" above). Here *sawat* is played by a *tiwal* ensemble of *savarngil* (end-blown flute), gong, *tiwal* (drum; cf. *tifa*), and *rabana* (frame drum). Properly there should have been two *tiwal*, but the head of one was torn, so the *rabana* was substituted. In our recording, the players of *tiwal* and *rabana* were women, the players of the flute and gong were men. The flute uses a five-tone scale of the form C D Eb F G. Other pieces played for us by this ensemble were *Tiwal Nam* and *Tiwal Sarjao*.

11. Snehet (excerpt)

Male solo singer from Desa Haar, in northern Kei Besar.

We heard two descriptions of the nature and performance context of *snehet*. In Watlaar we were told it is a praise song, recounting someone's achievements and successes. (One cannot sing a *snehet* for oneself.) It might be sung as flattery by one side in bride-price negotiations or other traditional bargaining, to soften up the other side. In Sather (the village in southern Kei Besar where we recorded tracks 13–16), *snehet* was said to form a pair with *ngel-ngel*; both are sung at weddings, in the evenings before putting a roof on a house, and outside the house where a newly wed bride and groom are spending their first night together. It is not clear to us how the *snehet* here fits either of these descriptions: this one is a historical song, recounting a war between Urim and Usir in which Desa Haar and Desa Ur fought on the Urim side, "under one leader, in one canoe." The song affirms the solidarity of the two villages.

In Sather, *snehet* and *ngel-ngel* are sung to the accompaniment of a drum (*tiwal*; cf. track 13). When we asked the *snehet* and *ngel-ngel* singers from Haar whether they wanted a drum for the recording, they reacted as though this was unthinkable (*jangan!*). The *snehet* uses a three-tone scale of the form C D Eb, with hints of two other tones (F G).

12. Ngel-ngel (excerpt) Male vocal duo from Desa Haar.

In both northern and southern Kei Besar, *ngel-ngel* are sung at weddings. Since weddings initiate new families, *ngel-ngel* texts concern family life and relationships. This one tells the story of a father whose beloved daughter elopes. The father misses her and worries about her, but at the same time he is angry. He sends her a message telling her that he has prepared a gift for her, a

mat and pillow of good material and workmanship, and she should come and get it. But because he is still angry, he hangs the gift up where she will see it without his having to meet her face to face. When she arrives and sees the gift hanging there, she weeps because she knows her father refuses to meet her. Later, when the father sees that the gift is gone, he also weeps.

This song is sung in parallel thirds. We asked whether this was a case of "first voice and second voice," as in church (that is, deliberate harmony), but apparently it is not perceived that way: people said it was just that one singer had a higher voice than the other, so the lower voice picked a lower range to sing in. If we treat the two parts as one melody sung at two pitch-levels, then the melody has only three tones, as in the *snehet* (track 11): approximately A B C, if we focus on the upper part, or, in the lower part, F G and a variable third pitch (Ab, A, or in between).

Sather. Sather (which rhymes, more or less, with "not hair" in English) is a Protestant village of some 900 inhabitants on the east coast of Kei Besar, in the southern half of the island, about an hour by Jonson south from Yamtel. It lies in the *ratskap* Tubab Yamlim. Raja Fer, the authority in this *ratskap*, lives far from Sather, and his presence is little felt there; this is a significant difference between Sather and Watlaar, where the *raja* lives right in the village. Sather is a village of *ren*, commoners. The two other classes of Kei society—*mel* (aristocrats, said by the *ren* to have come from outside and to have set themselves over the *ren*, the original inhabitants, who had openheartedly welcomed them) and *ri* (descendants of slaves)—are not represented in Sather.

13. Ngel-ngel Female soloist and chorus from Desa Sather, in southern Kei Besar.

In Sather, *ngel-ngel* are sung, along with *snehet*, at weddings and in the course of putting a new roof on a house. (The work takes two days; at night before a working day people sit around and sing songs.) *Ngel-ngel* are sung mainly by women. (Our *snehet* in Watlaar and Sather and the *ngel-ngel* in Watlaar were sung by men, but we don't know whether this is always the case.) The texts of these songs remind the host of the responsibilities of having a house and family.

The *ngel-ngel* here concerns a woman who has married and lives far from Kei. As the full moon sets in the west, she thinks of her family, but she has no way to send them anything, because in the old days there were no ferries, no bridges, no post office. She asks the wind to carry her message to her parents and her brothers and sisters: I remember you. She weeps. The moral is: don't lose touch with your family.

Ngel-ngel in Sather are sung by a soloist and then repeated by a chorus in heterophonic unison, to the accompaniment (in Sather, but not in Watlaar) of a single drum. The scale of the song has four tones, of the form C Db Eb F. The drumming is extraordinary, in that it is uncoordinated with the singing: it does not establish a pulse or mark regular recurrences in the music or text. (Teachers! Class too large? Students lack humility? Assign this track for transcription. Give no hints.) We must admit that this drumming is so unusual we thought perhaps the drummer couldn't keep a beat but the singers didn't want to embarrass her by pointing it out. So we were reassured to find that the Catholic missionary Geurtjens observed the same pecu-

liarity in the 1920s: he remarks that in the drumming for *ngel-ngel* there might be a pause of nearly half a minute between one pair of drum-strokes and the next pair (Geurtjens 1921:397).

14. Baiut Nyta Nit Male solo singer from Desa Sather.

Baiut nyta nit is the way the name of this song genre was written out for us by the official secretary of Sather. We were unable to determine whether *baiut nyta nit* is the same as another genre we heard about, *baut* (or *bat*), but we think it is and will describe the two here as though they were the same. They are sung as work songs—while dragging a log from the forest, or sailing long distances (their example was from Kei to Aru), or dibbling before planting. They are sung at sea to call the wind. And they are sung at traditional gatherings to assert claims to land. (*Snehet* may also be sung for this purpose, but on different occasions.) The *baiut nyta nit* heard here, sung by a very old man, is of this last type. Declaring that a certain landing-spot belongs to a certain group of families, the song serves to assert the location of the boundary between Sather and a neighboring hamlet, Tiraut.

15. Sosoi (first song) Female duo and chorus from Desa Sather.

As in Watlaar, *sosoi* in Sather are songs with dance performed on communal (rather than domestic) occasions. In Sather, one group of four songs and dances is performed as a set to welcome important guests; this is the first of that group. The singers referred to the set as *tarian tanah*, "the dance of [this] earth." It is sung first by two women and then repeated by a women's chorus in heterophonic unison. The repeating melody

involves only four tones (Ab C Db Eb) until the very end, when a surprising Bb is introduced.

16. Tari Busur Panah

Flute and drum. Musicians from Desa Sather.

The title means: "Dance with bow and arrow." The music is played by a *savargil* (here a fipple flute with six fingerholes and one rear hole; the pipe is 1 cm in diameter and 27 cm long, plus 1.5 cm additional for the fipple) and a drum (*tiwa*). The melody sounds as though it has been influenced by European marches. If we consider the lowest tone C (it is actually E), the scale and range of the melody are C Db Eb F G Ab.

HALMAHERA: DABUS

Our *dabus* recordings come from the region of northwest Halmahera commonly known as Gamkonora. This is on the west coast of the northwest arm, across the peninsula from Malifut, where we recorded *togal*. Gamkonora is the name in *bahasa* Ternate for this place and its language and people; the local name is Motiloo. *Bahasa* Motiloo/Gamkonora is classed as a Papuan language.

The people of Gamkonora are staunchly Muslim, and Muslim devotional music now seems to be the primary form of music practiced there. On the day after our exhausting *dabus* recording, which had lasted until 2:30 or 3:00 A.M., the same middle-aged and elderly men who had served as leaders of the *dabus*—now joined by an ancient *haji* who had not been strong enough to participate in the *dabus* but had sat in a chair on the side, singing along with the *imam* (prayer leader)—gave us a delightful impromptu demonstration of old dance songs (*lego*, *toku*, and others), but these dances are all

obsolete in Gamkonora now.

Dabus is one of three genres of devotional performance known in Gamkonora in which the central event is the demonstration of invulnerability. Each of the three—*samman*, *hadad*, and *rifa'i* or *dabus*—has its own prayers and esoteric knowledge and its own secret book in Arabic. All involve men only. A fourth kind of devotional performance, *hadrat*, may be performed by women as well as men; it consists of singing only, without the demonstrations characteristic of the other forms; participants remain seated throughout.

In *dabus*, participants (*pemain*, "players"; also *peraga*, "demonstrators") stab themselves vigorously with iron awls (*aluan*; Arabic: *dabbus*), but the religious knowledge of the *syeh* (Arabic: *syaiikh*) who directs the event and the power of the Muslim saints invoked in prayers and praises together protect the participants, so that the awls penetrate the skin only superficially. (Patches of fresh blood were evident on the shirts of *pemain*, but people assured us that the wounds heal overnight and give no pain.) Participants may also run skewers (*jampang*) through their earlobes, noses, or throats, and burning candles may be attached to the skewers. During these demonstrations, seated men sing Islamic formulae in Arabic, accompanying themselves on frame drums (*rabana*). These formulae are called *dzikir* in Indonesia (Arabic: *dhikr*, *zikr*). Between bouts with the awls, songs with religious content or associations called *qasidah* are sung in Arabic, without drumming.

An important distinction is made between the *pemain*, on the one hand, and on the other hand the musicians (singers and drummers) and officiants (one or more *imam*, to recite the prayers and texts, and the *syeh*). The musicians

and officiants must be invited to an event; the *pemain* just show up. Extended segments of the event exclude the *pemain* altogether: before the episodes with the awls begin, the musicians and the *syeh* participate in a long series of prayers and recitations from the Qur'an, led by the *imam*; after the episodes, they stand and accompany the *syeh* while he performs a dance on his own, without awls or other implements; then they join in another series of prayers and recitations. At the very end of the event, all of the officiants and musicians shake hands with each other (not with the *pemain*).

Many of the musicians are themselves qualified to act as *syeh*, though only one or two take that office during a performance. (A senior *syeh* may begin the event and then allow a younger man to take over.) The musicians, and also the *syeh*, may from time to time stand and take the awls, performing as *pemain*, but then they sit again and resume their primary roles.

Dabus is performed in Gamkonora on Islamic holy days (Idul Fitri, Idul Adha, Maulud) and to fulfill a vow (*nazar*). (We were given this example: a sailor in trouble at sea may ask "Abdulkadir Jaelani"—of whom more below—to help him, with the promise that he will sponsor a *dabus* performance if he survives.) It may also be performed at the traditional commemorations held on the ninth, fortieth, and three hundredth night after a person's death. The purpose of the commemorations is to lighten whatever punishment the person must undergo before entering heaven. A goat is sacrificed, and the *dabus* serves to "defend" (*membela*) the dead person. *Dabus* may accompany a corpse to the cemetery. It may be done for circumcisions, but usually not for weddings.

The place of *dabus* in Indonesian Islam.

Dabus in Gamkonora is clearly related to performances with similar names (*dabus*, *debus*, *gedebus*) in other parts of Indonesia (West Java, West Sumatra, Aceh) and the Malay peninsula. Martin van Bruinessen, a scholar of Indonesian Islam, regards them all as forms of "an invulnerability cult that appears to be derived from practices commonly associated with the Rifa'iyya" (van Bruinessen n.d.)—that is, with the "mystical brotherhood" or "Sufi order" (Indonesian: *tarekat*; Arabic: *tariqa*) named for Ahmad ibn 'Ali ar-Rifa'i of Iraq (1106–1182 C.E.). The Rifa'iyya are known in much of the Muslim world for piercing their bodies with spikes and mortifying themselves with fire, relying on ar-Rifa'i to protect them from harm.

The "central element" in *dabus*, the use of the iron awls, "is obviously derived from the *tarekat* Rifa'iyya," van Bruinessen writes (1995:188), but he believes this has spread beyond the confines of that order. He describes *dabus* (personal communication) as "an eclectic invulnerability cult that incorporates many other elements. Besides Ahmad ar-Rifa'i, several other saints are invoked for supernatural protection, and the litanies used derive from various Sufi orders. In north Banten [West Java], *dabus* appears to be part of a cult of the popular saint 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (founder of the Qadiriyya *tarekat*, born 1077 C.E.). Both 'Abd al-Qadir and Muhammad Samman, the founder of yet another *tarekat*, the Sammaniyya, are included in the invocations of *dabus* performers throughout Banten."

Van Bruinessen notes that elsewhere in the Muslim world the *dabus*-like practices of the Rifa'iyya order (and the Qadiriyya as well, in some places) are intended to demonstrate indif-

ference to pain, while in Indonesia they instead demonstrate invulnerability. The shift of focus, he implies, reflects an Indonesian preoccupation and is "explicitly related to warfare and the martial arts" (1995:188). He admits that sometimes *dabus* players do also demonstrate indifference to pain (he observed this in Banten, and we saw it in Gamkonora in the use of *jampi*ang), but he points out (accurately for Gamkonora, and no doubt for Banten as well) that this is "at best an additional part of [the] performance and never the central act, which features invulnerability" (ibid.:198–199, n.91).

On the question of whether *dabus* in Gamkonora is the "authentic" practice of a Sufi *tarekat*, we think, following van Bruinessen, that probably it is not, but we cannot say for sure. Unaware of the complexities of this issue when we were in the field, we did not ask the people in Gamkonora whether they were members of a *tarekat*, and we did not attempt to determine the *silisila* or genealogy of the *syeh*'s knowledge. (Any legitimate teacher of a *tarekat* can trace the transmission of the knowledge and discipline of the *tarekat* from the founder to his disciples and down through the generations to his own teacher and himself.) At one point in the *dabus*, we were told, the *imam* recited the names of teachers, but we do not know whether his list would be considered a valid *silisila*. We did learn that there is a ceremony to mark one's becoming a *syeh*. It can last four, or seven, or eight, or even forty-four days—as long as it takes for the teacher to decide that the pupil is ready. Thus the idea of transmission of knowledge from teacher to student is clearly present, but we do not know whether the transmission fulfills the criteria of an established *tarekat*.

Some of the information we gathered in Gamkonora suggests the eclectic mixing (if not confusion) of names and attributes that according to van Bruinessen is characteristic of the cult rather than an established Sufi order. For example, we were told that *dabus*, which is also called *rifai* (=Rifa'i), was created by Syeh Abdulkadir Jaelani (=Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani). This holy man (mentioned earlier as the recourse of the sailor in distress) was also said to have founded the *tarekat* Naqshbandiyya (not correct). The spiritual climax of a *dabus* performance, the segment called *kata syeh*, begins with a long invocation of Rifa'i. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim as-Sammani (1718–1775 C.E.), who gave his name to the Sammaniyya order and to the *samman* devotional genre in Gamkonora, is also invoked (by name or by the use of songs borrowed from the *samman* genre, e.g., track 17).

Despite this evidence that the genealogy of *dabus* in Gamkonora may be muddled, we want to insist on the seriousness of the performance. Elsewhere in Indonesia, *dabus* has sometimes taken on the aspect of entertainment. (See Snouck Hurgronje 1906 and Kartomi 1992 on *daboih* in Aceh, and Foley 1985 and van Bruinessen 1995 on *dabus* or *debus* in Banten, West Java.) In contrast, some accounts (Vredendregt 1973 on Banten; Kartomi 1991 on *dabu*ih in West Sumatra) stress the apparent seriousness of intent of the participants, and this is what struck us in Gamkonora. Entertainment and seriousness are not necessarily antithetical, and it is also possible (as Kartomi suggests for West Sumatra) that *dabus* may be performed as devotion in some contexts and as entertainment in others.

Pemain in Gamkonora, unlike those in Aceh, West Sumatra, and Banten, do not go into trance,

which rather reduces the theatricality of the Gamkonora form; and some of the grisly thrills of *dabus* in other places (Foley 1985 reports the apparent amputation of a participant's tongue—later reattached by the *syeh*—in a performance by a Banten troupe) are not found here. The displays of invulnerability are of course the main interest for spectators in Gamkonora (young women, we were told, find fervent *pemain* quite attractive), but they are preceded, followed, and interspersed with long, long passages of prayer, Qur'anic recitation, and sung poetry, offering nothing in the way of spectacle.

For the *syeh*, the *imam*, and the musicians, *dabus* is a religious event—a ritual, not simply a show—and it is not undertaken lightly. We asked the *syeh* why he did not sing along with the others; he replied that his teacher (who was his father) taught him never to take his concentration from the *pemain*, from the place on their bodies where they stab themselves. If he were to shift his eyes away to look at the text of the song, the *pemain* might be hurt. He also told us that sometimes he performs *dabus* for himself, alone in his room, protected only by his own prayers. No one but a *syeh* would dare do this, he said.

17. Dzikir Samman: Allahu Allah

18. Qasidah Rifai: Baghdadi (excerpt)

19. Kata Syeh: Baqada Imuhai

Male singers with frame drums (tracks 17, 19); singers alone (track 18). *Dabus* officiants and musicians from Desa Talaga, Kecamatan Ibu, in the Gamkonora region of northwest Halmahera.

A short performance, such as the one we recorded, lasts three hours or so; a long one could go on all night. The ritual opened with about fifty minutes of prayers and Qur'anic

recitation. (The prayers and recitations and all of the singing for the whole of the ritual were in Arabic.) Then the drumming, singing, and displays of invulnerability began. Two *dzikir rifai* (that is, *dzikir* belonging to the *rifai* or *dabus* genre of devotional performance) were sung and played, while *pemain* stabbed themselves with the awls; then the "players" took a break and the musicians sang a *qasidah rifai*, with no drumming. Next came another *dzikir rifai*, followed by the *dzikir samman* in track 17, which is borrowed from the *samman* devotional genre. (*Samman* is distinct from *dabus* or *rifai* in that *samman* uses no *rabana* and is performed in the dark. Our *syeh* remarked that this makes *samman* the hardest of all the genres to perform, since everyone must memorize the texts to be recited and sung. In *dabus* the lights are on and one can read the texts.) Another *dzikir samman* was sung, and then the *pemain* took another break and the musicians sang a second *qasidah rifai* (track 18). After one more *dzikir rifai*, the display section of the performance was finished.

Then came the segment we have already described as the ritual's spiritual climax: *kata syeh*, "the word of the *syeh*." Up to this point the *syeh* had not led any of the spoken or sung passages of the event, and he and all of the musicians had remained seated (except when they took the awls, temporarily becoming *pemain*). Now they all stood and formed a semicircle, with the *syeh* in the middle. Holding a drum in front of his mouth, he sang the invocation of Rifa'i, with choral responses, followed by a second song of this form. Then he began to sing *Baqada Imuhai* (track 19), joined eventually by the chorus and the drums. The words of the song mean: "Allah who stands forever." Once the drums were

in, the *syeh* started to dance, holding the drum with both hands, swooping and veering all around the circle. (He told us that he sometimes goes into trance during this dance.) Following the *syeh's* dance, the *imam* recited from the Qur'an and said a prayer. (The *syeh* said afterward that the *imam* considerably chose a long passage to recite, allowing the *syeh* time to catch his breath.) After a final group of prayers, the musicians and officiants shook hands, each with each, and the ritual was over.

Musically, tracks 17 and 19 resemble Muslim singing with frame drums all over Indonesia: the drums (single-headed; some with jingles, some without) play in a duple meter, with some interlocking and variation; the singing is introduced by a soloist or duo and taken up by a chorus in heterophonic unison. The tempo speeds up dramatically at the end. The melody of the *dzikir samman* (track 17) uses six tones; if the lowest is converted to C, they are C D E F G A. The basic melody of *Baqada Imuhai* uses only three tones: similarly converted, they are C D E.

The *qasidah* (track 18) is quite different. It is sung in free meter, without drumming, by shifting groups of singers in extremely loose heterophony, with brief choral responses at the ends of phrases. The scale, converted as before, is C D Eb F G A Bb. Our survey is by no means exhaustive, but so far we have not heard this style of singing in Muslim music elsewhere in Indonesia, though it bears a resemblance to the overlapping imitative singing in the free-meter opening to *salawat dulang*, a Muslim genre of the Minangkabau in West Sumatra (see volume 12 in this series).

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.

Tracks 1 & 2 Performed by Grup Oma Moy, directed by A. R. Limatahu. The performers are based in Ds. [Desa] Malapa, Kec. [Kecamatan] Makian (=“Kec. Makian Daratan di Malifut”), on the east coast of the northwestern arm of Pulau Halmahera, Kab. [Kabupaten] Maluku Utara. *Biola* (fiddle): Muhammad Sahman. *Juk* (plucked lute): Made Kahar. *Suling* (flute): Opan Marsaoli. *Tifa* (drums): Kalam Matapure, Badar Bangsa. Female singer (track 2 only): Sindra Abdul Haji. Recorded outdoors at night in Ds. Malapa, on 8/9 September 1997.

Track 3 Performed by musicians of Kp. [Kampung] Waereman, Kec. Buru Utara Barat, Pulau Buru, Kab. Maluku Tengah. Male singers and drummers: Anes Wamese (Portelu Wakolo), Lasat Hukunala, Labengka Wamese, Harong Nustelu. Recorded at night in the home of the *portelu* in Kp. Waereman, on 17 September 1997.

Track 4 Performed by singers of Kp. Waereman (as track 3). Female singers: Nurut Wamese (leader; heard at left), Mukasayang Nustelu. Recorded at night in the home of the *portelu* in Kp. Waereman, on 18 September 1997.

Tracks 5 & 6 Performed by Res Wamese (*tingkobi*, jew's harp) of Kp. Waereman (as track 3). Recorded as for track 4.

Track 7 Performed by musicians of Kp. Waereman (as track 3). *Ta'buang* (gong-row): Enas Wamese. *Dobol* (large drum): Anes Wamese (Portelu Wakolo). *Tuba* (drums): Idi Hukunala, Cen Wamese, Fanya Wamese, Sony Wamese. *Rohit* (gong): Wantas Wamese. Recorded in the daytime in an open-sided, roofed pavilion in Kp. Waereman, on 18 September 1997.

Track 8 Sung by children of Ds. Watlaar, Kec. Kei Besar, Pulau Kei Besar (Nuhu Yuut), Kab. Maluku Tenggara. Singers: Inocencia Famas, Martina Fawawan, Anita Laudia Masreng, Antonela Masreng, Fulgensius Masreng, Mathias Masreng, Yoseph Masreng, Yulia Ohoimor, Albertus Edi Rahail, Ida Theresia Resok, Emiliana Walewawan (leader), Petrus Walewawan. Recorded outdoors in the afternoon in Ds. Watlaar, on 28 September 1997.

Track 9 Performed by Grup Darussalam of Desa Banda Eli, Kec. Kei Besar, Pulau Kei Besar (Nuhu Yuut), Kab. Maluku Tenggara. Female singers: Safia Borut, Ajija Kubangun, Boy Latar, Ica Latar, Iin Latar, Imram Latar, Sri Reri, Sarimu Salamun. Recorded as for track 8.

Track 10 Performed by musicians of Ds. Watlaar (as track 8). *Suling* (flute): Yul Resuk. *Rabana* (frame drum): Regina Fawawan. *Tifa* (cylindrical drum): Ance Walewawan. Gong: Daniel Walewawan. Recorded as for track 8.

Track 11 Performed by Titus Rahaoban (male vocal) of Ds. Haar, Kec. Kei Besar, Pulau Kei Besar (Nuhu Yuut), Kab. Maluku Tenggara. Recorded indoors in a school in Ds. Watlaar, on 28 September 1997.

Track 12 Performed by singers of Ds. Haar (as track 11). Male singers: Paulus Rahaoban, Titus Rahaoban. Recorded as for track 8.

Track 13 Performed by singers of Ds. Sather, Kec. Kei Besar, Pulau Kei Besar (Nuhu Yuut), Kab. Maluku Tenggara. Female chorus: Agustina Dokainubun, Berbelina Dokainubun, Alida Domakubun, Korlina Domakubun (soloist), Maryance Domakubun, Teroce Domakubun, Yostina Domakubun, Adriana Rahangmetan, Welmina Wansaubun. *Tiwa* (drum): Welmina Wansaubun. Recorded in the daytime in a private home in Ds. Sather, on 30 September 1997.

Track 14 Performed by Poli Domakubun (male vocal) of Ds. Sather (as track 13). Recorded as for track 13.

Track 15 Performed by singers of Ds. Sather (as track 13). Female chorus: Agustina Dokainubun, Berbelina Dokainubun, Yorina Dokainubun (opening duet), Alida Domakubun (opening duet), Korlina Domakubun, Maryance Domakubun, Teroce Domakubun, Yostina Domakubun, Adriana Rahangmetan, Welmina Wansaubun, Yoseba Yosiana Yamlaai. Recorded as for track 13.

Track 16 Performed by musicians of Ds. Sather (as track 13). *Savarngil* (flute): Michael Erubun. *Tiwa* (drum): Otnen Domakubun. Recorded as for track 13.

Tracks 17–19 Performed by *dabus* officiants and musicians of Ds. Talaga, Kec. Ibu, on the west coast of the northwestern arm of Pulau Halmahera, Kab. Maluku Utara. The *syeh* in this recording is Radjab Sahib, Kepala Desa Talaga. There were two *imam*: one was H. Abdulah Patty, and we failed to get the name of the other. Singers and *rabana* players: Muhamad Taher Adam, Puasa Adam, Haras H. Patty, Ilyasin H. Kulantja, Kubais Juma, Mahmud H. Patty, Abas Patty, Ajam Patty, H. Hatab Patty, Munawar Patty, Suaib Patty, Wahab Patty, H. Syamsudin Sau, Thamrin H. Ahmad. Recorded at night in the home of Radjab Sahib, on 5/6 September 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 at <<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 *dabus*: the *syeh*'s dance (track 19).
rear cover *top*: *dabus* texts and equipment.
bottom, left to right: the *dabus syeh* as "player";
ngel-ngel singers in Sather (track 13); *dabus*
 musicians (track 17).
tray *engafuka* musicians, *portelu* at right (track 3).

The musicians pictured are the ones in the recordings.

CREDITS

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by
 Philip Yampolsky
 Recording assistant and photographer: Aton
 Rustandi Mulyana
 Cover photograph: Aton Rustandi Mulyana
 Research team: Aton Rustandi Mulyana;
 Philip Yampolsky
 Mastered by Paul Blakemore at Paul Blakemore
 Audio, Santa Fe, NM
 Sound supervision by Pete Reiniger
 Production supervised by Anthony Seeger and
 D. A. Sonneborn
 Production coordinated by Mary Monseur
 Editorial assistance by Carla Borden
 Design by Visual Dialogue, Boston, MA

Additional Smithsonian Folkways staff:

Heather Berthold, financial officer; Lee Michael Demsey, fulfillment; Kevin Doran, licensing; Scott Finholm, audio assistant; Brenda Dunlap, marketing director; Sharleen Kavetski, mail order accounts manager; Matt Levine, fulfillment; Michael Maloney, product manager; Nakieda Moore, fulfillment; Jeff Place, archivist; Ronnie Simpkins, audio specialist; John Smith, marketing assistant; Stephanie Smith, assistant archivist.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our first thanks, as always, go to the musicians. Second, we thank the people who helped us to find them. Dea Sudarman, P. M. Laksono, and his wife, Wiwid Laksono, directed us to the villages in Kei where we eventually recorded. Ahmad Agun M. accompanied us on our trip to Halmahera and helped us negotiate our recordings there. Stefan Stubenvoll pointed us toward Danau Rana in Buru; Wim Selekty of Yayasan Pembangunan Pulau Buru and Agus Sungkowo Hadi and Nasir of P.T. Wanapotensi Nusa in Waepotih enabled us to get there. Christopher R. Duncan and Frans Rijoly (of the Museum Siwalima in Ambon) gave us information that helped us plan our approach to North and Central Maluku.

We are grateful for the gracious and helpful welcome, support, and hospitality we received from community leaders and their families: Radjab Sahib, Kepala Desa Talaga (and *syeh dabus*), in Gamkonora; A. R. Limatahu in Desa Makian di Malifut; Anes Wamese, Portelu Wakolo, and Wantas Wamese, Emrimu Wakolo, in Kampung Waereman, Buru; J. P. Rahail, Raja Watlaar, and his son, Edo Rahail; Dominggus Domakubun, Kepala Desa Sather, Wellem Dokainubun, Sekretaris Desa Sather, and Lodewik Yamlaïj, Tuan Tanah, in Kei Besar.

In the writing-up phase, Martin van Bruinessen provided extremely helpful information on popular Islam in Indonesia and contributed some sentences in the introduction to *dabus*. Michael Frishkopf, Jozef Pacholczyk, A. Jihad Racy, and Philip Schuyler made useful comments on the *dabus* recordings. Celia Lowe guided PY through some political minefields in writing about Buru. Robert B. Allen, Jr. and John Bowden

shared information about *togal* and the languages of Makian.

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) several times saved PY's hide, as they have often had to do. Paul Blake-more, who designed the equipment package that sustained us for the duration of the project, mastered this album as he has every one since volume 7, with, well, mastery.

Aha. Who have we here, down at the bottom, squashed and wriggling under all this prose? Alan Feinstein and Jennifer Lindsay, Tinuk Yampolsky and Arif Yampolsky. Might've known we'd find you here. Fanners of the flame, soothers of the brow, yeah yeah. Will you never learn? Just cut him off, pull the plug, stop helping him at every turn, cheering him up, spurring him on. That'll put an end to this interminable series. No? Well, we know who to thank, then, don't we?

ADOPT-A-TAPE

The purpose of the Adopt-A-Tape Program is to preserve the unique recordings and documentation released on the Folkways Records label over the past fifty years. By adopting one or more recordings, your tax-deductible donation contributes to the digitization of the 2,168 master tapes, album covers, and liner notes, thus preserving the Folkways collection and insuring its accessibility in the future.

To adopt an original Folkways tape, send your check for \$250.00 (per title) payable to: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings/Adopt-A-Tape, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7300, Washington, DC 20560-0953. Please include your name, address, phone, and e-mail address.

For more information, visit our Web site at www.si.edu/folkways/adopt.htm or e-mail adopt@folkways.si.edu or write to D.A. Son-noborn, assistant director (202-287-2181) at the address above.



ABOUT SMITHSONIAN FOLKWAYS

Folkways Records was founded by Moses Asch in 1948 to document music, spoken word, instruction, and sounds from around the world. In the ensuing decades, New York City-based Folkways became one of the largest independent record labels in the world, reaching a total of nearly 2,200 albums that were always kept in print.

The Smithsonian Institution acquired Folkways from the Moses Asch estate in 1987 to ensure that the sounds and genius of the artists would be preserved for future generations. All Folkways recordings are available on high-quality audio cassettes or by special order on CD. Each recording is packed in a special box along with the original LP liner notes.

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings was formed to continue the Folkways tradition of releasing significant recordings with high-quality documentation. It produces new titles, reissues of historic recordings from Folkways and other record labels, and in collaboration with other companies also produces instructional videotapes and recordings to accompany published books, and other educational projects.

The Smithsonian Folkways, Folkways, Cook, Paredon, and Dyer-Bennet record labels are administered by the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. They are one of the means which the Center supports the work of traditional artists and expresses its commitment to cultural diversity, education, and increased understanding.

You can find Smithsonian Folkways Recordings at your local record store. Smithsonian Folkways, Folkways, Cook, Paredon, and Dyer-Bennet recordings are all available through:

Smithsonian Folkways Mail Order
955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7300
Washington, DC 20560-0953
phone (202) 287-7298
fax (202) 287-7299
orders only 1 (800) 410-9815
(Discover, MasterCard, Visa and American Express accepted)

For further information about all the labels distributed through the Center, please consult our internet site (www.si.edu/folkways), which includes information about recent releases, our catalogue, and a database of the approximately 35,000 tracks from the more than 2,300 available recordings (click on "database search").

Or request a printed catalogue by writing to: Catalogue, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, SW, Suite 7300, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560-0953, USA. Or use our catalogue request phone (202) 287-3262, or e-mail folkways@aol.com



Smithsonian Folkways Recordings

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage,
955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7300 Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC 20560
© © 1999 Smithsonian Folkways Recordings





MUSIC OF INDONESIA VOL. 19:
Music of Maluku: Halmahera, Bura, Kei
Liner note supplement 07/04/2008

Recorded, edited, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. 74 minutes. SWF 40446 (1999)

Track List

1. Mares
2. Lagu Togal
3. Kalabae
4. Tuang Kolatu
5. Tigertama
6. Perusi Tajang
7. Ranafafan
8. Marin Uib
9. Wannar
10. Tiwal Sawat
11. Snehet
12. Ngel-ngel
13. Ngel-ngel
14. Baiut Ntya Nit
15. Sosoi
16. Tari Busur Panah
17. Dzikir Samman: Allahu Allah
18. Qasidah Rifai: Baghdadi
19. Kata Syeh: Baqada Imuhai

References Cited

See liner note addendum for list of 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, series editor Philip Yampolsky added some further references that were not cited in the text but are relevant to the topics discussed there.

Addendum: Outline of Dabus Performance

The following is an outline of the *dabus* performance witnessed and recorded by Philip Yampolsky and his colleagues in Desa Talaga, Kecamatan Ibu, in Halmahera, on 5-6 September 1997. The performance was held in the home of Radjab Sahib, the Kepala Desa Talaga. The outline is based on Aton Rustandi Mulyana's field notes.

1. *Niat* (statement of intention) by the host, addressed to all present.
2. Incense was burned. While reciting *shalawat Nabi* (praises of the Prophet) silently ("in their hearts"), all the participants (meaning here the invited officiants, singers, and drummers, not the *pemain* or "players" who would stab themselves with the awls) scattered flowers into the middle of the performance space.



The *imam* recited the *niat* silently, then he spoke the word *niat* aloud three times, repeated each time by participants. Then the *imam* said *hadir* ("come," or "be present") three times, again repeated by the participants. Then the *imam* recited the *Bismillah*, followed by *Surat Quraesin* (QS [al-Qur'an Suci] 106), followed by *Surat al-Fatihah* (QS 1) twenty times.

Tawasul: the *imam* recited several prayers and praises of the Prophet and his followers, including the founders and teachers of the brotherhood (*aliran*) and the ancestors of the invited participants.

3. A moment of silence. The *imam* recited the *niat* again and prayers. Then *Surat al-Ikhlās* three times, *Surat al-Falaq* three times, *Surat an-Nas* once, *Surat al-Fatihah* once, verses 1–15 of *Surat al-Baqarah*, and part of the *Ayat Kursi*.

4. Incense was burned again, while the *imam* recited the *Bismillah* and prayers. Then *toki rabana*: the drums were struck seven times, then five times, then three times.

5. *Hadrat (shalawat)*.

6. Incense was burned, and the iron awls were held over the smoke. The *imam* used the awls on himself, calling *hadir hadir hadir*, before turning them over to the *dabus* "players."

7. The *dabus* proper, with *pemain* stabbing themselves with awls, began here. The texts sung were, in order:

Dzikir Rifai *Saribul Lana*
 Dzikir Rifai *Ya Ibrahima*
 Qasidah Rifai *Alal Auliya*
 Dzikir Rifai *Ya Rasulullah*
 Dzikir Samman *Allahu Allah* [track 17]
 Dzikir Samman *Ya Rabbi Salim*
 Qasidah Rifai *Baghdadi* [track 18]
 Dzikir Rifai *Madhun*

8. The *syeh* declared the performance finished, then he and the participants recited a *kalimat* eleven times. This was a choral recitation beginning with *Bismillah* and ending with *Hakullah*. Then a prayer.

9. *Kata syeh* [track 19]. All performers stood. This began with prayers and singing, then the *syeh's* dance. The singing was *Baqada Imuhai*.

10. The performers sat again. The *imam* recited "a long *ayat*" to give the *syeh* time to catch his breath.

11. Final prayer. Each of the participants shook hands with all the others and left the house.

MUSIC OF INDONESIA VOL. 19: Music of Maluku: Halmahera, Bura, Kei

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. 32-page booklet with map. 74 minutes. SFW 40446 (1999)

This file provides transcriptions of one of the texts sung in Volume 19 of the 20-volume *Music of Indonesia* series published by Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.

In addition to the song text, there is an addendum on the course of the *dabus* ritual we recorded (see first page of Liner Notes), and the list of 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. – Philip Yampolsky

Track 2. Lagu togal

—transcribed (from Bahasa Moi [West Makianese]) and translated by Philip Yampolsky in consultation with the singer and musicians

Harape la danasib omo
padahal la isia-sia

I [woman] thought our love would
succeed, but in the end it failed

Tawado ni amo omo
ni amo la ipele pili

I [woman] thought I knew your [man's]
heart, but it seems you still want to
shop around

Nima wiyo dahalma wiyo
fato fato dedo bebewi

Even though he is not with me, there are
still lots of people for me

Isade la damacang mine
isa amo de safo wiyo

You have already hurt me once; don't do
it again

Kasiang dasawan wolot
coba yo ma tasagal gou

Too bad he is across the water, otherwise
I'd walk to him

Biasa to hida-hida
hida ua badan gogola

I'm used to meeting him that if one time
we don't meet my body feels ill

Gudu ma la towaji lofo
tokarana firani nyinga

Far feels like near because our hearts are
tied together

REFERENCES CITED IN THE PUBLISHED COMMENTARY FOR VOLUME 19

- Adaptasi masyarakat Makian di tempat yang baru (Malifut).* [Jakarta]: Proyek Inventarisasi dan Nilai-nilai Budaya, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1988/1989.
- Andaya, Leonard Y. *The world of Maluku: eastern Indonesia in the early modern period.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993.
- Barraud, Cécile. "Guerre et paix à Kei." *Cahiers de Littérature Orale* 6:138-159, 1980.
- Biro Pusat Statistik. *Peta indeks desa tertinggal propinsi Bali, NTB, NTT, Tim-tim, Maluku dan Irian Jaya, 1995.* (Seri PT 04A.) Jakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, [1996a].
- . *Daftar nama desa tertinggal dan tidak tertinggal menurut propinsi dan kabupaten/kotamadya di pulau Bali, NTB, NTT, Timtim, Maluku, dan Irian Jaya, 1995.* Jakarta: Biro Pusat Statistik, [1996b].
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Shari'a court, tarekat and pesantren: religious institutions in the Banten sultanate." *Archipel* 50:165–200, 1995.
- . "Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia." Unpublished article.
- Chauvel, Richard. *Nationalists, soldiers and separatists: the Ambonese islands from colonialism to revolt, 1880–1950.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 143.) Leiden: KITLV Press, 1990.
- Dijk, Toos van, and Nico de Jonge. "After sunshine comes rain: a comparative analysis of fertility rituals in Marsela and Luang, south-east Moluccas." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146(1):3–20, 1990.
- End, Th. van den. *Ragi carita: sejarah gereja di Indonesia, 1: th. 1500–th. 1860an.* Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1980.
- . *Ragi carita: sejarah gereja di Indonesia, 2: 1860-an–sekarang.* Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1989.
- Foley, Kathy. "The dancer and the danced: trance dance and theatrical performance in West Java." *Asian Theatre Journal* 2(1):28–49, 1985.
- Geurtjens, H. *Uit en vreemde wereld, of het leven en streven der inlanders op de Kei-eilanden.* 's-Hertogenbosch: Teulings' Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1921.
- Gieben, Claartje, Renée Heijnen, and Anneke Sapuletej. *Muziek en dans, spelletjes en kinderliedjes van de Molukken.* Hoevelaken: CPS pg OOM [Christelijk Pedagogisch Studiecentrum, projectgroep Ondersteuning Onderwijs Molukkers], 1984.
- Grimes, Barbara Dix. "Buru inside out," pp.59–78 in: Leontine E. Visser, ed. *Halmahera and beyond: social science research in the Moluccas.* (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Proceedings, 1.) Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
- Hanna, Willard A. *Indonesian Banda: colonialism and its aftermath in the nutmeg islands.* Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, c.1978. [Reprinted, Banda Naira: Yayasan Warisan dan Budaya Banda Naira, 1991.] xii, 164 pp.
- Jonge, Nico de, and Toos van Dijk. *Forgotten islands of Indonesia: the art & culture of the southeast Moluccas.* [N.p.]: Periplus Editions, c.1995.
- Kartomi, Margaret J. "Dabuih in West Sumatra: a synthesis of Muslim and pre-Muslim ceremony and musical style." *Archipel* 41:33–52, 1991.
- . "Experience-near and experience-distant perceptions of the *dabōih* ritual in Aceh, Sumatra," pp. 247–260 in: Rüdiger Schumacher, ed. *Von der Vielfalt musikalischer Kultur: Festschrift für Josef Kuckertz zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres.* (Wort und

- Musik: Salzburger akademische Beiträge, 12.) Salzburg: Verlag Ursula Müller-Speiser, 1992.
- . "Revival of feudal music, dance, and ritual in the former 'spice islands' of Ternate and Tidore," pp. 184–210 in: Virginia Matheson Hooker, ed. *Culture and society in New Order Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- . "Is Maluku still musicological *terra incognita*? An overview of the music-cultures of the province of Maluku." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* [Singapore] 25(1):141–171, March 1994.
- Kunst, Jaap. "Music and dance on the Kai islands," pp.205–231 in: Jaap Kunst. *Indonesian music and dance: traditional music and its interaction with the West*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute / Tropenmuseum / University of Amsterdam / Ethnomusicology Centre 'Jaap Kunst,' 1994. [First published in Dutch, 1945.]
- Martin, K. *Reisen in den Molukken, in Ambon, den Uliassern, Seran (Ceram) und Buru: eine schilderung von land und leuten*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1894.
- New Grove dictionary of American music*. London: Macmillan, 1986.
- Ricklefs, M. C. *A history of modern Indonesia since c.1300*. 2nd ed. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1993.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C. *The Achehnese*. A. W. S. O'Sullivan, trans. 2 vols. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1906.
- Tauern, Odo Deodatus. *Patasiwa und Patalima: vom Molukkeneiland Seran und seinen Bewohnern: ein Beitrag zur Völkerkunde*. Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1918.
- Valeri, Valerio. "Autonomy and heteronomy in the Kahua ritual: a short meditation on Hualu society." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146(1):56–73, 1990.
- Vredenburg, J. "Dabus in West Java." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 129 (2/3):302–320, 1973.
- Vriens, G. *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia, 2: wilayah tunggal prefektur-vikariat, abad ke-19–awal abad ke-20*. Jakarta: Bagian Dokumentasi Penerangan, Kantor Waligereja Indonesia, 1972.
- Wilken, G. A. "Bijdrage tot de kennis der Alfoeren van het eiland Boeroe." *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 38:1–61, 1875.
Reprinted, pp. 25–98 in: F. D. E. van Ossenbruggen, ed. *De verspreide geschriften van Prof. Dr. G. A. Wilken*, vol. 1. Semarang: G. C. T. van Dorp, 1912.

Additional references not cited in the text of vol. 19:

- Fraassen, Ch. F. van. "Ternate and its dependencies," pp.23–33 in: Leontine E. Visser, ed. *Halmahera and beyond: social science research in the Moluccas*. (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Proceedings, 1.) Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
- "Notizen über Musik und Gesänge der malaiischen Eingeborenen auf den Sundainseln und molukkischen Inseln (Ost-Indien). Von einem Ohrenzeugen." *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 42:1057–1063, 1840.
- Probojo, Lany. *Tradition und Moderne in Tidore, Indonesien: die Instrumentalisierung islamischer Rituale und ihre politische Relevanz*. (Südostasien, 8.) Münster: Lit, 1998. 305 pp.
- Trimingham, J. Spencer. *The Sufi orders in Islam*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Tsuchiya, Kenji and James Siegel. "Invincible kitsch or as tourists in the age of Des Alwi." *Indonesia* 50:61–76, October 1990.