Vocal and Instrumental Music from East and Central Flores

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MUSIC OF INDONESIA 8
Vocal and Instrumental Music from East and Central Flores

These 1993 and 1994 recordings present the virtually unknown, rich and highly diverse singing traditions from the eastern regions of the island of Flores, an island east of Bali. Among the wonderful traditions included here are polyphonic singing styles strikingly similar to some Balkan music, large powerful choruses from Sikka, music for double flute and also gong and drum ensembles. Extensive notes and map complement these remarkable recordings.

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky.
Produced in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts (MSPI).

SIKKA REGENCY: CENTRAL REGION
1. Jalae Men’s chorus 5:08
2. Lero Men’s chorus 7:46
3. Sora Men’s chorus with drums 9:25
4. Gong Bladung Blabat Gongs and drums 8:25
5. Oambele Mixed chorus 6:42

EAST FLORES (FLORES TIMUR) REGENCY: TANJUNG BUNGA REGION
6. Bau Leko (excerpt) Women’s duets 5:00
9. Lelu Lia (excerpt) Double-flute solo 3:52
10. Lalu Gokok (excerpt) Women’s duets 3:34

NGADA REGENCY: TOTO REGION
12. Gore Mixed chorus 5:11
14. Gore: Taku Dhenge De Mixed chorus 1:45
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14. Gore: Taku Dhenge De Mixed chorus 1:45

Tracks 12-14 recorded in Ds. Totomala, Perwakilan Kec. Aesesa, Kab. Ngada.

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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 USA) 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 3000 islands (out of nearly 13,700 in the archipelago). Nearly three-quarters of the population lives in rural areas; on the other hand, the capital, Jakarta, is one of the largest cities in the world, both in area and in population. Most Indonesians (about 90%) 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 bureauclerat, 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, or xylophone) are found everywhere, and so 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. Nevertheless, 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 special
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.

**Flores**

Flores is the second-largest island in the chain that starts with Bali and runs east to Timor. In Indonesian these islands are collectively called Nusa Tenggara ("the southeastern islands"); in English they are still often known by the old-fashioned term the "Lesser Sundas" (recalling a time when the "Sunda Islands" was the name for much of what is now Indonesia). Despite the presence of some forests, this is a dry, savanna region; the eastern segment of the chain, which includes Flores, gets the least rain of any part of Indonesia.

Shaped like a scraggly fish, Flores is some 225 miles long, with a back-curving hook at the eastern end. Sixteenth-century Portuguese sailors called this hook Cabo das Flores ("cape of flowers"), and eventually the keyword came to be used for the island as a whole. (The Malay/Indonesian name for the hook, Tanjung Bunga, has the same meaning as the Portuguese name; one is presumably a translation of the other, but it is not known which came first.)

The population of Flores, according to the 1990 census, was 1,430,000, with over one-third living in the westernmost of the island's five regencies or kabupaten; the rest is evenly distributed across the other four regencies, with 200,000-250,000 persons in each. The regency at the eastern end of the island, Flores Timur ("East Flores"), also includes a number of smaller islands to the east, of which the most important are Solor, Adonara, and Lembata. As the result of remarkably successful missionary work, mostly in the twentieth century, approximately 85% of the population of Flores and the smaller islands is Roman Catholic. Four of the regencies—Manggarai, Ngada, Ende, and Sikka—are named for prominent ethnic/linguistic groups, and on that pattern Flores Timur could be named "Lamaholot," as speakers of that language are the most numerous group in the regency. But the actual situation is much more complicated than these names suggest, since most regencies contain groups speaking languages other than the "main" one, or "dialects" that are "transitional" between one language and another; moreover, within most language groupings there are subgroups exhibiting great differences in social and cultural practice.

To take one regency as an example: in Kabupaten Ngada there is indeed a group known to linguists and ethnographers as "the Ngadha," living mainly in the western portion of the regency. But as Roy Hamilton writes (see "Further Reading," below), "recent field research has uncovered so many localized cultural differences in the Ngadha areas that it is now difficult to speak of Ngadha customs in a general way."
There are other groups in the regency—particularly "the Nage"—to whom the same statement could be applied. Then there are those who believe the Flores of Timur and others about whom so little is known that it is uncertain whether they are distinct peoples or instead subgroups of other ethnic entities. (This is a murky topic in any case: how exactly do we determine what is a distinct ethnic group and what is a sub-group?) We find the same difficulties of classification in other regencies as well, but for the Florenese themselves the problems do not arise: it is usually enough to identify a group by the name of its village or region, and to remark on its peculiarities or its similarities to other groups in other places.

Until the first decade of the twentieth century, when the Dutch established active colonial authority in Flores, no single power had ruled the whole island in at least five hundred years. The sultanes of Bima (in eastern Sumbawa), Gowa (in southern Sulawesi), and Ternate (in Maluku) had controlled various territories, and the Portuguese (whose influence after the early 1600s was mainly religious) had had nominal control of eastern Flores and a region on the southern coast of what is now the Sikka residency up until 1835. The Portuguese, and later the Dutch, gave certain local rulers titles like raja, but the titles did not necessarily denote cultural homogeneity in the rulers' subjects. (The rajadoms were abolished after Independence.)

If we try to look beyond the too-broad outlines of the standard ethnolinguistic groupings and the superficial unities of regencies or rajadoms imposed by the colonial and national governments, Flores presents a highly fragmented picture. Ethnographically, it is an island inhabited by small, independent groups, supporting themselves by shifting cultivation. (Or rather, it was: the Indonesian government is working hard to encourage permanent-field agriculture.) Until the era of modern transportation, and to some extent even today, the difficult, mountainous terrain of the interior has tended to isolate mountain peoples from the coastal ones and, to a lesser extent, from each other; it has also separated the people of the north coast from those of the south. As a result, individuals have traditionally felt their primary social allegiance to be to their village. Inter-village warfare and seizure of territory by conquest were common until the early 1900s, when such practices were finally suppressed by the colonial government.

The Music of Flores

The same fragmentation that we see in the ethnic composition of Flores we also find in the island's music. While there seems to be some similarity in instrumental music from region to region, there is no apparent consistency in the vocal music. Neighboring regions sing in radically different ways, and even within the music of a single group there may be great contrasts in styles. Flores was evidently designed as a textbook anthology of vocal music: there is singing in parallel intervals, harmony based on thirds (like standard Western-music harmony), harmony not based on thirds, melody with drone, unison and multi-part choruses, and occasional instances of true counterpoint. When our recording team first came to Flores, we intended to record twenty-five minutes to fit into an album on eastern Nusa Tenggara; faced with such diversity, we wound up with two full albums for Flores alone. We have no comprehensive explanation to offer for this musical multiplicity. Perhaps some of it can be accounted for by groups migrating from one area to another and bringing their music with them: this could lead to contrasting stylistic enclaves within a region, and might also give rise to local hybrid styles unknown elsewhere. To determine the extent of such fragmentation and hybridizing would require a musical mapping of the whole of Flores and a correlated study of village histories—a task for a brigade of ethnomusicologists. In the meantime, perhaps it is enough to sample the variety, as we do in these albums, and to marvel at the human ability to invent structures for sound.

The two albums are roughly geographical in arrangement. Volume 8 presents music from the eastern regencies, Flores Timur and Sikka, and gets partway into the west-central regency of Ngada. Volume 9 presents music from three communities in Ngada and one in the westernmost regency, Manggarai. The emphasis is on vocal music, and especially on polyphonic singing—music in which some singers deliberately sing pitches or rhythms different from those sung by others. Purely instrumental music is less prominent in these albums (it occurs only in Volume 8), not because it is unimportant in Flores, but because we did not find the striking differences in instrumental music from place to place that we found in vocal music. Instrumental music got crowded out. But our survey was hardly comprehensive, for either type. We look forward to the work of other researchers who can show us what we have missed.

SIKKA REGENCY (Tracks 1-5 and 11)

The population of the Sikka regency falls into three main groups. In the western region live Lio-speakers, who are linked with the Lio further west (in the Ende regency). The central region is inhabited by two ethnic groups, Ata Sikka and Ata Krowe, both of whom speak Sikka. (The term ata, meaning "people," is often used in designat-
ing ethnic groups in Flores. "Sikka," without atu, is used here as both a place-name and the name of a language.) Sikka is also the principal language of the eastern region, called Tana Ai, but the Ata Tana Ai, who are matrilineal, are ethnically distinct from the patrilineal Ata Sikka and Ata Krowe.

Central Sikka is the most densely populated region in eastern Nusa Tenggara. Of the two groups living there, the Ata Krowe are the earlier-established. The Ata Sikka, who according to legend originally came from Siam, arrived in Flores in the fourteenth or fifteenth century; they landed at what is now the town of Sikka (or Sikka Natar), on the south coast, and drove the Ata Krowe up into the inland mountains. In 1607 an Ata Sikka man who had been educated by priests in Malacca was invested by the Portuguese as king (ratu) of Sikka; by 1613 Sikka was considered a Christian state, and it remained a Catholic stronghold throughout the subsequent period of missionary decline. The kingdom of Sikka became powerful throughout what is now Sikka regency, but for a period in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Dutch, who were trying to establish indirect authority in Flores, declared the raja of Sikka subordinate to the raja of Larantuka in East Flores. This did not sit well in Sikka and led to a number of armed clashes with Larantuka until eventually the Dutch restored Sikka's autonomy.

Tracks 1-5 come from three Ata Krowe communities in central Sikka, near Maunere. They consist of music for festivals (weddings, harvest celebrations, and ceremonies to mark certain stages in a person's life); several of these songs were originally associated with communal agricultural work but have now acquired other functions. Aside from a recording of gongs and drums for dance (track 4), these selections feature solo singers alternating with mixed or all-male choruses. One of the choruses (track 3) sings in unison and is accompanied by drums; the others sing in thirds-based harmony.

These choruses singing in harmony raise a question. In 1930, carrying bulky, fragile equipment for recording on wax cylinders, the Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst conducted a seven-week survey of music throughout Flores. In his report, published in 1942, he makes no mention of either harmony or choral refrains in Sikka, and he surely would have mentioned them if he had heard them. Conceivably he simply missed them—after all, he had only seven weeks for the entire island, and in those days a large part of the time would have been eaten up just in travelling from place to place. Another possibility is that the technical limitations of his recording equipment ("it is downright impossible," he complained, to record more than three voices "clearly and well" with his machines) led him to focus unconsciously on soloists and small groups, thus inadvertently conveying to his assistants and informants that they need not bring larger groups (which were perhaps more likely to sing in harmony) to his attention.

On the other hand, it is also possible that this kind of singing in harmony did not yet exist in Sikka at the time of Kunst's research. In that case, we would wonder what caused it to develop in the years since 1930. One hypothesis readily suggests itself: the influence of Catholic church music. But not enough is known at this point for us to say for sure that thirds-based harmony came into Sikka from that source, and in any case, what has been made of it in Sikka is a far cry from the idiom of present-day Indonesian church music.

Track 11 comes from the village of Runut, in the eastern part of Sikka, almost but not quite within the region known as Tana Ai. This music, sung during communal wedding, has little to do with the choruses of central Sikka. Instead it resembles the duet-singing of East Flores, and it may well have originated there, for the singers described their customs (adat) as those of "Sikka-Muhang"—Muhang being the very easternmost region of Sikka, where the dominant language is Lamaholot, not Sikka. By "Muhang" the singers could have been referring to that specific area, or more loosely to the Lamaholot-speaking region in general (i.e., East Flores). In any case, the description points to an East Floresen component in the culture of Runut, which supports the impression made by the weaving song.

FLORES TIMUR (FLORES) REGENCY (Tracks 6-10)

Flores Timur ("East Flores") was the first part of the island to experience contact with Europeans and Catholicism. The port of Larantuka, strategically situated on the east coast with easy access to the smaller islands further east, also had early contacts with Malay-speaking Muslim traders from all over what is now Indonesia, and it was for a while controlled by the sultanate of Ternate in Maluku. As a result, the language of Larantuka (and a few other smaller communities in the region) is today Indonesian (essentially identical to Malay), and the population is a mix of Floresen, other Indonesians, and Portuguese.

Outside Larantuka, East Flores (particularly the portion on the Flores mainland) appears to be culturally more homogeneous than other regencies. Albeit with many dialects, a single language, Lamaholot (also known in the literature as Solorese), is spoken on the mainland, on Solor and Adonara, and in part of Lembata. Despite the linguistic and cultural unity, villages here as elsewhere in Flores have frequently engaged in small
but deadly wars with their neighbors.

One musical feature (at least) sets East Flores off from the rest of the island. This is the singing of duets in a style that seems remarkably tight and tense to outsiders: melodies move by small steps within a narrow compass, and the intervals created by the two singers are often dissonant to ears accustomed to the standard Western idiom. If there is a chorus, it contributes only a unison interjection here and there, not the melodic refrains we found in Sikka. (The comparison leads us to ask: if the thirds-based harmony in Sikka comes from the church, why is it not also found in East Flores, where the church is just as strong?)

The distribution of this kind of singing is not yet known. Within Indonesia, we have so far found it only on the mainland of East Flores, and there mainly in Tanjung Bunga, the peninsular hook north and then west of Larantuka. We looked for it in Adonara and Lembata and could not find it, but our stay there was so brief that the results cannot be considered conclusive.

In 1954, Jaap Kunst pointed out that there were very strong similarities between this East Florenese music on the one hand and music to be heard in Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, and elsewhere in the Balkans, on the other. The likeness was so great that Kunst felt obliged to try to explain it; he did so by turning to the theory, propounded by Robert von Heine-Geldern, of a great migration eastward from the Balkans to Southern China around 800 B.C. Elements of Balkan music could have come to mainland Southeast Asia with those migrants. Kunst suggested, and could have travelled on to Flores in the diffusion of what is now known as the Dong-son culture, which is believed to have disseminated bronze drums, textile motifs, and other cultural traits throughout the islands.

For decades, ethnomusicologists have laughed at Kunst's theory, but that may be because there have been so few opportunities to hear recordings from East Flores. In fact, Kunst did not exaggerate: the resemblance is extraordinary. After hearing tracks 6-10 of this album, Mark Levy, a specialist in Balkan music, observed: "There are striking similarities with South Slavic singing in the areas of intonation, voice quality/production, harmonic relationships between the two voices, vocal 'warbling' techniques, melodic contours, cadential patterns, etc. The final high-pitched figure at the ends of song lines on the syllable ee is amazingly similar. In general, the similarity is strongest with styles of two-voiced drone-based singing in the Dinaric Mountains of Bosnia (ganga) and along the Adriatic coast (ofkanje), although the general feeling also reminds one of some styles of singing in Macedonia and western Bulgaria."

Without venturing an opinion on Heine-Geldern's 'Pontian migration,' we must still acknowledge a serious problem with Kunst's theory of musical diffusion. Kunst was not tracing diverse modern manifestations back to a common ancestor; instead he was claiming the essential identity of two widely separated present-day forms. His theory requires us to accept that Balkan music came to Flores (but nowhere in between) and remained the same, both in substance and in some detail, in both places, with no subsequent contact between the cultures, for the next 2000 or 2500 years. But this is simply not plausible: in the absence of a method of notation or an elaborate pedagogical system (such as the techniques of Vedic recitation) for transmitting the tradition, no music could stand still—without new ideas or gradual changes, no influences from outside—for even a few centuries, let alone millennia.

None of this diminishes the astonishing similarity between Balkan music and that of East Flores—and, according to the researcher Gerald Florian Messner, between these two areas and a third, the Manus island group north of Papua New Guinea. Our objections are only to the mechanics of the diffusionist theory. If one were forced to come up with an alternative explanation, one might wonder whether there is something in acoustics, or music psychology, or the logic of melodic syntax, that disposes a music relying on very small simultaneous intervals to employ the voice quality, cadences, and melodic contours we find in the Balkans, Manus, and East Flores.

All of our East Flores recordings (tracks 6-10) are sera, work songs for various activities of communal agriculture. The texts tend to consist of conventional verses relating to the work at hand. The form does not offer much opportunity for the spontaneous creation of texts, since the two singers must sing the same words together in rapid-fire syllables. On the other hand, the choice of which conventional text to sing when is probably made on the spot by one of the singers; the other must recognize the text and join in as soon as possible.

Four of the sera here are sung, and one is played by a single musician on a pair of flutes. All were recorded in Lamaojan, a community on the southern coast of Tanjung Bunga. There are two contrasting singing-styles in Tanjung Bunga (and perhaps throughout East Flores): the tight two-part style heard here, which is used in work songs and in rituals and ceremonies, and singing in unison (and thirds-based harmony), which is used in church and presumably also for the social round-dances sole and do-lo-dolo. We must be tentative about this, since we did not hear sole or do-lo-dolo singing. It was described to us, however, and one person remarked that there was a generational split: older people sing the
songs of the two-part style, but younger people know only sole and dolo-dolo songs. Both young and old sing the church songs.

Track 11 is, as we mentioned above, a work song resembling those of East Flores, though it comes from Runut, in the Sikka regency. The term in Runut for this song is belasti, an obvious cognate with the Lampa- holot term berasti. Musically, the harmony is less dissonant (in our terms) and the melod- ic movement freer than in East Flores, though the two styles are clearly related.

NGADA REGENCY: TOTO REGION
(Tracks 12-14)

Toto is a little-studied region in the north- east corner of the Ngada regency. It encompasses three sub-regions: Totomala and Tendatoto on the north coast (Totomala lying to the west of Tendatoto), and Utetoto in the mountainous interior. The inhabitants refer to themselves as "people of Toto." They say they originally came from Lio ter- ritory, further to the east, in Ende regency, and displaced the people then living in what is now the Toto region. (Those people then went west to Soa, in Ngada regency.) Their linguistic affinities are with the Lio, rather than with the people of Mbay and Riung to the west along the coast.

Our recordings were made in the village of Totomala, one kilometer from the north coast. Here, as virtually everywhere in Flo- res, the people are farmers, and the songs we present are work songs for communal agriculture. The Toto name for such songs is gore. On the evidence of these selections, gore use thirds and triads, as in standard Western harmony, but often (e.g., tracks 12 and 13) organize them in sequences that do not follow the logic of Western tonality. As with the choral songs of Sikka, there is nothing like these gore reported in Kunst's survey for either Ngada regency or for the Lio-speakers to the east.

This gore idiom is not the only one heard in Toto music. Some of the music for the festival round dance tekese (not included here) involves a melody or intervals sung by a few singers over a drone sustained by a larger chorus. In name and form, tekese resembles the teke dance found further west in the Ngada regency, and the idiom of these Toto songs with drone strongly resembles that used by some groups in Ngada for teke (e.g. Volume 9, track 5).

FURTHER READING

Listeners who want the texts of the songs heard in Volumes 8 and 9, together with a more extensive bibliography than there is room for here, can get them by sending their name and address, along with a check for $2.00 (for postage and handling) payable to the Smithsonian Institution, io: Indonesian Texts 8-9, Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 2600, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560, USA.

Further reading. Roy Hamilton's Gift of the Cotton Maiden, though it was prepared to accompany a museum exhibition of textiles, is actually an exemplary (and splendidly illustrated) introduction to the cultural ethnography of Flores. Kunst's Music in Flores is the report of his 1930 survey; it is the only study of the island's music, but, as we have indicated above, a surprising amount of what we encountered in the 1990s is not described there. Kunst's 1954 paper (revised in 1960) presents his observations and theo- ries regarding the similarities between music in Flores and in the Balkans. Metzner, pri- marily concerned with agricultural eco- nomics, provides almost incidentally an admirable history of the Sikka regency and much valuable detail on the customs and daily life of the communities whose music is heard in the first part of this album.


Metzner, Joachim K. Agriculture and popu- lation pressure in Sikka, Isle of Flores. (Development Studies Centre Monograph No. 28.) Canberra & Miami: Australian National University, 1982.

Further Listening: So far as we know, there are no other published recordings of music from Flores. There is however, an excellent album from the Toraja people of Southern Sulawesi: (Indonesia, Toraja: Funesailles et fetes de fecondite, compiled by Dana Rap-
COMMENTARY ON THE SELECTIONS

SIKKA REGENCY: CENTRAL REGION

1. Jalae
2. Lero

Performers: members of Sanggar Budaya Mawarane, based in Dusun Rane, Desa Tebuk, Kecamatan Nita.

Both Jalae and Lero are originally work songs, appropriate for communal agriculture, building a house, or other activities that require a large group of workers. They are now also used as songs for the togo dance, which is performed at weddings, harvest festivals, and other celebrations, and it is the togo version of these songs that is heard here. Togo is normally done at night, by torchlight: dancers form a semicircle, holding hands, their shoulders touching, and shuffle from side to side. Solo dancers may break out and dance in front of the line. Besides offering entertainment to adults, nighttime togo dances provide excellent opportunities for young men and women to get to know each other.

Both of these songs consist of solo passages and choral refrains, with the soloist sometimes overlapping the chorus. The texts may be proverbs, or verses concerning the particular work activity involved, or they may be spontaneous comments on current events in the village and the foibles of certain persons. There are usually two song-leaders (whose job, during communal work projects, is simply to sing). For the primary soloist, we were given the terms narong and not (cf. noot, the Dutch term for a musical note), and for the supporting soloist, dorong or dolong. Each soloist strikes a half-coconut shell, korok, as a time-keeper. The chorus, which sings in thirds-based harmony, is called bokang or orong.

These performers belong to a village-based cooperative association called a sanggar (lit. a "studio" or "workshop") which presents programs of traditional music and dance—for tourists or government visitors, typically, but conceivably also for television or arts-festival audiences. Tour-guides arrange for the sanggar to receive a group of spectators at a given time; the sanggar in Rane usually performs for half an hour or forty-five minutes, and then invites the audience to watch demonstrations of weaving and dyeing and purchase textiles made by female members of the sanggar.

The sanggar is a relatively recent and increasingly common phenomenon in Indonesian artistic life, reflecting widespread interest in presenting local arts to outsiders. Although sanggar performances are often overly self-conscious and mechanical, with an emphasis on pretty faces and costumes, the ones in Rane have managed to retain the high energy and involvement of a performance for the village audience.

When we asked a leader of the Rane group how their performances differed from ones for villagers, he answered that the difference was mainly in the length and texts of songs: when sung in a village performance, he said, a song may go on for a long time because the texts involve spontaneous exchanges between singers, whereas in performances for tourists such exchanges are omitted.

3. Sora
Performers as for tracks 1 and 2.

Sora is performed at domestic and community celebrations. There may be dancers, but, in contrast to togo, dance is not essential to the performance, and it is not the singers themselves who do it. The word sora means "verse," and the content of the verses is of primary importance. One of the main uses of sora is (or was) on occasions that demand negotiation or consensus—most commonly during bride-price negotiations, or at weddings if one of the parties is still not satisfied. The conflict is worked out by representatives of each side, who declare their positions by singing improvised verses; the sora cannot conclude until both parties are in agreement. Sora may also be performed (as here) without the antagonistic structure, in which case the verses concern the occasion being celebrated (the construction of a new house, the beginning of a new
A performance can last for many hours on end.

In Rane, sora is sung by soloists and a unison male chorus (unison until the closing section, Elle Larang, which is sung in thirds), to the accompaniment of anywhere from five to thirty gedang, small single-headed drums open at the bottom. (In other Ata Krowe communities, sora may be accompanied by the gong waning ensemble heard in track 4.) Five gedang are heard in this recording; from large to small, they are named inan ("mother"), iepen, loban, anah ha ("child number one"), and anah ru ("child number two"). Unlike the Elle Larang closing, they play in a rapid triple meter (twelve-eight) that seems very loosely connected, if at all, to the singing.

4. Gong Bladung Blabat
Performers: members of Sanggar Gayu Baru, based in Dusun Gere, Desa Koting A, Kecamatan Mamuran. The ensemble of drums and hand-held gongs is found throughout central Sikka, under the name gong waning (waning being a single-headed drum, closed at the bottom, unlike the gedang). In the ensemble recorded here, there are eight players: one for each of five shallow, medium-sized bossed gongs (named, from low pitch to high: inan, depun, biet, udon, and anah), one for each of the drums (waning inan, played with one stick and one bare hand, and waning anah, played with two sticks), and one for a struck bamboo time-keeper (saur). Elsewhere in Sikka the number of gongs and other aspects of the instrumentation may vary, and in some places (including Rane) singers may join the group. (There used to be singing with gong waning in this village, Gere, but no one associated with the sanggar knows how to do the singing any more.) Gong waning plays for dancers at domestic and village festivals. These are the same occasions on which one might hear sora (track 3), and indeed at a big festival both might perform. A popular dance is the tari hegang, for which the music in track 4 is appropriate. This is not a dance with synchronized choreography; instead, male and female dancers enter the dance space and execute the fast hegang step on their own. A few dancers or many may be dancing at the same time, each demonstrating his or her ability without regard to the others.

The music consists of a repeating melodic pattern to which each gong contributes its pitch whenever it is needed. The two lowest gongs apparently play one pattern throughout, but the upper gongs can add variations, the highest one being the clearest. The singer gives signals to start while the drums signal endings and, in this recording, lead a tightly controlled acceleration near the end.

5. Oambele
Performers: members of Sanggar Seka Den-dang, based in Dusun Wetakara, Desa Watuluwung, Kecamatan Kewa Pante. Oambele is a work song that used to be sung during the communal hoeing of a field in preparation for planting. A line of thirty or forty people would advance, side by side, across the field, swinging their hoes in time to the beats struck on the coconut shell. According to the leader of the sanggar in Wetakara, it is not sung during hoeing any more, because there are not enough singers who can serve as soloists. The present version is probably more sober (in two senses) than what one would hear in the fields, where the singing would be punctuated with shouts to keep the workers in line and calls for food and palm wine. The sung texts would include praises of the people whose land was being worked, since such praise would dispose them to be generous with refreshments.

According to Joachim Metzner, the long-handled hoe was introduced into Sikka agriculture by the Dutch before World War II, but the people refused to use it for fear of loosening too much soil and losing it to erosion. The traditional tool was a dibble. Eventually, however, the hoe was accepted, and it has by now superseded the earlier implement. In the days when fields were worked by dibbling, workers sat or squatted, and they sang not Oambele, which is suited to synchronized, forceful activity, but instead another kind of music, hempoqito, now obsolete, which presumably had less rhythmic impetus. (Perhaps it resembled the Toto gore songs, tracks 12-13, which are also performed by squatting singers.)

To the researchers in our team (Indonesians and non-Indonesians alike), the mood of Oambele seemed deeply sorrowful. When we asked about this, some people said that it is indeed sad, since it recalls the backbreaking labor their ancestors endured in the time before the hoe; others, however, said that Oambele makes one feel happy, because the hoe has made the work less arduous.

In our recording, the first part of Oambele consists of solos by a leader (kolo) and the responder (kelo or kohon), and several different refrains and interjections sung by the chorus (called orong or bohong, as in Rane). But about halfway through, the song seems to change character. While the chorus and soloists continue, a group of men superimpose upon them what sounds like a completely different music. Their singing, called o eng, is a vocal representation of gong waning (cf. track 4)—vocal because bringing musical instruments to the fields was not allowed. O eng was sung at the end of a day's work, or before a break; it was also sung when the line of workers had reached the boundary of the field and would have to make a turn to the right or left, or back in the other direction.
The people of Wetakara and Watuliuwung (a grouping of small communities that includes Wetakara) are understandably proud of Oumbele. They claim it as their own and have managed to get it taught in schools as part of the local heritage: it has been adapted to church use, as well, with a Christian text. It seems likely, though we do not know this for sure, that the Oumbele heard here is in some sense a festival or "concert" version of the original work song; but if so it was prepared with remarkable ingenuity and sensitivity, and almost certainly by a local composer. (In this context it is relevant to point out that Wetakara gets few tourists, and the sanggar has nothing in its repertoire but Oumbele, which is not enough to support a tourist program; thus the festival version, if that is what this is, was not prepared to suit the tourist aesthetic.)

We also encountered Oumbele in Rane, where it is one of the work songs included, along with Jalae and Leru, as part of the togo dance. (While togo is done in Watuliuwung, Oumbele is not part of it.) In comparison to Wetakara's version, Rane's is less complex and less striking. It is sung in what is, to Western-trained ears, a major tonality, instead of Wetakara's minor one; the tempo is faster in Rane, and the song is structurally simpler, consisting of only one choral melody (the one heard at the third entrance of the chorus here) in alternation with a brief solo.

**EAST FLORES (FLORES TIMUR) REGENCY: TANJUNG BUNGA REGION**

Tracks 6-10 present work songs (berasi) recorded in Lamaojan, a hamlet five minutes' walk from the southern coast of the Tanjung Bunga peninsula. There has been virtually no interest from outside in the music of Lamaojan, and the musicians we recorded do not belong to a sanggar.

Every berasi we were told about is associated with a particular kind of communal work. Berasi nine, for example, is for cutting trees and clearing brush to open a field; berasi kremet is for weeding a field. Often, the connection between song and task is still more specific: many songs are appropriate only to a certain kind of work performed at a certain time of day. Bau Leko (track 6) and Lalu Gokok (track 10) are both sung while harvesting rice, but Bau Leko is sung early in the morning and Lalu Gokok somewhat later, though still in the morning; a third song, Be Odong (not included here) is also for rice-harvesting, but is sung only in the late afternoon.

The words of the two women's songs here (tracks 6 and 10) may include conventional texts, usually about love (of God, of one's parents and elders, or of one's sweetheart), and may also contain topical commentary on village events and personalities. In contrast, we were told that the texts of the two berasi kremet (tracks 7, 8), sung by men, are "fixed," which could mean that they are invariable from start to finish, or more likely that they are made up of conventional verses and proverb chosen spontaneously from the singers' repertoire; in any case, it was emphasized that berasi kremet texts do not contain a topical element.

The four vocal berasi here share a single musical system. (The instrumental berasi in track 9 is somewhat different.) All consist of strings of verses sung by pairs of singers. The singer who starts the melody is called the node (or, less commonly, kawa); the second singer, who is said to "follow" the first, is called the nuku. The melodies use five pitches, squeezed into the narrow range of a tritone—approximately C D Eb F# Gb, if we call the lowest pitch C. (The ethnomusicologist Gerald Florian Messner believes the pitch system is microtonal, using intervals smaller than the half-step. To determine whether it is structurally so—that is, whether the singers are deliberately contrasting their Eb with a pitch somewhere between D and Eb, and not simply aiming for Eb but hitting it a bit too low—requires a kind of cognitive research that to our knowledge has not yet been done in East Flores.)

The node covers the whole of this narrow melodic range, but the nuku sings mainly or exclusively in the lower part, leaving the upper one or two pitches to the node. The two parts interweave, since node and nuku frequently cross (i.e., node goes down to the bottom of the range, while nuku goes into the middle, above node). Both singers use the same text and same rhythm, but usually choose different pitches. The resultant simultaneous intervals, because their pitches are chosen from such a restricted range, are always narrow and often (in Western terms) dissonant.

6. Bau Leko (excerpt)
Sung by women of Sub-desa Lamaojan and neighboring communities in Desa Bahingga, Kecamatan Tanjung Bunga.

A berasi for harvesting rice, sung in the early morning.

7. Berasi kremet: Lego Mala Le Gelek (excerpt)
8. Berasi kremet: Oe Bala (excerpt)
Sung by men of Sub-desa Lamaojan and neighboring communities in Desa Bahingga. Berasi kremet are sung during the weeding of a field. Lego Mala Le Gelek is sung when a field is finished. Oe Bala in the late afternoon if the field is not yet finished and work on it will have to be resumed later.

9. Lelu Lia (excerpt)
Lure (double-flute) solo by Paulus Suban Maran, of Sub-desa Lamaojan.

Lelu Lia is a berasi, played here on the lure (pronounced lureng) by a man whom the
others deferred to as an expert. The lute consists of a pair of identical bamboo pipes, unattached, that are held by the player at an angle of 45 degrees or so and blown simultaneously. The pipes, about 30 cm long and about 1.5 cm in diameter, are blocked at the blowing end and open at the bottom; each has five finger-holes on the front and none on the back. As in the vocal berasi, the compass here is limited to a tritone, but the scale is slightly different: if the lowest tone is C, the scale is approximately C Db Eb F Gb. Technically, the flutes are of the external-dust or ring-stop variety: a blade of bamboo tied on at the blowing end covers a short groove in the wall of the tube. The blade and the groove form a resonator, and the player's mouth against the sharp edge of a hole cut into the tube at the bottom of the groove. Many unusual flutes—some considerably more complicated than this one—are found throughout Flores.

We were told in Lamoajan that all varieties of local song could be played on the lute. This statement is intriguing, since the lute's music is in one respect simpler than the singing: the "following" part, nuku, is here smoothed out to become a one-pitch drone. (In several other lute pieces that we recorded, the following part consists of one pitch until the cadence, when it descends to a second pitch; and in one piece containing two long melodic phrases, each phrase had its own drone pitch.) Is it possible that the vocal nuku part is thought of as being in essence a stationary drone, although in practice it hops among several of the tones of the lower and middle range?

10. Lalu Gokok (excerpt)
Performers as for track 6.

Another berasi for harvesting rice, sung later in the morning than Ban Leho. We were told that the title, which means "crowning rooster," compares the singers to the rooster, since both are loud and melodious, and both sing for a reason—the rooster to signal dawn, or rain, and the singers to convey a message (that is, to comment on local events and the behavior of individuals). Lalu Gokok may be sung by either men or women, but it is considered more properly a women's song.

11. Belasi (excerpt)
Performed by singers of Dusun Ewa and neighboring communities in Desa Runut, Perwakilan Waige, Kecamatan Talibura, Kabupaten Sikka.

We include this belasi to show a somewhat different style of singing that is nevertheless similar to that of Tanjung Bunga. Desa Runut is in the Sikka regency, as we said above, though its inhabitants acknowledge a connection to East Flores. The connection is musically evident in the dument structure heard here, which is so totally unlike the solo/choral structures of Rane or WetaKaraka. Still—perhaps because the Runut music is looser and more relaxed—it is tempting (though speculative) to see it as somehow more Sika-like than what we know from Tanjung Bunga. While the actual compass of the Runut melody is narrower than that of Lamoajan, there are fewer half-steps in the melody, and the harmony includes wider intervals and less dissonance. Instead of the convoluted interleaving of node and nuku in Lamoajan, here the two parts simply seem to march past each other and switch positions.

The belasi excerpted here is sung during weeding. In this context, however, it is performed in what the Runut singers (who constitute a sanggar, although they do not use a group name) called a "festival" manner—that is, as it would be for an official festival of the traditional arts. The difference, they said, was that in the field one pair of singers might continue for many verses, whereas in a festival each pair sings only one verse before another pair takes over. In our recording, the singers stood in a circle, and a man uttering cries of encouragement stamped and ran around the periphery.

NGADA REGENCY: TOTO REGION

12. Gore

13. Gore: Ana Redu Nedu

14. Gore: Taku Dhenge De
Performed by singers of Desa Totomala, Perwakilan Kecamatan Asesa. Gore among the Toto are work songs, the equivalent of berasi and belasi. The first two here are sung during weeding; we failed to note what work the third one is meant for. They may be sung by men, by women, or by both together. The singers in our recordings were concerned that their voices were not sufficiently blended; ideally, they said, they should have been singing all day, as they would in the field, so that by afternoon the blend would be true. The first two songs show a florid, triadic, tonally unpredictable style, while the third is simpler and more straightforward. (We asked whether the third song perhaps came from the church, but the singers all firmly said no.) Once again, the texts often involve commentary on local events and persons. Ana Redu Nedu, for example, is cast as the complaint of a wife who was seduced while her husband was far away looking for work, and we gathered that there were real people behind the song. At least some of the texts, like this one, are fixed, but they are apparently not always tied to melodies: the singers demonstrated, to our surprise, that the Ana Redu Nedu text could be sung to the melody here used for Taku Dhenge De.
RECORDING AND PERFORMANCE DATA

Recorded using a Sony TCD-D10 Pro DAT recorder and a Sonosax SX-PR mixer (customized to eight in, two out). Microphones: Sennheiser MKH-40s, Neumann KM-130s, and Electro-Voice RE-18s. All performances were commissioned for these recordings. All recordings were made on the island of Flores, in Nusa Tenggara Timur province.


Track 3: recorded outdoors in Rane, 28 July 1993. Performers as for tracks 1 & 2. (Some of the singers listed for tracks 1 & 2 perform as drummers on track 3.) Solo singers: Dominikus Dewa (nurong), Alexius Sewa (dolong).


Orthographic note: the official spelling of Indonesian languages does not use diacritical marks. However, for the convenience of English-speaking readers we distinguish among the three varieties of e in Flores, using the French system. (An unmarked e is neutral.) We have not supplied any diacriticals in personal names.
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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, 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, write to: Sekretariat MSPI, Kladenayon RT 02/1, Kepatihan Wetan, Surakarta 57129, Indonesia.

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We could not have recorded without the consent and support of local leaders of the community and the performing groups. In Rane, we thank Sergius Domi and Konradus, in Wetakara, Antonius Anton; in Gere, P. Daniel Kiti SVD, who convinced the musicians to allow us to record; in Ewa (Runut), Jakobus Jago Rede; in Totomala, the Kepala Desa, Gaspar Maga; and in Lamaon, Yohanes Bega Maran (Kepala Desa) and Rafael Raja Maran (Sekretaris Desa). We also thank our hosts in Totomala, Siribus Abugi and Fabiola Saribor. Mursal Esten, director of Akadem Seni Karawitan Indonesia at Padang Panjang, generously released Hanefi from his teaching duties to join the research team. The Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies of the Smithsonian Institution, the Southeast Asia Regional Office of the Ford Foundation, and the Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia provided their usual excellent institutional, administrative, logistical, and clerical support, and Anthony Seeger and Richard Kennedy (CFPCS), Alan Feinstein (Ford), and Sal Murgianto (MSPI) gave personal guidance and assistance. Paul Blakemore, who designed the recording equipment package, answered many technical questions during the research and solved many problems in the mastering. For comments, answers, and clarifications during the writing of the notes, we thank Roy Hamilton, Mirjana Lau sevic, Mark Levy, and E. Douglas Lewis. If Alan Feinstein and Jennifer Lindsay don’t want to be thanked in every album, they shouldn’t be so helpful all the time. The only person more crucial to keeping the engine running is Tinuk Yampolsky.
About Smithsonian/Folkways
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MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 8:  
Vocal & Instrumental Music from East & Central Flores  
Liner note supplement 04/04/2008

Recorded, edited, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky.  70 minutes.  SWF 40424 (1994)

These 1993 and 1994 recordings present the virtually unknown, rich and highly diverse singing traditions from the eastern regions of Flores, an island east of Bali. Among the wonderful traditions included here are polyphonic singing styles strikingly similar to some Balkan music, large powerful choruses from Sikka, music for double flute and also gong and drum ensembles. (For additional music from this region, see MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 9: Vocal & Instrumental Music from Central & West Flores, and MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 16: Music from the Southeast: Sumbawa, Sumba, Timor.)

Track List

1. Jalae Men's chorus
2. Lero Men's chorus
3. Sora Me's chorus with drums
4. Gong Bladung Blabat Gongs and drums
5. Oambele Mixed chorus
6. Bau Leko (excerpt) Women's duets
7. Berasi Kremet: Lego Mala Le Gelek (excerpt) Men's duets
8. Berasi Kremet: Oe Bala (excerpt) Men's duets
9. Lelu Lia (excerpt) Double-flute solo
10. Lalu Gokok (excerpt) Women's duets
11. Belasi (excerpt) [from Sikka regency] Mixed duets
12. Gore Mixed chorus
13. Gore: Ana Redu Nedu Men's chorus
14. Gore: Taku Dhenge De Mixed chorus

Corrections to CD booklet text for Vol. 8:

During the final stages of publication of Volumes 8 and 9 (as well as Volume 7, which was published together with these two), project director Philip Yampolsky was off in Kalimantan recording the material for later volumes, and communications with Smithsonian Folkways became impossible. As a consequence, there are a number of misspellings and stylistic irregularities in the published commentary, as well as a few errors and omissions.

For example, the use of italics is non-standard: titles of books, recordings, and pieces of music are sometimes italicized and sometimes not; the same is true of instrument names and other foreign terms; and the names of population groups (e.g., Ata Krowé) are frequently italicized, contrary to standard practice and Yampolsky's preference. Photo captions were omitted, as were all diacritical marks, both from European-language words (Bärenreiter, für) and from words in Indonesian regional languages. Yampolsky had intended to distinguish among the three varieties of e in these languages; also, some Flores personal names (Kloä, Reë) use a dieresis that should not have been omitted.
In the map (p.2), Lubuhanbajo should be Labuhanbajo; Andonara should be Adonara; and Nebe should be omitted.

p.11 : The title of the Toraja album is Indonésie, Toraja: funérailles et fêtes de fécondité.

p.12 (L column) : perdominantly should be predominantly.

p.20 (tracks 1 & 2) : Darius Kloä, Kasianus Kloä.

p.21 (tracks 12 & 14) : Agnes Reë.

p.22 : The photograph on the front cover is by Endo Suanda (not Svanda).

p.23 (Acknowledgments) : Mirjana Lauševic.

Pronunciation guide: The official spelling of Indonesian languages does not use diacritical marks. However, for the convenience of English-speaking readers, we may distinguish among three varieties of e, using the French system. (An unmarked e is neutral.) Aside from c, which is pronounced as ch in church, consonants have more or less their standard English values, and vowels more or less their standard values in Spanish or Italian. Since the only ambiguities concern the letter e, only words containing e are listed below.

Names of places and population groups: Aésésa, Éndé, Ewa, Florès, Géré, Kéwa Panté, Krowé, Maumérê, Nagé, Nusa Tenggara, Rané, Tebuk, Téndatoto, Utétoto, Waigété, Wétakara.

Titles of songs or instrumental pieces: Ana Rédu Nédu, Bau Léko, Be Odong, Berasi Kremet, Berasi Niné, Élé Larang, Jalaé, Légo Mala Lé Gelek, Lélu Lia, Léro, Oambélé, Oé Bala, O èng, Taku Dhèngé Dé.

Other terms: béit, belasi, berasi, dépun, ékon, gedang, goré, hégong, hépompio, lèpèn, luré (pron. lurèng), Mawarané, nodé, o èng, Séka Déndang, solé, teké, tekesé.

Photo captions for volume 8:

Back (larger photo): Gong waning players (Dusun Géré).
Back (smaller photo): Singers (Lamaojan). This is one of the duos heard in tracks 6 and 10.

Updates by Philip Yampolsky (March 2000)

In describing the Tanjung Bunga style, we say that there are five tones squeezed into a tritone. This is true of the female songs we recorded, but in the male songs the ambitus is more like a perfect fifth (albeit a narrow one). Moreover, we say that in such a narrow ambitus the simultaneous intervals are "always narrow," as though this were a logical necessity. Not so: if the two voices sang at the extremes of their range the interval could be a tritone in the women's style or a perfect fifth in the men's style—neither of which could be called narrow intervals. What is true to say is that the simultaneous intervals, chosen from such a restricted range, are often narrow and (in Western terms) dissonant.
Additional References (added March 2000)


Further listening: So far as we know, the only other recording of music from Flores is Music of Indonesia: Flores (Celestial Harmonies 13175-2), recorded by Margaret Kartomi in central and western Manggarai. It was published after our Flores albums were issued, so we could not discuss it in our initial commentary, and we were unable to locate a copy in time to discuss it in this second edition either. An excellent album from the Toraja of Southern Sulawesi—Indonésie, Toraja: Funérailles et fêtes de fécondité (Le Chant du Monde CNR 274 1004), compiled by Dana Rappoport —offers intriguing similarities and contrasts to our Flores albums.