Vocal Music from Central and West Flores

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MUSIC OF INDONESIA 9
Vocal Music from Central and West Flores

These 1993 and 1994 recordings present the virtually unknown choral singing of Ngada and Manggarai of the island of Flores, an island east of Bali. The sounds, performed mainly at funerals and agricultural rituals, range from highly dissonant harmony to some rare instances of Indonesian counterpoint. 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).

NGADA REGENCY: BOAWAE REGION
1. Dhikiro Men's chorus 1:58
2. Zoka Men's chorus 7:46
3. Teo Ne Wea-Dioe Mixed chorus 5:26
4. Gogo Rego Mixed chorus 12:04
5. Teke song: Ana Geo (excerpt) Mixed chorus 8:05

NGADA REGENCY: BAJAWA REGION
6. Teke song: Kela Mixed chorus 4:17
7. Teke song: Pata Mixed chorus 3:54
8. Goegoe Mixed chorus 6:32

MANGGARAI REGENCY: BORONG REGION
9. Mbata song: Ndore (excerpt) Men's and mixed chorus, with gongs and drums 8:59
10. Wera Sarajawa (excerpt) Men's and mixed chorus 14:04
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Tracks 9-10 recorded in Ds. Tanah Rata, Perwakilan Kec. Borong, Kab. Manggarai.

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Series edited by Philip Yampolsky.

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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-curling 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, is 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 borderline groups, and still 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 1859. 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 rajadons 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 rajadons 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 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 contrasting singing-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 hybrids 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.
NGADA REGENCY (Tracks 1-8)

As we have already indicated, the ethnic composition of Ngada regency is complex. Very roughly, the Ngadha are in the west (centered on the hill town of Bajawa, which is the capital of the regency), and the so-called Nage-Keo are in the east. But the Nage-Keo are actually an administrative construct of the Dutch, who first created a rajadom in Boawae, for the Nage, then one in Maupongo for the Koe, and finally merged the two. Moreover, not everyone living in what used to be Nage-Keo was either Nage or Koe (the people of Mbay, Toto, and Ndora, for example, are apparently neither), and some groups living in the former Ngada rajadom (in the Soa valley) are more Nage than Ngadha. North of the Ngadha rajadom, along the coast, was another rajadom, Riung, whose peoples are culturally related to those of Rambong in Manggarai and Mbay in the old Nage-Keo territory. And, as we said earlier, each of the main ethnolinguistic groups encompasses a wide range of cultural variation.

This album presents music from three small communities in the present-day Ngada regency. Two of these, Dhere Isa and its neighbor Gero, lie within the former Nage territory. Gero is some ten kilometers northeast of Boawae, and Dhere Isa is another three kilometers further up the same road. The third community, Wogo, is in the former Ngada territory, southeast of Bajawa. We were told that the population of Dhere Isa was 715 in 1993; unfortunately, we were unable to get corresponding figures for Gero or Wogo.

Dhere Isa and Gero

Although the Indonesian administration has grouped Dhere Isa and Gero into a single village, Gero Dhere, there are surprising cultural differences between them. Separated by only three kilometers, they speak dialects that differ both lexically and phonetically—for example, the Gero dialect does not use ɾ, so the hamlet known in Indonesian (and to the people of Dhere Isa) as Gero is known to its own residents as Geo. Musically, they sing in strikingly divergent idioms, as this album demonstrates.

Perhaps what accounts for the dissimilarities is that the inhabitants of the two communities originate in different parts of Flores. The people of Dhere Isa say that their forebears lived near Gunung ("Mount") Nunudhere, in the inland part of the Nanggaro region to the east (thus outside the core Nage area; we are uncertain whether the people of Dhere Isa should be considered Nage or not). A plague of snails there drove the people west to Wolowea and Raja, where, as a reward for agreeing to fight with Wolowea against the Rendu people of Gunung Lambo, they were given the land they now live on. The people of Gero, on the other hand, say they came, seven generations back, from the Soa valley to the north of Bajawa, west of Boawae. (Soa, despite its location in the old Ngada territory, is culturally closer to Nage, and it is probably safe to consider the Gero people Nage.)

Tracks 1-4 present music from Dhere Isa. The first three are parts of the annual harvest festival, Gua Meze, which occurs in various forms and under various names throughout the core Nage region (that is, the vicinity of Boawae) and as far west as the Soa valley. A focal point of the festival is a highly formalized boxing tournament, known around Boawae as etu, in which men strike at each other clutching sharp, palm-fiber weapons in their hands. (Similar combat, using whips, is found in Manggarai, where it is called main cak.) Track 3 is music associated with this boxing tournament. Track 4 is from another festival, held in January, called Gua Ru, which asks for rain and for protection against insect and animal plagues.

There are in these Dhere Isa selections two distinct musical idioms, and listeners who come to this album by way of Volume 8 will quickly notice features in both idioms that they did not hear further east in Flores. In tracks 1 and 2, performed by a male chorus, there are passages of syllabic text sung by some of the men on a bass drone pitch and by the rest in a single melody line above it; and there are contrasting passages of parallel dissonant intervals (dissonant to Western-trained ears, that is: major ninths). In tracks 3 and 4, sung by a mixed chorus, there is a low-register melody, often moving under a middle-register drone; and further use of parallel dissonant intervals (here major and minor seconds and ninths). Both of the Dhere Isa idioms have a dark, bass-heavy overall sound. (A technical vocabulary associated with the mixed-chorus idiom is set forth in the commentary on track 3, below.)

Track 5 is an excerpt from a song for the round dance teke, as performed in Dhere Isa’s neighboring hamlet, Gero. This dance is widespread throughout the Ngada regency as entertainment at festivals: it is known in Toto (under the name tehehe), in Boawae, and in Ngadha communities such as Wogo (tracks 6 and 7 here). It is also known in Dhere Isa, where it is sung using the mixed-chorus idiom we have just described for tracks 3 and 4. In Gero, however, the vocal idiom is very different. There is still a drone, but it is at the bottom, not in the middle; harmony and melody are thus located in the middle and upper registers, so the sound is brighter. The harmony uses fewer dissonant intervals, and less pungent ones at that. Melody is minimal: in this style, songs consist mainly of solos answered by brief choruses in which conso-
nant thirds, fourths, and fifths (albeit sometimes piled on top of each other in such a way as to produce seconds as well) are sounded over the bass drone. The effect is of a series of chords or tone clusters with a fixed bottom pitch.

Our admittedly fragmentary survey suggests that this Gero idiom (which is also found in another Gero genre we recorded, oedoko) is common in much of the former Nage territory. We heard it in the Toto region (though we did not include it in the Toto selections on Volume 8), in Ndora, and in Boawae. (In contrast, we heard the Dhere Isa idiom nowhere outside of Dhere Isa.)

Wogo

Wogo, unlike Dhere Isa or Gero, occasionally draws tourists, who come to see the megalithic plazas and meeting ground of the old settlement (from which the inhabitants moved to their present location in 1932) or to witness the annual Reha festival, held in January (in Wogo and several other communities in the region) to celebrate the new year. The people of Wogo fall squarely within the Ngadha ethnolinguistic group.

Of the three Wogo songs here, two (tracks 6 and 7) come from the teke round dance, and one (track 8) is a dance song for Reha. Musically, each differs in some respects from the others, but by now the listener will not be surprised to hear that none of them sounds much like the music we have presented from Dhere Isa or Gero, let alone points east. The parallel dissonance and drone-over-melody of Dhere Isa, and the chords and clusters of Gero, are absent here. Instead we find several techniques that emerge for the first time in our survey: in track 6, singing in unadorned octaves, use of contrasting tempos, and wide parallel consonant intervals (tenths, twelfths) with no drone and no interior pitches; in track 7, repeated contrast between the chorus and the two duos; in track 8, use of short repeating phrases in both bass and treble, and their combination to form a simple counterpoint. Also, in all three tracks, there is an element of antiphony of groups of singers answering each other back and forth, that we have not heard in our selections so far.

This is not to say that none of these features can be found in other parts of Flores: our work was unsystematic, and if we did not encounter a given technique in a given place, this does not necessarily mean it does not exist there—though it is probably the case that the traits we have pointed out for any one region are more prominent there than elsewhere. With regard to antiphony and the alternation between large and small groups of singers, we did, in fact, find instances in the oedoko of Gero and in a teke performance in Boawae.

MANGGARAI REGENCY

(Tracks 9 and 10)

Of the five regencies, Manggarai covers the greatest amount of territory on mainland Flores and has the largest population. According to Hamilton, "in terms of ethnolinguistic classification, the people of western and central Manggarai are relatively homogeneous." Regarding the music of this west/central group, a Catholic missionary told us that the melodies contain great leaps and swoops. The Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst gave a different report, writing of "endlessly long tones, started in a powerful voice and gradually fading away; held on to the limit of breathing capacity, and connected one with the other by means of a slightly 'negative' melismas." Eager to hear all this, we arranged to record in a remote part of the Pongkor region of south-central Manggarai, but a few days before our recording date there was a death in the village. Rescheduling seemed insensitive, and in any case our own timing did not permit it: the singers would not have been willing to record until several weeks had passed.

Our recordings are, instead, from eastern Manggarai, which has been less studied ethnographically and which is considerably less homogeneous than the west and center. The people we recorded called themselves and their language Rongga. The Rongga are virtually invisible in the ethnographic literature; their only appearance in English is an incidental one in a chapter on a neighboring people's kinship terminology (see "Further Reading"). Our discussions with individuals who identified themselves as Rongga suggest that there is extensive intermixing of Rongga with other groups in eastern Manggarai, such as Manus and Kepok.

These eastern groups share at least some elements of culture—perhaps many—with the Manggarai to the west. In the Manus-speaking community of Parang (the home village of our Rongga host) we attended an afternoon tournament of whip dancing, manta caru, which occurs throughout the regency, as does the danding round dance for young people that followed it that night. The song genre mbata, which we heard in Parang and again in Tanah Rata (where we recorded it), is also found all over Manggarai. Unlike danding, which is purely for entertainment, mbata is sung before or in conjunction with various important rituals. The other Rongga genre we recorded, wera, is unique to the southeastern region. It may be performed in honor of an important person who has died, or, with appropriate adjustments in the text, as entertainment at a prestige feast for the living.

The leaps that were reported to us do turn up (though not as wide as the missionary had indicated, and without the swoops)
in the men's unison singing of mbata and were. Antiphony, which we saw in short phrases in Wogo, is a structural principle of danding; in which men's and women's unison choruses trade questions and answers. Perhaps the most surprising element of Rongga music is found in the second half of our were recording, when, in a passage that comes back repeatedly, men and women sing separate melodies simultaneously, in counterpoint. This is considerably more elaborate than the modest instance in the Wogo goegoe (track 8), for here we have both rhythmic and melodic independence, with contrary motion (one part going up while the other goes down), and separate texts for the two parts. While fortuitous counterpoint—two unrelated pieces being played at the same time—often occurs at big celebrations all over the country, structured or composed counterpoint as here in were is highly unusual for Indonesia.

FURTHER READING & LISTENING

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, to: Indonesian Texts 8-9, Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, Center for Folklore Programs and Cultural Studies, 955 EEnfant 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. Jaap Kunst's Music in Flores is the report of a survey he made in 1930, travelling all across Flores at a time when such travel was considerably more difficult than it is now. His book is the only comprehensive study of the island's music, but a surprising amount of what we encountered in the 1990s is not described there, in particular the choruses and polyphonic singing of central Sikka, Toto, the Boawae region, and Manggarai. (See the commentary in Volume 8 for a brief attempt to explain the discrepancy.) Kunst's 1954 paper (revised in 1960) presents his observations and theories regarding the similarities between music in Flores and in the Balkans. (Again, see the commentary in Volume 8.) Chapter 4 of David Hicks's book deals briefly with some of the ethnic groups in southeastern Manggarai.


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. Funesailes et fetes de feconde, compiled by Dana Rappoport; Le Chant du Monde CNR 274-1004) that offers intriguing similarities and contrasts to our Flores albums. As in Flores, Toraja music is predominantly choral. The most striking similarities are between the Toraja singing known as manani, sung for fertility rituals, and the vocal music of Dhre Isla. Both styles use similar musical materials—drone and dissonant simultaneous intervals (mainly major seconds)—but the Dhre Isla songs seem constructed as melodies, while in the Toraja songs the primary focus seems to be the drone and its ornamentation.
3. Teo Ne Wea - Doe
Performed by singers of Kampung Dhere Isa, Desa Gero Dhere, Kecamatan Boawae.
Music for the boxing (etu) tournament that occurs on the first (and formerly also the second) day of the Gua Meze. The boxing goes on from mid-morning into the late afternoon, with many quick bouts, each ending the moment blood is drawn. These songs are sung before a bout, while the prospective combatants strut around the arena challenging each other. There may be doe singers at both ends of the arena, each group encouraging its own champions and mocking their opponents. Boxing of this sort is very popular with spectators, and skilled fighters make a circuit in May and June to compete at harvest festivals throughout the Nage area. Although some of the enthusiasm for etu and similar events in other parts of Flores is inspired simply by the sport and skill of the combat, ethnographers also see an element of ritual sacrifice and the symbolic renewal of the earth through the shedding of blood.

The music here and in track 4 demonstrates the second of the Dhere Isa vocal idioms mentioned earlier, the mixed-chorus idiom. In describing it, the singers used a number of technical terms that help to illuminate how they think of their music.

The low-register melody is called buru. Deep male voices carry the "male" buru (buri anaraki), and higher voices, male and female, sing the "female" buru (buri fai) an octave above. A second, much smaller group of high voices, male or female or both, carries a shifting drone, eza. We understood the singers to say that the eza was always a major second (the distance between, say, C and D) above the buru fai (and hence a major ninth above the buru anaraki)—but this would negate the drone function of eza (except when buru is itself a drone, as it sometimes is) and would produce a rigid parallelism that is not heard in the music. The interval between the parts in fact varies, though it is indeed often a major second/ninth. It may be that we misunderstood the singers: they may have been saying only that the second/ninth is typical, or perhaps that it is normative.

A third part, pongo, is sung by one or two high voices, in the register of eza and buru fai; pongo may sing the buru fai or the eza pitch, may go between them, or may sing above the eza. (The possibility of singing below the buru fai was not mentioned.) The frequent parallel dissonances are produced by either the pongo or the eza (which are collectively called cenge) moving in tandem with the buru. We were told that pongo serves to keep the whole group in tune by moving up and down, in effect providing reference pitches for the other singers. When people are learning a song, they first learn buru, then pongo. While eza is considered no more difficult musically, it demands a particularly clear voice that most singers do not have. There must be more buru singers than eza and pongo—otherwise, presumably, the music would sound thin. The sound ideal for both buru and eza is a blended, unbroken tone.

The three parts, buru, eza, and pongo, constitute the chorus. In addition there are one or more soloists (dhezo). In songs with numerous discrete sections (such as Gogo Rego, track 4), the soloist may change several times, and earlier soloists may recur. Since some prestige is attached to leading a section, there is an etiquette to determine who will lead when, and if someone jumps in to lead out of turn, it can lead to a fight.

4. Gogo Rego
Performers as for track 3.

The Gua Ru ritual asking for rain and protection against plagues is held in January. It lasts for thirteen days and involves the imposition of a number of prohibitions that will last until the rice begins to ripen. On two of the nights of Gua Ru, the people of Dhere Isa sing and dance in a circle. Only one song is sung for this dance: Gogo Rego (also known as Dero Tua). Gogo is the god of rain, and rego means "shake": the title and frequent passages in the text ask Gogo to shake rain down onto the earth.
Structurally, Gogo Rago consists of two recurrent melodies and several contrasting sections that appear less frequently, the musical idiom is the one described in the comment on track 3. Despite what may seem to outsiders to be the song's somber mood, we were told that the occasion is happy, and that young people use the dance, which involves the whole community, as an opportunity for flirting: in the dark they sneak up on people they are attracted to, suddenly smear them with a piece of charcoal, and dash away.

The people of Dhare Isa are predominantly—yet not entirely Roman Catholic, and it is not clear to us precisely what their attitude is towards the old belief system reflected in this song. Our sense is that many disparage the belief but at the same time participate in the attendant rituals, dance, and music that are their cultural heritage and a focus of their social life.

An anecdote may—or may not—be relevant here: on the night we first recorded in Dhare Isa, nearly every song was disturbed by frenzied barking from the hamlet's dogs. Several singers told us they thought the dogs were being stirred up deliberately by local people who wanted to disrupt the recording. But when we asked who might be doing this and why, the singers would not say. Two possibilities occurred to us: devout Catholics who disapproved of our recording the songs of the old belief, or devout adherents of the old belief, who felt it was disrespectful or improper to perform the songs for the obscure purposes of these outsiders.

If either of those interpretations is correct, then the conflict between Catholicism and the old belief is more clear-cut than we thought. There was also a third possibility, and if this one is in fact the explanation, then the anecdote is not relevant after all: the dogs might have been agitated by rival clans or families who did not like the idea of our musicians receiving the money we were paying. In any case, sinking at last beneath the waves of canine hysteria, we rescheduled the session for another night at another location, out in the fields, far from the dogs of any faction.

5. Teke song: Ana Geo (excerpt)
Performed by singers of Kampung Gero, Desa Gero Dhare, Kecamatan Bowawe.

Night time round dances for entertainment, accompanied by choral singing, are found in many parts of Flores: dole-dole in East Flores, gawi among the Lio, teke-se in Toto, teke in the former Nage and Ngada regions, and dancing in Manggarai are all examples. (In Sikka, however, it seems that the dominant form is a line dance, togo.) In Dhare Isa and Gero, teke is danced for any important community occasion. One of its functions there (and probably everywhere), aside from entertainment and the demonstration of community cohesion, is to allow the community to comment on itself through spontaneous verses (initiated by soloists) that remark upon local events or individual behavior.

Within the dance circle, soloists move about, keeping the chorus together and in tune. One soloist has the responsibility to signal the ends of certain melodic segments by a special vocal flourish called ghiego. This flourish often sounds like a "slow, gurgling laryngeal trill," in Jaap Kunst's description, but in the performance we recorded, the gurgling quality is not particularly evident; the ghiego here sounds like simply ke - kehe.(By the way, one of the bits of evidence that Kunst cited to support his idea of "cultural relations" between Indonesia and the Balkans was the information that for a similar vocal trill "certain Albanian tribes use practically the same word...namely, grko." And a further vocabulary note: the drone that in Dhare Isa is called baru is called buku in Gero, the place with no 's.')

The Gero singers said they have many teke songs. This one they consider to be their own song (Geo = Gero); others presumably are brought in from other communities. It is not clear whether Dhare Isa teke songs could circulate in Gero, or vice versa, since the musical idioms are so different, nor did we find out whether Dhare Isa has more than one teke song. (It is by no means impossible that there would be only one song for an entire night's performance; genres like oedoko in Gero, or wera in Tanah Rata—track 10 here—use only one melody throughout, the performers' interest being maintained by the words or the dance.)

NGADA REGENCI: BAJAWA REGION

6. Teke song: Kela
7. Teke song: Pata

Performed by singers of Kampung Wogo, Desa Ratoges, Kecamatan Golewa.

Teke in the ethnic Ngadha community of Wogo is not the all-purpose entertainment dance it is in some other areas; in Wogo it is associated more particularly with the rituals of constructing a new clan house or a new settlement. The text of the present kela song (track 6), for example, is concerned with choosing a new site for a village.

A night of teke in Wogo consists of two structurally different song-types, called kela and pata. The most striking feature of kela is the use of contrasting tempos: the singers occasionally slip into double-time, then return to the original tempo. Pata have only one tempo, but they consist of two disjoint segments, bhigi, one for each line of the couplet that forms the pata's text. The melody is the same for both bhigi. The pata opens with a phrase that begins eyo eyo eyo, sung by the
women; then there is a male solo; and then comes the first bhigi. The bhigi ends when the male song-leader interrupts with the words iva iva iva iya. After a brief pause, the second bhigi begins, without the women’s introduction or the male solo; it ends just as the first bhigi did. (Kela end with a shout.) We give here a kela (track 6) and the first bhigi of a pata (track 7). The pata’s text affirms the community’s willingness to entertain all visitors on an important occasion like the one celebrated by this tehe.

Tehe always begin with a kela; then comes a pata. Typically the dancers continue with several more pata in a row, then take a break. When they resume, they again sing a kela before starting another string of pata. In a night of tehe, they might sing five kela and thirty pata.

8. Goego

Performers as for tracks 6 and 7.

The new year ritual and festival, Reba, is probably the most important event of the annual cycle in Wago. All villagers except the sick must attend; villagers living too far away to come must be formally represented. In the course of the festival, the products of the previous harvest are ritually presented to the clan house, in the name of the ancestors. Quarrels and disputes are settled; young people who have paired off earlier (June seems to be the month for that) now:

make the official announcement to their parents. The festival lasts two or three days and nights. Referring to the locally-distilled palm wine, moke, a villager succinctly described the joyful atmosphere of Reba: “moke, moke, moke, rice, rice, rice, chickens, pigs.”

Two songs are performed over and over in alternation at Reba, as the singers dance in a circle. One is called O Uwi; it invites everyone to partake of the ritual meal of uwi, an edible tuber that is the central symbol of Reba. (“The food we never run out of,” it is called in one song.) The other song, heard here, is Goego, which invites everyone to dance and celebrate Reba. Each song has a single melody but many texts that may be sung to it.

MANGGARAI REGENCY: BORONG REGION

9. Mbata song: Ndore (excerpt)

Performed by singers and musicians of Desa Tanah Rata, Perwakilan Kecamatan Borong.

Mbata songs are sung on ritual occasions, but they are apparently not themselves tied to ritual. The texts allude to local traditions and customs, and thereby reaffirm their significance in the present. Usually mbata are sung indoors—typically in the ritual house where drums and gongs are kept. We first heard them in the evening after a day of whip duels, before a danding round dance; they were sung in the course of a ritual during which a pig was sacrificed and its liver examined for portents regarding the coming agricultural cycle. (Success was predicted.) The singers, drummers, and gong-players sat haphazardly on the floor along with others attending the ritual. The mood was casual. People smoked, chatted, and drank palm-wine while the singing was going on; drummers and gong-players passed their instruments off to their neighbors if they were tired of playing. The singers obviously enjoyed the songs, and we saw this again on the night of our recording: after a session of mbata and wega that lasted until well after midnight, a meal was prepared, and as the musicians sat around waiting for the food to be served, the instruments came out of the corners and mbata began again.

Mbata singing can go on all night. An acceptable length for a song appears (on the basis of the lengths the performers chose, unheard by our recording session) to be eleven or twelve minutes, and several songs are sung in succession before there is a break for snacks and drinks. We were told that an evening of mbata must begin with the song Olole; after that the singers choose the songs. For our recording they did indeed begin with Olole, then they moved without pause into a second mbata, Ndore, which is excerpted here. (Our excerpt begins at the transition into Ndore from Olole, and covers nine minutes of the total twelve.)

The male soloists in mbata are called sako (also cake), and the male chorus, which sings in unison (though there may be the occasional heterophonc fourth) is called mara. In some mbata, among them Ndore, women sing in octaves with the male chorus, but in others, such as Ndore here, the women sing in parallel fourths above them. The women’s chorus—or, more precisely, the women’s part, since men with high voices may join them—is called ssa (ssual, ssual). In this performance, there were two drummers, pata lambu, and three gong players, ponga ponga.

In both of the mbata songs we recorded the singers briefly interpolated a number of danding songs—three in Olole, four in Ndore. (Our Ndore excerpt covers the first three.) They are recognizable by their antiphonal texture: instead of singing together, the men and women sing as separate unison choruses, with the first group (which may be either the men or the women) beginning a couplet and the second group finishing it. One danding consists of one couplet, repeated until a soloist starts another song. The texts, which are often composed on the spot, may make fun of persons present at the event (“who is that boy over there afraid to dance?”), or com-
ment on individuals and events in the community, or make remarks about the general state of things. We were given an example of the latter sort: "Mount Ndeki over there! Has no water, nothing grows!" The singers said this is a complaint to the government about the situation on Mount Ndeki. That *danding* songs are included in *mbata* is another demonstration that *mbata* has entertainment as well as ritual functions; but as an indication of the relative prestige of the two genres, note that it would be unthinkable to sing an *mbata* song in the *danding* dance context.

10. Wera Sarajawa (excerpt)

Performed by singers of Desa Tanah Rata, Perwakilan Kecamatan Bontoroun. Unlike *mbata*, which is known throughout Manggarai regency, *wera* is found only in the southeast corner. There are two forms: *wera sarajawa*, performed to honor an important person after death, and *wera haimelo*, for entertainment. The two have the same structure and the same music (though *danding* songs may be interpolated in *wera haimelo*, as also in *mbata*, but not in *wera sarajawa*). The difference is in the text of the long *nga'e* section: which is sung by men, led by the male soloist. In *wera sarajawa*, the *nga'e* praises the person who has died; in *wera haimelo*, the topic is genealogy and history, including that of the *Rongga*.

... people (who believe themselves to spring from the intermarriage of people from Savu island with Minangkabau people from West Sumatra). Once through the *ngg'a* and into the dance sequences of *wera* proper, there is no difference between the funerary and the entertainment forms (aside from the interpolation of *danding* in the latter).

The singers are grouped into two choruses: a men's chorus, *woho*, and a women's chorus, *wera*. The women of the *wera* stand in a single long line; behind them, in two shorter rows, stand the *woho*. The male soloist, *noa lako*, stands out in front of the women, facing the entire group. All of the singers dance, but the more energetic dancing is done by the women.

The performance we recorded begins with an introductory melody, as the singers enter the arena. Next comes *tora loha*, a series of exchanges between the soloist and the *woho*, who stand in place without dancing. Then the *nga'e* begins; here also there is no dance. The singers chose to perform *wera sarajawa*, the funerary version, for us; since no one had actually died, the text is general praise of illustrious elders, without mentioning a specific person. In our recording, the *noa lako* pitched the *ngg'a* too low, forcing himself and the *woho* to stumble through some of the melody and at a few points scrape bottom. This is a common difficulty in Flores, and anywhere else if no pitchpipe or other standard is used to set the pitch: soloists pick their pitch out of the air, and sometimes they pick wrong. The soloist here had recently replaced a predecessor, who, we were told, always set the pitch too high.

At the end of the *ngg'a* we hear the sound of feet stamping on the ground: this is the beginning of the *wera* section, when the dancing begins and when the women, who have stood still and silent since the introduction, are heard for the first time. From this point on, the performance proceeds in units, called *wera*, each consisting of three melodic and textual elements: *dhawi*, sung by the men; and *posa pata* and *posa wogu*, both sung by the two choruses in counterpoint. During each *wera* unit, the singers dance in place and then make a darting run a short distance counterclockwise to a new position, dance in place again, then dart counterclockwise again. A vocal signal for one of the *posa* versions is given before the *posa wogu* by a long trill called, imitatively, krrrr. (There is also a short trill, whose function we did not learn.)

Textually, each *wera* unit is complete and unconnected to preceding or following units. As usual, the texts may deal with tradition and custom, or may refer to local personalities and events. Often they make fun of the *noa lako* or one of the other performers. The dancing can go on all night. The...
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 MKE-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, Nusa Tenggara Timur province.


Track 3: recording location and singers as for tracks 1 & 2. Recorded 8 September 1994.


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.
CREDITS
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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, Kradayan RT 021, Kepathan 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 Gero Dhere we thank Simon Salaly and Gospaer Telu; in Wogo, Andreas Ngaji, Yakobus Ratu, and Remigius Rutu; and in Borong, Egidius Aliawan, Romanus Garung, Daniel Aru Garawan, Andreas Jalang, Yohanes Nani, Agustinus M. Pandong, and Yosep Pandong. And we could not have stayed rested and healthy between recording sessions without the help of our hosts: the family of the late Emiel Waso Eta in Boawae; and in Borong the household of Romanus Garung, in particular Mathildis Nyoman Abdillwan, Adelheid Nirwan Gande, and Maria Goretja Gora, all of whom gave us much useful information as well as hospitality.

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MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 9:
Vocal & Instrumental Music from Central & West Flores
Liner note supplement 04/04/2008

Recorded, edited, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. 77 minutes. SWF 40425 (1994)

These 1993 and 1994 recordings present the virtually unknown choral singing of Ngada and Manggarai of Flores, an island east of Bali. The sounds, performed mainly at funerals and agricultural rituals, range from highly dissonant harmony to some rare instances of Indonesian counterpoint. (For additional music from this region, see MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 8: Vocal & Instrumental Music from East & Central Flores, and MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 16: Music from the Southeast: Sumbawa, Sumba, Timor.)

Track List

1. Dhikiro Men's chorus
2. Zoka Men's chorus
3. Teo Ne Wea-Dioe Mixed chorus
4. Gogo Rego Mixed chorus
5. Teke song: Ana Geo (excerpt) Mixed chorus
6. Teke song: Kela Mixed chorus
7. Teke song: Pata Mixed chorus
8. Goegoe Mixed chorus
9. Mbata song: Ndore (excerpt) Men's and mixed chorus, with gongs and drums
10. Wera Sarajawa (excerpt) Men's and mixed chorus

Corrections to CD booklet text for Vol. 9:

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.

Map (p.2) : same emendations as for Volume 8.

p.11 & p.12 : same emendations as for Volume 8.
p.18 (L column): The sentence beginning "The difference" should read: "The difference is in the text of the long ngga'ë section, which is sung by men, led by the male soloist."

p.18 (R column): The parenthesis at the end of the first paragraph should read: "...(aside from the interpolation of danding in the latter)."

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, Mauméré, Nagé, Nusa Tenggara, Rané, Tebuk, Téndatoto, Utétoto, Waigété, Wétakara.

Names of places and population groups: Boawaé, Dhéré Isa, Éndé, Florès, Géro, Géro Dhéré, Goléwa, Kéo, Képok, Nagé, Nunudhére, Nusa Tenggara, Ratogésa, Rêmpong, Rëndu, Wolowéa.

Titles of songs: Ana Géo, Dioé, Goégoé, Gogo Régo, Ndoré, Oédoko, Ololé, Téu Ne Wéa, Wéra Haimélo, Wéra Sarajawa.

Other terms: céngé, etu, eza, ghegho [gh representing a voiced velar fricative similar to the French r], Gua Mézé, kela, moké, ngga'ë, teké, tekesé.

Photo captions for volume 9:

Front cover: Singer at a teké (Boawaé).
Back (upper left): Singers (Dhéré Isa).
Back (center right, larger photo): Mbata singers and musicians (Borong).
Back (center right, smaller photo): Singers (Géro).
Back (center left): Singers (Wogo).
Back (lower left): Wéra dancers and singers (Borong).

Updates by Philip Yampolsky (March 2000)
In the comment on track 9 (p.17, right column) we say that in some mbata songs the women sing in octaves above the men, and in others they sing in parallel fourths above them. This last part is wrong—the higher voices sing a fifth, not a fourth, above the rest—and the remainder of the wording needs modification. Here is a more precise version:

The male soloists in mbata are called sako (also cako), and the male chorus, which usually sings in unison (though there may be the occasional heterophonic fourth) is called mara. In some mbata, among them Ololé, women, together with men with high voices, sing in octaves above the rest of the chorus; in some others, such as Ndoré here, the higher voices sing passages in parallel fifths above the lower ones. This upper part is called sua (sual, cual)....
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.