

FLORES OF THE LOOM

KEMBANG ALAT TENUN

Manggarai

Ngada

Nagekeo

Ende

Sikka

Timur

Lembata

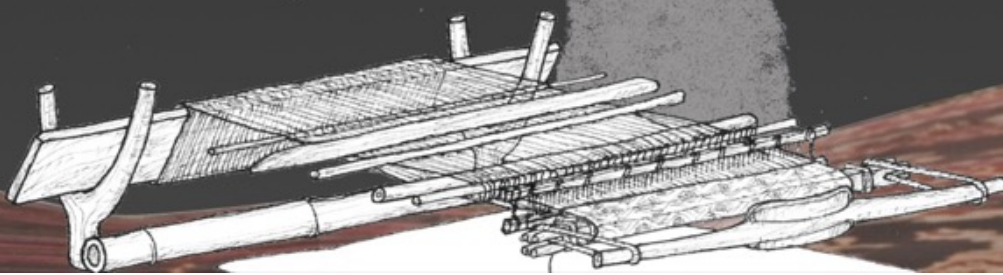
Alor

Externals

Loin Looms of Flores & surrounding islands

PREVIEW

01/2026



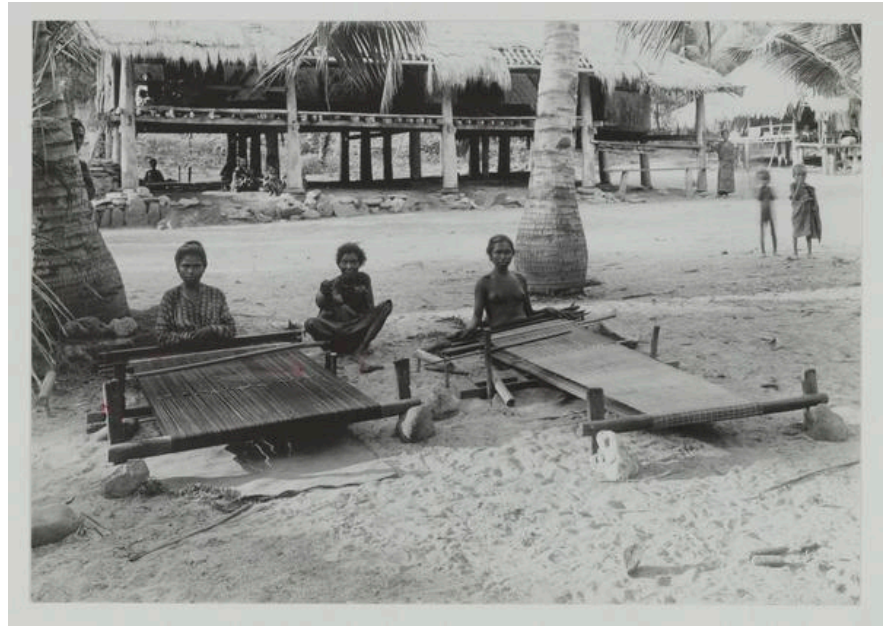
Flores of the Loom

The Loin Looms of Flores
& surrounding Islands

- Stakes made room -

Guido Plum
Charlotte Gröger
01/2026

Kembang A'at Tenun



1) Photo: "Weefsters te Sikka" (Weavers in Sikka). Le Roux ~1915.
digital collection: KITLV 5628 -> <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:786580>

Abstract

Our project examines ethnic loin looms on the island of Flores and the surrounding area in eastern Indonesia. In a separate paper we discussed the historical background of the available image material from academic collections such as the Collectie Tropenmuseum and the digital collection of Universiteit Leiden before turning to the current inventory and cross the Ikat-line¹.

The data do not result from field research, basically wanted to rely on given literature. Existing literature provides a wealth of, albeit incomplete, information, but a comparative overview wasn't available this way. It seems looms are necessary by-product of the beloved textiles in given literature. This project aims to provide an initial remedy, focusing primarily on describing loin looms and illustrating an overview of ethnic looms on Flores with photographs and drawings - textiles, therefore are kept out of focus in here!

The aim was to represent the loin looms of all six main regencies: Manggarai, Ngada, Nagekeo, Ende, Sikka, and East Flores, as well as to compare loin looms of the Lamaholot and the Bima. In addition to the loin looms, ethnic warping devices will also be included in the collection, as far as information is available.

Current overviews of Indonesian loin looms, such as "De Weefkunst" published by Jasper & Pirngadie in 1912, omit Flores, and thus an important type group of Indonesian loin looms - the stake loom. This blind spot also affects the perception of the more extensively documented ethnic looms.

Keywords: Loin loom, Austronesia, Flores, Manggarai, Ngada, Nagekeo, Ende, Sikka, Lamaholot, Ikat-line

¹ See: Buckley 2022!

Foreword

Weavers of the Serpent Horse

Science is not an end in itself; this work should therefore return to the weaver, to support and preserve traditional weaving culture. In this case, we address ourselves primarily to the weavers of *Nusa Nipa* and *Pulau Bunga* (Flores). From them, we have received everything what enabled us to visualize this overview of their cultural heritage; it is intended to serve them in preserving, cultivating, and even expanding their culture for the days to come. Since we shouldn't assume that all weavers on Flores speak English, the initial main part of the book should, above all, be visually accessible. For other culture enthusiasts and aspiring weavers, the book may also serve as a clear, cross-border companion, shedding new *twilight* on certain facts.

After gaining an overview of the most striking loin looms of the Manggarai, we cross the Ikat-Line roughly at the border to Ngada. While in Manggarai, *flat warps* equipped with *reed combs* are found exclusively, from Ngada onwards, one is essentially confronted with only *circular warps*. From here on, *stake looms* predominate; in Manggarai, however, *station looms* predominate! This does not change in the further, from Ende, Sikka to East Flores! However, in Ngada, *diagonally aligned warps* are found, while in the adjoining areas, *horizontally running ikat warps* can be observed. Ultimately, it turns out that the Ikat-line is a strip, from Ngada to Nagekeo, where the fronts blur so far. From East Flores, onwards to Lembata and Alor, weaving stations (*station looms* or so-called 'part-frames') can be found again; mostly wild, somehow free-style, but nailed constructions; and also equipped with circular warps.

The "Foot Loom of Larantuka" was added to the collection as a curiosity from Flores. Other examples of "External Loin Looms" from the surrounding islands, such as *Sumba*, *Timor*, *Papua*, *Borneo*, and *Sulawesi*, were also included to carefully round out the collection. Finally, a few examples of warping tools from the *Bima* and *Larantuka* are still needed to illustrate the common procedure.

Technical terms such as *foot loom*, *stake loom*, and *station loom* are clarified in the "Grouping of Loin Looms". This is followed by an index of illustrations, a reference list, and two lists of foreign terms in use and terms of weaving with brief explanations, followed by an overview of contents. Inbetween one may find some of our first conclusions.

Methodology

The present data were primarily obtained by analyzing loin looms on images.

Plum, G. & C. Gröger (2025): "Flores of the Loom (Kembang Alat Tenun) - Loin Looms of Flores & surrounding islands." - <https://www.academia.edu/143187067/>

Flores of the Loom © 2025 by Guido Plum/Charlotte Gröger

Preview 01/26

Externals

Warping

Conclusions

Groups of Looms

Categories

Images

References

Terms in use

Map of Flores

Contents

hiLites

Y - The Loom

Ikat-Line

Foot Loom

Mama Wulu

Taka Tuka

Locations

Bahasa

Deutsch

VOCABULARY

flat warp

reed comb

circular warp

diagonally-
aligned

ikat

horizontally-
aligned

station loom

stake loom

part-frame

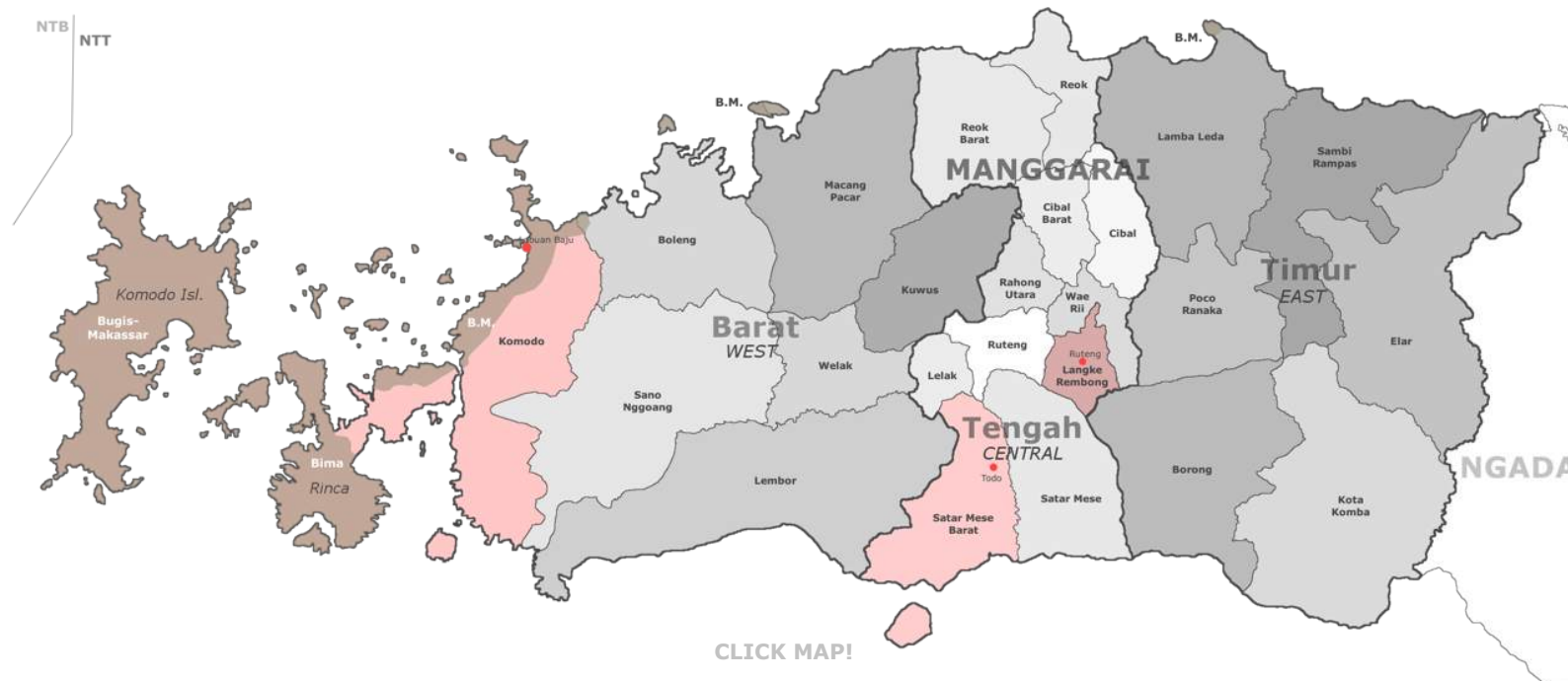
foot loom

warping

Alat Tenun Manggarai

Looms of Manggarai

[<<] [Y-STAKE] [Y-STATION] [BIMA] [MANDAR-TYPE] [TODO] [FLORES] [>>]



Looms of Manggarai

EAST | **CENTRAL** | **WEST** | **BIMA** | **MANDAR-LIKE** | **TODO** | BUGIS-MAKASSAR

At the beginning of the millennium, the former Manggarai was divided into three administrative districts: West, Central, and East Manggarai. The coastal areas in the far west of West Manggarai and on the offshore Komodo Islands are predominantly home to Bima settlements on Rinca Island, but also Bugis-Makassar settlements. Smaller Bugis-Makassar settlements are also found along the north coast of Flores, which will not be discussed further here.

At least eight differing constructions of loin looms were found throughout the entire Manggarai region; major five of these models are highlighted here. The Bima loom is found primarily in the west and along north coast, but it can also be found widely distributed throughout the Manggarai region. The other models are also often found side by side and scattered throughout the Manggarai region, regardless of the new government boundaries. For example, the stake loom, perhaps the most ancient of the Manggarai looms, was found in the capital city of Ruteng in Central Manggarai, while its station loom-variant was found in Eastern Manggarai; but both can be found in West AND East now. (!)

All Manggarai models have in common the particularly pronounced warp board, which, unlike the rest of Flores, is equipped with a flat warp and reed comb. Ikat, as well as circular or false circular warps, were not found, although Ikat was mentioned repeatedly. Therefore, in contrast to the rest of Flores, the Manggarai appears to have been subject to strong external influences (Sulawesi/Sumbawa). However, the looms themselves show that this influence was met with interest and not imposed from abroad. The Bugis-Makassar looms on Sulawesi, and later probably the Bima, brought influence to the Manggarai loom. The strongest influence on the Manggarai loom was probably the stand loom-type of the Bima; however, the influence of the Mandar loom stands, also located on Sulawesi, is hardly overlooked. Its counterpart on Flores is now shown here! Vague characteristics of Javanese looms and those from Palembang are still questionable and are also not considered here so far, but may get reflected a bit by the coming Naga-images (here: Nipa) on entire Flores later on.

Although traditional Manggarai stake looms can still be seen here, station loom-types are clearly more numerous in Manggarai than in the rest of Flores. Only in East Flores, and especially on the adjacent islands, station looms begin to appear again in larger numbers. However, station loom-types also seem becoming a trend in Ende, especially in Sikka.

Kab. Manggarai

BARAT | TENGAH | TIMUR

COMPONENTS

Y-Stakes
of Ruteng

Y-Station
in the East

Bima-Stand
of the West

Mandar-like
Station Loom

Special Loom
In Todo

Influencer:

Bima
Bugis-Makassar
Mandar

VOCABULARY

stake loom

station loom

flat warp

reed comb

circular warp

false circular warp

stand loom

ikat-Line

warp-weighted

ground loom

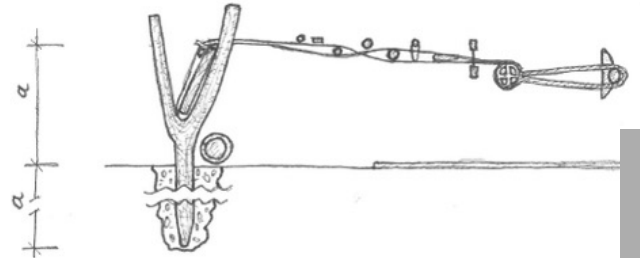
Y - The Loom gently twigs (Stake Loom)

[Y][stake loom][warp board][flat warp/up][breast beam/above][reed][yoke][Ruteng]

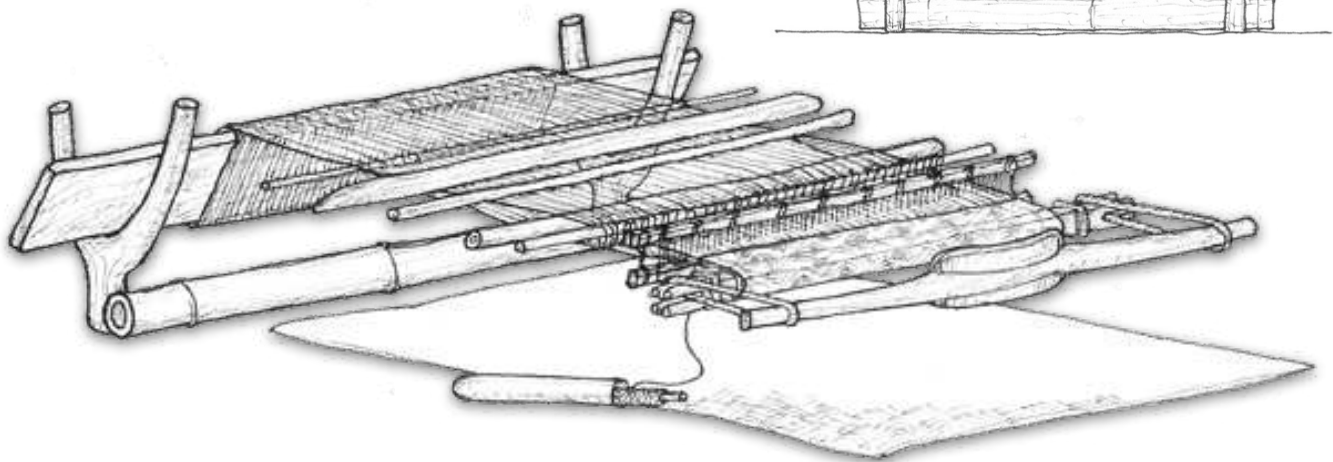
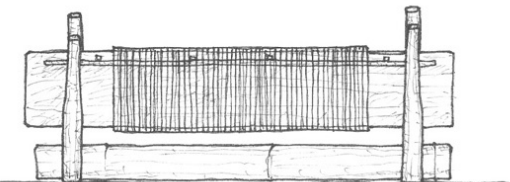
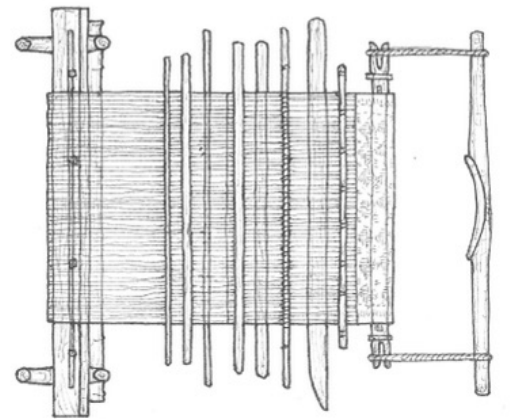


STAKE

[c]



Manggarai



All looms in Manggarai have a *flat warp* on this huge kind of *warp board* in common, what stands in contrast to the *circular warps* of the rest of the island. It also uses a *reed comb*. This original version from Central Manggarai is still an original stake loom-type like it is found for the most of looms on Flores, but most of looms in Manggarai rest on rails (*station loom*).



3) Stake Loom in Ruteng, Manggarai Tengah with Y-shaped forks as holders for the warp board of the flat warp.

Y - The Station Loom - Fork on rails

[Y][station loom][warp board][flat warp/up][breast beam/above][reed][yoke]



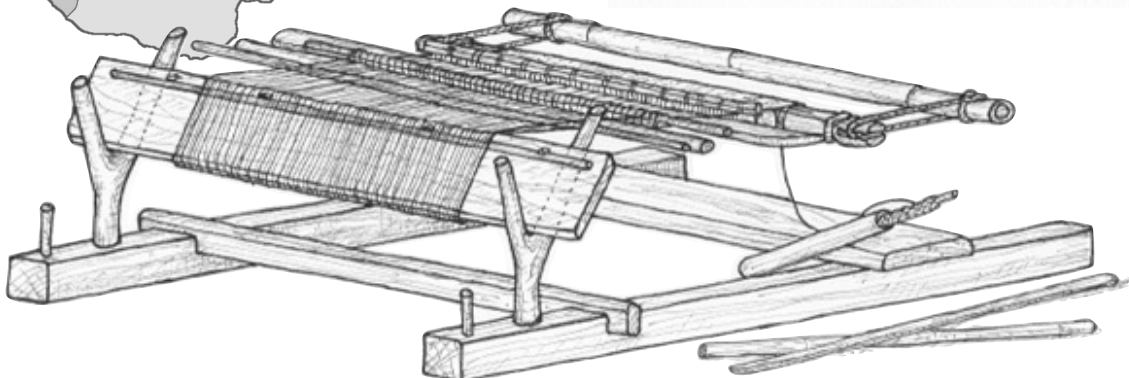
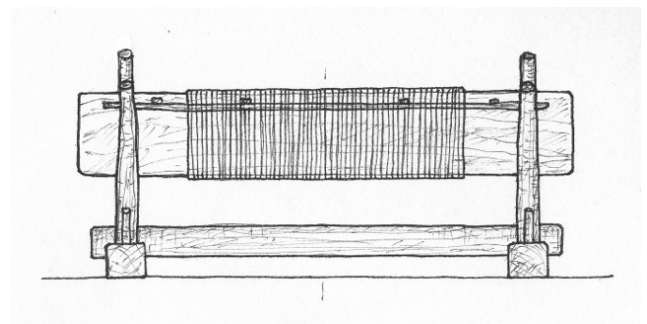
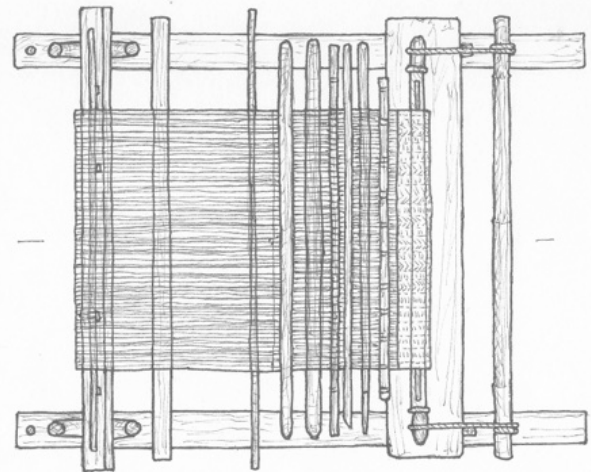
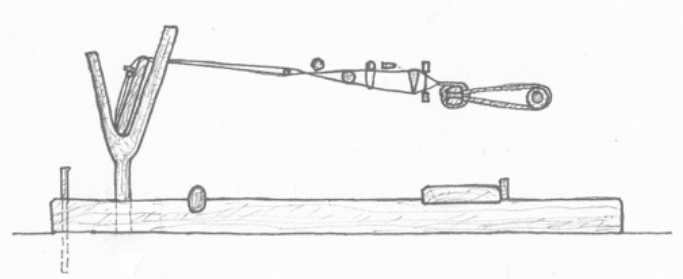
[c]



STATION

Several types of loin looms are found in Manggarai, but all of them are using a flat warp with a *reed comb*. The most original ones show Y-shaped warp board holders, both, driven into ground or mounted on rails. The flat warp of these looms in Manggarai reflects the *Ikat-line*, that separates the Manggarai from the rest of Flores and its looms and Ikat-textiles. On top, it effects the construction of the entire loom.

This station loom-type with its Y-holders mounted on rails is found in East Manggarai.



Manggarai

The Bima weaving stand

[U][stand loom][warp board][flat warp/hor][breast frame/above][reed][yoke]

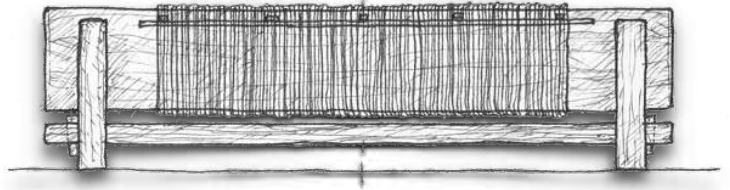


STAND

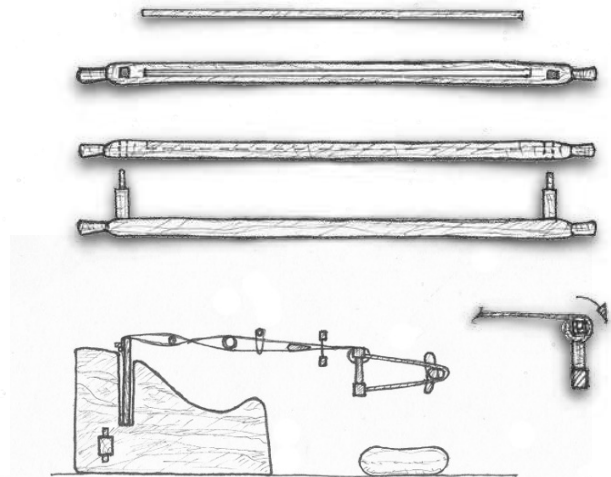


STATION

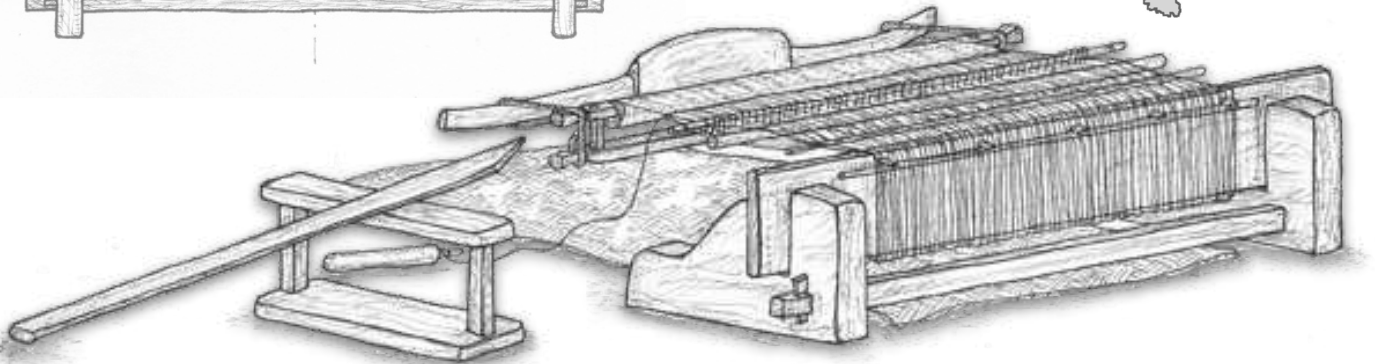
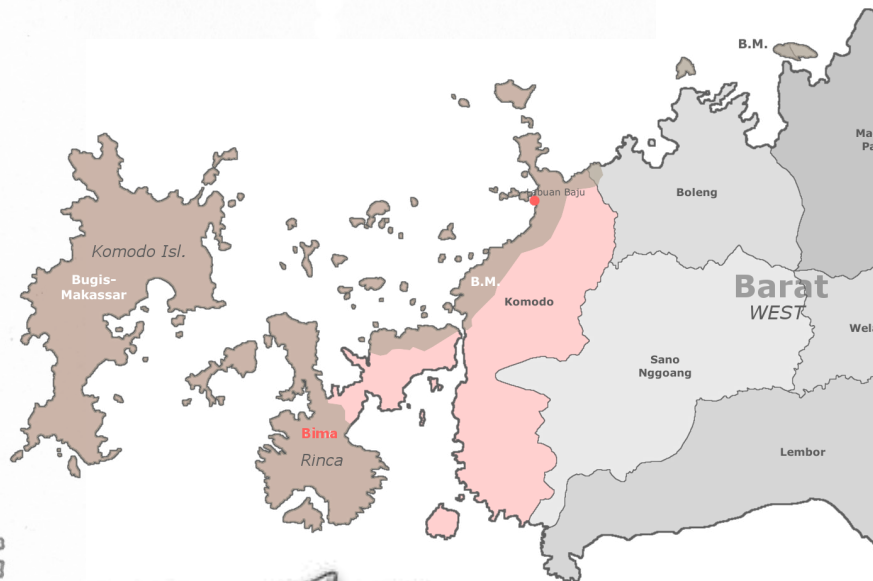
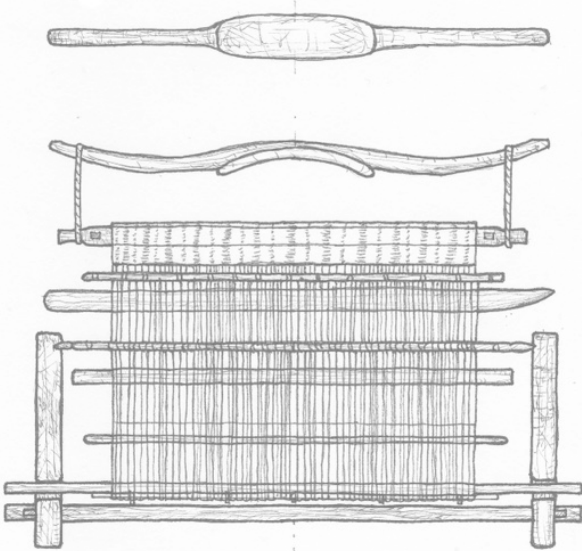
[C]



It's the question, if this loom of the Bima is still a type of weaving stand (*stand loom*), that needs bindings to a construction to work properly. According to the way of use, its size and weight some of them work as a stand-alone and independent weaving station (*station loom*). But most of them are used to be fixed to the ground. As all looms in Manggarai *flat warps* are woven on huge *warp boards* with *framed breast beams*. This loom is found in Bima-villages along the coast, like in southern West Manggarai, but spread also in other areas of Manggarai. Some station looms there reflect their influence onto them.



Manggarai



A Mandar-like Stand Loom

[U][stand loom][warp board][flat warp/hor][breast beam/above][reed][yoke][Wae Rebo]

In addition to the looms of the Bima, which are represented in Manggarai itself, other ethnic looms of Sulawesi also seem to have had influence onto the looms of Manggarai, whose originals themselves are not (anymore) represented in Manggarai. For instance, there are various constructions inspired by the weaving stands of the Mandar, but here, they are mounted on crossbars. In addition, there are usually rails, similar to those of the Toraya, that are sometimes connected to the crossbar, or keep it at a distance, as in this example, only by touching it. In others, there is no contact with the transverse binder; here the rails just serve the movable seat board.

Some of the posts still take up the conical shape of the original Mandar posts. At times there are also high railings that serve as a batten rest; others don't seem to need this utensil, like the footrest. Variants of combinations are plenty; here just two of those: Desa Colol in Manggarai Timur ([inbisnis 2022](#)) & Desa Adat Wae Rebo in Manggarai Tengah ([Aprilla 2017](#)).



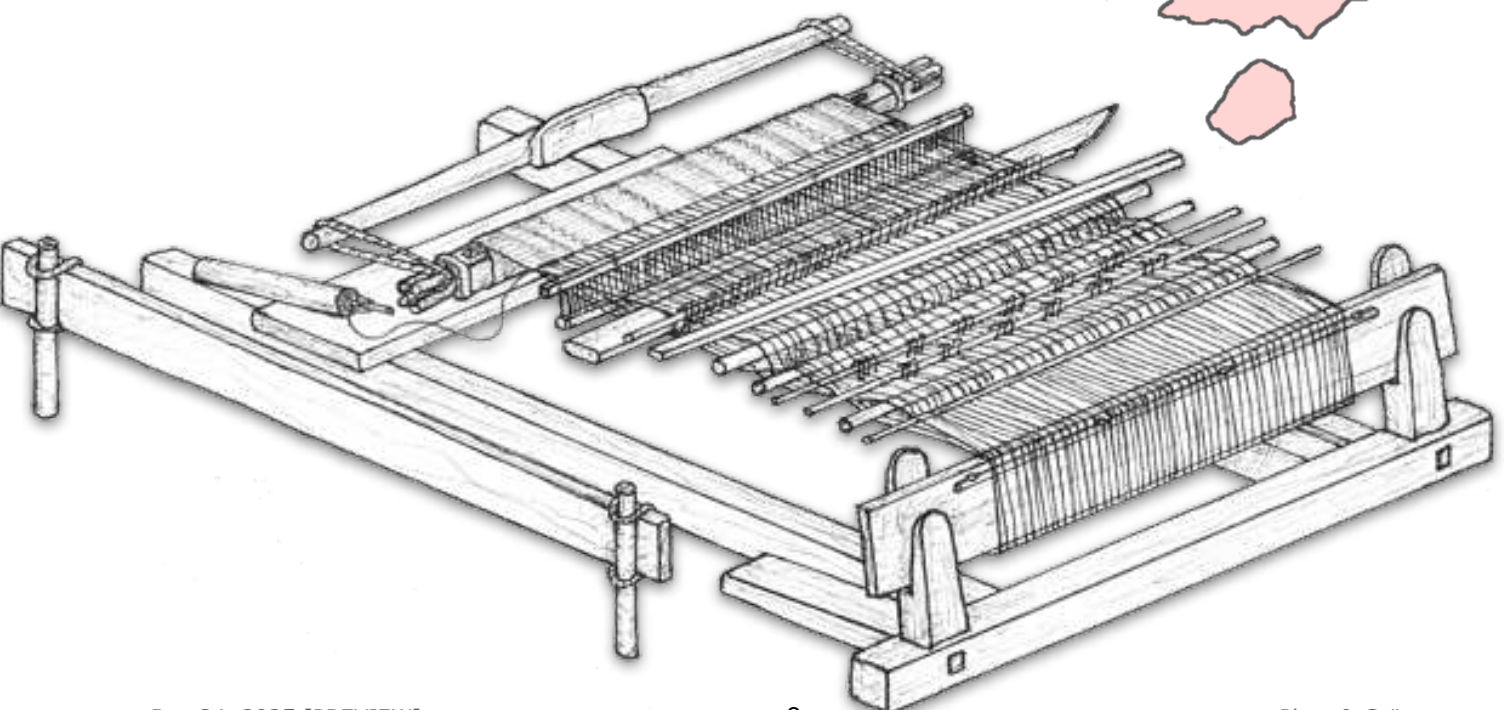
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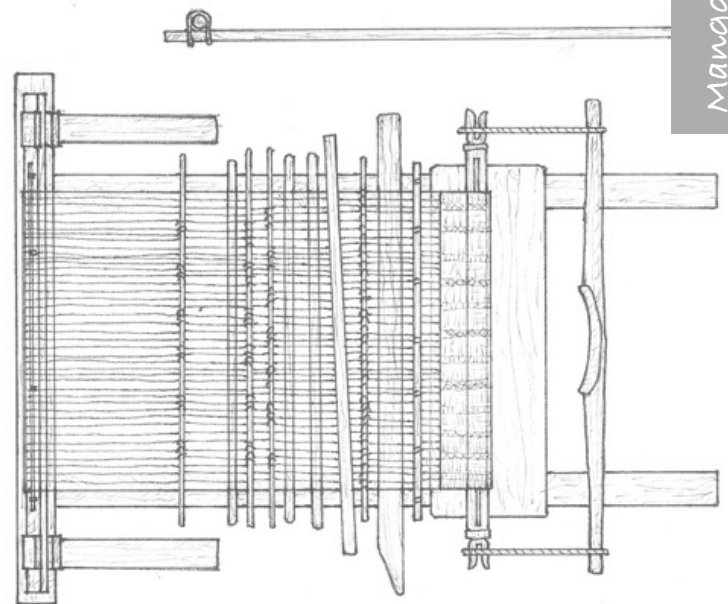
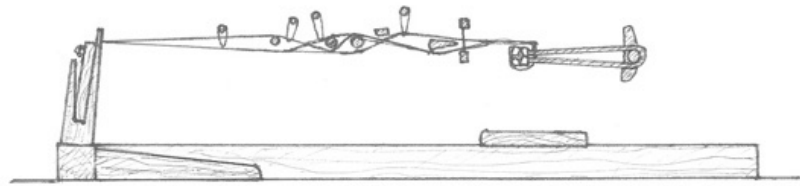
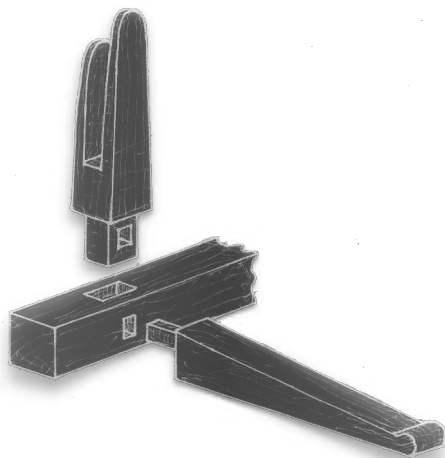
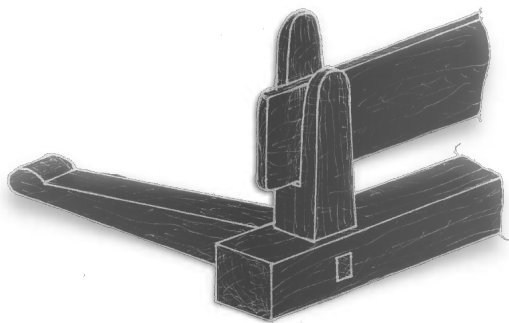
STATION



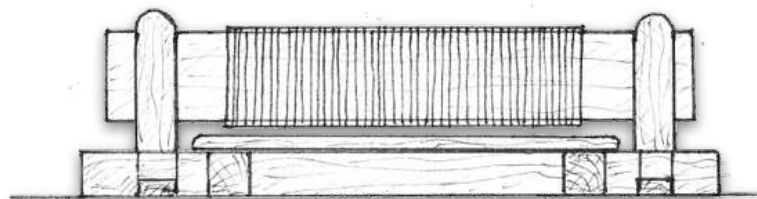
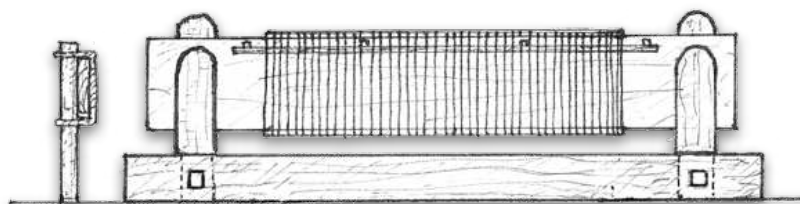
STAND



Mandar-like stands mounted on a crossbar. According to the constructions to be found, they are all inspired by several ethnic templates that flow in from abroad, but the composition of the components bases on the own creation of Manggarai. Thus, here on Flores, from the former stands and seat rails from mainly Sulawesi, in combination with the stake looms prevailing on Flores, as can be seen here, station looms may have arisen. And this process seems still to continue within present days.



Manggarai

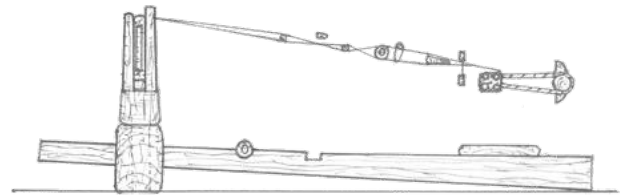
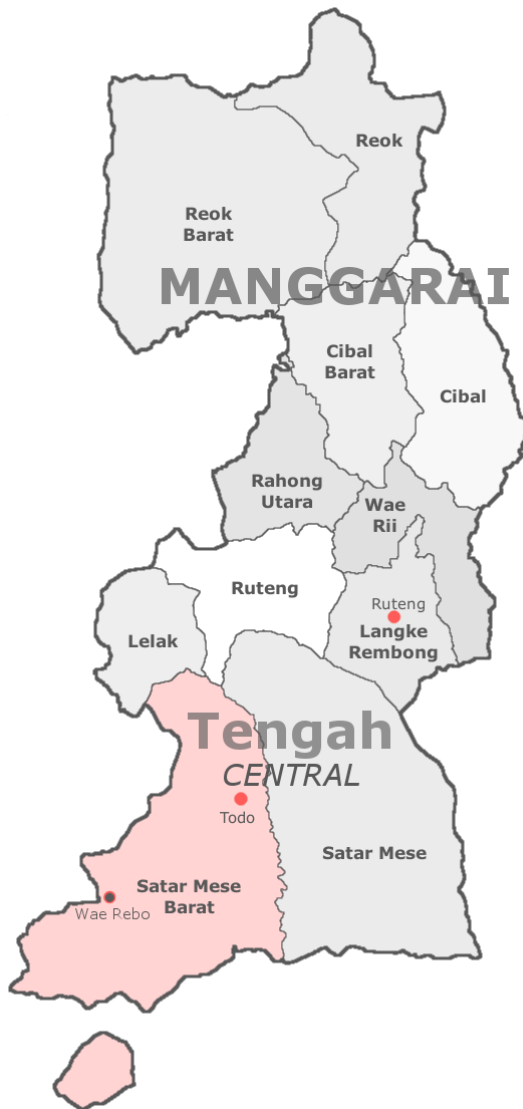


A Station Loom in Todo

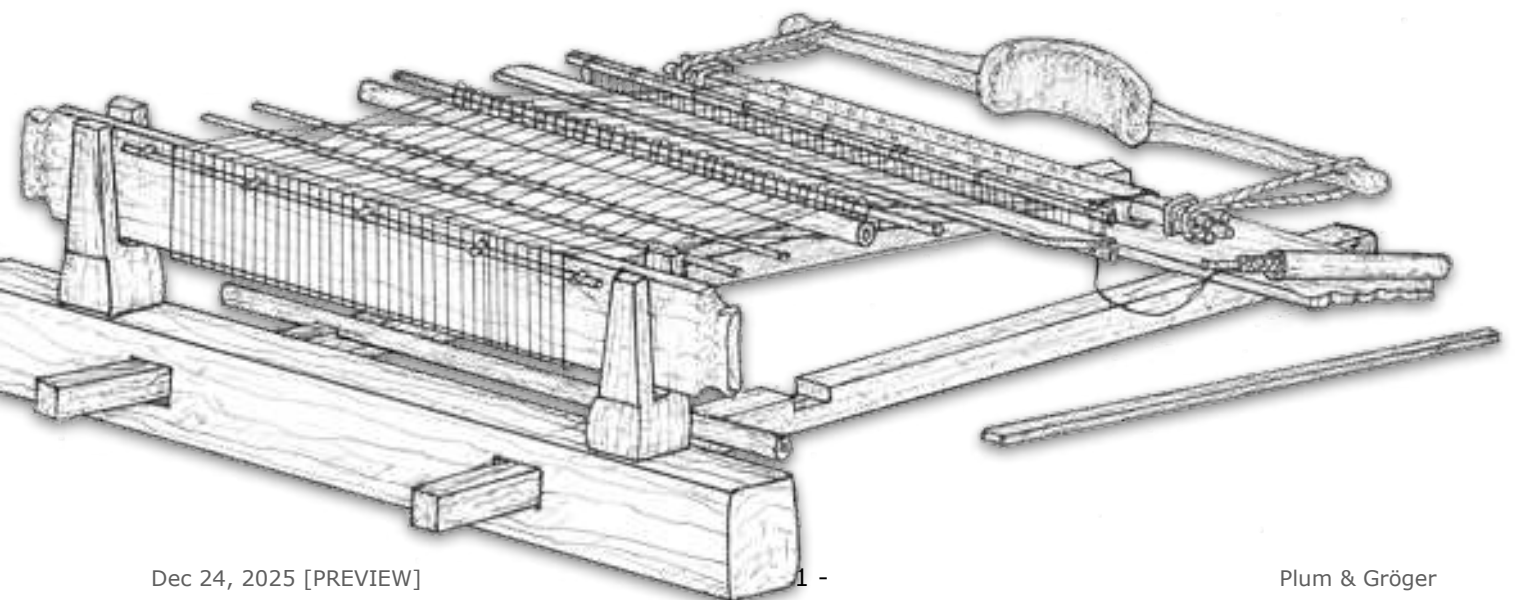
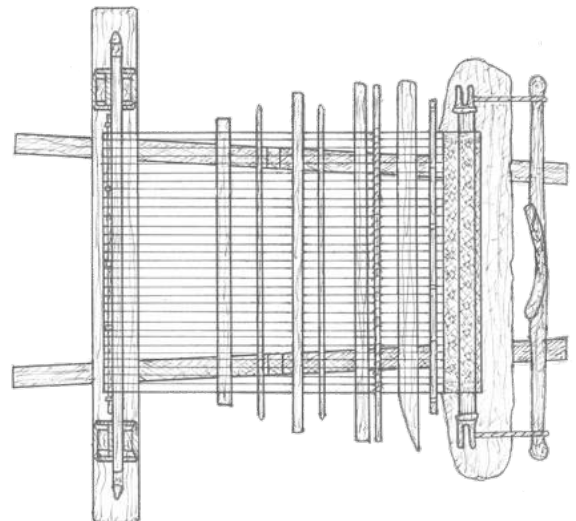
[U][station_loom][warp_board][flat_warp/hor][breast_frame/above][reed][yoke][Todo]



STATION



Manggarai



This weaving station from Todo is probably the most suitable example, demonstrating the composition of individual elements of ethnic looms flowing in from the outside to an individual station loom-type of Manggarai. The models from Sulawesi that were considered for this creation should not have been of the station loom-type themselves; it seems more as if the station-type equipped with long rails were (re)invented from these present basic ingredients here on Flores.

In part, it also remains open whether they should all actually come from the occupation periods by Bima and Bugis-Makassar, or whether they were imported from Sulawesi into Flores earlier as a knowledge base, already collected there locally by previous settlers, such as the Minangkabau.

In any case, we discover here in Todo Mandar-like warp beam holders, mounted on a massive crossbar, which meanwhile seems to have exchanged its short stands for the long rails of the Toraya, which have got also connected to the crossbar. The former seat rails of the Toraya are transformed into reasonable stand rails. A similar construction was also shown near Maumere; of course, there equipped with a reedless circular warp. However, instead of the Mandar-like warp beam holders, Sikka-typical alternatives are installed onto the also massive crossbar, holding a standard warp beam instead of such huge warp board. However, with this construction it was inscrutable whether the rails are actually already connected to the transverse binder or are just kept in touch.

The remarkable Warp Board

In addition, this loom unexpectedly seems to use a similarly designed warpboard, as it appears later on a foot loom of a bronze figure from the 6th century, found in Larantuka back in the 1970s. As the location of a foot-weaving bronze figure on Flores is a curiosity in itself, this similarity of the lateral ornaments of both warpboards is all the more amazing. The connection between the two similarly pronounced warpboards will not be able to be clarified without further ado, so it must be attributed to chance for the first, as there are no further similarities between the foot loom of the bronze figure and this resulting weaving station in Todo.

Missing looms - Future potential

As mentioned above, only five of at least eight different loom constructions found in the Manggarai are shown here; In addition, there should also be other looms of ethnic minorities in Manggarai, which have not yet discovered in this study. Especially Rembong and Rajong in the north of the Manggarai still offer future potential here, but also a linguistic cluster of perhaps five ethnic groups in the southern East Manggarai points to such a treasure trove; as does the entire border strip to Ngada. The settlement area of the Bima-Bugi-Makassar on western Rinca and Komodo Island, as along the northern coast, and its relationship to the following enclaves also deserve further attention. Whether a significantly different loom construction can be found with each ethnic group can currently only be guessed, but it should already be indicated here that an just approximately comprehensive representation of the ethnic looms in Manggarai should triple the number. This applies not only to the Manggarai, but also to the whole of Flores - such an overabundance exceeds the scope of feasibility and overwhelms the clarity of the project.

According to Owen Edwards' language map, the Manggarai, linguistically homogeneous, is divided into 4 dialect groups: West, West Central, Central and East. Related language groups (Riung) are also found in the eastern neighboring Ngada. In the far west and east of the Manggarai other language groups exist; especially in the southeast. Komodo language can be found on a tiny coastal strip in the west and on the offshore island of Komodo; on the Rinca Islands, Bima is spoken. On the eastern border you'll come across Kepo', Rembong and Rajong. The southern part is separated from the rest of the eastern Manggarai by a linguistic cluster; here are the language groups Manus, Rongga, Rajong, Wae Rana and Kepo' to find; alone the language of the Rembong crosses the border to Ngada. It is striking that in the eastern half of East Manggarai central dialect is spoken, while in the west the language border of central dialect coincides with the borders of the districts. West Central is spoken in the north and Western dialect in the south of the West Manggarai! In addition to Manggarai, 8 other languages are spoken in sub-areas.

Although there are currently no illustrations of loin looms of the above-mentioned minorities, some models should still be expected on site. Not all of them are traditional weavers, but as Hamilton shows, several of the former dalu are known for their weaving traditions; thus, as well ethnic looms should be found here. The question is, how far they differ from the already presented types in neighbourhood and still exist. Such questions in detail may probably just be solved by extended field studies on site.

Tribal areas:

Rembong

Rajong

Bima

Bugis-Makassar

Mbui?

Cluster SE:

Manus

Rongga

Rajong

Wae Rana

Kepo

Hamilton:

weaving dalu

Ruis

Cibal

Lambaleda

Congkar

Biting

Rembong

Passing the Great Barrier

Leaving the Manggarai and heading towards Ngada, one crosses the Ikat line. Following this, several characteristics of the ethnic looms should change dramatically: circular warps without reeds, predominantly warp-weighted Ikat on mostly stake looms. Most of these warps are also horizontal, but due to the use of a warp beam, most of them are aligned much more close to the ground.

When crossing the Ikat line, one should look up from the loom for a moment and draw attention to parallels in architecture and cultural work.





Traditonal architecture in Manggarai and its rooftops

As his photo series at Collectie Tropenmuseum (RV-A245-1362 to [RV-A245-1371](#)) shows, the missionary Bernard A. G. Vroklage in the 1930s was already very fascinated in the roof sculptures on the five-storey residential buildings of the Manggarai. Could there be a connection between these "buffalo crosses" and the Y-sculptures ([Peo](#)) that are increasingly appearing in the villages of Ngada? Here they also appear as ritual branch forks in front of shrines, as a kind of "stairway to heaven"! As it turns out, such branch forks also serve as the traditional warp beam holders of the Manggarai; we should keep an eye on them on the following journey through the world of loin looms on Flores. One cannot help but be amazed – from one branch fork to the next forking path...

----- YOU ARE CROSSING THE IKAT-LINE! -----

Bea nggolong

Crossing the Ikat-Line promises great experiences and deep insight, but demands reading its guidelines first to guaranty best performance. To cross this line, the border of Manggarai to Ngada (Bea Nggolong) on West Flores may offer the best circumstances to realize its existence and consequences. This line seems to be largely identical to the border to Ngada, but in the northern coastal area Riung goes to the other side; here there are still only flat warps with reed combs in use.

Reading recommendation:

Buckley 2022: First migrants, first textiles.

-> <https://www.academia.edu/143267494>

By the way: 'nggolong' is also a name of the [shed roll](#).

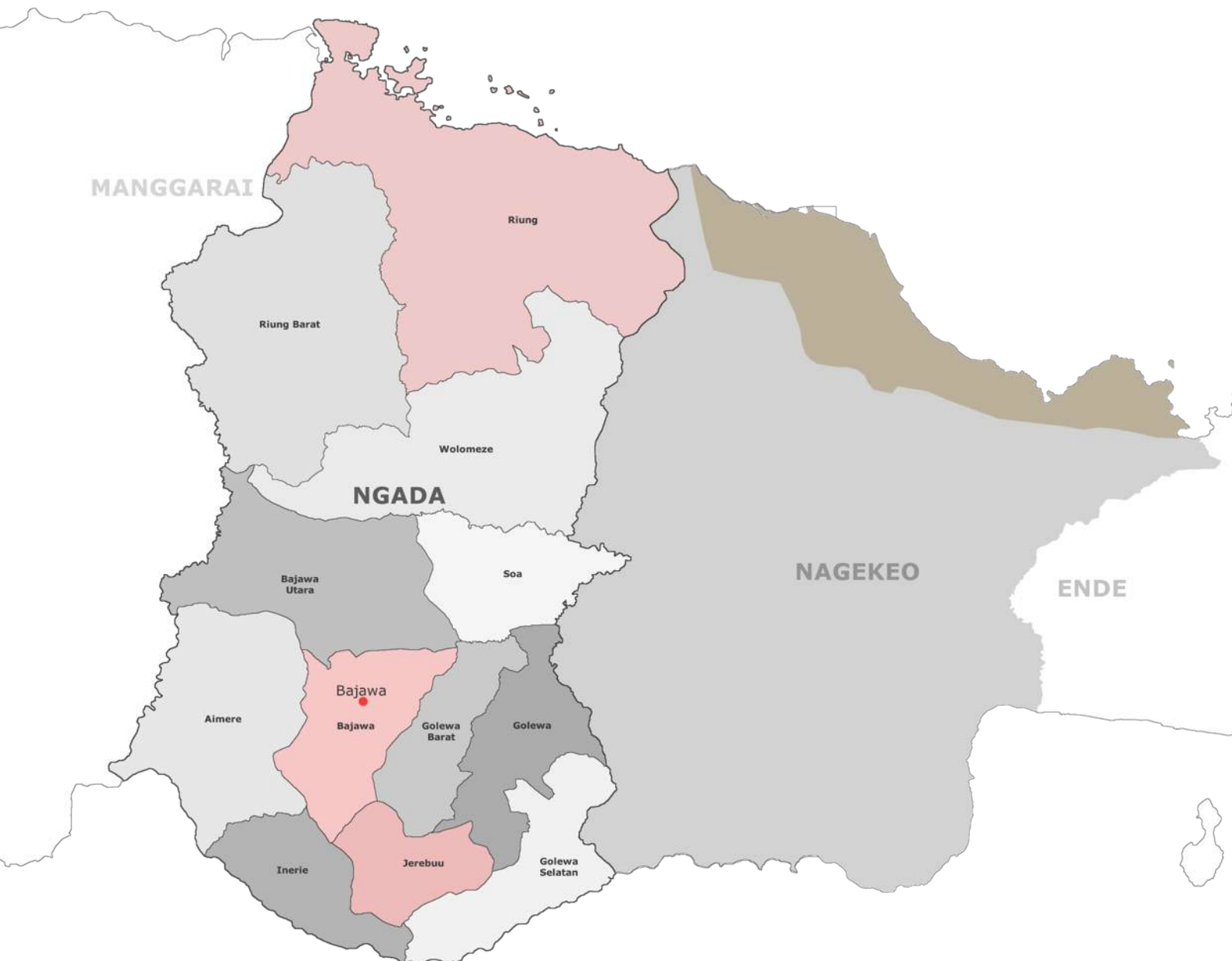


11) Jongen bij een beeld in een dorp in Ngada op Midden-Flores. ~1930. Part of family album Schrieke. KITLV 86494 -> <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:770917>

Alat Tenun Ngada

Looms of Ngada

[<<] [NGADA] [BAJAWA] [BAAR] [FLORES] [>>]



Looms of Ngada

NGADA | **BAJAWA** | **MODERN BAJAWA** | **BAAR** | **BAAR VARIA** | RIUNG | RONGGA

The former Ngada has also been divided into two areas of government since 2007: Ngada in the west and Nagekeo in the east. Ngada therefore consists of only two large ethnic groups: the Riung in the north and the Bajawa in the south. Other sources list the Rongga people as a separate language group in the south, as well as the Baar people. In this area there is currently still a blind spot in the research; not many references to the ethnic looms of this region, but also to the local groups could be found. For this reason, the area in the preview presented here has not yet been further subdivided.

Ngada

The loom of the Ngada in Likuwali (near Bajawa) deviates a little from the following looms in view of its diagonally-aligned warp, but it also proves to be a typical stake loom with an equally circular warp. However, due to its diagonally-aligned warp, it is not (anymore) a type of ground loom.

Bajawa

The loom attributed to the Bajawa, it is questionable to whom it is actually attributable; there are currently only contradictory data on this. It may well be a second type of Ngada loom. According to the information, the photo was taken in a Ngada village; however, one should be able to assume from its structure that this should not be an ordinary Ngada loom. Its circular warp is also inclined, but not explicitly diagonally-aligned. In addition, this seems to be a stilt loom. Its stilts stand ON the ground and are NOT embedded IN the ground or "rammed" as in the case of the stake looms! In this case, the inclined stilts are held in place only by the diagonal bamboo scaffolding. Presumably, however, wedges have been driven into the ground, on which the stilts have been pulled over. This is then an unusual stake/stilt-combination, a so-called '*extended stake loom-type*', as one can find among some of the Batak looms of the Karo on northern Sumatra. In the collection of looms on Flores, it particularly stands out and does not really fit into the found scheme of stake looms, which have taken a slight tendency to station looms; one should think. But there are also other models, that show traditional stake/stilt-combinations on Flores. Due to its inclined warp, again, it is not a typical ground loom.

Likewise, both do not correspond in any way with the typical forks that emerge in the following Flores! Both models still use a back strap instead of a loin yoke! According to research, looms with similar constructions can be found in the Ngada region, but ultimately none of the versions listed as Bajawa are similar. Let's hold on for a while, Nipa is going to show up soon, segment by segment:

In Kampung Adat Bena (Traditional Village Bena) the same intermediate beam for hanging the warp beam appears (similar the *Indian Loom*-type of Minangkabau or the loom of Champa), also showing back strap and the same warp inclination; but not those inclining stilts! The warp beam is attached here to the posts of the house; meanwhile, the weaver is sitting in the house.

Kabupaten Ngada

COMPONENTS

Stakes
of Ngada

Bajawa
on Stilts?

Modern Bajawa
Verandah-type loom

Far from

Close to Bajawa

Ba'ar
Station Loom

Baar Loom
Station in variation

Another Baar
on stilts

Riung
Bajawa
Baar

Rongga
Soa

VOCABULARY

ground loom

diagonally-
aligned

inclined

stilt loom

back strap

intermediate beam



13) Branch fork used as mental stairway to the shrine in Ngada regency. Rouffaer 1910. Shouldn't this sign support our spiritual locomotion to high rising spirit leaps? UBL: KITLV 8726 - <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:764184>

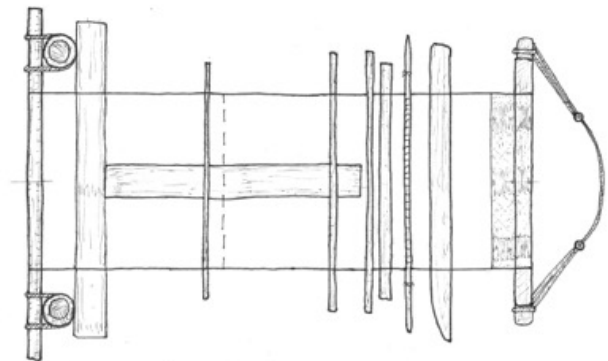
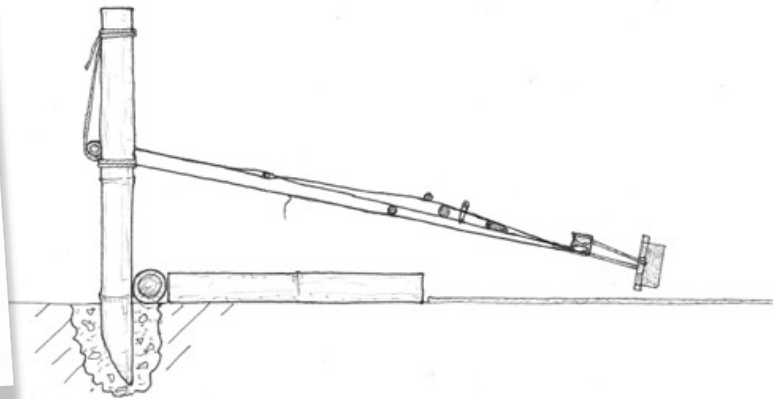
Stake Loom of Ngada

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/dia][reedless][strap][Likuwali]

[B]

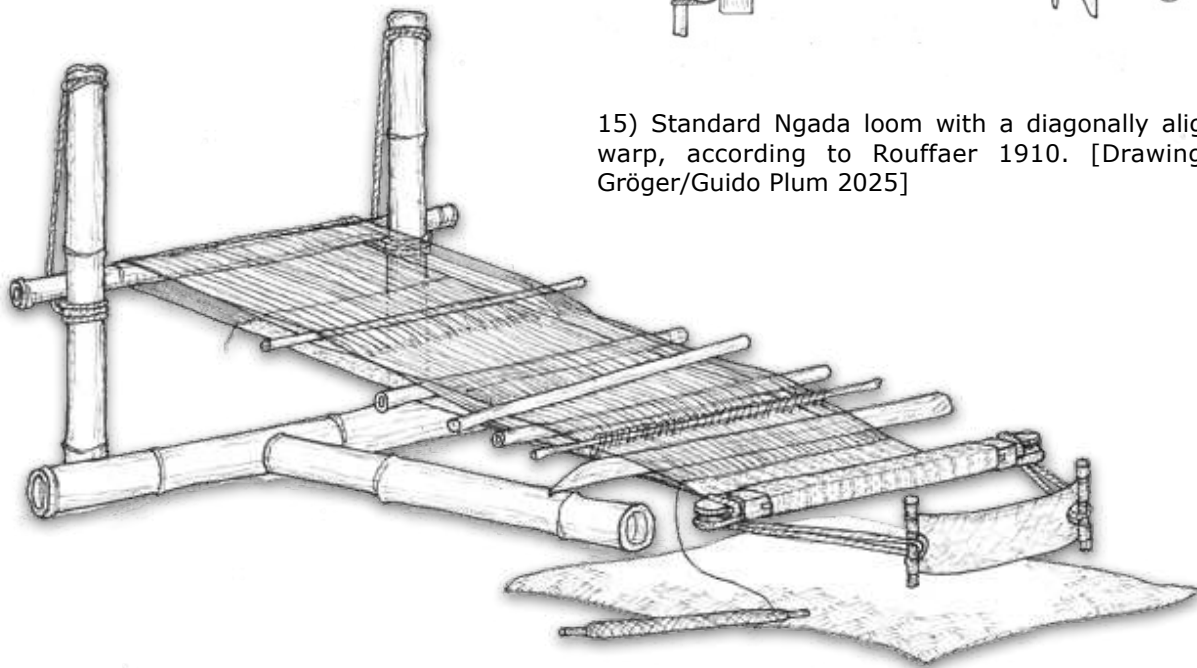


STAKE



Ngada

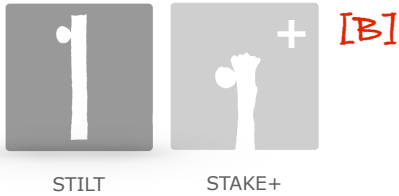
14) Weaver in Likuwali 1910 - Universiteit Leiden:
KITLV 8731 -> <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:767146>



15) Standard Ngada loom with a diagonally aligned circular warp, according to Rouffaer 1910. [Drawing: Charlotte Gröger/Guido Plum 2025]

Stilt Loom of Bajawa?

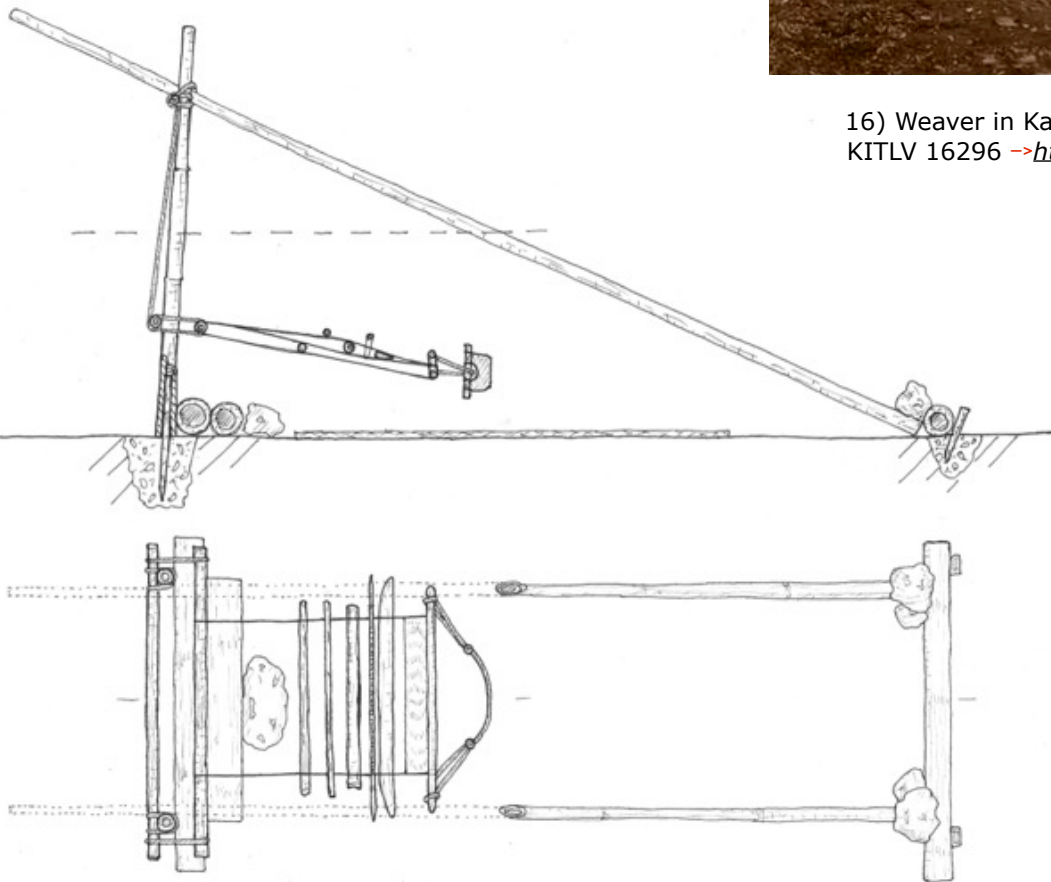
[1][stilt loom][warp beam][circular warp/inc][reedless][strap]



It isn't clear yet, to what extent the 1910 photo shows a loom of the *Bajawa*; however, the caption says that it was taken in a village in Ngada. At that time, Nagekeo still belonged to Ngada, but has now splitted since two decades. In contrast to the *Ngada* looms, *stilts* placed on the ground seem to hold the warp beam here; the warp, however, is almost *horizontally aligned*, but anyway inclined.



16) Weaver in Kampong Ngada 1910 - Universiteit Leiden: KITLV 16296 -> <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:782097>



The question is whether the stilts are not placed on pegs in the ground that give them support. See detail in side view! Otherwise, the stilts would only be held in place by the diagonal bracket.

If no pegs are found, it is therefore a *stilt loom* - that is rare on Flores. However, if, as can be assumed, wedges are at work, it's a special variant of a stake/stilt combination, or so-called *extended stake loom*-type, that reminds solutions of some similar looms of the Batak on Sumatra.

Ngada

17) Extravagant Bajawa loom-variant 1910.
[Drawing: Charlotte Gröger/Guido Plum 2025]

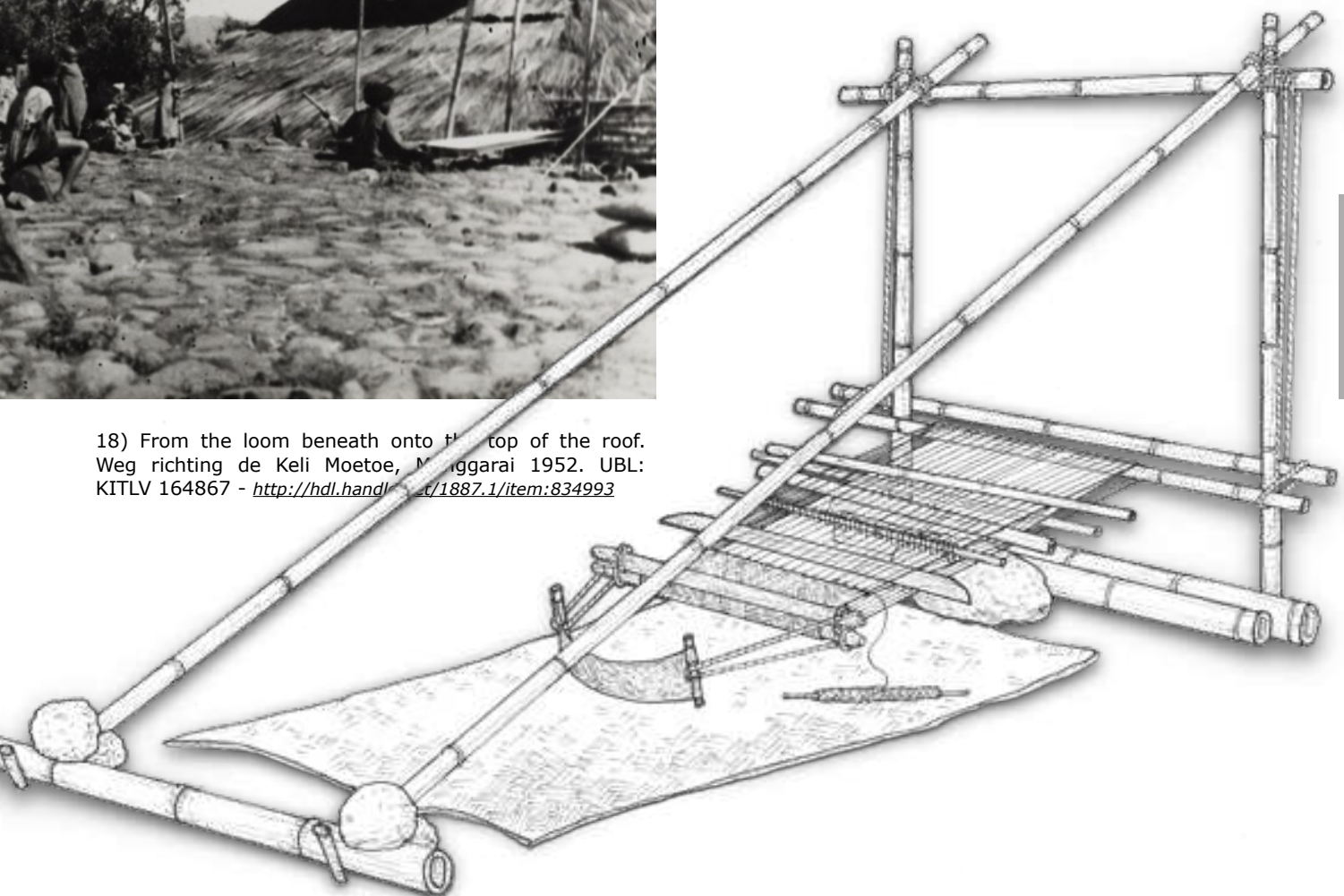
The drawing excludes the fence, which serves as a support for the bamboo scaffolding of the loom on the photo. The warp beam is connected by means of rope to an intermediate beam; this in turn is not tied to the posts, but is brought by two hanging rope loops to the desired height. While the hanging rope loops for hanging the warp beam can also be found in following areas, the intermediate beam used here seems to be very unique on Flores. A similar-looking scaffolding is also shown on a loom in a photo from 1952, taken on the way to the Keli Mutu in Ende regency. Another photo description indicates, that this loom is located in the village of Ruteng Tua, Manggarai. (!) Only the gate-like frame reminds of each other; however, the loom

on the edge of the road should have stakes embedded in the ground. Even if details are difficult to see, the warp beam of the circular warp seems to be tied directly to the posts here; whether yoke or belt is in use, isn't to be recognized clearly!

While only loin yokes were found in Manggarai, our example from Ngada shows the use of a back strap.



18) From the loom beneath onto the top of the roof.
Weg richting de Keli Moetoe, Manggarai 1952. UBL:
KITLV 164867 - <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:834993>



Ngada

Modern Loom of Bajawa

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/dia][reedless][strap][Bena]

[B]

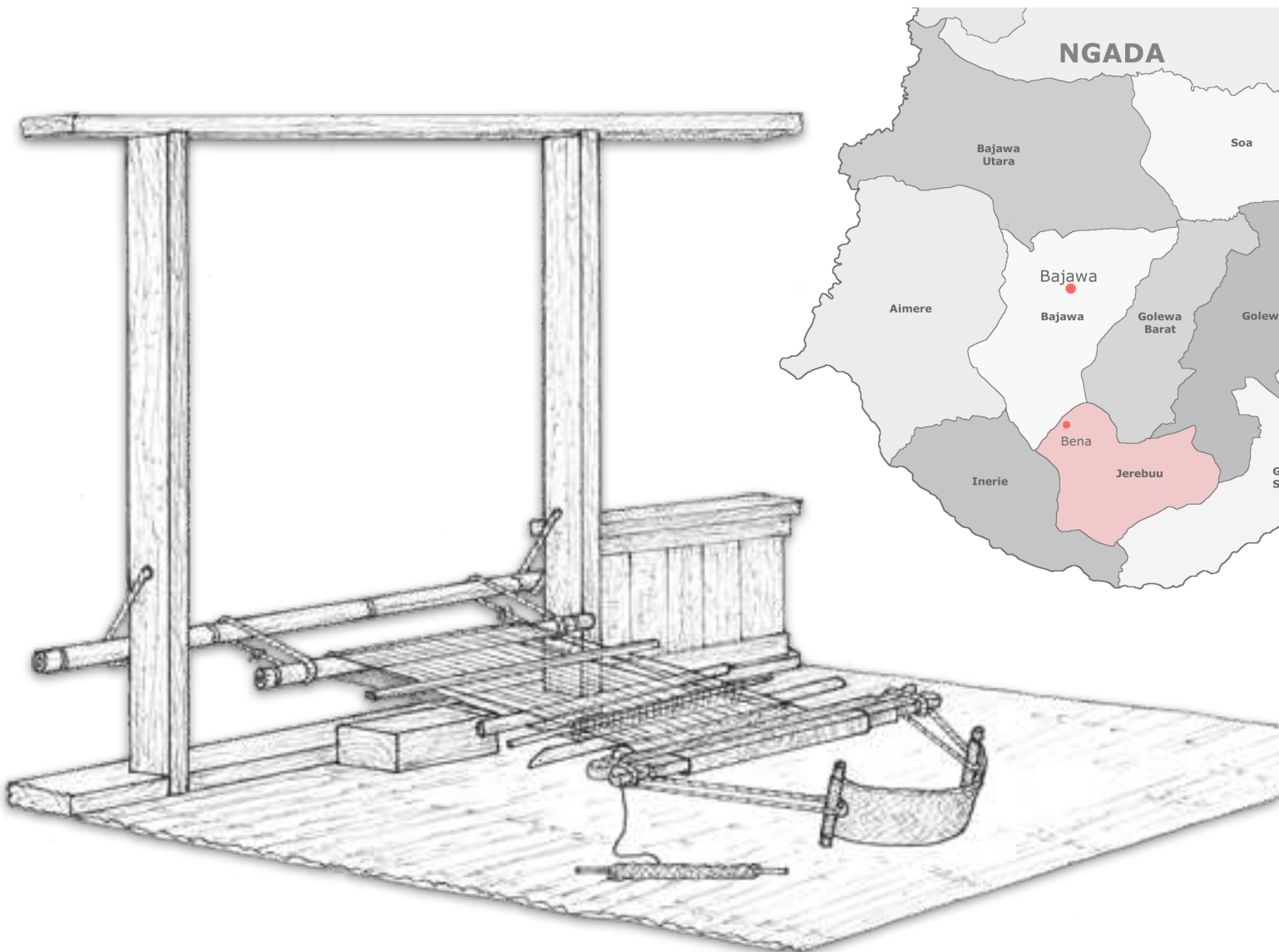


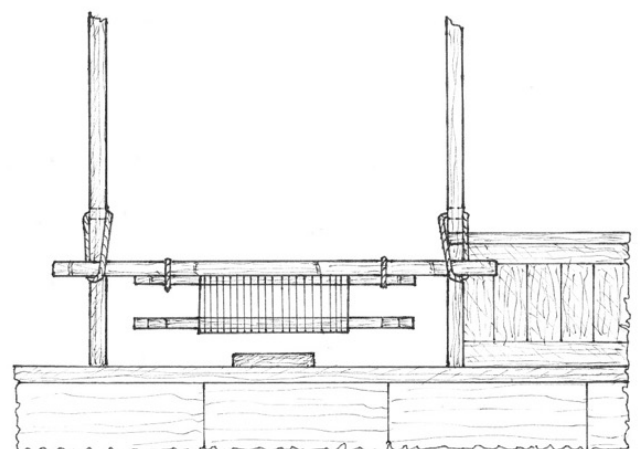
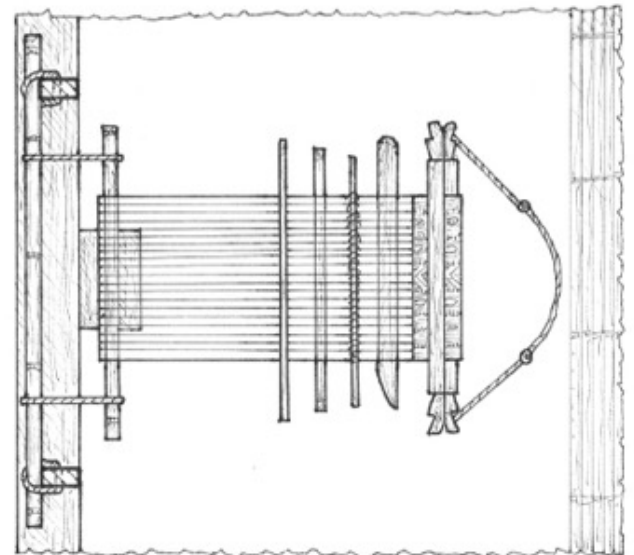
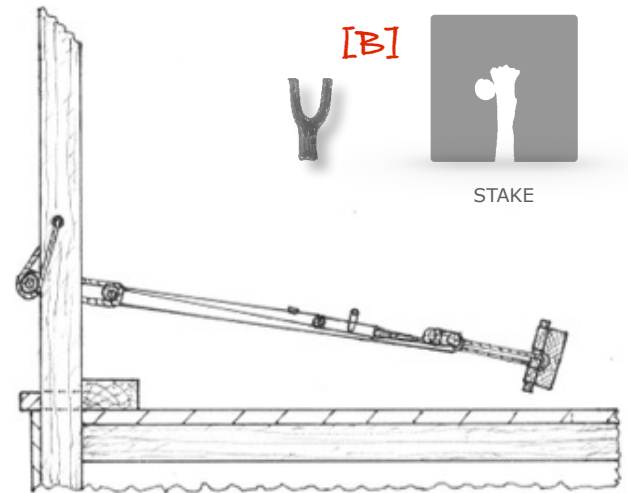
STILT



STAKE

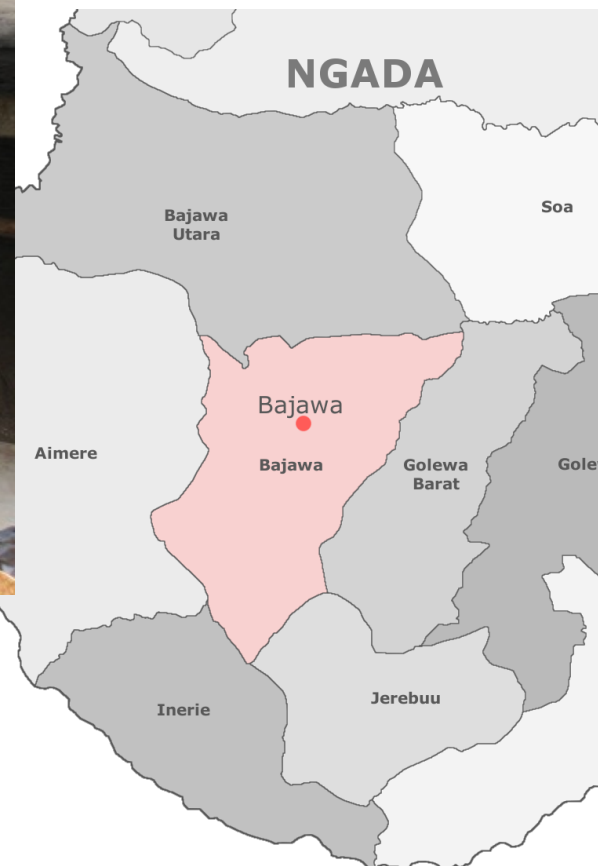
Even if the eye-catching bamboo frame of the previous photo from 1910 is missing, all the other features that distinguish this loom from the rest of the loin looms on Flores can also be found here: Suspension of the warp beam by means of an intermediate beam, inclined circular warp, back strap, etc. Therefore the previously presented photo should also represent a loom of the Bajawa; especially the use of the intermediate beam should suggest this. It exists just in one further example of a rare construction found in Ende. In general, we tend to group loin looms that attach to the house construction to the group of stake looms, but in view of the predecessor, this seems questionable here. In this condition, however, it can no longer be understood as a stilt loom-type. If this predecessor should not have been a unique special construction, the picture indicates a great fundamental change in the ethnic loom. However, this only concerns the suspension; there is no change to the actual weaving harness itself.





Another Ethnic Loom close to Bajawa

[Y][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/inc][breast beam][reedless][strap][Bajawa]



20) Weaver in Ngada, close to Bajawa City, 2008. © Petter Lindgren

→ <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ikat.jpg>

There is little photographic material for the relatively small catchment area of Ngada, but each photo seems to show very different ethnic looms. On top of that, the available information is anything but informative - seems rather contradictory. This model also doesn't correspond to the previous; although the image description places the photo in the immediate vicinity, a few kilometers west of Bajawa city, it should not show an ethnic loom of the Ngada/Bajawa. The incised bamboo post resembles a loom found in Nagekeo; the breast beam is also identical to it! But here, in contrast, an inclined warp appears instead of the horizontal warp of the Nagekeo; Also here still a backstrap takes the place of the yoke. In the background there is a long rail attached to the post, which should serve as a batten rest. Despite the high mounted batten rail, the weaver sits on the ground. Such height-mounted, long rails can be found at the looms in Manggarai, because the weaver of the flat warp is always positioned back and forth; the height results from the fact that they place their seating board on rails. But surprisingly, the circular warp in the photo does not require such constant changes of position, and no seat rails specify the height of the batten rest; seems she added a lower one.

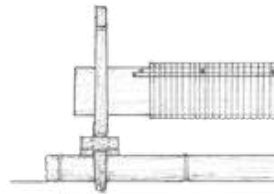
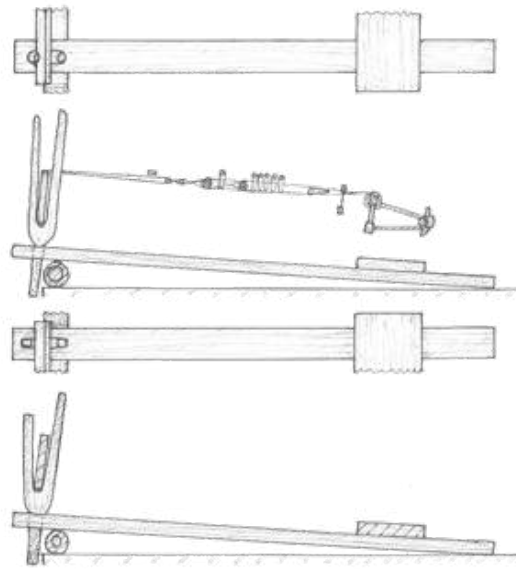
Station Loom of Ba'ar People

[Y][station loom][warp board][flat warp/hor][breast frame][reed][yoke]



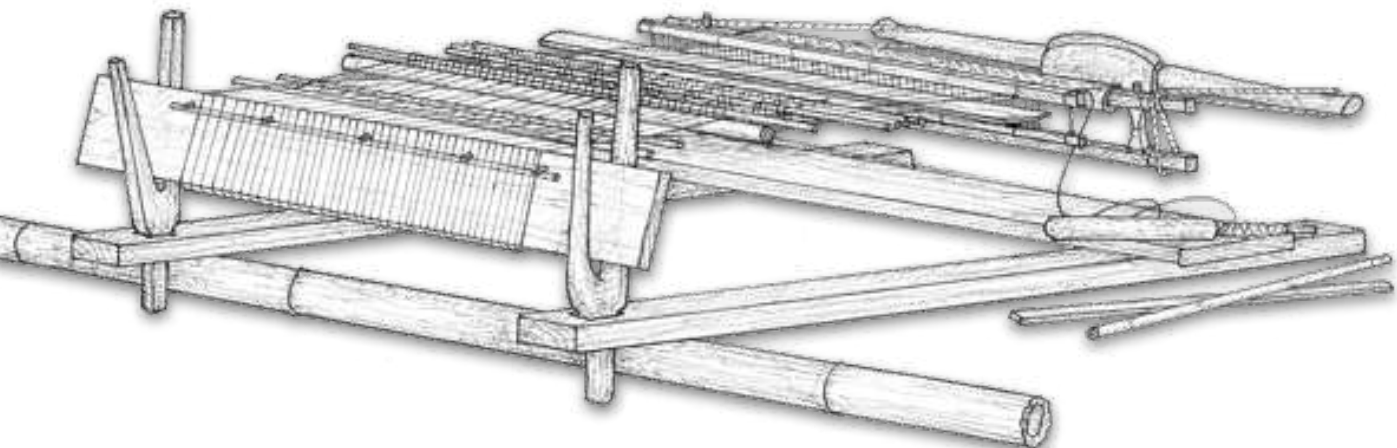
STATION

[c]



The Baar are native to Riung in the north of Ngada; Mbaru is as their brother. All their looms usually show long drawn Y-forks, similar to those in Manggarai. They are usually mounted on rails; these are exclusively jacked, either on a bamboo cane or a pedestal - as known from looms on Bali, Lombok and Sundanese in West Java. Strikingly, the fork pairs are designed differently on all models. Likewise, all are equipped with the typical Manggarai warpboard, flat warp, reed, framed breast beam and yoke.

Ngada



Ba'ar Station Loom in Variation

[Y][station loom][warp board][flat warp/hor][breast frame][reed][yoke]

The loom of the Baar is full of variance, especially in the handling and interpretation of the Y-beam forks of all kinds. In addition to the typically jacked station looms, such forks are also connected to house posts as stilts in use! Long batten railings can also be found here. As reported, due to their superb skills they gave up their own traditional weaving style; since then carry out contract work according to customer demand.



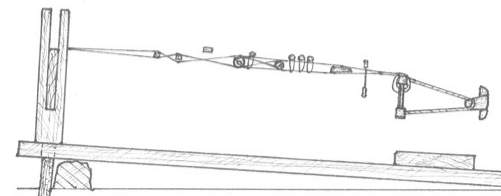
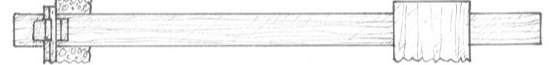
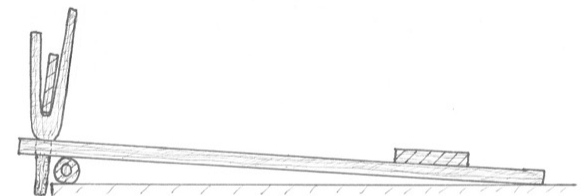
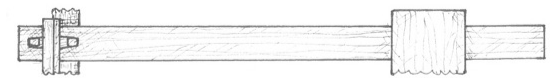
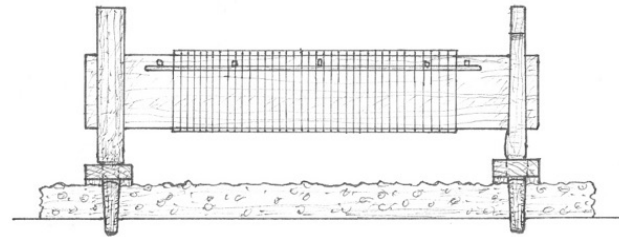
[C]



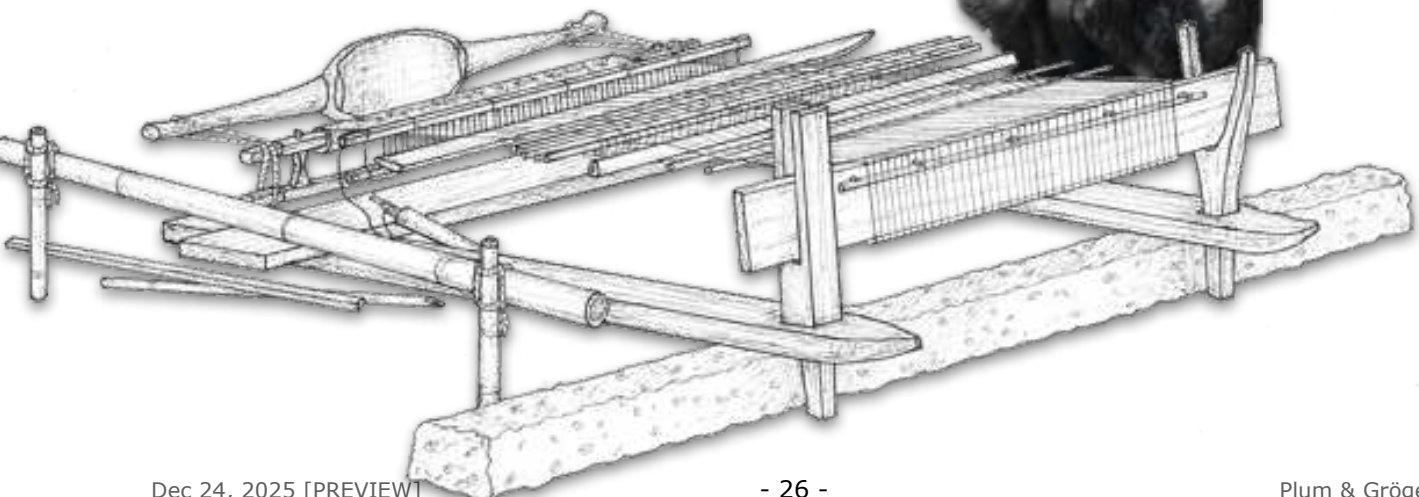
STATION



STAKE



Ngada



Ba'ar Stilt Loom

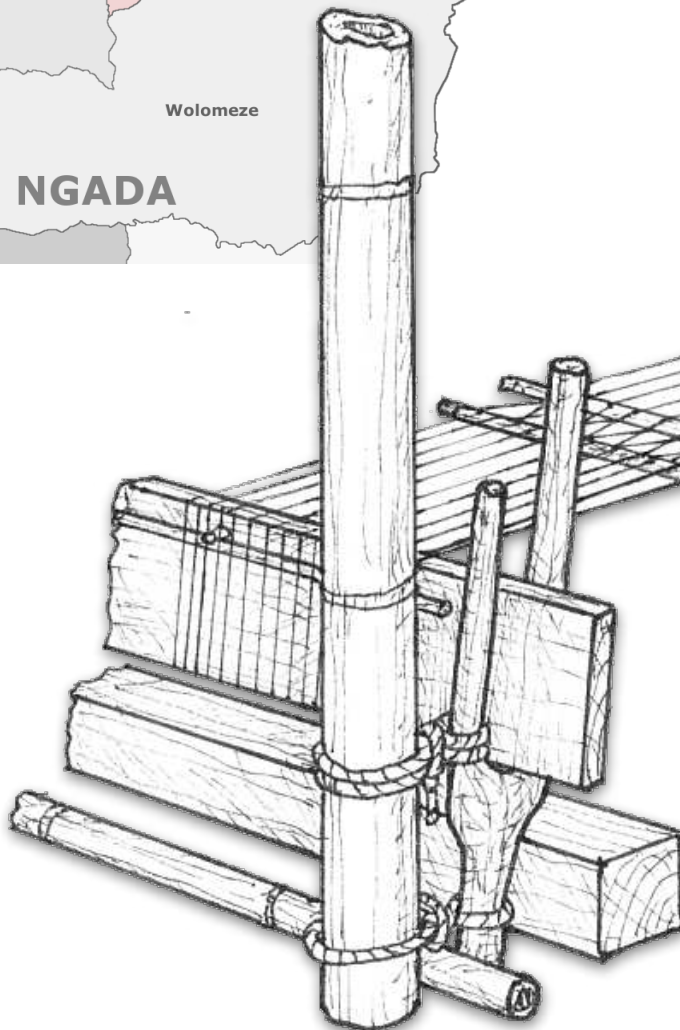
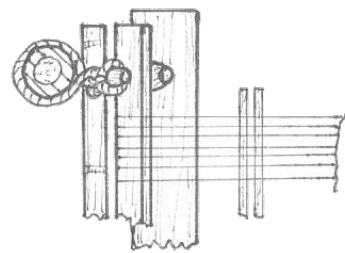
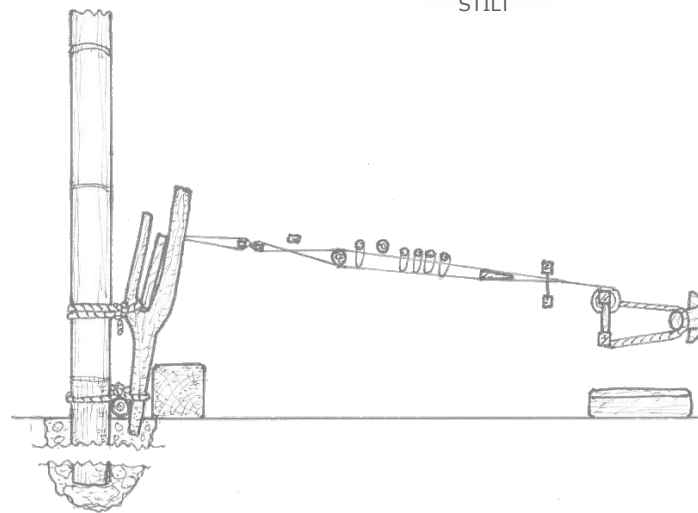
[Y][stilt loom][warp board][flat warp/hor][breast frame][reed][yoke]



[c]



STILT



In addition to the model in question of the Bajawa, the Ba'ar provide one of the otherwise rare constructions of a stilt loom on Flores. For this purpose, the Y-forks already known to us were tied to the house post. However, it is recommended not to attach the upper binding to the fork prong as shown, otherwise it easily runs the risk of breaking off.

Initially, two of the oldest photo credits of loin looms on Flores were available for Ngada, but the vague information about ethnicity and region has not yet been clarified. In the meantime, some more examples of Ngada have been added, which may be enough to catch an idea, but a clear attribution of the looms depicted to the ethnic groups of this region is still not possible. There are hardly any sources and all of them are located in and around Bajawa town.

It should have been shown that the first ethnic loin looms with a circular warp appear in and around Bajawa, but the distribution of the models equipped with flat warps is not limited just to a narrow coastal strip in the north, but extends far into the interior. Due to the lack of examples from the south of Ngada, it can't be clarified whether there should still be single looms equipped with flat warp and reed here, as for example in the Rongga area. Presumably the Ikat line runs further south here than expected; possibly it even becomes a strip here, in which flat warps and circular warps are located next to each other. Another district of interest is Soa, but no looms were found.

Finally, despite the lack of mass, more ethnic diversity and technical solutions have already been found here so far in the smallest space than in the neighboring Manggarai.



P. Beltjens: Weaver on Flores, certainly Bajawa, 1920-1940. Collectie Tropenmuseum: TM-FV-0014-134.

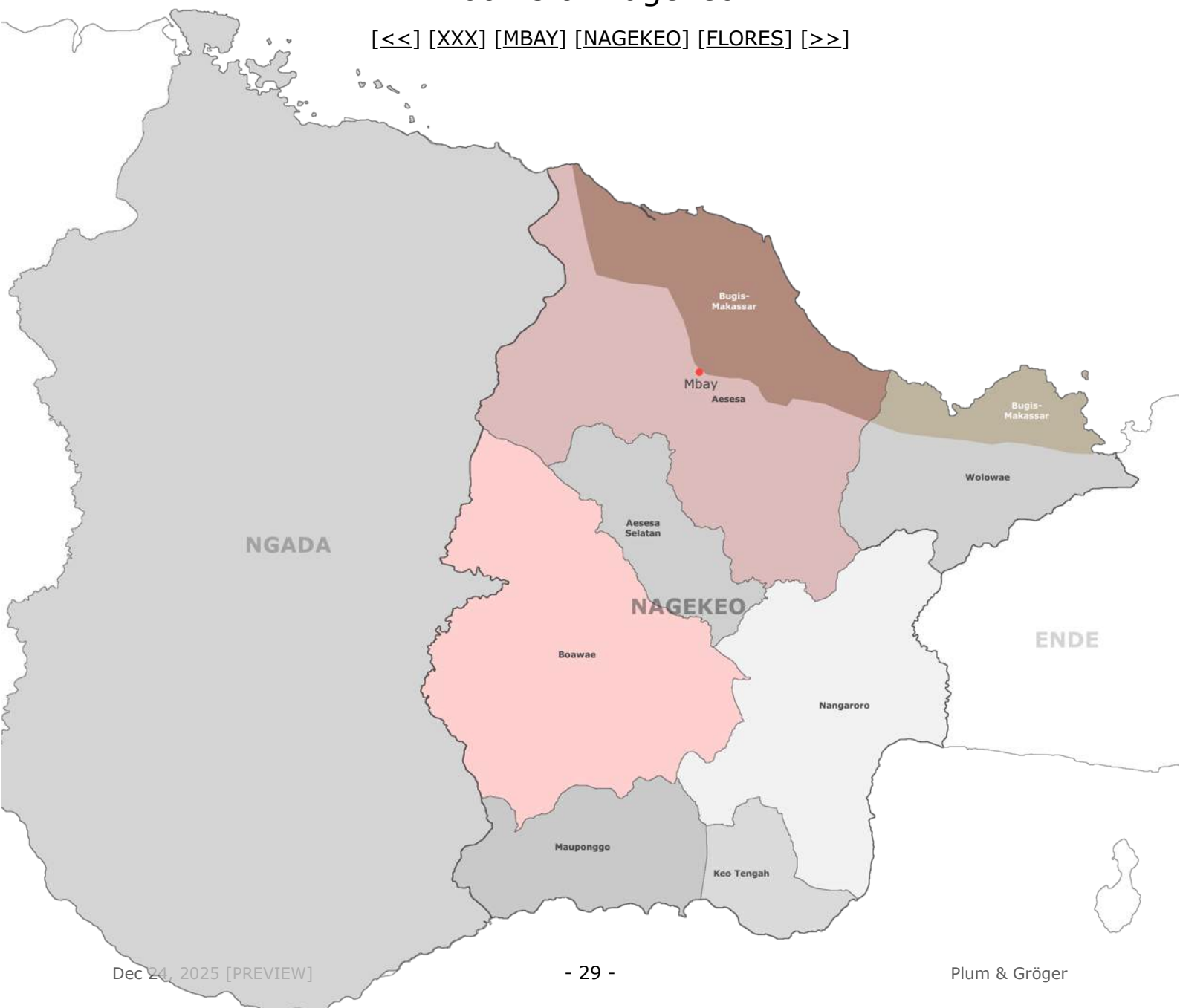
Ngada



Alat Tenun Nagekeo

Looms of Nagekeo

[<<] [XXX] [MBAY] [NAGEKEO] [FLORES] [>>]



Looms of Nagekeo

MBAY STATION | MBAY STAKE | NAGEKEO STAKE

In the independent administrative district of Nagekeo, which has been decoupled from Ngada since 2007, only the Nage and the Keo are still found, but the term lists at Hamilton even refer to the Mbay, which should be located in the north of the Nage region. The main town on the north coast of Nagekeo is also called Mbay.

There is currently still a big blind spot in the research in this area; but first, yet weak, indications of ethnic looms in this region, but also of the local groups, have been found.

However, the first looms of the Mbay, station and stake loom-types side by side, show up, which indicate that flat warps with reed comb are still in use here; even the construction of the looms, the same high warp boards and the framed breast beams of the Bima are very reminiscent of the Manggarai. At present, however, it is not yet clear whether the Ikat-line here on the north coast is pushed back so far to the east, or whether it is one of the many flat-warp enclaves along the north coast of Flores.

According to two vague reports, contrary to expectations, the weaving techniques, as well as the ethnic looms of the area have united (Susilo 2020). Even if the ikat weaving, once taken over from Ende and Pola, is now in retreat here again, flat warps should be found next to circular and also false circular warps; Ikat next to supplementary weft; and even supplementary weft on false circular warp (Lambo 2012).

However, the Mbay looms equipped with flat warps should not be a proper example of a loom representing the whole of the NageKeo region; a first stake loom of Nagekeo have been added so far.

Currently no precise data is available about the looms of the mentioned Nage people. Thus, it is also not to determine on which side of the Ikat line they are to be classified. Likewise, the original looms of the Keo do not show up yet. But at the moment it seems as if the Ikat line here in Nagekeo is dissolving in pleasure for a short moment. Even if the warps may differ like weaving techniques, there is an amazing unity in the loom constructions of north and south; Even if the Nagekeo, similar to the Ende region, but also the Bajawa, use bamboo canes as posts, they deliberately orient themselves to the wooden fork posts of the Mbay.

Kab. Nagekeo

COMPONENTS

M

Station of Mbay

Mbay Loom

on stakes

Nagekeo

Stake Looms

Mbay

Boawae

Nage

Keo

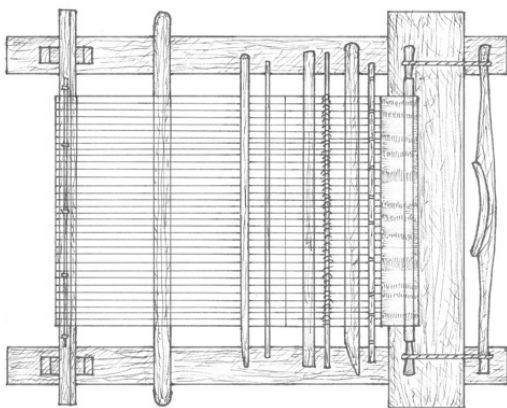
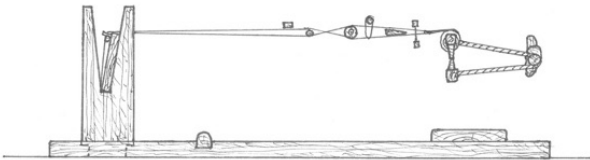
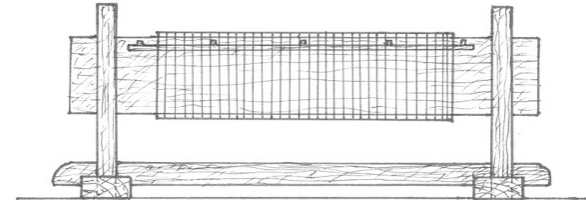
VOCABULARY

Ikat-Line

framed breast
beam

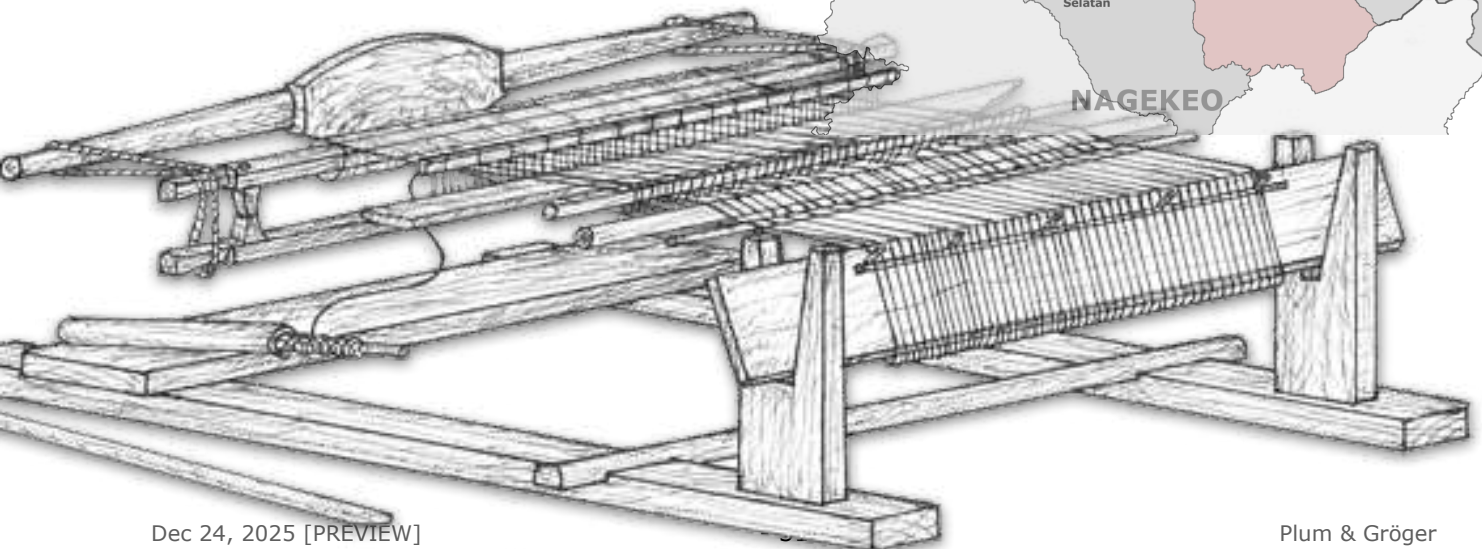
Mbay Station Loom

[M][station loom][warp board][flat warp/hor][breast frame][reed][yoke][Mbay]



An example of a station loom was found in Mbay, but such in Nagekeo seem rather a rarity, because also in northern Mbay region there are mostly stake looms. Not presented in this collection, but similar M-shaped boards have been seen in Manggarai. Such wedge-shaped incisions, like their fork-shaped counterparts, make it possible to individually adjust the alignment of the warp board, which, however, is hardly used. Not only the flat warp like the warp board resemble those in Manggarai, also yoke and framed breast beam can be found here.

Here on the north coast, the Ikat line obviously jumps back to Ende-region, but its effect is evident as far as the heart of the country.



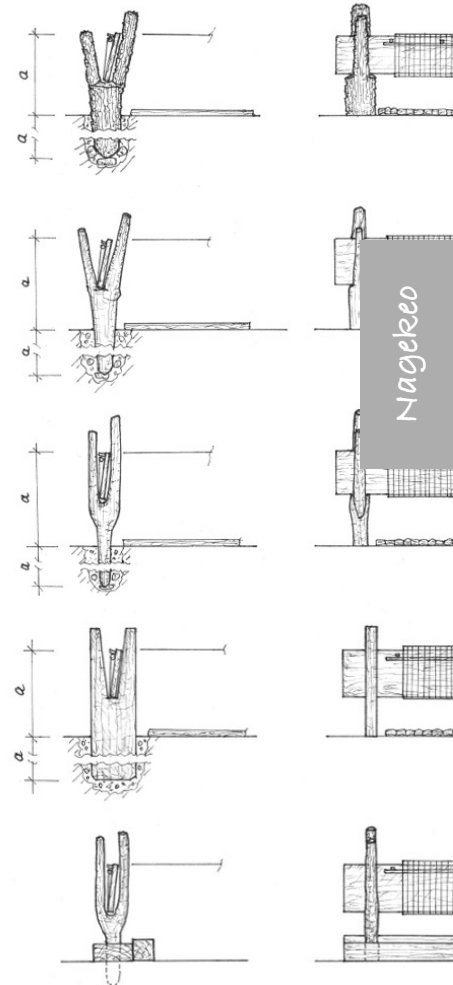
Stake Loom of Mbay

[Y][stake loom][warp board][flat warp/hor][breast frame][reed][yoke][Mbay]

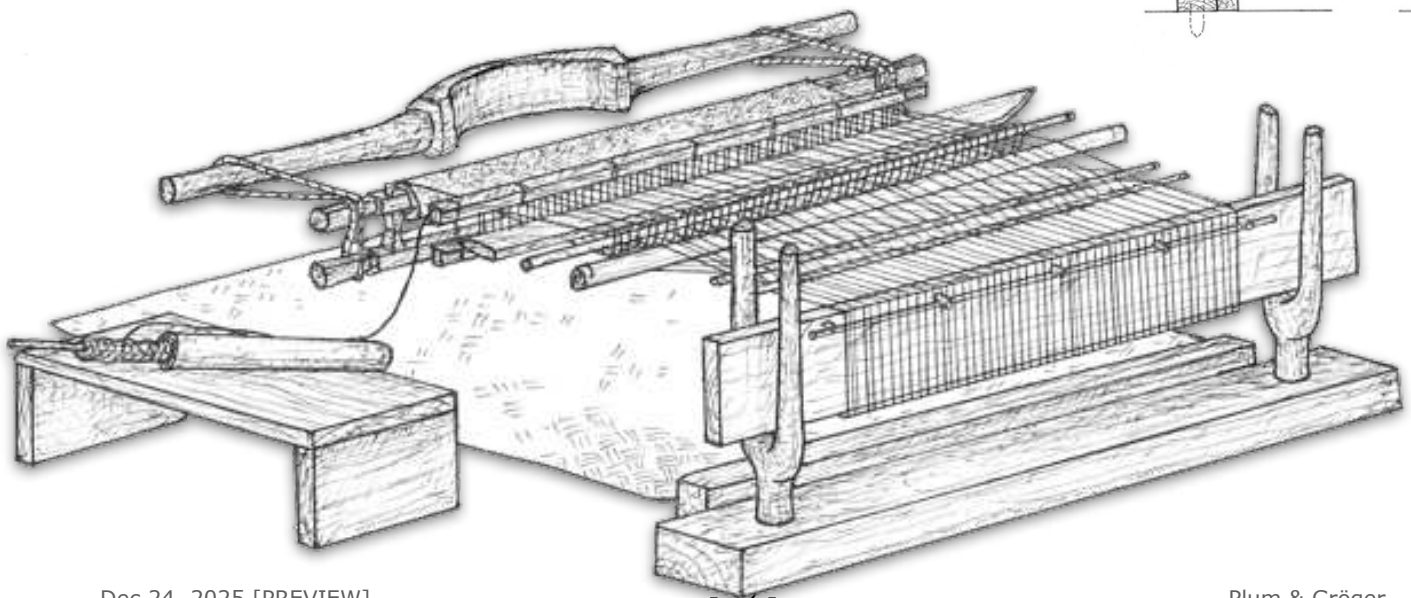
**Stake Loom**
Holders at a glance

The stake looms of the Mbay show a rich fund of forked warp beam holders, yet they are similar to those that could already be observed in Manggarai. On the right an overview of the variety of the warp beam holders at stake looms of the Mbay in known versions.

- 1) Y-shaped board,
- 2) Y-trimmed branch
- 3) natural Y-forked branch
- 4) M-shaped board
- 5) forked branch, deepened in rails and ground.



The most interesting among these stake looms shows a crossbar resting on the ground, which connects the posts that are also inserted into the ground. The use of such a crossbar has been observed before in Todo. At first glance you discover (almost) all the characteristics of a stand loom, but the necessary connection to a house wall is missing, besides the fact that the posts are anchored in the ground. Accordingly, it is a type of (slightly extended) stake loom, which presumably moults into a stand loom or even just merges both.



Stake Loom of Nagekeo

[Y][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][breast beam][reedless][yoke][Gerodhere]

Even it isn't that popular, similar posts like these, made from bamboo cane, and showing incisions on top as warp beam holder, will be seen again on a weaver festival in Sikka regency later on.

In view of the bamboo posts, which are used as warp beam holders in the southern areas of three regencies (Ngada, Nagekeo, Ende), one can wonder whether these models from Sikka at the weaver festival should not come from the southern border area, close to Ende regency.

Such bamboo posts, not yet present in Manggarai, appear since Ngada. Even if their presence in Sikka slightly diminishes again, they accompany us to Larantuka. From there on they disappear almost suddenly. As a shed roll, you can find bamboo in use up to Alor, but already for footrests on the eastern islands mainly wood is in use; bamboo posts are not common there.

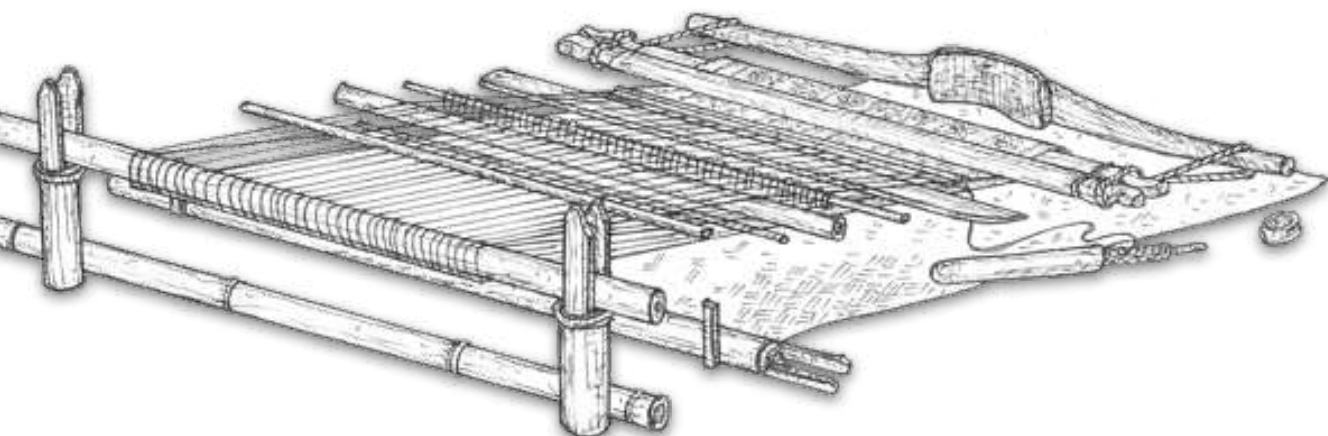
The Nagekeo, on the other hand, seems to prefer the use of bamboo in a versatile way; as a post, footrest & shed roll. Even the warp beam seems to be made of a heavy, almost massive iron bamboo. This extensive use of bamboo seems to be a feature of this area from Ngada to Ende.

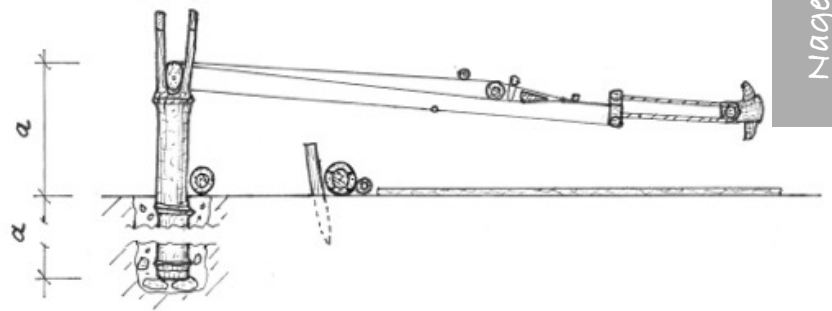
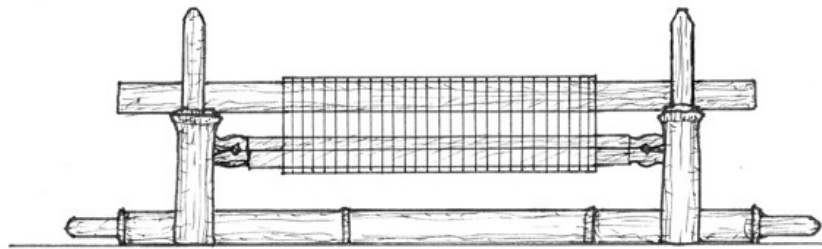
Apart from the Bima and the looms influenced by it, the first incisions can also be found here in Nagekeo as warp beam bearings, what is not typical in the rest of Flores and finally only rarely to be found.

[B]

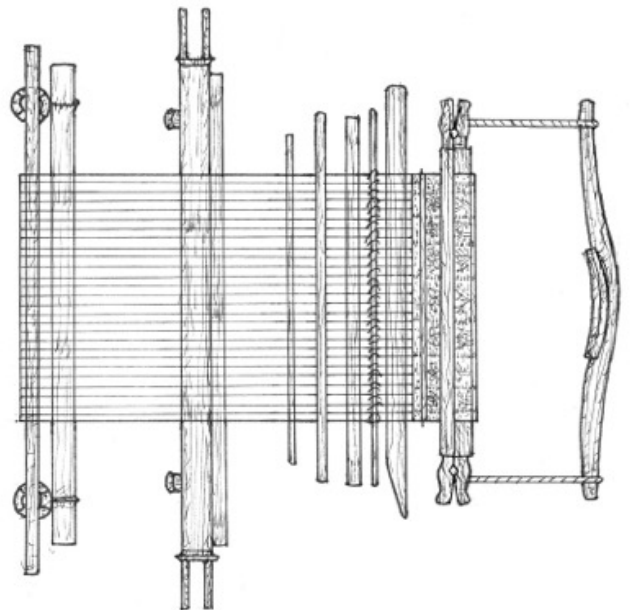


STAKE





Nagekeo



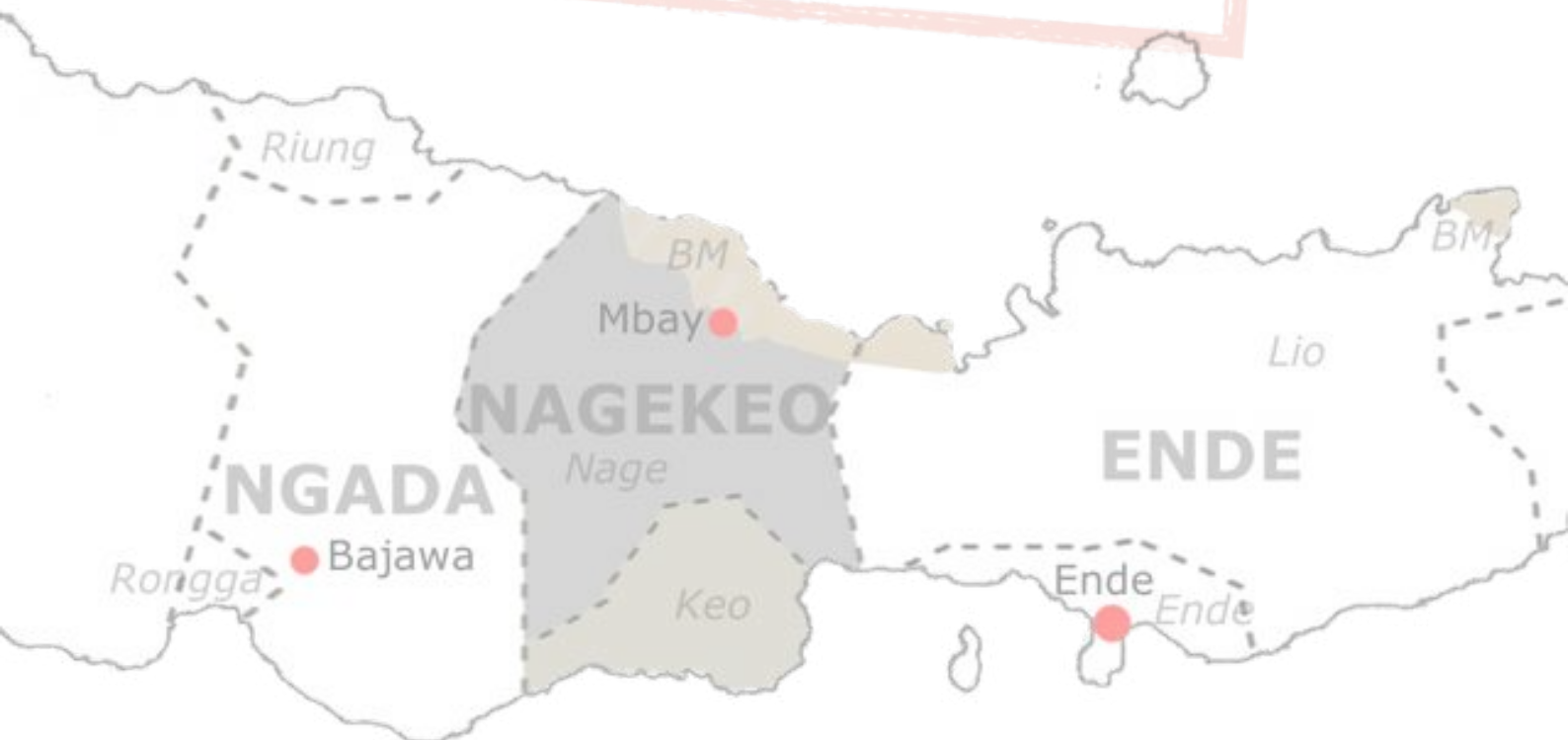
Regardless of the sparse data on Nagekeo, it seems to gradually become clear that we should already know the components of the ethnic looms used here from Ngada and Manggarai. In addition to that, the fusion of the textile designs, and thus perhaps also of the looms used, seems to lie in the cultural pursuit here.

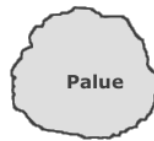
On the basis of this culturally arranged ethnic fusion, clear statements can't be made about the further course of the Ikat line here in Nagekeo, even less than in Ngada. In any case, even here in the north of Nagekeo, the loin looms, already known from Manggarai, equipped with flat warps and reeds, can still be found up to the border of Ende-region.

Even first Y-shaped branch forks as warp beam holders in Manggarai, based on the order of the study, in view of the similarly designed sculptures in the village squares widespread in Ngada and Nagekeo, they were supposed to have their origin here. For the same reason, it is also to be assumed that the station loom-type found in East Manggarai, equipped with a Y-fork, stands for the Central Manggarai and vice versa, the stake loom version should belong to East Manggarai.

The Y-shaped sculptures on the village squares, called Peo in Nagekeo, differ, among other things, from their counterparts in Ngada in that each a bird is found on their tines.

PREVIEW





Alat Tenun Ende

Looms of Ende

[<<] [NGGELA] [NDONA] [PALU'E] [FLORES] [>>]



Looms of Ende

NGGELA | NDONA | PALU'E | LIO | ONELAKO | WOLOJITA

In the administrative district of Ende on Central Flores there are currently only two illustrated examples of very similar, ethnic loin looms: Nggela and Ndona. Both, located in the south of Ende-region, show a typical ground-leveled and horizontally-aligned circular warp and correspond to the type of a body-tensioned ground loom. The Lio in the larger, northern area do not seem to weave; here the weaving even seems forbidden. The Ndona, actually part of the Lio, are separated from them by a mountain range and live in the catchment area of the southern Ende-region.

A remote, third example of an ethnic stake loom-type called *'dhadha'* is found on the island of Palu'e in the north, what's actually part of Sikka regency. It also fits perfectly into the scheme of the ground looms represented primarily on Flores.

All three variants are characterized by massive bamboo canes, which serve as a holder for the warp beam. With the Ndona, however, this is tied up by two rope loops, the Nggela, on the other hand, store their warp beam like the Sikka on rocks; partly also the Palu'e do so. All three circular Ikat warps run horizontally, close to the ground. In addition to the traditionally anchored Ikat warps, there are now also striped warps, that are provided with a reed comb. Of course, these are so-called false-circular warps. In most cases, the footrest, due to the length of the warp, is kept at distance from the posts by wedges in the ground; In the example of the Palu'e, however, construction bricks serve this purpose, similar to the rocks used by the Timor-based Atoni.

On Palu'e Island you can even find simple station looms of a model widely used throughout Flores with usually a built-in footrest; however; habit of several is to use a bunch of additional foot rests. Some of these also have a diagonal on the post, which partly still reflects the good ol' fork in its function. But also corresponding forks can be found as holders on some loin looms of the Palu'e, which has got listed here. These forks in shape are not related to the Y-shaped version, found in the west, but remember of the coming twigs and their related X-shaped forks of the east. There is also a miraculous legend of the Palu'e about the origin of their Ikat loom.

The looms of the Nggela such as the Ndona have a loin yoke; the Palu'e, however, still uses the spathe of the areca palm as a backstrap.

Kabupaten Ende

COMPONENTS

Nggela

on the Rocks!

*Large bamboo posts
& a warp beam
resting on rocks*

Hangin' Cane of Ndona

*Tied-up warp beam
on large bamboo posts*

Special Loom of Mama Ango

An ancient solution?

Palu'e

Station Loom

*A Standard spread
all over Flores?*

Palu'e

along the Bricks!

*An ancient detail
in new shape*

Palu'e Legend

Gift from Heavens

*Where the loom
comes from*

Lio

Onelako

Wolojita

VOCABULARY

false-circular warp

backstrap

footrest

dhadha

Stake Loom of Nggela

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][yoke][Nggela]



[B]

STAKE

Similar, but differing in details: The warp beam of the Nggela rests like Sikka on stones, while the Ndona's is hold on height by "hanging ropes". But their poles are made of bamboo canes, like Ndona. The sketch shows the loom according to a photo in Hamilton 1994, while the photo of Buckley suggests some deviations: The bamboo posts still seem to be embedded in the ground, but the weaver is sitting on her porch. The warp beam is no longer stored on stones and is suspended similar to the Ndona by ropes hanging down. While the warp beam of the Ndona is tied up by the ropes, here it is only inserted into the hanging loops!!! The suspension of the warp beam by ropes seems to be preferred in the Ende region, but also in Larantuka the same solution was already found in the 1920s. Several of looms in Ende regency prefer these significant bamboo canes as posts, but also wooden posts are found.

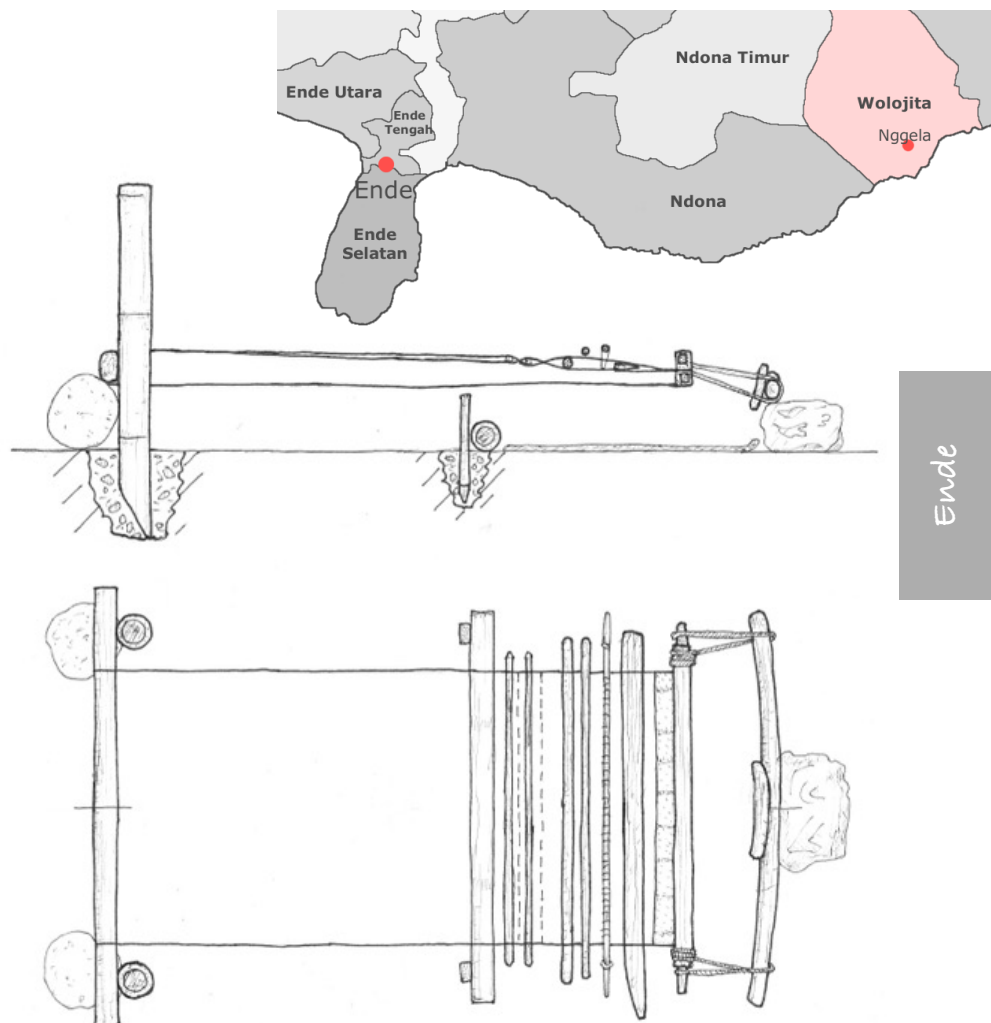
It is said, these huge poles might have had a reason as they probably once were used as vertical warping poles (before Ikat).

Traditionally looms in Ende use a circular warp without *reed*, basically *Ikat*; but some show a false circular warp with reed comb for striped textiles.



31) Nggela weaver 2010-2015.

© Christopher D. Buckley → tracingpatterns.org



Stake Loom of Ndonga

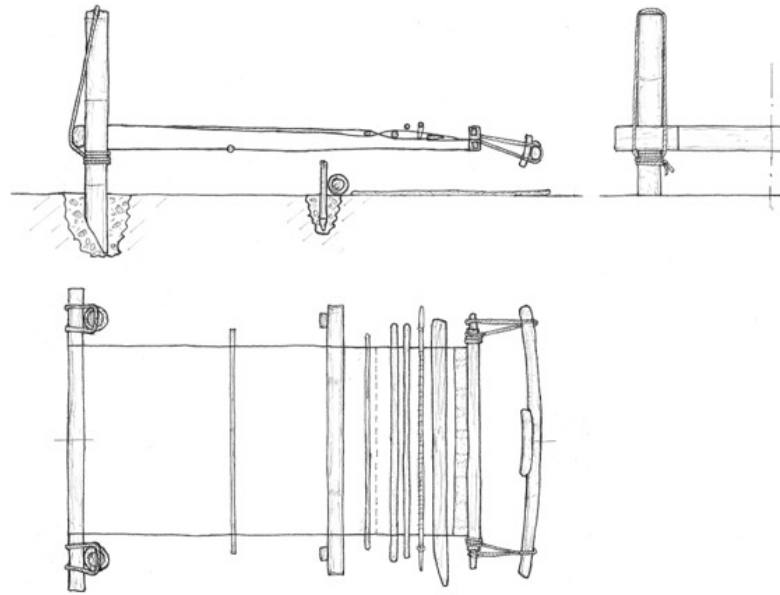
[1][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][yoke]



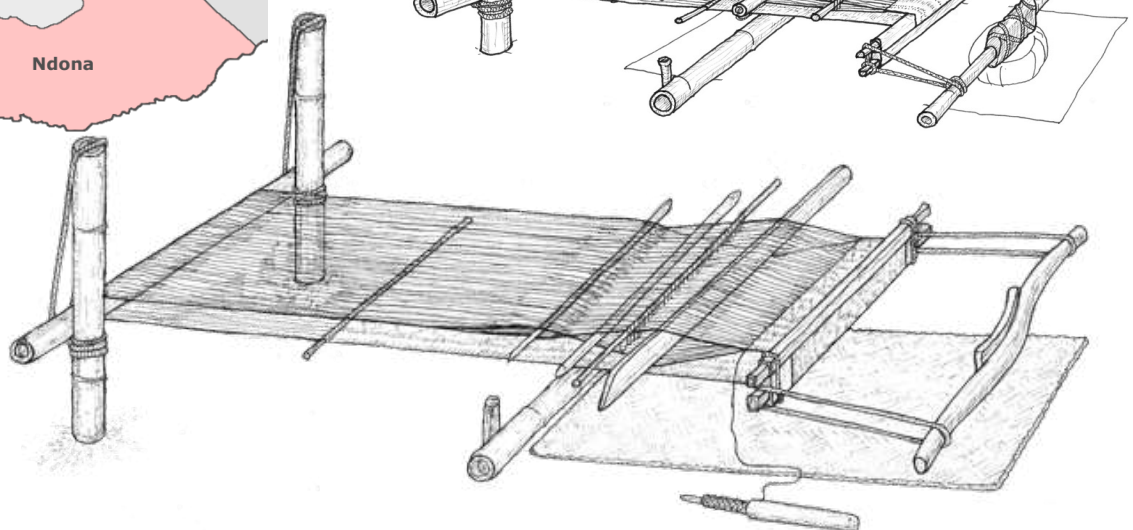
[B]

STAKE

Ground loom-like horizontal loin loom of the Ndonga people on Flores using a circular warp for Ikat weaving without reed comb. Nowadays some few models include such a reed comb for striped textiles in false circular warps. The warp beam is brought to height by rope loops tied-up.(!!!) Compare difference to the method, shown in Buckley's photo of a Nggela in 21th century and a Larantuka weaver in the 1920s.



These pronounced bamboo piles raise a question that no observer has yet targeted: Are those really hammered into the ground, as some statements pretend? Insofar as this is conceivable for the short wooden piles under certain circumstances, but not recommended, such an approach is extremely questionable in view of piles of this magnitude; they should have been embedded in previously prepared soil for long-term use. A cultural detail that is well known to some ethnic groups, especially since it is the basis of their rudimentary house building, but that observers as well as weavers often escape! Some photographs suggest that not only the area around the posts but also the ground of the entire work space is plastered. In-depth observations of this detail would be useful here for the stabilization of the entire cultural heritage.



Ende

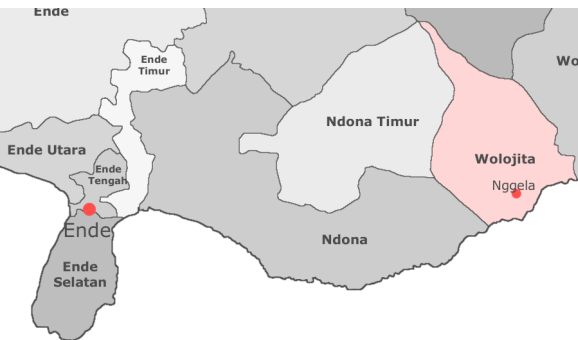
Simple Loom of Mama Ango

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][yoke][Nggela]



[B]

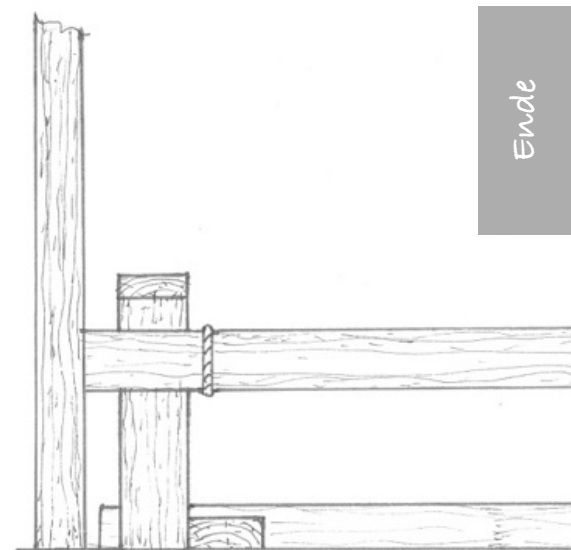
STAKE



34) Mama Ango's loom construction in Nggela village, 2018: A massive warp beam tied to the cross bar of her house is resting on diagonals. The weaver, seated on a stool, lifts the warp onto a horizontal level. The massive yoke corresponds to the weight of the warp beam.

© David & Sue Richardson 2008. -><https://asiantextilestudies.com/nggt-02.html#by>

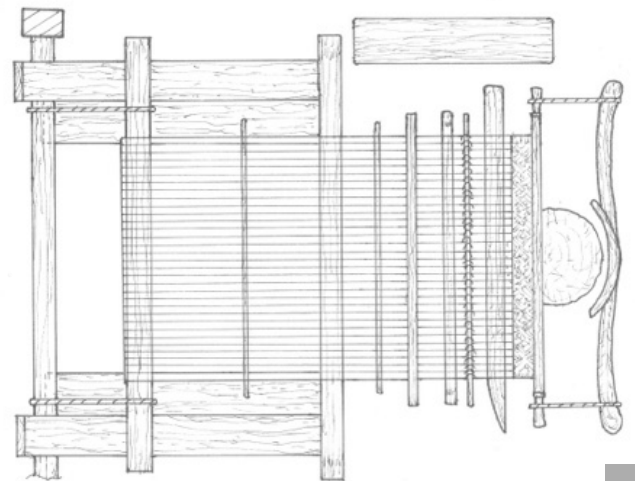
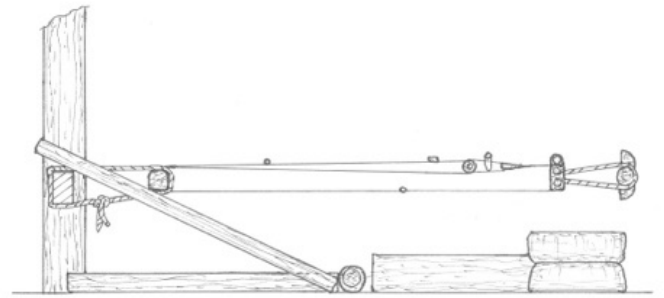
The photo of Richardson shows a simple, but nevertheless special weaving device of Mama Elisabeth Tango (Ango) in Nggela. It can only be assigned very imprecisely to one of the loin loom groups; but in principle, looms attached to the house, are grouped to the stake looms. Remarkable are the conspicuous diagonals, which serve as support for the warp beam; this one is tied to planks of the house wall. Diagonals have so far been found in the bamboo scaffolding in Ngada, but similar solutions will also appear in Solor as on Ternate. However, within the following regencies these diagonals will become an important component of loom constructions on Flores. This one, being fixed to the house construction, seems to show an ancient solution of suspension. Diagonals used as warp beam lifter, not just holder, are also found, albeit rarely, outside of Flores; even among the Cham in South Vietnam. Warp beams attached to an intermediate beam can be observed not only in Ngada, but also with the Minangkabau in West Sumatra and even with some of the Naga in the Himalayas.



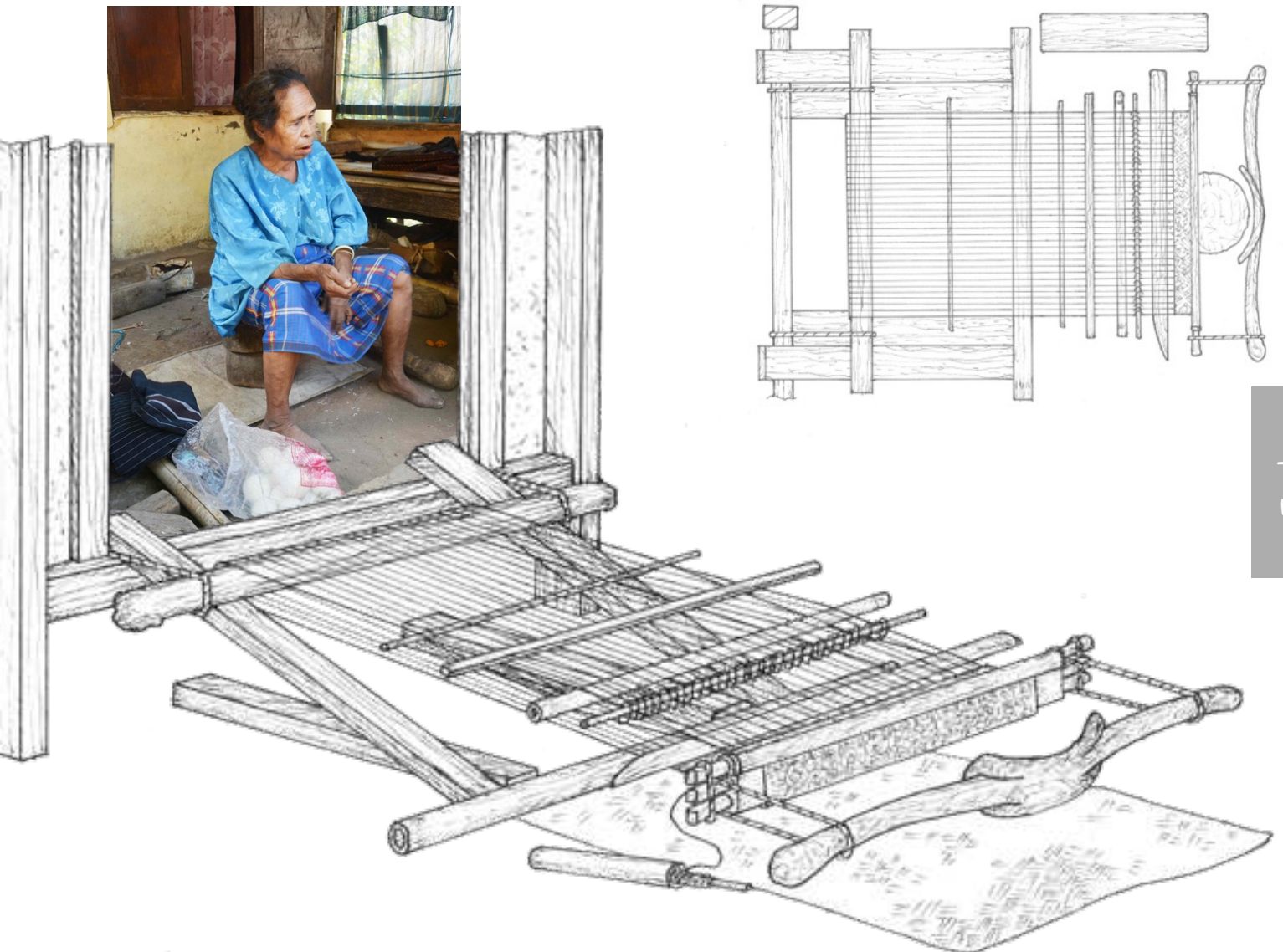
Ende

The photo below, taken by Dave & Sue Richardson, shows Mama Ango, back in 2018, sitting on the shown stool. It's a bit the question, whether she used the stool due to comfortability or in means to get the warp onto a horizontal level. In horizontal alignment, the massive warp beam receives a significant weighting; the massive yoke as its counterpart, should underline this. In this case, the diagonals are needed to rest the massive warp beam on, just while releasing the warp. While the warp is tensioned, it should hover an inch above the diagonals to set-up a spring effect by its weight to support density. A fine-tuning method, almost disappeared and seldomly observed. It demands experience to master it and the spring-effect stresses the joints of the weaver.

The side view as the top view show the original set of Mama Ango including the stool in question. The warp is horizontally aligned; while the perspective drawing misses the stool, what may lead to an inclined warp. This reduces the function of the spring-effect; weaving is still possible.



Ende



Station Loom of Palu'e

[X][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]

Dhadha | Dhodo



[B]

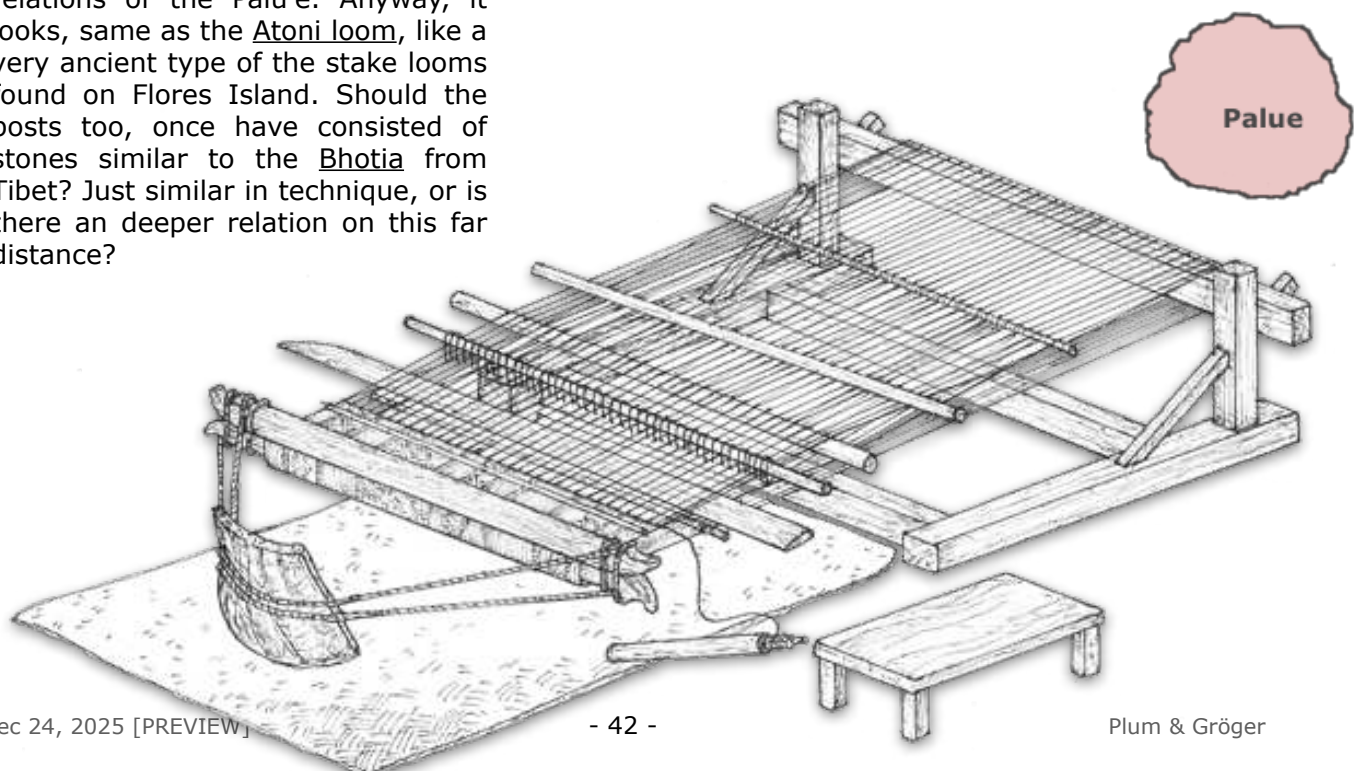


STATION

A photo of Danerek shows two types of loom on Palu'e Island: The front one is a stake loom-type with two huge bamboo canes as warp posts with a horizontal-aligned circular warp. The foot brace is hold on position by two rows of big construction bricks. In terms of these bricks, it seems pretty much related to the loom of the Atoni on Timor, who use rocks instead of the bricks. The other one is a station loom-type, with a diagonal as a "fork" for the support of the warp beam. Such weaving stations are probably spread all over Flores. Most of the time the foot brace is build-in the frame. Both weavers use a spathe of the Areca-palm as backstrap. The first mentioned stake loom-type should represent the ethnic loom of the Palu'e. Maybe it's telling us something about the relations of the Palu'e. Anyway, it looks, same as the Atoni loom, like a very ancient type of the stake looms found on Flores Island. Should the posts too, once have consisted of stones similar to the Bhotia from Tibet? Just similar in technique, or is there an deeper relation on this far distance?



37) Two of several types of body-tensioned ground looms, in use by Palu'e weavers. Photo: Stefan Danerek/Osi Kula 2021.



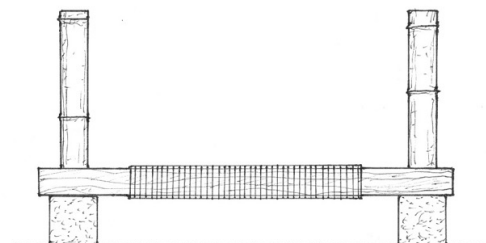
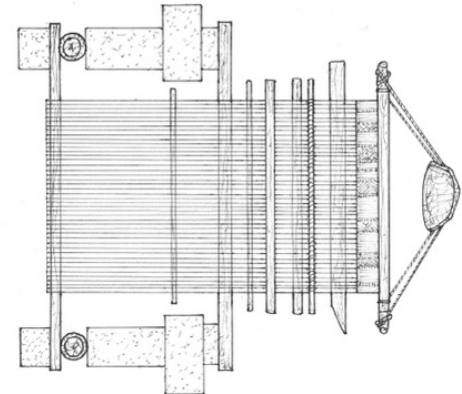
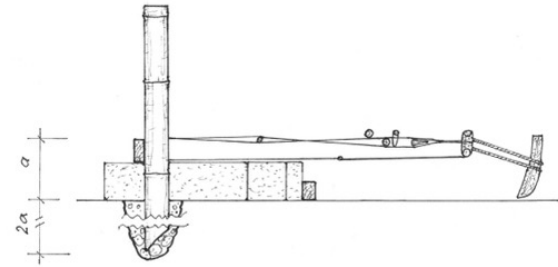
Stake Loom of Palu'e (dhadha)

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]

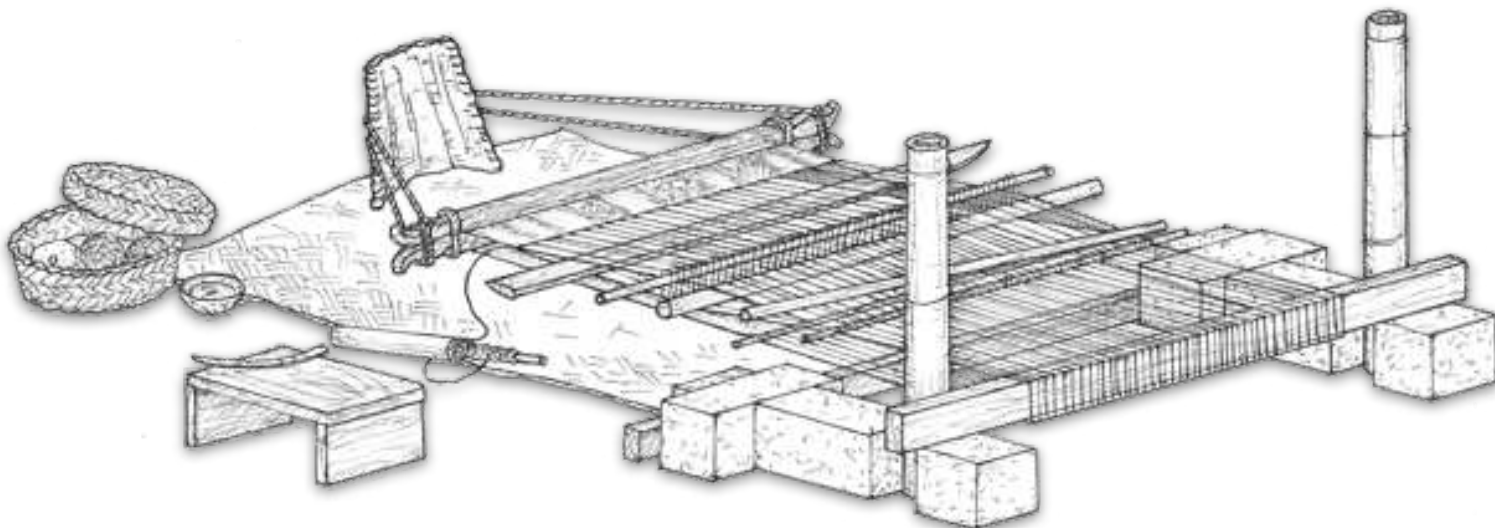
Dhadha | Dhodo



STAKE



Palu'e Island belongs to the Sikka region, but in view of the chosen example of a loom from the surprisingly rich repertoire of the Palu'e with the same high bamboo posts, which are increasingly found in Ende-region, they are more clearly compared here. Also in Sikka you can find some of such bamboo posts, but they determine the picture less there. Striking are the construction bricks, used as warp beam bearings AND to extend the footrest - they, on the other hand, fit a little more to Sikka; but an amazingly similar, archaic-looking construction of the footrest can also be found on Timor Island.



Looms of Palu'e en detail

[X][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]



STATION

[B]



Along with the numerous weaving stations, there are various habits on Palu'e Island, which are quite ancient, such as the use of a large number of transversely arranged beams as footrests, here maybe eight in number. A widely spread habit on Flores - now & back in time; compare e.g. with Solor, Bajawa, also Atoni or even Nagaland & Bhotia.



40) Weaver on Palu'e Island with segmented footrest.
Photo: Stefan Danerek/Osi Kula 2021.

Palu'e

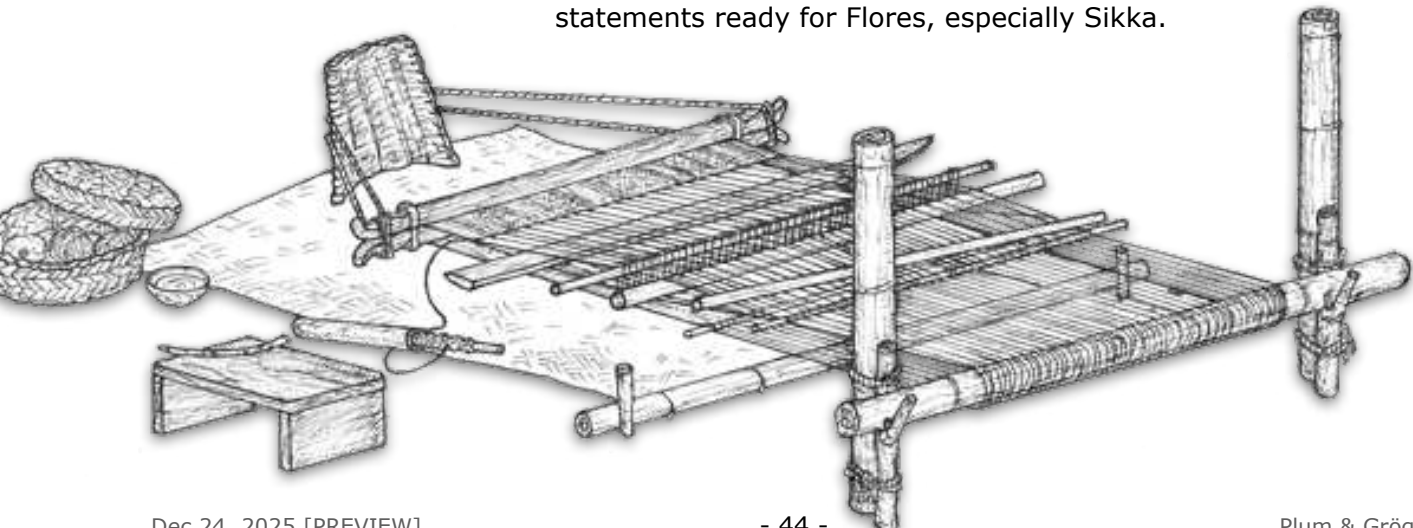
Palu'e Loom at Tropenmuseum

[r][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]



STAKE

Collectie Tropenmuseum offers another ancient type of stake loom from Palu'e Island, acquired in 1909 (RV-1710-32). The drawing tries a reconstruction based on the description of the museum; a photo of the museum just shows a bundle of loom. Accordingly, two branch forks were tied to stakes in the ground, made of bamboo, as warp beam holders. Given the diversity of these ancient techniques, it does not seem to show just ONE original model here on Palu'e, but to have accumulated a whole collection of original looms and kept, next to modern station looms, in active use, which also have statements ready for Flores, especially Sikka.



Missing Looms

The overview of ethnic looms in the Ende region is currently extremely small; only two examples of the Ndona and Nggela were shown. Ndona and Nggela belong to the Lio people. A similar station loom-type was also found in Ende, as it is also shown on Palue Island. But an ethnic loom of the Ende people was ultimately not located.

Along the north coast of Ende region there are two settlement areas of the Bugis-Makassar. While the western one is still in the Nagekeo regency, the eastern one is located at the other end of the north coast. However, according to the map below, the western one also seems to be located in the linguistic area of Ende-people. There were no looms from both areas. Presumably it is indicated here that the Ikat line is shifting along the north coast to the border of Ende.

The extremely archaic-looking loom from Mama Ango raises the question of the extent to which it can be considered the predecessor of the currently common model in Nggela. In any case, the diagonals have surprising similarities with subsequent models of other ethnicities in the east of Flores.

The map below does not trace the border to the neighbors, but probably shows the ethnic language areas that are not identical everywhere. According to this, Lio tribes should be found in Nagekeo as well as in Sikka. This also shows the differences between the actual settlement area of the Ende-people and the districts attributed to Ende today.

Ende



Alat Tenun Sikka

Looms of Sikka

[<<] [STONES] [PEGS] [BOARDS] [STATION] [SPECIAL] [FLORES] [>>]



Looms of Sikka

STONES | PEGS | BOARDS & SUSPENSION | FORK STILTS | KROWE | LIO | TANA'AI

Kabupaten Sikka

COMPONENTS

Sikka
on the Rocks!

Pegs
of Sikka

Two Boards
make a Sikka!

Fork Stilts
of Sikka

Suspensions
at a Glance!

Subgroups:
Sikka
Krowe
Tana'Ai
Lio?

VOCABULARY

breast board
warp board
batten rest

In the administrative district of Sikka are mainly the Sikka-Krowe. According to information, the Lio also belong to the Sikka; but this requires further research. In the eastern mountain region of Sikka regency, however, the remote villages of the Tana-Ai are still found. None of the loom-variants found, can currently be assigned to a specific tribe or area, because as elsewhere on Flores, the variants do not seem (anymore) bound to regions or ethnic groups and are mostly widely scattered and partially found side by side. There are even versions of looms in the Sikka region, in which, as in the example of a stake loom of the Palu'e, one is inclined to stylistically attribute it to the Ende-region. These examples are omitted in the following.

There are the same body-tensioned ground looms equipped with circular Ikat warps as in the Ende-region. Here, however, bamboo canes are less or rarely used as posts, for which short piles are placed into the ground. Also, the warp beams are not hung on ropes here, but stored on rocks. There are also variants that replace or even supplement the stones with a second pair of wedges introduced diagonally into the ground. There are no limits to diversity. On old photos (Tillema 1926) also a model of a Sikka close to Maumere can be found, which uses two conspicuously high boards: Once as a warp board; another as a breast board. So far it seems a rare model, not found twice.

Except the looms on Palu'e Island, all variants shown in Sikka, have a loin yoke.

The variant with the diagonally inserted wedges show a reference to the otherwise found branch forks. Some few looms in Sikka also have such branch forks, similar to Manggarai, or corresponding constructions, but fitting much more to the "twigs" of the East; the warp beam holders of those variants and another rare model with twig-shaped stilts, what just appeared at a weaver festival, are shown here.

There are also conspicuously long bamboo canes as a batten rest, mounted on footrest and stone. But only rarely bell bands as a sound element, mounted on the batten rest, can be found, although they should be an important element of Sikka looms; in modern looms they seem to have disappeared or are not pronounced clearly.

Also in Sikka there are occasionally station looms, but stake looms still predominate clearly.

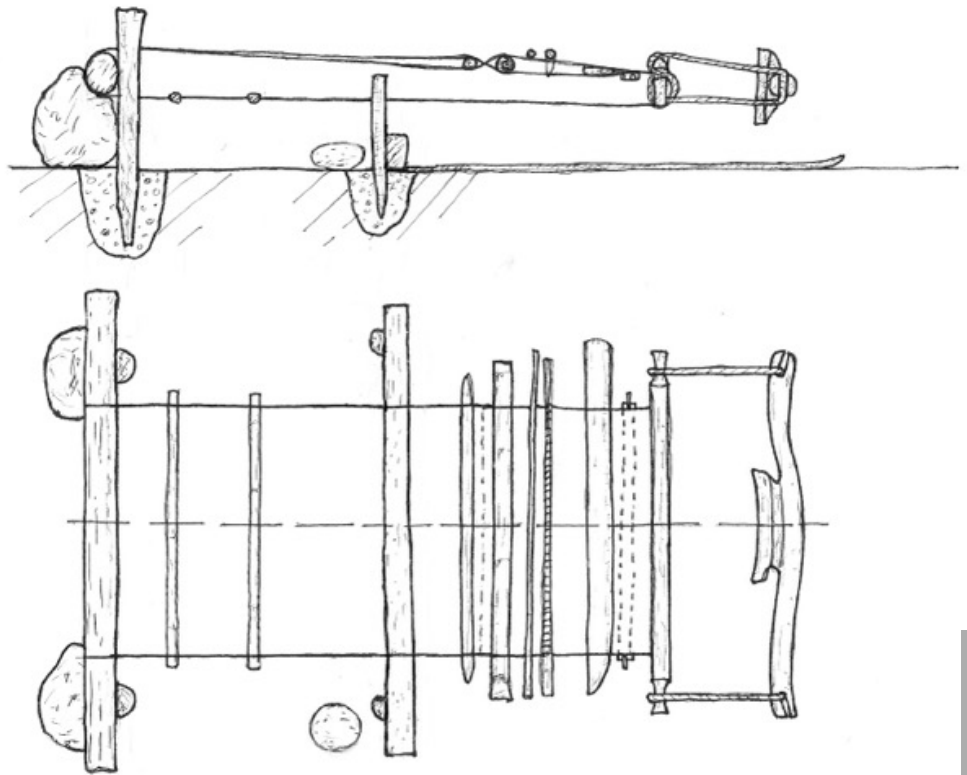
A Standard of Stake Loom on Stones

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][yoke][Sikka]



STAKE

[B]



Sikka

44) Sikka Loom, oval warp beam resting on stones. Le Roux ~1915. [Drawing: Charlotte Gröger/Guido Plum 2025]

45) Sikka Weavers in Desa Sikka in Lela district, 2010-2015 - © Christopher D. Buckley



Stake Loom with pegs

[V][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][yoke]

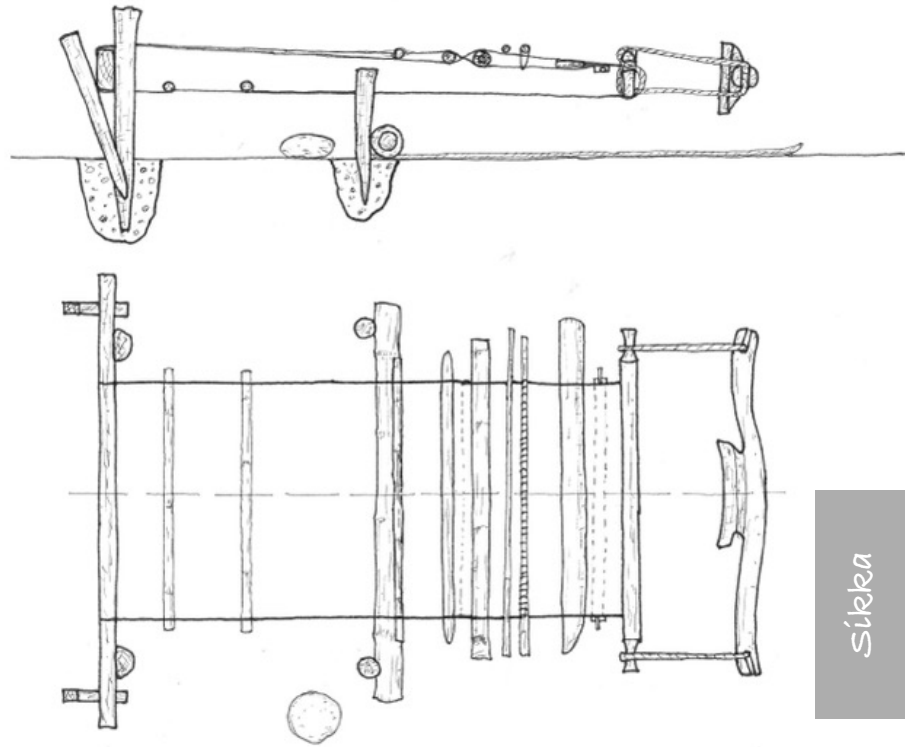


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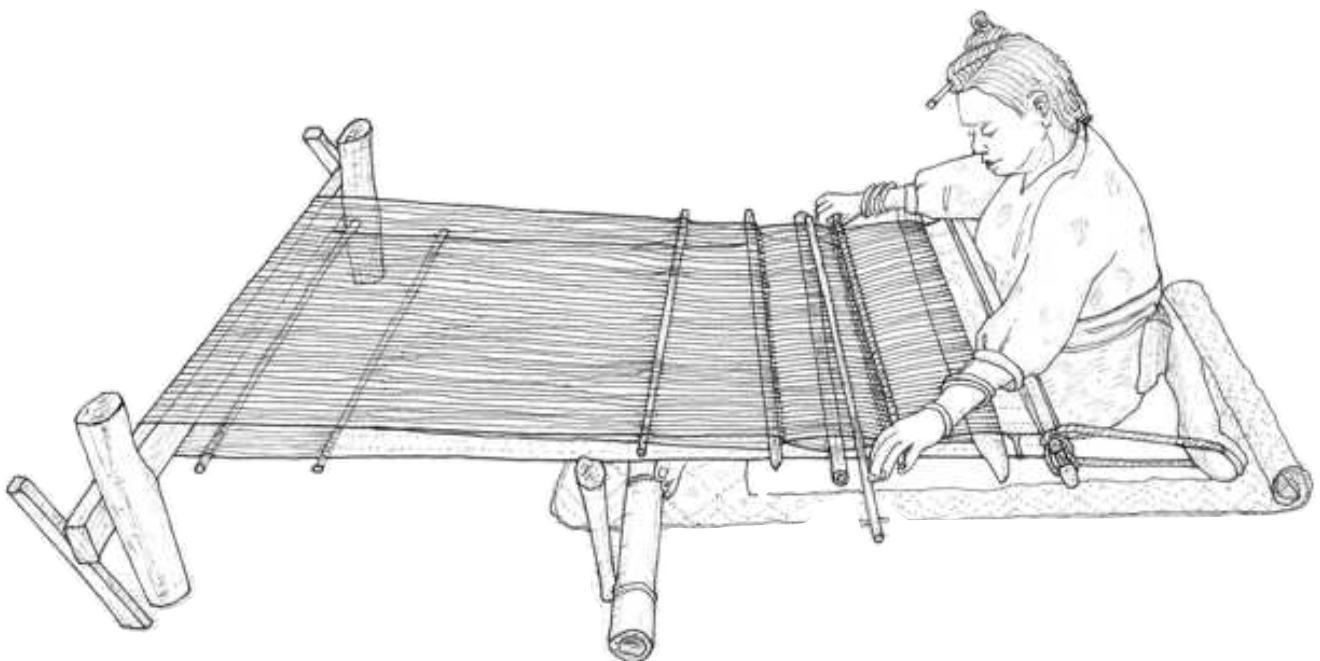


STAKE

Sikka run similar body-tensioned ground looms with horizontally-aligned warps like Ende, as close as possible to the ground, but the concept of holding the warp beam differs noticeably: Their warp beam gets lifted on height by rocks, or maybe by a second pair of diagonal pegs, or even a combination of both. Even if there are few examples where the footrest is close to the posts, it is usually hold by two pegs in the ground on approx. 1 meter distance to them. Flat stones seem to be ready for the corrective setting of the wedges. Not shown here, but batten rests can be found almost everywhere. Taking a closer look, one may even discover water containers with wet weft spools in reserve.



Sikka



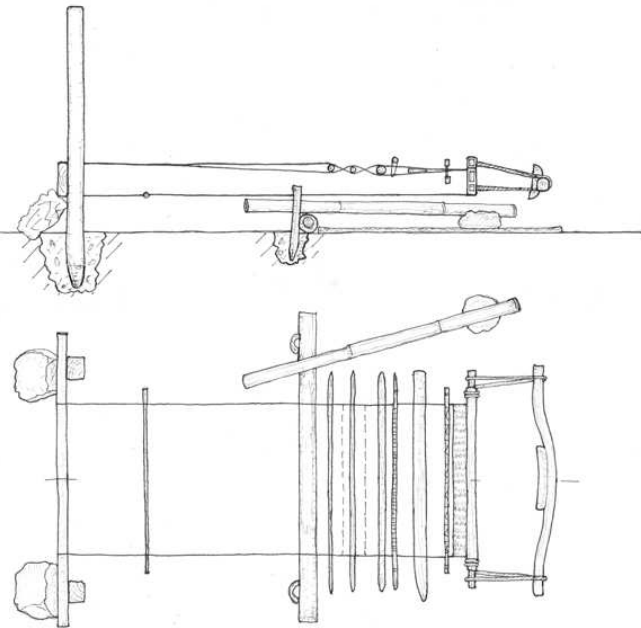
Sikka Loom with two boards

[1][stake loom][warp board][circular warp/hor][breast board][reedless][yoke][Maumere]



[B]

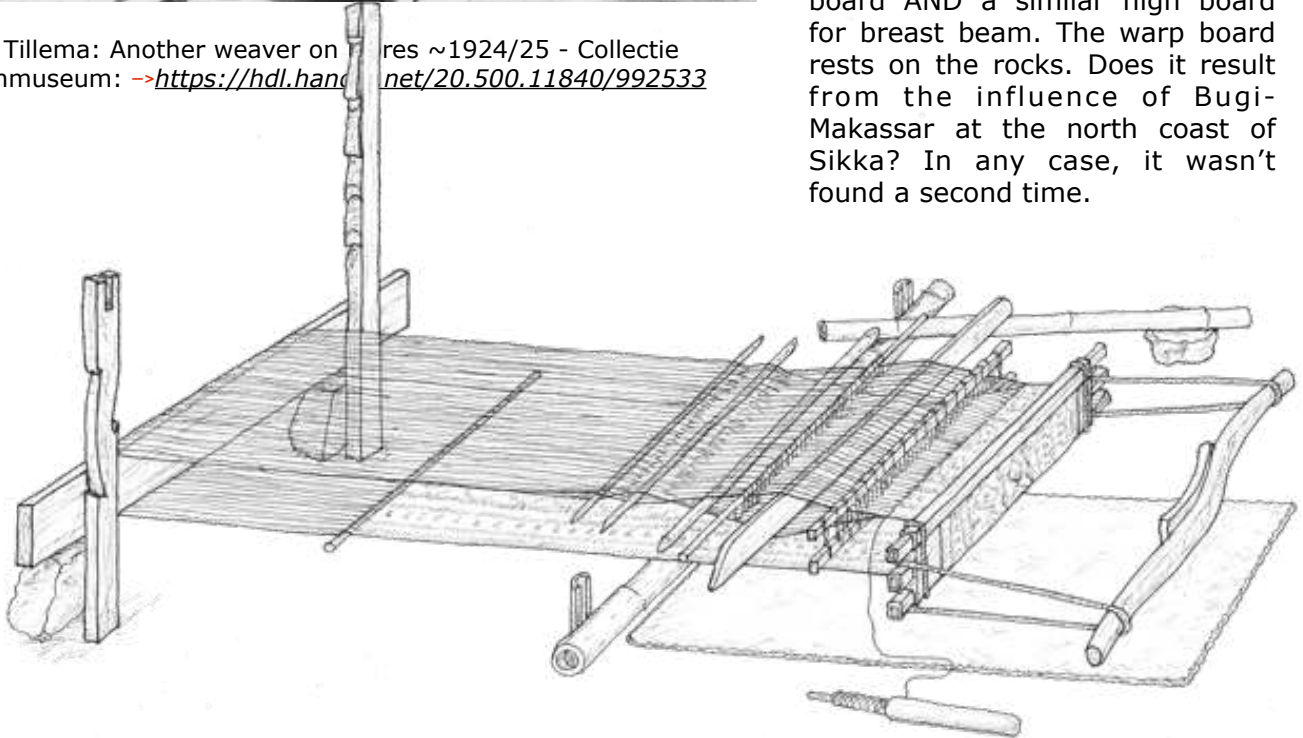
STAKE



Most photos of Sikka looms show round or rectangular warp beams, but this one of Tillema, taken in Maumere around 1924, shows a circular warp on a huge warp board AND a similar high board for breast beam. The warp board rests on the rocks. Does it result from the influence of Bugi-Makassar at the north coast of Sikka? In any case, it wasn't found a second time.

Sikka

47) Tillema: Another weaver on Maumere ~1924/25 - Collectie Tropenmuseum: -><https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/992533>

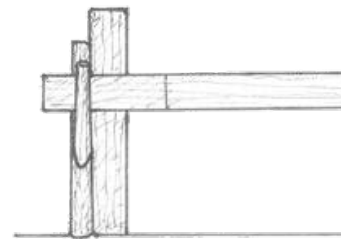
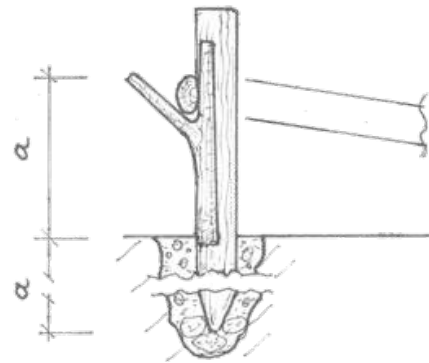


48) According to Tillema a loom close Maumere with warp board on rocks. ~1924/25. [Drawing: Charlotte Gröger/Guido Plum 2025]

Sikka on forked Stilts

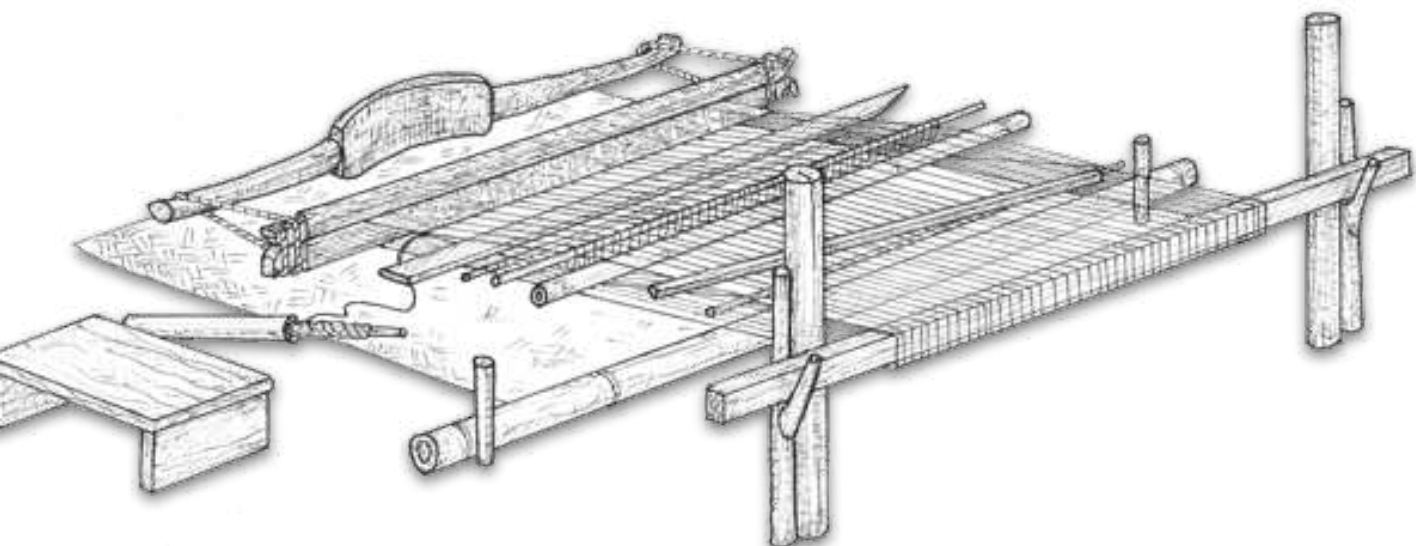
[上][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/inc][breast beam][reedless][yoke]

A rather unusual construction for Sikka with an r-shaped branch fork (twig) as a warp beam holder, here introduced as a stilt. The construction is supported by two wooden stakes. This unique solution was found in Sikka at a weaver festival; a similar variant was also shown there. Even if at first glance there should be a similarity to the coming fork loom on Lembata, it is still most similar to the Palu'e model as described in the Collectie Tropenmuseum in terms of the stake/stilt-combination. Here the fork stilts are simply not tied to the stakes.



So it seems as if the weaver at the festival, a studied elder man, should have reconstructed this extraordinary model based on the description of the ancient Palu'e loom in the Collectie Tropenmuseum. Even the height of the stilts seems to correspond to the specifications; however, they are not made of bamboo forks as described. A question pops up: "For a reason?" Should this tiny change correspond more to the Sikka in detail? Anyway, stable bamboo forks aren't easy to find, but more easy to break. Other looms at the festival also show long posts and warp beams hanging from ropes, which is suspiciously reminiscent of looms in Ende, but here, too, the posts are made of wood and not, as found in Ende, made of bamboo canes.

Sikka



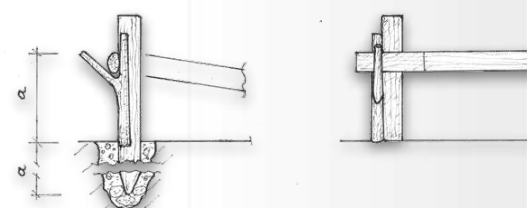
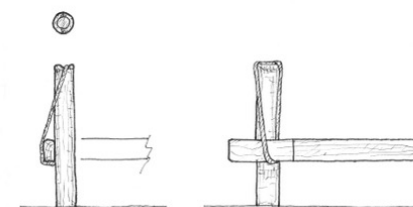
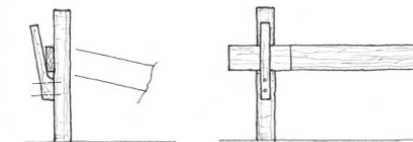
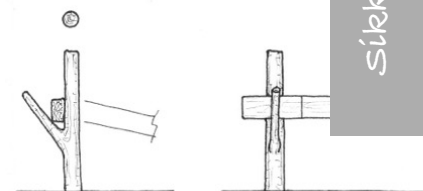
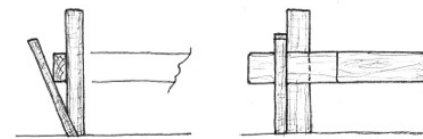
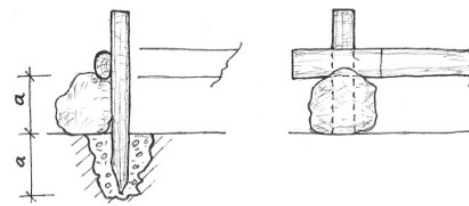
Warp Beam Holders of Sikka

The previously shown suspensions of the warp beam at the Sikka by means of stones (1), ground pegs (2) and combination of these two should probably present the most primost and also most common methods in this region. Other methods such as rope suspension (6) and forks (4) are rarely found in Sikka. In a video of a weaver festival, however, solutions are also shown that you won't see otherwise. Here you'll even find the otherwise unusual plug connections (3) and incisions in the posts; usually these are short, but massive bamboo canes, which are provided with an incision for the warp beam on top. Technically similar to those in Nagekeo, but differing in design. There are also variants of constructed twigs (5).

Analysis of the connections & warp beam holders at the festival:

- Many crossing pegs (2), some extremely long, others short; but strikingly many long poles, only a few short.
- Many models with long, thin wooden posts and rope suspension of the warp beam (6).
- Also some half-length bamboo canes with notch for rope suspension.
- Some constructed twigs made of timber wood (5).
- Short bamboo canes with slot to plug in (3); of which 2 types: thick and thin!
- Also a few examples with striped warps and reed (false circular warp)
- Striking: Only ONE classic model with stone bearing (1), but with a long pole! (Stones unfavorable for festival?)
- An unusual example with Y-shaped stilts as warp beam holders (7); a stake/stilt-combination by long stem (papaya?) and a r-shaped twig stilt. (Gouverneur loom)
- Another example of a stake/stilt combination, but instead of the fork or twig there is a M-shaped board with incision as a holder. (wooden stem/board)

Strikingly many long poles on most models; hardly the typical short ones. (?) There are no station looms at the festival.



Sikka Station Loom

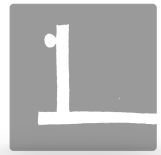
[T][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/inc][breast beam][reedless][yoke][Maumere]



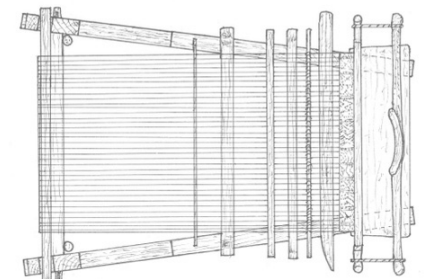
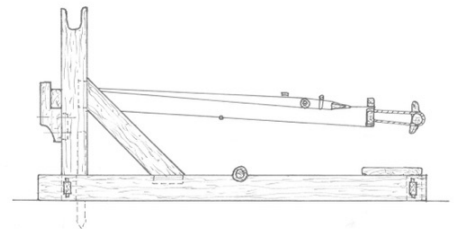
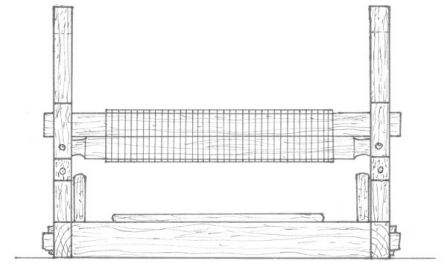
Even if until now mainly stake looms appeared in Sikka, there are also some station looms to find here in Maumere. Most of the time, as in this example, they are extremely solidly constructed and have a stand with two warp beam holders on two levels. Here various design elements can be found assembled together, which will show themselves again and again in the following: Diagonal, fork construction, double bearing & crossbar. From an artistic point of view, they seem to be composed in a brutalist and deconstructive manner; Improvisation as system - a Fluxus of happening.

While most warp beam holders on Flores only take up a basic tree element (fork) for design, a versatile tree is created here. Thus, this model also ranks in the danes of symbolic warp beam holders, but immediately claims its own, all-encompassing group. (!)

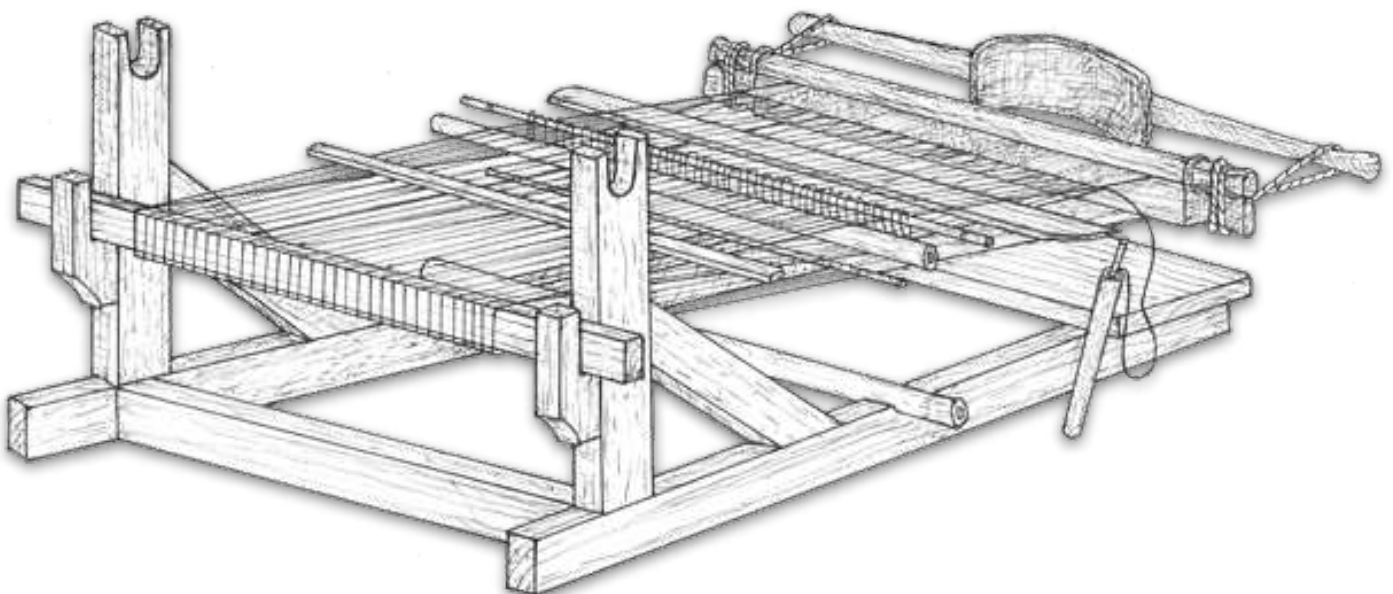
By the way, in the same municipality there was also a station loom as in Todo, but, of course, equipped with a circular Ikat warp; it isn't shown here. In view of these massive weaving stations, it should become understandable why they did not show themselves, like the missing stones as support, at the mentioned weaver festival. It also demonstrates how immobile such stations can be, contrary to all expectations and in contrast to stake looms. Several of station-types on Flores use crossbars and other permanently installed connections disabling their mobility.

[B]
T

STATION



Sikka



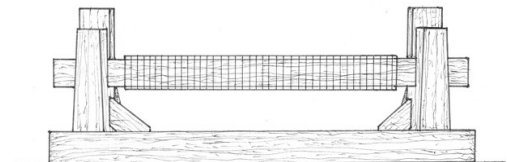
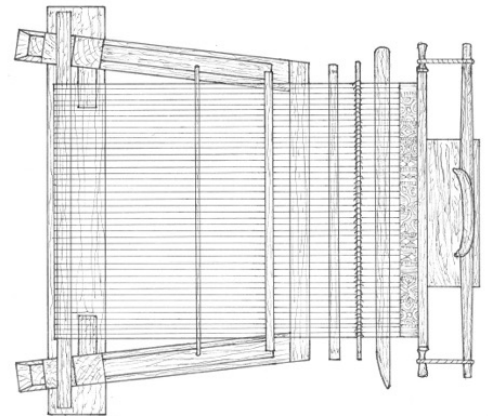
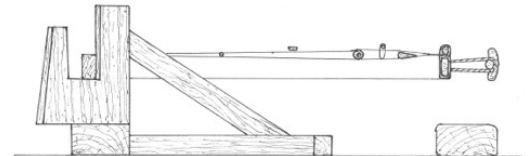
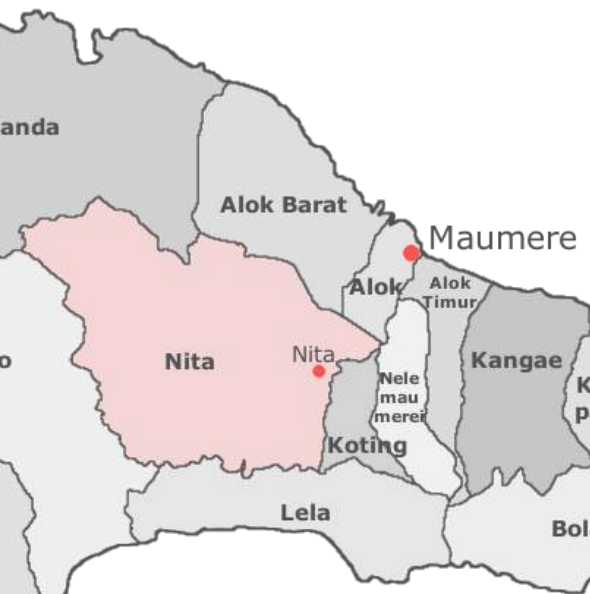
A Bima-influenced Station Loom in Nita?

[x][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/inc][breast beam][reedless][yoke][Nita]

[B]

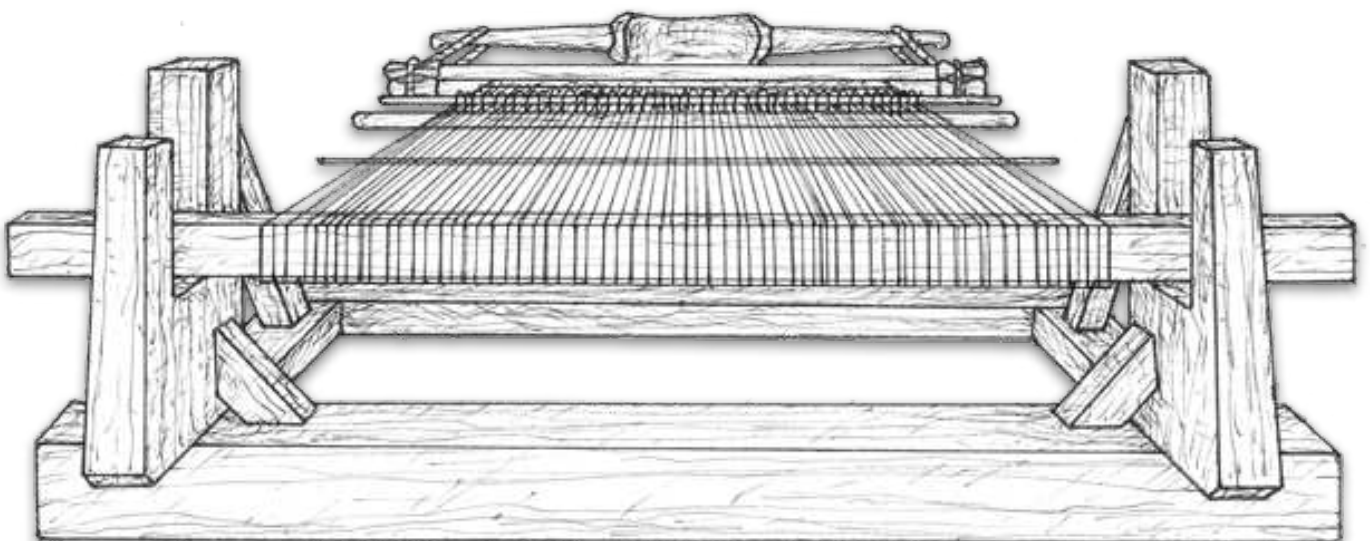


STATION



Sikka

An unusual massive station loom in Nita demonstrates a proximity to the massive construction of the Bima loom stands. Even the construction itself doesn't correspond to the stand looms of the Bima, the massivity of the material of such original Bima stands seems to have flowed into account here. It confirms the impression that all station loom-types on Flores should be composed on these (collected) external influences under own management. Ultimately, this station does not differ in its construction from that of the Palue and otherwise often available types; just the massive building material and the brutalistic structure make the difference of gestalt here. Due to the obvious assembly, it is of course also questionable whether you still want to recognize a crossing fork here at all, but for sure a de-constructed kind of fork.



Despite a variety of models, none of the models can be assigned to one of the ethnic subgroups of the Sikka or to a specific region in Sikka regency. Differences between Krowe and Tana Ai or other groups did not become clear. Even stone supports and the diagonally inserted ground wedges can be considered typical for Sikka, a rich collection of methods can be found in Sikka, which are somewhat subject to their own interpretation, but can also represent the rest of the island up to Alor.

Despite the proximity to the neighboring Ende-region and certain similarities, details, such as the tying of the warp beam by rope, are only partially found in Sikka; presumably these are groups close to the border. But surprisingly, tying the warp beam is also found popular in Larantuka again. Technical and massive woodwork is given preference here at the emerging station looms in Sikka to simple tie-up connections. While the previously common stake looms of Sikka appeared to be extremely economical and with regard to the use of wood, basing solely on the repertoire of traditional weaving craftsmanship, this ratio has reversed at the stations.



A two-piece breast beam in Sikka

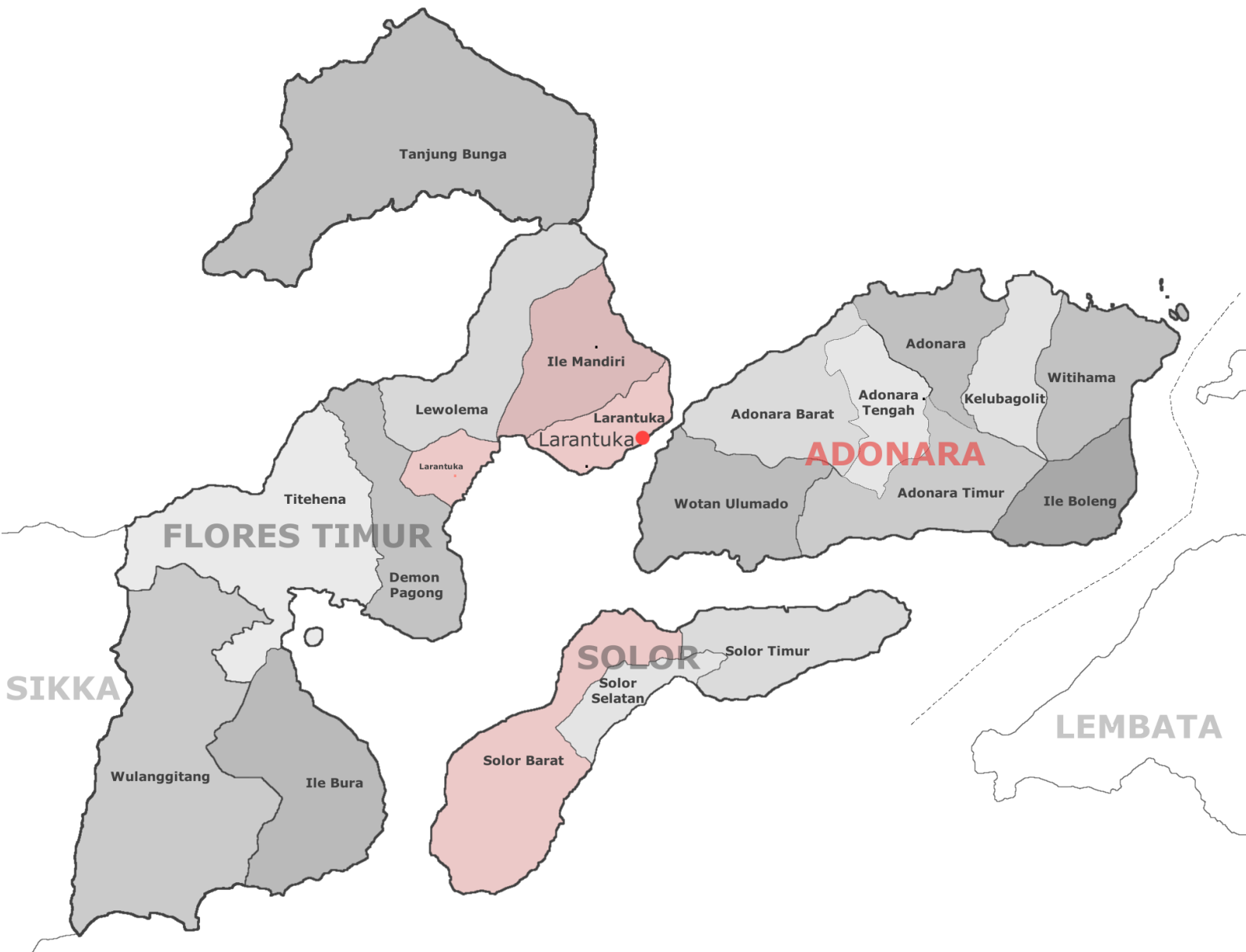
Sikka



Alat Tenun Flores Timur

Looms of East Flores

[<<] [LARANTUKA] [ILE MANDIRI] [MANDIRI STATION] [ADONARA] [FLORES] [>>]



Looms of East Flores (Lamaholot)

LARANTUKA | ILE MANDIRI | ADONARA | SOLOR

On East Flores and the adjacent islands, there are more and more station loom-types next to the usual stake looms. Similar to the looms in Ende-region, the posts of the stake looms are made of bamboo canes, and the warp beam is also held by hanging rope loops; However, both examples of stake looms, as with the station looms here, a back strap is still in use. In addition, an amazing footrest on a photo from Larantuka draws attention.

The example of a timbered station loom in Belogili, on the other hand, uses a solution for supporting the warp beam, that is reminiscent of the traditional twig-shaped branch forks.

But also a simple type of stake loom using plain posts as in Sikka, can be found as an example in Ile Mandiri. In contrast to the widespread versions of stake looms on Flores, the footrest is still pressed against the posts. A back strap is also enough for its narrow warp. In deviation from existing templates, its warp beam is also tied directly to the bamboo posts.

The tall bamboo posts and the variations of rope connections of the warp beam show certain parallels to the models in the Ende-region, which do not or rarely show up in the Sikka-region.

On Adonara there are four station looms at once that document very interesting interpretations of crossing forks as warp beam-holders, what may shed light onto their historical background.

Another station loom from Solor Island has been added to the collection. Here an extraordinary collection of solutions is presented; while on the one hand ancient methods of suspension and a traditional, segmented footrest are used, on the other hand, not just saw, hammer and nail were used for frame construction, but a new understanding of a weaving station (part-frame) has got defined, which is more based on modern bed or table construction and does not mount posts on rails, but vice versa puts rails on poles. The idea of these part-frames tend to be based on western frame looms and deals with empathy for carpenter craftsmanship, but not so much the concept of ancient loin looms. However, tradition and present get assembled to one structure here, in traditional manner, as just TWO poles make A loom.

All these examples use a back strap; (as the following).

Kabupaten Timur

COMPONENTS

Stakes
of Larantuka

Ile Mandiri
Stakes

Ile Mandiri
on Station

Adonara
Station Looms
Stations at a glance

Solor
Station

VOCABULARY

backstrap

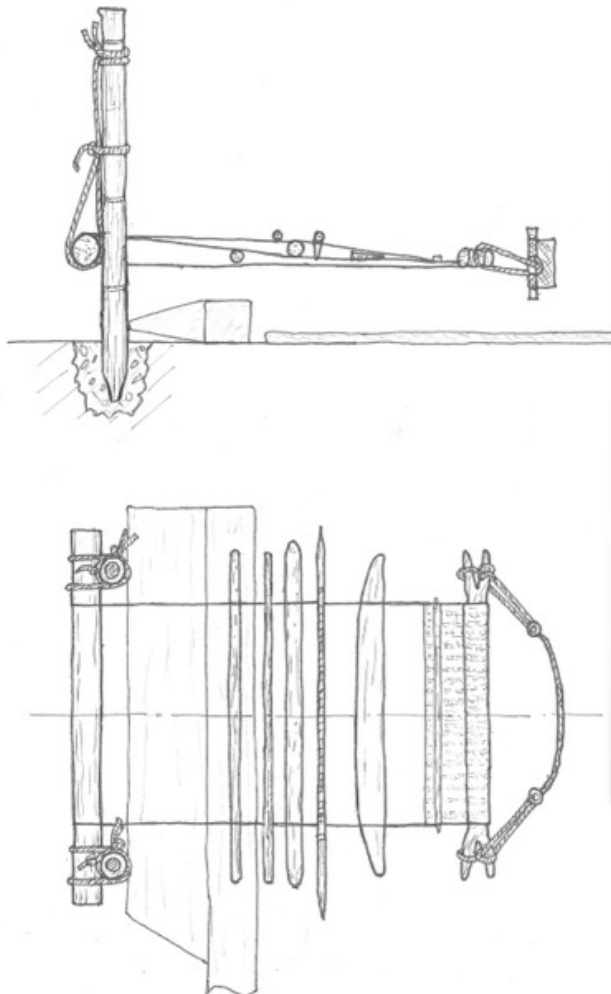
Larantuka Stake Loom (Ground Loom)

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap][Larantuka]

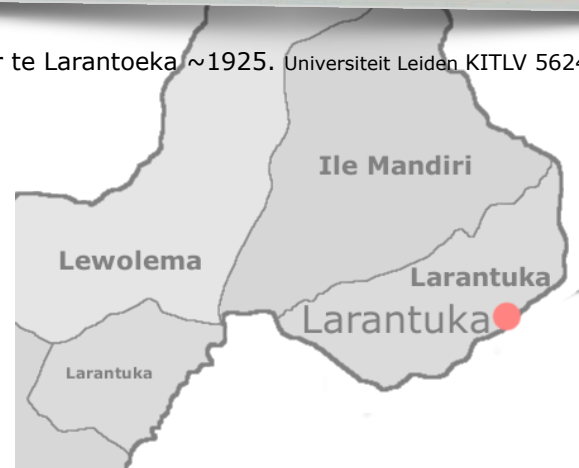
[B]



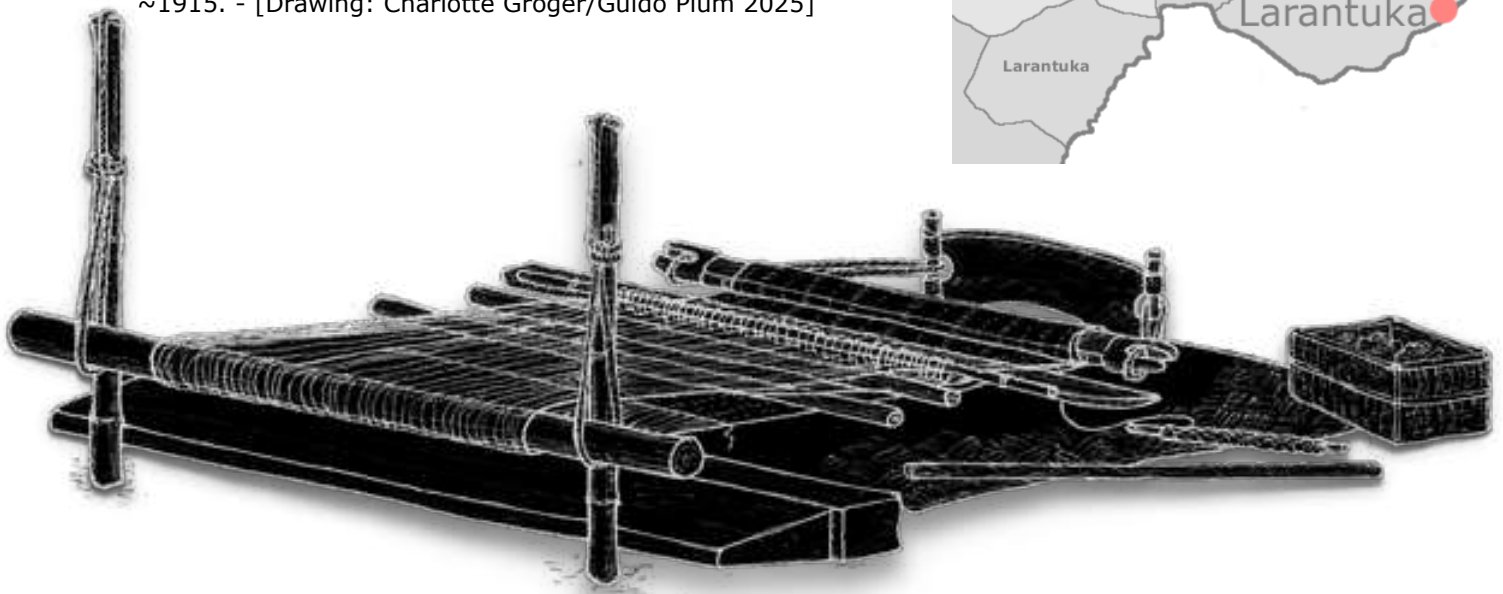
STAKE



55) Weefster te Larantoeke ~1925. Universiteit Leiden KITLV 5624



56) Larantuka Loom, hang-up, round warp beam. Le Roux ~1915. - [Drawing: Charlotte Gröger/Guido Plum 2025]



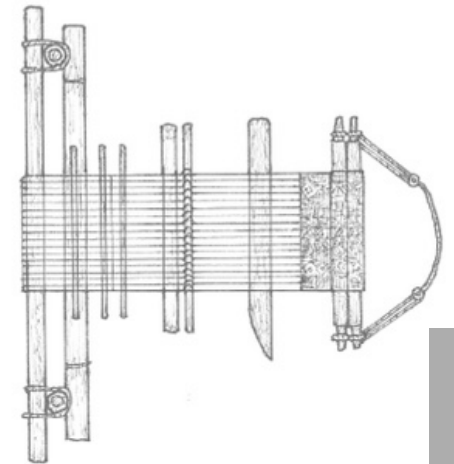
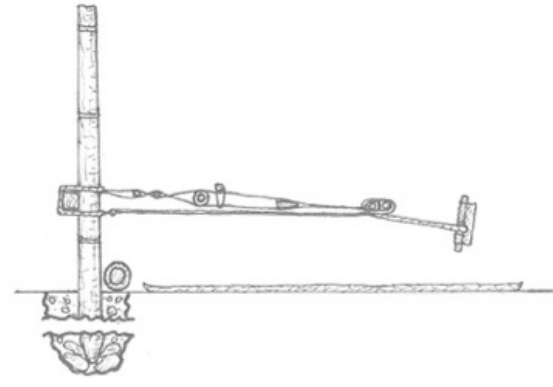
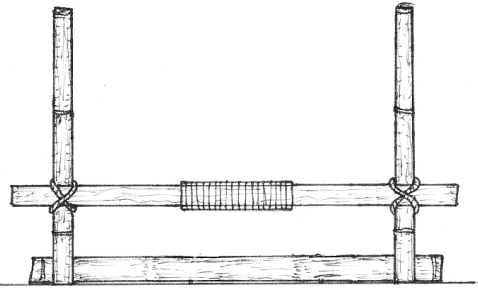
Ile Mandiri Stake Loom (Ground Loom)

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]

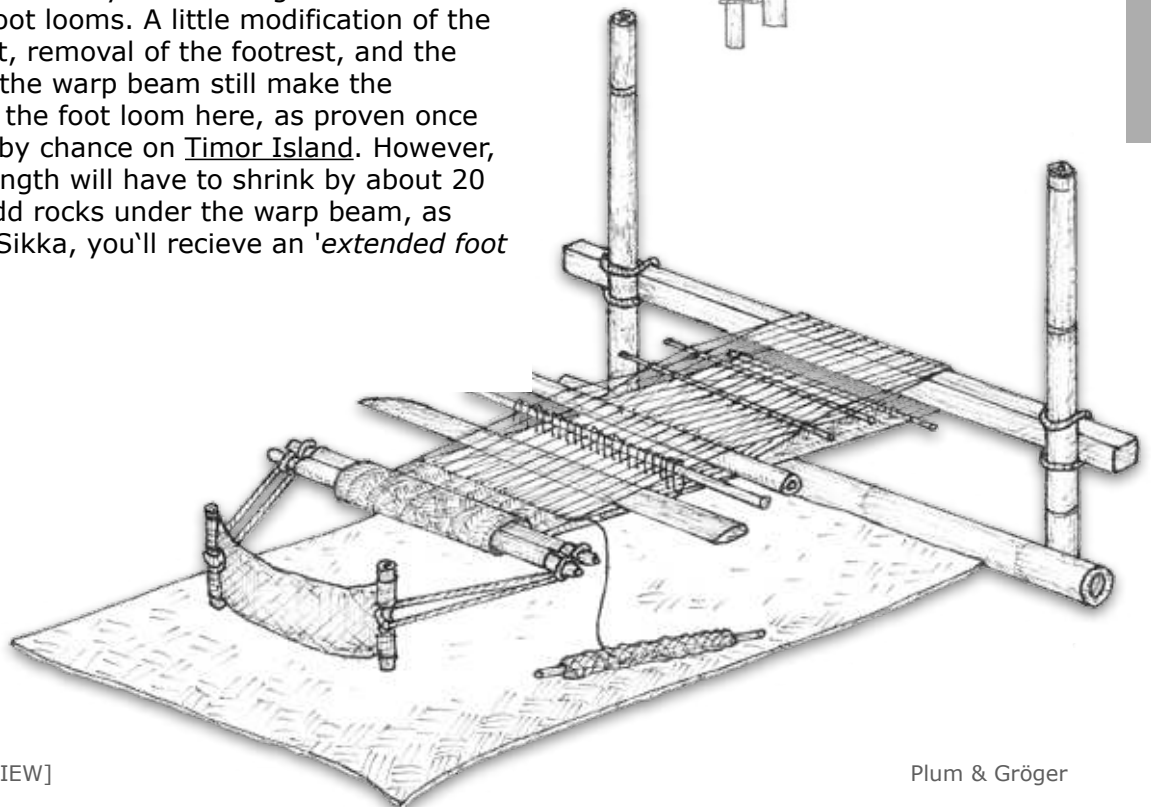
[B]



STAKE



Apart from the suspension of the warp beam, this stake loom basically resembles the loom constructions in Ende region in view of its protruding bamboo posts, but the footrest is found directly on the posts and it is still using a backstrap. This demonstrates an unexpected relation of these body-tensioned ground looms to the type of foot looms. A little modification of the warp's height, removal of the footrest, and the loosening of the warp beam still make the difference to the foot loom here, as proven once upon a time by chance on Timor Island. However, the warp's length will have to shrink by about 20 cm. If you add rocks under the warp beam, as used by the Sikka, you'll receive an 'extended foot loom'-type.



Timur

Station Loom in Ile Mandiri Region

[上][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap][Belogili]



[B]

STATION

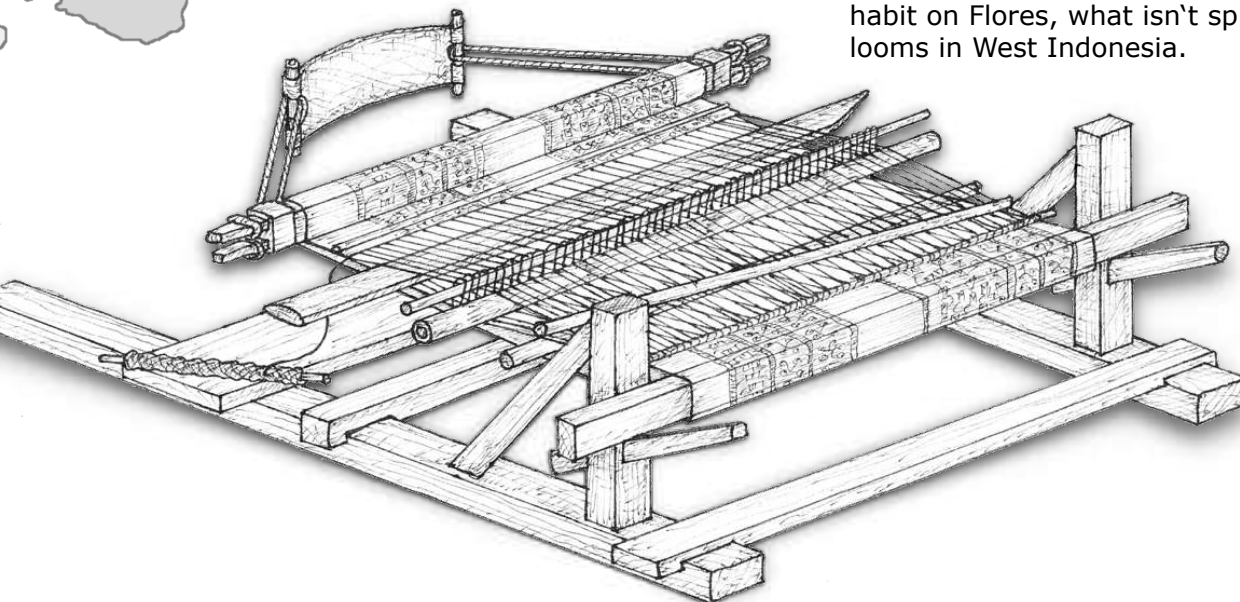


58) Back in time: Another station loom (or so-called 'part-frame') in Belogili, Ile Mandiri region of East Flores ~2010-2015. © Christopher D. Buckley



Obviously this station loom recalls the twig-like forked branches of the original stake looms. In East Flores and the following islands, a varied coexistence of station looms and the original stake looms is revealed. Here, too, one discovers the rails connected by crossbars; seems a usual habit on Flores, what isn't spread with loin looms in West Indonesia.

Timur



Adonara - Fork Stations at a Glance

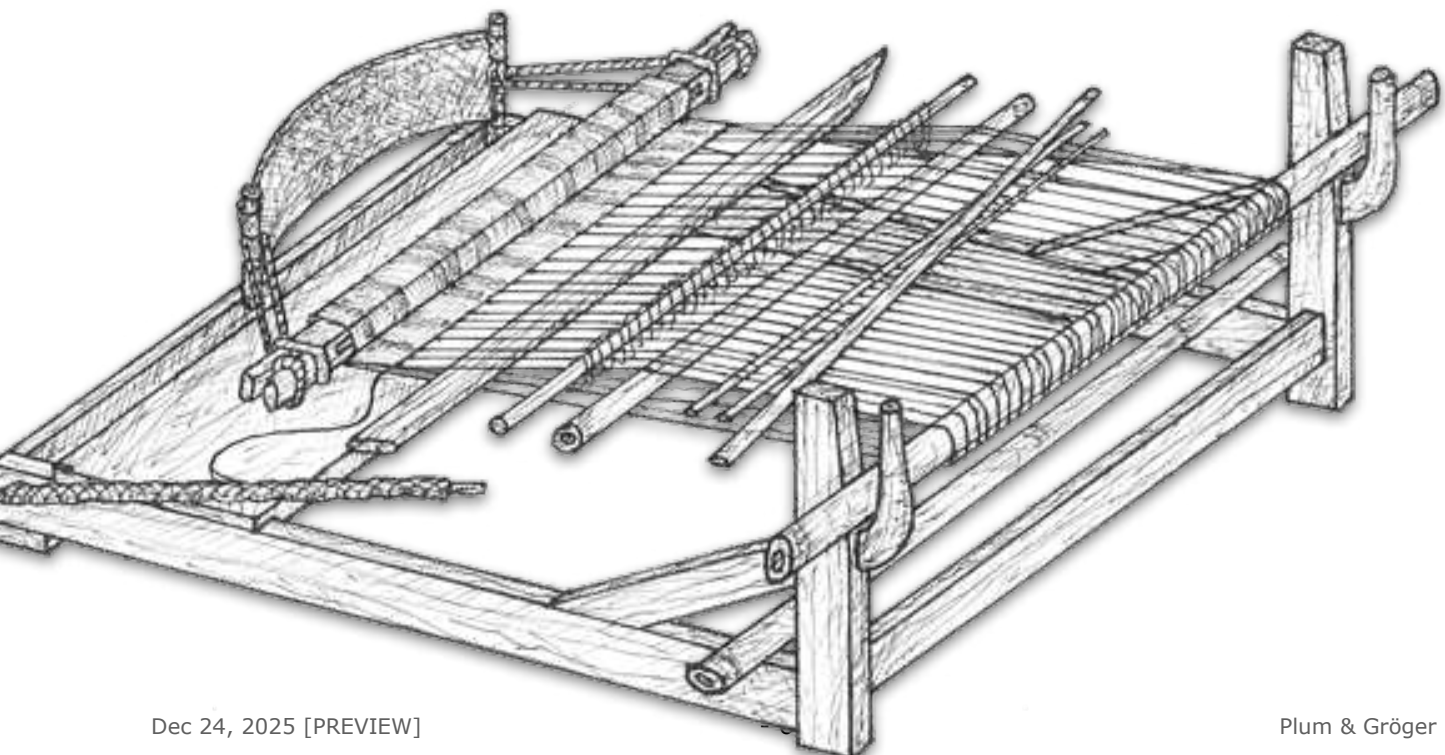
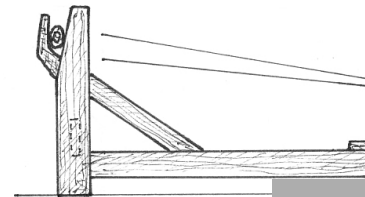
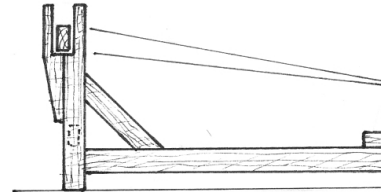
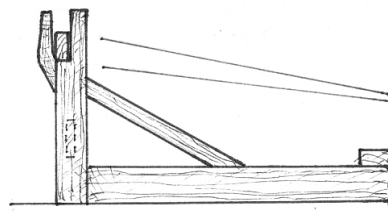
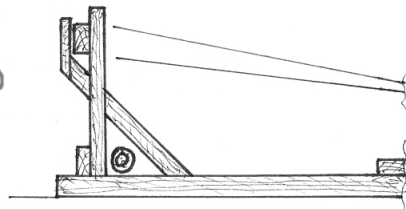
[X][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]

A photo from Adonara Island serves four station loom-types in one. It's not each station, but a single design detail, what's making the difference between those four. Interestingly, there are no centered incisions on the posts; they are cut into the side. A vertical strip is then attached as a holder, which locks the warp beam. An example in which the strip was modeled like a branch or even made of such a branch, illustrates the overall impression: Another station leads the diagonal through the post and thus serves as a support for the warp beam. The overhang is kept extremely short and is also closed by a vertical strip. They also act as an constructed interpretation of the variously cited crossing forks as seen later on Ternate Island.

[B]



STATION



Timur

A Station Loom on Solor Island

[X][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap][Pamakayo]



STATION

[B]

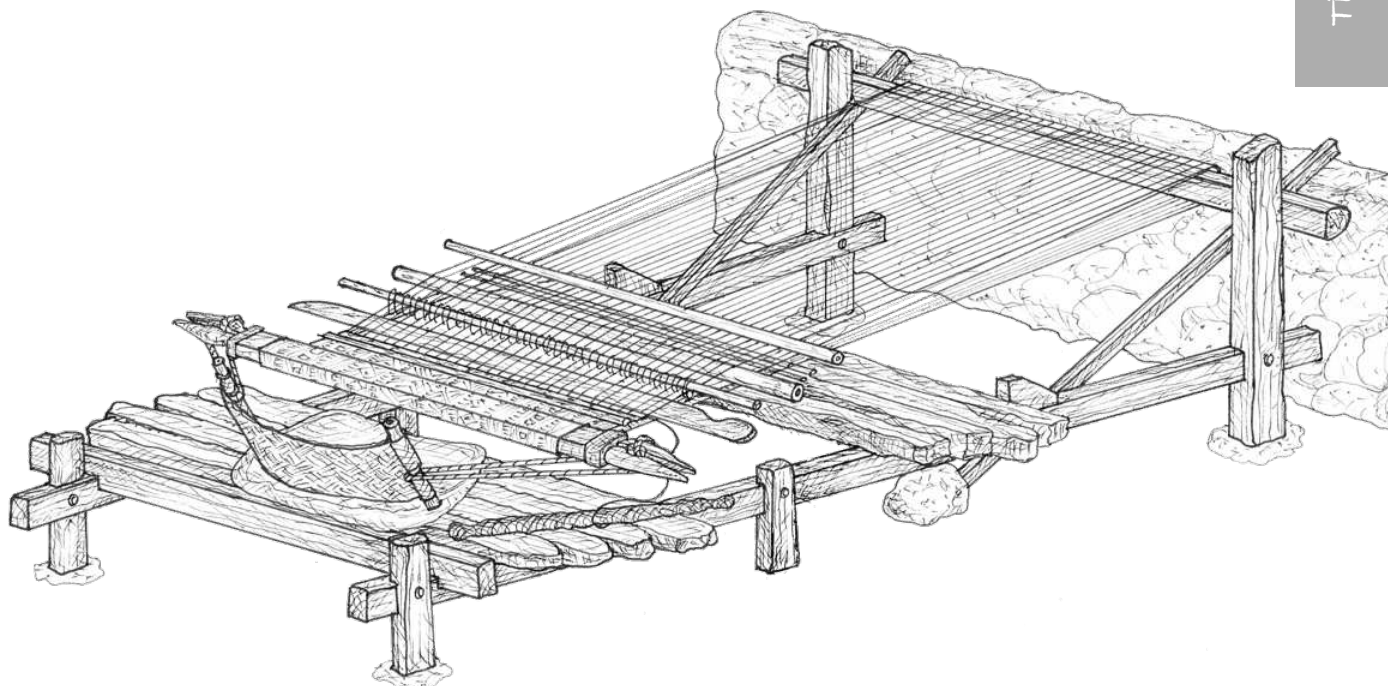


This breathtaking station loom immediately confronts with a bundle of anomalies: If it is even a station - its stands seem embedded in the ground! In addition, note the large number of crossbeams that are used as segmented footrests. The image material did not show whether the rails are connected to the stakes of the suspension or form a separate pedestal



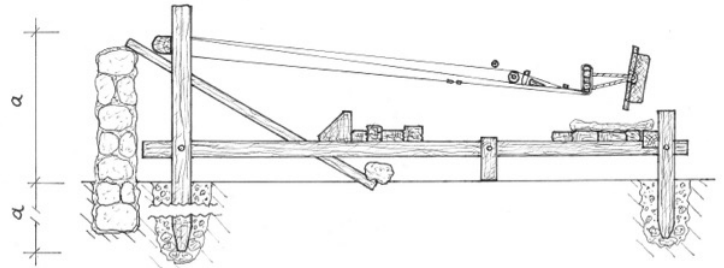
61) Station loom in Pamakayo on Solor Island
~2010-2015. © Christopher D. Buckley

but the lapidary nailed connections suggest such a connection for stabilization. The rail guidance of the platform seems to be rejuvenating slightly, as so often observed - this formation of a trapezoid should also confirm a connection of the rails to the stakes in front. The diagonals, similar to those in Ende and later on Ternate, but stored on the wall as warp beam bearings, are also unique.

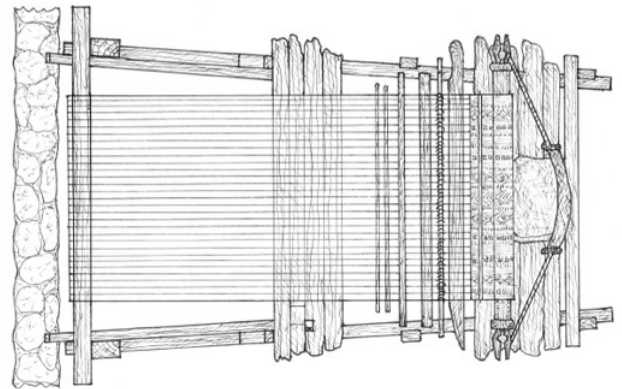


Timur

The side views and top views show both discussed optional versions of the Solor model. The first set shows a station loom with rails connected to the warp beam holders. The entire station is set up on poles; usually just the posts of a station are mounted on rails.

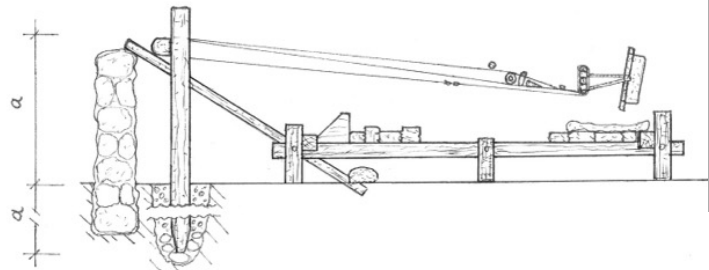


In Nggela there were already diagonals as warp beam bearings, but here the warp beam is directly placed and not tied to an intermediate beam by rope. However, similar solutions can be found in Adonara as constructions, and on Ternate in original gatherer manner.

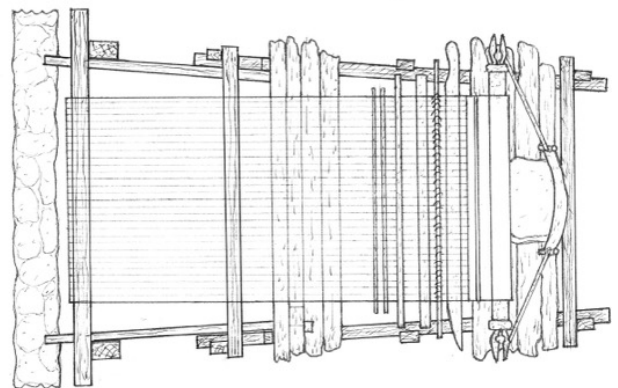


The second set shows the same station with a separate platform for the weaver; it is not connected to the warp beam bracket. Also, the posts of the pedestal are not recessed into the ground; just its warp beam bracket is anchored in the ground.

What is striking in both solutions is the deviating from the traditional approach, the construction of a platform, which instead of resting on rails, similar to a table, stands on its own posts. This study shows only one more model in Lembata that continues this trend towards a frame; ignoring all traditional techniques of loin looms.



But this station here on Solor, with its diagonals and the segmented footrest, still takes up old, simple ethnic techniques and combines them with "modern" methods of incisions and admissions, which at least require the use of saw and chisel.

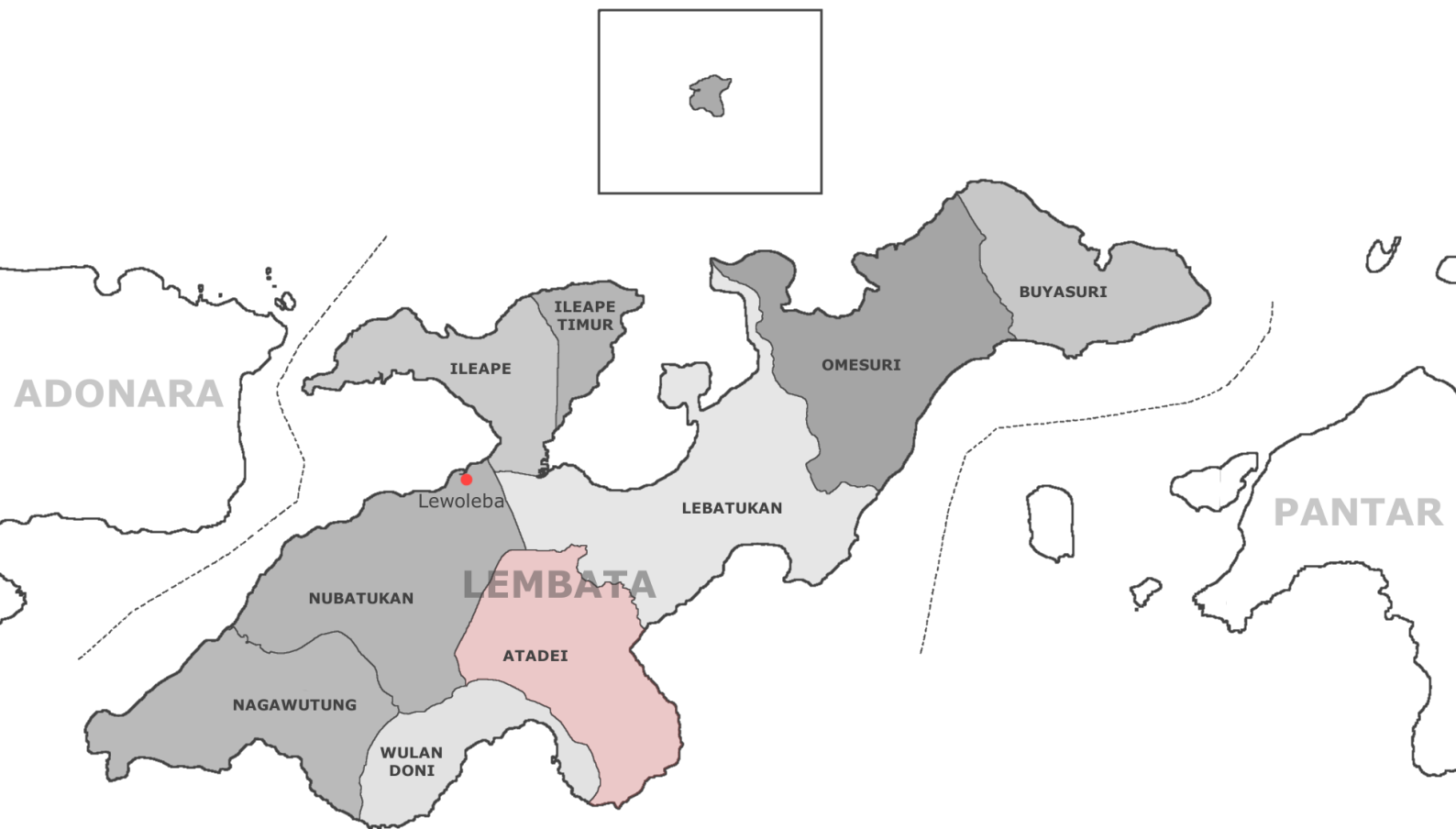




Alat Tenun Lembata

Looms of Lembata

[<<] [XXX] [FORK LOOM] [STATION LOOM] [FLORES] [>>]



Looms of Lembata

LEMBATA FORK | LEMBATA STATION

Kab. Lembata

COMPONENTS

Fork Loom

*Home is where
my forks rest*

Lembata Station

on its own!

Two examples from the island of Lembata, located east of Flores, indicate that here, as in East Flores, station looms and stake loom-types exist side by side. Here, too, branch forks can be found as warp beam holders, but the station loom of Lembata shows a more pragmatic trend, not only in the choice of the warp beam suspension. In contrast to other station looms, a frame is permanently installed here; disassembly and thus mobility very limited. Also, such a fixed station is not adaptable to changing requirements, such as width of warp; nor is it conducive to carry it just one single weaver on her own into the house or to rearrange it differently on site.

In contrast, the fork loom on Lembata still presents a bundle of original methods: Its footrest is still positioned directly close the posts; as with the stake loom in Ile Mandiri, here, too, the foot loom is conceptually not far away; twig-shaped branch forks, inserted directly into the ground, hold the warp beam.

These unsymmetrical, r-shaped twigs here were supposed to be the counterpart of the symmetrically shaped Y-forks of the West, from Manggarai to Nagekeo.

PREVIEW

Lembata Fork Loom

[上][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/inc][reedless][strap][Watuwawer]



[B]



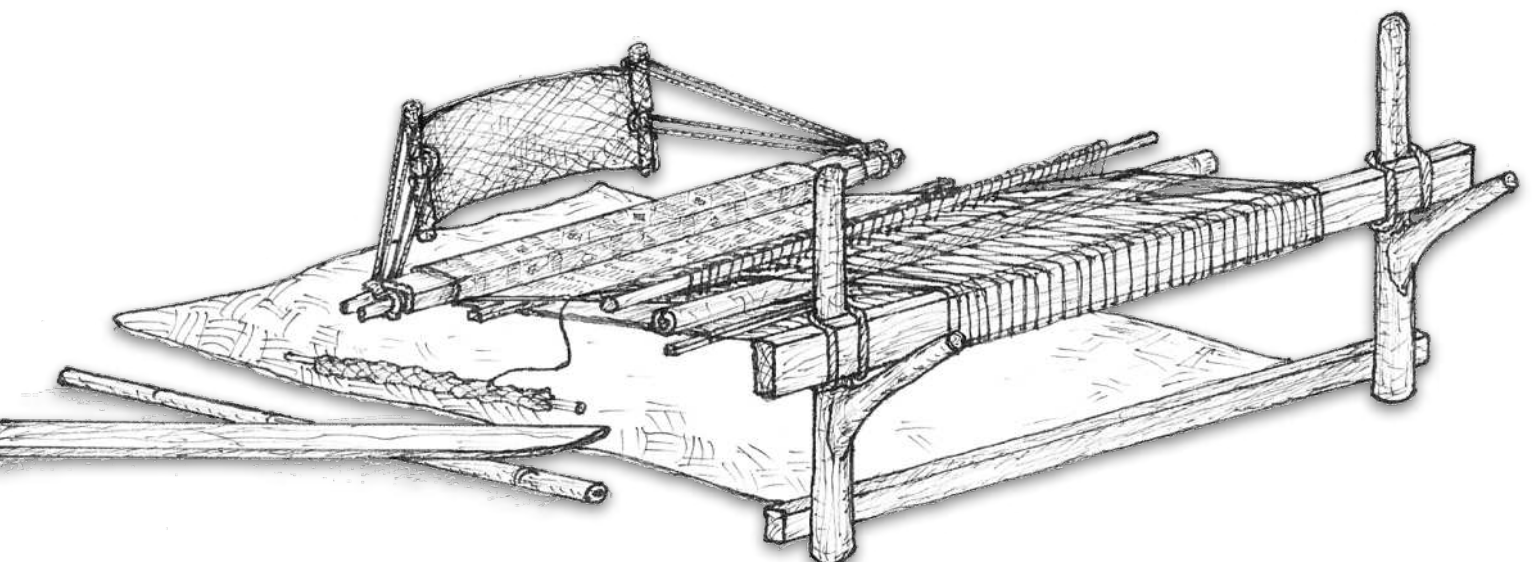
STAKE

64) Weaver in Kampung Watuwawer in Atadei-region on Lembata; forked branches are used as warp posts. ~2010-2015.

© Christopher D. Buckley

A photo of the Lembata loom can be found in [Buckley 2017](#) (p. 298, fig. 7.17). The poles show a different, more twig-like shaped type of forked branch, but somehow similar to the Y-shaped poles of the Manggarai loom; here still equipped with a backstrap on circular warp, and of course: No reed! It's hard to see, but the dark warp strips seem to include elements of Ikat. Since the weaver is rightly afraid that her warp beam, which is definitely too short, will slip out of the holder, she tied it up as a precaution.

Lembata



As mentioned, these r-shaped branch forks, which are found here in the east of Flores, often also with station looms in constructed design, were supposed to be the counterpart of the Y-shaped forks on West Flores.

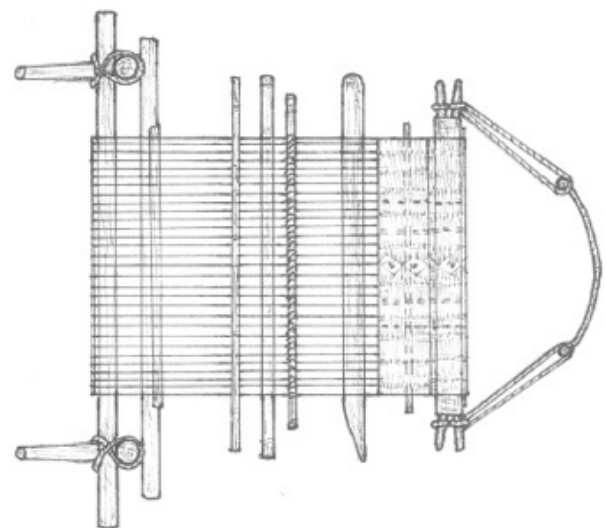
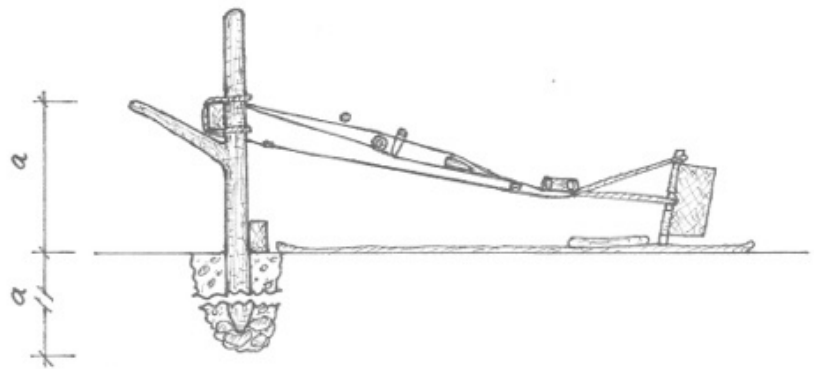
Both are based on natural branch forks, more or less natural finds that require little or less processing. In addition to the function as warp beam holder, both as part of the tree, equally symbolically represent the principle of tree; thus also function as carrier of sense.

Even if such branch forks appear also at station looms in West and East Flores, they should obviously have their origin in the stake loom. But as could be seen, on station looms they extend or change their repertoire of function all too often.

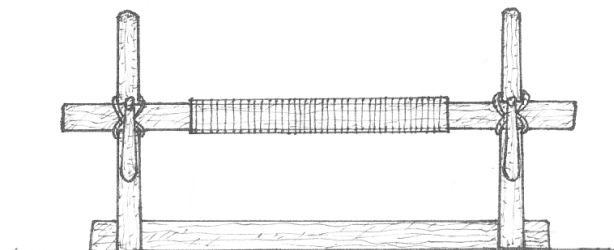
This should perhaps also provide a first vague answer to the emerging question of the greater sense behind the hint with the forks: Do both types of forks transmit the same message? In Ngada as well as Nagekeo, the symmetrically arranged prongs of the Y-forks stand for unity; Should the asymmetrically predisposed branches, on the other hand, be able to correspond to this? A dialogue of signs takes its course. While the twig-shape here corresponds to the image of a forking path, the first one turns upside down into two unifying paths, maybe calling the invisible root of the principle into mind.

It's one of the rare examples found, that shows its footrest.

Kampung Watuwawer is part of the village Atakore in Atadei district.



Lembata



Lembata Station Loom

[U][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/dia][reedless][strap][Terawutung]

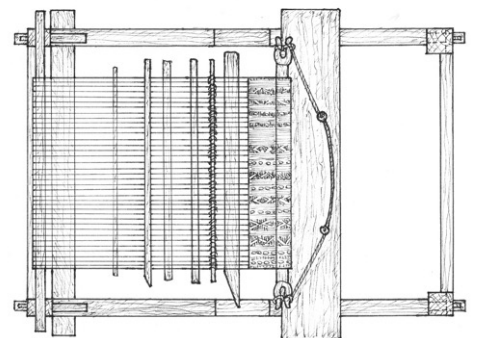
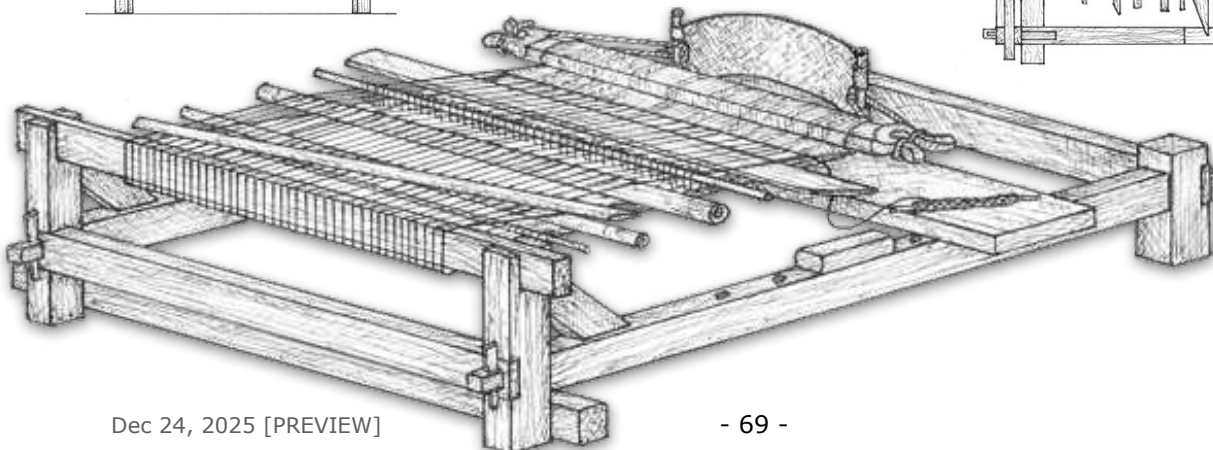
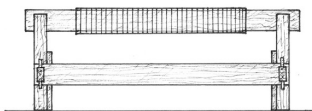


STATION



66) Lembata Station Loom, Terawutung, Ata Dei region
~2010-2015. © Christopher D. Buckley

One of the few looms on Flores, which has incisions in the posts as a warp beam bearing. They are usually found on stand looms of the Bima in Manggarai. In Nagekeo, similarly U-shaped incisions were also shown on bamboo posts, some of which were also found in Sikka. While they demonstrate a certain tradition in the West, here in the East they seem rare in view of the usual fork bearings, but more due to today's circumstances. As with the station loom on Solor, the posts are not attached to rails here, but a frame similar to a table on legs or frame loom is constructed.



Lembata

Based on the few examples, no far-reaching statements on the differences between the loin looms in the neighborhood can currently be derived. Here on Lembata, too, both weaving stations next to conventional stake looms, have shown themselves as in East Flores. However, no constructive similarity could be seen in both examples on Lembata; On the contrary, the station loom is positioned outside the traditional construction methods of ethnic loin looms and obviously seems to be based on the construction of frame looms from carpenter's hand.

Presumably this should be an single case, since on the following islands constructed forks also show up on station looms occurring there.

On the other hand, the fork loom on Lembata shows the supposed original construction of the station loom in Belogili, but also on Adonara. Since some of the forkless warp beam holders were still found in Ostflores, similar to those in Ende, one can assume that these r-shaped warp beam holders (twigs) could have their origin here on the subsequent islands.

The difference between the forks of the West and the East also seems to be clearly defined here: While in the west they are symmetrical forks, as their pendants in the east, there are just asymmetrical twigs to find. One may represent unification, while the other hints on separation.

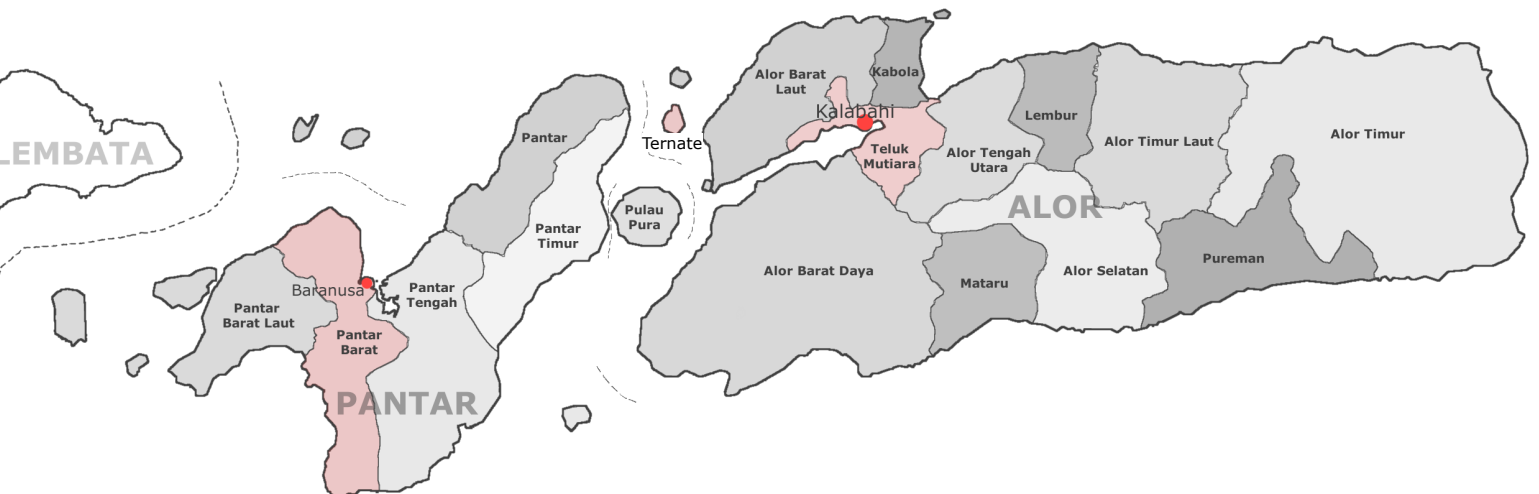
According to Gittinger's triangular connections in her sketches of three existing basic loom-types in Indonesia, back in 1979, a majority of those looms should deal with just one tree, these types of loin loom get fixed to. As far as these images might fit to Native American loin looms, a trend of the 70s, Hamilton corrected these images in 1994 for the plain reason, that has been demonstrated here on Flores so far: Not just on Flores, nor entire Indonesia, but also for the rest of Southeast Asia, all loin looms use a parallel connection and therewith provide two of those trees in cultural mind - as just two of these warp beam holders set up a station. As far the peak of this 70s visions reaches, Appel repeats these Native American triangular connections, now for the whole of Southeast Asian loin looms in „Ostasiatische Kunst“, published 1998.

While some believe to differ these two trees into good and bad, or I and You, what enables a balanced textile, seems to differ both in passion (semangat) and compassion (karuna). Like the birds on the Peo of Nagekeo, it seems to need both of them to assemble not just the principle, but the entire tree of perception.

Alat Tenun Alor

Looms of Alor

[<<] [XXX] [PANTAR] [TERNATE STATION] [TERNATE BEACH] [BOKA BESI] [FLORES] [>>]



Looms of Alor

PANTAR | TERNATE STATION | TERNATE BEACH | BOKA BESI

Kabupaten Alor

COMPONENTS

Pantar Stake

One more stake loom!

Ternate Station

Solution of the day to come!

Beach Station

A seaworthy Loom

Boka Besi

Ground Station on Cross Fork

Currently, it seems as if the number of station looms on the islands is increasing again, here in the far east of Flores. However, stake looms can still be found. The stations don't necessarily exhibit a stylistic break; even some models appear somewhat precarious and constructed based on motions, the designs reveal various references to the cultural customs, we observed on Flores. All three station looms feature the typical cross fork, both in natural and constructed manner, as a warp beam holder; only the functional and simple stake loom on Pantar Island does not feature any forked branches, but cites the ground loom-types with plain posts, like found as standard in Sikka and Ende.

Even though the station loom-type on Ternat  appears to be somewhat insecurely constructed and required various corrections, the clever use of the cross fork in double-pack resulted in a solution that is not only suitable but also of cultural significance. A photo of a similar station on Solor, not shown here, demonstrates the traditional use of such twin holder by two weavers at once. This is a nowadays rare, but nevertheless widespread, and therefor ancient habit of loin weavers, not just found in Indonesia, but much more among some ethnicities in Himalaya region. On top of that, due the pre-installed beam down-under, the upper fork proves to be predestined for a connection by an intermediate beam, with the warp beam resting on the diagonals. To use the lower fork like that, an additional set of diagonals needs to be added. This makes the decisive difference to the obviously almost equal solution of the following example.

A truly magnificent station loom was found on the beach in Ternate by Bandanaku. In view of the beach in the background "*a seaworthy loin loom*", to use Chris Buckley's latest expression, one might think, and indeed, it creates far-reaching connections by its two loose, diagonal rails, which also construct cross forks as warp beam support. Similar, but different-in-use solutions are found with the looms of Champa, but also with Mama Ango in Nggela.

This very fork-forming diagonal rail can be found as a permanently installed support for the warp beam at a station loom in Boka Besi. As the photo shows, unlike traditional weaving stations, this station loom is at least partially screwed, perhaps even nailed, although it also incorporates such time-honored methods. Due to the circumstances, the weaver sometimes has no other choice, even though the beach loom in Ternat  fundamentally offers the ingenious solutions of the weaving craft with all its expression – simply ingenious versus complicated. At the end again, gatherer's assemblage seems to reflect a slightly differing point of view.

VOCABULARY

Champa

Stake Loom on Pantar

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap][Baranusa]

[B]



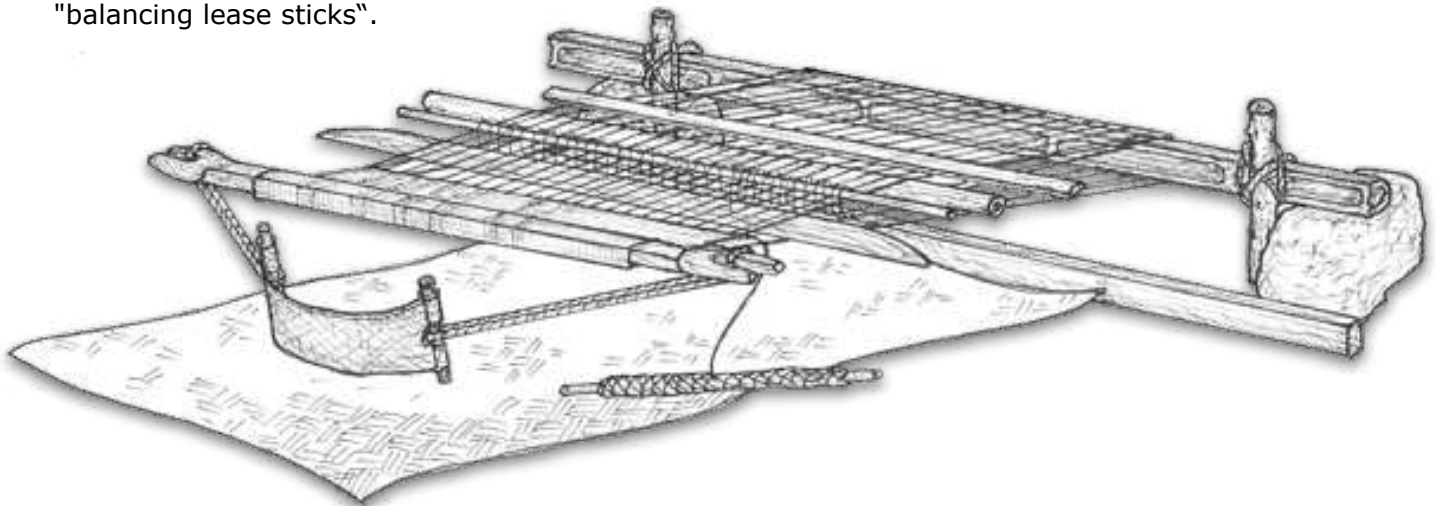
STAKE



69) A stake loom with circular warp in Baranusa on Pantar Island; east of Alor ~2010 -2015. No reed is used! © Christopher D. Buckley

That's the big question on the biggest big tree, put in picture: Does the photo from Baranusa show the warp beam of a stake loom, merely tied up, or is it stored on rocks? The footrest, kept at a slight distance, suggests that the warp beam is resting on those rocks as drawn. The somewhat lapidary binding should therefore just secure the warp beam from falling; the rocks certainly provide its height. A half-cut bamboo cane serves as warp beam. The proximity of the footrest to the posts illustrates again, as coincidence on Timor will show later on, a certain proximity to foot looms - a few tiny modifications and it results in a foot loom.

Here, too, a horizontally-aligned circular warp without reed comb is at work; a back strap still serves to connect the weaver. In addition, due to the warp's reduced length, there is no kind of lease stick to find, what should indicate, when and why the use of "false lease sticks" may get necessary: the growing length of ikat warps once may have asked for the support of such "balancing lease sticks".

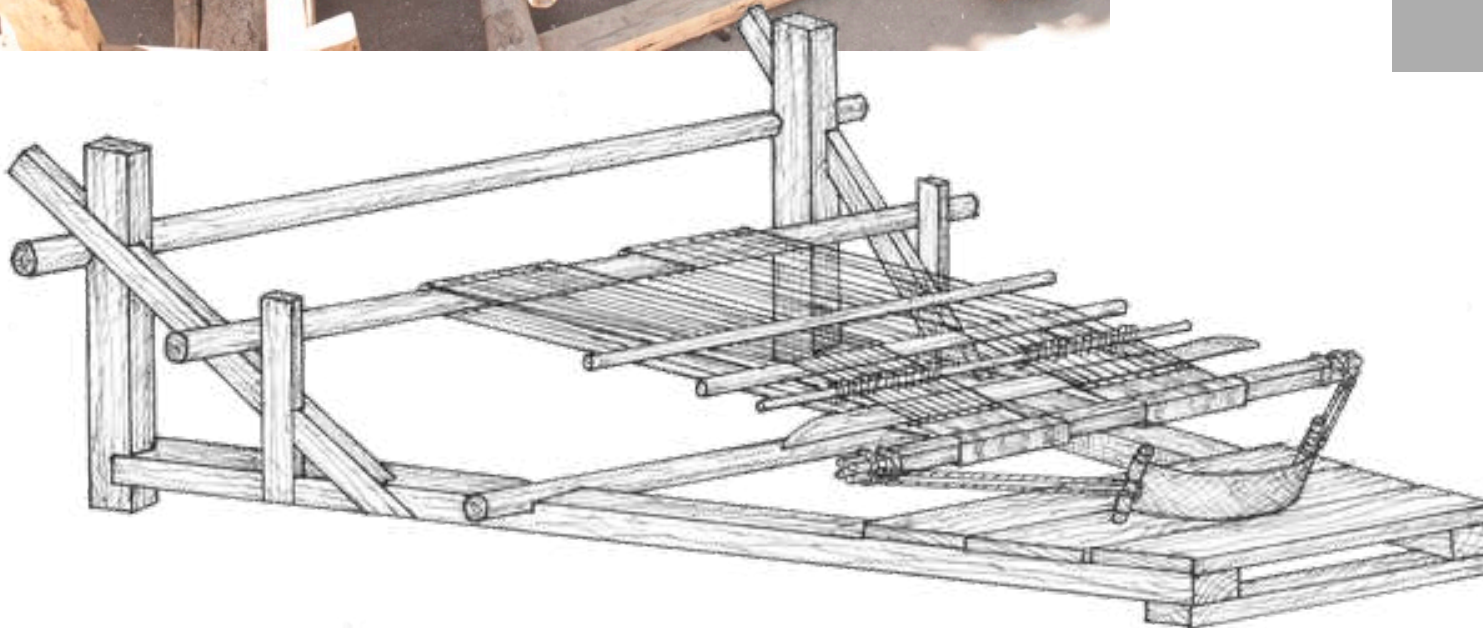


Station Loom in Ternate Selatan

[X][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap][Ternate Selatan]



Alor



71) A loom on Alor Island (east of Flores) shows a part-frame loom from Ternate Selatan. ~2010-2015. The drawing shows a timbered variant in contrast to the rudimentary model in the photo. Photo © Christopher D. Buckley.

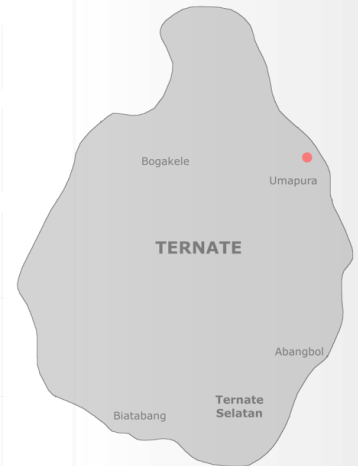
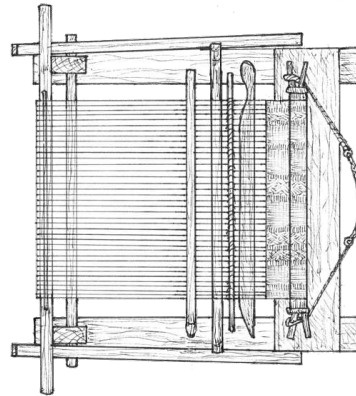
Ternate Beach Station

[X][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/dia][reedless][strap][Umapura]

[B]



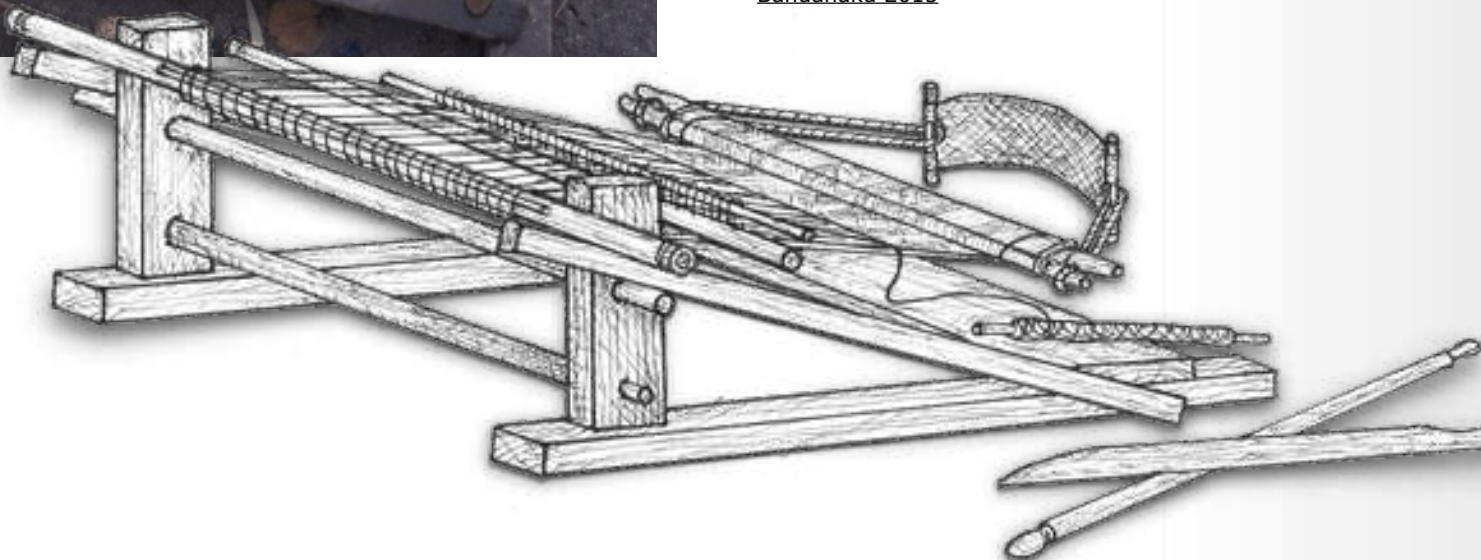
STATION



This photo shows a really great station loom on Ternate that provides a broad context for discussion. The diagonal rails serve as support for the warp beam. Similar use of such diagonal supports can only rarely be observed in eastern Indonesia; in the west they seem to have disappeared. A rare specimen of the Cham (Sundanese descent) in South Vietnam is also found, showing such rails in varied application. They expand the repertoire of fork solutions as warp beam suspension, found on Flores.

73) Cosy station loom at Maloema Beach on Ternate Island (Alor). Photo: © [Perjalanan Bandanaku](#) 2015

Alor



A Station Loom in Boka Besi

[X][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap][Boka Besi]



[B]

STATION



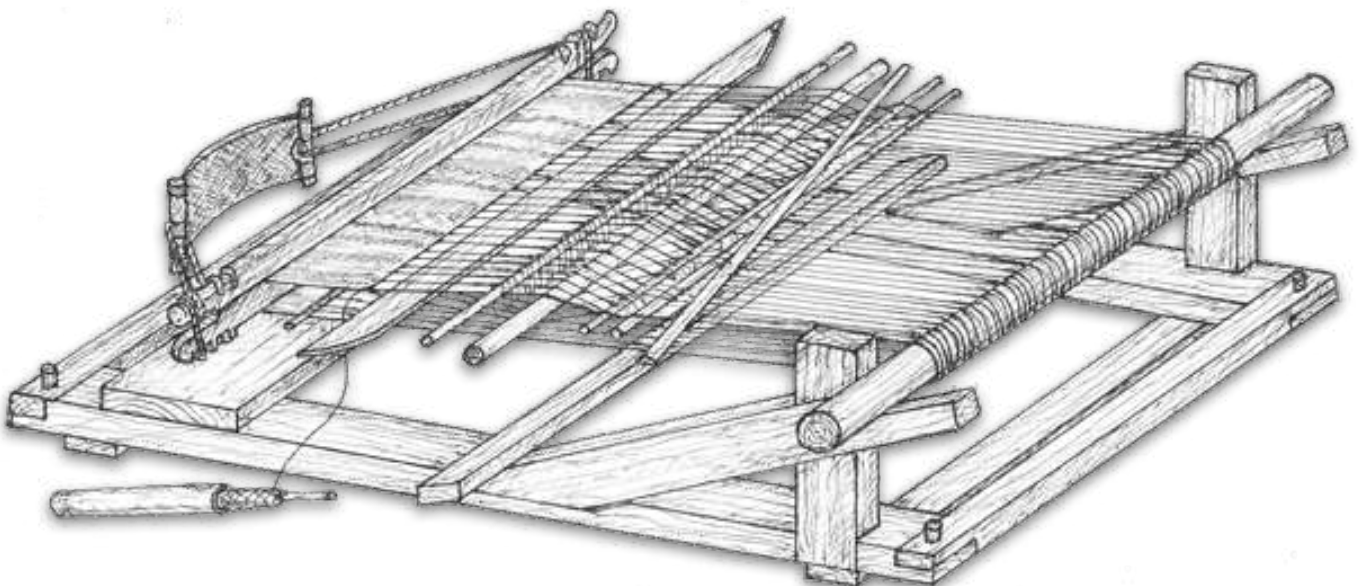
75) The photo is taken in Boka Besi in Teluk Mutiara on Alor Island ~2010-2015. Photo: © Christopher D. Buckley.



It seems like the loom in Boka Besi recalls the forked branch of some looms on Flores in its construction of the posts, while the loom on Ternate at first sight seemed not have taken notice of or was ignoring it by turning it around. But after taking a closer look by reconstructing it, it turned out different!

Like the photo shows, several of these stations show modern modifications; nails and screws are needed to realize the wooden scaffolding (part-frame). That makes a fundamental difference of the modern creations to the geniusity of traditionally established constructions of loose components.

Alor



Even the collection of this study may still be too small for universal statements, but according to everything we have seen on loin looms on Alor, we can observe in retrospect that creative expression is given a great freedom not just here in Alor, but also throughout Flores. In fact, as the Richardsons emphasize, on surface, each weaver, building a loin loom, seems to implement her own rules of design. Most of these loin looms listed here should come from more or less own family manufacturing - we should rather speak of composition, assemblage or the more well-known assemblage. And with that we should also have recognized that they ultimately all use one and the same construction kit. One should even emphasize with certainty that all ethnic loin looms on Flores and the subsequent archipelagos should have used a common "work topic", similar to a task in a seminar.

Even this supposed topic does not come to the foreground, certainly not a supposed seminar management, and thus usually appears as just a mere individual expression, the common scheme across all ethnicities should have become clear by arranging the ethnic models here in line. It also should have been noticed that the design is anything but just technically orientated. Individual expression arises from and thus just reflects the impression of the recipient, but artistic design requires communication and engagement with art, what means that art does not communicate just with the empathy of the individual recipient - not just two sharing the same sense for an equal shade of red - art quotes and communicates to a high degree with other artworks; oftenly just recognized at second glance, but denied by Individual Jones.

"The Japanese teahouse has nothing in common with tea!" Thus, this stoic negation of tea by mostly honoured tea masters should also apply to this collection of Indonesian loin looms on Flores. Although from a technical point of view, textiles are produced here, they serve, like tea in Japan, just as a medium for a higher-level, in this sense "holy tissue" in spiritual spheres.

Strikingly many station looms showed up, standing in majority to stake looms here in Alor. While in Manggarai the large number of stations should be explained by external influence, it is questionable whether external influences can still be asserted here on Alor. It seems just as questionable whether the majority of station looms here comes from historical influences or is rather a product of the immediate present. In the passed fifty years, not just districts on Flores have changed in plenty, the appearance of loin looms seems in progress, too.

Despite all expectations, the design and distribution of loin looms currently seems extremely vital and creatively in full bloom on Flores. Nevertheless, these innovations in most cases simply take up the old ethnic signatures with just new interpretation of the supposed good ol' theme "Tree of Creation" - what corresponds more to the basics of a theory on perception and theory of signs - the semiotics. In this sense, weaving relates, but isn't subject!

A *"Happening"* such as Beuys isn't equal at all with the complexity of ethnic rituals, but wants to explain its artistic input. Improvisation as usual declination for such ethnic state of art is just describing the location of the observer himself, still remaining in his self-made auditorium, while surrounding switched to open-stage; H.P. van Motman, maybe Banaspati, anyway, *Lord of the Loin Loom*, welcomes here at Cosy Corner of the Buitenzorgsch Weefwerk, back in 1906.



STAKE

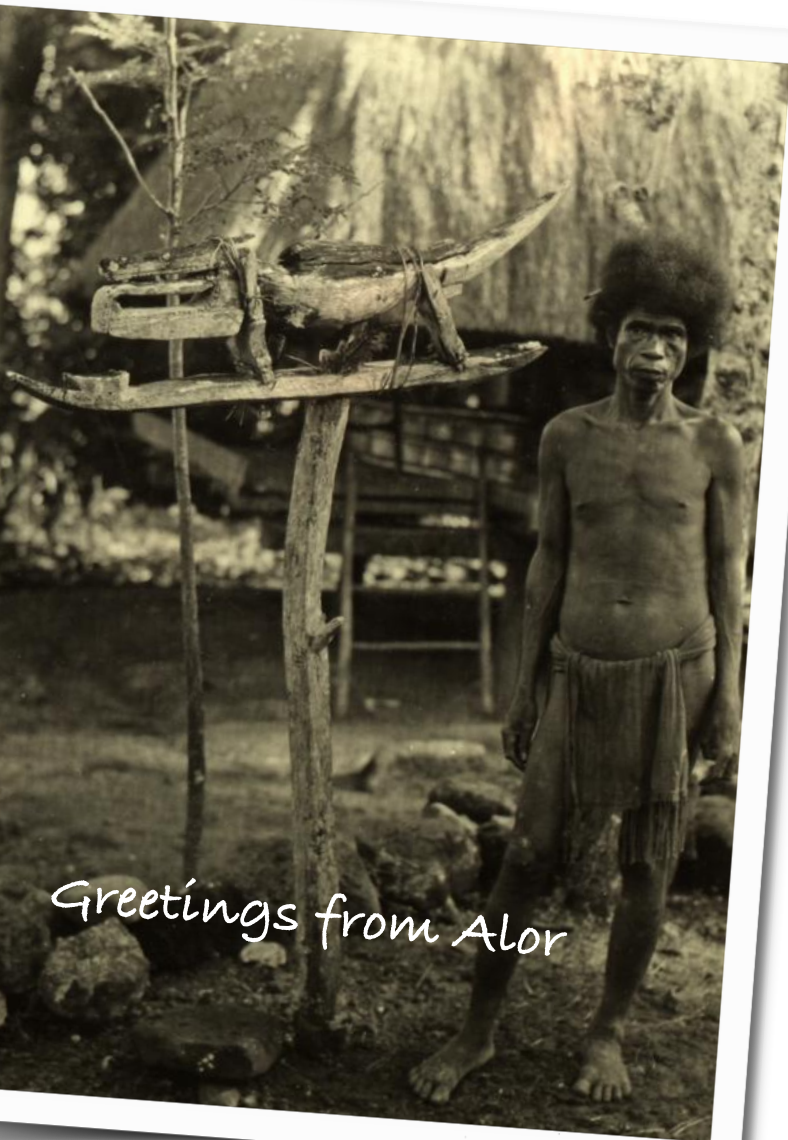


STAND



STATION

[B] [C]



Greetings from Alor

Greetings from Alor

A preview of the upcoming highlights: According to Hamilton 1994-2: there are Y-shaped sculptures to find all over Flores, what we can't confirm, but one can find representations and shrines of the Naga, the dragon or serpent horse, anywhere, as this photo from Alor shows. Sikka call Flores '*Nusa Nipa*', the Serpent Island. Some may still keep going on asking, what this has in common with the loom. Maybe an answer will be found if a closer look at the following pictures is taken.

77) E.E. & H. Vatter 1928/29:

"*Man naast een naga-figuur (draak-slang) te Toetbang bij Maibang op Poelau Alor*" (Man next to a naga figure (dragon snake) in Tutbang at Maibang on Pulau Alor).

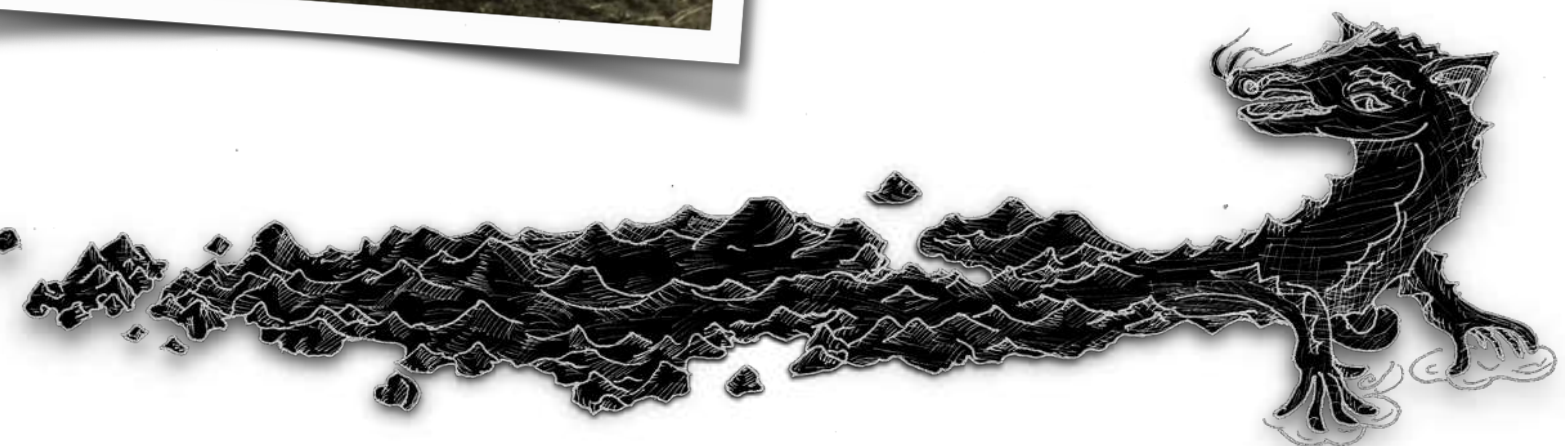
Universiteit Leiden: KITLV 122386

<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:898678>

Kembali

As it should have been shown, almost all traditional loin looms on Flores come from stake looms, probably also today's station looms. In addition, there are a few stand loom-types, similar to the Bima, but the second place is occupied by the station looms, especially in the west but also the sprawling east of the island chain, while the loom of the Bajawa could still turn out as a lonely representative of simple stilt looms on Flores.

Alor



Alat Eksternal

External Looms

[<<] [XXX] [MANDAR] [SUMBA] [TIMOR] [PAPUA] [FLORES] [>>]



Externals

MANDAR | **SUMBA** | **TIMOR** | **PAPUA** | **RAIJUA** | **COINCIDENCE** | **HEAVEN** |
HIMALAYA | **BHOTIA** | **SULAWESI** |

Six examples of loins looms from the vicinity of Flores are finally added to the collection. They serve as an overview and show partially the influences from abroad. In addition to the Bima loom described above, the Mandar loom probably also had an significant influence on the Manggarai. The fusion with the original stake loom of the Manggarai probably resulted in the various models of today.

The example of a ground loom-type on Timor not only shows parallels to Flores, perhaps even reveals a retrospective on previous loom design by the extensive use of rocks. Another example from Timor, as luck would have it, shows the proximity of the ground loom to the foot loom when the footrest, which is otherwise kept at a distance, is positioned at the warp post.

A model on Sumba, however, also shows the use of untreated branches as warp beam-holders, but without the these typical forks, observed on Flores. Here, too, the warp beam, similar to the Ndona, is hung by rope loops. Rudimentary branches also serve as foot rest and batten rest here.

For comparison, the only Indonesian foot loom of the Sobei in Papua also has been added. The end of the collection is the mysterious sculpture of a weaver who, in addition to infant care, is busy with a strange foot loom. She was found by locals in a cave in East Flores, but the warp board of her loom points to Taiwan. It is believed that it is originally from Borneo.

According to Indonesian traditions, as a legend of the Palu'e tells, one finally swings onto the areca palm to enter higher realms and explain the origin of the loin loom. From above there the heavens' looms of Nagaland and Bhotia take us down to earth once again.....back to the warping devices on Flores.

Alat Eksternal

Atoni Loom:

Crocodile on the Rocks

*An ancient type
of ground loom
on Timor Island?*

Mandar Stands out

*Another Influence
from Sulawesi*

Branch of Sumba

A neighbour's loom

Timor by Foot?

Accident happens!

*Hint by foot
leading back
in time?*

Sobei on Papua:

Selamat Malam

*Another Foot
Loom's gone.*

Take care of

COMPONENTS



Out of Taiwan?

The Foot Loom of Larantuka

*Local from a distance -
A masterpiece on its own.*

Heaven on Earth

Areca in the Sky

*Palu'e Legend
of the Loom*

Heavens' Looms

From Above

....to earth

Let's go

Raijua Island

*Loin Loom goes
externally-tensioned*

Bridge to
Bhotia

Mandar Loom (Sulawesi)

[stand loom][warp board][flat warp/hor][breast frame][reed][yoke?]

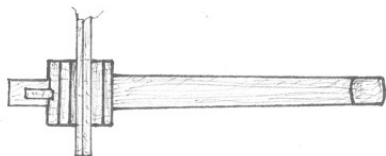
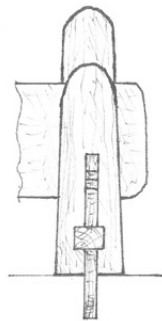
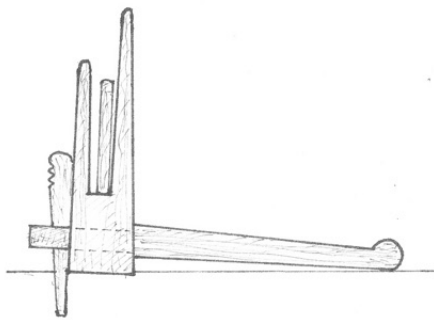
Ekxternal



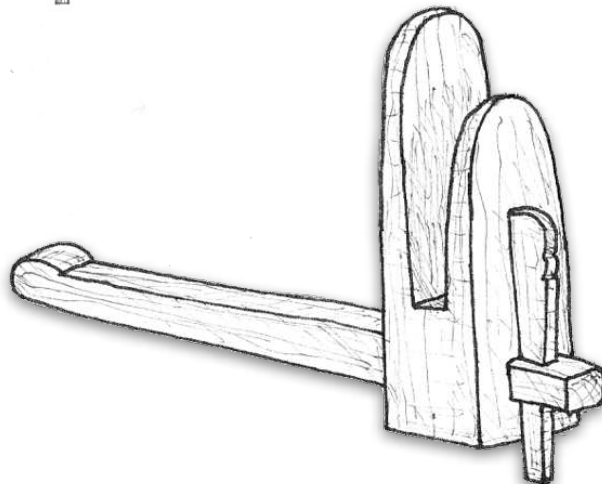
STAND



80) Mandar loom on southern West Sulawesi, 1939. Collectie Tropenmuseum:
TM-10014398 - <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/232037>



Some looms in Manggarai show still some relics of influence of this type of stand loom of the Mandar people on Sulawesi. Not just the huge warp board & its flat warp, what's also similar to the Bima; beside the stands have been adapted. It states, finally just the interests of the Manggarai was the engine of all these changes.



Sumba Branch Loom

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/inc?][reedless][yoke]

Ekxternal



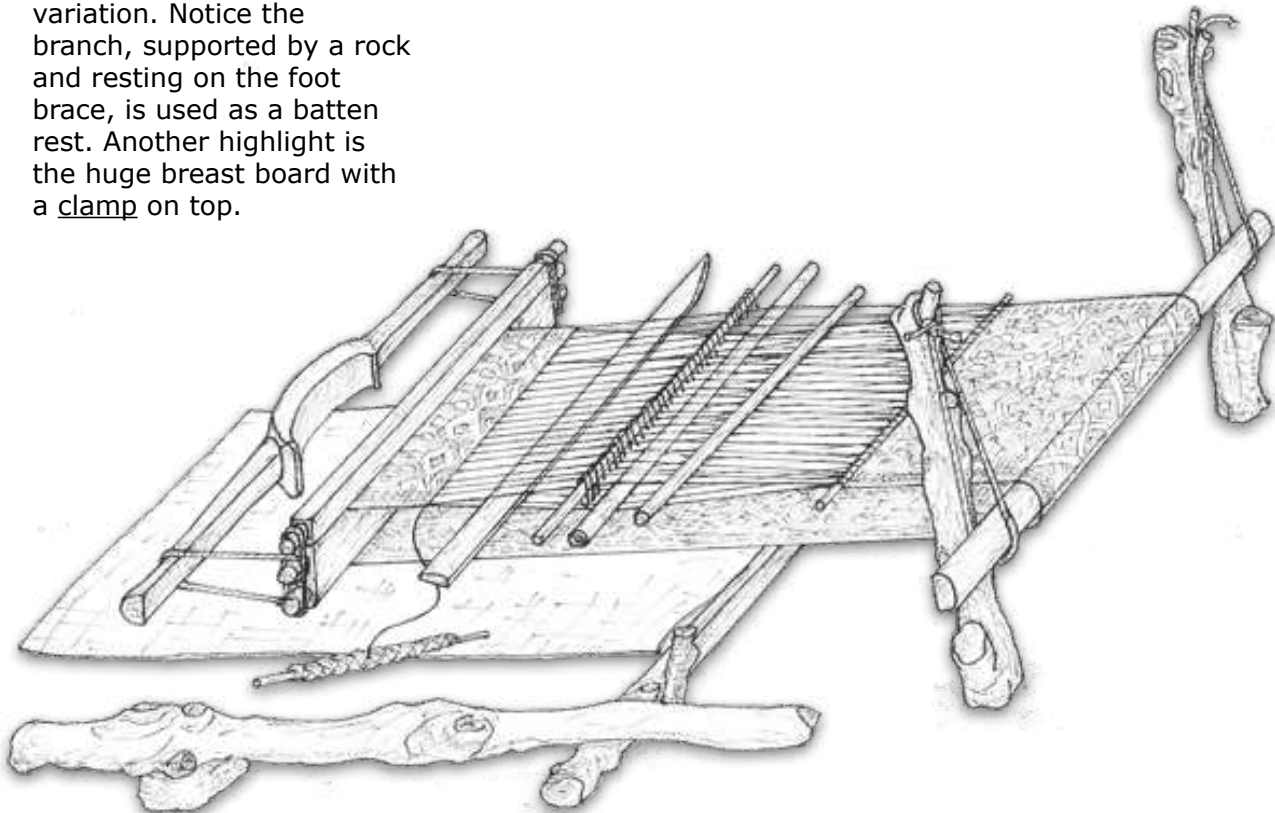
STAKE

[B]



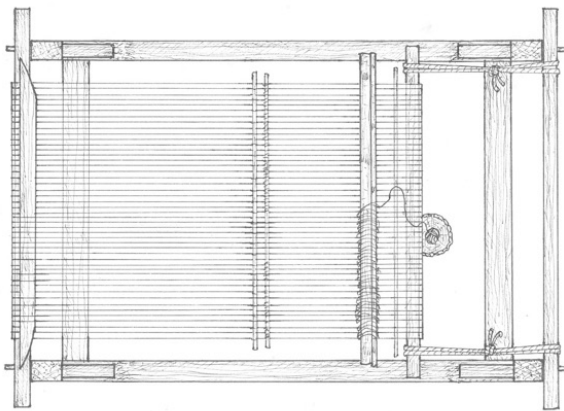
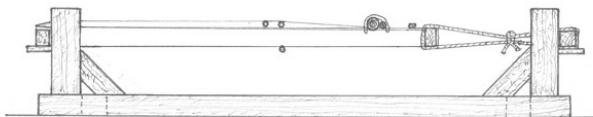
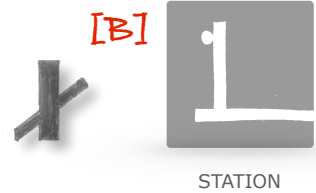
A circular warp without a reed comb on oval warp beam, that's hold by rope loops, hanging down from two plain branches. These loops are almost Ndona-like, but in reverse variation. Notice the branch, supported by a rock and resting on the foot brace, is used as a batten rest. Another highlight is the huge breast board with a clamp on top.

82) Similar solutions can also be found on Sumba; but without the striking fork! Photo: Taillie 1949: „Een weefster achter een weeftoestel” - Collectie Tropenmuseum TM-10029656.



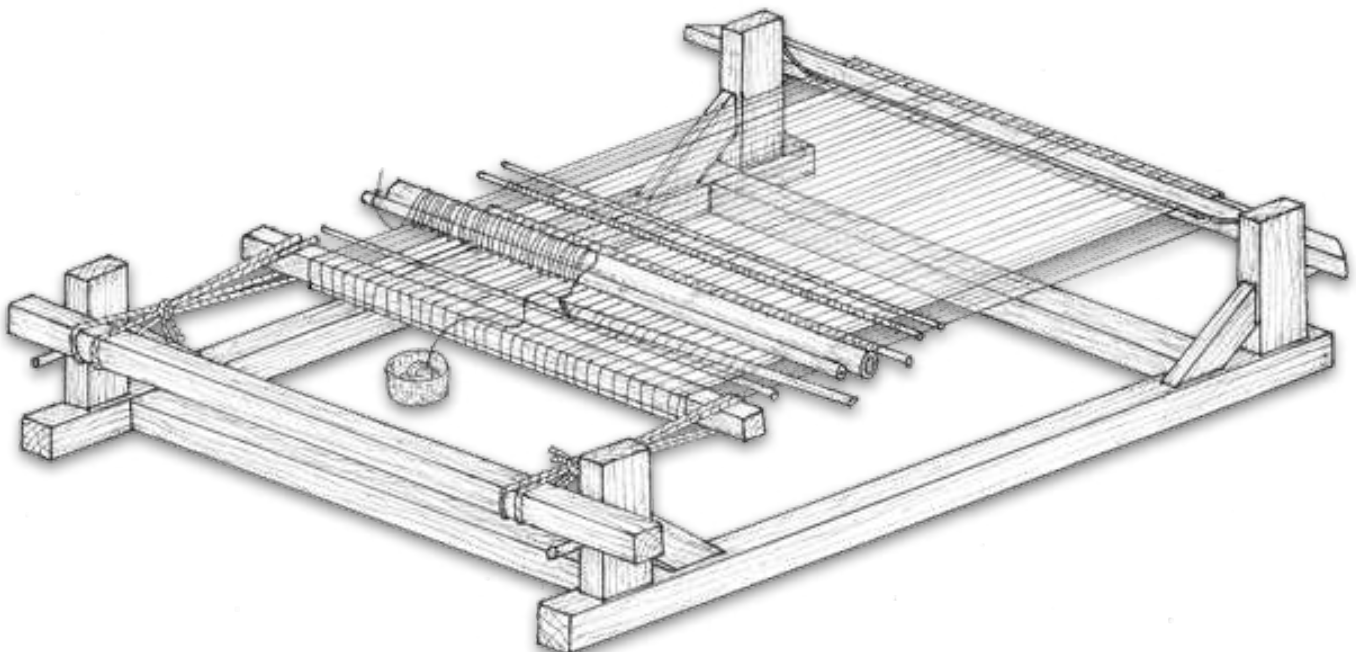
A Loom on Raijua Island

[r][station loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][yoke]



At first glance, one may wonder full of expectation whether these drawings represent an externally stretched model of a loin loom. Not really, but nevertheless there are approaches to such a presumption. Thanks to [Richardson 2022](#), this setting is found on the island of Raijua, south of Flores. According to the description of the Richardsons, the weaving harness, together with its already prepared warp, is only tensioned on this frame by means of the yoke in order to subsequently set up the heddles. For the weaving process, however, it is ultimately released again; but another photo seems to indicate, that the frame should also serve as a weaving station (part-frame). This photo also shows that such models are also designed as outdoor stake construction. thus

probably already have a certain tradition and are not merely due to the present. Even if not common in Indonesia, it would be possible, as photos from Hyderabad in India show, by means of a simple lever to practically operate such externally-tensioned constructions of 'former loin looms'. Nevertheless, this strongly contradicts the habits, and above all, the understanding of practiced loin weavers.



Ground Loom of Atoni (Timor)

Crocodile on the rocks

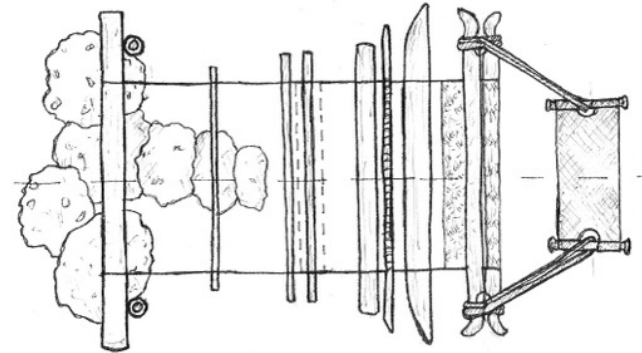
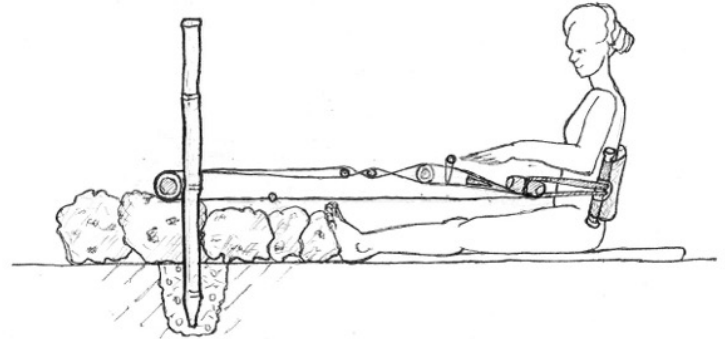
[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]

Ekxternal

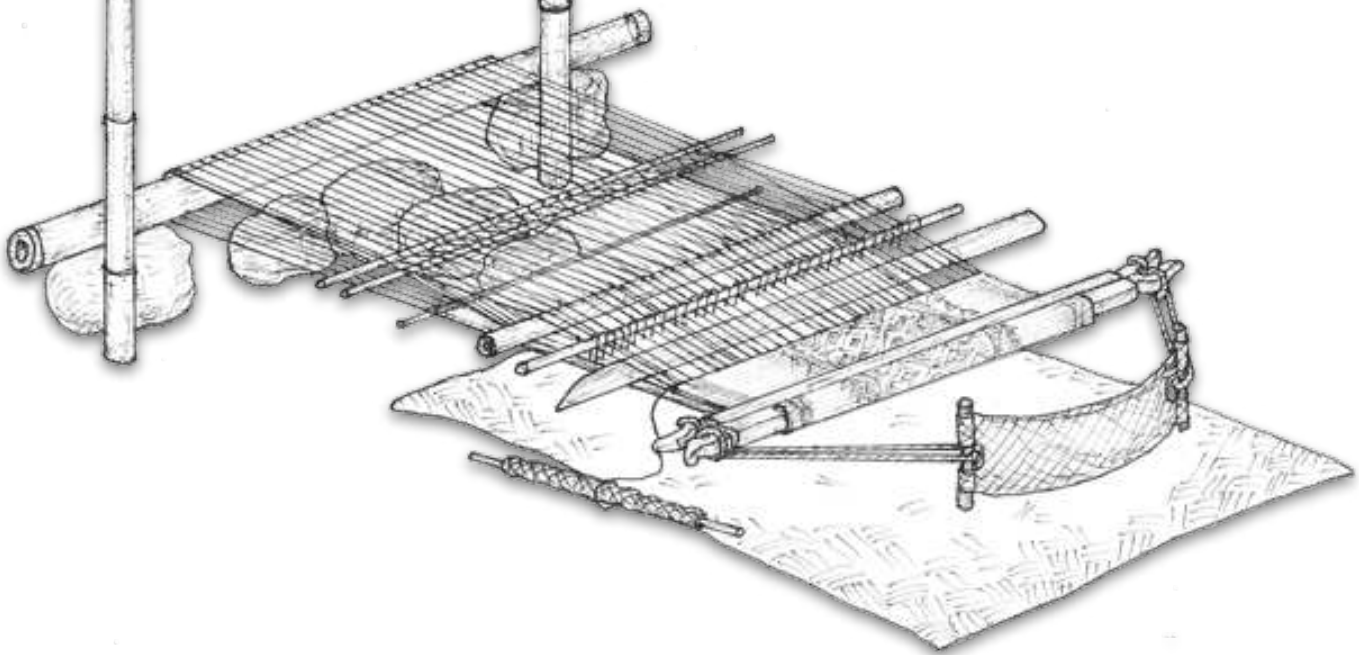


[B]

STAKE



85) Atoni Loom on Timor Island, according to Yoshimoto: round warp beam, resting on rocks. Rocks as footrest. [Drawing: Charlotte Gröger/Guido Plum 2025]



Accidental Foot Loom (Timor)

[I][stake loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]



STAKE



FOOT+

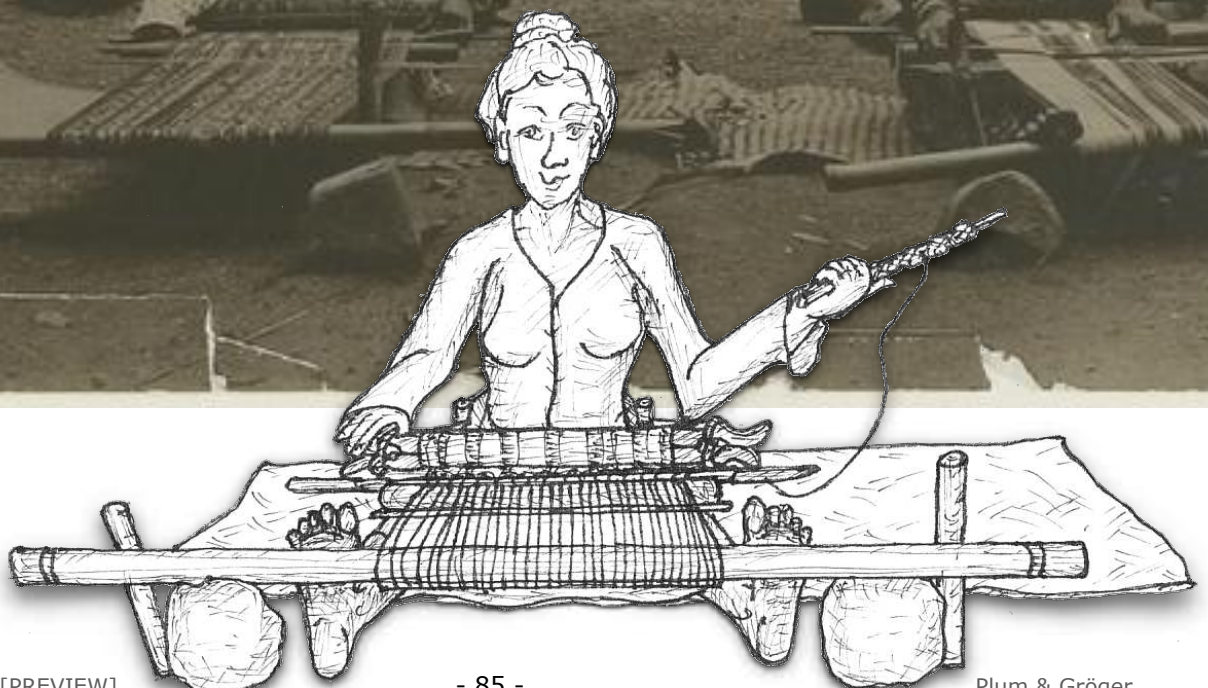
[B]



Ekxternal

87) Foot or no foot loom - That's the question on Timor around 1909? The loosened stake of the right weaver is intuitively braced by foot. Let's enter the gap in between both. - Universiteit Leiden (KITLV26824) - <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:791711>

Watch the
gap!



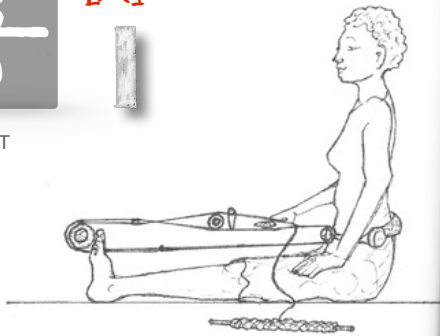
Sobei Foot Loom (Papua)

[foot loom][warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]

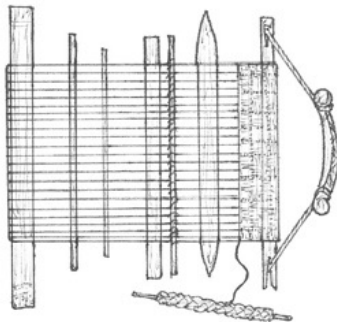


FOOT

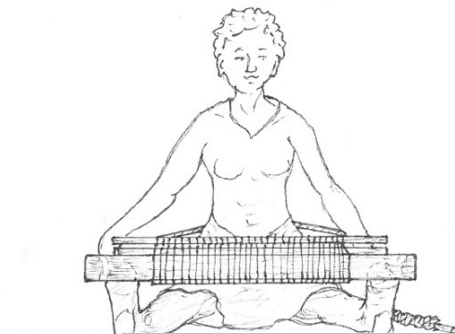
[A]



89) Javanese busy with a foot loom of Sarimi region on Papua around 1910 in Jayapura. Universiteit Leiden -><http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:722348>

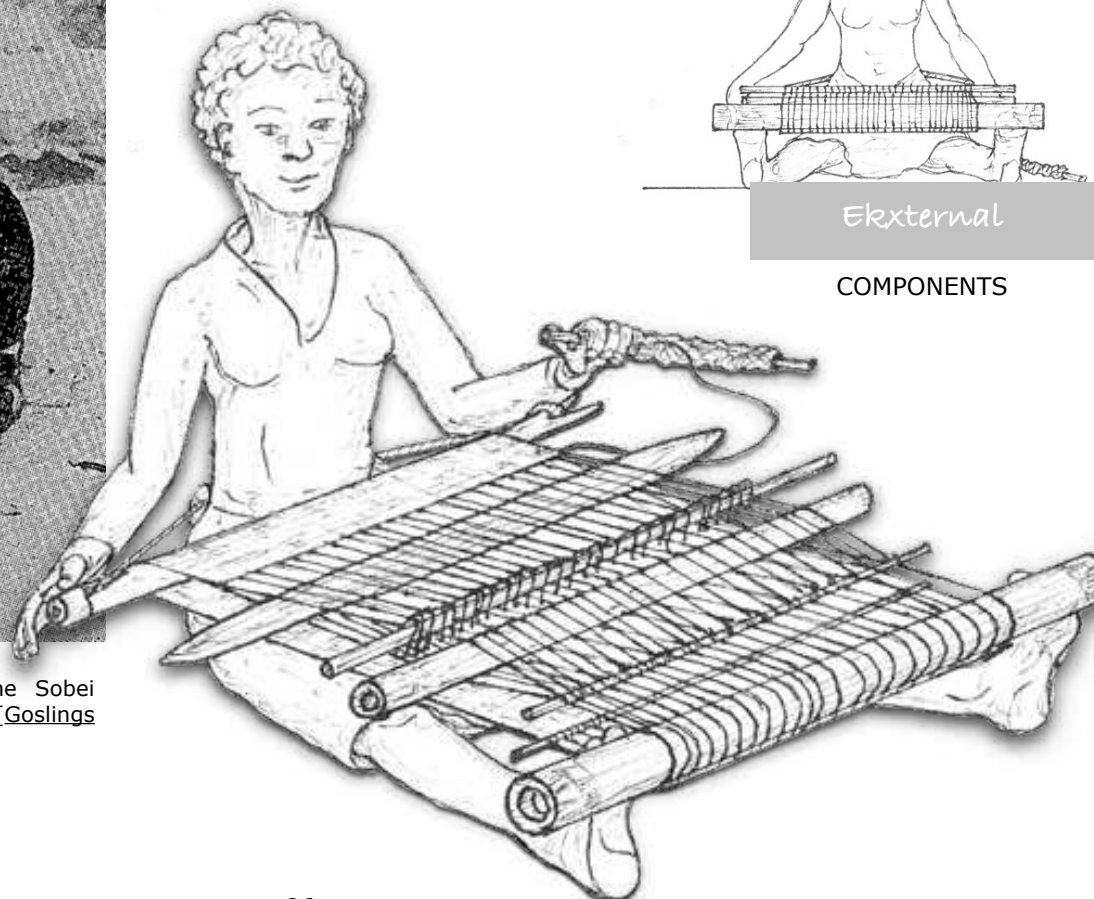


90) The foot loom (ifduai) of the Sobei people on Papua for terfó-weaving. [Goslings 1928/1929 - fig. 13]



Ekexternal

COMPONENTS



Mama Wulu's Foot Loom (Borneo?)

The Foot Loom of Larantuka

[foot loom][warp board][circular warp/hor][reedless][strap]

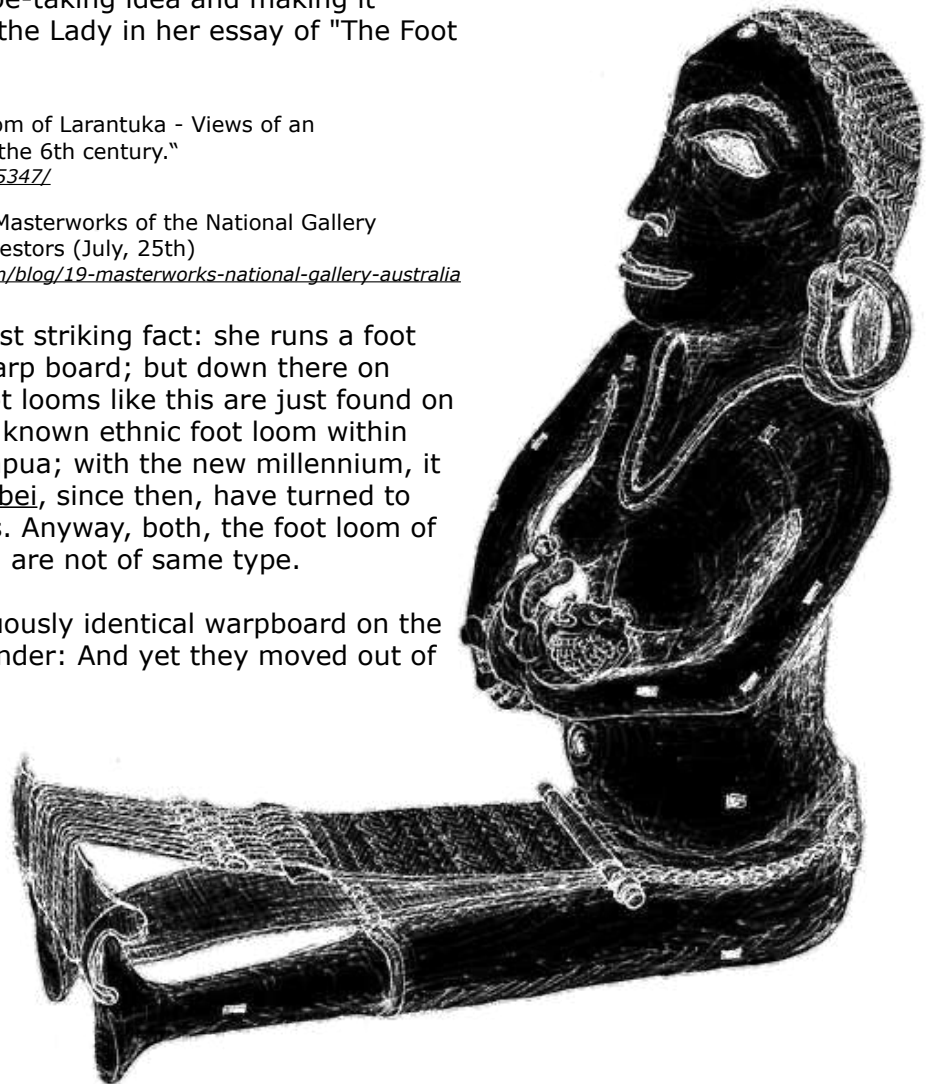
Once again, a woman from Larantuka caused a great stir in 2017! No, this time it wasn't the legendary Pippi Longstocking, but, as Steven Alpert describes, *"perhaps the most iconic piece of all in the Indonesian collection (of the National Gallery of Australia) and of special historical relevance for its subject matter and age...."*. We are talking about Mama Wulu, the mysterious bronze figure of a woman working on a backstrap loom; with an infant consuming her bosoms at the same time. Once found in a cave on East Flores and announced to the public back in 1977 by Adams. Not a revolutionary matter, one might think, but the busy lady actually proves sensational potential for current events. With her loin loom she may not be able to lift horses like some free spirits, yet not able to move mountains, but gradually shaking our shape-taking idea and making it flexible. Read more about the Lady in her essay of "The Foot Loom of Larantuka".

Plum, G. (2025): "The Foot Loom of Larantuka - Views of an Indonesian bronze figure from the 6th century."
<https://www.academia.edu/144025347/>

Alpert, Steven G. (2022): "19 Masterworks of the National Gallery of Australia." In: Art of the Ancestors (July, 25th)
<https://www.artoftheancestors.com/blog/19-masterworks-national-gallery-australia>

And this is actually the most striking fact: she runs a foot loom with a remarkable warp board; but down there on Larantuka? These days foot looms like this are just found on Taiwan. However, the only known ethnic foot loom within Indonesia was found on Papua; with the new millennium, it was said goodbye - the Sobei, since then, have turned to other frame-type creations. Anyway, both, the foot loom of Larantuka and the Sobei's, are not of same type.

But in view of the conspicuously identical warpboard on the loom in Todo, one may wonder: And yet they moved out of Taiwan?



92) Foot Loom of Larantuka. A drawing of a bronze sculpture on Flores showing a woman with a foot loom (similar warp board like the Amis on Taiwan). <https://www.artoftheancestors.com/blog/19-masterworks-national-gallery-australia>

The Loom from the Heavens (Palu'e Legend)

Wua Nangge Liru - Hadiahnya dari atas Langit

The following legend is a slightly shortened translation of a narrative of the Palu'e and comes from a research by Stefan Danerek, published on YouTube. Essentially, there are parallels to the Sundanese Nyi Pohaci legend, as Banaspati offers it in his essay, albeit in a different context. The legend Wua Nangge Liru (*The Gift from the Heavens*), told by Lengu Nandene (ca. 1916-2017), tells about the origins of ikat weaving or how weaving came to earth. According to the legend, a woman visits her parents in the sky by offerings and an areca palm.

A Gift from the Heavens

Her parents lived in the heavens. But the woman married a man from a village at the far end of the universe and settled there. There was no ikat weaving in that village. Then, one moonlit night, she talked with her husband until the sun was about to rise, and she had to take care of her child. Due to high tide, her husband went out to sea to look for shellfish. While her husband out there, the woman chatted with her child, cooking a small pot of rice for him, as she planned to meet her parents in the heavens. Before leaving, the woman saved her child some rice and told it, "Hey, when your father comes, tell him to pick me up at Dheko pére, up in Nangge Liru."

Then, armed with one chicken and a shell of rice, the woman went to the areca palm in her yard and asked the areca, "Are you short and down to ground or are you tall and up to the sky?" The areca replied, "I am short and down to ground, then tall and up to the sky." ...So she climbed the areca palm. She threw the rice once, the chicken crowed once, and the areca grew upwards.

Upon arriving in the sky, she invited her parents and split five areca nuts to keep. (Just nuts call it betel.) After splitting the areca nuts, she instructed her parents, "Dear parents, stay close the door! If a dog barks next to the entrance, you serve these five nuts. If it doesn't stand all the nuts, it means it's someone else. But if it finishes the nuts, it means it's my husband."

Meanwhile, the woman's husband returned home. Seeing his son sitting alone, he asked him, "Are you alone at home without your parents?" Then his son explained him, "Hey, Mom said, tell your dad to pick me up at Dheko pére, above the areca palm in Nangge Liru." The husband did as wife had instructed. Armed with a chicken and a rice shell, he approached the areca palm. He climbed the same palm his wife had climbed. Upon arriving at the door of the house in the sky, he finished the five nuts served to him without leaving a single morsel. Afterward, his mother-in-law showed him the way to his wife at the top of the eighth layer of heaven, at the very edge.

Then her husband opened the door to one room. There was a thunderclap once and a flash of light. That happens several times. Once he reached the eighth sphere, he found his wife and invited her home with him.

Before returning home, her parents gave her the items from above: kik, atip (*breast beam?*), belera (*sword*), ani, penjepig (*tongs?*), tali (*rope*), olak, sumbi (*temple*), pajal, kapas pinal (*spun cotton*), and all the weaving tools. The husband and wife loaded everything onto the top of the areca palm and descended back to earth. The daughter then used the supplies her parents had given her in the village to weave ikat. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h2dJfQOFYe4>

From Above to Earth (Nagaland)

Himalayan Greetings - Far-distance connections on Discussion

[warp beam][circular warp/inc][reedless][strap]



93) Konyak-Naga weaver, Nagaland/Mon-Distr., NE-India. (कोन्याक नागा | नगालैंड - मोन जिला), 1937. Photo: C. v. Fürer-Haimendorf. © 1937, The Estate of Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf | SOAS Archive: PP MS 19/6/NAGA/2345 [078_11]. -><http://digital.soas.ac.uk/LOADI01420/00001>

The name (Naga) of the ethnic group in the Himalayas itself makes us pay attention and regardless of whether there are real, even kinship relationships between the groups, it indicates that it should be the same topic up here and there: A serpent called Naga, also named Nipa on Flores! There are also completely different parallels to the highlands in distant realms, similar to the legend of the Palu'e. And not only on Flores, but eastern Indonesia - hardly a single thing can be clearly grasped, but in view of their multitude they are convincing. Perhaps the parallels of the round buildings in the background to the architectures on West-Flores are pure coincidence, but several loin looms in the Himalayas also show amazing parallels - if not necessarily in entire, then in important details, which we could also observe in Flores; i.e. rocks as support for the warp beam and as a footrest, but also segmented types. These rocks confirm the

impression the Atoni loom gave, that stones once served as posts. The photo collection in the SOAS archive, taken in the Himalayan region between the 1930s and 1970s by the anthropologist Christoph v. Fürer-Haimendorf, provides a deep insight into these relations. If intended here as a conclusion, the two examples still offer enough reason to climb back onto the areca palm right away! Since then, however, the experienced weaver takes the genius of the by simples blamed *'savage loom'* as the most practical travel vehicle to far-distant worlds - as it takes patience to know.

94) A station loom in Nagaland, NE-India. Date & photograprer unknown. Notice the segmented foot rest, realized from several drum stools lined up. Material of choice changed, but the expression of segmentation remains - in Nagaland and on Flores. Buckley Archive



The Loom of Bhotia (Tibet)

Sticks, Threads& Rocks on Role!

[warp beam][circular warp/hor][reedless?][strap]



95) Bhotia (भोटिया) - Bhutianese Women weaving in Dho, Nepal 1962. © The Estate of Christoph v. Fürer-Haimendorf 1962. - <http://digital.soas.ac.uk/LOADI07153/00001>

The photo of Fürer-Haimendorf shows a loom construction of the Bhotia in Nepal in 1962. Here, boulders serve not only as a segmented footrest, but also to lock the warp beam. A stone is also used as a support, even if only for one-sided correction. The otherwise flat on the ground, circular warp (probably without reed) is brought to height by a board that is ultimately introduced as a footrest, which is extremely high. Haven't we met such warp lifting foot boards before on Borneo & Sulawesi? Presumably it even takes over the partial function of lease sticks; thus determine the active weaving frame. The Bhotia thus conveys, apart from the stones, an amazing resemblance to the looms of the Bedouins (and partially Berbers) in the Middle East and similar derivatives occurring on the route, but although it may seem just as far-fetched, it at the same time shows what the loom of the Atoni on Timor may only suggest in relation to various looms on Flores with such relics of stone supports: Presumably, their warps were once also held by stones alone, without the use of today's widespread stakes. Even if this should not necessarily enable to conclude a connection between Bhotia and Flores, it is reasonable to assume that looms with stone bearings should come from just such tree-poor regions; and only here (in Indonesia) gradually resorted to stakes under new circumstances. Meanwhile stones remain representing the ancestors widely, not just, but obviously on Flores.

Alat Melengkung

The Warping Tools

[<<] [XXX] [BIMA] [LARANTUKA] [FLORES] [>>]

PREVIEW

Alat melengkung - The Warping Tools

BIMA | LARANTUKA

Alat melengkung

The research has so far only shown horizontally oriented warping devices on Flores. However, there are not too many representations of warping tools on Flores. Both of the present examples come from the first half of the 20th century. While an old warping frame is still found in Larantuka, that the weaver herself has tied together from a few bamboo canes, in the Manggarai there is already a timbered warping frame of the Bima. Although the Bima weave flat warp, they first set up a false circular warp (with reed comb!) in the photo. Only in the last step is the single starter rod replaced by two whip rods (insert sticks), what defines a flat warp.

However, the depicted weaver in Larantuka is supposed to set up an original circular warp (without reed comb) on her self-built warping frame. In principle, all warp types of Flores, regardless of ethnicity, seem to be based on the warping method of a circular warp. For the false circular warp, this only means a changed handling of the starter rod, insofar as it plays a role in the circular Ikat warps on Flores at all.² As described above, a further modification on the starter rod is needed, which makes a false circular warp a flat warp.

Other warping methods, such as vertical, are not currently shown on Flores, but they are reported, as on Palu'e Island. In one of the two Dutch collections there is another photo of an warping frame in the Manggarai, which also serves as a weaving station; but the photo is currently not to found. A similar combination of warping frame and weaving station can also be found in the Atadei region in East Flores; both, however, also horizontally. However, a simple, vertically aligned sharpening method was still found for the foot loom of the Sobei on Papua.

Counterstatement

However, a video from Kota Bima on Sumbawa³ indicates a different warping method; according to this, the warping method of Bima on Flores is fundamentally different from the method of Bima on other islands.

In "De Weefkunst" by Jasper & Pirngadie there is an equivalent illustration of this warping method to be found on Sumbawa.⁴ Here it is listed as "Goa warping method".⁵

Currently there is no clear explanation for the difference, but presumably the two methods on Flores presented here are the older methods. In any case, these two warping frames can still be achieved with little craft experience and a small toolset, while the probably newer equipment on Sumbawa needs a carpenter. Nevertheless, as the sources show, they were both in the early 20th century already in use, side by side. The model on Sumbawa also corresponds to a trend towards the industrialization of weaving - it's faster, thus not essential part of hand weaving on loin looms.

² Several Ikat warps on Flores have no (continuous) starter rod at all, or only partial types!

³ VDO YouTube: Tenun Bima - Ngane merupakan proses awal menenun (muna ra medi) bagi wanita Bima (siwe suku mbojo) - visited Oct 10, 2025: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=edadBiUMjR8> & Aya Mara Qonita: Intip Proses Pembuatan Kain Tenun Khas Bima - visited Oct 10, 2025: <https://ntb.idntimes.com/travel/tips/intip-proses-pembuatan-kain-tenun-khas-bima-01-5qjc9-7b5ds8/amp>

⁴ Jasper & Pirngadie (1912:101-102). Fig 82. Goasche toestellen voor de schering - Zuid Celebes).

⁵ Goa = Gowa on Sulawesi.

Bima Warping

[flat warp][reed]



96) Horizontal warping device (alat melengkung) of the Bima on the western north coast on Flores in Kampong Pota, 1926. - Foto: UBL digital collection (KITLV 10985)

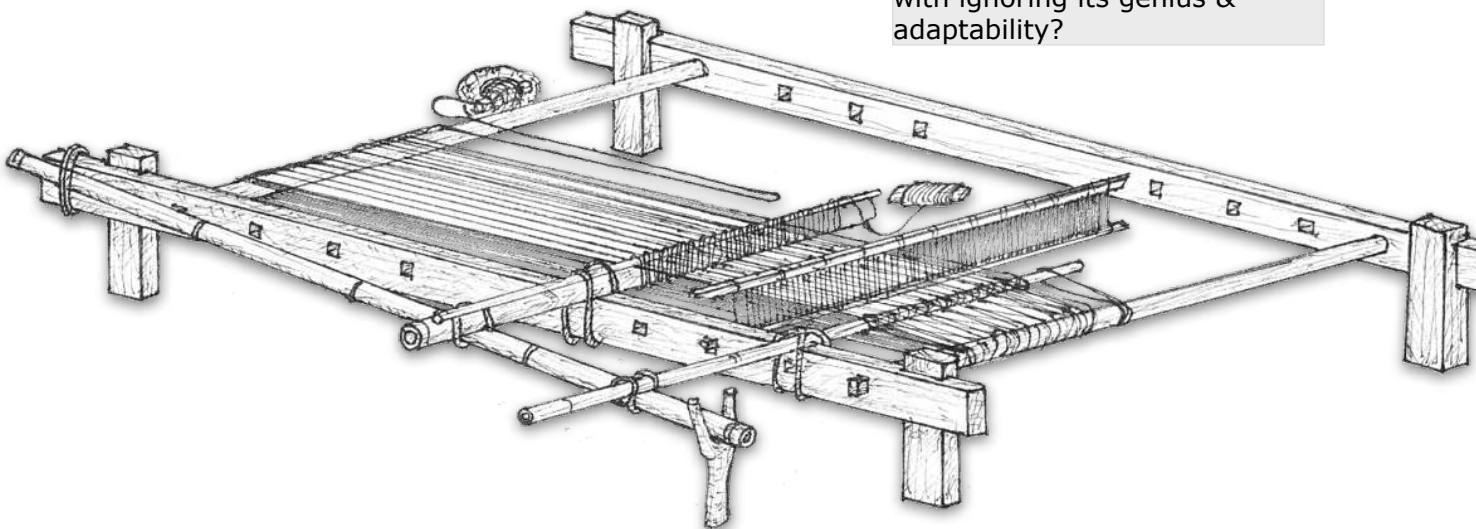
The horizontal warping frame of the Bima is made of wood, so it should no longer be made by the weavers themselves. (Compare Larantuka.) The Bima weave flat warps, but when warping it is prepared like a false circular warp. Just at the end of process the so-far single starter rod gets replaced by two whip rods and the warp, which has been (false) circular, transforms into a flat warp.

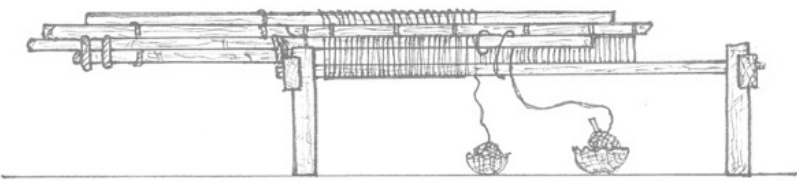
A tiny modification on the starter rod and you also get an original circular warp that way. This approach is standard for many (but not all) Southeast Asian weavers, not just for the Bima! Not only the circular warp characterizes loin looms, but also their flat warp is defined from it and differs by its understanding from the usual standard of flat warp on western looms: the warp thread (lawe) remains continuous.

Reed comb and heddles get into game while the warping.

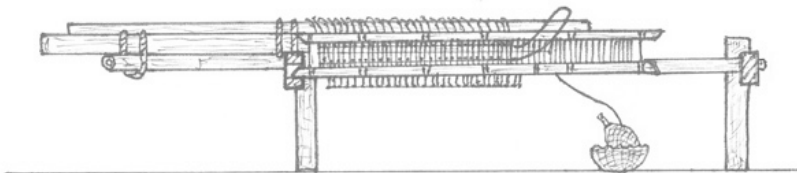
Discussion:

Do we want to continue to state this as primitive tools, there-with ignoring its genius & adaptability?

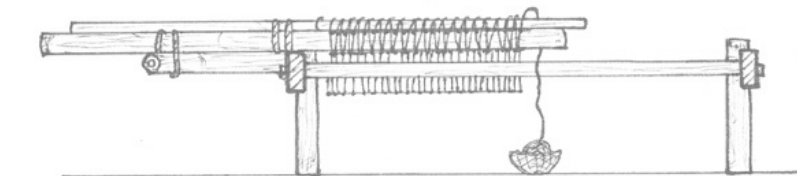




A - A



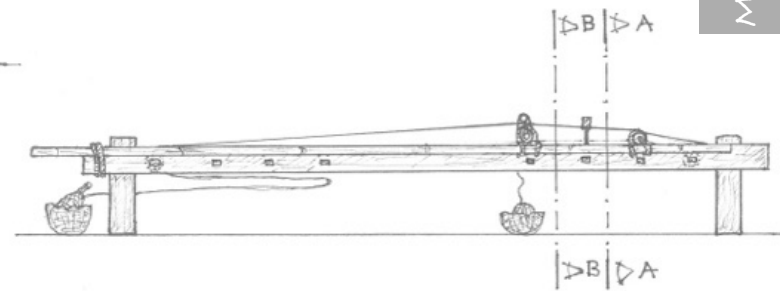
B - B



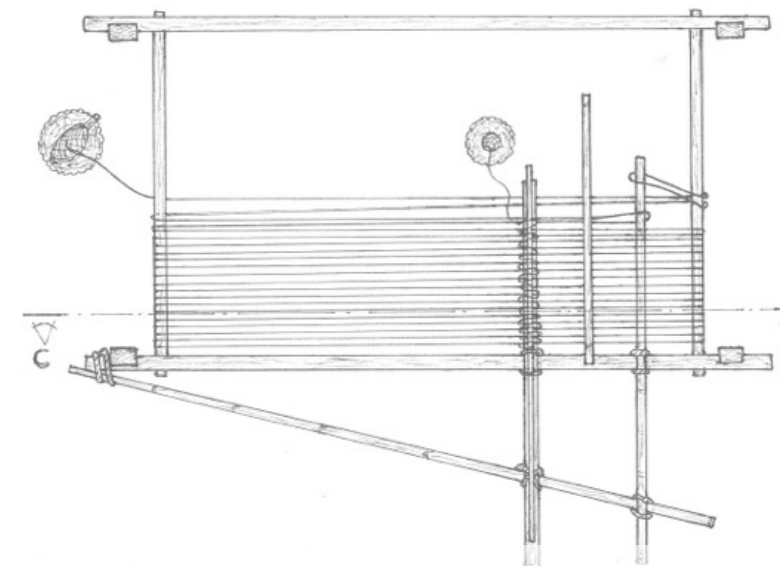
The width of the warping table indicates its favored use for wide warps. All over Flores just horizontal warping methods like this are found. Vertical warping method need just one of these horizontally aligned warping planks. Even weavers of the Chakma people in Bangladesh witness, that wide warps can definitely be managed by vertical warping methods, it doesn't fit the needs of designing ikat warps.

As stated by [Buckley et al. 2023](#) the [Sobei](#) people on Papua use a vertical warp method for their small warps. However, they don't use a horizontally aligned warping plank for this, but put the necessary sticks upright in the ground.

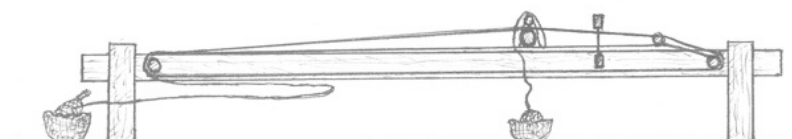
Melengkung



Even there is no loin loom from Flores mentioned by [Jasper & Pirngadie](#), an almost similar warping frame from Larantuka & Solor can be found in „De Weefkunst“ (p. 104, fig. 85) and a bit confused sketch of warping such a false circular warp incl. a reed. (pp. 110-111, fig. 80).



C - C



Larantuka Warping

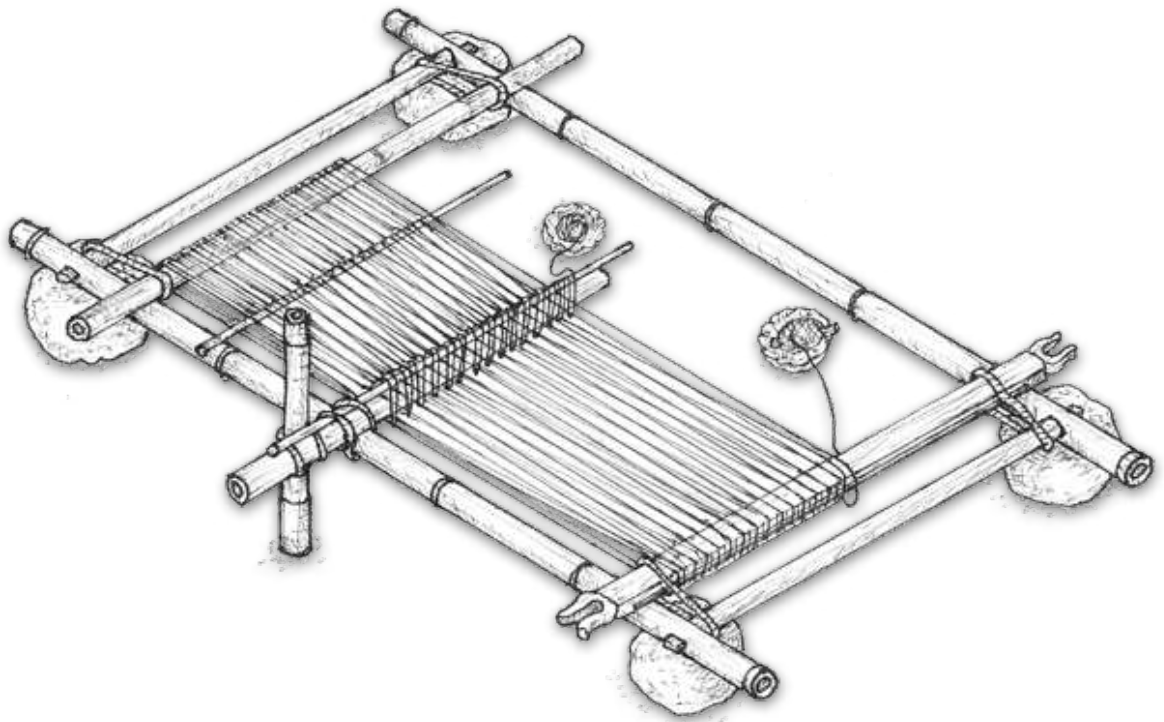
[circular warp][reedless]

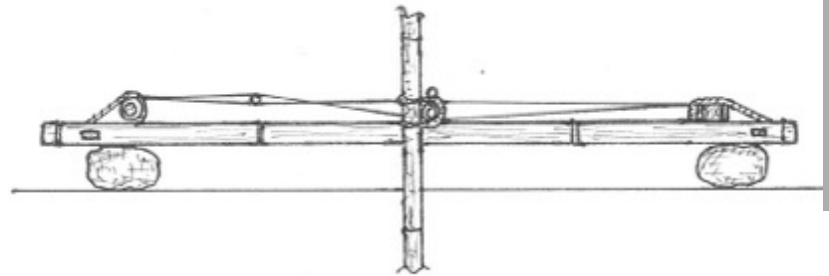
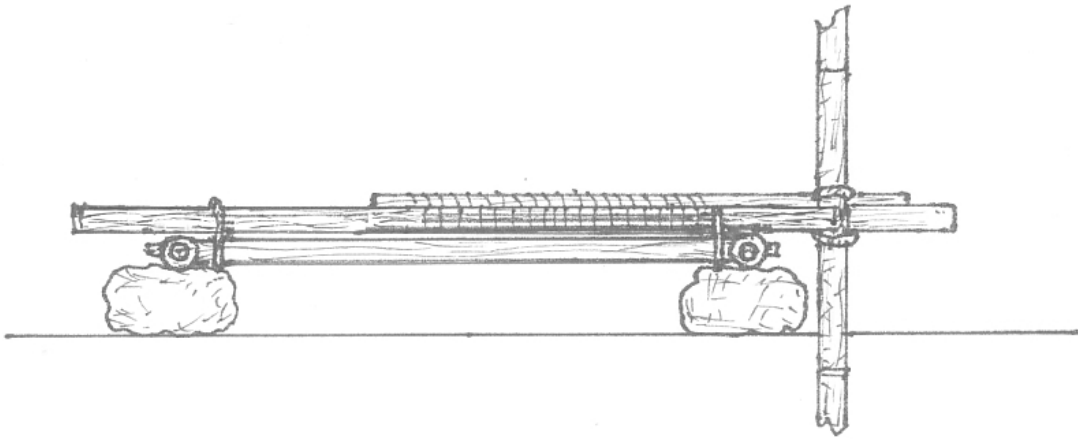


The photo of Vatter shows an original warping device constructed by the weaver from bamboo canes, close to Larantuka. It is taken at almost same time as the photo of the Bima warping. In principle identical to the horizontal warping frame of the Bima; even if a circular warp is prepared here. The bamboo scaffolding rests on stones. Notice: The breast beam is here in use as a warping rod. Heddles (& an optional starter rod) are prepared while warping. There is no reed comb in circular warps; a reed in a circular warp identifies it as false-type! The size of the bamboo canes defines the length of heddles.

Melengkung

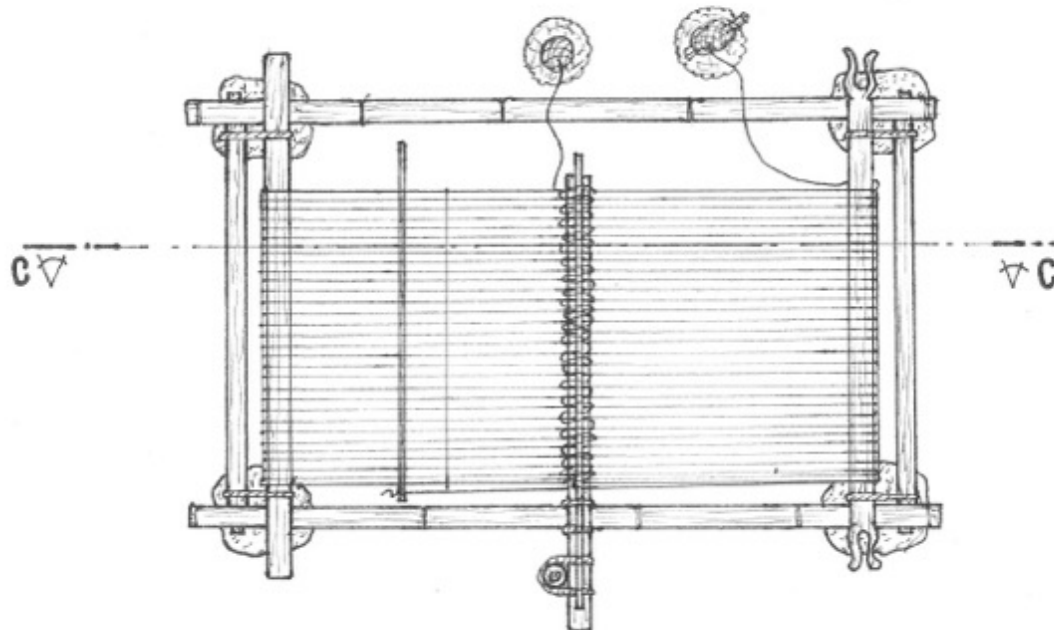
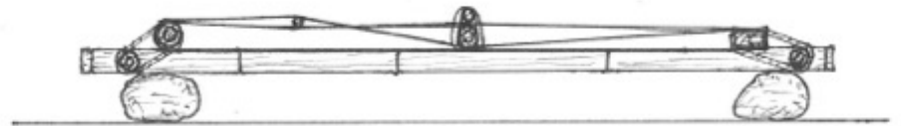
98) A weaver in Leloba close to Larantuka busy with her self-constructed warping device, made from bamboo canes. Photo: E.E. & H. Vatter 1928/29 - UBL: KITLV 122286 - <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:898050>





Melengkung

C-C



Kesimpulan

Conclusions

[<<] [XXX] [>>]





Conclusions

Talking Looms # # # The Vivid Looms #
Ancient Techniques # # # Forks &
Branches # # # Back Support
Batten Railings # # # Buitenzorg
Excursion # # # Origin of Loom # # #
Universitas Nipa # # # Tree & Transport

Conclusions

Talking Looms

What does the range of looms on Flores report of?

It cannot be said clearly at the moment, but it seems as if an old model of East Indonesian looms has preserved itself with the stake looms on Flores. These ground looms were also probably not created on Flores, but perhaps on Borneo or Sulawesi. There they have become scarce through lively cultural exchange, are not so specific and diverse. But Flores seems to have been off the trade routes for various reasons; probably an important reason, why Flores was that suitable for the following freebooters. In terms of the loom, only the west of the island, the Manggarai, seems to have been subjected to greater and increased influence from the outside in terms. To judge the adoption of innovations from this external influence onto local models, the influence has not been dictated from the outside, but welcome from the inside out and, apart from the actually introduced Bima's stand loom, to have been integrated into Manggarai's own creations.

Although this study is based on historical visual material and has been extended by specialist literature, there was insufficient overview in the scientific field! Photographs by Chris Buckley gave insight into the eastern part of Sikka to Alor, but the Western looms were left out; a first blind spot appeared. In order to be able to create this far-reaching overview at all, numerous weavers assisted us with representations of their loin loom in the social medias; with this overview of your common cultural heritage, we thank you for your warm support.

It turned out that, regardless of the region, by and large, no too specific characteristics prevail in a place. On the contrary, in many villages stake loom and station loom of various types can be found next to each other. This applies to Manggarai as well as to Alor. The impression arises that the knowledge of the loin looms of the other ethnic groups is generally far-reaching. It should be noted that the distinctly high posts in Ende-region and their rope connections are also used in East Flores, but are not or hardly used in the intermediate Sikka-region. However, flat warps with reed comb can only be found in the Manggarai and in the adjacent area of the Riung; also in the enclaves of the Bugis-Makassar along the north coast. Although Ikat was partly mentioned in Manggarai, no examples were found; even circular warps were not found here. This state reverses almost abruptly into the opposite with the crossing of the Ikat-line on the border with Ngada, because from here on, except for the northern area of the Riung, only circular warps seem to be in use. Although there are occasionally striped warps equipped with reed combs (= all false circular warp!) in the remaining Flores, but flat warps are not in use over here. Exceptions to this are the northern enclaves of the Bugis-Makassar, which are found in every region, except East Flores.

Kesimpulan

Talking Looms Ancestor Report

History at a glance

The Vivid Looms of Flores

*What makes the Loom
to source of life?*

Ancient Techniques

*Primitive observations
of geniusity*

Forking Branches Beam me up!

*The Sense of
supporting warp beams*

Back Support en detail

*Sense and Benefit
of connections*

Spot on Batten Railings

*Expression &
circumstances
in proportion*

Buitenzorg On Excursion!

Eden in the East

Origin of Loom

Legends on display

Universitas Nipa

*Observation
of the Observed*

[coming soon:](#)

catwalk Flores

Flores & The Vivid Looms

What keeps the looms of Flores that authentic?

All observations indicate that here on Flores, not only a collection of traditional stake looms has been preserved in museums despite their constant conversion to station looms, but, in contrast to their counterparts on Java, they are still extremely vitally in daily use. This may also be due to the principles of ikat weaving, which is preferred here, and which requires the use of the traditional circular warp without reed combs and thus has not been able to be taken over by the flat warps, flooding in from the West. The influences evident in Manggarai have only had a limited impact on ikat production through weft ikat, but even weft ikat currently seems to have vanished into the air in Manggarai. Therefore, it is to be feared that the steadily advancing changes in living conditions will put the stake construction of the former loin looms on Flores under pressure and gradually replace them by station loom-types in urban areas. Historically, in Java, triggered by precisely such urbanization, one can observe a rapid trend from stilt looms to station looms, which was soon taken over by externally tensioned looms in order to "optimize art production". According to reports such as Jasper and Banaspati, they already had largely disappeared from Java by the beginning of the 20th century! An important concern of this work is to enable a conscious approach to these influences and not only to preserve the regional stake looms, but also to keep its knowledge base intact and active, perhaps even to transfer it to the emerging, almost unavoidable station looms to come. Later on a final suggestion will be made on this.

Ancient Techniques on Display

Stick, Stone & Thread - Geniusity en detail!

On Flores, there are a striking number of traditional techniques that are not only extremely practical, but can also provide insight into their development. For example, we observe one old variant for the external attachment of the warp beam next to the other; it is difficult to determine which of these is older. Instead of the usual notches & plug-in connections in the warp posts, the warp beams here are either resting on stones, tied in a variety of ways, tied up high, or even hanging down. Further variations of warp beam holders are offered by a wide variety of branch forks. There seem to be no limits to creativity. Compared to the warp beam attachments of urban station looms in the West, these are priceless in terms of their integrated didactics and are a testament to the utmost ingenuity. In summary, it should be clear that the majority of looms do NOT use the usual plug connections (notches in the warp posts) to attach the warp beam. Such structures are found almost exclusively in Manggarai and are believed to have been influenced by the Bima looms from outside. These traditional fastenings demonstrate that, unlike pin-and-socket connections, these solutions can largely be accomplished by the weaver herself, but above all with the weaver's own resources (stick, stone, and thread). This also demonstrates that the weaving skills are still based on self-sufficient craft techniques and, at its core, has largely been spared from industrialization. Raising awareness of this vital core of traditional loin looms, THAT should have been the mission.

On Display

Talking Looms

The Vivid Looms

Ancient Texhniques

Forks & Branches

Back Support

Batten Railings

Buitenzorg Excursion

Origin of Loom

Universitas Nipa

Tree & Transport

Forking Branches or the sense of supporting warp beams

Form studies

Any kind of warp beam, no matter it's round, rectangular or even a board needs a support; even body-braced foot looms depend on such a support, in this case the feet. Externally-braced loin looms use posts for this purpose. On Flores one can realize a conscious play with the gestalt of such warp beam-holders in construction and function; here grouped by form: Y - X - r - V - I - M - U. Many of these posts are created by straight and forking branches of trees; some of these symmetrical, others asymmetrical twigs.

Next to their functional purpose, they transport another semantic level. These should be ethnic signatures that present their interpretation, a solution to a topic of a "superordinate Flores-seminar" - The question arises: Where is the seminar management, checking functions? As the gestalt studies show, proven methods for fixing stakes in the ground can be replaced more easily as needed and transferred to rails, than these signatures in the warp beam-support system - According to the motto: *theory must have function; central of function(s) IS theory?! To be or not to be is probably only the essence of the profound question of functional carriers of sense or senseful functions here*

NOTE: Except the last three, probably latest solutions, none of these traditional concepts are incisions.

Forks, Twigs & other Supports

Y The core area of the symmetrical, Y-shaped warp beam holders is therefore clearly in Manggarai and the northern Ngada (Riung district), with foothills to Mbay. They can be found on stake looms, as well as station looms. 5 examples showed **Y**-shaped holders [**Y**].

X In contrast, the distribution area of **X**-shaped warp beam holders seems to be concentrated in East Flores and the following islands of Lembata and Adonara. Exceptions are not only found on Palu'e Island due to the spread of stations. These are exclusively stations looms. 5 or 8 examples show **X**-shaped warp beam holders [**X**].

r Among the models presented here are three asymmetrical twig-like or **r**-shaped warp beam holders [**r**]; they keep popping up, also on Palu'e Island, and in the Sikka area. (Another fork appeared as a sensation at a 1000-weaver festival in Sikka.) Such a model from Palu'e can also be found in the Tropenmuseum; according to the description, it should also be an **r**-shaped warp beam holder. They show themselves on stake looms & station looms. 3 or 7? examples show **r**-shaped forks. Spread currently from Sikka to Lembata; its core area remains unclear, but should origin in the East.

V The **V**-shaped warp beam holders, made of a short stake and a crosswise wedge, are only found on stake looms in Sikka. It seems as if they are an interpretation of the **X**-shaped constructions found east of Sikka on station looms. 2 examples show **V**-shaped warp beam holders; exclusively on stake looms [**V**].



Ruteng Stake
East Manggarai

Baar

Baar Variations



Palu'e Station

Adonara Stations

Ternate Selatan

Ternate Beach

Boka Besi



Sikka Fork

Ile Mandiri Station

Lembata



Sikka Pegs

Sikka Kombi



Ngada

Bajawa

Nggela

Ndona

Palu'e Stake

Sikka

Sikka 2B

Larantuka

Ile Mandiri

Pantar



Mbay



Bima

Lembata Station

Rope Connections

I The apparently largest group of looms seems to be equipped with I-shaped warp beam holders, but ultimately the total number of models equipped with forks of one or the other prevails. Here the warp trees are either tied to, tied on or tied up, or stored on stones. They can be divided into short - as in Sikka - and long posts (as an example Ndona). They can be found from southern Ngada in the west to Pantar Island in the east, probably also on Alor Island. From East Flores on, they are in competition with station looms and find themselves with a descending tendency. 10 or 11 models have I-shaped warp beam holders; 7/8 of them in long version, 3 in short - all on stake looms [1].

All groups of warp beam holders listed so far show, as mentioned above, no incisions into which the warp beam can be inserted. The first four offer themselves as support for the warp beam; the I-shaped ones usually serve to connect the warp beam by rope. But in Sikka, as well as in Nagekeo, there are also various variants of short bamboo stakes - not listed here, which (in the meantime) have such incisions for the warp beam.

Incisions

The following models also deviate from this tradition of the support or connection of the warp beam; they all show incisions in the supporting structure.

M Board posts with incisions were found only a few, mainly in the west of Flores; the only **M**-shaped example listed here comes from Mbay. They are mainly only occasionally discovered in Manggarai at station looms, but at the weaver festival in Sikka such an **M**-pole also appeared on a single stake loom.

U U-shaped incisions are also found only a few, mainly in the stand loom-types of the Bima in the west and the station looms of Manggarai, that were influenced by them. They should come from historical influences from the outside; other incisions as in Nagekeo, and a few of them found in Sikka, both stake looms, should also be attributable to this historical influence. However, surprisingly a tendency to such **U**-shaped incisions can be found at station looms in eastern Flores, see Lembata. These seem to have sprung from the present.

Principle of tree: In retrospect, it should have become clear that the M-boards are just new interpretations of the V-shapes; most of U-shapes also turn out to be hidden Y-holders. In this respect, it should also be possible to interpret the V-formations as hidden Y-holders; as some of the Baar looms in Ngada must have shown. And also the r-shaped ones are ultimately based on alternatives of branch forks, X-shapes even on branch crossings. And so, finally the apparently deviating I-forms can also be recognized as plain tree trunks, the warp beam can be tied to - another principle of (fig) trees, roots in general, but represents also the relation of betel and its nut.

In view of these observations, the important position gets understandable, the weaving stations in Sikka with their conspicuous tree-like warp beam holders should take in this character set. It should also be emphasized once again that the functions are equipped with highly meaningful, artistic demands. With all the appearance in the foreground that improvisation composes the design of the weaving device, the construction of this warp beam holder in particular proves to be a preciously sophisticated program.

Combination

While other of the models listed just make use of one element of the tree principle, here the entire of tree itself becomes the principle.

T Tree-like constructions as twin warp beam holders with various heights were found, apart from a single case on Ternate Island, exclusively at station looms in Sikka. As the few examples suggest, they don't just use traditional methods of forks, no tie-connections, but also incisions in their repertoire. However, the usual stones of the Sikka as support seem to step completely into the background.

The data refer to the 27 (resp. 35) examples of ethnic looms listed in this study.

FOAM FOLLOWS FUNCTION

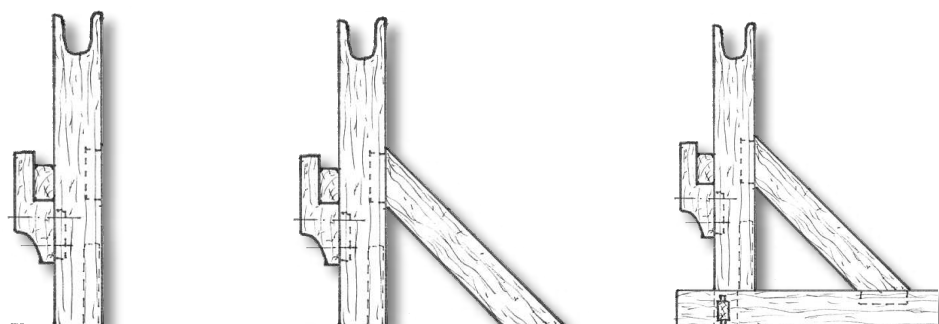
Forks & other types of warp beam holders on Flores at a glance



The assembled Tree

of Perception

Each image, any perception is an assemblage of previous impressions.



Back Support en detail

Sense and benefit of connections

While in western Indonesia, loin yokes are often found on ethnic looms, on Flores, one still predominantly encounters the weaver's traditional triangular connection using a back strap. Such a back strap can reveal an important element of identity, an ethnic characteristic, as can perhaps be seen in the example of the Palu'e's distinctive back strap. Their use of the areca palm spathe—betel for some, nut for others—as a back strap is difficult to replace with a loin yoke. Even if, given the width of a warp, its parallel connection would be extremely useful here, hasty innovations in such an identification-laden "tool" probably have disastrous consequences.

No such evidence has yet been found in Manggarai; among the large number of examples studied, no back strap has been found; all ethnic loom models here use such a loin yoke. But from Ngada onward, the first back straps are increasingly being used. Even on a few flat-warp looms, such as those found in Manggarai, back straps are suddenly found, albeit rarely! In Ende and Sikka, this impression is somewhat lost; loin yokes are mostly used here; the exceptions found actually confirm that rule! In contrast, in East Flores and the adjacent islands, not a single yoke is found, only straps.

Finally, it should be noted that the existing loin yokes are also evidently the result of external influences that flowed to Flores from the west (via Sulawesi). Presumably, the entire Indonesian ensemble of specialized components and features, such as batten rests and loin yokes, is related to the requirements of flat, yet above all wide, warps.

As demonstrated by the Ndona and Sikka, the parallel connection of a warp by using a loin yoke is also a great advantage for circular ikat warps, especially with wide and long warps; as long as they go along with the circumstances. However, these are indeed not part of the traditional standard repertoire of ikat weaving. While a loin yoke greatly facilitates the handling of wide warps, it is not a prerequisite for those, as stated by the looms of East Flores.

Spot on those Batten Railings

Expression & circumstances in proportion

In Manggarai we come across various examples of elongated batten rests; they are usually attached to the post at warp height. They reflect the adaptation to the requirements of the flat warp. While with circular warps the weaver always remains positioned in the same place, with the flat warp she constantly changes from back to the front, forth and back again. This explains the long appearance of these batten railings, if any form of batten rest was still in use in Manggarai! This change of position is triggered solely by the flat warp; but increased many times over by the unequal ratio of the very pronounced warp board to the diameter of a standard breast beam (probably 1:4). Here it can be assumed that the high warp boards should once have been used in combination with equally high breast boards, which have naturally reached their limit in height. They can hardly be larger than 15 cm (max. 20) in height. (See Bima.)

Even if one should not be able to identify the warp type on representations, such an elongated batten railing suggests the assumption that one should be dealing with a flat warp. At least such a batten railing should suggest that one once came from the tradition of flat warp.

But as the example of a loom from Sumba shows, such solutions can also appear with circular warps, as well as numerous examples of such elongated batten railings also come along with circular warps in Sikka. Often, as both ethnic examples show, depending on the height of the warp, they rest on the footrest, while the other end is stored on a rock.

On the other hand, one can question whether these long batten railings were not a widespread feature of stake looms on Flores even before the introduction of the flat warp. But, as already mentioned above, any kind of batten rests, such as loin yokes, reeds and flat warps, should not belong to the traditional repertoire of circular Ikat warps! Thus, the observed elongated batten rests among the Sikka should probably come from cultural adoption - what their necessary meaning there, was reformulated here to design its own form of expression.

Buitenzorg on Excursion

A trip with Hendrik & Theodora van Motman-Schiff

Hendrik-Pieter van Motman - Banaspati may bless him - already hinted at some references on the origin of Sundanese weaving art to East Indonesia in his essay in 1906. It seems to have been an important concern to him & his wife Theodora-Elisabeth, his spiritually dearest child; underpinned by oriental language studies. But as far known, they never visited this region of Indonesia. Even their loom from Palembang with its two Nagas on top, which they mainly used for presentation at exhibitions, refers to this preference. Banaspati, his pen name as well as the central metaphor for so much unspeakable, which he thus nevertheless transported, should have turned out in the present study as the Sundanese variant of the serpent horse, the Naga! His approach to distinguishing between loom types (gedogan - station loom) and cancangan (stilt loom) lacked a first extension to stake looms, which we find here on Flores in abundance. A Nipa called Flores has distinguished itself as the "Island of Stake Loom". Danerek even provides us with a first Indonesian, albeit only local, term for this type: dhada.

In addition, through the Sobei and two contemporary historical coincidences, we also mysteriously encountered the foot loom: the alat tenun kaki. Thus, the trip to Hendrik and Theodora's *Eden of the East* was extremely fruitful to return to Buitenzorg strengthened and put the promised reconstruction of their original collection into practice. Until its implementation, the results of this excursion to the east should find their place in the backyard of the exhibition and serve as intellectual preparation for the coming Buitenzorg collection. We also met Pohaci in a slightly changed, but clearly recognizable character: mother with child. And likewise, the legend of the Palu'e has indicated an equivalent to the Pohaci legend handed down by Hendrik in variation.

This should also provide a detailed look at the connection between loin looms and spirit animals, as discussed in the essay "Spirit Animals & their Loin Looms - Along the Spice Road." We thank Hendrik-Pieter and his wife Theodora-Elisabeth van Motman-Schiff, as well as our quick-witted mentor from the bottom of our hearts for this superb tour guide through the thicket of space and time.

Origin Myths of Loin Looms

What makes the Loom?

Currently, three origin myths of Indonesian loin looms have emerged in our studies so far. First, the Nyi Pohaci legend recounted by Banaspati, followed by the Palu'e legend of the areca palm mentioned above, and finally, the Seus of the Sobei in Papua mentioned by Buckley et al.; a being who dwells high in the trees! Even though they may all be fundamentally different, they all refer to highly spiritual beings who dwell on or in the tree or can be reached through it —generally speaking, we are talking about the world tree, which connects heaven and earth.

But in the thicket of myths there are also other visions of a rice goddess (Richardson 2024). It's about blood, later on even human sacrifices, to increase fertility. What, according to the myth, was once based on self-sacrifice in need, is soon subject to the arbitrariness of other powers. And of course such legends dominate the sensation and only too often determine

reality - Sorcerer's apprentices in the foreign element. One should perhaps distinguish very precisely here in his perception: The Loom, or just a broom?

The legend of the Nggela tells of a girl (*Ine Mbu*) who injured herself on a thorn bush, and her blood turned into rice plants during the famine. "...Her heart became rice, her bones became cassava, and her eyes became maize..." This led to a tradition of the annual sacrifice of young girls until missionary work put a stop to this practice. Nevertheless, a parallel to the Pohaci legend emerges here, even though to some there is no obvious reference to *Vanaspati* or to weaving in general. The name of the rice goddess here is *Ine Pare*.

Universitas Nipa

Observation of the observed

Even if assumptions already suggested it, astonishment grew throughout the entire study on the ethnic loin looms of Flores. We have approached the individual regions on the basis of formal and functional studies and thus created a not only superficial insight into the entire island. Through these form studies, an incredible unity emerged and a clear realization that we were observing a cultural circle across space and time in its very own form studies. If one usually looks at the textile end product as the creative process of weaving, the focus here was on the weaving harness. Each individual component is simply ingeniously designed according to function and matched to each other, more or less, like a clockwork; gestalt determined by them - but also each with further designation. In the end, if not just in ONE art seminar, you find yourself on a comprehensive campus! This is not just a weaving seminar, nor just complementary studies in the field of fashion design and textile design - it's UNIVERSE on thread. As the textile represents the fashion design department, the loom itself, not just design and construction at all, turns out to be the true creator here.

Big Trees, Branch Forks & Vehicles

Following the original title (*Auto op de Grote Floresweg, vermoedelijk bij Badjawa*), the photographer of the adjacent photo had a car in his visor, that you as a viewer must be amazed to find at the small printed thicket at the lower edge of the image.

As some know, large trees count as spiritual vehicles throughout Indonesia, and not only on the depicted Great Flores Drive. In this sense, these branch forks, often cited in this study, can be understood as an image of these trees, which suggest the intellectual use of such tree giants: You grasp the tallest tree with its bird by your senses, lift up to the top and focus the highest peak in the desired direction. According to numerous stories, various ethnic groups in Indonesia reached their mental goal this way. According to the personal statement of a weaver in Bali, back in the 90s, such attitudes are considered the basis of the weaving art. Accordingly, this vertical locomotion, powered by the serpent weft, should rather be equivalent to intellectual development and not necessarily be understood in a material and horizontal orientation. Ultimately, the viewer is free to choose one or the other way, even the combination of both in an experienced direction, in order to get the right access to Flores. It can only be assumed that the people on the edge of the event will soon have given a dramatic change to the described, still existing image content - the coming days.

Like pointed out by Gittinger (1979:25,32-36), for various cultures it has got tradition to ritually remove this tree of life in order to provide space for new things to come and to create the conditions for a successful marriage.

However, whether the use of conspicuous branch forks in all shapes'n shades already in Manggarai, but ultimately distributed over the whole of Flores, the Y-shaped tree sculptures, the world tree and its countless images on the village squares or the symbolic stairways on shrines in Ngada and not least the use of these on the shown looms - tree giants and their images determine the reception of the cultural worlds on Flores from west to east to a large extent. Nevertheless, for yet unknown reason, this cult seems to be concentrated in and around Ngada as a cultural center or place of origin.



101) Types of vehicles par excellence in Ngada on Flores. Familiealbum Schrieke ~1930. UBL digital collection: KITLV 86492 - <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:774758>

Flores - Kembang Alat Tenun

Alat Tenun dan Melengkung di Flores

<< Menu

Proyek kami yang sedang berlangsung mengkaji alat tenun etnik di Pulau Flores dan sekitarnya di Indonesia bagian timur. Pertama-tama, kami akan membahas fondasi historis dari materi gambar yang tersedia dari koleksi akademis seperti Koleksi Tropenmuseum dan koleksi digital Universitas Leiden, sebelum beralih ke koleksi terkini dan **melintasi batas Ikat**.

Data ini tidak berasal dari penelitian lapangan, melainkan semata-mata dari literatur yang ada. Meskipun informasi yang beragam, meskipun tidak komprehensif, tersedia, tinjauan komparatif saat ini sulit dilakukan. Proyek ini bertujuan untuk memberikan solusi awal, terutama membatasi diri pada deskripsi alat tenun (dalam bahasa Inggris) dan mengilustrasikan tinjauan umum alat tenun etnik di Flores dengan foto dan gambar.

Tujuannya adalah untuk menyajikan alat tenun loin dari kelima kabupaten: Manggarai, Ngada, Ende, Sikka, dan Flores Timur (dan jumlahnya terus bertambah!), serta untuk membandingkan alat tenun loin dari Lamaholot dan Bima. Selain alat tenun pinggang, **alat lungsin** (**alat melengkung**) etnik juga akan disertakan dalam koleksi ini, **sejauh** informasi tersedia.

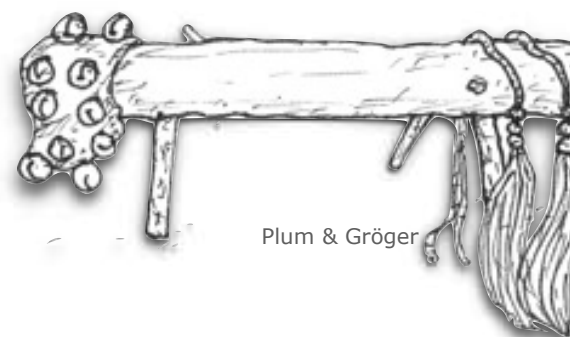
Ikhtisar terkini tentang alat tenun pinggang Indonesia, seperti "*De Weefkunst*" yang diterbitkan oleh Jasper & Pirngadie pada tahun 1912, tidak mencantumkan Flores, **yang merupakan** kelompok penting alat tenun pinggang Indonesia. Titik buta ini juga memengaruhi persepsi terhadap alat tenun etnik yang lebih terdokumentasi secara luas.

Kami akan sangat senang menerima materi foto pendukung, informasi lebih lanjut, dan saran!

Kata kunci: tenunan, Austronesia, Flores, Manggarai, Ngada, Nagekeo, Ende, Sikka, Lamaholot, Ikat-line

Discussion

Sound of the Loom - Not many photos show this loom component in detail: A batten rest of Sikka people, including some bells as sound-making element. Even they differ, sound elements like these can be observed with several Indonesian looms on both sides of the Ikat-Line. Did they come along with the Austronesian migration from the east?



Kata Pengantar

Kepada Para Penenun Kuda Ular

Ilmu pengetahuan bukanlah tujuan akhir; oleh karena itu, karya ini harus kembali kepada penenun, untuk mendukung dan melestarikan budaya tenun tradisional. Dalam hal ini, kami terutama berfokus pada para penenun di *Nusa Nipa* dan *Pulau Bunga* (Flores). Dari mereka, kami telah menerima segala sesuatu yang memungkinkan kami memvisualisasikan ikhtisar warisan budaya mereka; buku ini dimaksudkan untuk membantu mereka dalam melestarikan, mengembangkan, dan bahkan memperluas budaya mereka untuk masa depan. Karena kami tidak dapat berasumsi bahwa semua penenun di Flores berbicara bahasa Inggris, buku ini terutama harus mudah diakses secara visual. Namun, bagi para pencinta budaya dan calon penenun lainnya, buku ini juga dapat berfungsi sebagai pendamping yang jelas dan lintas batas, yang memberikan pencerahan baru pada fakta-fakta tertentu.

Setelah mendapatkan gambaran umum tentang alat tenun pinggang paling mencolok dari Manggarai, kita melintasi Garis Ikat kira-kira di perbatasan ke Ngada. Sementara di Manggarai, *lungsin datar* yang dilengkapi dengan *sisir buluh* ditemukan secara eksklusif, dari Ngada dan seterusnya, orang pada dasarnya hanya dihadapkan dengan *lungsin melingkar*. Dari sini, *alat tenun pancang* mendominasi; di Manggarai, bagaimanapun, *alat tenun stasiun* mendominasi. Ini tidak berubah lebih jauh, dari Ende, Sikka ke Flores Timur. Namun, di Ngada, *lungsin* yang sejajar secara *diagonal* ditemukan, sementara di daerah yang berdekatan, *lungsin ikat* yang berjalan *horizontal* dapat diamati. Dari Flores Timur, seterusnya ke Lembata dan Alor, alat stasiun tenun (atau yang disebut 'rangka bagian') dapat ditemukan lagi; sebagian besar konstruksi liar, tetapi dipaku; dan juga dilengkapi dengan *lungsin melingkar*.

"*Alat Tenun Kaki Larantuka*" ditambahkan ke dalam koleksi sebagai barang antik dari Flores. Contoh-contoh lain "*Alat Tenun Pinggang Luar*" dari pulau-pulau sekitarnya, seperti *Sumba*, *Timor*, *Papua*, *Kalimantan*, dan *Sulawesi*, juga disertakan untuk melengkapi koleksi dengan cermat. Terakhir, beberapa contoh alat *lungsin (alat melengkung)* dari *Bima* dan *Larantuka* masih diperlukan untuk menggambarkan prosedur umum.

Istilah-istilah teknis seperti *alat tenun kaki*, *alat tenun pancang*, dan *alat tenun stasiun* dijelaskan lebih lanjut dalam "*Pengelompokan Alat Tenun*". Buku ini dilengkapi dengan indeks ilustrasi, daftar referensi, dan daftar istilah yang digunakan beserta penjelasan singkatnya, diikuti dengan daftar isi.

Metodologi

Data saat ini terutama diperoleh dengan menganalisis alat tenun pinggang pada gambar.

Pratinjau 01/26

Abstrak

Manggarai | Ngada
Nagekeo | Ende | Sikka
Timur | Lembata | Alor

Alat Eksternal

Alat Melengkung

Kesimpulan

Kelompok Alat Tenun

Kategori

Gambar-gambar

Referensi

Istilah

Peta Flores

Daftar isi

hiLites

Y - Alat tenun

Garis Ikat

Alat tenun Kaki

Mama Wulu

Taka Tuka

Lokasi tenun

Inggris

Jerman

lungsin datar
flat warp

lungsin melingkar
circular warp

sisir buluh
reed comb

lungsin secara diagonal
diagonally aligned warp

lungsin berjalan horizontal
horizontal warp

Ikat

alat tenun Kaki
foot loom

alat tenun pancang
stake loom

alat tenun panggung (cancangan)
stilt loom

alat tenun stasiun (gedogan)
station loom

Flores vom Webstuhl - Lendenwebstühle & Schärgeräte

Unser laufendes Projekt beleuchtet die ethnischen Lendenwebstühle auf der Insel Flores und Umgebung im östlichen Teil Indonesiens. Im Vorfeld werden wir die historischen Grundlagen des zur Verfügung stehenden Bildmaterials aus wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen wie der Collectie Tropenmuseum & der digital collection der Universiteit Leiden erörtern, bevor wir uns gegenwärtigem Bestand zuwenden und die Ikat-Linie überschreiten.

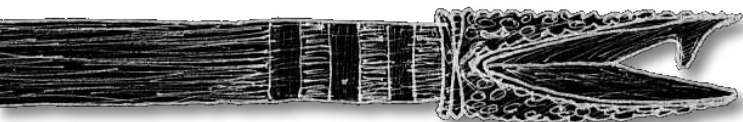
Die Daten ergeben sich nicht aus Feldforschung, sondern allein aus gegebener Literatur. Dabei finden sich diverse, wenn auch nicht lückenlose Informationen, doch fällt eine vergleichende Übersicht derzeit noch schwer. Das Projekt will hier eine erste Abhilfe schaffen, sich vornehmlich auf die Beschreibung der Lendenwebstühle (in englischer Sprache) beschränken und mit Fotos wie Zeichnungen einen Überblick ethnischer Webstühle auf Flores illustrieren.

So sollten sich die Lendenwebstühle aller 6 Regentschaften, Manggarai, Ngada, Nagekeo, Ende, Sikka und Ost-Flores (und es werden immer mehr!) darstellen und auch Lendenwebstühle der Lamaholot, aber auch der Bima in Vergleich stellen. Neben den Lendenwebstühlen werden, soweit sich Informationen finden, ebenso ethnische Schärgeräte in die Sammlung aufgenommen.

Derzeitig bestehende Übersichten zu Indonesischen Lendenwebstühlen, wie etwa die von Jasper & Pirngadie 1912 veröffentlichte „*De Weefkunst*“, sparen Flores aus, und damit eine wichtige Typengruppe Indonesischer Lendenwebstühle - die Pfahlwebstühle. Dieser blinde Fleck hat auch Auswirkung auf die Wahrnehmung der ausführlicher dokumentierten, ethnischen Webstühle.

Über unterstützendes Fotomaterial, weitere Informationen & Anregungen freuen wir uns sehr!

Schlagworte: Lendenwebstuhl, Austronesia, Flores, Manggarai, Ngada, Nagekeo, Ende, Sikka, Lamaholot, Ikat-line



103) Handcarved endings of crocodile-shaped breast beam of Sobei people on Papua. One side is closed.



Vorwort

Weber des Schlangenpferds mit Blumenwiese

Wissenschaft besteht nicht im Selbstzweck; das vorliegende Werk sollte sich demnach zurück an den Weber wenden, zur Unterstützung und Erhaltung ihrer traditionellen Webkultur. In diesem Fall wenden wir uns vornehmlich an die Weber von *Nusa Nipa* und *Pulau Bunga* (Flores). Von ihnen haben wir alles erhalten, was uns ermöglichte, diese Übersicht ihres Kulturguts zu visualisieren; ihnen soll sie denn auch dienen, ihre Kultur zu erhalten, zu pflegen und gar für Kommendes auszubauen. Da wir nicht davon ausgehen können, daß alle Weber auf Flores Englisch sprechen, sollte das Buch vor allen Dingen visuell zugänglich sein. Aber auch anderen Kulturinteressierten und angehenden Webern mag das Buch grenzenüberschreitend ein übersichtlicher Wegbegleiter sein und manche Gegebenheiten in ein neues Zwiellicht rücken.

Nachdem wir uns einen Überblick zu den auffälligsten Lendenwebstühlen der Manggarai verschaffen haben, überschreiten wir die Ikat-Linie in etwa mit der Grenze nach Ngada. Finden sich in Manggarai ausschließlich mit *Rietkämmen* bestückte *Flachketten*, sieht man sich ab Ngada eigentlich nur noch mit *rundlaufenden Ketten* konfrontiert. Ab hier sind *Pfahlwebstühle* in der Überzahl vorhanden; in Manggarai überwiegen dagegen *Webstationen*! Das ändert sich auch im anschließenden Ende, Sikka bis nach Ost-Flores erst einmal nicht. Doch in Ngada findet sich eine *diagonale Kettführung* vor, in den anschließenden Gebieten beobachtet man dagegen *horizontal verlaufende Ikat-Ketten*. Ab Ost-Flores, Lembata und Alor finden sich denn auch wieder *Webstationen*; meist wild, doch genagelt, aber ebenso mit rundlaufenden Ketten ausgestattet.

Als ein Kuriosum auf Flores wurde der Fußwebstuhl von Larantuka in die Sammlung aufgenommen. Auch andere Beispiele von externen Lendenwebstühlen von den umliegenden Inseln wie *Sumba*, *Timor*, *Papua*, *Borneo* & *Sulawesi* wurden aufgenommen, um die Sammlung umsichtig abzurunden. Schließlich bedarf es noch einiger weniger Beispiele von Schärgeräten der *Bima* und aus *Larantuka*, um die allen gemeine Vorgehensweise zu verdeutlichen.

Verwendete Fachbegriffe wie *Fußwebstuhl*, *Pfahlwebstuhl* & *Webstation* klären sich in der Gruppierung von Lendenwebstühlen. Im Anschluß findet sich ein Abbildungsverzeichnis, eine Referenzliste und eine Begriffsliste mit Erklärungen der Fremdwörter & Fachbegriffen, gefolgt von einer Inhaltsübersicht.

Methodik

Die vorliegenden Daten wurden bevorzugt durch Analyse der Webgeräte auf Abbildungen gewonnen.

Vorschau 01/26

[Abstrakt](#)
[Externe](#)
[Gangelt](#)
[Conclusum](#)
[Gruppierung](#)
[Kategorien](#)
[Abbildungen](#)
[Referenzen](#)
[Begriffe](#)
[Karte von Flores](#)
[Inhalt](#)

[Höhepunkte](#)
[Y - Der Webstuhl](#)
[Ikat-Linie](#)
[Fußwebstuhl](#)
[Mama Wulu](#)
[Taka Tuka](#)
[Weborte](#)

[Indonesisch](#)
[English](#)

[VOKABELN](#)

[Flachkette](#)
flat warp

[Rietkamm](#)
reed comb

[rundlaufende Kette](#)
circular warp

[diagonally-aligned Ikat](#)

[horizontally-aligned](#)

[Webstation](#)
station loom

[Pfahlwebstuhl](#)
stake loom

[Teilrahmen](#)
part-frame

[Fußwebstuhl](#)
foot loom

[Schären](#)
warping

Weaving Locations

A list of weaving locations on Flores, Lembata & Alor Island; enriched with some traditional villages of cultural interest. The list is based on Chris Buckley's original records of weaving locations on Solor & Alor Island from the years 2010-2015 (see below) and has been expanded by weaving locations throughout Flores & Lembata.



Lokasi Tenun

Manggarai Barat

Rumah Tenun Baku Peduli - Labuan Bajo [S]
Pusat Tenun Songke Manggarai - Lembor [S]
Rumah Tenun Kelompok Dahlia, Desa Lembor [S]
Kampong Pota [S][?]

Manggarai (Tengah - Central)

Wae Rebo, Satarmese Barat [T][S]
Ruteng, Langke Remnong [S]
Weaving School, Desa Langkas, Cibal [X][S]
Komunitas Tenun Songke, Todo, Satarmese Utara [T][S]
Ibu Irna, Desa Ling, Satarmese Utara [S]

Manggarai Timur

Yovita Semung, Kampung Tahang, Desa Colol, Lamba
Leda Timur [S]

Ngada

Kampung Adat Bena [T][S]
Komunitas Penenun, Desa Bena [I]?
Komunitas Penenun Desa Tololela [T][I]
Rumah Indigo Ikat, Desa Langa [I]
Likuwali [?]

Nagekeo

Hermina Mawa, Desa Rendubutowe, Mbay/Lambo,
Aesesa Selatan [W]
Gerodhere, Boawae [I]
Kampung Adat Boawae [T][I]

Ende

Marta Ndao & Maria Imakulata, Kelurahan Roworena Barat, Ende Utara [I]
Kelurahan Onelako, Ndonga [I]
Komunitas Penenun Ndonga [I]
Desa Manulondo, Ndonga [I]
Komunitas Penenun Nggela, Wolojita [I]

Sikka

Desa Sikka (village), Lelo [I]
Komunitas Penenun Lepo Lorun, Nita [I]
Homestay Lepo Lorun, Nita [I]
Komunitas Penenun Nani House [I]
Tenun Ikat Sika, Madawat, Alok [I]
Desa Koja Doi, Alok Timur, Bugis-Makassar [S]

East Flores (Timur)

Belogili, Ile Mandiri [I]
Komunitas Penenun Lewokluok, Demon Pagong [I]
Leloba [?]

Solor Island

Desa Penikelek [I]
Desa Balaweling II, Solor Barat [I]
Suka Mayu, Desa Pamakayo, Solor Barat [I]
Lamalera Village, Wulandoni [I]

Lembata Island

Terawutung, Atadei [I]
Watuwawer, Desa Atakor, Atadei [I]

Pantar Island

Marisa, Pantar Barat Laut [I]
Beangonong, Pantar Barat Laut [I]
Baranusa, Pantar Barat [I]
Kura, Pantar Barat [I]
Toang, Pantar Tengah [I]
Tuabang, Pantar Timur [I]
Kabir, Pantar [W]

Kota Blakan, Pulau Buaya, Alor regency [I]
Uma Pura, Pulau Ternate, Alor regency [I]
Ternate Selatan, Pulau Ternate, Alor regency [I]
Dolwalla, Pulau Pura, Alor regency [I]
Treweng, Pantar Timur, Treweng Isl., Alor regency [I]

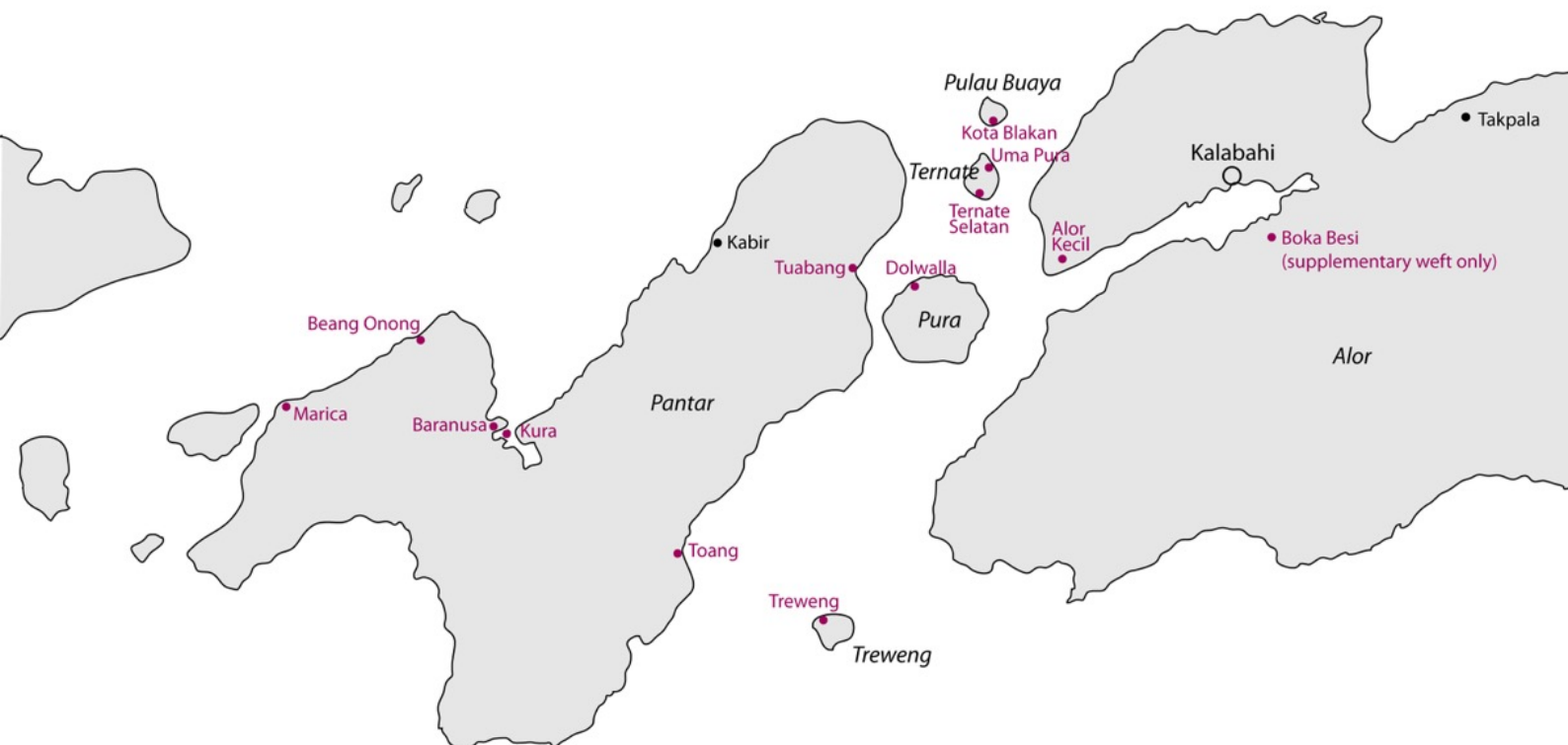
Alor Island

Alor Kecil, Alor Barat Laut [I]
Boka Besi, Teluk Mutiara [S]
Takpala, Alor Tengah Utara [I]

[W]eaving location; active[?]; [S]upplementary weft only; [I]kat weaving; [X] weaving school & [T]raditional village.

Sketch map of Alor and Pantar showing ikat weaving locations (compiled by Christopher D. Buckley 2010-2015).

- active weaving locations
- other



Grouping Loin Looms

A brief overview of the 4 most important groups of loin looms (body-tensioned handlooms):

Primary Groups:

Pengelompokan



Foot Loom - *alat tenun kaki*

The warp beam is held by foot; the loom thus extremely mobile and unbound, but somehow limited in size. Outdoor & indoor use! [[Borneo?](#) - [Sobei](#) - [Timor](#)]



Stake Loom - *alat tenun pancang („dhadha“)*

The warp beam rests on stakes anchored in the ground. The soil usually needs prior preparation! Only outdoor use! Looms that are attached to trees, house posts or verandas also belong to this group! [[Manggarai](#) - [Ngada](#) - [Bajawa](#) - [Baar](#) - [Nagekeo](#) - [Nggela](#) - [Ndonga](#) - [Palu'e](#) - [Sikka](#) - [Larantuka](#) - [Ile Mandiri](#) - [Lembata](#) - [Pantar](#) | [Atoni](#) - [Sumba](#) - [Timor](#)]



Stilt Loom - *alat tenun panggung (cancangan)*

The warp beam is supported by two stilts standing on the ground. The top of the stilts are attached to posts, wall or tree, and thus tied to place. Indoor & outdoor, close to a building. [[Bajawa?](#)]



Station Loom - *alat tenun stasiun (gedogan)*

The warp beam is supported by two posts in rails that lie on the ground. The station requires no connection and is therefore independent of location. Some include a seat or platform. [[Manggarai](#) - [Baar](#) - [Mbay](#) - [Palu'e](#) - [Mandiri](#) - [Adonara](#) - [Lembata](#) - [Ternate](#) - [Boka Besi](#)]

The boundaries between the groups are fluid, resulting in mixed types or subgroups. One loom can meet the characteristics of several groups and be assigned to them.

Secondary Groups:



Extended Foot Loom - *alat tenun kaki yang didukung*

The warp beam is already supported by small stilts, but still held by foot. Others add another beam to release footwork. [no example, but accidentally [Timor](#) loom]



Stake & Stilt Combination (Extended Stake Loom) - *alat tenun pancang yang diperpanjang*

Loin looms that combine stakes and stilts to suspend the warp beam. [no example, but probably [Bajawa](#)]



Extended Stilt Loom (Stand Loom/Gamelan) - *alat tenun "gamelan"*

A very large subset of extended stilt looms. The stilts are connected to each other, often by means of a transverse binder, which serves as a stand. Thus, they can stand independently, but still have to be connected for operation. Some do not have a crossbar, but they can stand independently; others, on the other hand, prove to be conditionally independent weaving stations (*station loom*). This subgroup illustrates the gradual development of weaving stations, but nevertheless refers to its relations to the foot loom. One may think that this subgroup recreates the central transition from initial foot looms to externally supported loin looms of any of these later-on developments.

[[Bima](#) | [Mandar](#)]

Looms in Categories

Historical looms sorted in categories; according to Yoshimoto 1990

Yoshimoto differs 4 categories of looms (in general) A, B, C and D, resulting from 4 features:

bracing system | tension system | hand loom | warp system

[A] body-braced & body-tensioned hand loom with circular warp

[B] externally-braced & body-tensioned hand loom with circular warp

[C] externally-braced & body-tensioned hand loom with flat warp

[D] externally-braced & externally-tensioned hand loom with flat warp

All well-known foot looms therefore belong to category **A**; all ethnic models of foot looms use exclusively a circular warp.

The externally supported, circular Ikat warps, which are predominant on Flores and the following islands, from Ngada to the east, are to be assigned to category **B**. The versions with false-circular warps, which nowadays can be partly found in these regions, also belong to this, while the flat warps that mainly appear in Manggarai are all to be attributed to category **C**. Features such as stake loom, stilt loom or station loom are irrelevant for the categorization of the looms, according to Yoshimoto.

Just 5 of the presented ethnic looms on Flores are assigned to category **C**;
all others belong to category **B**! >>Ikat-Line!

Category **D** only includes externally-tensioned variants of ground looms and, for example, frame looms, which are not found among the traditional looms of Flores! Although there is a potential candidate for category D on Rajua Island south of Flores, his external tension seems to be used exclusively when setting up the warp. But even if the external tension is used during weaving, what is technically feasible, it has a circular warp, what doesn't fit the category.

As it turns out, some real possible loom constructions cannot be captured by this system; foot looms can also use flat warps, but are not compliant with Yoshimoto's categories. His system only takes into account the historically recorded models, but does not provide space for changes to come! In addition, there is not much benefit for active loom design; nor for type analysis. This is where the grouping of the loin looms should help. But as shown, it perfectly traces the Ikat line.

Kategori

[A]
body-braced
circular warp

Sobei
'Larantuka'

[B]
body-tensioned
circular warp

Ngada
Bajawa
Ende
Sikka
Timur
Lembata
Pantar
Alor
Sumba

[C]
body-tensioned
flat warp

Manggarai
Mbay
Bima
Baar
Mandar

[D]
externally-tensioned
flat warp

Rajua

Appendix

REFERENCES | TERMS: GENERAL | WEAVING | COMPONENTS

Gambar-Gambar

Index of Images

- (1) [@] "Weefsters te Sikka" (Weavers in Sikka). Le Roux ~1915. (CC0 1.0) UBL digital collection: KITLV 5628 → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:786580>
- (2) [#] Map of Manggarai. [T] CGP 2025.
- (3) [#] Stake Loom in Ruteng, Manggarai Tengah with Y-shaped forks as holders for the warp board of the flat warp. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (4) [#] Station Loom in Manggarai with Y-shaped forks as warp board-holders. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (5) [#] Bima Stand Loom in Manggarai with flat warp on warp board. [F|S|T|P|C] CGP 2025.
- (6) [#] Mandar-like Stand Loom in Manggarai with flat warp on warp board. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (7) [#] A Station Loom in Todo with flat warp on warp board. [S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (8) [#] Linguistic Map of Manggarai & neighborhood. [T] CGP 2025.
- (9) [#] Typical 5-storey house (mbaru niang) in Manggarai. [P] CGP 2025.
- (10) [#] Sculpture on rooftop of houses in Manggarai. [F] CGP 2025.
- (11) [@] "Jongen bij een beeld in een dorp in Ngada op Midden-Flores." (Boy at a statue in a village in Ngada on Midden-Flores) ~1930. Part of family album Schrieke. (CC0 1.0) KITLV 86494 → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:770917>
- (12) [#] Map of Ngada. [T] CGP 2025.
- (13) [@] "Snijwerk in hout op de ingangswanden van een heilig huisje bij een arenpalmboosje, dichtbij kampoeng Naroe bij Badjawa op Midden-Flores." (Carving in wood on the entrance walls of a sacred house at a pine palm grove, near kampoeng Naru at Badjawa on Central Flores.) Rouffaer 1910. (CC0 1.0) KITLV 8726 → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:764184>
- (14) [@] Rouffaer: "Weefster te Likowali bij Badjawa op Midden-Flores." (Weaver in Likowali close to Bajawa on Central Flores) 1910 - (CC0 1.0) UBL digital collection KITLV 8731 → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:767146>
- (15) [#] Standard Ngada loom with a diagonally aligned circular warp, according to Rouffaer 1910. [S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (16) [@] "Vrouw aan het weven te kampoeng Ngada op Midden-Flores." (Weaver in Ngada village) 1910 - (CC0 1.0) UBL digital collection KITLV 16296 → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:782097>
- (17) [#] Extravagant Bajawa loom-variant 1910. [S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (18) [@] "Weg richting de Keli Moetoe op Flores." (Weaver in Ngada village), 1941-1953. - (CC0 1.0) UBL digital collection KITLV 164867 → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:834993>
- (19) [#] Modern Bajawa loom-variant. Kampung Adat Bena, 2024. [S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (20) [@] Petter Lindgren: "Weaver in Ngada." close to Bajawa City, 2008. - wikimedia → <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ikat.jpg>
- (21) [#] Station Loom of Baar People 2025?. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (22) [#] Baar Loom in Variations 2025?. [S|T|P|?] CGP 2025.
- (23) [#] Stilt Loom of Baar 2025. [D] CGP 2025.

- (24) [#] Linguistic Map of Ngada & neighborhood. [T] CGP 2025.
- (25) [#] Map of Nagekeo. [T] CGP 2025.
- (26) [#] Mbay Station Loom with flat warp. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (27) [#] Mbay Stake Loom with flat warp. [S|P|D] CGP 2025.
- (28) [#] Stake Loom of Nagekeo with circular warp. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (29) [#] Linguistic Map of Nagekeo & neighborhood. [T] CGP 2025.
- (30) [#] Map of Ende. [T] CGP 2025.
- (31) [@] Nggela weaver 2010-2015. 128 © Christopher D. Buckley → tracingpatterns.org
- (32) [#] Nggela Stake Loom. [S|T] CGP 2025.
- (33) [#] Ndonga Stake Loom. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2023.
- (34) [@] Mama Ango's Loom 2018. © David & Sue Richardson → <https://asiantextilestudies.com/nggt-02.html#by>
- (35) [#] Special Loom of Mama Ango. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (36) [@] Mama Ango sitting on her weaving stool in Nggela, 2018. © David & Sue Richardson
- (37) [@] Two Weavers on Palu'e Island. © Stefan Danerek → <https://www.academia.edu/67157508/>
- (38) [#] Palu'e Station Loom. [P] CGP 2025.
- (39) [#] Palu'e Stake Loom. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (40) [@] Palu'e weaver with segmented footrest. © Stefan Danerek
- (41) [#] Palu'e Fork Loom, according to Tropenmuseum (Cawalo). [P] CGP 2025.
- (42) [#] Linguistic Map of Ende & neighborhood. [T] CGP 2025.
- (43) [#] Map of Sikka. [T] CGP 2025.
- (44) [#] Sikka Stake Loom on stones. [S|T] CGP 2025.
- (45) [@] Sikka weaver with stake loom on stones 2010-2015. 047 © Christopher D. Buckley. → tracingpatterns.org
- (46) [#] Sikka Stake Loom with pegs. [S|T|P] CGP 2022.
- (47) [@] Tillema: "Een wevende vrouw - Flores." (Sikka Weaver in Maumere) ~1924/25. - (CC0 1.0) Collectie Tropenmuseum RV-A440-b-188 → <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/992533>
- (48) [#] Sikka Loom with two boards. [S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (49) [#] Sikka Loom on forked stilts. [S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (50) [#] Sikka warp beam holder at a glance. [F|S] CGP 2025.
- (51) [#] Sikka Station Loom. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (52) [#] Sikka Station Loom in Nita. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (53) [#] Linguistic Map of Sikka & neighborhood. [T] CGP 2025.
- (54) [#] Map of East Flores. [T] CGP 2025.
- (55) [@] Le Roux: "Weefster te Larantoeke." (Weaver in Larantuka) ~1915. (CC0 1.0) Universiteit Leiden KITLV 5624 → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:784530>
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- (57) [#] Ile Mandiri Stake Loom, Flores Timur. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.

- (58) [@] Station loom (part-frame) in Belogili, Ile Mandiri region of East Flores ~2010-2015. LMH-0396
© Christopher D. Buckley → tracingpatterns.org
- (59) [#] Belogili Station Loom, Ile Mandiri, East Flores. [P] CGP 2025.
- (60) [#] Fork Station Looms, Adonara Island, East Flores. [S|P] CGP 2025.
- (61) [@] Station loom on Solor, East Flores ~2010-2015. LMH-0464 © Christopher D. Buckley -
Buckley (2016:3), fig. 2 → <https://www.academia.edu/30069413/>
- (62) [#] High Station Loom, Solor Island, East Flores. [S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (63) [#] Map of Lembata. [T] CGP 2025.
- (64) [@] Weaver in Kampung Watuwawer, Atadei-region on Lembata; forked branches are used as
warp posts. ~2010-2015. LMH-0883 © Christopher D. Buckley
- (65) [#] Lembata Fork Loom. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (66) [@] Lembata Station Loom, nailed. Terawutung, Ata Dei region ~2010-2015. LMH-0642 ©
Christopher D. Buckley
- (67) [#] Lembata Station Loom. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (68) [#] Map of Alor. [T] CGP 2025.
- (69) [@] Stake loom with circular warp in Baranusa on Pantar Island; east of Alor ~2010 -2015. 582
© Christopher D. Buckley. → tracingpatterns.org
- (70) [#] Basical Stake loom on Pantar Islands. [P] CGP 2025.
- (71) [@] Station Loom in Ternate Selatan, Alor Islands. ~2010-2015. 065 © Christopher D. Buckley
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- (75) [@] Station Loom in Boka Besi, Alor Islands. ~2010-2015. 187 © Christopher D. Buckley. -
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- (76) [#] Station Loom in Boka Besi on Alor Islands, crossing fork as warp beam holder. [P] CGP 2025.
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op Poelau Alor" (CC0 1.0)
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- (79) [#] Map of Indonesia. [T] CGP 2025.
- (80) [@] "Vrouw weeft een katoenen doek, Mandar op Zuid Celebes." (Mandar loom on southern West
Sulawesi) 1939. (CC0 1.0) Collectie Tropenmuseum: TM-10014398 → <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/232037>
- (81) [#] Single standing post of a Mandar Loom. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (82) [@] Taillie 1949: „Een weefster achter een weeftoestel." (A weaver behind a loin loom) Sumba.
(CC0 1.0) Collectie Tropenmuseum TM-10029656. → <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/307198>
- (83) [#] Sumba Loom, assembled from rustic branches. [P] CGP 2025.
- (84) [#] Raijua Loom, temporarily externally-tensioned. [S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (85) [@] Atoni ground loom, Timor Island. Yoshimoto. 1970s?
- (86) [#] Atoni Loom on Timor Island, resting on stones. [S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (87) [@] "Het weven van selimoets, Timor." (Timor Stake Loom) around 1909? (CC0 1.0) UBL digital
collection: KITLV 26824 → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:791711>

- (88) [#] Accidental Foot Loom on Timor. [P] CGP 2025.
- (89) [@] "Een Javaan achter een weefgetouw te Sarmi." (Javanese busy with a foot loom of Sarmi region on Papua around 1910 in Jayapura) (CC0 1.0) UBL digital collection KITLV 40392 → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:722348>
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- (92) [#] Mama Wulu - The Bronze Weaver. 6th century. [P] NGA National Gallery Australia → <https://searchthecollection.nga.gov.au/object/153055>
- (93) [@] Konyak-Naga weaver, Nagaland/Mon-District (कोन्याक नागा | नगालैंड - मोन जिला), 1937. Photo: C. v. Fürer-Haimendorf. 1937. © The Estate of Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf | SOAS Archive: PP MS 19/6/ NAGA/2345 [078_11]. → <http://digital.soas.ac.uk/LOADI01420/00001>
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- (97) [#] Bima warping device. [F|S|T|P] CGP 2025.
- (98) [@] "Vrouw spant draden op voor het weven te Leloba bij Larantoeka." (Woman stretching threads for weaving in Leloba near Larantoeka) Vatter 1928/29. (CC0 1.0) UBL digital collection (KITLV 122286) → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:898050>
- (99) [#] Larantuka warping device. [P] CGP 2025.
- (100) [#] Broom of Conclusion. [P] CGP 2025.
- (101) [@] "Auto op de Grote Floresweg, vermoedelijk bij Badjava." (Car on the Grote Floresweg, presumably near Bajawa.) Familiealbum Schrieke ~1930. (CC0 1.0) UBL digital collection (KITLV 86492) → <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:774758>
- (102) [#] Batten rest of the Sikka with bells. CGP 2022.
- (103) [#] Handcarved endings of Sobei breast beam on Papua, crocodile-shaped. [S] CGP 2025.
- (104) [#] Map of Weaving Locations on Lembata & Alor Islands, 2015. © Christopher D. Buckley. → tracingpatterns.org
- (105) [#] Seus on an Areca palm tree. [P] CGP 2025.
- (106) [#] Nusa Nipa - The Lindworm of Flores. [P] CGP 2025.
- (107) [#] The Serpent Horse of Nage (Ja Heda) Flores. [P] CGP 2025.

[@] = 36 photos | [#] = 70 drawings (or construction sets) | [Front view|Side view|Top view|Perspective|Components|Detail] - Unless otherwise noted, all drawings by Charlotte Gröger & Guido Plum [CGP].

Image sources

Proof of the photographs, that haven't been taken over in this paper, but served as a template for the corresponding drawings. Photographs, published in here, are listed in the [index of images](#) above.

03) Stake Loom in Ruteng

Manggarai Tengah with Y-shaped forks | Indah Nuria Savitri (2015): "Tenun Ruteng"
<https://www.indahnuria.com/2015/03/ww-tenun-ruteng.html?m=1>

04) Station Loom in Manggarai

with Y-shaped forks as holders for the warp board | Karloman Mahardika (2023): "Kain Songke dan Motifnya"
https://elibrary.unikom.ac.id/id/eprint/8817/8/UNIKOM_Karloman%20Mahardika_BAB%20II.pdf

05) Bima Stand Loom in Manggarai

with flat warp on warp board. | Alan Malingi (2011): "Mengenal Alat Tenun Tradisional Bima-Dompu"
<https://alanmalingi.wordpress.com/2011/04/27/mengenal-alat-tenun-tradisional-bima-dompu/>

06) Mandar-like Stand Loom in Manggarai

with flat warp on warp board.

07) Station Loom in Todo

with flat warp on warp board. | Mattiebelle Gittinger (1979:11): "Splendid Symbols - Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia."

19) Modern Bajawa Loom

with diagonally-aligned circular warp. | Abdilatiefi (2024): "Kampung Adat Bena" (Instagram) - https://www.instagram.com/p/C-zHGVPygRn/?img_index=3

21) Baar Station Loom in Riung, Ngada

with flat warp on warp board. | Boe Berkelana (2023): "Perempuan Baar dan Upaya Merawat Tradisi" - <https://warisanflores.com/perempuan-baar-dan-upaya-merawat-tradisi/>

22) Baar Station Loom in Variation

with flat warp on warp board.

23) Baar Stilt Loom

with flat warp on warp board.

26) Mbay Station Loom

with flat warp. | Aloysius Gonsaga 2024: "Haruskah Tradisi Menenun dan Menganyam Tenggelam di Dasar Waduk Mbay Lambo?" In: kompas. - <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2024/09/06/084144578/haruskah-tradisi-menenun-dan-menganyam-tenggelam-di-dasar-waduk-mbay-lambo?page=2>

27) Mbay Stake Loom

with flat warp.

28) Stake Loom of Nagekeo

with flat warp.

33) Ndonga Stake Loom in Ende

Athanua Media (2018): "Perempuan-Perempuan Tangguh; Sang Perwaris Tenun"
<http://athanuamedia.blogspot.com/2018/11/perempuan-perempuan-tangguh-sang.html>

44) Sikka Stake Loom on stones

Source: unknown!

46) Sikka Stake Loom with pegs

Bali authentique (Travel operator). Visited in July 2025. <https://baliauthentique.com/activite/ikats-fabrication-ancestrale/>

49) Sikka Loom with forked stilts

1000 Sikka Weaver Festival. SFTV (2018): "Festival 1000 Penenun Tenun Ikat Sikka Flores" - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=kEB1xKG6hLU>

50) Sikka warp beam holders

1000 Sikka Weaver Festival. SFTV (2018): "Festival 1000 Penenun Tenun Ikat Sikka Flores" - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=kEB1xKG6hLU>

51) Sikka Station Loom

with circular warp.

52) Sikka Station Loom in Nita

with circular warp.

57) Ile Mandiri Stake Loom

Source: unknown!

60) Adonara Fork Station Looms

Adonara Island, East Flores | Maharani, Shinta (2024): "Menyusuri Legenda dan Tenun Adonara"

<https://www.tempo.co/hiburan/menyusuri-legenda-dan-tenun-adonara-408439>**84) Raijua Loom**

with or preparation frame. |

102) Batten rest of Sikka

with bells. | Source: unknown!

103) Handcarved endings of Sobei breast beam

on Papua, crocodile-shaped | Buckley et al. (2023:13). Fig. 29

107) The Serpent Horse of Nage (Naga Nua)Yale University Art Gallery: "Ritual Horse-Serpent with Male and Female Riders (Ja Heda)" 19th century. Photo by Johan Vipper. 1971. ILE2012.30.129 - <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/159941>

Further images & links

A list of links to interesting loom variants & other illustrations, or documents, which are neither presented nor mentioned here.

General

Technical Terms of Weaving

CIETA Vocabularies of Technical Terms - <https://cieta.fr/cieta-vocabulaire/>

Vocabularies in English, French, German, Italian & Portuguese language. Each version bases on the French original, but surprisingly, some basic terms of simple looms (loin looms) were added to the German version, presumably by Alfred Bühler.

Nusa Tenggara Timur

Map of Nusa Tenggara Timur (East Nusa Tenggara)

Peta Administrasi Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur 2015. 1 : 1.100.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-provinsi-nusa-tenggara-timur/>

Touring Weaving Locations on Flores

Warisan Flores: "Jelajah Wastra Tenun" 2025. - <https://warisanflores.com/tour/jelajah-wastra-tenun/>

Flores

Languages of Flores (map)

Marian Klamer: Linguistic maps - <https://vici.marianklamer.org/linguistic-maps.html> - - https://vici.marianklamer.org/uploads/1/2/4/7/124768088/flores_languages.png

Manggarai Barat (West Manggarai)

Map of Manggarai Barat and districts (West)

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Manggarai Barat 2015. 1 : 185.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-manggarai-barat/>

Weaving Studio Baku Peduli - Labuan Bajo

Rumah Tenun Baku Peduli - https://www.instagram.com/rumahtenun_bakupeduli/

A Station Loom in Labuan Bajo

Rinirahmawati 2023: "Uniknya Rumah Tenun Baku Peduli di Labuan Bajo" In: dwipantara - <https://tripflores.com/uncategorized/budaya/uniknya-rumah-tenun-baku-peduli-di-labuan-bajo/>

One of those typical station looms in West Manggarai, that may have been influenced by the Bima looms; the once loose side panels of the Bima stand became a part-frame.

Weaving Studio Kelompok Dahlia - Lembor (West)

Rivan Awal Lingga: "Perjalanan Aongke Manggarai" 2024. Rumah Tenun Kelompok Dahlia, Desa Lembor - <https://www.antarafoto.com/id/foto-cerita/view/1445/perjalanan-songke-manggarai>

Dragon guide on Komodo with Y-Fork

INDONESIA, Flores, portrait of Komodo Dragon guide Andy Andrianto, Komodo National Park, East Nusa Tenggara, Rinca Island Stock Photo - Alamy
<https://www.alamy.com/stock-image-indonesia-flores-portrait-of-komodo-dragon-guide-andy-andrianto-komodo-164381927.html>

No idea, how far it relates, but worth to mention: The photo in stock shows, that branch forks are also used by the tourist guides on Komodo Islands to keep the Komodo dragons on distance. Guess, this is also habit on Flores Island itself. As the Ba'ar people in Riung-district of northern Ngada show, mbaru (the Komodo dragon) should be well-known since centuries on Flores, too - a vivid part of their culture.

Manggarai (Tengah - *Central Manggarai*)# **Map of Manggarai and districts (Central/Tengah)**

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Manggarai 2015. 1 : 115.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-manggarai/>

Five traditional villages of Manggarai

Valency Aleany: "5 Desa Wisata Yang Ada di Manggarai" In: Dispantara. - <https://tripflores.com/blog/kampung-adat/5-desa-wisata-yang-ada-di-manggarai/>

The cover photo shows a stake loom-type with a flat warp common in Manggarai on a warpboard. Instead of the otherwise mostly Y-shaped branch forks, two r-shaped branch forks are shown here as warp beam holders, as they are otherwise found in East Flores.

A Mandar-inspired loom in Wae Rebo

Anissa Aprilla (2017): "Tenun Manggarai Desa Wae Rebo NTT, Warna Kain yang Mencolok Jasi Pemikat para Wisatawan" - <https://women.okezone.com/amp/2017/09/08/194/1772229/okezone-week-end-tenun-manggarai-desa-wae-rebo-ntt-warna-kain-yang-mencolok-jadi-pemikat-para-wisatawan>

The photo shows another model of a loom in Manggarai, that seems again to be inspired by the posts of loom-types in Mandar on Sulawesi; and again these are mounted onto a crossbar. Here on the photo, it doesn't get clear, how far these rails are joined with the crossbar. With some of these models they are connected, with others they are not. Some of these touch the crossbar to keep it at a distance, but other models don't even show contact between the seat rails and the crossbar.

Gate-like loom in Ruteng Tua

Ruteng Tua, Manggarai, Flores, Huis in het dorp met wevende vrouw op voorgrond. April 1952. UBL digital Collection: OD-16859 - <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:4190171>

At the edge of the road there is a weaver with a gate-like loom construction; the same weaver is also found in another photo on the [way to the Keli Mutu](#).

Weg richting de Keli Moetoe op Flores.

Road towards the Keli Mutu on Flores. [Between 1941 and 1953]. UBL digital collection: KITLV 164867 - <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:834993>

Both photos show the same loom attached to a gate-like scaffolding. The gate-like construction on the photo reminds a bit the construction in Ngada, the [stilt loom of Bajawa](#). Both photos should be taken the same day. The construction is all the more unusual here. While Ngada still shows sense as a purpose for the construction, it seems practically useless here! However, the photo does not allow any further analysis! Anyway, this loom should be counted among the stake looms and not like the similar one of Ngada to the stilt loom-type, as far as the logic of constructions tells us!

Manggarai Timur# **Map of Manggarai Timur and districts (East)**

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Manggarai Timur 2015. 1 : 120.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-manggarai-timur/>

A Mandar-like Loom in Kampung Tahang, Desa Colol

inbisnis (2022): "Yovita Semung Asal Colol, Hasilkan Beragam Produk Kain Tenun Songke" - <https://inbisnis.id/yovita-semung-asal-colol-hasilkan-beragam-produk-kain-tenun-songke-2/>

The huge warp board of Yovita Semung is embedded in two posts with deep slots, which are connected with a crossbar; wooden stands on both sides. In between, two rails lead to the cross binder, but it is not connected to them; these just keep the warp beam holder at a distance and serve as rails for the seat board. The weaver uses the handle of a long-shaped, wooden box as a batten rest. Constructions like these don't seem to originate in Sulawesi, but seem to integrate the previously loose posts of the [loom from Mandar](#) including its stands on a crossbar. | photo in discussion: https://inbisnis.id/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/1d74f72896ceee72d213abc42e174515_L.jpg

Ngada

Dragons & Baar People of Riung

Anastasia Ika (2023): Baar Tribe in Flores Protect Komodo Dragons – Have their Conservation Efforts Paid Off? <https://floresa.co/english-story/indepth/62344/2024/03/29/baar-tribe-in-flores-protect-komodo-dragons-have-their-conservation-efforts-paid-off>

One of the few findable reports on the Baar people; it does not report anything about the Baar's looms, but gives a great insight into their identity and customs. Accordingly, the Baars identify with the Komodo dragons (mbaru), a waran, which they consider their brother and honor like this. Some of their customs are still geared towards this relationship and to maintaining it. While so far the dragon (Nipa) on Flores could still be understood as a mythical creature and metaphor for life force and nature, here with the Baars shows a real dragon, a living animal!

Map of Ngada and districts

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Ngada 2015. 1 : 115.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-ngada/>

Ngada Villages of Flores

WMF report 2014 - <https://www.wmf.org/monuments/ngada-villages-flores>

According to the report the Ngada villages of Desa Guru Sina, Desa Langa, Desa Bela, and Desa Lina Tiwa are located between two volcanos in the remote inlands of Flores; characterized by vernacular architecture. Houses (sa'o) and shrines for male and female ancestors (ngadhu & bhaga) is determined by number of clans (suku). These villages are connected only by a narrow, winding road to Bajawa.

Another Loom in Desa Bena, Ngada

Rahmat Al Kafi: "Transisi Baru Budaya Maju". In: Mahasiswa Indonesia Jan 30th 2025 - <https://mahasiswaindonesia.id/transisi-baru-budaya-maju/>

The report shows a photo of a loom, that, like the given example of the modern Bajawa, also uses an intermediate beam to attach the warp beam. Here, too, a back strap is in use, the circular warp is tilted, and the former stilts/posts have also been exchanged for the posts of the house!

Ngada Loom in Collectie Tropenmuseum (Photo)

"Vrouwen van de Ngadastam met spinstaafjes, weeftoestel en spinnewiel", 20th century. Collectie Tropenmuseum: TM-10006048 - <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/214265>

Loom with intermediate beam in Collectie Tropenmuseum (Photo)

Beltjens 1920-1940: "Een weefster achter een weeftoestel" Collectie Tropenmuseum: TM-FV-0014-134 - <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/215333> - wikipedia: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:COLLECTIE_TROPENMUSEUM_Een_weefster_achter_een_weeftoestel_TMnr_60040527.jpg

Description just mentions Flores as origin of the loom on the photo taken by Beltjens between 1920-1940, but a single detail shows a part of the warp beam, that suggests it's connected by an intermediate beam, as is found on Flores just in Ngada regency. As shown, this single detail defines the loom of Bajawa. The photo shows also, that the warp here is much more diagonally-like aligned than other photos of the Bajawa suggest.

Nagekeo

Map of Nagekeo and districts

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Nagekeo 2015. 1 : 100.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-nagekeo/>

Mbay Looms in Desa Rendubutowe

Aloysius Gonsaga 2024: "Haruskah Tradisi Menenun dan Menganyam Tenggelam di Dasar Waduk Mbay Lambo?" In: kompas - <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2024/09/06/084144578/haruskah-tradisi-menenun-dan-menganyam-tenggelam-di-dasar-waduk-mbay-lambo?page=2>

Looms of the Mbay people, equipped with flat warps, so far inside of Nagekeo regency. Actually, they should occur mainly in the northern coastal area. But the village Rendubutowe of the weaver Hermina Mawa soon will give way to a dam. It seems, due to customs of Nagekeo people to

adapt both, Ikat and supplementary weaving, the Ikat line appears blurred and unclear in Nagekeo.

Peo Sculptures in Nagekeo

Nur Fahrin Saputra 2021: "Kekayaan Budaya Kabupaten Nagekeo" - <https://www.eastnusatenggara.id/budaya/kekayaan-budaya-kabupaten-nagekeo/>

Peo Sculptures & the Riders of Nagekeo

Ata Lambo 2012: "Ana Deo dan Peo Peo Nagekeo" - <https://tanagekeo.wordpress.com/tag/enda/>

Ikat & Supplementary weft in Mauromba

Ata Lambo 2010: "Tenun Ikat Nagekeo Semakin Tenggelam" - <https://tanagekeo.wordpress.com/2010/12/14/tenun-ikat-nagekeo-semakin-tenggelam/>

In Nagekeo, according to the article, both types of weaving processes applied to Flores have developed side by side since times; What is called Ikat, is known in Nagekeo as Pete, and supplementary weft (Wo'i) are woven here. The Ikat line blurs here; a clear border is not visible without further ado. Duka Bay (Ragi Bay) and Duka Tonggo are famous for their yellow and red Wajit and sun patterns on a black or dark blue background. When there were no chemical dyes, the villagers used Perdu plants called Tarum (Talu In Keo language) or Taru in Ende-language. The leaves of Tarum (talutaru) together with small stems are soaked for several days in a container. The black color is known in the Boawae region as Hoba Nage, coastal dwellers call it Dawo Pote. On the south coast in the Maubare region, Daja, Mauromba and Maundai dip all yarns in Tarum solution. The weaving with loin looms is called Dawo Ende on the south coast, which refers to the ikat weaving, because this came from Ende regency; supplementary weft (Woi) is the original weaving tradition of the Nagekeo people. However, Ikat weaving (pete senda) is so complex that there are hardly any weavers left in the central Keo area (Daja, Mauromba and Maundai and Maunori) and Nagaroro (Maunura, Maubare, Tonggo, Pombo) of Nagekeo who master it. The Ikat textiles currently offered in Nagekeo all come from Ende and Pulo⁶. Anyway, the photo here shows a loin loom, equipped with a false circular warp and reed comb. Flat warps are not just used along the northern coastline, can even be found in the center of Nagekeo, along with (vanishing) circular and false circular warps.

Mbay Nagekeo on Instagram

<https://www.instagram.com/p/Cxruk6yrX6/>

Several photos show looms with Y-shaped stakes in the ground and flat warp on high warp boards, framed breast beams, and yoke. One weaver uses a bunch of heddle bars for pattern weaving.

Nagekeo in Sight

Daniel Susilo et al. (2020): "Nagekeo Women's Cultural Struggle as a Flores sub-culture against the Flow of Civilization's Progress" In: Bricolage Jurnal Magister Ilmu Komunikasi - https://www.researchgate.net/publication/340379705_NAGEKEO_WOMEN'S_CULTURAL_STRUGGLE_AS_A_FLORES_SUB-CULTURE_AGAINST_THE_FLOW_OF_CIVILIZATION'S_PROGRESS

A scientific report with some insight into the cultural process of Nagekeo and some informative photos of their loom and its background.

Ende

Map of Ende and districts

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Ende 2015. 1 : 115.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-ende/>

Ikat Weaving in Ende

Hartono 2010: "Tenun Ikat Ende". (PDF) - https://repositori.kemendikdasmen.go.id/27681/1/TENUN_IKAT_ENDE.pdf

Small People - Big Weavers

Gabriel Langga: "Bertumbuh Pendek, tapi Piawai Menenun Sarung Bermutu." In: Media Indonesia Jul 16th 2021. - <https://epaper.mediaindonesia.com/detail/bertumbuh-pendek-tapi-piawai-menenun-sarung-bermutu>

⁶ 'pulo' is the local version of 'pulau' (island); here Pulau Ende should be meant.

Kampong Nggela

Richardson 2024: "Kampong Nggela 1" - <https://asiantextilestudies.com/nggela-01.html>

Nggela loom with false circular warp

Richardson 2024: "Nggela Textiles 4" - <https://asiantextilestudies.com/nggt-04.html> | Photo: "A woman weaving a pair of luka mité in Nggela" - <https://asiantextilestudies.com/ATE/nggt-226.jpg>

The photo shows a loin loom, equipped with false circular warp and a reed comb, on which a vertically striped warp is woven. Here, too, the warp beam rests on stones and is held back by the typical long bamboo posts.

Warping Frame of Nggela

Sardjono 2019: "Insular South Asian Looms" - <https://www.academia.edu/144895040/>

A photo (fig. 10.10) taken by Kajitani Nobuko in this essay of Sandra Sardjono shows two weavers in Nggela village preparing a false circular warp (including a reed comb) on a horizontally-aligned warping frame. Apart from the reed, a tiny change in the warping procedure and modification of the starter rod it is almost equal to the making of an original circular warp. While the thread for a circular warp continues instantly turning around, for a false type it is led forth and back to the starter or connector rod; one time passed through the reed, next time passing down under; as described by Sardjono. While the starter rod is fixed in an original circular warp, here in a false type it remains removable. Both types of warps are managed on the same frame; what's remarkable, is the fact, that flat warps in Manggarai, managed on the same frames, are prepared like such false circular warps. After finishing warping, the starter rod gets exchanged by two single whip sticks; each for one end of the flat warp.

Warping Frame in Ende

Travel2unlimited: "Indonesia - Flores: Ikat Weaving" - <https://travel2unlimited.com/indonesia-flores-ikat-weaving/>

Ikat Weaving on X-Fork Station Loom in Desa Manulondo

Kemenko PMK 2022: "Mengunjungi Kelompok Tenun Ikat Asli Kapokale di Nusa Tenggara Timur" - <https://www.kemenkopmk.go.id/mengunjungi-kelompok-tenun-ikat-asli-kapokale-di-nusa-tenggara-timur>

X-Fork Station Loom in Desa Manulondo, Ndona-district.

Sikka**# Map of Sikka and districts**

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Sikka 2015. 1 : 135.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-sikka/>

1000 Sikka Weber Festival 2015 (VDO)

SFTV (2018): "Festival 1000 Penenun Tenun Ikat Sikka Flores" - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=kEB1xKG6hLU>

In addition to numerous variants of Sikka looms at a glance during a festival in 2015, the video also shows a very unusual model, which, in addition to conspicuously high bamboo posts, also uses two equally high Y-forks as stilts that support the warp beam. (min. 3:12 - 4:09) Otherwise, such combinations and Y-shaped forks do not show up in Sikka! In view of the people depicted, one should ask oneself whether this should not be a daring reconstruction, but another model in the background shows a similar construction. This construction also shows that this variant is no longer an ordinary stake loom construction, but constitutes a stake/stilt-combination. Even the inevitably sloping warp moves this loom mentally immediately to Ngada.

Weaving Studio Nani House

<https://www.facebook.com/nani.h.flores.79/>

Massive Loom at Homestay Lepo Lorun

(2025) Ikat weaving location - <https://floreshomestay.org/homestay-lepo-lorun/>

A photo shows a massive wooden station loom of Sikka in Nipa village, close Maumere city. Although various parts, such as the warp beam holder, rather take up the ductus of Sikka looms, the massive construction is more reminiscent of the basic and equally massively constructed looms of the Bima, as they are also found here on the north coast of Sikka and not just in West Manggarai. The discussion arises whether all these station looms, as they also showed at the Palu'e, no matter whether in Manggarai or even here in Sikka, ultimately should go back to these

stand looms of the Bima. | photo in discussion: <https://floreshomestay.org/homestay-lepo-lorun/#jp-carousel-336>

Tenun Ikat Sika (Pete Lorun(g) Sikka)

(2025) Ikat weaving location - <https://tis.lokaleindonesia.com/our-textile-art/>

An Ikat weaving community in the village of Madawat (kelurahan) in the district Alok (kecamatan) of Sikka regency (kabupaten). A photo here shows a loom, of which both ends are temporarily fixed by pegs in the ground, in order to set up the heddle bar. In basic, similar to the [loom on Raijua](#); the warp is temporarily externally-tensioned for the purpose to set-up the heddle bar, just the yoke is yet not part of the game here. | photo in discussion: <https://tis.lokaleindonesia.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/1-002-scaled.jpg>

Sikka Loom with doubled warp beam holder (photo)

Nuque 2025: "Women's Empowerment Through Weaving: The Case of the Women Weavers Cooperative of Lepo Lorun" In: Reimagining Development in Southeast Asia. Series: Asia in Transition (AT, volume 21). pp. 245-253. - https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-981-97-9140-8_14

The chapter shows another photo of a Sikka loom, that provides a cactus-like or tree-shaped warp beam holder, which can either be set up in two different warp inclinations or can also be used by two weavers positioned opposite each other at the same time; each her own warp. This type is not listed in the above collection; even it appeared quiet often and even similar solutions were still found on [Ternate Island](#) of Alor regency. | photo in discussion: <https://share.google/images/NletgbeaYsVgS42ve>

Bugis-Makassar Enklave an Nordküste von Sikka

hm (2020): Tenun Ikat Desa Koja Doi kabupaten Sikka - <https://www.jejakbukumindonesia.com/2020/12/tenun-ikat-des-a-koja-doi-kabupaten-sikka.html>

The report from Sikka probably shows a loom of the Bugis-Makassar from an enclave on the north coast of the regency of Sikka in the village [Koja Doi](#). Even if different, the loom shown corresponds to the presented [Bima](#) and is also equipped with a flat warp on a high warpboard. According to the report, no ikat is woven here, but striped fabrics and with gold threads (Songket); judging by the prices probably more like in the Manggarai, a kind of Songke.

Palu'e Loom at Tropenmuseum

Cawalo loom(s), acquired in Cawalo, Palu'e, 1909. Collectie Tropenmuseum: RV-1710-32 - [https://collectie.wereldmuseum.nl/?query=search=Deeplink%20identifier=\[obj_717037\]&showtype=record#/query/21106248-79f4-484d-8193-303134e0434c](https://collectie.wereldmuseum.nl/?query=search=Deeplink%20identifier=[obj_717037]&showtype=record#/query/21106248-79f4-484d-8193-303134e0434c)

Acquired before 1909. 190 × 290cm, 178kg.(?) A loom consisting of following parts: A back support of sago leaf sheath attached to each other with rattan, rectangular and curved over the width (H 30 cm ; W 20 cm). A breast beam (dark brown palm wood), two semicircular sticks with oblique, zigzag-shaped ends (L 148 cm ; W 5 cm), which can be connected to each other with a long rope of bark fibers (L 552 cm ; in diameter 1 cm). A round warp beam of brown wood (L 175 cm ; Dm 7 cm), that can be hung, with loops (lontar leaf), on forked bamboo sticks (L 62 cm), which can be attached to poles, stuck in the ground. A flat sword of palm wood, cut in shape at one end (L 120 cm ; B 4 cm). A round heddle bar (palm wood) with many circular grooves at the ends and loops of brown yarn (L 151 cm ; Dm 1 cm). A bamboo cane as shed roll (L 121 cm ; Dm 0,8 cm). On the loom a long fabric, black-brown with red stripes and irregular iccated spots in the warp, In one place the threads are brought together by loops of lontar blade, at one end of the completed part two bamboo slats, on the other a bamboo stick as temple with iron needles at the ends (L 102 cm ; W 0,6 cm). Attached a weft spool of bamboo (L 107 cm), with black yarn wound on and a rectangular mat of diagonally braided, uncolored stripes of pandan leaf, the seat for the weaver (L 290 cm ; W 114 cm). - From Djavaala on the island of Paloe, Flores. Material: wood (palm) ; rattan ; bamboo ; textile ; iron ; leaf (sago) ; fiber (bast) ; leaf (lontar) ; cotton ; leaf (pandan).

Twin-Fork on Station Loom

Mayawati 2020: "MARI MENGENAL DAN MENGHARGAI TENUN IKAT FLORES DARI LEPO LORUN" - <https://www.mytrip.co.id/article/tenun-ikat-lepo-lorun-flores>

Loom with double fork in Sikka. On one hand, a deformation of the original X-fork by offsetting the elements is shown here, on the other hand, something new arises, takes shape: In addition to the doubled fork, which allows two heights of the warp, the posts' profile takes a cactus-like shape - who said once: "Form follows function!"

Flores Timur

Map of Flores Timur and districts

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Flores Timur 2015. 1 : 130.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-flores-timur/>

Segmented Foot Rest on Solor

Buckley, C. (2016): "A cultural inheritance: the transmission of traditional ikat weaving in the islands of Indonesia." p. 3, fig. 2 - <https://www.academia.edu/30069413/>

Example of a loom on Solor Island, which shows a composite, segmented footrest from at least 4 horizontally arranged wooden beams, as was also found in the Palu'e. It is strongly reminiscent of the same approach of the Palu'e with rows of bricks, or arranged in the case of the Atoni of rock stones. In reduced form, such row-ups can also be found again and again in different materials, as in the stilt loom of the Bajawa. Such expressive segmentations can even be found in distant models, such as the shown loom from the Nagaland, or the Bhotia, but also in other areas: Consider even the political resegmentation of Flores or the eight celestial spheres in the legend of the Palu'e.

Double Fork Station on Solor Island

Dwipaneews 2016: "Minim Pemasaran, Kain Tenun Kelompok Suka Maju Solor Jarang Terjual" - <https://www.dwipaneews.com/2016/07/minim-pemasaran-kain-tenun-kelompok-suka-maju-solor-jarang-terjual>

A similar station with double fork also shows up on Ternaté Selatan; Here on Solor it becomes clear that in addition to two different warp heights being offered, it can also be used by two weavers at the same time. This is also a habit, one of these tiny relations in construction, that can sometimes be observed in the Himalayas, even if the construction of the loom there may differ.

Lembata

Map of Lembata and districts

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Lembata 2015. 1 : 125.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-lembata/>

Alor

Map of Alor and districts

Peta Administrasi Kabupaten Alor 2015. 1 : 252.000 - <https://petatematikindo.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/administrasi-kabupaten-alor/>

Administrative Map of Alor (with Pantar)

CartoGIS: Lesser Suda Islands, Indonesia, 2016 - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:10-103b_Al_or_subdistricts_relief_colour.tif

Externals

Loom Variations on Timor Island

2024: "PIP dan Adaide Indonesia Dorong Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Pelestarian Tenun Tradisional di NTT" - <https://pip.kemenkeu.go.id/berita/139/pip-dan-adaide-indonesia-dorong-pemberdayaan-perempuan-dan-pelestarian-tenun-tradisional-di-ntt>

Pay attention to the forks! But not just parallels with Flores can be found on Timor in numerous variations, also incredible similarities in the loom construction with subgroups of the Naga in the Himalayas open up here in case of the contrary post work!

Framed Loin Loom on Raijua Island

Richardson 2022: "Raijua Textiles 1" - <https://asiantextilestudies.com/rjt-01.html#i>

Sulawesi Examples

Several examples of looms in Sulawesi, such as Mandar, but also Bugis, Makassar (stations there), etc.

Bima-like stand loom in Makassar (photo)

Fajriani 2024: "Pameran femme 2014" (antarafoto) - <https://www.antarafoto.com/id/view/394698/pameran-femme-2014>

The photo shows a stand loom-type in Makassar on South Sulawesi, similar to those of the **Bima** in Manggarai. | photo in discussion: <https://img.antarafoto.com/cache/1200x794/2014/04/03/pameran-femme-2014-8gju-dom.webp>

Toraja Loom with intermediate beam (photo)

The photo shows a massive station loom of Toraja on Sulawesi with an intermediate beam, the actual warp beam is connected to. On top it uses a diagonal construction, that seems to support the warp beam, in basic similar to the **Champa loom** and the loom, found on **Ternate Island**. | photo in discussion: <https://share.google/images/wa2zfIQHKSrNVBa4>

Mandar loom of West Sulawesi (report)

(2019) "Cerita Para Pengrajin Tenun Sutra Mandar yang Terkendala Bahan" (masalembo) - <https://www.masalembo.com/2019/08/cerita-para-pengrajin-tenun-sutra.html>

Silk weaver (tenun sutra) Sitti Nur from Karama in district Tinambung, Polewali Mandar regency with such typical stands of the Mandar on West Sulawesi. | photo in discussion: <https://www.masalembo.com/2019/08/cerita-para-pengrajin-tenun-sutra.html>

Loom of Champa?

https://handwovenmagazine-com.translate.goog/weaving-loom-types/?_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=imgs

It is not clear, which ethnic loin loom the photo shows; it is used on various pages on the Internet, mostly for advertising purposes in India, such as Indonesia. The compilation of some elements suggests that it is a **Champa** loom in today's South Vietnam; but all the elements, especially the intermediate beam as a warp beam connector and the diagonally-aligned rails on which the warp beam rests, indicate this. Just the typical tiny table as a batten rest is missing. Such an intermediate beam as a suspension is also found with the **Bajawa** in Ngada; another technical relation to Champa shows up by slightly modified use of the diagonals as warp beam holder on **Ternate Island**. | photo in discussion: https://www.datocms-assets.com/75077/1659469739-1659027944-back-strap-loom-claudette-bleijenberg-6kof0vm_nzg-unsplash.png?auto=format&w=1300&fit=max

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Terms in use

Brief explanations of cultural and general specific terms used here. Technical terms of weaving can be found in the [following list](#). Not only over the centuries, but also in the last decades, the background data on Flores have changed many times. On top of that, it is difficult to locate various localities without assistance. Therefore following explanations should be helpful.

Istilah

BUDAYA | TENUN

Abui

(Abui loku - 'mountain people', also: Barahawing, Barue, Namatalaki) - 1) ethnic group of Papua people; spread over south, east & northwest of Alor regency. Inhabitants of >>Takpala in >>Alor Tengah Utara. 2) language (Abui tanga/laral), branch of Papuan (non-Austronesian). See: [wikipedia.en > abui people](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abui_people) ->https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abui_people

Adonara

(Adenara, Dnara, Lamala, Crama, Sebrão) - 1) island (pulau Adonara); part of >>Solor Archipelago; part of >>East Flores regency. 2) District of East Flores regency on Adonara Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Sagu. 3) Ethnic group & 4) Language. Malayo-Polynesian branch of >>Austronesian languages, spoken on Adonara and Solor Island.

Adonara Barat

District (kecamatan) of >>East Flores regency on >>Adonara Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Waiwadan. See: [wikipedia.id > Adonara Barat](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adonara_Barat,_Flores_Timur) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adonara_Barat,_Flores_Timur

Adonara Tengah

District (kecamatan) of >>East Flores regency on >>Adonara Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Lewobele. See: [wikipedia.id > Adonara Tengah](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adonara_Tengah,_Flores_Timur) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adonara_Tengah,_Flores_Timur

Adonara Timur

District (kecamatan) of >>East Flores regency on >>Adonara Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Waiwerang. See: [wikipedia.id > Adonara Timur](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adonara_Timur,_Flores_Timur) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adonara_Timur,_Flores_Timur

Aesesa

District (kecamatan) of >>Nagekeo regency. Main town is Danga. See: [wikipedia.id > Aesesa](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aesesa,_Nagekeo) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aesesa,_Nagekeo

Aesesa Selatan

(South Selatan) - District (kecamatan) of >>Nagekeo regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Aesesa Selatan](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aesesa_Selatan,_Nagekeo) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aesesa_Selatan,_Nagekeo

Aimere

1) Village (kelurahan) in 2) district (kecamatan) of >>Ngada regency. See [Map of Ngada](#) & [wikipedia.id > Aimere](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aimere,_Aimere,_Ngada) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aimere,_Aimere,_Ngada

Alok

District (kecamatan) in the north of >>Sikka regency; part of Maumere City (kota). Main town (Ibu Kota) is Uneng (kelurahan). See: [wikipedia.id > Alok](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alok,_Sikka) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alok,_Sikka

Alok Barat

District (kecamatan) of >>Sikka regency; about 7 km in the west of the capital; part of Maumere City (kota). (?) Main town (Ibu Kota) is Wailiti village (desa). See: [wikipedia.id > Alok Barat](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alok_Barat,_Sikka) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alok_Barat,_Sikka

Alok Timur

District (kecamatan) in the north of >>Sikka regency, about 5 km to the east of the capital; part of Maumere City (kota). Main town (Ibu Kota) is Waioti (kelurahan). See: [wikipedia.id > Alok Timur](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alok_Timur,_Sikka) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alok_Timur,_Sikka

Alor

1) Main island (pulau Alor) of Alor islands group located in the east of Flores. See [Map of Alor](#). 2) Regency (kabupaten). 18 districts: >>Alor Barat Daya, >>Alor Barat Laut, >>Alor Selatan, >>Alor Tengah Utara, >>Alor Timur, >>Alor Timur Laut, >>Kabola, >>Lembur, >>Mataru, >>Pantar, Pantar Barat, Pantar Barat Laut, Pantar Tengah, Pantar Timur, >>Pulau Pura, >>Pureman, >>Teluk Mutiara. (Just 17!?) Main islands Alor & >>Pantar. Main town is >>Kalabahi on Alor. Languages: Papuan & Alorese. 3) Ethnic group. 4) Language Alorese (Malayo-Polynesian).

Alor Barat Daya

District (kecamatan) of >>Alor regency on Alor Island. See: [wikipedia.id > Alor Barat Daya](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Barat_Daya,_Alor) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Barat_Daya,_Alor

Alor Barat Laut

District (kecamatan) of >>Alor regency in the north of Alor Island. See: [wikipedia.id > Alor Barat Laut](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Barat_Laut,_Alor) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Barat_Laut,_Alor

Alor Kecil

(Desa Alor Kecil) - Village and an active Ikat [weaving location](#) (Buckley 2015) on the northern west coast in >>Alor Barat Laut district of >>Alor regency on Alor Island; west of >>Kalabahi. Population is most of Alor people and some >>Bugis people. See: [wikipedia.id > Alor Kecil](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Kecil,_Alor_Barat_Laut,_Alor) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Kecil,_Alor_Barat_Laut,_Alor

Alor Selatan

District (kecamatan) of >>Alor regency on Alor Island. See: [wikipedia.id > Alor Selatan](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Selatan,_Alor) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Selatan,_Alor

Alor Tengah Utara

District (kecamatan) of >>Alor regency in the north of Alor Island. See: [wikipedia.id > Alor Tengah Utara](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Tengah_Utara,_Alor) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Tengah_Utara,_Alor

Alor Timur

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Alor regency on Alor Island.
See: wikipedia.id > Alor Timur ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Timur,_Alor

Alor Timur Laut

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Alor regency on Alor Island.
See: wikipedia.id > Alor Timur Laut ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alor_Timur_Laut,_Alor

Amis (阿美族)

>>Austronesian ethnic group on Taiwan, using a similar
>>warp board as the one shown on the bronze sculpture
of >>Mama Wulu, found on >>East Flores.

Atadei

1) District (*kecamatan*) of >>Lembata Island; and 2)
ethnic language. >>Kalikasa is its capital. See:
wikipedia.id > Atadei - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atadei,_Lembata

Atakor

(desa Atakor) - Village in southern part of >>Atadei
district in >>Lembata regency (kabupaten). See:
wikipedia.id > Atakor ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atakore,_Atadei,_Lembata

Atoni

1) Australo-Melanesian ethnic group in the highlands on
West-Timor. In general called "Atoin Meto, Atoin Pah
Meto", or discriminating "Dawan". 2) Language: Uab
Meto.

Austronesia

In short terms: There is no nation nor region called
>>Austronesian, but an Austronesian language family of
4 basic branches, that has expanded once starting from
southern Chinese mainland spreading first to Taiwan
and the southern islands (>>Out of Taiwan-theory). From
there spread by sea, known as the Polynesians,
throughout the Pacific; westwards from the Philippines
to Indonesia and abroad to far distant Madagascar. They
even settled in New Zealand. (Buckley 2017)

Baar

(Ba'ar). Minor ethnic group located in >>Riung-area
along the north coast of >>Ngada. According to reports
the number of Baar people in Ngada is estimated at
200. They look at the Komodo dragon or Waran
(>>mbaru) as their brother. See Ika (2023).⁷ They speak
their own language (Baar), which is similar to
>>Manggarai language.

Bajawa

1) An ethnic group of >>Ngada. (Bajawa is equal to
Ngada.) 2) Village (kelurahan) and capital (Ibu Kota) of
Ngada regency. See [Map of Flores](#). 3) District of Ngada
regency. See wikipedia.id > Bajawa ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bajawa,_Bajawa,_Ngada 4) Language
of Ngada people.

Bajawa Utara

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ngada regency. See
wikipedia.id > Aimere ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bajawa_Utara,_Ngada

Balaweling II []

(Desa Balaweling dua) - A village in >>Solor Barat
district (*kecamatan*) of >>East Flores regency; 6 km
southwest of >>Bajawa town & close to the southern
coastline. - An active Ikat [weaving location](#) (Buckley
2015). See: wikipedia.id > Balaweling II ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balaweling_II,_Solor_Barat,_Flores_Timur

Banaspati

1) Name of an entity, dwelling in the tree in former
Hindu-regions on Java and Bali. Indonesian
pronunciation of the Indian Sanskrit term >>'Vanaspati'.
2) Pen-name of author, who wrote the 'Buitenzorgsch
Weefwerk' in 1906. According to this author, since >>Nyi
Pohaci sacrificed her body as a loin loom for mankind,
she appears to man in gestalt of Banaspati, Mother
Nature. Compare >>Seus.

Baranusa []

(desa Baranusa) - Main village in >>Pantar Barat district
on >>Pantar Island, >>Alor Islands group; with active Ikat
[weaving locations](#). See [Stake Loom in Baranusa & wikipedia.id](#) > Baranusa ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baranusa,_Pantar_Barat,_Alor

Batak

An ethnic group on northern Sumatra.

Beangonong []

(desa Beangonong, also: Beang Onong) - Village and an
active Ikat [weaving location](#) (Buckley 2015) in >>Pantar
Barat Laut district on the west coast of >>Pantar Island;
east of >>Baranusa. See: wikipedia.id > Beangonong
->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beangonong,_Pantar_Barat_Laut,_Alor

Belogili []

A hamlet north of the volcano >>Ile Mandiri and
>>Larantuka on >>East Flores. An active Ikat weaving
location. (Buckley 2015) See [Station Loom in Belogili](#).
Note: Location >Balukhering - center of village in
Belogili (?). See: wikipedia.id > Belogili ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewolema,_Flores_Timur

Bhaga

Richly decorated shrines for ancestral worshipping of the
>>Ngada for female entities. Compare >>ngaduh for
female beings.

Bima

(Bimanese; in general: Mbojo) - 1) Ethnic group (orang
Bima), spread along the western and northern coast of
>>Flores. 2) Coastal city, largest on East >>Sumbawa. 3)
Language (Nggahi Mbojo or Bahasa Bima). Belongs to
Malayalam-Polynesian branch of >>Austronesian
languages.

Biting

Former weaving >>dalū and ethnic group in northern
>>Manggarai (Hamilton 1994-2).

Boawae []

Boawae is 1) a district (*kecamatan*) and 2) a village
(kampung adat Boawae) and active [weaving location](#) in
>>Nagekeo regency. It is a relic of the Boawae kingdom,
including a local museum (heda). The collection shows a
>>Ja Heda, (serpent horse statue) as symbol of strength.
A >>Peo (wooden tree sculpture) is found in the center of

⁷ Ika, A. (2023): Baar Tribe in Flores Protect Komodo Dragons -><https://flores.co/english-story/indepth/62344/2024/03/29/baar-tribe-in-flores-protect-komodo-dragons-have-their-conservation-efforts-paid-off>

the village as a symbol of unity of the ethnic group. There is a weaving village ([»Gerodhere](#)) located on the road from [»Boawae Village](#) to [»Mbay](#). (See <https://explorenagekeoflores.com/tentang/>) & wikipedia.id > Boawae - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boawae,_Nagekeo | [Hamilton 1994](#) offers a list of [loom components from Boawae](#).

Boka Besi[=]

An hamlet on [»Alor Island](#) in [»Teluk Mutiara](#) district; and, according to Buckley, an active [weaving location](#), south of [»Kalabahi](#). Supplementary weft only. See [Station Loom in Boka Besi](#).

Bola

District (*kecamatan*) of [»Sikka](#) regency. See: wikipedia.id > Bola [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bola,_Sikka](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bola,_Sikka)

Boleng

District (*kecamatan*) in the regency [»Manggarai Barat](#). See: wikipedia.id > Boleng [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boleng,_Manggarai_Barat](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boleng,_Manggarai_Barat)

Borneo

Huge main island, north-west of Flores.

Bugis

Ethnic group on Flores originating from Sulawesi; with their own settlement areas; mainly on north and west coast.

Bugis-Makassar

There are enclaves consisting of the ethnic groups of Bugis and [»Makassar](#) along the north coast of [»Flores](#). They come from the south of [»Sulawesi](#). See [Map of Flores](#).

Buyasuri

District (*kecamatan*) of [»Lembata](#) Island.

Champa

Former kingdom of Cham people in Southern Vietnam; descended from the Sundanese people.

Cibal

District (*kecamatan*) of [»Manggarai](#) regency; north of [»Ruteng](#). Main town is Pagal (kelurahan). Former weaving dalu & ethnic group ([Hamilton 1994](#)). See: wikipedia.id > Cibal [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cibal,_Manggarai](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cibal,_Manggarai)

Cibal Barat

District (*kecamatan*) of [»Manggarai](#) regency. Main town is Golo Woi (desa). See: wikipedia.id > Cibal Barat - [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cibal_Barat,_Manggarai](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cibal_Barat,_Manggarai)

Colol[=]

(desa Colol). A village and an active Ikat [weaving location](#) ([inbisnis 2022](#)), in the district [»Lamba Leda Timur](#) of [»Manggarai Timur](#) regency.

Congkar

Former weaving [»daluh](#) and ethnic group in northern [»Manggarai](#) ([Hamilton 1994-2](#)).

daluh

Former subdivisions of [»Manggarai](#) instead of today's districts (*kecamatan*). People are still used to the former daluh; just few, located in the north-central and northeastern parts, weave textiles. "From west to east, the weaving daluh are [»Ruis](#), [»Cibal](#), [»Lambaleda](#), [»Congkar](#), [»Biting](#), and [»Rembong](#)." See [Hamilton 1994-2](#).

Demon Pagong

District (*kecamatan*) of [»East Flores](#) regency. [»Lewokluok](#) is the main town (Ibu Kota) of the district. See: wikipedia.id > Demon Pagong [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demon_Pagong,_Flores_Timur](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demon_Pagong,_Flores_Timur)

Detukeli

1) Village in 2) district (*kecamatan*) of [»Ende](#) regency. See: wikipedia.id > Detukeli [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Detukeli,_Detukeli,_Ende](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Detukeli,_Detukeli,_Ende)

Detusoko

1) Village in 2) district (*kecamatan*) of [»Ende](#) regency. See: wikipedia.id > Detusoko [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Detusoko,_Detusoko,_Ende](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Detusoko,_Detusoko,_Ende)

Dolwalla[=]

An active Ikat [weaving location](#) (Buckley 2015), close to Pura village in the north of [»Pulau Pura](#); located east of [»Pantar](#) Island.

Doreng

District (*kecamatan*) of [»Sikka](#) regency. See: wikipedia.id > Doreng [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doreng,_Sikka](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doreng,_Sikka)

East Flores

(Flores Timur) - Regency (kabupaten) in the east of [»Flores](#), including the islands [»Adonara](#) and [»Solor](#) in the east; bordered by [»Sikka](#) in the west. 19 districts: [»Adonara](#), [»Adonara Barat](#), [»Adonara Tengah](#), [»Adonara Timur](#), [»Demon Pagong](#), [»Ile Boleng](#), [»Ile Bura](#), [»Ile Mandiri](#), [»Kelubagolit](#), [»Larantuka](#), [»Lewolema](#), [»Solor Barat](#), [»Solor Timur](#), [»Solor Selatan](#), [»Tanjung Bunga](#), [»Titehena](#), [»Witihama](#), [»Wotan Ulumado](#), [»Wulanggitang](#). Capital is [»Larantuka](#). Compare [Map of Flores Timur](#) & [Map of Flores](#).

Ebu Gogo

('Old glutton') Creatures in [»Nage](#)-mythology, sometimes depicted on Ikat textiles. According to assumptions, they go back to Homo florisiensis. (Forth 2008).

Elar

District of [»Manggarai Timur](#) regency. See: wikipedia.id > Elar [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elar,_Manggarai_Timur](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elar,_Manggarai_Timur)

Ende

1) regency (*kabupaten*) on Central Flores; also named Ende-Lio. 21 districts: [»Detukeli](#), [»Detusoko](#), Ende, [»Ende Selatan](#), [»Ende Tengah](#), [»Ende Timur](#), [»Ende Utara](#), [»Kelimutu](#), [»Kota Baru](#), [»Lempembusu Kelisoke](#), [»Lio Timur](#), [»Maukaro](#), [»Maurole](#), [»Nangapanda](#), [»Ndona](#), [»Ndona Timur](#), [»Ndori](#), [»Pulau Ende](#), [»Wewaria](#), [»Wolajita](#), [»Wolowaru](#). Bordered by [»Nagekeo](#) (west) and [»Sikka](#) in the east. Compare [Map of Ende](#) & [Map of Flores](#)! Ethnic groups: Ende, [»Lio](#), [»Ndona](#), [»Nggela](#). See: wikipedia.id > Ende [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabupaten_Endo](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabupaten_Endo) 2) Name of capital on south coast. See [»Ende \(ctiy\)](#). 3) Name of close-by island on south coast. 4) District (*kecamatan*) of Ende regency. See [»Ende \(district\)](#).

Ende (city)

Main town (*kota*) of Ende regency (*kabupaten*); biggest town on [»Flores](#). See: wikipedia.id > Ende [→https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_\(kota\)](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_(kota))

Ende (district)

District (*kecamatan*) of Ende regency (kabupaten). See: [wikipedia.id > Ende](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende,_Ende) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende,_Ende

Ende Selatan

(South Ende) - District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ende regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Ende Selatan](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_Selatan,_Ende) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_Selatan,_Ende

Ende Tengah

(Central Ende) - District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ende regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Ende Tengah](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_Tengah,_Ende) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_Tengah,_Ende

Ende Timur

(East Ende) - District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ende regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Ende Timur](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_Timur,_Ende) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_Timur,_Ende

Ende Utara

(North Ende) - District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ende regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Ende Utara](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_Utara,_Ende) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ende_Utara,_Ende

Flores

island in East Indonesia (of the province >>Nusa Tenggara Timur/NTT); part of Lesser Sunda Islands. Name derives from Portugese „flowers“. Main towns are >>Mauwere, >>Ende, >>Ruteng, >>Larantuka & >>Bajawa. Once divided in three, later on into the 5 regencies >>Manggarai, >>Ngada, >>Ende, >>Sikka & >>East Flores. Actually >>Nagekeo has separated from Ngada, and the Manggarai has got sectioned into West, Central & East. The island groups of >>Solor and >>Alor are included. By the locals Flores is also called >>Nusa Nipa (Dragon/Snake Island) or Tanjung Bunga/Pulau Bunga (Flower Island). Flores is located between the Flores Sea in the north and the Savu Sea in the south. See [Map of Flores](#).

Gerodhere^[1]

(Gero village) - Weaving village (namely ikat weaving) located on the road from >>Boawae Village to >>Mbay; on the eastern edge of the Boawae district [[Susilo 2020](#)] See [Weaving Locations](#), [Stake loom of Nagekeo](#) & [wikipedia.id > Gerodhere](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerodhere,_Boawae,_Nagekeo) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerodhere,_Boawae,_Nagekeo

Golewa

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ngada regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Golewa](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golewa,_Ngada) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golewa,_Ngada

Golewa Barat

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ngada regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Golewa Barat](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golewa_Barat,_Ngada) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golewa_Barat,_Ngada

Golewa Selatan

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ngada regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Golewa Selatan](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golewa_Selatan,_Ngada) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golewa_Selatan,_Ngada

Hewokloang

(also: Hewokluang) - 1) Village (*desa*) and 2) District (*kecamatan*) of >>Sikka regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Hewokloang](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hewokloang,_Hewokloang,_Sikka) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hewokloang,_Hewokloang,_Sikka

Ibu Wulu

(Mama Wulu). 1) Name of the rain goddess on >>Borneo Island. 2) Given name to a bronze statue, showing Mum with child, weaving a >>foot loom; found in a cave on >>East Flores. See [Foot Loom of Larantuka](#).

Ileape

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Lembata Island.

Ileape Timur

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Lembata Island.

Ikat-line

The Ikat-line cuts western part (mainly Manggarai, but also Riung) off the rest of >>Flores. Western area show mainly supplementary pattern-weaving & striped textiles. It's told about weft-ikat there, but no examples were actually found! East of line it turns by sudden to warp-ikat.⁸ This change goes along with exclusively flat warps in the west, and, due to Ikat, just circular warps in the east! This is also stated by Yoshimoto's [loom categories](#): [C] flat warps = West | [B] circular warps = East of Ikat-Line. It effects even the construction of regional looms and their components to a certain amount: All western looms show >>yokes, while the east still tends to >>straps. Exceptions are found in Ende & Sikka. The regular >>lease sticks and >>starter rod of the west disappear after crossing the line; sometimes replaced by adequate components for ikat weaving; i.e. >>Ikat marker & >>>false lease stick. See section [Ikat-Line](#).

Ile Boleng

District (*kecamatan*) of >>East Flores regency on >>Adonara Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Senadan. See: [wikipedia.id > Ile Boleng](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ile_Boleng,_Flores_Timur) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ile_Boleng,_Flores_Timur

Ile Bura

District (*kecamatan*) of >>East Flores regency on >>Adonara Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Lewotobi. See: [wikipedia.id > Ile Bura](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ile_Bura,_Flores_Timur) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ile_Bura,_Flores_Timur

Ile Mandiri

(also: Ile Mandiri) - 1) Volcano on mainland of >>East Flores, close to >>Larantuka. 2) The surrounding district is called kecamatan Ile Mandiri. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Lewohala. See: [wikipedia.id > Ile Mandiri](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ile_Mandiri,_Flores_Timur) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ile_Mandiri,_Flores_Timur

Ine Pare

Name of the rice goddess of the Nggela. The legend "Lawo Gamba Ine Mbu Ine Pare" can be found at [Richardson 2024](#).

Inerie

(also: Inierie?) - 1) Volcano (gunung) and 2) village (*desa*) in Aimere district of Ngada regency. 3) district of >>Ngada regency. See [wikipedia.id > Inerie](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inerie,_Ngada) → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inerie,_Ngada

Ja Heda

Serpent Horse sculpture of >>Ngada. Symbol of strength.

Jayapura

capital of >>Papua on the north coast.

⁸ See: [Buckley 2022](#).

Jerebuu

(Jerebu'u) - District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ngada regency. See wikipedia.id > Jerebuu → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerebuu,_Ngada

Kabir^[=]

(kelurahan Kabir) - A village and weaving location (Buckley 2015) on the northern east coast of Pantar district on >>Pantar Island. See: [wikipedia.id](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabir,_Pantar,_Alor) > Kabir → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabir,_Pantar,_Alor

Kabola

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Alor Island.

kabupaten^{ID}

(ID: 'regency'). See: wikipedia.en → [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regency_\(Indonesia\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regency_(Indonesia))

Kalabahi

Main town on >>Alor Island.

Kalikasa

Main town of >>Atadei district on >>Lembata Island.

Kampung Bena^[T]

"Kampung Adat Bena" (*Traditional Village Bena*). A traditional-style village in >>Aimere district of >>Ngada regency; 19 km south (?) of >>Bajawa town. According to the report of Abdilatiefi 2024, half an hour away from central Ngada. - An active weaving location (Warisan 2025 & Al Kafi 2025). See Loom of Bajawa. (Caution: There seems to exist another desa Bena, 6 km north of Bajawa town. Source tells Bena is located in >>Tiworihu (desa), what is actually found in >>Jerebuu district.) See wikipedia.id > Kampung Bena → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kampung_Bena

Kangae

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Sikka regency. See: wikipedia.id > Kangae → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kangae,_Sikka

Karo

ethnic subgroup of >>Batak people on Northern Sumatra.

Keli Mutu

(also Kelimutu; NL: Keli Moetoe) - 1) A volcanic group in >>Ende regency, about 50 km east of Ende-City. For the >>Lio a sacred place to which the souls of the deceased migrate. 2) District of Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Kelimutu → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kelimutu,_Ende

kecamatan^{ID}

(ID: 'district')

Kelubagolit

District (*kecamatan*) of >>East Flores regency on >>Adonara Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Pepak Kelu. See: wikipedia.id > Kelubagolit → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kelubagolit,_Flores_Timur

kelurahan^{ID}

(ID: 'village')

kembang^{ID}

Indonesian term (Bahasa Indonesia). Basically it means a 'flower', but in connection with weaving it refers to a 'motif', whether a flower or any other representation is meant. For the unambiguous designation of an ordinary flower, the expression 'bunga' is used. Compare >>Pulau Bunga.

Keo

ethnic group in >>Nage-Keo regency, Western Flores. Keo, also called Ambulombo is name of the local volcano! See Map of Flores.

Keo Tengah

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Nagekeo regency. See: wikipedia.id > Keo Tengah → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keo_Tengah,_Nagekeo

Kepo

(suku Kepo) - One of the ethnic groups, next to >>Manus, >>Rongga, >>Rajong & >>Wae Rana in the language cluster of the southern >>East Manggarai (Edwards 2018).

Kewapante

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Sikka regency; about 9 km in the east of >>Mauwere. Main town is Namangkewa Village (desa). See: wikipedia.id > Kewapante → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kewapante,_Sikka

Kojadoi^[=]

(Desa Kojadoi; also Koja Doi) - Village, a weaving location, in the >>Bugis-Makassar enclave on the north coast of the Regency of >>Sikka in >>Alok Timur district. See wikipedia.id > Kojadoi → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kojadoi,_Alok_Timur,_Sikka

Komodo

1) Island in the west of Manggarai Barat. 2) District (*kecamatan*) of >>West Manggarai regency. See: wikipedia.id > Komodo → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Komodo,_Manggarai_Barat

Kota Baru

(also Kotabaru) - District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Kota Baru → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kota_Baru,_Ende

Kota Blakan^[=]

An active Ikat weaving location (Buckley 2015) in the south of >>Pulau Buaya Island.

Kota Komba

(also: Kotakomba) - District of >>Manggarai Timur regency. See: wikipedia.id > Kota Komba → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kota_Komba,_Manggarai_Timur

Koting

1) An arrangement of 4 villages (desa A/B/C/D) in 2) a district (*kecamatan*) of >>Sikka regency; about 12 km in the south of >>Mauwere. Main town is Koting B (desa). See: wikipedia.id > Kewapante → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Koting_A,_Koting,_Sikka

Krowe

Subgroup of >>Sikka people.

Kupang

Capital of the province >>Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT).

Kura^[=]

An active ikat weaving location (Buckley 2015), close to >>Baranusa in >>Pantar Barat district on >>Pantar Island; west of Baranusa.

Kuwus

District (*kecamatan*) in the regency >>Manggarai Barat. See: wikipedia.id > Kuwus → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuwus,_Manggarai_Barat

Labuan Bajo^[=]

(ID: 'port of Bajo') - Fishing town on west coast of the regency >>Manggarai Barat in >>Komodo district (kecamatan). - An active weaving location (Warisan 2025). See: [wikipedia.id > Labuan Bajo](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labuan_Bajo_Komodo_Manggarai_Barat) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labuan_Bajo_Komodo_Manggarai_Barat

Lamaholot

(Solor, Solorese) - 1) Ethnic group and 2) language; Malayao-Polynesian cluster, mainly found on >>Solor, >>Lembata & >>Pantar.

Lamalera^[=]

(desa Lamalera) - village on >>Lembata Island in >>Wulandoni district. An active Ikat weaving location on >>Solor Island (Buckley 2016). See: [wikipedia.id > Lamalera](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lamalera_A_Wulandoni_Lembata) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lamalera_A_Wulandoni_Lembata

Lamba Leda

(also: Lambaleda). 1) District of >>Manggarai Timur regency; former >>Poco Ranaka. Several main towns as : Benteng Jawa, Dampek, Waenenda, Weleng, Waetua, and Lengko Tegol. See: [wikipedia.id > Lamba Leda](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lamba_Leda_Manggarai_Timur). →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lamba_Leda_Manggarai_Timur 2) Former weaving >>daluh and ethnic group in northern >>Manggarai (Hamilton 1994-2).

Lamba Leda Timur

(also: Lambaleda Timur). District of >>Manggarai Timur regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Lamba Leda Timur](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lamba_Leda_Timur_Manggarai_Timur). - →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lamba_Leda_Timur_Manggarai_Timur

Lamba Leda Utara

(also: Lambaleda Utara). District of >>Manggarai Timur regency. Main town is Dampek, Satar Padut. See: [wikipedia.id > Lamba Leda Utara](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lamba_Leda_Utara_Manggarai_Timur) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lamba_Leda_Utara_Manggarai_Timur

Langa^[=]

(Desa Langa - village) - According to WMF 2014 a remote village in mountainous area of >>Ngada regency. (Langagheda?) An active weaving location (Warisan 2025). Compare: [wikipedia.id > Langagheda](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Langagedha_Bajawa_Ngada) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Langagedha_Bajawa_Ngada

Langkas^[=]

(Desa Langkas) - Village and an active weaving location in >>Cibal district of >>Manggarai Tengah, about 20 km north of Ruteng. (Report) See: [wikipedia.id > Langkas](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Langkas_Cibal_Manggarai) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Langkas_Cibal_Manggarai

Langke Rembong

(also: Langkerembong) - District (kecamatan) of >>Central Manggarai (Tengah); part of >>Ruteng City. See: [wikipedia.id > Langke Rembong](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Langke_Rembong_Manggarai) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Langke_Rembong_Manggarai

Larantuka

1) Port and capital of East Flores regency; 2) district (kecamatan) on mainland >>East Flores (Flores Timur); south of the volcano >>Ile Mandiri. See Map of Flores & Stake Loom in Larantuka.

Lebatukan

District (kecamatan) located in the center of >>Lembata Island. See: [wikipedia.id > Lebatukan](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebatukan_Lembata) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebatukan_Lembata

Lela

1) District (kecamatan) of >>Sikka regency. 2) Main village (desa) in Lela district, located about 25 km south of >>Maumere, on southern coastline. Hamilton 1994 offers a list of terms on loom components from Léla. See: [wikipedia.id > Lela](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lela_Sikka) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lela_Sikka

Lelak

District (kecamatan) of >>Central Manggarai (Tengah); sub-district of >>Ruteng district. See: [wikipedia.id > Lelak](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lelak_Manggarai) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lelak_Manggarai

Leloba^[=]

A hamlet close to >>Larantuka, East Flores. According to Vatter in 1928/29 a weaving location. But there is no fitting village or district to find. Just a path named Jalur Leloba to climb Mount Ili Mandiri, that starts in the village Riangkemie (desa) of >>Ile Mandiri district. See: [wikipedia.id > Gunung Ili Mandiri](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gunung_Ile_Mandiri) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gunung_Ile_Mandiri

Lembata

(also: Lomblen or Kawela) - 1) largest island of the >>Solor Archipelago east of >>Flores. 2) regency (kabupaten), incl. some islands of Solor Archipelago; since 1999 splitted off >>East Flores. Main town is >>Lewoleba. 9 districts (kecamatan): >>Atadei, >>Buyasuri, >>Ileape, >>Ileape Timur, >>Lebatukan, >>Nagawutung, >>Nubatukan, >>Omesuri, >>Wulandoni. Located between >>East Flores in the West and >>Pantar Island in the east. See Map of Lembata & [wikipedia.id > Lembata](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabupaten_Lembata) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabupaten_Lembata

Lembor^[=]

1) District (kecamatan) and 2) village (desa) in the regency >>Manggarai Barat. See: [wikipedia.id > Lembor](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lembor_Manggarai_Barat) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lembor_Manggarai_Barat - An active weaving location. (Warisan 2025 & Lingga 2024) See Weaving Locations.

Lembur

District (kecamatan) of >>Alor Island.

Lempembusu Kelisoke

District (kecamatan) of >>Ende regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Lempembusu Kelisoke](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lepembusu_Kelisoke_End) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lepembusu_Kelisoke_End

Lewokluok^[=]

(Desa Lewokluok) - Main town of >>Demon Pagong district in >>East Flores regency (kabupaten Timur); 20 km in the west of >>Larantuka. The villagers are >>Lamaholot people. See: [wikipedia.id > Lewokluok](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewokluok_Demon_Pagong_Flores_Timur) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewokluok_Demon_Pagong_Flores_Timur - An active weaving location (Warisan 2025).

Lewoleba

(kelurahan Lewoleba) - Village in >>Nubatukan district and capital of >>Lembata regency (NTT). See: [wikipedia.id > Lewoleba](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewoleba_Nubatukan_Lembata) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewoleba_Nubatukan_Lembata

Lewolema

District (kecamatan) of >>East Flores regency on mainland. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Kawaliwu. See: [wikipedia.id > Lewolema](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewolema_Flores_Timur) →https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewolema_Flores_Timur

Likuwali^[=]

(NL: *Likoewali*) - village in >>Ngada regency. Mentioned by Rouffaer. Should be close to >>Bajawa, capital of >>Ngada regency, but nowhere else mentioned. According to Rouffaer's photo a weaving location. See Loom in Likuwali.

Lio

1) Ethnic group in >>Ende regency, but also mentioned as part of >>Sikka people! See Map of Flores! >>Ndona (Lio Ndona) & Nggela (Lio Nggela) are part of Lio people. 2) >>Austronesian language in Central Flores. As far it seems, most Lio people (in Ende regency) don't weave. 3) District (kecamatan) of Ende regency.

Lio Timur

District (kecamatan) of >>Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Lio Timur → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lio_Timur,_Ende

Ling^[=]

(Desa Ling) - Village and an active weaving location in >>Satarmese Utara district of >>Manggarai Tengah; 3e km southwest from >>Ruteng, close to >>Todo. (Report) See: wikipedia.id > Ling → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ling,_Satar_Mese_Utara,_Manggarai

Macang Pacar

(also: Macangpacar) - District (kecamatan) in the regency >>Manggarai Barat. See: wikipedia.id > Macang Pacar → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macang_Pacar,_Manggarai_Barat

Madawat^[=]

(kelurahan Madawat) - Village and an active Ikat weaving location (Tenun Ikat Sika 2025) of >>Sikka regency in >>Alok district. See: wikipedia.id > Madawat → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madawat,_Alok,_Sikka

Magepanda

1) Village (desa) in 2) district (kecamatan) of >>Sikka regency; about 30 km in the west of >>Mauwere. Main town is Magepanda (desa); borders to Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Magepanda → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Magepanda,_Sikka

Makassar

(kota Makassar, former 'Ujung Pandang') - Capital city of the province South Sulawesi. See: wikipedia.id > Makassar → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kota_Makassar

Mandar

(Mandarese) - 1) An ethnic group (*suku/orang Mandar*) in West >>Sulawesi. 2) Language. The Malayo-Polynesian based Bahasa Mandar, close to Toraja-Sa'dan, is a branch of >>Austronesian languages.

Manggarai (Tengah - Central)

1) Regency (*kabupaten*) on West Flores. Once one regency, now separated into three regencies: >>West (Barat), Central (Tengah), >>East (Timur). Tengah includes 12 districts (kecamatan): >>Cibal, >>Cibal Barat, >>Langke Rembong, >>Lelak, >>Rahong Utara, >>Reok, >>Reok Barat, >>Ruteng, >>Satar Mese, >>Satar Mese Barat, (>>Satar Mese Utara), >>Wae Rii. Main town is >>Ruteng. Neighbour regency to the west is >>Manggarai Barat, to the east >>Manggarai Timur. Compare Map of Manggarai & Map of Flores! 2) Ethnic group (Ata Manggarai - *Manggarai people*). 3) Language (tombo Manggarai).

Manggarai Barat (West)

Regency (*kabupaten*) on West Flores. Once part of >>Manggarai regency, now separated! It includes 7 districts (kecamatan): >>Boleng, >>Komodo, >>Kuwus, >>Lembor, >>Macang Pacar, >>Sano Nggoang, >>Welak. (Just 6!) Neighbour regency to the east is >>Manggarai Tengah. Compare Map of Manggarai & Map of Flores!

Manggarai Timur (East)

Regency (*kabupaten*) on West Flores. Once part of >>Manggarai regency, now separated! Main town (Ibu Kota) is Borong. It includes 6 districts: >>Borong, >>Elar, >>Kota Komba, >>Lamba Leda, (>>Lamba Leda Timur, >>Lamba Leda Utara), >>Poco Ranaka(?), >>Sambi Rampas. Neighbour regency to the west is >>Manggarai Tengah, to the east >>Ngada.

Manulondo^[=]

(desa Manulondo) - Village and an active Ikat weaving location (Kemenko PMK 2022) close to south coast of >>Ende regency in >>Ndona district; east of Ende City. See: wikipedia.id > Manulondo → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manulondo,_Ndona,_Ende

Manus

(suku Manus) - One of the ethnic groups, next to >>Rongga, >>Rajong, >>Wae Rana & >>Kepo in the language cluster of the southern >>East Manggarai (Edwards 2018).

Mapitara

District (kecamatan) of >>Sikka regency; about 40 km in the southeast of >>Mauwere. Main town is Hebing (desa). See: wikipedia.id > Mapitara → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mapitara,_Sikka

Marisa^[=]

(desa Marisa; also: Marica) - Village and an active Ikat weaving location (Buckley 2015) on the west coast of >>Pantar Island (on small island) in >>Pantar Barat Laut district; east of >>Baranusa. See: wikipedia.id > Marisa → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marisa,_Pantar_Barat_Laut,_Alor

Mataru

District (kecamatan) of >>Alor Island. See: wikipedia.id > Mataru → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mataru,_Alor

Mauwere

(Ibu kota Mauwere; engl.: 'wide beach') - Port and capital of >>Sikka regency, located on the north coast of eastern Flores. Second biggest town on Flores. See Two Board Loom, Station Loom in Mauwere, Map of Flores & wikipedia.id > Mauwere → <https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauwere>

Maukaro

(Mauruko?) - District (kecamatan) of >>Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Maukaro → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maukaro,_Ende

Mauponggo

1) Village (kelurahan) in 2) District (kecamatan) of >>Nagekeo regency. See: wikipedia.id > Mauponggo → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauponggo,_Mauponggo,_Nagekeo

Maurole

1) Village (desa) in 2) district (kecamatan) of >>Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Maurole → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maurole,_Maurole,_Ende

Mbaru niang

traditional 5-stores houses in >>Manggarai, like in >>Wae Rebo. See: wikipedia > Waerebo → <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waerebo>

mbaru

The >>Ba'ar people in >>Riung-district of >>Ngada call the Komodo dragon, a waran, 'mbaru'. Compare: >>mbaru niang (dragon seat?) See: [Anastasia Ika \(2023\)](#).

Mbay

1) Main town on the north coast of >>Nageo regency. 2) Ethnic group located along the northern coast of Flores in >>Manggarai (Mbui) and >>Nagekeo. See [Stake Loom](#), [Station Loom of Mbay](#) & [Map of Flores](#).

Mego

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Sikka regency; about 35 km in the southwest of >>Mauwere. Main town is Lekebai/Bheru (desa). See: wikipedia.id > Mego → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mego,_Sikka

Naga

The serpent horse or dragon horse, "God of the Waters" (Compare Galudra = "Wind").

Nagawutung

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Lembata Island.

Nage

1) Ethnic group in >>Nage-Keo regency. The name means tamarind, what's their totem tree! Mainly plant based food. See: [Forth 2009](#) & [Map of Flores](#). 2) Language of the Nage people. (>>Austronesian language group).

Nagekeo

Regency (*kabupaten*) on western Flores; once part of >>Ngada regency; 2007 this western part of Ngada splitted off. >>Nage people (suku Nage) in the north, >>Keo (suku Keo) in the south. Main town is >>Mbay. Bordered by >>Ngada (west) and >>Ende regency in the east. 7 districts (*kecamatan*): >>Aesesa, >>Mauponggo, >>Boawae, >>South Aesesa, >>Keo Tengah, >>Nangaroro and >>Wolowae. Compare [Map of Nagekeo](#) & [Map of Flores](#).

Nangapanda

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Nangapanda → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nangapanda,_Ende

Nangaroro

1) Village (kelurahan) in 2) District (*kecamatan*) of >>Nagekeo regency. Main town is Danga. See: wikipedia.id > Nangaroro → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nangaroro,_Nangaroro,_Nagekeo

Ndona

1) ethnic group, part of the >>Lio people in >>Ende regency, but separated from Lio by mountains. While other Lio in Ende regency don't weave, Ndona are skilled weavers. 2) District of southern Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Ndona → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ndona,_Ende

Ndona Timur

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Ndona Timur → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ndona_Timur,_Ende

Ndori

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Ndori → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ndori,_Ende

Nelle

(also: Nele/Maumerei or Maumerie) - District (*kecamatan*) of >>Sikka regency; it is also main town (Ibu Kota) of Sikka regency. (?) See: wikipedia.id > Nelle → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nelle,_Sikka

Ngada

1) Regency (*kabupaten*) on western Flores. Once just one regency, 2007 >>Nagekeo in the west of Ngada has got separated. Ethnic groups (suku): >>Riung (north) and >>Bajawa (south). Main town is Bajawa. Actually 12 districts (*kecamatan*): >>Aimere, Bajawa, >>Bajawa Utara, >>Golewa, >>Golewa Barat, >>Golewa Selatan, >>Inerie, >>Jerebu'u, >>Riung, >>Riung Barat, >>Soa, >>Wolomeze. Compare [Map of Ngada](#) & [Map of Flores](#) 2) Language (bahasa Ngada). 3) According to [wikipedia.de](#) an old Malay ethnic group (Engl. & Indonesian version doesn't mention this), speaking a Central-Malayo-Polynesian language (bahasa Ngada). Also known as Ata Ngada, Nad'a, Nga'da, Ngadha, Rokka, and also Bajawa. Settling mainly in the south-midwestern part of the island, in the area around the Inerie volcano and the city of Bajawa. Social structure bases still on matrilineal family system.

Ngaduh

Richly decorated shrines for ancestral worshipping of the >>Ngada for male entities. Compare >>bhaga for female beings. | Conflict: [Hamilton](#) names the Y-shaped ceremonial poles 'ngadhu'.

Ngandung

Y-shaped ceremonial poles of Mbay people ([Hamilton 1994-2:153](#)). Compare >>Peo.

Nggela []

(Desa Nggela) - Village in >>Wolojita district (*kecamatan*) in >>Ende regency; located 20 km east of Ende Town, close to the southern coastline. See: wikipedia.id > Nggela → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nggela,_Wolojita,_Ende The villagers are >>Lio people (Lio Nggela). - A [weaving location](#) ([Warisan 2025](#)). [Hamilton 1994](#) offers local terms of [loom components in Wolojita](#). See [Stake loom of Nggela](#).

Nita []

1) A district (*kecamatan*) of >>Sikka regency (*kabupaten*), located south of >>Mauwere. See: wikipedia.id > Nita → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nita,_Sikka 2) Village (desa) in Nita district. - A [weaving location](#) ([Warisan 2025](#)). See [Station Loom in Nita](#).

Nubatukan

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Lembata Island. See: wikipedia.id > Nubatukan → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nubatukan,_Lembata

Nusa Nipa

Once created by >>Sikka, now overall Flores accepted name for the island Flores by locals. In Sikkanese it means 'dragon/serpent island'.

Nusa Tenggara

former 'Nusa Kecil', 1954 renamed to Nusa Tenggara; its capital Singaraja on Bali. Since 1958 splitted in Nusa

Tenggara Barat (Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa) & >>*Nusa Tenggara Timur*.

Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT)

Since 1958 splitted from Bali, the province NTT includes approx. 603 islands; major islands are >>*Flores*, >>*Sumba* & West-Timor, next to >>*Komodo*, >>*Rinca*, >>*Adonara*, >>*Solor*, >>*Lembata*, >>*Pantar*, >>*Alor*, >>*Raijua*, Rote, etc. Capital is >>*Kupang* on West Timor.

Nyi Pohaci

According to a Sundanese legend, name of the rice goddess. See *Banaspati* 1906.

Omesuri

District (*kecamatan*) of >>*Lembata* Island. See: wikipedia.id > Omesuri -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omesuri,_Lembata

Onelako^[=]

(Kelurahan Onelako) - Village located 5 km to the east of Ende Town in >>*Ndona* district of >>*Ende* regency. See: wikipedia.id > Onelako -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Onelako,_Ndona,_Ende - Hamilton 1994 offers a list of loom components from Onelako. - A [weaving location](#).

Out of Taiwan

According to the Out of Taiwan-theory, as it came popular in the 1970s, the >>*Austronesian* expansion had started to spread from Taiwan, as all 4 basic languages are found there. Nowadays the theory has been corrected in so far, as the origin of the Austronesians is thought on Chinese mainland, probably southern Yangtse. Expansion from there onto ISEA should mainly have started from mainland, probably Northern Vietnam, straight to North Philippines.

Paga

1) Village (*desa*) in 2) district (*kecamatan*) of >>*Sikka* regency; about 43 km in the southwest of >>*Maumere*. Main town is Paga. See: wikipedia.id > Paga -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paga,_Paga,_Sikka

Palu'e

1) Palu'e Island (Pulau Palu'e), located north of Flores; part of Sikka regency. 2) Ethnic group on Palu'e Island. 3) District of >>*Sikka* regency; including several islands. There is a >>*Bugis-Makassar* settlement on the closest island of Palue district to >>*Talibura* district. Main town is Uwai/Maluriwu (*desa*). See [Map of Flores](#) & wikipedia.id > Palue -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palue,_Sikka

Pamakayo^[=]

(Desa Pamakayo) - Village and an active Ikat [weaving location](#) in >>*Solor Barat* district of >>East Flores regency on >>*Solor* Island (Buckley 2016 & Dwipnews 2016). See [Station Loom on Solor](#) & wikipedia.id > Pamakayo -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pamakayo,_Solor_Barat,_Flores_Timur

Pantar

1) Pantar Island (Pulau Pantar; also known as Galiao, Putar, Pondai, Also.), close to >>*Alor* Island; part of Alor Islands, what's located east of Pantar; >>*Lembata* in the West. It's part of Alor regency. 5 districts on Pantar Island: Pantar, >>*Pantar Barat*, >>*Pantar Barat Laut*, >>*Pantar Tengah*, >>*Pantar Timur*. Main village is >>*Baranusa* on northern coastline of West Pantar (Pantar Barat). See [Administrative Map of Alor](#). 2) District of Alor regency on Pantar Island. See: wikipedia.id > Pantar -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pulau_Pantar

Pantar Barat

District of >>*Alor* regency in the west of >>*Pantar* Island. See: wikipedia.id > Pantar Barat -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pantar_Barat,_Alor

Pantar Barat Laut

District of >>*Alor* regency in the west of >>*Pantar* Island. See: wikipedia.id > Pantar Barat Laut -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pantar_Barat_Laut,_Alor

Pantar Tengah

District of >>*Alor* regency on >>*Pantar* Island. See: wikipedia.id > Pantar Tengah -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pantar_Tengah,_Alor

Pantar Timur

District of >>*Alor* regency in the east of >>*Pantar* Island. See: wikipedia.id > Pantar Timur -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pantar_Timur,_Alor

Papua

Papua is the Indonesian part on the north coast of Western New Guinea. Capital is >>*Jayapura*. The >>*Sarmi* region on Papua is inhabited by some few >>*Austronesian* groups.

Penikelek^[=]

(Desa Penikelek - village) - An active Ikat [weaving location](#) on >>*Solor* Island. (Buckley 2016)

Peo

An Y-shaped Peo, a carved, wooden tree sculpture as ceremonial pole, is found in the center of traditional villages of >>*Nagekeo* as a symbol of unity of the ethnic group (Lambo 2012). Compare with >>*ngandung* of Mbay people & 'ngadhu' of Riung; "in name & shape equal to poles in >>*Ngada* regency" (Hamilton 1994-2:153-154).

Poco Ranaka

(also: Pocoranaka). Former name of Lamba Leda district (*kecamatan*) of >>*Manggarai Timur* regency; about 20 km east of >>*Ruteng*. See: wikipedia.id > Poco Ranaka -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poco_Ranaka,_Manggarai_Timur

Pota^[=]

(kampong Pota) coast village and port in northern >>*Manggarai*. Bima people once should have established here supplementary weft on Flores [Hamilton 1994-2]; none of the left Bima here weave nowadays. See [Bima Warping](#).

pulau^{ID}

Indonesian term (Bahasa Indonesia) for an 'island'; i.e.: 'Pulau Flores' or >>'Pulau Bunga'. On Flores also: 'pulo'. An alternative term for an island is 'nusa'; i.e.: >>'Nusa Nipa'.

Pulau Buaya

1) ('Crocodile Island') - Small island, located between >>*Pantar* & >>*Alor* Island; north of >>*Ternate* Island. Part of the district >>*Alor Barat Laut* in Alor regency. 2) Village (*desa*) on Buaya Island. See: wikipedia.id > Pulau Buaya -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pulau_Buaya,_Alor_Barat_Laut,_Alor

Pulau Bunga

(Tanjung Bunga) - Alternative name of Flores by locals, meaning „Flower Island“. Tanjung means cape! Even both expressions are closely related and are partly used for entire Flores, 'Tanjung Bunga' refers to a district of the same name in >>*East Flores*.

Pulau Ende

(also: Pulo Ende) - 1) Island and 2) district (*kecamatan*) of **>>Ende** regency. See: wikipedia.id > Pulau Ende - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pulau_End,_Ende

Pulau Pura

1) Small Island and 2) district (*kecamatan*) of **>>Alor** Island; volcano Island, located between **>>Pantar** & **Alor** Island. Main village is Pura (kelurahan). See: wikipedia.id > Pulau Pura - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pulau_Pura,_Alor

Pureman

District (*kecamatan*) of **>>Alor** regency on Alor Island. See: wikipedia.id > Pureman - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pureman,_Alor

Rahong Utara

District (*kecamatan*) of **>>Central Manggarai** (Tengah). Main town is Buar (desa). See: wikipedia.id > Rahong Utara - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rahong_Utara,_Manggarai

Raijua

1) An island (Pulau Raijua) between **>>Sumba** and **>>Timor**; south of **>>Flores**. 2) A district (*kecamatan*) of Sabu Raijua regency (kabupaten). See: wikipedia.id > Raijua - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raijua,_Sabu_Raijua

Rajong

1) Region and 2) ethnic group in the north of **>>East Manggarai** and **>>Ngada**. See **Map of Flores!** | One of the ethnic groups, next to **>>Manus**, **>>Rongga**, **>>Kepo** & **>>Wae Rana** in the language cluster of the southern **>>East Manggarai** (Edwards 2018). 3) Language of Rajong people. See: wikipedia.id > Bahasa Rajong - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bahasa_Rajong | According to Hamilton 1994-2:156 a former **>>dalū**; but non-weaving 'district'.

Rembong

1) Region (former **>>dalū**) and 2) ethnic group (orang Rembong) at north coast of **>>East Manggarai** and **>>Riung** district in **>>Ngada**. See **Map of Flores!** 3) Language of Rembong people. See: wikipedia.id > Bahasa Rembong - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bahasa_Rembong

Rendubutowe☐

(desa Rendubutowe) - An active **weaving location** in **>>Aesesa Selatan** district of **>>Nagekeo** regency. (Gonsaga 2024)

Reok

District (*kecamatan*) of **>>Central Manggarai** (Tengah). Main town is Reo (kelurahan). See: wikipedia.id > Reok - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reok,_Manggarai

Reok Barat

District (*kecamatan*) of **>>Central Manggarai** (Tengah). Main town is Sambi (desa). See: wikipedia.id > Reok Barat - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reok_Barat,_Manggarai

Rinca

(also: Rincah). 1) Peninsula on the west coast of Flores, inbetween West Manggarai and **>>Komodo Island**; part of the district **>>West Manggarai** (Barat).

Riung

1) Language (bahasa Riung) and 2) ethnic group (suku Riung) in northern **>>Ngada** regency; related to **>>Manggarai** people. 3) Village (desa) in **>>Cibal**,

Manggarai. 4) Northern district of Ngada. Compare **Map of Ngada** & **Map of Flores**. See: wikipedia.id > Riung - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riung,_Ngada & https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riung,_Cibal,_Manggarai

Riung Barat

District (*kecamatan*) of **>>Ngada** regency. See: wikipedia.id > Riung Barat - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riung_Barat,_Ngada

Rongga

1) Ethnic group (suku/ata Rongga) of **>>Austronesian** and **Melanesian** people, living mainly in **>>East Manggarai** and **>>Ngada**. 2) area in southern **>>Ngada** regency. See **Map of Flores** & wikipedia.id > suku Rongga - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suku_Rongga | One of the ethnic groups, next to **>>Manus**, **>>Kepo**, **>>Rajong** & **>>Wae Rana** in the language cluster of the southern **>>East Manggarai** (Edwards 2018).

Roworena Barat☐

(Kelurahan Roworena Barat - West Roworena village) - A **weaving location** in *kecamatan* **>>Ende Utara** (North Ende district). of **>>Ende** regency (kabupaten). (Langga 2021)

Ruis

Former weaving **>>dalū** and ethnic group in northern **>>Manggarai** (Hamilton 1994-2). are Ruis,

Ruteng☐

1) capital (Kota Ruteng) of **>>Manggarai** in the highlands in **>>Langke Rembong** district. 2) District (*kecamatan*) of Central Manggarai (Tengah), west of Ruteng Town. See **Map of Flores** & wikipedia.id > Ruteng - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruteng,_Manggarai | Active **weaving location**; see **Stake Loom** in Ruteng.

Ruteng Tua

According to a photo description, it is a village in Manggarai "on the way to the Keli Mutu". However, it is not clear whether it is not a district or old town of the capital **>>Ruteng**, because 'Tua' should mean *old* = Old Ruteng. The exact location is not known.

Sambi Rampas

(also: Sambirampas) - District of **>>Manggarai Timur** regency. See: wikipedia.id > Sambi Rampas - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sambi_Rampas,_Manggarai_Timur

Sano Nggoang

(also: Sanonggoang) - 1) Village (desa) in 2) district (*kecamatan*) in the regency **>>Manggarai Barat**. See: wikipedia.id > Sano Nggoang - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sano_Nggoang,_Sano_Nggoang,_Manggarai_Barat

Satar Mese

(also: Satarmese) - District (*kecamatan*) of **>>Manggarai** regency (kabupaten). Main town is Iteng (desa). See: wikipedia.id > Satar Mese - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satar_Mese,_Manggarai

Satar Mese Barat

District (*kecamatan*) of **>>Manggarai** regency (kabupaten). See: wikipedia.id > Satar Mese Barat - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satar_Mese_Barat,_Manggarai

Satar Mese Utara

District (*kecamatan*) of **>>Manggarai** regency (kabupaten). Main town is Langke Majok, Nao (desa). See: wikipedia.id > Satar Mese Utara - https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satar_Mese_Utara,_Manggarai

Sarmi

Name of region on >>Papua, given by the names of the five >>Austronesian groups there: >>Sobei, Armati, Rumbuai, Manirem, and Isirawa. See: [Buckley et al. 2023](#).

Seus

According to the myth of >>Sobei on >>Papua a natural entity, dwelling in the top of trees. It's told, the prototype of the Sobei's >>foot loom was inspired by a piece of woven tissue, Seus had once lost at the bottom of its tree. See [Buckley et al. 2023](#).

Sikka

(Sikkanese, Sika, Sica?) - 1) regency (*kabupaten*) on eastern Flores. Bordered by >>Ende (west) and >>East Flores (east). Capital is >>Maumere. 21 districts: >>Alok, >>Alok Barat, >>Alok Timur, >>Bola, >>Doreng, >>Hewokloang, >>Kangae, >>Kewapante, >>Koting, >>Lela, >>Magepanda, >>Mapitara, >>Mego, >>Nele/Maumerei (Nelle), >>Nita, >>Paga, >>Palue, >>Talibura, >>Tanawawo, >>Waiblama, >>Waigete. Sikka includes a settlement of >>Bugis-Makassar in Palue district. See [Map of Sikka & Map of Flores!](#) 2) Ethnic group. (suku Sikka). Subgroups: >>Krowe, >>Tana'Ai, (>>Lio?). Sikka is mix of Ata Tawa Tana (indigenous) & Ata Pano Main (people from other continent), assimilated thousands of years ago. Sikka, Krowe, Lio, Palue are patrilineal, Tana Ai matrilineal organized. Most of the time vegetarian diet, dish & meat on holidays. See: [wikipedia.id > suku Sikka](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suku_Sikka | Sikka call the island Flores >>Nusa Nipa (Dragon or Snake Island)⁹, but also Tanjung or >>Pulau Bunga (Flower Island). 3) Language (bahasa Sikka, bahasa Krowe/sara Krowe); Malaya-Polynesian branch of >>Austronesian languages. 4) Village in Lela district - See >>Sikka (village). 5) Former kingdom in southern Sikka regency.

Sikka (village)^[=]

(desa Sikka) - Village and an active Ikat [weaving location](#) (Buckley 2015) in >>Lela district (*kecamatan*) in >>Sikka regency close to Lela village on the south coast; 30 km south from >>Maumere; once center of Sikka kingdom. See [Loom of Sikka & wikipedia.id > Sikka Lela](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikka,_Lela,_Sikka

Soa

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Ngada regency. See [wikipedia.id > Soa](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soa,_Ngada

Sobei

>>Austronesian ethnic group on >>Papua, once with a simple >>foot loom in their cultural program. See: [Buckley et al. 2023](#).

Solor

(pulau Solor) - An island group of >>East Flores; east of Flores. Languages >>Adonara and >>Lamaholot. 3 districts: >>Solor Barat, >>Solor Timur, >>Solor Selatan; part of >>East Flores regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Solor](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pulau_Solor

Solor Barat

District (*kecamatan*) of >>East Flores regency on >>Solor Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Ritaebang. See: [wikipedia.id > Solor Barat](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solor_Barat,_Flores_Timur

Solor Selatan

District (*kecamatan*) of >>East Flores regency on >>Solor Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Kalike. See: [wikipedia.id > Solor Selatan](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solor_Selatan,_Flores_Timur

Solor Timur

District (*kecamatan*) of >>East Flores regency on >>Solor Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Menanga. See: [wikipedia.id > Solor Timur](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solor_Timur,_Flores_Timur

Sulawesi

An influencing island north of >>Flores.

South Sulawesi

(Indo.: Sulawesi Selatan) - Province on >>Sulawesi Island. Capital (Ibu kota) is >>Makassar. Main ethnic groups: Bugis, Makassar, Toraja. See: [wikipedia.id > Sulawesi Selatan](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sulawesi_Selatan

Sumba

an island close to Flores' south coast in >>Nusa Tenggara Timur.

Sumbawa

An island west of >>Flores; main spot of >>Bima people (mbojo). Kota Bima = city on Sumbawa.

Tahang

(kampung Tahang). Part of village >>Colol (desa) in the district >>Lamba Leda Timur of >>Manggarai Timur regency.

Takpala^[=]

(desa Takpala) - A village and [weaving location](#) in Lembur Barat/>>Alor Tengah Utara district on >>Alor Island, close to >>Kalabahi (Buckley 2015). Population is >>Abui people. See: [wikipedia.id > Kabupaten Alor](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabupaten_Alor

Talibura

1) Village (desa) in 2) district (*kecamatan*) of >>Sikka regency; about 60 km in the east of >>Maumere. Main town is Talibura. See: [wikipedia.id > Talibura](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talibura,_Talibura,_Sikka

Tana'Ai

Subgroup of >>Sikka in the east of Sikka regency; the Tana Ai are divided in two groups: Tana Ai Krowin & Tana Ai Muhang. Tana Ai Muhang. See [Map of Flores](#).

Tanawawo

1) Village (desa) in 2) district (*kecamatan*) of >>Sikka regency; about 50 km in the southwest of >>Maumere. Main town is Wolofeo/Ranggarasi; borders to >>Ende regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Tanawawo](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanawawo,_Sikka

Tanjung Bunga

(lit.: Cape Flower) - Northern district (*kecamatan*) of >>East Flores regency (Flores Timur) on mainland; Capital (Ibu Kota) is Waiklibang. Sometimes the expression is also used for entire Flores Island. See: [wikipedia.id > Tanjung Bunga](#) -> https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanjung_Bunga,_Flores_Timur

Teluk Mutiara

District (*kecamatan*) of >>Alor Island.

⁹ See: [Orinbao 1969!](#)

Terawutung^[1]

An active Ikat weaving location in >>Atadei district on >>Lembata Island (Buckley 2015). See [Station Loom in Terawutung](#).

Ternate

(Pulau Ternate) - small island of Alor Islands group; in the west of >>Alor Island. See: [wikipedia.id > Ternate](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ternate,_Alor_Barat_Laut,_Alor

Ternate Selatan^[1]

An active Ikat [weaving location](#) (Buckley 2015) in the south of >>Ternate Island; located east of >>Pantar Island. See [Station Loom in Ternate Selatan](#).

Timor

An neighboring Indonesian island south-east of Flores. The creation myth "Lafaek Diak" of Timor tells, the island is made by a crocodile, what's a holy animal on Timor! See [wikipedia >Timor](#). ->https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lafaek_Diak

Titehena

District (kecamatan) of >>East Flores regency (Flores Timur on mainland; Capital (Ibu Kota) is Lewolaga. See: [wikipedia.id > Titehena](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Titehena,_Flores_Timur

Tiworiwu

(Desa Tiworiwu) - A village in >>Jerebuu district (kecamatan) of >>Ngada regency; south of >>Bajawa town & close to the southern coastline. See [wikipedia.id > Tiworiwu](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiworiwu,_Jerebuu,_Ngada

Toang^[1]

(desa Toang) - Village and an active Ikat [weaving location](#) (Buckley 2015) in >>Pantar Tengah district on the east coast of >>Pantar Island; east of >>Baranusa.

Todo^[1]

Traditional village in the regency >>Manggarai in >>Satarmese Utara district (kecamatan); south of >>Ruteng, close to southern coastline. - An active [weaving location](#) (Warisan 2025). The name Todo goes back to the kingdom of Todo, established in the 17th century by Mashur (Minangkabau descendant) from the Sultanate of Gowa, Makassar. See [Loom in Todo](#) & [wikipedia.id > Todo](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Todo,_Satar_Mese_Utara,_Manggarai

Tololela^[1]

(Desa Tololela) - A traditional-style village in >>Jerebuu district (kecamatan) of >>Ngada regency; 6 km southwest of >>Bajawa town & close to the southern coastline. - An active [weaving location](#) (Warisan 2025).

Treweng^[1]

Small Island (Pulau Treweng) and village (desa), part of >>Pantar Timur district, east of >>Pantar Island; with active Ikat [weaving location](#) (Buckley 2015).

Tuabang^[1]

An active Ikat [weaving location](#) (Buckley 2015) in >>Pantar Timur district on the northern east coast of >>Pantar Island, opposite of >>Pulau Pura.

Uma Pura^[1]

(also: Umapura) - An active Ikat [weaving location](#) in the north of >>Ternate Island; located east of >>Pantar Island (Buckley 2015). See [Loom on Ternate Beach](#).

Vanaspati - वनस्पति

Indian Sanskrit term, 1) used by Charaka and Sushutra, naming a group of plants, bearing fruits without (visible) flowering; i.e.: fig trees. 2) now describing the entire plant kingdom. 3) mentioned in Rigveda 9/5.10: the 'Lord of the Forest' is an "ever-green, golden-hued, refulgent deity with a thousand boughs". | Vanas = forest, pati = lord. See also: >>Banaspasi.

Wae Rana

(suku Wae Rana) - One of the ethnic groups, next to >>Manus, >>Rongga, >>Rajong & >>Kepo in the language cluster of the southern >>East Manggarai (Edwards 2018).

Waerebo^[1]

(desa adat Waerebo; also 'Wae Rebo') - Reconstructed, traditional village in >>Satarmese Barat district in the highlands of >>Central Manggarai (Tengah). - An active [weaving location](#) (Aprilla 2017). See [Loom in Wae Rebo](#) & [wikipedia.id > Wae Rebo](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wae_Rebo

Wae Rii

1) Village (desa) in 2) district (kecamatan) of >>Manggarai regency (kabupaten). Main town is Timung, Golo Cador (desa). See: [wikipedia.id > Wae Rii](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wae_Rii,_Wae_Rii,_Manggarai

Waiblama

District (kecamatan) of >>Sikka regency; about 57 km in the east of >>Maumere. Main town is Tanarawa. See: [wikipedia.id > Waiblama](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waiblama,_Sikka

Waigete

District (kecamatan) of >>Sikka regency; about 27 km in the east of >>Maumere. Main town is Nangatobong (desa). See: [wikipedia.id > Waigete](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waigete,_Sikka

Watuwawer^[1]

(kampung Watuwawer; also 'Watuwawere?') - Community and an active [weaving location](#) (Buckley 2015) of desa >>Atakore (village) in >>Atadei district of >>Lembata regency (kabupaten). See [Fork Loom in Watuwawer](#).

Welak

District (kecamatan) in the regency >>Manggarai Barat. See: [wikipedia.id > Welak](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welak,_Manggarai_Barat

Witihama

District (kecamatan) of >>East Flores regency on >>Adonara Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Oringbele. See: [wikipedia.id > Witihama](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Witihama,_Flores_Timur

Wewaria

(Welaria?) - District (kecamatan) of >>Ende regency. See: [wikipedia.id > Wewaria](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wewaria,_Ende

Wolajita

District (kecamatan) of >>Ende regency. | [Hamilton 1994](#) offers a list of [loom components from Wolajita](#). See: [wikipedia.id > Wolajita](#) ->https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wolajita,_Ende

Wolomeze

1) Village (desa) in >>Riung Barat District and 2) district (kecamatan) of >>Ngada regency. See wikipedia.id > Wolomeze → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wolomeze,_Ngada

Wolowae

District (kecamatan) of >>Nagekeo regency. Main town is Danga. See: wikipedia.id > Wolowae → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wolowae,_Nagekeo

Wolowaru

District (kecamatan) of >>Ende regency. See: wikipedia.id > Wolowaru → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wolowaru,_Ende

Wotan Ulumado

District (kecamatan) of >>East Flores regency on >>Adonara Island. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Baniona. See: wikipedia.id > Wotan Ulumado → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wotan_Ulumado,_Flores_Timur

Wua Nangge Liru

(ID: Hadiyahnya dari atas Langit) - According to [Danerek 2021](#) title of a Palu'e legend: The gift from the heavens. A wife and the following husband get the loom from the eighth heaven by climbing an areca palm. See: >>[The Loom from the Heavens](#).

Wulandoni

1) District (kecamatan) of >>Lembata Island, and 2) village (desa) in Wulandoni district. See: wikipedia.id >

Wulandoni → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wulandoni,_Wulandoni,_Lembata

Wulanggitang

District (kecamatan) of >>East Flores regency (Flores Timur on mainland; borderline to >>Sikka regency in the west. Capital (Ibu Kota) is Boru. See: wikipedia.id > Wulanggitang → https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wulanggitang,_Flores_Timur



In the present script, the Indonesian term kabupaten was translated as "regency" and kecamatan is taken as a "district" of such regency, as common translations show it as such. In our opinion, a regency should be understood as part of a kingdom. In accordance with the present state of Indonesia, the supposed regencies on Flores (Manggarai, Ngada, Nagekeo,...) should present themselves as districts and accordingly those already titled here as districts as subdistricts of these districts.

kabupaten & kecamatan



Terms of Weaving on Loin Looms

A brief explanation of the most important technical terms of loin loom weaving used here. Some of the terms are identical to general expressions of weaving; others are only used for loin looms or even differ in application. Multilingual vocabularies of further technical terms on weaving in general (just western techniques) are provided by [CIETA](#). Cultural & general terms on Flores can be found in the [previous list](#).

alat melengkung^{ID}

Indonesian term for a >>warping device.

alat tenun^{ID}

Indonesian term for a loom or more precise: weaving tool(s).

alat tenun kaki^{ID}

Indonesian term for a >>foot loom.

alat tenun pancang^{ID*}

Indonesian term for a >>stake loom.

alat tenun panggung^{ID*}

Indonesian term for a >>stilt loom. See >>cancangan!

alat tenun pinggang^{ID}

Indonesian term for a >>loin loom (waist loom).

alat tenun stasiun^{ID*}

Indonesian term for a >>station loom. See >>gedogan.

backstrap

A strap, placed at the back of the weaver, that gets attached by ropes to the >>breast beam - triangular connection. It enables the weaver to control the tension of the >>warp on a >>loin loom. Hamilton (1994-1) names it as 'plaited panels'. Most loin looms use backstraps as >>back support, but some Indonesian types are equipped with a >>yoke instead of backstrap.

backstrap loom

Loin looms are commonly popular as backstrap looms, as most of >>loin looms are equipped with such an >>back strap to connect one side of the loom to the weaver. But Indonesia offers a bunch of loin looms, which are equipped with a >>yoke instead of a back strap. Thus, backstrap looms are the major group, but just a part of loin looms.

back support

Both, >>back strap and >>yoke are the back support of choice, which is needed to connect one side of the >>loin loom to the weaver.

batten rest

Same as >>reed comb, >>yoke and >>flat warp, the batten rest is a typical Indonesian component of >>loin looms, you won't find that much in use outside of Indonesia. It supports the making of wide >>warps and eases the insertion of the >>batten sword into the >>shed. Reliefs the wrist to a great extent.

batten sword

(also just 'batten' or 'beater'). The >>reed comb of a >>frame loom sits in a massive, heavy swivel arm, with which the >>weft is beaten into the >>warp. The reed of

a >>loin loom, on the other hand, is very light and can't be used to strike the >>weft thread; for this purpose, in general a heavy, sword-shaped hardwood is used to beat-in the weft.

binding

(weave). There is several types of bindings to differ in weaving; first at all the >>plain weave, followed by >>twill, satin (atlas) and damask. The majority of >>loin looms work just with plain weave, which often serves as the basis for >>supplementary weft added onto top. It needs a minimum of two >>sheds to weave plain. For this purpose, the basic equipment of a loin loom offers the >>shed roll and a >>heddle bar; with the >>frame loom, two >>shafts are used for this. For a simple twill you need at least 3-5 shafts and accordingly many shafts or heddle bars.

body-braced

Most of >>loin looms (or backstrap looms) are the type of >>externally-braced hand looms. Due to the use of feet as warp beam holders, just the ancient >>foot looms belong to the body-braced & >>body-tensioned >>handlooms (category A of Yoshimoto).

body-tensioned

>>Loin looms, or so-called backstrap looms are body-tensioned. While >>externally-tensioned looms, like frame looms, keep the >>warp on continuous tension, >>loin looms change between tensioning and relaxing the warp, for the purpose to ease the opening of the >>counter-shed. Surprisingly, loin looms are regarded by researchers as the primitive predecessors of 'further developed looms'. But while conventional >>ground looms force the weaver to squat for hours in a harmful posture, the type of body-tensioned loin loom allows the weaver to advantageously correct the posture and its consequential damage by positioning the legs under the warp.

breast beam

The breast beam of a >>loin loom is used to roll-up the ready woven textile, but just for >>flat warps. In this case it is a >>cloth beam. But >>circular warps just turn around the breast beam and are not rolled-up. The breast beam gets attached to the weaver by tie-up to a >>yoke or a >>backstrap at weaver's back. For the sake of simplicity, this script usually does NOT distinguish between breast beam and cloth beam. There are several standards of breast beams to differ, i.e. one-piece, two-piece and >>framed breast beams. Breast beams can be round, rectangular, and even >>breast boards are found.

breast board

A breast board is a at least 10-15 cm high wooden board, that is used as >>breast beam. Comparing to

standard breast beams they have a certain leverage on the >>warp. Due the height of the board, a longer piece must be woven before the ready-woven textile can be rolled in. Some breast boards reach an height of about 20 cm. Such breast boards are rarely found, but spread throughout Indonesia; as shown by a rare specimen in Sikka. Often, as here, they go hand in hand with an equally high >>warp board. Given its rarity in relation to its wide distribution, it should probably be an old type.

cancangan^{ID}

(cancangan) An Indonesian term for >>loin looms, that use stilts resting on the ground to support the >>warp beam; i.e. *Kanekes* (Baduy) on West-Java. See >>stilt loom.

circular warp

A circular warp is a warp made from a continuous thread. By turning around >>warp beam and >>breast beam it builds two levels. Final product of a circular warp is a tubular textile, used to create original sarongs or tube skirts.

clamp

A separate stick, optionally used to clamp the >>warp at the >>breast beam. It can also be found as a component of a two-piece breast beam; in this case, equipped with tongue and groove.

cloth beam

The actually ready-woven part of a >>flat warp gets rolled-up onto the cloth beam. This beam is located on the side of the weaver and is attached to her loin by means of a >>back strap or >>yoke, so she can regulate the tension of the warp by bending and leaning back. With >>circular warps, the finished-woven part is not rolled up on the cloth beam; it only drives around it. In this case it is a steering beam, resp. >>breast beam. (With frame looms in general there is a >>warp beam, two steering beams, one of which is the breast beam, the other the back beam, and a cloth beam.) For standardization, we usually don't distinguish between breast beam and cloth beam here, so as not to confuse laymen too much, we speak uniformly of a breast beam. (Some authors - see Hamilton 1994 - prefer the term cloth beam for both versions.)

coil rod

Several ancient types of >>loin looms still use a coil rod, which is probably the predecessor of >>lease stick(s). In contrast to lease sticks, it always occurs individually. Also, each individual >>warp thread is wound once around aligned on the coil rod, which keeps the warp threads, similar to lease sticks, at a distance and stabilizes the entire >>warp through the connection. When using a coil rod, the otherwise essential >>thread crossing is omitted. However, in contrast to lease sticks, the coil rod is difficult to remove from the warp. On top of that, it is a little cumbersome and takes some getting used to, which should perhaps also be the reason why various loin weavers adapt the use of lease stick(s). Some ethnic looms don't even use any of both; in these, the warp is usually kept very short, so that the warp beam takes over an elementary basic function of the two.

counter shed

The >>warp is divided into upper and lower warp by inserting the >>shed roll and by connecting a part of the warp threads to a >>heddle bar. The so-called >>shed is

formed between these two layers; the shed roll forms the >>natural shed. By lifting the heddle bar, the lower warp is pulled upwards and forms the *counter shed*. Due to the alternately formed sheds, the >>weft thread is also inserted and folded alternately from the right and left, which connects the >>warp threads to a woven textile.

crawl loom*

Some >>station looms, like the Sundanese or i.e. the station loom of the Baar people in Ngada show 'crawls', so lower part of the pole protrudes through the stand rail and is either stuck in the ground or seeks hold, in example at the edge of a veranda. Presumably such claws should indicate that the ethnic predecessor was supposed to be a >>stake loom.

cross

(laze, lease). The cross is build by separating the even of the uneven threads - each second thread. For warps on >>frame loom, this cross is created during the >>warping; there are various procedures used for >>loin looms. To preserve the cross, simple sticks or strips, so called cross sticks or >>lease sticks are inserted between the two planes. But not all loin looms use such a cross; ancient loin looms have non; most of these use a >>coil rod. Two types of cross are differed: portée cross and porrey cross.

dhada^{ID}

Local term of the >>Palu'e people for a >>stake loom. See also >>alat tenun pancang.

diagonally-aligned warp

A diagonally-aligned warp runs more or less at a 45° angle to the ground. See also >>warp-alignment.

externally-braced

Most of >>loin looms and backstrap looms are the type of externally-braced, but >>body-tensioned hand looms (category B/C of Yoshimoto); not so the >>foot looms. Compare >>body-braced.

externally-tensioned

Loin Looms incl. the so-called division of >>backstrap looms are all, due to the connection of the >>breast beam or >>cloth beam, >>body-tensioned handlooms. In contrast, >>frame looms represent a typical division of externally-tensioned >>handlooms, equipped with a, in most cases, wooden frame, connecting the suspension systems of each, the >>warp beam and the breast beam/cloth beam. It doesn't need such a frame to define an externally-tensioned loom, but the fact of non-body-tensioning. A type of externally-tensioned loom with such a frame are >>ground looms.

false lease stick?

In general Ikat warps don't show any use of standard >>lease sticks, but therefore some show the use of a single stick in each level, upper and lower, that may appear like a lease stick. We are missing a fitting term for those, but due to this appearance we name it a false lease stick! Traditionally there were no those sticks in Ikat-weaving, so some still don't contain any of these. Similar the manner of standard lease sticks these false are used to align AND differ the single parts of the warp by guiding one below, the following over the stick, what raises the stability of the entire warp on top; a bit similar to standard lease sticks. Each level, upper and lower contains at least each one of such a false lease

stick. Due to their design and since in literature, they are consistently referred to as lease sticks, we can assume that they are ultimately also such lease sticks, but the application differs from its conventional use.

flat warp

A flat warp starts with the *>>warp beam* and ends on the *>>breast beam*, each end attached by a *>>whip stick* (insert stick). Final product of a flat warp is a flat textile! While on *>>frame looms* single threads form the final flat warp on the loom, most of ethnic flat warps on *>>loin looms* are made by a continuous thread; a package of two pass the *>>reed* opening.

foot loom

A foot loom is an *>>body-braced* type of *>>loin loom*; ethnic models of foot looms are just used in combination with *>>circular warps*. Most of ethnic foot looms are found on Taiwan, Laos and Vietnam, but in line with the *>>Out of Taiwan*-theory they should have come up in Southern China! Note: Some confusers en vogue trend to interpret a *>>frame loom*, equipped with *>>treadles*, as such a foot loom, what's totally off the track. As several foot looms show first stilts as extensions, *>>stilt looms* should directly have derived from foot looms. Also foot looms show in their concept of *>>warping* the knowledge and several of them the use of external tensioning systems on both side. This suggests that, despite all expectations, they once developed from *>>externally-braced* & *>>externally-tensioned* systems, resp. *>>stake looms*, probably as an art form or under certain circumstances. See [Grouping Loin Looms](#).

foot rest

A foot rest is used, not to rest the feet on as the name implies, but to serve the weaver a support to build-up the needed tension of the *warp*, while weaving with a *>>loin loom*. In general a foot rest is a essential component of externally-braced types of loin looms, but since with narrow warps and, for example, with silk textiles, but also with warps with low density, no great tension has to be built up, one can also observe (aristocratic) loin looms, as on Bali, that do not use footrest.

framed breast beam*

(breast frame) - A framed breast beam is a beam, that has got connected to another beam, building an about 15 cm high frame, that rests on the lap of the weaver. Comparing to standard *>>breast beams* they have a certain leverage on the *warp*. These framed breast beams should go back to *>>breast boards* and have been developed to eliminate a decisive disadvantage of such breast boards, because a *>>flat warp* wound onto a breast board must be woven as far in length according to the board height before it can be rolled up. Thus, framed breast beams combine the extremely helpful leverage of the breast boards with the advantage of ordinary breast beams.

frame loom

In contrast to *>>body-tensioned* loin looms, frame looms are *>>externally-tensioned* types of *>>hand looms*. On top of that, they have a mostly wooden frame, which connects the suspension of the *>>warp beam* and the *>>breast beam*, here actually a *>>cloth beam*, with each other. In contrast to *>>loin looms*, the *>>warp* also remains constantly tensioned on frame looms, while in loin looms it is tensioned and relieved again by the

weaver moving forward and backward in order to open the *>>counter shed*. While in loin looms the *>>shed roll* determines the *>>natural shed* and *>>heddle bar(s)* make up the counter shed, frame looms use so-called *>>shafts* to determine the two *>>sheds*; thus it gets difficult to determine them on frame looms. Frame looms also have a heavy swivel arm with a recessed, nowadays iron *>>reed comb*, which hits the *>>weft* into the warp; for this purpose loin looms use a *>>batten sword*. Ancient loin looms have no reed comb at all in their therefore often *>>warp-weighted* fabrics; several Indonesian ones use a reed made of reed-like material or bamboo strips. The majority of frame looms have a number of *>>treadles* to operate the *>>shafts*, which contradict the nature of loin looms; here the heddle bar(s) are still lifted manually.

gedogan^{ID}

An Indonesian term for *>>loin looms* in general (alat tenun tradisional), but especially for types of *>>station looms*.

ground loom

Ground looms run their *>>horizontally-aligned* *>>warp* close to the ground. There are *>>externally-tensioned* and *>>body-tensioned* versions of ground looms. While externally-tensioned types keep their warp almost on ground, body-tensioned versions lifted the height of warp on about 25-30 cm above ground level.

hand loom

(handloom). Any loom-type, that is operated manually and not by electricity or any other external power-supply. Thus, this means all types of looms, explained in here, from simple devices like *>>ground looms*, via *>>loin looms* to *>>frame looms*; even quick shot-systems are part of this.

harness?

(weaving harness). To distinguish from the additional components, such as the necessary parts of the weaving station (rails, posts, etc.) or other suspension, the actual components of the *>>loin loom* are referred to as weaving harness; so it includes the basic components that were originally necessary to equip a *>>foot loom*, starting from the *>>warp beam* to the *>>back support*, such essential things as *>>lease stick(s)*, *>>shed roll*, *>>heddle bar*, *>>batten sword*, *>>starter rod*, *>>breast beam* & *>>backstrap*; but also additional in the warp, such as *>>reed comb*, *>>temple*, *>>push bar*, etc. The *>>batten rest* i.e. is NOT part of it. | Attention: The term conflicts with the alternate use of the term 'harness' for *>>shafts* in frame looms.

heddle

(leash). The heddle of *>>loin looms* is a continuous thread, that is used to form the *>>counter-shed* by grabbing each second thread. The heddle turns around a single warp thread, is directed back to the *>>heddle bar*, gets fixed there and turns back to the next (second) thread to grab, etc. This way the total of heddles, easily hundreds in number, are built.

heddle bar

The loops of the *>>heddle* thread get lined-up on a simple stick, what is called the heddle bar. Each loop grabs each every second warp thread. Lifting the heddle bar results in opening the *>>counter-shed*. Hamilton (1994-1) calls it heddle rod.

heddle thread

(also: string heddle). The >>heddles of >>frame looms differ pretty much to those of >>loin looms. First at all, frame loom heddles form an eye (*mail*) into which the single >>warp threads are inserted. Each heddle is made by a separate thread; while the heddles of each >>bar on loin looms in total is made of one continuous string heddle.

horizontally-aligned warp

A horizontally-aligned warp runs parallel to the ground. See also >>warp-alignment.

Ikat

Ikat is a textile technique in which patterns are introduced by tying the yet unwoven threads before dyeing. A distinction is made between warp ikat, weft ikat and double ikat. Warp ikat, in general >>warp-weighted, is just made by >>circular warps, that don't include a >>reed. On top >>lease sticks and >>starter rod are either not part of the game. Therefore one finds plenty of >>ikat-markers and sometimes a couple of >>>false lease sticks in use. Weft Ikat, in common >>weft-weighted, may be woven with a reed comb on >>flat warps. | In >>Nagekeo, Ikat is known as >>Pete.

Ikat-Line

The Ikat-line runs from north to south and roughly separates Vietnam and eastern parts of Cambodia from the rest of Southeast Asian mainland (MSEA). To the right of the line we observe warp ikat and accordingly >>circular warps without >>reed comb, while to the left of the line in the best case there is still weft ikat left, but mainly flat warps with >>supplementary weft. Similarly, the weaving devices here tend to use >>flat warps, equipped with a >>reed comb. Exceptions can be found, such as on Bali (double ikat) or the >>Batak on North Sumatra. After the line leaves the mainland and >>Borneo is largely taken over by the right wing, it runs east and separates southern areas of Borneo and >>South Sulawesi, before it turns south again and separates the >>Manggarai (and northern parts of Ngada and Nagekeo, such as >>Riung and the >>Mbay region) from the rest of >>Flores. The south of Flores following >>Sumba Island has joined the Ikat side in total again.

Ikat marker

Next to the fact, that >>warp ikats don't use any >>reed, but need a >>circular warp (of course, just on >>loin looms!), in general there is either no such thing like >>lease sticks nor >>starter rod to find! Most warp ikats are prepared by partial warps, what doesn't go along with the idea of a single starter rod. Therefore partial markers are used; for each part its own. These markers are arranged in two alternating groups offset in order to ease handling them.

inclined warp

An inclined warp shows more or less slight inclination to the weaver. See also >>warp-alignment.

intermediate beam

(connector, connection beam) - rarely used between suspension and warp beam as connection. Sometimes including an sound element and/or serves as weight.

kembang^{ID}

Indonesian term for textile (weaving) patterns, pronouncing it as a 'flower'.

lease stick

(lease rod, laze rod, cross stick). The names on their own refer to the fact that in the Western understanding, lease sticks should always occur in pairs, since they always mark the >>cross and preserve it in between. On the other hand, various >>loin looms indicate that weaving is even possible without the concept of those lease sticks. There are also >>warps that just have one lease stick; the function of the second is usually taken over by the shed roll. Others, in turn, have two lease sticks AND a >>shed roll. Many elementary loin looms instead use a >>coil rod; such function without a cross. See also >>>false lease sticks.

loin loom

A loin loom, or so-called >>backstrap loom is an >>externally-braced >>handlooms. Due to traditions, >>flat warps, >>circular warps or false circular warps are used by ethnic groups on loin looms; >>foot looms, a body-braced version of loin loom, are just used with circular warps (even it is actually possible to run a flat warps on foot looms). Originally, loin looms seem to have used almost exclusively circular warps in Asia. Some literature names loin looms as 'waist looms'.

natural shed

The warp of a >>loin loom is divided by the >>shed roll into lower warp and upper warp. In the case of canvas binding (>>plain weave), this means that every second thread of the warp forms the lower warp. The space between the two layers is the so-called natural shed. The lower warp is connected by means of the >>heddles on the >>heddle bar. If one lifts the heddle bar, the >>counter shed is opened. Both sheds are called up alternately and in each the >>weft thread is inserted. See also >>shed.

part-frame

A widespread name for >>loin looms, which have a self-standing scaffolding frame to which the >>warp beam is attached. In addition, there is often a seat or pedestal for the weaver. This type is assigned here to the >>station loom.

Pete^{ID}

In >>Nagekeo, >>Ikat is known as 'Pete'. Compare >>Wo'i.

plain weave

Plain weave (i.e. canvas, Dutch Duck) is the simplest type of >>binding, which is also considered the most stable. It also requires the smallest number of >>shafts, resp. >>heddle bars, and thus corresponds to the basis of simplest >>loin looms, but also simple >>frame looms. For plain weave, the >>weft thread is passed alternately over, and immediately afterwards under the next following >>warp thread. Due to the alternating use of the >>natural shed and the >>counter shed, the binding is also alternated with the following insertion of the weft thread.

press bar*

(alt. 'press rod', 'push bar'). Buckley tends to define it as 'warp depression rod', while Hamilton (1994-1) and Gittinger (1979) name it 'shed stick', what's easy to mistake it with a >>shed sword, a kind of flat-shaped >>shed roll. There are two types of such press bars to differ in method of use by loin weavers; finally both result in opening the >>shed: First one is a simple round or also rectangular stick, pressed by a single finger, positioned close behind the >>heddle bar, onto the

>>weft, while lifting the heddle bar by the same hand. Second type is in most cases a flatter and wider type of an rectangular bar or a round stick of larger diameter, what is used as a lever to pull the heddle bar over. Finally a third type should be mentioned: Weavers in Hyderabad (India) use framed versions of the second type as >>shed levers on >>externally-tensioned looms, operated without >>treadles, what enables them to lock the opened shed without holding it by hand. As far as observed, due to the sensitivity necessary for >>Ikat, just the first type seems to be used on Flores.

reed comb

The reed comb keeps the >>warp threads in order and on certain distance. There is no reed to find in a >>circular warp, but in >>>false circular and >>flat warp-types. Reeds on >>loin looms are pretty light in weight; thus it can't be used to beat-in the >>weft thread on its own weight. Therefore the >>batten sword is used. Beside reeds don't fit in a circular warp, warp ikat is >>warp-weighted textile, that doesn't go along with the concept of reed.

reedless

Looms, that don't include a >>reed comb. In general most and most ancient of >>loin looms don't include such a reed.

selvage

(Engl.: selvedge). A woven textile contains a selvage (American term) on each side, right and left. Its 'self-edges' are, in contrary to its start and the end, closed by 'itself', due to the forth and back inserted continuous >>weft thread and the concept of additional >>selvage cords.

selvage cord

(Engl.: selvedge cord). A frequently thicker thread or bundle of threads, added to each side of the >>warp. Actually not really part of the warp, as it doesn't get counted and isn't connected to any >>heddles. The >>weft loops once around the selvage cord before passing back through the >>shed. This procedure isn't necessary part of weaving, but finally leads to an accurately straight >>selvage.

shaft

Frame looms work with a concept of at least two shafts to open the >>shed. A standard of >>frame loom operates these shafts by the means of each a >>treadle, these shafts are connected to. Some few are even equipped with a counter-march, what provides the weaver with a widened shed. Most >>loin looms, in contrary, use >>shed roll and at least one >>heddle bar in combination to switch from opening the >>natural shed (by shed roll) to >>counter shed (by heddle bar). Similar to shafts, but in detail quiet different, on loin looms >>heddles are shaped, surrounding a single >>warp thread, and mounted on the bar. Instead of using treadles, such a heddle bar is lifted manually.

shed

Each loom needs two sheds; differed in the >>natural shed and the >>counter shed! A simple standard of looms runs on plain weave; for this, two >>shafts are necessary on frame looms. However, most >>loin looms use the >>shed roll to determine the natural shed, and instead of a shaft, a >>heddle bar is attached, which catches every second thread of the >>warp. The warp is

thus divided into upper and lower warp; while one group is directed above the shed role, the other is led under. By lifting the heddle bar, the threads of the lower warp are lifted over the upper warp and thus open the laterally appearing counter shed! The >>weft thread is inserted alternately through the appearing sheds, which leads to interweaving of the warp threads to a final textile.

shed lever*

Similar to the >>push bar or shed stick, the shed lever, as a kind of >>shed opener, is used to support the opening of the >>counter shed. In contrary to a standard round shed stick, it has a rectangular shape. The >>heddle bar is pulled over the rectangular shed lever behind, by turning the lever around. A further developed version of such a lever can be found on externally tensioned >>handlooms in Hyderabad/India; Here the basic lever slat is provided with a handle (framed shed lever), that allows the weaver to lock the open shed without further holding by hand and still create a larger shed despite the continuous tension.

shed opener

In general, a shed opener defines a >>shed and is a component of standard >>loin looms, inserted in the >>warp & used to open the shed. As there is two types shed, natural & counter, first at all, there has to be differed also two types of openers or supporters to open such a shed of choice: The ones to define the >>natural shed & the ones to support the >>counter shed. The basic choice of a shed opener for the natural shed is the well-known >>shed roll; beside that there are the oftenly so-called >>shed swords. The Y-shaped 'warp divider' is another type of these natural shed openers, that can be found on Taiwan; the Katuic people in Laos use still two single bamboo sticks in similar manner. In contrary to the shed roll, these are flat, similar a >>batten sword. Unlike the instantly opening shed roll, they must be operated manually and thus placed upright in the warp to open the natural shed. Both, shed roll or shed sword, are brought into the warp between >>lease stick(s) and >>heddle bar. The second type of shed opener supports the opening of the counter shed, independently of shed roll or shed sword. In loin looms, there are two slightly different methods to open the counter shed. The first uses a >>push bar, press rod, as Hamilton says >>shed stick, which is pressed onto the warp by means of a finger of the right hand behind the heddle bar, while the heddle bar itself is lifted with the remaining hand. Thus, a narrow gap between the upper and lower warp opens gallantly. In the second, usually larger variant, the heddle bar is pulled over the shed stick behind, or used as a >>shed lever. A much larger counter shed opens up.

shed roll

(roller, shed rod). A wooden stick or bamboo cane, inserted into the >>warp between lower and upper warp. Its height defines the height of the >>natural shed. Some literature calls it 'shed rod'. It counteracts with the >>heddle bar; lifting the heddle bar opens the >>counter shed. Constant change of both enables the insertion of the >>weft, what leads to a woven fabric. Shed rolls are not found with the concept of >>frame looms; here >>shafts, its kind of heddle bar, are used to open natural and counter shed. As some >>loin looms show just a single >>lease stick, the shed roll becomes a counterpart of this single lease stick. In this sense, in Taiwan, albeit rarely, there is a kind of shed sled, in

which the lease stick and the shed roll are rigidly connected to each other.

shed stick

Hamilton (1994-1) & Gittinger (1979) call the >>press bar a 'shed stick'.

shed sword

A kind of flat-type >>shed roll, to open the >>natural shed; shaped similar a >>batten sword.

spindle

A stick, the spindle, attached to a string and usually weighted at the bottom with a weight stone (spindle whorl). A simple, ancient tool to spin threads.

spool case

A case, made from a section of a bamboo cane, to insert the >>weft spool. The set of spool case and weft spool is called >>tube shuttle. A weft spool without such a case is passed through the >>shed; with wide warps, this weft spool also becomes longer and longer. Weft spools equipped cases, on the other hand, remain short independently of the warp width and are thrown through the shed.

stake

A pair of stakes, poles, posts, or even pegs & wedges, vertically driven into the soil, are used as suspension to hold the >>warp beam of the loom.

stake loom*

A stake loom is a externally-braced, but >>body-tensioned >>handloom; its >>warp beam hold by two >>stakes, resting IN the ground! In general, stake looms are thought to derive from foot looms; but according to our observations, they probably may derive directly from >>externally-tensioned >>ground loom. Probably this change served to correct the damaging posture of externally-tensioned ground looms. Furthermore, we suspect that >>foot looms also arose against all expectations from these stake looms, perhaps as an art form and/or circumstances. Under the influence of >>station looms, even some stake looms turn into station; few of them seem to show 'crawls', so lower part of the former stake protrudes through the stand rail and is either stuck in the ground or seeks hold, in example at the edge of a veranda. See [Grouping Loin Looms](#).

stand loom*

A stand loom is a special (extended) variety of >>stilt loom. Its stilts have got connected by a binder, in many cases a stand below. Its stilts stand by itself, but demand still connection to a wall or poles by rope. See [Grouping Loin Looms](#).

starter rod

Most of >>circular warps include a starter rod. Here the warp threads starts and finally ends. It's also marking the beginning and the end of weaving. False circular warps slightly modify the use of this starter rod, use it to turn the warping threads forth and back. In case of >>flat warps two whip sticks (insert sticks) instead of the starter rod are used. Ikat warps (running circular!) traditionally didn't use this kind of a single starter rod, but instead they work with partial >>ikat markers and sometimes some of them somehow differently use a kind of >>>false lease stick in upper and lower level of the

circular warp. The most Ikat warps are prepared partially, what doesn't cope with the starter rod.

station loom*

A type of >>loin loom, that includes a furniture stand to hold the >>warp beam. This furniture (station) needs no attachment at all; it functions as a stand-alone. Can be used in- and outdoor, and is somehow (locally) mobile. As basic weaving stations are 'stilts mounted on rails' and secondly >>stand looms, as a special, extended division of >>stilt looms come across the definition of station looms, station looms once should directly have derived from stilts looms, resp. its 'sub-group' of stand looms. The extension of station looms leads to components of >>frame looms. See [Grouping Loin Looms](#).

stilt loom*

The >>warp beam is hold by two stilts, resting ON the ground; these need to be attached to the wall/pole by ropes. Can be used in- and outdoor, and is pretty mobile, but demands certain circumstances. Stilt looms can equipped with a stand or a connection of both stilts (>>stand loom). Further extension by rails leads to the type of >>station loom. As several extended >>foot looms show stilts as their extension of first choice, stilt looms should directly derive from foot looms. See [Grouping Loin Looms](#).

supplementary weft

A technique of weaving by adding supplementary yarn onto the basic (plain) weave for additional patterns.

temple

In case of loin looms a temple is a bamboo stick, on both end pointed, or equipped with needles. Even it is a simple solution, technically it's equal to the wooden constructions used on frame looms, but thanks to its simplicity easy to construct by the weaver herself. With the help of the needles, it is attached to maintain and control the warp width in the selvages (>>selvages), briefly under the current >>weft; with the progress of the weaving process, it is offset step by step. Experienced weavers among loin weavers deny the use of a temple, but for beginners it may be extremely helpful; thus it's an optional component of the >>weaving harness. Without temple you run especially on >>loin looms of the risk, that the >>warp is constantly & irreversibly tapering, especially if no >>reed comb is used.

thread crossing?

See >>cross.

treadle

Most of >>frame looms use treadles in order to open the >>shed by the means of >>shaft. Thus, hands remain free to insert the >>weft thread. In contrary, >>loin looms use >>heddle bars, lifted by hand for the same purpose. To have the hands free for the weft thread, the >>batten sword is placed upright in the >>shed.

tube shuttle

(also 'shuttle'). The set of >>spool case and >>weft spool is called tube shuttle.

twill

Twill is the second type of >>bindings, rarely found with >>loin looms. Denim, i.e. is a simple type of twill; easy

to explain: In contrary to the basic binding principle of a >>plain weave (i.e. canvas), the >>weft thread is led under each third >>warp thread, so two threads get overpassed. With the next insertion of the >>weft, the pattern is moved to the right by a thread. This creates a typical denim with its diagonal grooves. For this, at least 3 >>shafts (or two >>heddle bars & the >>shed roll) are required.

twine

(twisted yarn). A yarn built by 2 or more twisted threads; in general used for >>warp threads (on >>frame looms) or also >>weft threads, that are thought to withstand strong tension. However, traditionally >>loin looms are not familiar to use twisted yarn for the warp threads.

warp

The warp is formed from vertically lined threads. In general this warp is prepared with a >>warping device before weaving. When >>warping, >>loin loom weavers usually set up the >>heddle bar and probably the >>reed in addition to marking the >>thread's crossing. After the warp is set up, it is brought to the loom. Here, the individual >>warp threads are woven into a textile by means of horizontal >>weft threads according to a binding method specified by the heddle bar-binding (usually >>plain weave).

warp alignment

In general three types of warp-alignment are differed here: >>horizontally-aligned, >>inclined & >>diagonally-aligned. A horizontally warp runs parallel to the ground, while the standard of diagonally-aligned warp runs at a 45° angle. One speaks of an inclined warp when the warp shows more or less slight inclination to the weaver. On top of that, there are also warps with more than a 45° inclination or even a vertical alignment.

warp beam

Warp beams are standard to roll-up >>warps for the weaving process of >>flat warps. >>Circular warps are not rolled-up on such beams, but pass and turn around them to change direction. The warp beam is hold by foot or gets fixed to an external suspension.

warp beam-support

Any kind of >>warp beam, no matter it's round, rectangular or even a >>board needs a support; even body-braced >>foot looms depend on such a support, in this case the feet. Externally-braced loin looms use >>posts for this purpose. On Flores one can realize a conscious play with the gestalt of such warp beam-holders in construction and function; here grouped by form: Y - X - r - I - V - M - U. Many of these posts are created by straight and forking branches of trees. See also section [Forking Branches](#).

warp board*

A board of about 8 to 20 cm in width, used to roll-up the >>warp for the weaving process. (>>flat warps) >>Circular warps are not rolled-up on boards; they just pass and turn around them to change direction. Warp boards are big-size >>warp beams.

warp depression rod?

See >>press bar.

warp post

Two vertical posts hold the warp beam of externally-braced >>loin looms.

warping

Warping is the preparation of a >>warp of the vertically aligned >>warp threads for the following process of weaving; what actually is the connecting of these vertical threads by horizontal >>weft threads.

warping device

A set of simple tools like plain sticks are needed, to set up the >>warp for weaving, not just for >>loin looms. In general, frame constructions of various kinds are often used for this purpose, such as vertical >>warping frames or horizontally aligned warping tables. But even a handful of simple sticks, put into the ground, have been used in loin looms since ancient times. In this study so far, we just met kinds of horizontally aligned warping devices, even it's discussed about elder vertical types.

warping frame

Any kind of frame, vertical or horizontal, that is used to prepare the >>warp for the following weaving process.

warp thread

This vertically-aligned threads in total build the warp; they must be able to withstand strong tension. For this reason, oftenly twisted yarns are selected, but in general, traditional loin weavers don't use any >>twine.

warp yarn

Even if literature often fails here, a distinction should be made between >>warp thread and warp yarn, especially since the term warp yarn should indicate a certain quality, but there is a great incomprehension here. While the threads of a >>warp are called warp threads, the term warp yarn refers to a quality of threads that are specially designed for this purpose. Usually it should be twisted yarn (>>twine) and/or very long-fiber yarn. Since warp threads, while weaving on >>frame looms, and also as a ready-made garment, are usually under constant tension, warp yarn is usually used for this. While with the >>weft material contrary properties are often preferred; however, not just warp yarn is used as warp threads. Ethnic >>loin looms usually do not use yarn quality for the warp; their warp threads are not twisted. (Kettgarn)

warp-weighted

The ratio of number, density and strength of the >>warp threads to those of the >>weft thread fundamentally determines whether a textile proves to be warp-weighted or >>weft-weighted. In addition, a >>reed comb also facilitates the emphasis of the >>weft. Without a reed and necessary experience, the emphasis of the >>warp always dominates; weft threads don't get visible, just their strength may be reflected.

weaver law*

In front: There is no weaver law as such; nowhere is such a thing named as such, even if you can list a bunch of instructions and according to regions are even compiled. But especially here in the context of >>loin looms, which are usually titled as simple weaving devices, a simple basic rule should be mentioned, which can even be observed with >>frame looms and is usually mentioned in the training of weavers even on the edge,

although not necessarily titled as a law. This rule should probably be the basis for all >>handlooms, but especially for primal models. Such a basic understanding is found in all traditional crafts, such as the smith: Not only the chalice, even the necessary tools for this he creates himself. In such an old craft as weaving, the scope of materials for both, textiles and looms, is still limited to a minimum: stick and thread! Not only the textile, even the loom, all the necessary tools are created from this fundus; the necessary woodwork should be limited to this minimum. The fact that today's frame looms have moved far beyond this basis does not need to be explained further. But also many >>station looms no longer adhere to these basics, which means that weavers are not able to construct their own loom themselves and even worse, so that they may also lose a little of the relationship to their loom. Various traditional tools, whether for fishing, hunting or even fighting, like the first machines use the combination of stick and thread, resp. cord, usually as a joint. Here on Flores it turns out that stones should have been added as a tool - thus, all you need is sticks, threads'n stones.

weft

In contrary to the >>warp, the weft is build by the total of >>weft threads, introduced horizontally into the vertically-aligned warp.

weft spool

(also: 'spool', 'stick shuttle', 'bobbin'). A plain, thin (bamboo) stick, on which the >>weft thread is wound. It serves as the simplest method to insert the weft thread into the opened >>shed of the >>warp. Hamilton (1994-1) calls it 'bobbin'. Eigentlich differenzieren sich diese Ausdrücke; bobbin is more a tube-like, the stick shuttle definitely a stick, while spool may be used for both, tube and stick-type.

weft thread

The weft threads of a textile run horizontally to the vertically-aligned >>warp threads; ultimately they connect the >>warp, assembled from the warp threads, to a textile.

weft yarn

In contrast to >>warp threads, >>weft threads are generally less stressed by tension, which is why they do not necessarily have to consist of twisted yarn (>>twine). Industrially, yarns are sometimes even preferred as weft thread, which correspond more to 'cotton balls'.

weft-weighted

The ratio of number, density and strength of the >>warp threads to those of the >>weft thread fundamentally determines whether a textile appears weft- or >>warp-weighted. In addition, a >>reed comb eases the weft-weighting; what takes effect onto the design of the final fabric. Checkered fabric, in example, is just possible with a weft-weighted warp; otherwise just vertical stripes will appear.

whip stick?

(insert stick, whip). A whip stick is found at both ends of a >>flat warp. The individual threads (frame loom) are tied to it. The 'whips' are attached each on >>warp and >>breast beam (resp. cloth beam). However, a large part of Indonesian >>flat warps is produced by a continuous thread according to the principle of a false-circular warp. In the case of frame looms, the initially continuous warping thread is cut into individual threads when set on loom (to pass the eyes of the heddle. With traditional >>loin looms, it usually remains continuous and is thus threaded in pairs into the >>reed. With these types of flat warp, the thread just surrounds the whips.

Wo'i^{ID}

In >>Nagekeo, >>supplementary weft is known as 'Wo'i'. Compare >>Pete.

yoke

A wooden stick, horizontally placed at the back of the weaver, that gets attached by ropes to the >>breast beam - parallel connection. It enables the weaver to control the tension of the warp on a >>loin loom in a more accurate manner. In general useful to create wide >>warps.

[...to be continued.]



[=] weaving location [T] Traditional village ID Indonesian term ? questionable term

Components of the Loom

There are various word lists with local terms for the components of the ethnic looms of some regions to find in several works. The main part of the terms can be found at [Hamilton](#); these have been extended by terms found at [Buckley et al.](#) and [Danerek](#). The validity of these terms has to be taken with caution, so they currently serve only as an approximation; anyway they are hardly complete. For example, almost all of these collections lack the terms for the ikat markers to be observed and the stick designated by us as a false lease stick. Also foot rests and batten rests are not mentioned at all.

Manggarai Regency

Cibal - [Hamilton 1994](#)

Components of the loin looms in [Cibal](#), Central Manggarai, according to [Hamilton 1994](#).

[Loom C-type?]

parkinsu - yoke (back support)
wasek tentang - tie rope (for back support)
pesa - cloth beam
pa tekol - insert stick (whip; to attach warp to breast beam)
 ??? - temple
keropong - shuttle (tube shuttle)
mongko kosor - bobbin (? = weft spool?)
zangka - reed (comb)
bampa - beater (sword)
akot - heddle (string heddle)
mongko akot - heddle rod
belang - shed roll
mongko rempé - shed stick (warp depression rod?)
mongko akot(!) - supplementary heddles
pasikok - lease sticks
pémaluk - warp beam (plank-type)
ghazu panka - plank supports

Ngada Regency

Bajawa Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of [Bajawa](#) people in Ngada regency, according to [Hamilton 1994](#).

[Loom B-type?]

tapi - backstrap (back support)
azé tapi - tie rope (for back support)
wega - cloth beam
 ??? - insert stick (whip; to attach warp to breast beam)
(witu) - temple
ghoa - stick shuttle
 NO reed!
bhira - beater (sword)
ghuna - string heddle
kuku - heddle rod
longa - shed roll
witu - shed stick (warp depression rod?)

NO lease sticks!

bhota - warp beam

redha - posts

Riung Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of [Riung](#) people in Ngada regency, according to [Hamilton 1994](#).

[Loom C-type?]

lihur - yoke (back support)
wasé lihur - tie rope (for back support)
pesa - cloth beam
peteko - insert stick (whip; to attach warp to breast beam)
(tuké) - temple
keropong - shuttle (tube shuttle)
kelirik - bobbin (weft spool?)
jangka - reed (comb)
bampang - beater (sword)
hum - string heddle (heddle rod?)
helung - shed roll
bila - shed stick (warp depression rod?)
hum - supplementary heddles
leka - lease sticks
tampang - warp beam (plank-type)
pasé - plank support

Nagekeo Regency

Mbay Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of [Mbay](#) people in Nagekeo regency, according to [Hamilton 1994](#).

[Loom C-type]

para kincu - yoke (back support)
wasék tentang - tie rope (for back support)
pesa - cloth beam
(tubho) - temple
keropong - shuttle (tube shuttle)
mungku kéler - bobbin (weft spool?)
jangka - reed (comb)
lampeng - beater (sword)

gugu - string heddle (heddle rod?)
mongko gugu - heddle rod
bhelang - shed roll
mungku lempor - shed stick (warp depression rod?)
gugu dhowik - supplementary heddles
leka - lease sticks
bhaluk - warp beam (plank-type)
ghaju panga - plank support

Boawae Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of Boawae people in Nagekeo regency, according to Hamilton 1994.

[Loom B-type?]

logo kuju - back support: yoke
logo zé'a - back support: plaited panel
tali logo - tie rope (for back support)
ati - cloth beam
ati ana - 'child part' of cloth beam
ati iné - 'mother part' of cloth beam
(tubo) - temple
oka niku - tube shuttle
ana niku - bobbin
hamé - beater (sword)
gugu - string heddle
kuku - heddle rod
longa - shed roll
hepa - shed stick
hepa - lease stick
mada - warp beam
posa - posts

Ende Regency

Ende Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of Ende people in Ende regency; according to Danerek 2021 (basing on Hamilton; extended).

ozo - loom
fi'a - batten sword
zuzo, **ozo woe** - spindle
konggo - breast beam
keke - reed
kabhe - back support (yoke)
ozozu - warp beam
(tubho) - temple (optional)
bhoku - tube shuttle
niku - weft spool
guru - heddle string
kuku guru - heddle bar
mbeza - shed roll
kuku reté - shed stick
kuku guru - 2nd bar for supplementary heddles
sipe - lease sticks
ura peru - warp
poke - weft

(according to Hamilton 1994; for comparison):

[Loom B-type?]

kabhé - back support (yoke)
tazi kabhé - tie rope
konggo - cloth beam
(tubho) - temple (optional)
bhoku - tube shuttle
niku - bobbin
kéké - reed
fi'a - beater (sword)
guru - heddle string
kuku guru - heddle rod
mbeza - shed roll
kuku retté - shed stick
sipé - lease sticks
ozozu - warp beam
ozo senda - posts

! Note: Hamilton names all '*cloth beams*' regardless of the warp-type. Strictly speaking, this term is only correct for flat warps, since the textile is rolled up on these. Since in case of using circular warps, the warp is only redirected around this beam like in Ende, it is, as Danerek mentions above, definitely a breast beam (redirecting beam). This also applies to Hamilton's other listings; only Cibai, Riung & Mbay use a so-called 'cloth beam'.

Onelako Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of people in Onelako region of Ende regency, according to Hamilton 1994.

[Loom B-type]

kabhé - yoke
tali kabhé - tie rope
kogo - cloth beam
koko kaki - 'male part' of cloth beam
koko fai - 'female part' of cloth beam
(tibho) - temple
bhoku - tube shuttle
niku - bobbin
(kéké) - reed
fi'a - beater (sword)
guru - string heddle
kuku guru - heddle rod
bela - shed roll
kuku retté - shed stick
sipé - lease sticks
eleli - warp beam
élé seda - posts

Wolojita Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of people in Wolojita district of Ende regency, according to Hamilton 1994.

[Loom A-type?]

kabhé - back support: yoke
ajé kabhé - tie rope (for yoke)
kogo - cloth beam
koko kaki - 'male part' of cloth beam
koko fai - 'female part' of cloth beam
(tubo) - temple
bhoku seda - tube shuttle
niku - bobbin
(kéké) - reed
ngewi - beater (sword)
guru - string heddle
kuku téki - heddle rod
bella - shed roll
kuku reté - shed stick
pepa - lease sticks
lani kolo - warp beam
kuku toka - posts

Ndona Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of Ndona people in Ende regency.

kobhe (kabe) - yoke (tali kohbe = rope for yoke)
kogo (konggo) - breast beam
tibo - temple
fio - batten sword
kuku rete (kuku?) - shed stick
NO reed!
kuku guru - heddle bar/pattern sticks?
leki guru - *heddle thread!?*
bela - shed roll
sipe - lease sticks
sou upu
a/alí (orari, olali) - warp beam
setu hoi
ele sedo
goku
niku - weft spool
bhoku (boku) - spool case
bhoku oe? - weft spool
keke noo - reed comb
(rero/reru/lelu) - thread
??? - stakes (two huge bamboo canes)
??? - foot rest (similar solution like Sikka!)
(senda) - weaving

Nggela Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of Nggela village in Ndona district of Ende regency, according to Richardson 2024. (<http://asiantextilestudies.com/nggt-02.html#cy>)

seda - weaving
ala - loom
kuku - upright (posts)
kogo - breast beam
lain - warp beam
kabhé - yoke
ajé - yoke rope (tie rope)
ngewi - batten sword
(tubo) - temple
guru - heddle (? string)
kuku - heddle (? rod)
kuku - whole (? heddle set?)
bella - bamboo shed (? shed roll)
pepa tué - lease (sticks)
setu - foot rest
lelu - shuttle

Sikka Regency

Sikka Loom Components on the guess

Components of the Sikka Loom on Flores, but names are on guess. Some named components don't fit!

tuntunger - foot rest (wooden block or urbanized: bamboo cane & 2 pegs; Atoni: rocks)
??? - stakes (two of them & holders; sometimes rocks!)
ekur - "partial lease stick"? (a stick, in manner like lease stick, to mark the parts of warp)
??? - shed roll
boleng (bolen) - heddle bar (& heddle)
patih (pati) - batten sword
NO reed! - warp ikat can't use a reed.
ai tuan - breast beam? (maybe for both; warp- & breast beam?) rectangular
pini (pine) - yoke (wooden!)
??? - weft spool (& spool case)
??? - batten rest (with bells!)

Palu'e Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of Palu'e people in Sikka regency (Palu'e Isl.), according to Danerek 2021.

dhadha - loom (bamboo stake loom)
Shoshone wa'i no'o pabha - foot rest and plank (station loom?)
luja - batten sword
bhudhe/ bhudhe kabha - spindle
hati - breast beam
kedhu/ pa'o - back strap (Areca spathe)
pabha (,plank') - warp beam
dubho - temple (optional)
dhibo/béko - tube shuttle
kaju pola kabhane/ niku - weft spool
kugu - heddle string
kaju hana - heddle bar

halo - shed roll
kaju hana? - shed stick
kaju hana - 2nd bar for supplementary heddles
kaju sipene/pa'a - lease sticks
romo - warp
haka - weft

Léla Loom Components

Components of the ethnic loin loom of Léla people, according to [Hamilton 1994](#).

[Loom A-type?]

piné - back support: yoke
tali lorung - tie rope (for yoke)
a'i lorung - cloth beam
a'i lorung anak - 'male part' of cloth beam
a'i lorung 'inang - 'female part' of cloth beam
(tubung) - temple
legu - tube shuttle
ojang - bobbin
(janka) - reed
pati - beater (sword)
hawéng - string heddle
boleng 'anak - heddle rod
boleng 'inang - shed roll
polet - shed stick
nalar - lease sticks
a'i plapar - warp beam
 ... - posts

East Flores Regency

Lamaholot?

- *yet missing.*

Lembata Regency

Lamalera Loom Components

[Loom A-type]

seligu - back support: plaited panel
seligu tali - tie rope (for back support)

tenané - cloth beam
napi - insert stick (for cloth beam)
(nugi) - temple
fani - stick shuttle
huri - beater (sword)
guru - string heddle
guru kajo - heddle rod
fulo béla - shed roll
tenié - shed stick
pola - warp beam
 ... - posts

Alor Regency

Alor Loom Components

- *yet missing.*

Externals

Sobei Loom Components

Components of the ifduai - [Sobei](#) Loom on Papua, and their names, according to [Buckley et al. 2023](#):

idoday - "cloth" beam, breast beam
senggoni - shuttle
esdi - batten sword
péija - heddle
bo'oro - shed roll
 ??? - lease stick. (one single stick; reduced system)
bedmafo - warp beam (one or two beams)
ifduai - foot loom



Note: In addition to the *cloth beam* mentioned already above, Hamilton uses some terms that differ greatly from the terms introduced here: He calls *backstraps* '*plaited panels*'; the term '*tube shuttle*' is used for *spool case*; '*bobbin*' for *spool(?)*; '*beater (sword)*' for *batten sword*. His '*string heddle*' is our *heddle thread*; the *heddle bar* Hamilton calls '*heddle rod*'; and the '*shed stick*', a term, easy to mistaken with a flat type of *shed roll* (or *opener*), is what we mention as *press bar*, or *warp depression rod*. In all examples, he mentions '*lease sticks*', although most Ikat warps use similar sticks, but with different methods and purposes; such we differ as *false lease sticks*. *Footrests*, *batten rests* as well as the conspicuous *Ikat markers* are left completely unnamed. Terms listed in parentheses are optional components. Hamilton also assigns the local looms to the categories (A, B, C), while he refers to Yoshimoto. But these deviate enormously from Yoshimoto's assignment; he also leaves the exact assignment of these to the reader's interpretation. The solution to the riddle here should be that Hamilton refers to the original, but partly corrected drawings of Gittinger, but unfortunately relates it to the categories of Hamilton. The models in question are noted with a question mark (i.e. *loom B-type*).

Indonesian Terms of the Loom Components

Istilah Indonesia dari Komponen Loom

Komponen

REGIONAL | BAHASA

Suggested expressions in Bahasa Indonesia

Bahasa Indonesia			
1	cacak; <i>tiang tenunan</i>	perpendicular; O.B.I. tiang tenunan = weaving pillar	poles („station“)
2	dumpal		? rails (of station)
3	balok lungsin; papan lungsin	warp beam warp board	# warp beam
4	kayu bulat panjang(?)	Small round stick, in size smaller? than gondhong	# whip at warp beam
5	?		lease stick(s)
6	kayu bulat panjang	Round stick bigger than gligen (whip)	# shed roll
7	gun		O.B.I. heddle
8	?		heddle bar
9	balero		O.B.I. batten sword
10	suri/sisir		O.B.I. reed comb
11	sumbi		O.B.I. temple
12	gulungan benang pakan	<i>spool-thread-weft</i>	# weft spool
13	teropong		O.B.I. spool case
14	apit; <i>balok dada</i>	tool for clamping..... breast beam	# O.B.I. breast beam
15	?		whip@breast.beam
16	palang pinggang	<i>crossbar-waist</i>	# yoke
17	sandaran balero	<i>support-sword</i>	# batten rest
	pakan		O.B.I. weft
	lungsin		O.B.I. warp

Table: Components of loin looms, and their names in official Indonesian language.
(O.B.I. = Official Bahasa Indonesia | # = Suggested description form)

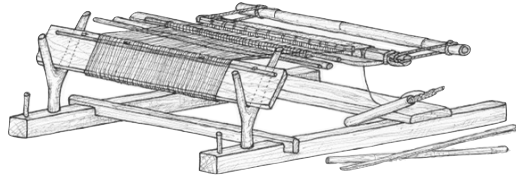
Contents

Isi Daftar

Looms of Manggarai

5

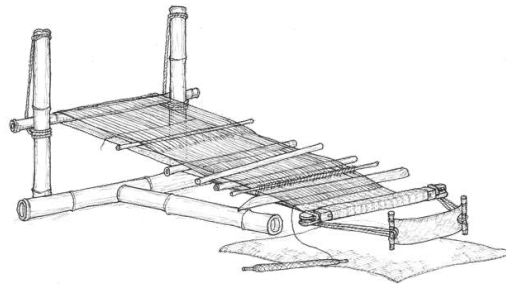
- Y - The Loom gently twigs (Stake Loom)
- Y - The Station Loom - Fork on rails
- The Bima weaving stand
- A Mandar-like Stand Loom
- A Station Loom in Todo

6
7
8
9
11

Looms of Ngada

17

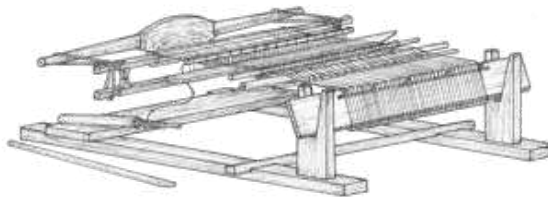
- Stake Loom of Ngada
- Stilt Loom of Bajawa?
- Modern Loom of Bajawa
- Another Ethnic Loom close to Bajawa
- Station Loom of Ba'ar People
- Ba'ar Station Loom in Variation
- Ba'ar Stilt Loom

19
20
22
24
25
26
27

Looms of Nagekeo

30

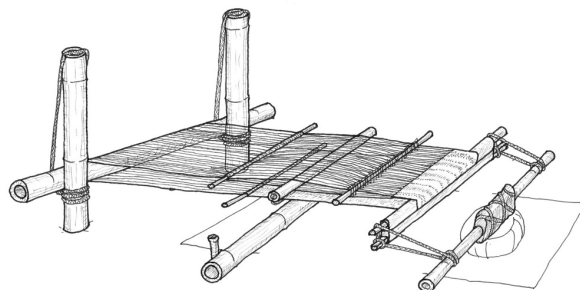
- Mbay Station Loom
- Stake Loom of Mbay
- Stake Loom of Nagekeo

31
32
33

Looms of Ende

37

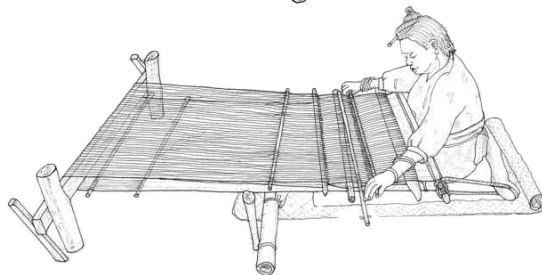
- Stake Loom of Nggela
- Stake Loom of Ndonga
- Simple Loom of Mama Ango
- Station Loom of Palu'e
- Stake Loom of Palu'e (dhadha)
- Looms of Palu'e en detail
- Palu'e Loom at Tropenmuseum

38
39
40
42
43
44
44

Looms of Sikka

47

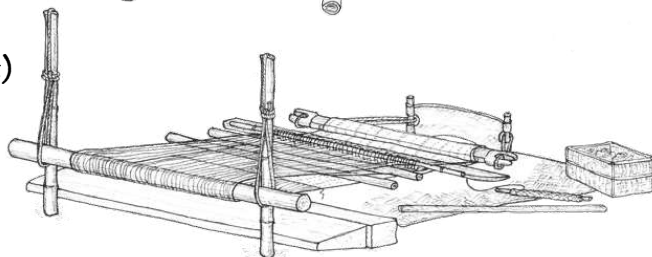
- A Standard of Stake Loom on Stones
- Stake Loom with pegs
- Sikka Loom with two boards
- Sikka on forked Stilts
- Warp Beam Holders of Sikka
- Sikka Station Loom
- A Bima-influenced Station Loom in Nita?

48
49
50
51
52
53
54

Looms of East Flores (Lamaholot)

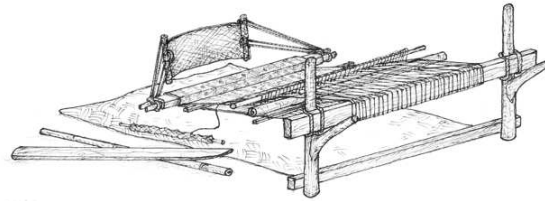
57

- Larantuka Stake Loom (Ground Loom)
- Ile Mandiri Stake Loom (Ground Loom)
- Station Loom in Ile Mandiri Region
- Adonara - Fork Stations at a Glance
- A Station Loom on Solor Island

58
59
60
61
62

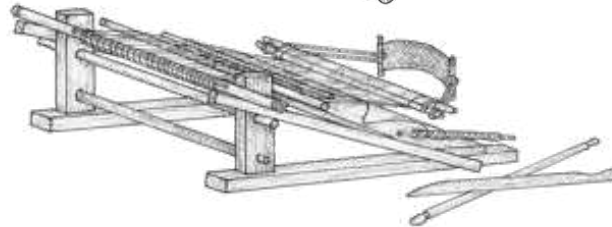
Looms of Lembata

Lembata Fork Loom
Lembata Station Loom



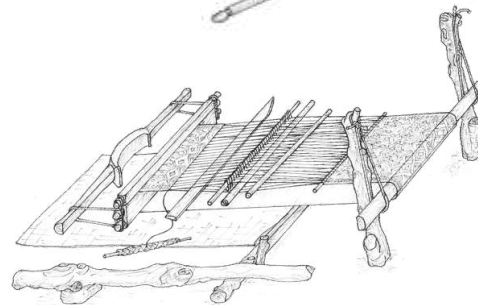
Looms of Alor

Stake Loom on Pantar
Station Loom in Ternate Selatan
Ternate Beach Station
A Station Loom in Boka Besi



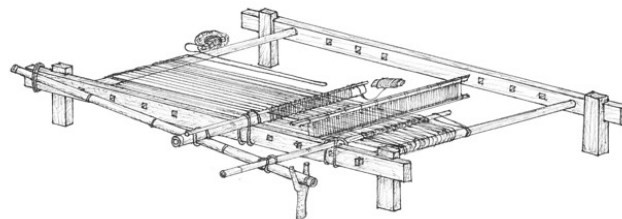
Externals

Mandar Loom (Sulawesi)
Sumba Branch Loom
A Loom on Raijua Island
Ground Loom of Atoni (Timor)
Accidental Foot Loom (Timor)
Sobei Foot Loom (Papua)
Mama Wulu's Foot Loom (Borneo?)
The Loom from the Heavens (Palu'e Legend)
From Above to Earth (Nagaland)
The Loom of Bhotia (Tibet)



Alat melengkung - The Warping Tools

Bima Warping
Larantuka Warping



Conclusions

Talking Looms
Flores & The Vivid Looms
Ancient Techniques on Display
Forking Branches or the sense of supporting warp beams
Back Support en detail
Spot on those Batten Railings
Buitenzorg on Excursion
Origin Myths of Loin Looms
Universitas Nipa
Big Trees, Branch Forks & Vehicles

Flores - Kembang Alat Tenun

Flores vom Webstuhl - Lendenwebstühle & Schärgeräte

Appendix

Terms in use
Terms of Weaving on Loin Looms
Components of the Loom
Indonesian Terms of the Loom Components



66

67

69

72

73

74

75

76

80

81

82

83

84

85

86

87

88

89

90

92

93

95

99

99

100

100

101

104

104

105

105

106

107

109

111

118

134

147

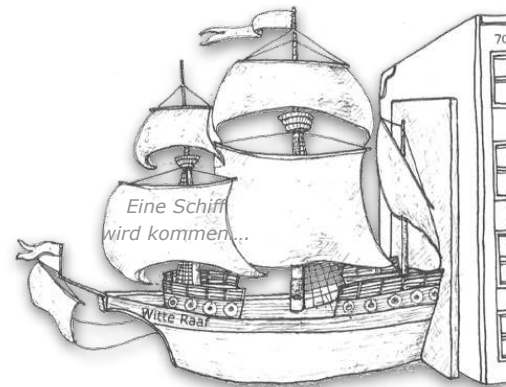
155

159

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All thanks to our mentors Sandra Sardjono, Theodora-Elizabeth van Motman-Schiff, Christopher D. Buckley, Hendrik-Pieter van Motman, Samili Ingtipi, Bapak Nyoman & the Weavers of the Serpent Horse.

Weave on to Bogor!



Nusa Nipa - The Lindworm of Flores - A ride along the rainbow within 8 regencies on Ja Heda.



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LOIN LOOMS OF MOTMAN-SCHIFF

<https://www.academia.edu/143284993/>