MUSIC OF INDONESIA 19

Music of Maluku: Halmahera, Buru, Kei

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

74 minutes, 32 page booklet with map.

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

Buru Musicians of Kampung Waereman, Kecamatan Buru Utara Barat.
3. Kalabae Genre: engafuka. Male vocals, drums. 4:16
   Female vocal duo. 4:41
5. Tigertama Jew's harp. 2:20
6. Perusi Tajang As track 5. 2:59
7. Ranafafan Genre: sawat. Gongs, drums. 2:54

Kei Musicians of Watlaar, Haar, and Banda Eli, three villages in the northern part of Kei Besar.
8. Marin Uib Children's song (solo & chorus). 1:09
9. Wannar Genre: sosoi. Women's chorus. 3:52
10. Tiwal Sawat Genre: tiwal. Flute, drums, gong. 2:50
11. Snehet (excerpt) Male vocal solo. 3:58
12. Ngel-ngel (excerpt) Male vocal duo. 2:31

Musicians of Desa Sather, in the southern part of Kei Besar.
13. Ngel-ngel Female soloist & chorus, drum. 3:26
14. Baiut Ntya Nit Male vocal solo. 1:04
15. Sosoi (first song) Female chorus. 3:34
16. Tari Busur Panah Flute, drum. 2:01

HALMAHERA Dabus officiants and musicians in Desa Talaga, Kecamatan Ibu.
17. Dzikir Samman: Allahu Allah
   Male singers, drums. 7:12
18. Qasidah Rifai: Baghdadi (excerpt)
   As track 17. 4:42
19. Kata Syeh: Baqada Imuhai As track 17. 7:00

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. Produced in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts (MSPI). All selections recorded in the province of Maluku in 1997.
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HALMAHERA Musicians of Desa Malapua, Kecamatan Malahai.
1. Mares Fiddle, plucked lute, flute, drums. 4:54
2. Lagu Togol As track 1, with female vocal. 7:41

BURU Musicians of Kampung Waereman, Kecamatan Buru Utara Barat.
3. Kalabae Genre: enggala. Male vocals, drums. 4:16
4. Tuang Kolata (excerpt) Genre: aten. Female vocal duo. 4:41
5. Tigertama Jew's harp. 2:20
6. Perusi Tunggah As track 5. 2:59
7. Ranabafang Genre: sawat. Gongs. drums. 2:54

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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 United States) have larger populations, and few encompass a more bewildering diversity of societies and ways of life. Indonesia's people belong to more than 300 ethnic groups, speak almost as many languages, and inhabit some 3,000 islands (out of nearly 13,700 in the archipelago). Around three-quarters of the population lives in rural areas; at the same time the capital, Jakarta, is one of the largest cities in the world, both in area and in population. Most Indonesians (about 90 percent) are Muslim, but there are substantial numbers of Christians, Buddhists/Taoists, Hindus, and animists as well. The Javanese rice farmer, the Buginese sailor, the Balinese pedana (Hindu priest), the Acehnese ulama (Islamic teacher), the Jakarta bureaucrat, the Jakarta noodle vendor, the Minangkabau trader, the Chinese-Indonesian shopkeeper, the Sultan of Yogyakarta, the forest nomad of Kalimantan, soldiers, fishermen, batik makers, bankers, shadow-puppeteers, shamans, and street hawters—these are just a few of Indonesia's people, and our picture of the country must somehow include them all.

Indonesia's music is as diverse as its people. Best known abroad are the Javanese and Balinese orchestras generally called gamelan, which consist largely of gongs and other metallophones, but gamelan is only one aspect (albeit an impressive one) of the whole. Solo and group singing and solo instrumental music (played typically on flute, shawm, plucked or bowed lute, plucked zither, jew's harp, or xylophone) are found everywhere, as are ensembles of mixed instruments and ensembles dominated by instruments of a single type (most commonly flutes, drums, xylophones, zithers, or ganzir). Much of this music may be termed traditional, in the sense that its scales, idioms, and repertoires do not in any obvious way derive from European/American or Middle Eastern (or other foreign) music. On the other hand, some of the most prominent and commercially successful genres of popular music definitely do derive from foreign sources, but since these are sung in Indonesian, disseminated nationwide through cassettes and the mass media, and avidly consumed by millions on the other hand, they must certainly be considered Indonesian, regardless of their foreign roots. Finally, along with the indigenous and the clearly imported, there are many hybrid forms that mix traditional and foreign elements in delightful and unpredictable ways. The Smithsonian Folkways Music of Indonesia series offers a sampling of this tremendous variety. In selecting the music, we are concentrating on genres of especial musical interest and, wherever possible, will present them in some depth, through 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.
MALUKU AND ITS MUSIC

The vast province of Maluku in eastern Indonesia lies east of Sulawesi, north and east of Timor, and west and south of Irian Jaya. To the northwest lie the Philippines. The name Maluku—rendered in Dutch as de Molukken and in English as the Moluccas—may derive from a term Arab traders used for the northern and central islands: jazirat al-muluk, “land of many kings” (Ricklefs 1993:24; but cf. Andaya 1993:87). However, the islands are probably best known outside Indonesia not by any version of the name Maluku, but as the “spice islands,” for they were for centuries the sole source of the world’s supply of cloves, nutmeg, and mace. (The Moluccas were what Columbus was looking for when he stumbled on America.) The spice trade, which violently shaped Maluku’s history, was also a determinant of its music, for spices are what attracted Arabs, Javanese, Malayans, Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, English, Makasar, and other groups to Maluku and scattered their cultural influences, including their music, throughout the islands.

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

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

After the Dutch spice monopoly was abolished in 1863, Maluku became a backwater. It is little noticed in modern Indonesia. Many of its natural resources have been stripped away unheeded by companies based in western Indonesia or outside the country altogether. Government population figures for 1990 rank Maluku, with some 1.8 million inhabitants, as number twenty out of twenty-seven provinces. (Compare this with West Java, number one in the ranking, which has a population of 35 million, not counting another 8.2 million in Jakarta.) Relatively few tourists venture as far east as Maluku.

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

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

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

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

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

In April 1950, a few months after Indonesia won its four-year war of independence, Central Maluku declared itself an independent country, the Republic of Maluku Selatan (Republic of South Maluku), or RMS. Although nominally representing both Muslim and Christian areas of the region, the RMS leadership was dominated by Christians. The move of the Christian motivations was fear of the consequences of incorporation into an Indonesia 90 percent Muslim. By November 1950 the Indonesian army had crushed the RMS. Some of its leaders were captured; others escaped to the Netherlands, joining a community of Ambonese soldiers who had fought on the Dutch side during the Revolution.

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

In the early twentieth century, the colonial government sought to control the population of Southeast Maluku, who were traditionally at odds with their fellow Malukan brothers out of fortified interior communities to unprotected settlements on the coasts. Resistance sprang up, especially in Tanimbar, that was not fully quelled until the 1920s.
Today, according to 1990 figures (de Jonge and van Dijk 1995:xvi), some 50 percent of the population of Southeast Maluku is Protestant, largely as a result of missionary work begun in the nineteenth century. Catholic missionaries were allowed to work at first only in Kei, and only from 1888; in 1910 they were also permitted to open a mission in Tanimbar. (Government restrictions on Catholic missions in Indonesia were lifted in 1927.) About 23 percent of the population is Catholic, and 21 percent, mainly in Kei and Aru, is Muslim.

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

Music in Maluku

The most widespread genres and idioms in Maluku are the ones brought in from outside. Religious and secular genres associated with Islam (devotional singing, dance, and song accompanied by the plucked lute gamba and, usually, frame drums) are found in Muslim communities throughout Maluku. Another Muslim genre, dafha (tracks 17–19), is reported only for North Maluku. Christian hymns—sung by choirs and congregations, or played by flute bands or wind bands—are found wherever there are Christians. The European harmonic and melodic idiom is also heard in the kurej ensemble of Ambon and environs, led by violin(s) or accordion backed by guitar or similar plucked lutes, plus nja (Nowadays there is a version called Hawaiian kurej in which the lead instrument is a Hawaiian guitar). The principal repertoire of kurej is nineteenth-century European popular dance music. The urban popular music of Jakarta and other big cities outside Maluku is heard on cassette players everywhere; this music relies heavily on European popular music idioms; or, to a lesser extent, those of Middle Eastern and Indian popular music. There are also two forms of local popular music. One uses the urban popular-music styles of Jakarta but gives them texts in local languages (pop Ambon; pop Ternate; dangdut Ternate). The other, originally played by a string band led by violin or Hawaiian guitar, but now played by an ensemble with European instruments, features popular songs from the 1950s or earlier, plus a repertoire of harmonized laga rakyat (folk songs) or laga darub (regional songs) from—or at least associated with—Maluku. Several of these folk songs have become part of Indonesian national culture and are taught to schoolchildren throughout the country; they are performed at “arts nights” and other cultural shows, live and televised, as tokens of Maluku.

The “traditional” music of Maluku is known only in bits and pieces. In this context, “traditional” music means music that does not show substantial influence from the musical genres and idioms presumed to have come via the spice trade, religious conversion, colonial domination, or modern recording and broadcasting media. Note that the use of a foreign instrument, such as a violin, does not, in our opinion, necessarily constitute “substantial influence”—we need to know what kind of music is played on it.) A few colonial-era travellers and ethnographers mentioned music in their accounts (notably Wilken 1873 on Buru; Martin 1894 on Central Maluku; Taunau 1918 on Seram; Goutet 1921 on Kei), and there are some references to music in more recent accounts of rituals (e.g., Barrand 1980 on Kei; Valleur 1990 on Seram, and van Dijk and de Jonge 1990 on Luang and Marisa). But music is not the central concern in these writings, and often the detail that would make them usable by musicologists is missing.

There are only three musicological studies, all of them surveys and hence, like the ethnographies, lacking in detail: a brief article on music in Kei by Jaap Kunst (1994 [1943]); a survey of music in Central and Southeast Maluku, supplemented with material on the music of Moluccans in Holland (Seibak, Heijman, and Sappelen 1984); and a useful survey of the whole province by Margaret Kartomi (1994), gathering up the scattered mentions of music and dance in earlier accounts and adding information from Kartomi’s own visits to Ternate, Tidore, Ambon, Tanimbar, and Kei in 1989 and 1990. The most comprehensive of the surveys is Kartomi’s, but, as the author admits, great gaps remain. The present album, based on MSPI’s research in 1997, tries to fill in a few of them, but we are still very far from a full picture of music in Maluku.

As least from the spotty information available, the traditional music of Maluku appears quite heterogeneous. (Not that there is much reason to expect unity, given the vastness of the province, its geographic fragmentation, and its divergent regional histories.) But it is possible that further research will reveal stronger correspondences between islands than we are yet aware of; or, to put this another way, it may not yet be time to attempt to judge homogeneity or heterogeneity. From the present album, for example, we know what certain kinds of singing in Kei sound like, but no recordings or detailed descriptions are available of singing in, say, interior Seram, or Patani or Galela in Halmahera, that would allow us to say whether it is like or unlike the singing in Kei.

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

Instruments and ensembles. The one-headed drum generically called nja (other names for it include rasa, tsual, and tabu) is common everywhere as an accompaniment for singing and dance; one or two non-melodic gongs are often played along with one or more drums; jew’s harps (tracks 5 and 6), flutes, and bamboo idiochord zithers, all played as solo instruments for the amusement primarily of the player, are widespread. Bowed lutes are now rare, except for violins or their imitations in the north and center; in earlier times they were apparently more common (Martin 1894:325–326 and Seibak et al. 1984:57 for Buru; Kartomi 1994:165 for Kei).

An ensemble of bowed lute (sabu), drums, and gong, used for a shamanic curing ritual, is reported for Ternate and Tidore by Kartomi (1994:149, salai jin).

Dance ensembles of violin (or similar fiddle),
plucked lute, and tfas (sometimes with singers and other instruments as well) are found in North Maluku (tracks 1 and 2); in instrumentation these resemble the ngati (judging from our recordings of ngati, played by one such ensemble) whose repertoire is local, not European. Dance ensembles of flute and drum(5), sometimes with gong, are widespread (tracks 10 and 16); in the north, this ensemble has singer-songwriter Kartomi (1994:149, ronjong). Aside from karejé and similar dance ensembles, mixed-instrument ensembles of more than four or five members are rare in the province.

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

Vocal music. Tapping or competitive singing of verses by two groups in alternation is reported from all three regions of the province. So are gong dances in circle, single-line, or multiple-line formations, accompanied by singing (sometimes the competitive singing just mentioned); these dances are in some places also accompanied by drums, with or without non-melodic gong. The dances may be performed only by men, as war dances (sometimes known by the Central Maluku name kakakale) to energize warriors or celebrate victory; or they may be social or ritual dances performed by single-sex or mixed groups. Group singing tends to be in unison and octaves; sometimes the coordination is relatively precise (tracks 9 and 13), sometimes loose and more polyphonic (track 13). Leaving aside Christian hymns and popular songs, we found only one instance of singing in two parts (track 12, from Kei). We did not encounter in Maluku the polyphonic choruses presented in our albums on Kalimantan, Nusa Tenggara, or Java, despite the fact that they are not reported in the literature. (See our discussion in the notes to volume 17. Incidentally, we also found no instances in Maluku of the so-called ‘triple meter’ discussed by J. Nonis.) Solo singing may be unaccompanied, or accompanied by percussion, but accompaniment by melodic instruments is rare, except in the context of the karejé-like dance ensembles. (Perhaps when bowed, gongs were more common they accompanied singing.)

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

This album In another region of Indonesia, our preferred work method was to travel to many parts of a region, following leads, to see what music was available that could suit our series; we might record as we went or we might bear things in mind as possibilities to return for later. But we soon realized that we would not be able to do this Maluku travel is so time-consuming there that it would take several months to work through all of the main islands and island groups, and often the reports we heard of what we might find after an arduous journey to some distant place were discouraging. The result: we were not able to do any wrong, but didn’t have the time to find out.

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

In the north, we chose Halmahera; in the center, Buru. In the south, we were torn: Aru? Kei? Tanimbar? Kartomi had worked in the last two, which left Aru, but people told us (wrongly, we learned too late) that in Aru we would find only popular. In the end, we chose Kei, mainly because we had leads there: the ethnographic filmmaker Marlene Dietrich and the anthropologist P. M. Laksomo, and his wife Wiwid had all described to us music they had heard in Kei that had intrigued and moved them. Laksomo and Wiwid had specifically mentioned the songs called ngel-ngel, and when we looked these up in the literature we found that Kartomi described them (1994:166) as sung "in free metre with a highly melismatic style." Sold! (As it turned out, we wound up recording on an island in Kei where Kartomi had not worked, and the ngel-ngel we heard there were neither free-meter nor melismatic; but no matter, they were indeed as interesting as our friends had said.)

Our album begins in northwestern Halmahera, where the people living there are of a different ethnic group from most of Makian, west of Halmahera. Togal (tracks 1 and 2) is played by one of the violin-led, karejé-like dance ensembles mentioned earlier, though its repertoire is not the nineteenth-century European dance band music of the kekai.

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

Our Kei recordings come from two locations on the island: the village of Pindu on the northwestern coast (1994:141n, 165n, 167n) that she worked on both Kei Kei and Kei Besar, but she has apparently confused Kei Besar with Dullah, as all of the locations she lists for Kei Besar are actually on Dullah, an island linked by bridge to Kei Kei. Kei Besar is some two and a quarter hours by ferry east from Dullah. We present a number of songs of different types, including two contrast-gongs (tracks 10 and 12) and the only children’s singing we were able to record in eight years of fieldwork for this series (track 8). We also include two flute-led dance ensembles (tracks 10 and 16), and tracks 17 and 19 return we hear to northwest Halmahera. Muslim singing accompanied by frame drums is found all over Indonesia, and from the initial stages of our planning for this series we had intended to record some form of it. But rather than record it in one of the obvious
texts in the original languages are also posted on the Web site, but we were not able to gather them all. Finally, we have put on the Web site an outline of the full database performance from which our recordings (tracks 17-19) are compiled. The references and other materials are also available in hard copy for $2.00 from: SF 40446 Supplemental Notes, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7300, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20566-0953, U.S.A.

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

References

http://www.si.edu/folkways/indonesia/indonesia.htm (Be sure to capitalize the first "Indonesia" in the address but not the second.) On the Web page we post supplementary material that could not fit into the album booklets or has become available subsequently: song texts (if we have them) and translations (ditto); additional bibliography and discography; corrections of errors in the commentary; expanded discussion of important topics; and so forth. The postings are updated whenever we have something new to put up.

For volume 19, we have had to take our full list of references out of the booklet and put it on the Web site. The citations remain in the text, but the titles they refer to are listed on the Web. Below we provide only a very few titles of particular importance to our commentary. A few song

Recordings

Music of Maluku. Some recordings of modern popular string-band music from Maluku or from Moluccans in Holland have been published, but very little systematic fieldwork has been done. Dennis Spoorman's sampler of music from Sarapua and Haruku in the Lease Islands, which will include kareji, brass band, gong ensemble, ca kalele, Christian hymns, and more, is forthcoming from Pan (Pan 2056 CD). Aside from that, there are only a few tracks scattered across a handful of anthology albums:

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

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

Music of Indonesia (Folkways FE 4537 ABCD) claims to contain two tracks from Ambon. One, labelled ca kalele, is actually kecapi rebab music from West Java. The other (on 4537 CD) is a sawat dance recorded in 1960 in Hiku (Ambon) and featuring a ten-kettle melodic gong-chime.

Sufi and Sufi-derived music. Listeners may want to compare our dabus recordings from Maluku with related recordings from elsewhere. Excerpts from a competitive dabus performance in Aceh (1982), along with brief selections from dabsus in West Sumatra (1975, 1985), all recorded and annotated by Margaret Kartomi, are heard on Muslim music of Indonesia: Aceh and West Sumatra (Celestial Harmonies 14159-2), volume 15 in The Music of Islam series. Together with our Maluku recordings, these are the only published recordings of Indonesian Sufi or Sufi-derived music. One other recording from Southeast Asia (by way of Africa) has been issued: a Folkways LP (FR 8942, issued in 1950) presents portions of a dabus-like Rifa'iyia ritual recorded among South African Malays ("Kap Maleiers"); it includes a striking section in thirds-based European/African-style harmony. From other parts of the world there are quite a few recordings of Sufi music. (For a recent summary, see the special section on Sufi music in Gramophone, May 1998.) Some that are of relevance to our Maluku material, because of musical similarities and contrasts or because of the brotherhoods involved, are listed on the Music of Indonesia Web site under volume 19.
COMMENY ON THE SELEcrIONS

HALMAHERA: TOGAL

Our first two selections were recorded in Desa Malapa, a village on the northwest arm of Halmahera, about three hours' drive up the east coast from Sidangol. The musicians and the music itself are not, however, from Halmahera, but from Makian, a small island west of Halmahera, south of Tidore. The people of Makian were relocated by the Indonesian government from the island to their present homelands, known as Malifut, over the period from 1975 to 1988. In 1976, the Bureau of Volcanology in Bandung predicted a volcanic eruption on Makian, and the government decided to evacuate the population to Malifut. (We did not learn why Malifut was chosen as the destination.) Accordingly, the government moved the people who were already in Malifut to the time, members of the Pagu ethnic group, to other nearby locations, compensated them for their land (not surprisingly, there are conflicting views on how much money was given) and began moving in the Makianese. Progress was slow partly because the volcano did not actually erupt until 1988. Now most of the people who used to live on Makian are in Malifut. The people we talked to are deeply Malifutic for the island. They mourn lost wealth (clothes, combs, etc.) and say the island was more fertile than Malifut.

The government seems to have shifted not just the population but the whole concept of Makian to Malifut. All of the village names from Makian are now found in Malifut. Although we were told in Malifut (in 1997) that some people have stayed in or returned to the island, in the government's mind Makian is now in Malifut. (An official name for the relocated district is Makian Daratan di Malifut, "Mainland Makian in Malifut"); during our visit, the name we heard was just Makian di Malifut, "Makian in Malifut." In the official government village-lists and maps published by the Central Bureau of Statistics (Biro Pusat Statistik [1996a:45, 1996b;Maluku 40]), the actual island is now shown as uninhabited; it has the same code number as the new Makian on the mainland—that is, for the government, the two places are conceptually identical, except that one, the island, is empty. (That some people are still there seems irrelevant.) According to a government report written in 1982, before the relocation was completed, the new Makian is actually an improvement on the old, since now the villages are more "regulated" (teratur): the streets are straight, and the inhabitants are concentrated in one place instead of spread out all along the coast (Adaptasi 1980/1989 10, 5). A side-benefit is that the government was also able to regulate the Pagu when relocating them to make room for the Makianese (ibid.19).

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

Togal is performed at weddings and other domestic or communal celebrations, such as those marking a circumcision, a visit home by someone who has been away a long time, promotion of a child, and, it seems, a way of raising money for a curative agricultural project, the construction of a new mosque, or the annual ceremony (held in the month of Maulud in the Muslim calendar) to pray for the health and safety of the village. The dancing begins around 10 P.M. and can go on until dawn. We did not hear of any other music performed for such celebrations, nor indeed of any performing arts in Malifut other than togal and Muslim devotional performances. The curing ritual salai jin, mentioned by Kartomi for Ternate, was practiced in the period when the people still lived on Makian Island (Adaptasi 1988/1989 1104-105); it used a flute instead of the bowed lute reported by Kartomi.

Togal is considered old-fashioned, provincial, and associated with tradition (adat), and as a result it has low prestige, though people easily enjoy it. We were told, for example, that at wedding celebrations, which are two-night affairs, togal could be done on the second night, called the "traditional" night (malam adat) at which only family and close friends need be present; while on the first and more important night, the "reception" night (malam resepsi), for which many guests come, the entertainment would be danced cassettes from Jakarta, played through a sound system. The togal repertoire consists of mars, "marches," and lagu, "songs." The mars are played by an ensemble of bowed lute (biola), one or two plucked lutes (juk or gambah), and two drums (tjepa) played with hands. The biola is the melodic leader. Both the plucked lutes and lagu are played with a wooden stick. For lagu, a transverse flute (mania, and one or two singers are added. (The flute, we were told, is relatively new to the ensemble, but it was already established before the relocation.) The singer may be a man and a woman, and even a group, so a woman singing along with a female dancer is not unheard of. For lagu, an unmarried woman is particularly inappropriate, for two reasons: most husbands wouldn't want their wives to sing in public, and "women voices change after they have children." For togal, the dancers form four columns: one of men, two of women, and another of men. In the initial formation, the women's columns face each other, and the men's columns face the back of the nearest women's column. The number of women must equal the number of men—that is, each dancer must have a partner of the opposite sex. The movements are the same for all couples and are directed by a caller, called the komandor; without him, the dancers can't dance. According to A. R. Limatau, the director of the group we recorded, the caller's commands, in the old days, were in Portuguese; for example, alamun ra ronde.

What are we to make of this? As we remarked earlier, the instrumentation of togal resembles that of katrej, which also uses a komandor (or komandor, in katrej). The togal dance formation seems European; it suggests—arguably—the English "country dance" of the seventeenth century, which was the ancestor (via the cotrdance) of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French quadrille, from which katrej takes its name. But katrej's repertoire, in addition to quadrilles, is other European social dances of the nineteenth century: waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, polonaises.
None of the katrej repertoire is found in togal. The melodies of togal we heard were heptatonic, but they have no clear harmonic implications and, unlike katrej melodies, do not sound like European dance tunes. (Not to us, at least; judge for yourself in tracks 1 and 2.)

Margaret Kartomi proposes (1994-157) that katrej developed in the late nineteenth century, in military colonies of KNTI (Kadrowen Nationale Tentoonstelling Indonesia), among Ambonese and other Christian soldiers from Maluku (whom the Dutch particularly sought to recruit from the 1870s on; see Chauvel 1990). The Maluku soldiers, in close contact with the Dutch, took up the Dutch popular dances. But where did the dance-caller come from? He is not reported in descriptions of European social dance—indeed, the New Grove Dictionary of American Music, in its discussion of square dancing, says certainly a purely "American phenomenon" that emerged in the 1840s for cotillions and quadrilles (New Grove 1986:568).

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

If we think about togal's instrumenta-

tion and its heptatonic, harmony-resistant melodies, we might wonder about the possibility of a source in Maluy music. The violin could have come either from Europe directly (from Dutch or Portuguese) or from Europe via the Melayu. But the violin in North Maluku does not have strong Melayu associations, and the most plausibly Melayu element in North Maluku cul-tures is the songing music, which does not use violin but rather a flute. (See Kartomi 1993:202-204. Two examples of songing music from Ternate are included on the Tradisom CD listed in "References" above. For violin-led Melayu repertoire see also the last volume 11 in our series.)

The gendang dances do not seem (to us) particularly Melayu in idiom. (If questions like this—the allusions of a given music—are to be dealt with seriously, we will have to give some more detailed consideration to these impressionistic statements of how an idiom "seems"; but this is too large and technical a problem to try to work out here.)

To all of these pieces that do not fit, we will add a few compositions that "live up on the puzzle. We heard of, but did not witness, other north Malaheran dance ensembles using biola or komandar or both. Lago, reported to us in Gamanokura (where we recorded dabus), on the opposite side of the northwest peninsula from Malaitif, had biola, tifa, and gong, with no singers and no komandar; now obsolete, it was performed on the occasion of visits from the Sultan of Ternate. Toha wing another Maitakarang dance with biola, tifa, and singers, with no komandar; it too is obsolete. Tide-
tide (is still) a Tobelo dance using biola, flute, and gong, (and according to one source but not anoth-
er) komandar, the Paga who were displaced by the relocation of the Maitakarang also do tide-tide. (And, finally, the Galena know a dance, the name of which we failed to learn, that has a komandar but no biola; we saw a video of this (thanks to Frans Rijly at the Museum Simalak in Ambon). In which the music was played by an ensemble of two plucked lutes, singers in European-style har-
mony, and an intriguing double instrument: a big wooden box, to one side of which a crude bass-
flute was attached. Strips running along the neck were plucked by one player, while another drummed on the box with two sticks. The neck-and-strings part (we were told in a Paga community where this instrument is played) has two strings, while the box part is called kas teh (tea chest). We end inconclusively: togal's violin-led instrumentation may derive from the European-
style komandar band. The togal Melayu music, but its heptatonic scales, seems (again) neither markedly European nor markedly Melayu. Whether it is indigenous, or a mix of indigenous and foreign elements, is not clear, in the absence of more evidence. A few traditional idiom is found in North Malaitif. The dance-caller, on the other hand, must be European, probably borrowed from katrej—he has no Indonesian counterpart, and he could hardly have come from United States square dancing. (We suspect that the New Grove is wrong to say that calling is uniquely American.)

The fact that the togal dance itself seems of an older type than katrej's dances suggests that there may have been forms of call-and-response dance in Malaitif before the late nineteenth century, when Kartomi says katrej developed.

1. Mares
2. Lago Togal

Togal ensemble of Desa Malapa, Kecamatan Makan (Kecamatan Makan Desa Malapi, in north-west Malaheran). The performers are members of Group Oma Moy, directed by A. R. Lintauta.

The ensemble in track 1 consists of a biola, a plucked lute (juk), and two tifa; in track 2 a transverse flute (suling) and a female singer are added. The biola is shaped like a small, crude violin, with three or four strings (string length: 29 cm) and no f-holes. (There is a small sound-hole, 0.7 cm in diameter, near the center of the soundboard.) In our session, the player straddled a bench and held the biola upright, resting its base on the bench. The juk (its name derives from the local pronunciation of "ukulele") is shaped like a rough guitar and has four strings. The tifa are single-headed drums, played with hands, not sticks.

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

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

Lago Togal

Two groups of male singers intoned, "togal song." The lago do not have individual titles, probably because their lyrics are not fixed. Singing in bahasa Moi, the language of West Makian, the singer strings together standard lyrics (called dola) with a base line. Here is the gist of her verses: I thought our love would last, but I was wrong. / I think I knew what's in
your heart, but it seems you still want to look around. / Even if he's gone, there are lots of chances for me. / You already hurt me once; don't do it again. / If he hasn't far across the water, I'd walk to him. / I'm so glad you've come to recognize that if we miss one time I feel ill. / Though he is far away I feel he is close, because our hearts are bound together.

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

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

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

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

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

Ordinarily we tried not to do our fieldwork under the auspices of either the government or commercial enterprises, but in this case, pressed for time, our choice seemed to be between riding in the trucks and not going at all. The hope of finding something exciting in a musically unknown region was too strong for us to resist. So we took the ferry to Buru and a bus to Waeport, where we presented ourselves at the office of the logging company, PT. Wanapoteosi Nusa. The personnel officer approved our request to ride in the trucks and called in the man in charge of company relations with inhabitants of the forest, who made suggestions about where to find people to help carry the equipment, how much to pay them, and how to calculate the amount of food and other supplies to pack in.

We were allowed to buy the supplies at the company store; otherwise we would have had to go six hours round trip to Namlea, the ferry port, to buy them. We told the public relations official we wanted to record in a village near Lake Rana, and he suggested we walk to a village leader from Waereman who were working in the logging camp at Waeda.

We had to wait around for a full day, but when the truck came it took only two hours to reach the camp at Waeda. We then walked up to the lake, and the same company is engaged in whipping out the way of life from which the music we recorded springs. The people of interior Buru live from the forest and the lake, and they know that the health of the lake depends on the forest. "We'll have these trees out of here in twenty-five years," a logging boss said to us. How will the people live then? What music will they make?

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

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

We had been worried that perhaps the logging company had some special motive for directing us to these men and this village, but after all, it is to them we believed the company had acted in good faith. We regarded Waereman as a village where we might find traditional music and knowing the men as respected figures there. Both men had an air of seriousness and dignity. We were particularly impressed that they maintained their boundaries in their dealings with us. They declined to answer questions on some topics—for example, rules for respecting the lake, and the structure of Buru society—until we reached Waereman (when they did answer them); they indicated they were not comfortable talking
about these things in the logging camp, surround-
ed by outsiders. And they simply refused to dis-
cuss their religion—not at the camp, not at the
lake. If we asked about religious beliefs, practices,
or music, they answered us on some other topic
entirely. Perhaps they thought we were socially
misunderstood. In any case, we found plenty of sec-
ular music to record and were happy not to
intrude on matters they wished to keep private.

There are four kinds of music in Waierman,
the potere, who did most of the talking told us.
These are the four entertainment genres we pre-
sent here (enggabuk, tingbok, athen, sasu). There
used to be a fifth, bading, using a drum or
drum, singers, and a three-stringed fiddle.
whala, but there are no whala left in Waierman.
(We heard from two sources that there are still
whala in the southern part of the island.) The
potere did not mention any dance or singing for
religious ceremony or ritual. Although we are cer-
tain such forms exist. Other genres probably
imported from Ambon or elsewhere in Maluku—
chokole, lego, minari—have been reported from
the coast, but the potere did not speak of them.
He said that all people in the mountains of Buru
have the same music.

3. Kalabae
Male singers with drums (bubu). Musicians of Ka-
mpung Waierman, on the northern shore of Lake
Rana, Kecamatan Bura Utara Barat, in central Bura.
Genre: enggabuk.

Enggabuk, as performed for us in Waierman, is
singing by four seated men, each with a single-
headed drum called naha. It is sung, the potere
said, only at night, as entertainment at weddings
or to welcome a guest. The verses begin with a
soloist (santane) and are taken up by the chorus
(dobol, also called runa sade). Enggabuk was
reported, under the name naha, in early ac-
counts by Wilken (1875:40-41, 57-58) and
Martins (1894:292-293, 300). Both authors
describe a soloist/chorus structure, but with a
mixed group of singers, not the all-male singing

group we saw.

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

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

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

4. Tuang Kolaru (excerpt)
Female vocal duo from Kampung Waierman.
Genre: athen.

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

A single melody is sung in this excerpt and
would be sung throughout the entire narrative
(which could go on all night). Other melodies
may be used for athen. In one of this, we again
hear the descending contours and (if thinking in
the Western manner) the minor triads and seventh-
chords we heard in the kalabae. The structural
similarity of the two melodies is striking, though
the scale and the relationship of the chords are
different. If, for ease of comparison, we convert
the scale of the athen so that its lowest tone (and,
coincidentally, its opening tone, an octave above
the lowest tone) is C (it is actually G), then the
converted athen scale is C D E F G A Bb, and the
chords are G minor and D minor (instead of C-
minor in the kalabae). The range of the melody
extends from the low C through the octave to D.
The narrative here concerns a king in the old
days. Raja Tuang Kolaru, who planned to go to
war against "another island." His wife Boboera,
who was pregnant, wanted to accompany him,
but he would not allow it.

5. Tigertama
6. Perusai Tjang
Jew's harp solos from Kampung Waierman.

Two solos played on a tingbok, a jew's harp
made of a leaf fiber (jagun areo). The instrument
is 11.5 cm long and 3.8 cm wide at the widest
point; the vibrating tongue is 8.5 cm long.

Tingbok is played informally in Malabu (and in
most parts of Indonesia) to amuse the player and
others sitting close by. Tingbok tunes have stories
behind them. The potere told us the stories of these two. Tigertama
is named for a hermit who lived alone in the for-
est and amused himself by beating out rhythms
and melodies on tree trunks. The people in the
village heard him and made this piece in imita-
tion of his music. Perusai Tjang was composed by
another man who, like Tigertama, played music
for himself on tree trunks. A third tune (Mauka, not
heard here) was composed by a woman who
wrote her sweetheart rowing on the lake; thinking
of her love for him, she made the tingbok tune.

7. Ranaferan
Gong ensemble from Kampung Waierman.
Genre: sasu.

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

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

Jaap Kunst cites an 1886 Dutch study listing "some forty different dances and accompanying dance-tunes" in Kei (1904 [1945]). He also observed that music in Kei is "homogeneous in its structure and total system." Cicile Barrand notes that the richness of oral tradition in Kei lies not in great epics or long origin myths, but in proverbs and sawkur (songs). "Songs," she writes, "constitute the largest part of the musical corpus in Kei; there are a dozen categories, according to whether they are performed unaccompanied, or with drum or flute (or both), or with dancers. They are also distinguished on the basis of the circumstances of their performance: weddings, funerals, the ceremony for putting a roof on a house, the launching of a boat, successful return from a fishing expedition or from battle, harvest festivals, purification of a village after a serious transgression, the visit of allies or partners in exchange relations. Specific songs must be sung on these occasions. Some songs may be used for several related ceremonies; others, like those for funerals, are appropriate to only one type of ceremony... The songs use an archaic language, often with obscure words...[but] young and old, men and women, most people have a good knowledge of these songs" (Barrand 1980:143).

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

8. Marin Uib
Chorus of children from Desa Waiwar, in northern Kei Besar.

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

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

9. Wannar

Banda El is a village on the northeast coast that was settled in the 1620s—"twelve generations ago"—by refugees from the Dutch devastation of the Banda Islands. (Another Bandanese village on Kei is Banda Elor or Elat, near the midpoint of the west coast.) Unlike most of their neighbors on Kei, the Bandanese are Muslims. Wannar, sung in bahasa Banda, concerns a journey by the Raja of Banda to Madina, and its melody has ornaments that may be seen as deriving from Islamic singing, not characteristic of non-Muslims in Kei, but as a performance it fits in the Kei genre of song (also called san, sini, and so on). It was sung by an unaccompanied chorus of female dancers holding yerk, bundles of palm-leaf-filter strips that make a swishing sound. (The singers had yerk with them at the recording session but preferred not to use them, since they were not actually dancing.) These songs and dances are performed to protect someone on a long journey and in thanksgiving ceremonies when he or she returns, for communal festivals, and to welcome important guests; they are not done for weddings. The melody uses four tones, C Db Eb Fb; it starts on Eb.

10. Tiwal Sawat
Flute, drums, gong. Musicians of Desa Waiwar, Genre: sung.

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

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

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

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

In both northern and southern Kesi Bevar, *ngel-ngel* are sung at weddings. Since weddings initiate new families, *ngel-ngel* texts concern family life and relationships. This one tells the story of a father whose beloved daughter elopes. The father misses her and worries about her, but at the same time he is angry. He sends her a message telling her that he has prepared a gift for her, a mat and pillow of good material and workmanship, and she should come and get it. But because he is still angry, he hangs the gift up where she will see it without having to meet her face to face. When she arrives and sees the gift hanging there, she weeps because she knows her father refuses to meet her. Later, when the father sees that the gift is gone, he also weeps.

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

*Sather*. Sather (which rhymes, more or less, with "no hair" in English) is a Protestant village of some 900 inhabitants on the east coast of Kesi Bevar, in the southern half of the island, about an hour by jukun south from Yamei. It lies in the rizalup Tahir Yamin, Raja Fei, the authority in this rizalup, lives far from Sather, and his presence is felt little there; this is a significant difference between Sather and Watiara, where the raja lives right in the village. Sather is a village of ten commoners. The two other classes of the Kesi society—mel (aristocrats, said by the rest to have come from outside and to have set themselves over the rest, the original inhabitants, who had openheartedly welcomed them) and ri (descendants of slaves)—are not represented in Sather.

13. *Ngel-ngel*
Female soloist and chorus from Desi Sather, in southern Kesi Bevar

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

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

*Ngel-ngel* in Sather are sung by a soloist and then repeated by a chorus in heterophonic unison, to the accompaniment (in Sather, but not in Watiara) of a single drum. The scale of the song has four tones, of the form C Db Eb F. The drumming is extraordinary, in that it is uncoordinated with the singing: it does not establish a pulse or mark regular recurrences in the music or text. (Teachers? Class too large? Students lack humility? Assign this track for transcription. Give no hints.) We must admit that this drumming is so unusual we thought perhaps the drummer couldn't keep a beat but the singers didn't want to embarrass her by pointing it out. So we were reassured to find that the Catholic missionary Geurtjens observed the same peculiarity in the 1920s: he remarks that in the drumming for *ngel-ngel* there might be a pause of nearly half a minute between one pair of drum-strokes and the next pair (Geurtjens 1921:397).

14. *Baiit Nya Nit*
Male soloist from Desi Sather

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

15. *Sonei* (first song)
Female duo and chorus from Desi Sather

As in Watiara, *sonei* in Sather are songs with dance performed on communal (rather than domestic) occasions. In Sather, one group of four songs and dances is performed as a set to welcome important guests; this is the first of that group. The singers referred to the set as tarian turubi, "the dance of (this) earth." It is sung first by two women and then repeated by a women's chorus in heterophonic unison. The repeating melody
involve only four tones (Ab C Db Eb) until the very end, when a surprising Bb is introduced.

16. Tari Besur Panah
Flute and drum. Musicians from Desa Sather.

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

HALMAHERA: DABUS

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

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

Dabur is one of three genres of devotional performance known in Gamkonora in which the central event is the demonstration of invulnerability: Each of the three—sumater, halal, and riqai or dabur—has its own prayers and exoteric knowledge and its own secret book in Arabic. All involve men only: A fourth kind of devotional performance, hadrut, may be performed by women as well as men; it consists of singing only, without the demonstrations characteristic of the other forms; participants remain seated throughout.

In dabus, participants (pemain, "players"; also peraga, "demonstrators") stab themselves vigorously with iron awls (abuun, Arabic dabus), but the religious knowledge of the syah (Arabic: syahub) who directs the event and the power of the Muslim saints invoked in prayers and prayers together protect the participants, so that the awls penetrate the skin only superficially. Patches of fresh blood were evident on the shirts of pemain, but people assured us that the wounds heal overnight and give no pain. Participants may also run skewers (janjaping) through their earlobes, noses, or throats, and burning candles may be attached to the skewers. During these demonstrations, seated men sing Islamic formulæ in Arabic, accompanied by themselves on frame drums (nabaha). These formulæ are called alakir in Indonesia (Arabic: dhur, zil). Between bouts with the awls, songs with religious content or associations called quadiq are sung in Arabic, without drumming.

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

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

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

The place of dabus in Indonesian Islam.

Dabur in Gamkonora is clearly related to performances with similar names (dabus, adau, gedebus) in other parts of Indonesia (West Java, West Sumatra, Aceh) and the Malay peninsula. Martin van Bruinessen, a scholar of Indonesian Islam, regards them all as forms of an invulnerability cult that appears to be derived from practices commonly associated with the Rifa'iyya (van Bruinessen n.d.), that is, with the "mystical brotherhood" or "Sufi order" (Indonesian: tarikat; Arabic: tariqa) named for Ahmad ibn 'Ali ar-Rifa'i of Iraq (1176-1232 C.E.). The Rifa'iyya are known in much of the Muslim world for piercing their bodies with spikes and mortifying themselves with fire, relying on ar-Rifa'i's protection from harm.

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

Van Bruinessen notes that elsewhere in the Muslim world the dabus-like practices of the Rifa'iyya order (and the Qadiriyya as well) in some places are intended to demonstrate indi-
ference to pain, while in Indonesia they instead demonstrate invulnerability. The shift of focus, he implies, reflects an Indonesian preoccupation and is “exquisitely related to warfare and the mar-
tial arts” (1995:153). Thus whether or not dabus players do also demonstrate indifference to pain (he observed this in Banten, and we saw it in Gamkonora in the use of jampiing), but he points out accurately for Gamkonora, and no doubt for Banten as well “this is an additional part of [the] performance and never the central act, which features invulnerability” (ibid.:198–199, n.91).

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

Some of the information we gathered in Gamkonora suggests the eclectic mixing (if not confusion) of names and attributes that accord-
ing to van Bruijnessen is characteristic of the cult rather than an established Sufi order. For exam-
ple, we were told that dabus which is also called rifa’i (→Rifa’i), was created by Syeh Abdullah Jacleni (=Abdul Al-Qadir Al-Jilani). This holy man (mentioned earlier as the recourse of the sailor in distress) was also said to have founded the tarekat Naqshbandiya (→Naqshbandiyya). The spiri-
tual climax of a dabus performance, the segment called kata syeh, begins with a long invocation of Rifa’i. Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Al-Karim as-Sam-
manni (1718–1775 C.E.), who gave his name to the Sammaniyya order and to the samman devo-
gional genre in Gamkonora, is also invoked (by name or by the use of songs borrowed from the samman genre, e.g. track 17).

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

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

For the syeh, the imam, and the musicians, dabus is a religious event—a ritual, not simply a show—and it is not undertaken lightly. We asked the syeh why he did not sing along with the oth-

er; he replied that his teacher (who was his father) taught him never to take his concentra-
tion from the pemain, from the place on their bodies where they stab themselves. If he were to shift his eyes away to look at the text of the song, the pemain might be hurt. He also told us that sometimes he performs dabus for himself, alone in his room, protected only by his own prayers. No one but a syeh would dare do this, he said.

17. Dzikir Samman; Allahu Allah 18. Qasidah Rifa’i; Baghdadi (except) 19. Kata Syeh; Baqada Imuhai Male singers with frame drums (tracks 17, 19); singers alone (track 18). Dabus officiants and musi-
cians from Desa Talaga, Kecamatan Pulau Bu, in the Gamkonora region of northwest Halmahera.

A short performance, such as the one we recorded, lasts three hours or so; a long one could go on all night. The ritual opened with about fifty minutes of prayers and Quranic recitation. (The prayers and recitations and all of the singing for the whole of the ritual were in Arabic.) Then the drumming, singing, and dis-
plays of invulnerability began. Two dzikir rifa’i (that is, dzikir belonging to the rifa’i or dabus genre of devotional performance) were sung and played; while pemain stabbed themselves with the awls; then the ‘players’ took a break and the musicians sang a qasidah rifa’i, with no drum-
ing. Next came another dzikir rifa’i, followed by the dzikir samman in track 17, which is borrowed from the samman devotional genre. (Samman is distinct from dabus or rifa’i in that samman uses no rubana and is performed in the dark. Our syeh remarked that this makes samman the hard-
est of all the genres to perform, since everyone must memorize the text, recite it, and sing. In dabus the lights are on and one can read the texts.) Another dzikir samman was sung, and then the pemain took another break and the musicians sang a second qasidah rifa’i (track 18).

After one more dzikir rifa’i, the display section of the performance was finished.

Then came the segment we have already described as the ritual’s spiritual climax: kata syeh, “the word of the syeh.” Up to this point the syeh had not led any of the spoken or sung pas-
sages of the event, and he and all of the musi-
cians had remained seated (except when they took the awls, temporarily becoming pemain). Now they all stood and formed a semicircle, with the syeh in the middle. Holding a drum in front of him, he sang the invocation of Rifa’i, with choral responses, followed by a second song of this form. Then he began to sing Baqada Imuhai (track 19), joined eventually by the cho-
rus and the drums. The words of the song mean: "Allah who stands forever." Once the drums were
in, the syeh started to dance, holding the drum with both hands, swirling and veering all around the circle. (He told us that he sometimes goes into trance during this dance.) Following the syeh’s dance, the imam recited from the Quran and said a prayer. (The syeh said afterward that the imam considerably chose a long passage to recite, allowing the syeh time to catch his breath.) After a final group of prayers, the musicians and officiants shook hands, each with each, and the ritual was over.

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

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

**RECORDING AND PERFORMANCE DATA**

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


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

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


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


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

**Track 15** Performed by singers of Ds. Sather (as track 13). Female chorus: Agustina Dokainubun, Berbelina Dokainubun, Yostina Dokainubun (opening duet), Alida Domakobun (opening duet), Korlina Domakobun, Maryance Domakobun, Teroc Domakobun, Yostina Domakobun, Adriana Rahangmetan, Welmia Wansaubun, Yosena Yosina Yamlaai. Recorded as for track 13.

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PHOTOGRAPHS

front cover: dabus: the syeh's dance (track 19).
rear cover: top: dabus texts and equipment, bottom, left to right: the dabus syeh as "player", nigel-nigel singers in Sather (track 13), dabus musicians (track 17).
tray: enggahua musicians, portel at right (track 3).

The musicians pictured are the ones in the recordings.

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

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

ABOUT SMITHSONIAN FOLKLAWS

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

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

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

The Smithsonian Folklaws, Folklaws, Cook, Paredon, and Dyer-Bennett record labels are administered by the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. They are one of the means by which the Center supports the work of traditional artists and expresses its commitment to cultural diversity, education, and increased understanding.
Track List
1. Mares
2. Lagu Togal
3. Kalabae
4. Tuang Kolatu
5. Tigertama
6. Perusi Tajang
7. Ranafafan
8. Marin Uib
9. Wannar
10. Tiwal Sawat
11. Snehet
12. Ngel-ngel
13. Ngel-ngel
14. Baiut Ntya Nit
15. Sosoi
16. Tari Busur Panah
17. Dzikir Samman: Allahu Allah
18. Qasidah Rifai: Baghdadi
19. Kata Syeh: Baqada Imuhai

References Cited
See liner note addendum for list of references that were cited in the published text but could not be included there for reasons of space. At the end of the list of references, series editor Philip Yampolsky added some further references that were not cited in the text but are relevant to the topics discussed there.

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

1. Niat (statement of intention) by the host, addressed to all present.

2. Incense was burned. While reciting shalawat Nabi (praises of the Prophet) silently ("in their hearts"), all the participants (meaning here the invited officiants, singers, and drummers, not the pemain or "players" who would stab themselves with the awls) scattered flowers into the middle of the performance space.
The *imam* recited the *niat* silently, then he spoke the word *niat* aloud three times, repeated each time by participants. Then the *imam* said *hadir* ("come," or "be present") three times, again repeated by the participants. Then the *imam* recited the *Bismillah*, followed by *Surat Quraesin* (QS [al-Qur’an Suci] 106), followed by *Surat al-Fatiha* (QS 1) twenty times.

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


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

5. *Hadrat* (shalawat).

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. Final prayer. Each of the participants shook hands with all the others and left the house.
This file provides transcriptions of one of the texts sung in Volume 19 of the 20-volume *Music of Indonesia* series published by Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.

In addition to the song text, there is an addendum on the course of the *dabus* ritual we recorded (see first page of Liner Notes), and the list of references that were cited in the published text but could not be included there for reasons of space. At the end of the list of references we add some further references that were not cited in the text but are relevant to the topics discussed there. – Philip Yampolsky

**Track 2. Lagu togal**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bahasa Moi</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harape la danasib omo</td>
<td>I [woman] thought our love would succeed, but in the end it failed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padahal la isia-sia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawado ni amo omo</td>
<td>I [woman] thought I knew your [man’s] heart, but it seems you still want to shop around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni amo la ipele pili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nima wiyo dahalma wiyo</td>
<td>Even though he is not with me, there are still lots of people for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fato fato dedo bebewi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isade la damacang mine</td>
<td>You have already hurt me once; don’t do it again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isa amo de safo wiyo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasiang dasawan wolot</td>
<td>Too bad he is across the water, otherwise I’d walk to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coba yo ma tasagal gou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biasa to hida-hida</td>
<td>I’m used to meeting him that if one time we don’t meet my body feels ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hida ua badan gogola</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gudu ma la towaji lofo</td>
<td>Far feels like near because our hearts are tied together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokarana firani nyinga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES CITED IN THE PUBLISHED COMMENTARY FOR VOLUME 19


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


